

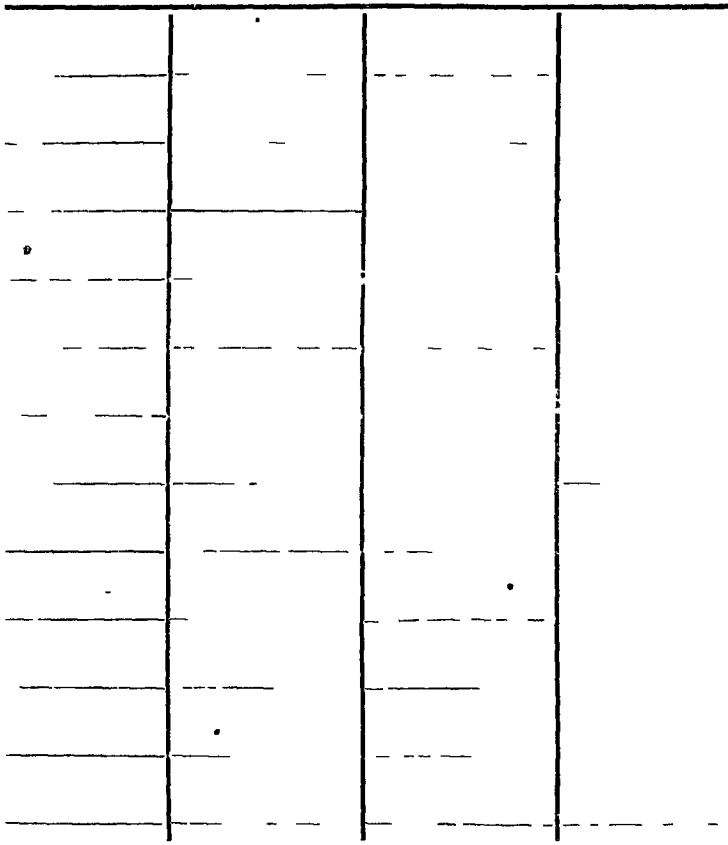
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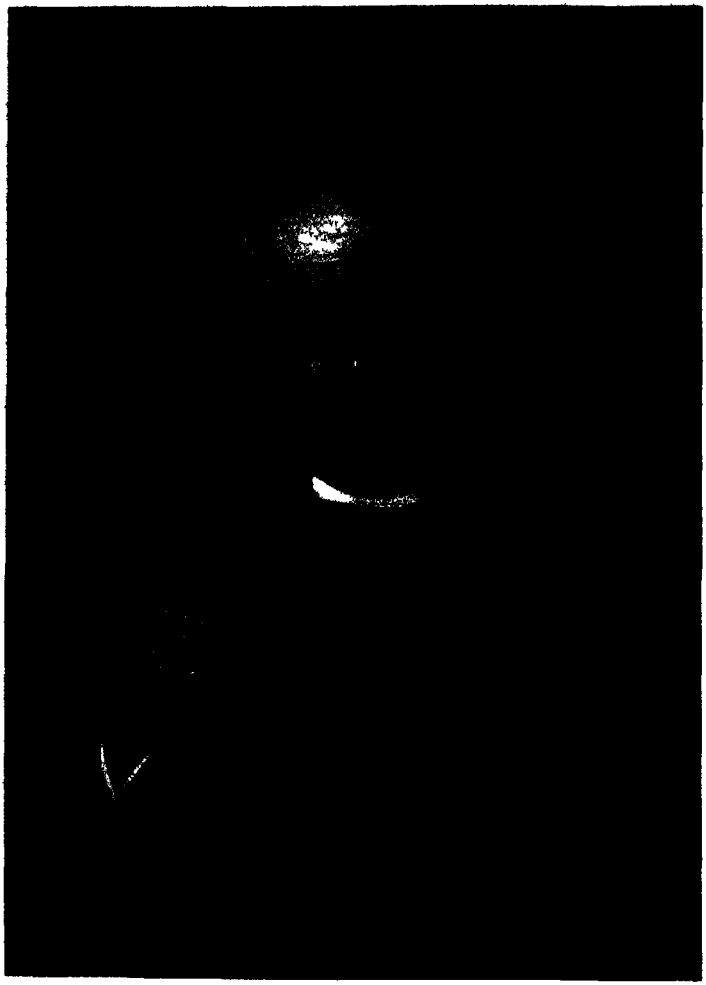
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RANDALL
DAVIDSON



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RANDALL DAVIDSON

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

By G. K. A. BELL

BISHOP OF CHICHESTER

VOLUME I

1935

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PREFACE

THE author of this work has been greatly assisted in the fulfilment of his task by the ample records and admirably arranged correspondence which Archbishop Davidson left behind him. Indeed, the Archbishop had hoped that after his resignation he might perhaps be able to prepare his own reminiscences. Though this did not prove possible, the preliminary notes which he put together, especially in connexion with the history of his early life, have been of much service to the biographer. Dr. Davidson never kept a diary for any length of time, but five small quarto leather-bound MS. books survive, containing accurate accounts written in from time to time of conversations or incidents which had specially aroused his interest when he was Dean of Windsor, and also when he was Bishop of Rochester. They extend chronologically from January 1888 to September 1895; and though there are considerable periods during which no entry is made, they afford a running commentary on a number of important episodes in which Dr. Davidson was concerned, together with his impressions of many important people whom he met. The first of these MS. books refers to the failure of a series of January attempts to keep a diary in anything like orthodox diary form, and records his decision 'to try something more irregular, with no vacant pages, dated and blank'; and the writer adds 'I know that things *do* happen to me and around me which I ought to be recording and *don't*.' Their contents may be dated thus: (1) January 1888–April 1889: about 100 autograph pages; (2) May 1889–November 1890: about 90 autograph pages; (3) January 1891–February 1892: about 90 autograph pages; (4) April 1892–August 1893: about 90 autograph pages; (5) March 1894–September 1895: about 32 autograph pages (together with half a page for April 1897, a beginning for Winchester, not continued). After he had become Archbishop, during a summer holiday abroad in 1906, Dr. Davidson dictated his recollections of Windsor days and also of his work in the two dioceses of Rochester and Winchester, ending with his appointment to the Primacy; and though he felt afterwards that the recollections were somewhat hurried and

unfinished in form, they have proved of considerable value, especially for the light they throw on his relations with Queen Victoria. On this MS. book of 1906, and the smaller leather-bound volumes, the biographer has drawn a great deal.

For the Primacy itself there is a whole series of memoranda of a private character, mostly typed and arranged in large envelopes, dealing as a rule with particular years. They commenced in 1909 and went down to 1930. These were all dictated, often at the time, or occasionally after an interval, when the Archbishop, surveying a period of a few months, picked out certain leading incidents or delivered himself of general reflections. At first they dealt specially with constitutional questions such as The Budget of 1909, and the Parliament Act; but later they covered general church questions as well as matters of general public interest. They also, like the earlier MS. books, form a running commentary on contemporary events and the characters with whom the Archbishop was brought into official relations. There are in addition many separate memoranda of interviews etc. filed with the correspondence on the particular subject. All these documents, whether written or dictated before or during the Primacy, may be described generally as 'the Davidson papers', and the biographer has quoted them constantly in the different parts of this Life. Indeed, it may be assumed that passages commencing 'The Archbishop notes', or having some other similar introduction (not being clearly indicated as letters) are taken from the Davidson papers. They are naturally of great value; since from them it is possible to learn the Archbishop's reactions towards and verdict upon the scenes in which he was a principal actor. The copious extracts from them given in this biography indicate sufficiently their nature and importance. But though quoted considerably, much remains which can hardly be published at present (to quote one of the greatest of all biographers) 'without trespassing against the feelings of distinguished individuals still alive',[1] or causing difficulties of other kinds.

The correspondence of Archbishop Davidson was of a most extensive character, and has been extensively preserved, both as regards letters written to and by him. Year by year it was arranged and filed in excellent order, both in respect of subject and date. It may therefore be supposed that the material con-

[1] Lockhart, *Life of Scott*, Chapter 19.

fronting the biographer is vast and that the difficulty of selecting what is characteristic and outstandingly important has been unusually great.

The author owes a special personal debt to Lady Davidson, not only for kindness and friendship during the ten years when he served as Archbishop's Chaplain at Lambeth, and since, but also for her own vivid recollections, and her generosity and consideration during all the stages of the preparation of this book.

Most grateful acknowledgement is due to H.M. the King for the permission which he has given for the publication of various letters and extracts, not least those belonging to the lifetime of Queen Victoria. One point should be made plain at the very outset with regard to the correspondence and the various other communications which took place between Randall Davidson and Queen Victoria. It is necessary to emphasize it, in order to avoid any possible misunderstanding. The circumstances in which Randall Davidson was introduced to Her Majesty were altogether unusual, following upon the death of his father-in-law, Archbishop Tait. They led, as the biography shows, to an extraordinary trust in Dr. Davidson and to an unusual reliance on his judgement in Church matters. But the consultations which resulted may be justly described as so purely personal in character, and so almost fortuitous in their origin, that they could not rightly be regarded as precedents even within the limited department concerned. In any event the whole situation changed on the Queen's death. And with regard to Dr. Davidson himself, readers of this work will see that the relations between him and King Edward and King George, though never wanting in friendly feeling, were of a quite different kind. The personal factor was completely altered.

The biographer wishes also to express his thanks to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who has been most kind in reading special chapters, in helping with advice, and in contributing a description of the relations between himself, as Archbishop of York, and Dr. Davidson, when Archbishop of Canterbury, besides giving him facilities of every kind at Lambeth Palace.

It would be impossible to thank publicly every one of the many friends and helpers who have assisted in the preparation of this book; sometimes by reminiscences, sometimes by revising passages or chapters in which they were themselves concerned,

sometimes by permitting the publication of letters. But a special tribute of gratitude must be paid to some who have given exceptional help. First, the author has to thank Mr. Arthur Sheppard, the Archbishop's Private Secretary for many years, who undertook the task of going through the files of the Davidson correspondence covering nearly 40 years, deposited at Lambeth, with a view to facilitating the work of selection; and has in addition compiled the index. Next, he thanks Miss Mary Mills, without whose help in going through the personal papers, in compiling memoranda and giving aid of all kinds in conjunction with Lady Davidson, this book would have been immeasurably poorer; and Mr. Charles Williams for reading the Life in MS. as well as in proof, and for the most valuable and skilled advice which he has given him as a result—a service which is deeply appreciated. Particular thanks are due to the Rev. Lancelot Mason, the biographer's Chaplain, for help in various ways; and both to him and to the Rev. Norman Sykes, for most useful assistance in reading the proofs, in making many important suggestions, and in the arduous but indispensable work of verification. Last but not least, the biographer desires to express his gratitude to Mr. Humphrey Milford, most patient and considerate of publishers, for his unfailing help and personal interest from the very outset of the task; as well as his appreciation of the attention and scholarship of the printers and readers of the Oxford University Press.

G. K. A. B.

THE PALACE, CHICHESTER

July, 1935.

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FACSIMILE OF A LETTER TO ARTHUR CHRISTOPHER BENSON WRITTEN BY RANDALL DAVIDSON A FEW DAYS AFTER HIS 66TH BIRTHDAY *Facing page* 709

VOLUME II

RANDALL DAVIDSON, age 75, 1923. (*Photograph by J. Russell and Sons*) *Frontispiece*

A HOLIDAY AT ABERUCHILL. (The Archbishops of Canterbury and York) . . . . . *Facing page* 1040

THE ARCHBISHOP AND MRS. DAVIDSON, 1920. (*Photograph by J. Russell and Sons*) . . . . . *Facing page* 1125

CHAPTER I

EDINBURGH, HARROW, OXFORD

Mrs. Scott . . . liked Dr. Erskine's sermons; but was not fond of the Principal's, however rational, eloquent and well-composed, and would, if other things had answered, have gone, when he preached, to have heard Dr. Davidson. LOCKHART'S *Life of Scott*, ch. iv.

The family of Swinton is very ancient and was once very powerful. Ibid., ch. lv.

RANDALL THOMAS DAVIDSON was born on April 7, 1848, at No. 15 Inverleith Place, Edinburgh. He was the eldest of the four children of Henry and Henrietta Davidson. On May 18, 1848, he was baptized in the same house, according to the Presbyterian form, by Dr. Muir, Minister of St. Stephen's Church. He was of pure Scottish blood on both his father's and his mother's side; and his Scottish character as well as his love for Scotland were conspicuous throughout the eighty-two years of his life. Like many of his fellow countrymen, he attached not a little importance to his family history. His papers indicate both his own feeling for his ancestors and his accuracy as a chronicler. And so a brief chapter from that history may be given at once in his own words.

I

'Go back in thought two centuries and a little more. Queen Anne is on the throne. An eager controversy is in the air. Ought, or ought not, her two kingdoms, England and Scotland, to be united into one? The storm centre lies in Edinburgh, where the strife of tongues in the Parliament House and in the General Assembly finds ready echo on the open pavements of the High Street and the Canongate. The Act of Union struggled painfully into life, but even after it had, in March 1707, received the Royal Assent, the discussions, as Sir Walter Scott has taught us, were carried on with scarcely diminished force and pungency.

'The clergy of the City, intensely concerned for the security of the Presbyterian system, but doubtful whether the Union would strengthen or impair it, were eloquent on either side. Prominent among them was the Rev. Thomas Davidson, lecturer in the Tron Church of Edinburgh, and two years after the Union a Chaplain

to Queen Anne. A devoted pastor, as well as a keen controversialist, he was promoted successively to the parishes of Whitekirk, of Stirling, and of the Cross Church, Dundee, where he became a recognised champion of the Church's rights and liberties. Like many Scotsmen of the day, he had close relations with Holland, where older members of the family had for many years held positions of high public trust. (Among these was Sir William Davidson, who had acted as political friend and adviser to William of Orange before he came to England.) During Thomas Davidson's ministry in Dundee his daughter Mary, already a widow, became the wife of the Rev. Thomas Randall, minister of Inchture in the Carse of Gowrie. The son of this marriage, born in 1747, inherited his father's name, Thomas Randall. He was grandfather to the subject of this memoir.

'Besides this daughter, Thomas Davidson had two sons. In view of subsequent history, it is not uninteresting to note that the younger of these, named Hugh, was ordained in the Church of England and became Rector of Kirby [Misperton] in Yorkshire. In the upbringing of the elder son, William, advantage was taken of the ancestral connexion with Holland, and the lad was sent to The Hague to complete his education. Settling in Holland, he became, we are told, "one of the most considerable and opulent general merchants at Rotterdam". He left Holland about 1750, and for the rest of his life resided in London and in Edinburgh. He is described as being "ostentatious and with numerous servants dressed in unsilvered white liveries".

'When in London he seems to have been regarded as a leader in financial circles. His portrait, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, shows a man of striking and dignified appearance. Of equal interest is the portrait of his only child, Susannah, whom Sir Joshua painted with a large lamb upon her lap. At the age of twenty, she died unmarried, and was, for some unexplained reason, buried in Westminster Abbey, where her monument in the North Transept bears a long and laudatory inscription. Her father, though he survived her for nearly thirty years, is said never to have recovered his spirits. Dying in 1794, he left his estates of Muirhouse and Hatton, near Edinburgh, together with a considerable fortune, to the Rev. Thomas Randall, son of his sister Mary, "on the express stipulation that the name of Randall should be for ever abolished, and that of Davidson substituted".

The motive actuating William Davidson in making this bequest seems to have been his desire to found a family of Scottish landed gentry, rather than affection for the nephew whom he thus enriched, or appreciation of his ministerial calling. Indeed the two Thomas Randalls, father and son, had little in common with the opulent merchant, except that they also were connected with Holland. It is necessary to go back a little way.

'In the year 1728, David Randall, who is described by the historian Woodrow as a man of capacity and public spirit,[1] had emigrated to Holland. His son, Thomas, after graduating in the University of Edinburgh, spent some time with his father in the flourishing Scottish settlement in Rotterdam. He then returned to Scotland and was ordained in 1739 as minister of Inchture. His marriage, while there, to Mary Davidson, daughter of the well-known minister of Dundee, has been mentioned above. Mary Davidson, already a widow, seems to have been in every way suited to be the wife of a man of Randall's character and powers. He rapidly became a leader among the clergy of the Church of Scotland. While minister of Inchture he was consulted by those who were promoting the Evangelical revival in England, and he is said to have been visited by John Wesley when he rode through the Carse of Gowrie in 1768.[2] At the same time he was prominent in his advocacy among Presbyterians of the more frequent Celebration of the Lord's Supper. His pamphlet on that subject became famous, and Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood describes Dr. Randall as "a man whose learning, ingenuity and eminence as a Christian pastor entitled him to the first distinctions in the Church to which he belonged".[3] He was the author of the Forty-ninth "Paraphrase",[4] one of the best known of the collection which has for more than a century and a half been the Hymn Book of the Church of Scotland. In 1770, in which year he left Inchture and became minister of Stirling, he issued a Series of Tracts upon the constitution of the Church of Scotland, which is still regarded as a work of standard authority.

[1] See *The Ancestry of Randall Thomas Davidson, D.D.*, by Adam Philip (Elliot Stock, 1903), p. 1.

[2] Ibid., p. 14.

[3] See *Life and Writings of J. Erskine, D.D.*, by Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood, 1818.

[4] Though perfect eloquence adorned
My sweet persuasive tongue;

This paraphrase was sung when R. T. D. visited the General Assembly in 1919.

'His ministry at Stirling, where again he was in a storm-centre of controversy, lasted for ten years. Dr. Burns, pastor of Kilsyth, speaks of "his more than magisterial command over the populace of the ancient burgh of Stirling and of the awe and dread which surrounded him on Sabbath and week-days".[1]

'At Inchture, in July 1747, was born the son of Thomas and Mary Randall. He, too, was christened Thomas. His early years were spent in his father's manse at Inchture, and, after a College course at Glasgow, he was sent to Holland, where he studied both at Utrecht and at Leyden, devoting himself particularly to the subject of Biblical criticism. He was licensed to preach at Rotterdam in 1769, and in the following year, on the removal of his father to Stirling, he was appointed his successor at Inchture. This was in persistent disregard of the wishes of his rich uncle, William Davidson, who desired that the young man should join the mercantile house over which he ruled. Thomas Randall, however, adhered to his purpose, and in a ministry of fifty-seven years exercised a constantly increasing influence throughout the Church of Scotland. Every writer (and they are many) who sets himself to depict the social and literary life of Edinburgh in the last quarter of the eighteenth century gives a prominent place to the gentle, devout, and charitable minister of the Tolbooth Church. Sir Walter Scott[2] records, in testimony to his mother's piety of conviction, her love of attending his ministrations. His portrait by Raeburn is well known, and has often been reproduced. In 1794, on the death of his uncle, William Davidson, he succeeded, as above mentioned, to the estates of Muirhouse and Hatton, and to a considerable fortune, and was required in consequence to change his name to Davidson.

'By his wife, Elisabeth Cockburn,[3] sister of the well-known Lord Cockburn, one of the leaders of Scotch Liberalism, and a joint founder of the *Edinburgh Review*, he had three sons, the youngest of whom was Henry, born in 1810, who became the father of Randall Thomas Davidson, the subject of this memoir. In his boyhood Henry was designated for the Scottish Bar. Educated in the High School of Edinburgh, and then in the famous

[1] For all this see Philip, *Ancestry*, &c., pp. 13–20.

[2] Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, ch. iii.

[3] He had been previously married to Elisabeth Rutherford, whose son inherited and spent his fortune.

Edinburgh Academy, (the foundation of which, under the auspices of Sir Walter Scott, Lord Cockburn and Francis Jeffrey,[1] has been often recorded,) and subsequently in the University of Edinburgh, where he earned distinction in English literature (under the tutelage of Professor Pillans and others), he decided, when his university days were over, to adopt a commercial rather than a legal career, and became almost immediately a prominent figure in the extensive shipping business of the Port of Leith. His musical powers and social gifts made him a favourite with the literary coterie depicted with graphic detail in Henry Cockburn's *Memorials of his Time*; while his activity as a horseman gave him access to a rather exclusive group among the hunting men of the Lothians.

'In 1845, Henry Davidson married Henrietta, daughter of John Swinton of Kimmerghame, a prominent member of the Berwickshire family of Swinton of Swinton, whose persistent place in Border annals for more than seven centuries is a topic which Sir Walter Scott, who had himself by his grandfather's marriage become one of the family, was fond of recounting both in prose and verse. When Henrietta Swinton was about twelve years old, Sir Walter Scott, in right (he said) of his "cousinship", enlisted the little girl as critic of the *Tales of a Grandfather*, then passing through the press, and she used to recount fifty years later how, to her legitimate pride, he re-wrote the chapter on "The Feudal System" because she found it difficult to understand it fully when he read it to her in its original form.

'Henry Davidson and his wife settled in a house, No. 15 Inverleith Place, Edinburgh, next door to the house, No. 16, occupied by the bride's father, Mr. Swinton, the two houses standing at the west end of Inverleith Place. There, in my parents' house, No. 15 Inverleith Place, I was born on April 7th, 1848, and there I was baptized, as my baptismal certificate shows, on May 18th, 1848, by Dr. Muir, minister of St. Stephen's Church. I read in my Mother's diary:

> *Thursday May 18th.* Fine. Randall was christened by Dr. Muir. My Aunts . . . and Archie, Mrs. J. Cockburn and Mary, Christian Davidson and M. D. being present. The two latter stayed to dinner.'

[1] See, e.g., account given in the *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. i, p. 21.

II

The influence of both parents on Randall was marked from the very start. Henry Davidson was a wood merchant in Leith. 'He was a very small man,' says Lord Dunedin, a neighbour and schoolfellow of Randall, 'blind of one eye but very lively, with a most engaging manner, and he was a great favourite.' With his children he shared fun and sport alike in full measure. Indeed, it may well be that from this keen sportsmanship of his father Randall got his own love for sport and for adventures in the open air. Thus he writes in his recollections:

> I was in closest personal friendship with my father from the earliest years. I used to stalk rabbits and magpies as soon as I was able to hold a gun, always under his eager personal tuition. He had been, and in some ways still was, a keen sportsman. He had once been an admirable rider, but he had given it up. He shot very well, and had in schooldays a reputation as a runner.

Both parents were deeply religious, and the simplicity and strength of his father's religion, especially at certain critical moments in the boy's life, made a great impression on Randall. But it was to his mother's teaching that Randall owed most. She, though less eager than her husband, had a resourcefulness and buoyancy of her own, coupled with a poetic gift which added considerable vividness to her lessons. To quote her son's recollections again:

> I do not find it easy to explain the remarkable influence which my mother was able to exercise over and among us all in religious matters and in Bible teaching. I think partly her poetic temperament—she was keenly poetic, and used to read and even write a good deal of poetry—gave her a power of putting things in the sort of way that made them interesting at the moment and rememberable afterwards, and of course her real absorption in the religious side of life, and the dominance which religion exercised upon all her thoughts and plans, domestic and personal, made it a natural thing that she should reveal incidentally to others, and especially to us, her children, what was so essentially the pivot of her own life.

But in addition to these more serious qualities, Randall continues:

> she had the gift of identifying herself with our interests, and even our amusements, which is certainly not very usual among people of her make. For example, the Christmas holidays were always

times when we had every sort of amusement in the way of specially arranged games, and acting and competitions, and in all these things she was indisputably the central moving force.

The immediate family circle to whom father and mother thus gave so much consisted of Randall, his sister Mary (born 1849), his brothers Henry (born 1851) and Ernest (born 1856). All grew up together, and though they followed different paths in later life, all acknowledged to the end the debt they owed to the vitality and religious sincerity of their parents.

The scene of many of the games which children and parents played together was the old home at Kimmerghame where Henrietta had been born. In Randall's boyhood his uncle, Archibald Swinton, the owner of Kimmerghame, made it the festive centre of all sorts of amusements and entertainments, and even the slightest sketch of these years would be at fault without some tribute not only to Kimmerghame but to the part Archibald Swinton played:

> We were often, perhaps generally, at Kimmerghame in the Christmas holidays. I have not recorded what we owe to my uncle, Archibald Swinton, for his unfailing and unending kindness to us all. He was a man who might, if Fortune had favoured him, have been a conspicuous figure in public life, not in Scotland only, but in Parliament or elsewhere. For many years Professor of Law in Edinburgh University, a post which to the best of my recollection he only resigned when his Berwickshire duties made continuous Edinburgh life impossible, he had a wide knowledge of public affairs, and he certainly had a remarkable gift of public speaking. In the General Assembly he was, for many years, one of the foremost, if not the foremost, lay figure; and in county affairs and many other fields of service he was conspicuous. In his earlier Edinburgh days, when a widower, he had made his home for long periods under my Father's roof, my parents being devoted to him and he to them. At Kimmerghame his hospitality was unbounded, and we were always among his spoilt and favoured guests. I and my brother Harry shot there whenever there was any shooting going, and during the winter weeks we had the run of everything in that way.

Randall also, as he grew older, derived:

> endless gain from intercourse with him on all kinds of literary, historic, and legal matters in which his stores of cheery information were always forthcoming in the readiest way.

It is said by those who knew both that in his looks Randall resembled the Swintons rather than the Davidsons. Archibald Swinton had one child by his first marriage (for he married again in 1856) whose name was Kate, and of her Randall says:

> Kate and I were in our early years simply like brother and sister—a relationship which in one sense never waned in its character though our lives necessarily lay widely apart.

Miss Swinton, as an old lady in 1917, told the writer a prophetic story of how the English Prayer Book troubled Randall as a child. Once, when he was about seven, he said to her in great anger, 'What do you think those English have done?' She replied that she could believe anything of them. Randall said, 'They've altered the Bible!' He had just seen for the first time the Prayer Book version of the Psalter—the Scotch using the Old Testament version. Randall and Kate both vowed they'd never use the Prayer Book version after that!

Reference has already been made to the general religious teaching which Randall received from his parents and especially from his mother. To make the picture complete it will be well to add his recollections of their relation to the Church:

> As regards Churchmanship, our upbringing was very undenominational, to use a word which had not then been coined. My parents had both been brought up as devout Presbyterians, and in my early childhood they attended St. Stephen's Church, under the ministry of Dr. Muir, a famous old divine. It was he who baptized me in Inverleith Place, on 18 May, 1848, and I know that he tried to get my Father to become one of his Elders. Why my Father declined at that time I do not know, but I know that a little later on when similar requests came he always said he was more of an Episcopalian than a Presbyterian, and declined. When we were in Atholl Crescent (i.e. from 1854 onwards), my parents began to attend St. Thomas's Episcopal Church, the minister being the Rev. D. T. K. Drummond. Drummond had separated himself from the Scotch Episcopal Church, and had joined the little body of English Episcopalians. . . . When at Muirhouse we used to drive to Edinburgh on most Sundays to attend St. Thomas'; but pretty often we walked to Cramond Parish Church near Muirhouse, which my Father had loved from his boyhood, and which was then served by an odd, rather remarkable man, Dr. Colvin. . . . I have no recollection of receiving any

teaching upon Churchmanship, either Episcopal or Presbyterian, the religion taught us being wholly of the personal sort, but beautiful in its simplicity and reality. My Father absolutely declined to limit himself to one denomination. I remember the eagerness with which he answered someone who had made the remark that a man must be, surely, either a Presbyterian or an Episcopalian by saying emphatically, 'I am both: and if I were one or other only I should be false to my deepest beliefs'.

All through his life Randall Davidson was the possessor of a remarkable memory. He has left not a few reminiscences of his early days as a child in Edinburgh. The first thing he remembered was the return home of his father and mother after the Duke of Wellington's funeral, when he was four years old; and the picture of the hearse and great black plumes from an illustrated paper of the day. Another recollection was connected with the death of his great-uncle, Lord Cockburn:

He and my father were devoted to one another (he was my father's uncle, brother of my grandmother) and I distinctly recall the sorrow of our house when he died (April 26, 1854). I was just six years old. I was perplexed as to how to reconcile this sorrow with the religious teaching my mother sedulously gave me, and I asked her bluntly why she was sad if he, Lord Cockburn, had gone to Heaven. She didn't answer and I persevered. 'Was he a good man? Is he in heaven?' Her honesty made her, I suppose, hesitate to reply very certainly about one who could hardly, for all his charm, be described as pious, and she left on my mind, without at all knowing it, the impression that he had been a bad man. I remember always connecting him (why I don't know) with 'Jeroboam, who made Israel to sin'—a most unfair parallel!

III

In May 1854, the family moved from Inverleith Place to 6 Atholl Crescent, a larger house nearer the centre of Edinburgh, from which Randall somewhat irregularly attended Mr. Oliphant's School for Boys and Girls in Charlotte Square ('I remember always thinking that the girls did much better than the boys'). But in May 1857 they left Edinburgh for Muirhouse, on the shore of the Firth of Forth, about four miles from Edinburgh and three miles from Dalmeny, Lord Rosebery's place. The house stood in an estate of some 240 acres, in the parish of Cramond about a mile from the village of Davidson's Mains. It was a substantial

modern mansion built in the Gothic style by William Davidson, Henry's eldest brother, in 1830, on the site of the old seventeenth-century mansion, of which only two round towers survived. There were beautiful views and just the kind of garden and park to appeal to boys.

> From the first [writes Randall Davidson] we boys were indoctrinated in all sorts of country things. I have never known other children who kept such quantities of rabbits for whose tending they are personally responsible. We had about fifty, and used to drive them into the field on the west side of the approach, to eat in the early morning. We also became, for little boys, really knowing about birds and marine beasts, though never in the scientific way children would be taught to understand things now.

And there was always a pony.

The lessons which had begun in a mild form under Mr. Oliphant in Edinburgh were continued by governesses at Muirhouse, with the help of divinity students from the University, who acted as tutors before more serious schooling commenced.

In 1860, at the age of twelve, Randall was sent to a private school at Worksop, kept by the Rev. William Bury. He was there for two years, which were not very profitable. The motto of the school was curious—'Faint but pursuing'. Mr. Bury was a kind elderly man of strong Evangelical opinions, possessed of a large family, to which he added some twenty or twenty-five pupils with a view to increasing his income. The boys differed greatly in age and knowledge, and, as there was only one assistant, not much real education could be expected. A correspondence was maintained between Mr. Bury and Mr. Henry Davidson, from which it appears that Randall was like most boys, high-spirited, and even possessed (a terminal report runs) of 'an undue volatility at improper times'. On the other hand, Randall occasionally criticized his headmaster. Thus he said once, writing home:

> Mr. Bury is getting more addicted to caning now instead of giving tasks.

Looking back in later years, he wrote:

> I do not remember learning anything very thoroughly at Worksop, and yet I see by a letter which my Father preserved that Mr. Bury regarded me as, in some respects, his best pupil.
>
> I have all my life suffered from not having been thoroughly well grounded in Latin and Greek grammar in the way boys are

grounded now in good preparatory schools; also the school was too small for producing good results at games, and the successive ushers during my two years were anything but capable men or competent teachers.

The Scripture teaching was wearisome in the extreme after the stimulating lessons he had received at home. One taste he seems, however, to have been able to gratify, his delight in country sports, and the following experience, narrated in his own words, made a lasting impression:

Mr. Bury was a naturalist, and we learnt a great deal about butterflies and birds' eggs, and we used to take long walks through the neighbouring Dukeries, Mr. Bury having been a friend of the Duke of Newcastle, and I think of the Duke of Portland. He was also Chaplain to Mr. Foljambe at Osberton, a place about three miles from Worksop. We used to walk there on Sundays and by surreptitious arrangements did some birdnesting on the way. I remember my perplexity on being forced to kneel upright during the Litany in church with my trouser pockets full of water-hens' eggs from Osberton Lake.

A number of letters of this period have been preserved, and the ties which bound father and mother and their eldest son together were clearly of the strongest sort. Both parents wrote in an intimate and affectionate strain. Both entered to the full into his boyhood's tastes and difficulties. With his father, Randall had:

an almost brotherly friendship through school and college days. Keenly athletic and intensely amusing, he had withal a deep personal religion which was impressed upon us in the frankest manner every day.

In more than one letter his father urged him to stand on his own ground. Thus he wrote:

HENRY DAVIDSON, ESQ., *to* RANDALL

14 March 1862.

I would strongly urge on you my dear Randall, always to stand *on your own ground.* You know right and wrong—better I am sure than many boys do, at any school you may go to—for few Mothers have taken the pains and loving labour yours has done with you—don't you be moved—*shoved—pushed—driven—laughed* off your own ground by any boy, or any number of boys. There is plenty of *fun,* without evil—and very soon one finds there is no *fun* in evil!

but it may be found too late. I believe NOTHING creates such respect, as for either boy or man *to stand on his own ground, and keep it*—and show you are keeping it too. And when you feel it difficult, just like Nehemiah before the King, silently ask God's help, and I cannot believe you won't get it—only of course, you must bear a bit of the burden yourself—it won't be made *so easy*, that you will have no farther trouble—but above all things be consistent.

Randall himself always wrote in a good straightforward way. Here is a regular schoolboy letter, picked out of many.

RANDALL DAVIDSON *to his* FATHER

Worksop. Wednesday.

My dear Papa

Thanks to Mary and Harry for their letters of yesterday.

Do you really intend to buy us a pony?

When do you expect Miss Turner home again?

I hope dear Mama is quite well again now.

I think my lessons are getting on very well. My favourite lesson is Latin verses, which we do from ¼ past 9 till 10.

Vickers is my greatest friend now that Houldsworth has left. I do not like sleeping with Dalton at all, but today Vickers has asked Mrs. Bury if he may change rooms with Dalton and as yet she has given no certain answer. There are many boys who appear very kind and friendly one day, and then again you find them speaking ill of you and teasing you as if you were their enemy: they make me think of the hymn

'Earthly friends may pain and grieve thee
One day kind the next day leave thee'

I have no more time today so good bye. Give my love to all at home. I am ever your very affectionate son

RANDALL.

P.S. I am very anxious to hear about the Pony.

At the end of the summer of 1862, it was decided that Randall should go to Harrow. But the very week before term began came the first of the many almost fatal accidents or illnesses which marked the whole of his career. The accident is thus described by Randall's father in a letter to his daughter Mary. Willy is the groom, and Master Ice the pony.

HENRY DAVIDSON, ESQ., *to* MARY

Do you know we nearly lost Randall on Saturday—he might now no more have been in the land of the living. All the party and Willy had taken the pony cart to the shore with cut branches

—and after tumbling them out, they *all* got into the cart and thought they would wash Ice's legs in the sea. Master Ice however wished a better bathe than this—he took the bit in his teeth and went straight out to sea. The cart floated up off its wheels and sank of course with so many in it. Randall jumped out in order to save Ernest by getting him out, and found the water up and over his chin. Willy put Ernest out to him. Poor fellow he tried to *carry* him, instead of dragging him in the water, but could not—stumbled and fell—the tide, which was ebbing, took him further out and he could do no more for Ernest but told him to lie still on his back with his arms out—which the brave little man did and floated perfectly. Randall called to Willy who was then out of the cart too to save Ernest—which he did. Harry stuck by the cart as he had the reins, and when Ice was fairly swimming he turned him to the shore, and then jumped out to get Ernest from Willy, that Willy might try and save Randall—he got off his coat, and little able to swim at all he went out to him—he had then sunk. Willy was afraid he might seize him so went near carefully, got hold of the hair of his head, but by this time Randall was insensible, so he was dragged to shore, and laid down on the wet sand, face down and Willy beat his back, and Harry rushed up to the house for help—met your Mamma at the door and told her in great agitation that *Randall was drowned.* But as we know Harry's little keen statements she asked him if he was out of the water and learned he was lying on the beach. I suppose the distance from the house to the gate was never travelled faster than by your Mother and Charlton. When the former got down Randall began to recover consciousness and spoke. Charlton came and *blew* into his mouth, which Randall declared afterwards was vastly abominable—and worked at him to make him breathe. Ice meantime with the wheelless cart stood as pacific as usual. Charlton walked in, to complete the matter, to save *the wheels* which were also recovered!—and so what might have been a very sad and tragical affair mercifully ended well—and more than that—for *all* even to Ernest, seem to have acted so well and so plucky, as to have really gained great praise. Randall and your Mother were both '*queer*' yesterday, but nothing worse. Now this is a very long story—but it has been a very narrow escape, and but for Willy being there both Randall and Ernest would apparently have been lost. Not a creature was on the shore to help.

Randall got sea water into his lungs, and this did him harm for long afterwards. Otherwise there were no ill effects. But it was his first narrow escape from death.

IV

In September 1862, he entered Harrow. Of the choice of his school he writes as follows:

> What led my Father to choose Harrow I forget, if I ever knew. He knew nothing about English Public Schools, and if he had had wise advice he would not, I think, have sent me, as he did, to a small House.
>
> It had, however, the advantage of beginning my life-long friendship with Arthur Watson, who then had a small House (Byron House) occupied in after years by Matthew Arnold. I happily retained the friendship of Arthur Watson for many years, and his kindness to me was unvarying during nearly half a century. He was a Rugbeian under Tait, was then at Balliol, and was afterwards a Fellow of All Souls. He at once opened for me new channels of thought; he was a cultivated Radical, and I had not been much in touch with Radicals.
>
> I remember to this day the impression made on me by his talk at meals on political subjects, and my inward revolt against the silly scorn with which my companions, and I with them, thought it our duty to regard Liberal opinions. He set me thinking upon many subjects in a way which has borne fruit ever since.

Arthur (known as Vanity) Watson, though a layman, also prepared Randall for confirmation. Scarlet fever prevented his being confirmed with the rest of the boys at Harrow; and he was in fact confirmed by Bishop Tait (his future father-in-law) in St. George's, Hanover Square, on June 16, 1865. He was seventeen at the time; but he says, 'It was by my own wish that I was delayed rather beyond the usual age.' He liked relating afterwards how a kinsman found him in the church, the solitary occupant of a large pew—the said kinsman going up and down the church, looking into the pews and saying repeatedly in a loud voice, with strong Scotch accent, 'Is Randall Davidson here? Is Randall Davidson here?' Afterwards he was taken off to a high-class restaurant for lunch, and given cutlets done in champagne, a dish he never tasted again!

Byron House consisted of only six or seven boys, and the loss in games and companionship was so great that Davidson persuaded his father to move him for his last year to Westcott's, where he had many friends. To change from one house to another required a little care on the part of those concerned; for no house-

master likes to lose a promising pupil, and the very suggestion was a difficult one for the pupil to make. The negotiations were, however, so capably handled by Davidson that he got his way and yet retained his friendship with Watson. The following letter, while revealing the schoolboy, is most characteristic of that ability to get his own way without hurting other people's feelings which was to be so remarkable a quality of his later life:

RANDALL DAVIDSON *to his* FATHER

Byron House. Saturday, May 26[, 1866.]

. . . I have been feeling lately, more than I ever did before, a craving for the society and companionship of other fellows well up in the school, and desire for *intellectual* friends *in the house.* Poor old Mahon though an excellent fellow has about as much *thought* in him, on any subject, as this quill pen. All the VIth Form fellows in Westcott's house keep begging me to come into their house, and I really feel that I would give anything to do so. Then comes the question. Could Westcott receive me, either in September or January? *This* I should like to ascertain, before saying anything to Watson on the subject, and if he could *not* receive me, I would let the subject drop and never tell him (Watson) that I had thought of leaving him. But I am sure that Westcott would make an effort to do so, and if he could I should be *so* thankful. I know you will think me awfully *turncocky*, but I know my mind now, and my motive for the wish. The more I see of Westcott and of the fellows in the house, the more I feel what a *superior lot* they are and the more I long to be one of them. As to Watson's feelings on the subject, I feel sure that were I to explain to him my motives he would sympathize fully with me—and would not be offended. If *you* approve, don't you think the best way would be for *you* to send a line to Westcott asking him to *speak to me* on the subject, as I think that would have more weight with him than if I were to go and ask him myself? At the same time you begging him not to mention it to Watson, if he could *not* receive me at all.

Sunday Night, May 27.

I have been walking today with Tupper, who thinks it very probable that Westcott will manage somehow to receive me, at Christmas if not next term. If you write, perhaps it would be better to send the letter *through me.* In that case I should give it him at some time when he could not possibly see Watson before he saw me again. I know he would say nothing till he had thought over it.

But you manage that as you think best. If you don't approve of the change, then never mind, as I have no doubt I shall get on all right where I am—and can console myself by thinking that 'Distance lends enchantment to the view'.

The petition was successful, and the last year of his Harrow life was spent in Westcott's House, where he shared a room with Graham Murray (later Lord Dunedin), whose parents were intimate friends of Randall's parents at Edinburgh. Lord Dunedin described him later as 'not having any special position in the school, but very easy to live with, as he was good natured and not quarrelsome or even argumentative'.

The two greatest influences on Davidson at Harrow were the headmaster, Dr. H. M. Butler, and his new housemaster, B. F. Westcott. He was under Butler in the Upper Sixth from September 1864 to July 1867, and found his teaching 'a constant source of interest and gain'. Butler's sermons also impressed him quite remarkably, and there is many a letter written on the Sunday or Monday giving a full account of Butler's Sunday sermon and showing how much it meant to the boy—though there were occasional exceptions. The friendship which began at Harrow grew in after days and lasted nearly sixty years.

A deeper impression still was made by Westcott, 'for whom I entertained from the first a kind of reverence which never left me till he died'. He writes:

Westcott was to us VIth Form boys very much what he has always remained to me—the Prophet to whom we looked for intellectual guidance on every subject, human and divine. I would give a great deal now to have over again the kind of talks he used to give to us advanced boys on subjects lying quite outside the then School Curriculum, e g. the leading Features of the Middle Ages, the Growth and Character of Christian Architecture, the Influence of Great Men upon their Times, and so on. He was often quite over our heads, at least over mine, but that was all the better. I think he did really give us a spur which was bound to be lifelong towards the better understanding of things outside the run of schoolboy literature. He was the first to make any of us think about Browning, and, indeed, I know of no one else at Harrow who ever mentioned Browning. And he utterly bewildered us by his plunges into Kant and Comte and hagiology.

Westcott was not, however, by any means always at his best



HENRY DAVIDSON
Father of R. T. D.
(*After* 1878)



HENRIETTA DAVIDSON (*nee* SWINTON)
Mother of R. T. D.
(*About* 1878)

in preaching to boys, and the following letter gives an amusing as well as a shrewd account of the favourite master's defects.

RANDALL DAVIDSON *to his* FATHER

Rev. B. F. Westcott's. Feb. 17th, 1867.

. . . We had a very learned sermon from Westcott this morning, which might possibly have been intelligible had one been thoroughly well up in the Ecclesiastical histories of Rome, Greece, and Syria for the first 5 centuries A.D. As it was I don't suppose 10 fellows in the school could follow it. Not above 100 could hear it! His voice is feebler than ever. He is certainly a nice little fellow to talk to, and does one no end of good. He lets the most extraordinary, not to say ludicrous, remarks fall from him in a sort of soliloquy. The other day I was speaking to him of Trevelyan's Book on the Indian Mutiny (Cawnpore) and he said, 'Yes . . . yes . . . yes . . . that was the book—yes. . . . I could not shake off the idea that it was the prophet Ezekiel done into bad English,' and all this said not to me but to himself. He cries out lustily against my ale and hot meat—of course to no avail. He says 'look at me! I *lived* on cold meat when I was at Cambridge almost entirely'. I think to *look at him!* is quite enough!

Davidson's careful attention to sermons has already been noticed, and among the masters whose preaching impressed him we should not forget the Rev. John Smith, whose religious influence was of an unusual kind. In one of his letters to his father he said, 'We have had a most beautiful sermon this morning from Mr. Smith', and he gave an account of a sermon on two standards of religion. His father wrote to him with regard to the same preacher: 'I have been delighted with two accounts you have sent your Mother of sermons from Mr. Smith and Mr. Butler. Cultivate the acquaintance and society of the former as much as possible.'

The Archbishop summed up his own impressions in later years, as follows:

People complained then, as they do now, of the lack of definite religious life in the Public Schools. I can only say that my recollection of Harrow is a recollection of continuous and helpful religious influence. Watson, though a layman, prepared his boys carefully for Confirmation; he was a follower of Jowett in Theology, but a keen student of the Bible, and especially interested in such lines of thought as are followed in Stanley's *Jewish Church* and other

similar books on the Old Testament, and my interest in the Old Testament became very keen.

In the summer holidays, August 1866, just before Randall's last year at Harrow, came the accident which influenced the whole of his life. It is so important, that the Archbishop's own description must be given in full:

> I had been shooting rabbits with my brother and another friend at Muirhouse, and on our return into the house my friend, by some accident, let off his gun into my back. He said he was taking out the cartridges, but what exactly happened we never knew. He was only a few feet from me. We knew that the whole charge had gone in in a lump, making a hole big enough, as my Father always put it, to hold an average orange. In the confusion of treatment pending the arrival of a doctor, they threw everything away, and were unable to say afterwards how many shot had been taken out of the wound in the rush of blood, etc. The wound was so fearful that when the surgeon, Spence, who had been summoned from Edinburgh, arrived an hour later, he thought my life hopeless, and consequently, as I have always understood, abstained from doing what he would otherwise have tried to do, taking my right leg off or 'out' by the socket—a fearful operation.
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> (Strange to say, the facts came to light nearly fifty years later. When I was ill in 1913, there was some desire to investigate internal conditions, and the Rontgen rays were applied. This revealed a condition of things which the surgeons found to be of supreme interest. The surgeons were excited about it, and sent for me to see the skiagraph of my inside, pointing out that we could clearly count 164 shot, and that there were black patches which might contain more. That these should have been carried unconsciously by me for half a century, and not one of them should have interfered with ducts or other little organs, was surely an amazing thing! They were widely scattered through the whole of the lower trunk.)
>
> The treatment was extraordinarily unlike what would have been given me in the way of nursing, etc., a generation later. Except my Mother, the only nurse was a Mrs. Barr, a monthly nurse, who had never had anything to do with surgery of the wound type and was simply a worthy old lady, who took all pains possible but knew nothing. My Mother was devoted to the last degree, but the absence of antiseptic treatment—universal, I suppose, since these years, but then comparatively unknown—contrasts strangely with what one has been accustomed to in surgical patients for the last

quarter of a century. But it was strongly in my favour that my physical health was so good: I was in the best possible training, was absolutely temperate and healthy, and the vitality of that age of life is, I suppose, difficult to estimate. I can, however, remember details which would seem almost incredible now, and I marvel a good deal that the high medical and surgical authorities who looked after me were satisfied even in those days with the manner of things. Strange to say, I fancy that those were the very years in which Lister was inaugurating his antiseptic treatment in Edinburgh itself.

However, by degrees I recovered, although I was laid up for many months, the latter part of the time being spent in the back drawing-room at Muirhouse, which was transformed into a bedroom for me. I got about at first on crutches, which I had to use for a long time, and it was supposed that my leg would always be more or less helpless; but by degrees this went away, and I got back full power, save for a permanently weak ankle, which seems a strange effect to follow from a wound in the hip. There were also other troubles inaugurated, which have never passed away, though I have been able to ignore them more or less. Had anyone prophesied in those autumn months that I should a couple of years later be winning a cup at racquets at Oxford, it would have been ludicrous.

Randall returned to Harrow, entering Westcott's House, in January 1867, more or less a cripple. Just after seeing him off, his father wrote him a letter:

HENRY DAVIDSON, ESQ., *to* RANDALL

Muirhouse, Davidson's Mains, Edinburgh — Friday night, 25 Jany. [1867]

. . . I went to your room last night—deserted, black and cold. I always think of these rooms on the nights you leave, as if they were the former abodes of those now gone from earth. It is somehow so like this. On this occasion I sat down and thought of the memories of which that room was *full*—the suffering, the anxieties, the little bed and Barr—the softly-shutting door—the way in which we used to steal in to look at you—the cradled bed—the cradle still hanging, a memento—it was all like a dream—as life will soon be—life itself with *all* its memories—and there were the crutches hanging, belonging to a later scene of the story—and you are gone, and able to go—without a wrecked body, or injured health, but with a life marvellously preserved. May it be pre-

served for real good and usefulness—to be the means of preserving others from worse than your sufferings and trial. I thank God for it all. I am sure it has only the more endeared you to us all—how different might it not have been this night. I was calling at Granton to-day, and, speaking of you, Sir John said you within an ace escaped the femoral artery being struck; had it been, death would have ensued within 15 minutes! These are all things to think of. We could then see how near you were to loss of life and limb—but how often must we in our lives be near the same, and all unknown to us.

He had a hole in his thigh, Lord Dunedin bears witness, having seen it himself at the time in the room they shared, that 'a small child could have put his fist in'. Other games were denied him, but he managed to keep up squash racquets with some success. As to prizes, Davidson writes:

My accident came at the very moment when I was most keen about some of the great School Prizes, and of course put me out of the running. I obtained the Prize for English Verse, a Poem on Sir Walter Scott, and was near the top in several other competitions. In competing for the Beaumont Prize for Scripture, I had been the Prize Winner in the Vth Form, and Second in the Senior. I had hoped without fail to obtain the First in the Autumn of 1866,[1] but the accident intervened.

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His accident also spoilt his chance of a scholarship at Oxford:

I had hoped for a scholarship at Oxford, and probably, but for my accident, I might have counted upon one. I entered for a Corpus scholarship, which was won by Abbot. Failing a scholarship it had been intended that I should go to Balliol, but owing to some mistake or change about dates, particulars of which I

[1] There is a photograph in *The Harrow Life of Dr Butler* (p. 150) giving the members of the Harrow School Debating Society 1866. The twenty-one portraits show an exceptionally distinguished set of senior boys, amongst whom were A. G. Murray, Solicitor-General, Lord Justice-General of Scotland, now Lord Dunedin, G.C.V.O.; T. H. Ponsonby, Manager of St James's Street Branch of Lloyds Bank, afterwards Ponsonby-Fane; H. H. Montgomery, Bishop of Tasmania, Secretary to S.P.G., Prelate of the Order of SS. Michael and George; C. B. Heberden, Fellow and Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford; R. T. Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury; C. L. Tupper, Member of the Legislative and Executive Councils of the Punjab; B. Bosanquet, Professor of Moral Philosophy at St Andrew's; R. G. Tatton, Fellow of Balliol, Member of Council of Toynbee Hall; H. N. Abbot, Head of the School 1866–7, C.C.C. Oxford, 1st Mods. and Finals, Solicitor, a leading citizen of Bristol.

forget, no room could be found there for me as a Commoner, and I accordingly went to Trinity. (Why Trinity was selected I do not remember.) To Trinity I went for matriculation in October 1867. My exact contemporary—I walked side by side with him to the Vice-Chancellor for matriculation—was Edgar Gibson, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester. He had come up from Charterhouse, and he, too, was, I think, disappointed at being a Commoner when he might have been expected to be sure of a scholarship.

Davidson always looked back upon his Oxford career as a time of disappointment, and the disappointment began in his very first term:

My health was at that time in a very odd state. Many of the things that I, with other boys, had done I had to give up, both as regards games and books; learning repetition became curiously difficult, and my memory failed in the oddest way for days altogether. There was an idea that I should vegetate abroad for a year before going to Oxford, but I strongly deprecated this as severing me from all my friends who were going straight from school to Oxford.

However, after one term I was, without being actually laid up, so unwell—headaches, loss of memory, etc., that I was peremptorily ordered to go abroad. After discussion in the Christmas holidays of 1867, my parents arranged that we should all go together. Accordingly they, and my sister and I, and a young widow, Mrs. Lockhart, whom my father wanted to befriend, went off together.

It is true that he travelled, and travelled delightfully, but:

Everybody who knows University life [he said later] will realise the almost unmendable mischief which arises from an undergraduate being absent from Oxford during his second and third terms; he gets out of touch with College and University life at the very time when it matters most he should become a part of it.

The President of Trinity in 1867 was Dr. Samuel Wayte, for whom Davidson had not much respect. He describes him as very small, fat, sulky, ugly, and a stammerer. He adds: 'Without exception he is the most silent man I know... he walks sideways.' The Dean was the Rev. A. Plummer, 'a pleasant, jovial, round-faced, dark individual with bushy whiskers and considerable ideas of his own dignity. I do not think much of his Bible lectures.' The youngest Don, and the man Davidson liked best, was R. W.

Raper, 'very handsome and quite an undergraduate in spirit still'.

The Trinity set to which he belonged was not composed mainly of very thoughtful men, nor were his contemporaries on the whole men who distinguished themselves in after life, though there were two future bishops amongst them, Edgar Gibson, Bishop of Gloucester, and W. W. Perrin, Bishop first of Columbia and then of Willesden.

His letters show him to have taken a good deal of interest in political issues. He spoke sometimes at the Union, and was a keen supporter and member of the Canning Club. He played racquets and five, but rowing and violent exercise were forbidden on grounds of health. He kept in close touch with his old school, and on one occasion in his first term had 'a very jolly day' with a somewhat perilous conclusion when he rode in a four-in-hand with post-boys to Harrow.

RANDALL DAVIDSON *to his* FATHER

Sunday, Novr. 17th, 1867.

I spent a very jolly day yesterday *at Harrow*—I was asked on Friday night to fill a vacant place in a drag which was to take a football eleven from Paddington down to Harrow. We did the thing in style with 4 spanking greys and post boys. The latter got rather the worse for liquor towards night, and, having forgotten to bring lamps, considerably perilled our limbs in taking us up to Paddington (in 55 minutes) at 8 o'clock p.m. We ran into one cart and one *bus*, but no damage done. The horses too had a propensity to get the traces between their legs. This occurred no less than 3 times on our return. Everyone at Harrow seems to be flourishing.

His wish 'to be ultimately ordained' went back as far as he could 'remember anything' in his life. He looked forward to ordination all the time he was at Oxford. But the great Church questions which interested men who were contemporary at Oxford and afterwards became close friends, like Edward Talbot and Henry Scott Holland, troubled him not at all:

It now seems to me quite odd how entirely outside the thoughts of myself and my friends at Oxford were the big ecclesiastical questions which were agitating great sections of Oxford men—reverberating memories of Newmanism; controversies about Jowett and his beliefs; Liddon's clericalism; Edward King's in-

fluence, which everybody now speaks about—as belonging to those very years, were wholly ignored by our Trinity folk. I can scarcely remember anyone there who cared about these questions. My home upbringing had been quite off what are ordinarily called *ecclesiastical* lines, though religion was its very backbone.

Sermons such as those of Wilberforce, Dean Burgon, Liddon, and Pusey he attended with profit, and he found special stimulus in Liddon's series of lectures on the Epistle to the Hebrews in the Hall of Queen's College. 'They touched the religious note, which was after all the deepest in my life.'

Indeed, Scot that he was, he liked sermons and constantly wrote home his criticisms of the preacher as he had done at Harrow. Thus in 1869, he referred to Archbishop Tait, whose appointment as Archbishop, he said in an earlier letter, 'is very popular among those who have *broad* Church tendencies (a considerable and increasing majority), also among Evangelicals. But *Highs* (or Popes as they are called here) cannot abide it':

RANDALL DAVIDSON *to his* MOTHER

The Archbishop preached here this morning [May 16, 1869] a long, very careful, slightly pedantic, rather dry and strikingly unattractive discourse. Such at least was *my* opinion. This afternoon we had a contrast in Goulburn, whose eloquence, fervour and practicability were all remarkable. He was very bold in his remarks on the English Church generally and used strong language with regard to Disestablishment.

On one occasion at least, on the eve of the Vatican Council, October 1869, he went to the Roman Catholic Church.

RANDALL DAVIDSON *to his* MOTHER

Oct. 16, 1869.

I went the other night to hear the great Monsignor Capel preach on the coming Council. His subject then was 'infallibility', a very interesting topic on which to have heard him—and if what he said is all that can be said for it, it is a very weak point. However it is scarcely fair to judge him by a sermon addressed in Church to a congregation supposed to consist only of R. Catholics. He referred to Cumming, fully allowing the crimes of the various Popes, but accurately distinguishing between infallibility and impeccability. I should like to have been able to get up and ask him some questions.

The sermons in the College chapel were disappointingly few. In his first letter home as a freshman, October 14, 1867, he wrote: 'I am much disappointed with the *Chapel* here. There are only *two* sermons in the term! and *no organ*!!!'

Outside his work for the Schools, he did a good deal of desultory reading, and there are some interesting letters to his cousin Kate Swinton on Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*. His main study, however, was History:

> After returning from abroad in 1868, I decided to read for Honours in History and did read pretty widely, though never, I think, under very close direction. We had no history tutor or lecturer in Trinity, and my instructors were Lang of Corpus, Newman of Balliol, George of New College, and Creighton of Merton. I remember no other lecturers than these, and no one of the four took any particular interest in my studies.
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> In my last year I attended lectures from Bryce on Roman law, and incidentally got a great deal of historical information and guidance from him as he became a very real personal friend. I had some private coaching from Jayne of Jesus, and from Knox of Merton, but, looking back now upon the whole training, I seem to realise how different it might have been if I had had some friend or tutor who had taken me more thoroughly in hand and advised me more in detail what to read, and how. The fault may have been my own, for I was probably desultory and was certainly, owing to ill health, irregular, but there was a total lack of system in the course I followed.

His health was very poor throughout his time at Oxford. He was very near a break-down, and was nervous and unhappy. At one time he had hoped for a First, but as the Schools drew near he was again really unwell, and on the second day of the examination in May 1871 he collapsed. He had, however, done so well in the little that he had been able to attempt, that the examiners gave him a Third. What even this must have meant to a boy as able and as anxious to succeed as Randall, may be judged from the letter written a year before to his cousin Kate Swinton.

RANDALL DAVIDSON *to* KATE SWINTON

Feb. 20, 1870.

Pray don't be unhappy about my reading—I shall not yet give up *thoughts* of honours though I may draw back when the time

comes. If I had due humility and contentment I should prefer a '*third* CLASS' to a mere 'pass', but as I haven't I prefer the '*pass*'! Perhaps I may get meeker as the time goes on.

On the final result he says:

I have had a great many disappointing periods and incidents in my life, but none were equal to the disappointment of those days, when I contrasted them with the hopes and resolves and expectations which had been mine both at Harrow and in the early Oxford days.[1]

[1] Even as late as 1920 the sense of disappointment remained. Thus, writing to his old friend Bishop Edward Talbot (of Winchester) on the occasion of the latter's golden wedding, he said (June 27, 1920): 'Fifty years is a long long time. Fifty years ago I was a poor, rather feckless, but aspirant invalid undergraduate. Another year had to pass before I could present myself to the examiners, and in 1870 I was still hopeful, and didn't foresee the collapse which was to make the 'Schools' a humiliation! Already you were a potentate and you were off with your Lady to the German Army!'

CHAPTER II

THE TEMPLE. DARTFORD TO LAMBETH

Every Scotchman, with very few exceptions, holds country exercises of all kinds to be part of his nature. LOCKHART'S *Life of Scott*, ch. iii

He would not allow Scotland to derive any credit from Lord Mansfield; for he was educated in England. 'Much (said he) may be made of a Scotchman, if he be *caught* young.' BOSWELL'S *Life of Dr. Johnson* (1772).

RANDALL DAVIDSON was already twenty-three years old when he left Oxford. But three more years were to pass before he entered the ministry. He was a delicate man, and certainly he had not yet sufficient strength to start on his life's work. It was therefore of great importance that he should now devote himself to the task of regaining his health. And the prescription for his recovery involved both plenty of fresh air and a change of scene.

I

For the first few months after taking his degree, he spent a very happy outdoor life on Tweedside, where his father was the tenant of Yair. There was plenty of sport, and he thoroughly enjoyed fishing for salmon, and shooting grouse; with his brother Harry as his constant companion, he was out all day from morning till night. The months in the open air in the same place were followed by more months of foreign travel. Early in 1872, Randall and his father and mother made a tour of Italy. There was plenty of sightseeing—in the Italian Lakes, Florence, Naples, and Pompeii. But the chief portion of the holiday was spent at Rome. And it is remarkable that, though often visiting other parts of Italy in later life, and though fascinated by the history and the architecture of Rome, yet his visit of this year was the first and last he ever paid to the city. He loved the buildings, and the pictures, and took much trouble in learning the language. He was taught by a famous Italian professor who, at his first application, refused, as his whole time was occupied, but had then sent for him and offered to give him lessons at the hotel at which Lord Randolph Churchill was staying. The professor said that Lord Randolph had engaged him at 9 a.m. on

alternate mornings, but he was never up when he came; and so he offered to take Davidson at the same hour, if he cared to take his chance! Davidson took his chance, received his lessons at the hotel for many weeks, and never once did Lord Randolph appear! He could give a very good account of his experiences, storing them in his wonderful memory, so as to be able to check by what he had seen the stories others told him in later years. He kept a careful diary throughout the tour. One entry records his visit to the Vatican to see Pope Pius IX:

> *Friday, March 1.* . . . We spent the morning in being presented to the Holy Father. Mr. Maynard, Duff and I, together with Miss Edwards. . . . After miles of ascending stairs we were ushered by scarlet chamberlains into a mighty and gaunt waiting-room, with hard-backed wooden chairs. After half an hour of this we were removed to one of the 'Loggie', which was full of chairs on either side, and here we awaited his Holiness a full hour. At length he appeared with his Cardinals and marched down one side and up the other looking as jolly and comfortable as possible and addressing a few words in French to most of the foreigners present. But I was disappointed with the ceremony and had looked for something more imposing in the way of a Court. It is a dreary thing to spend a morning in dress clothes.

Six weeks later, at the end of the Italian tour, Davidson paid his first visit to Canterbury. He crossed from Calais to Dover, and on the early morning of April 15, breaking his journey to London, started with a single companion for the cathedral of the successor of St. Augustine, the Apostle of the English. He noted in his diary that he spent four most profitable hours in the city, and fresh from all his Italian travels he added:

> I don't think any foreign Cathedral I have seen surpasses this in beauty.

The very next day he started on his regular training for Holy Orders at the Temple under Dr. Vaughan.

The plan of reading, as one of Vaughan's 'Doves', in the purlieus of the Temple, had been suggested to Davidson by his old Harrow teachers, Dr. Butler and Dr. Westcott. It was to be a trial trip—if his health stood the tax of six months' consecutive study in London, the way might then be considered open for ordination.

Dr. Charles Vaughan had begun training young men for the ministry when Vicar of Doncaster, and he continued the work as Master of the Temple. He was an excellent scholar, a good parish priest, and above all a most remarkable expositor and preacher, whose sermons were not only brilliant in phrasing and delivery, but also charged with a strong moral appeal. He was a Broad Churchman, whose contact with the Benchers at the Temple gave him a special opportunity for appreciating the lay attitude to religion. And he was a master of the treasures of the Bible. His method of training his young men (from whom he took no fees) was to give them rooms in and about the Temple—assign them districts, in which the parochial clergy superintended their work, secure that they had some training in Sunday schools, and then himself give them lectures, see them personally, make them write sermons for him and criticize them freely. Davidson himself had lodgings first in 11 Devereux Court, and later in Thanet Place. He writes:

> All this life was wholly unlike the routine of an ordinary theological college. Indeed Vaughan spoke with scant respect—though with marked reserve—about theological colleges, of which practically, as one must be honest, he knew very little. The teaching he gave us was personal, not according to any examination system. . . . He gave us very little history, either primitive or later; scarcely anything philosophical; but he had an extraordinary power of bringing out from the text of scripture things new and old: thoughts basic after all in the best theologies, and practical in their ceaseless referring of us back to the teachings of the Bible itself. . . .
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> We wrote sermons for him every week, and he used to read out to the assembly one or more of these after he had carefully examined and annotated them all. I was not infrequently subjected to the rather trying ordeal of having one of my crude productions thus set forth in all the smoothness of Vaughan's manner of speech. But sometimes we were allowed to send, not an actual sermon, but just our carefully arranged notes for it, and he would then give us his own notes on the same subject. Besides all this he used to set us the task of writing on subjects like the Atonement, Forgiveness, or the like, and in these we could speak freely about our thoughts and beliefs without fear of jarring upon him. Nor would he at all object, unless it were with placid humour and wit, to our putting forth opinions of an ecclesiastical sort with which

he had little or no sympathy. Of course, it was an extraordinary example of a man making his personality felt in his pupils.

Looking back at it now, I honestly think that it would have been difficult to find any other plan of preparation for Orders which would have suited me so well as Vaughan's arrangements did. I did not take kindly to the notion of a Theological College, and I cannot honestly say that this was in my judgement due to any fault on my part. The three years which passed between my graduating and my Ordination were in a very real sense a time of development and thought; I had begun to feel a keen interest in things ecclesiastical, as well as maintaining my old interest in things religious, and the friends with whom I was in closest touch —Craufurd Tait and others—had awakened a care about Church questions as such.

The district assigned to him was Denzil Street, Clare Market, a poor and squalid neighbourhood, north of the Strand, under the charge of the Rev. Brook Deedes, then Curate of St. Mary, Golden Lane, himself an old 'Dove' and afterwards Archdeacon of Hampstead. Davidson found real difficulty in the visiting of the district, owing partly to shyness, which hampered him again, he used to say, in his curacy days, and partly to the difficulty, which most young laymen would have found, in explaining his identity and mission to a suspicious occupant of a slum dwelling. His studies included Hebrew, but the Rabbi who taught him was only able to congratulate him at the end of his course upon his application, for (said he) 'ability you have none'. He worked hard and read hard—though from time to time he drove about with Craufurd Tait in his wagonette, and had lunch with the Archbishop, noting in his diary that the Taits were 'very hospitable—pressing me to come again'. He also paid visits to St. George's Hospital 'to see operations performed as a bit of training for my nerves'!

But unhappily Davidson's health was still far from robust; and hardly three of the proposed six trial months had passed when he again began to suffer from headaches and exhaustion after much reading. Once more he was ordered to rest; and the former prescription of open-air life and foreign travel was repeated—the travel to take the form of a long tour in the East with Craufurd Tait (the Archbishop's son and his close friend at Oxford and the Temple), George Courthope, Claude Hankey, and George

Horner. The close friendship which had already been formed in these few weeks between Davidson and Vaughan is indicated in the following letter written only a week after Davidson's departure from the Temple.

The REV. C. J. VAUGHAN *to* RANDALL DAVIDSON

The Temple, E C. 23 July 1872.

You would think me very weak if you knew how much my thoughts have been fixed upon a letter from you, ever since that dear parting in my Study, which I shall never forget. It is come now, and Oh I trust you will not let it be the only one to fill up what seems to be such a long long interval till June 1873. It looks *worse*, I think, as you write it thus in *years* 'A.D.', than if you had described it by its real duration.

I shall be used to it in time. And of course you know how many things and persons I have to occupy me—so that I ought not to make you think that I care too much about it. Only I had got to think of you as one who could feel as I felt and who *anticipated* half of my thoughts ere they were uttered.

May God ever help you. If I *never* had you here again, still I should always think of you as my friend. . . .

Once more the autumn was spent in the open air on Tweedside, this time at Drygrange, a few miles lower down the Tweed between Melrose and Dryburgh, a place renowned for salmon and trout fishing and with good shooting as well:

It was then [writes Davidson] that the spell of the Border country set its firmest grip upon me. I like to dwell a little upon the Berwickshire life there in the irresistible charm and a kind of glamour attaching to the Border Country which Sir Walter Scott has made so familiar. It is not easy to describe, but I never re-visit Tweedside, or Kimmerghame, or the Cheviot country, without feeling a sort of patriotic enthusiasm for it, and indeed our Berwickshire days were to me one of the happiest periods of my life. . . . I canno tnow open *The Monastery* or *The Lay of the Last Minstrel,* or other bits of Walter Scott, without feeling the air and freshness and the very smells of that Borderland. The fact that we had a great deal of partridge-shooting, and that I became a first-rate shot and was consequently invited to all kinds of rather select shooting-parties, uplifted me at the time, and dented my memory with thoughts which live and breathe for me still.

The start for the East was made in November, and on the 28th of that month the party landed at Alexandria.

Davidson kept a full diary of these months of travel, and further detailed accounts of his adventures are recorded in an interesting series of letters to his people at home. All show the extraordinary thoroughness with which he mastered the history and the geography of the places visited. In later life Davidson wrote of these travels:

> We were all keen about the things we were to do and see, and were well armed with books and money, and intent on doing the thing thoroughly. We went up the Nile in a Dahabiah—there were in those days no steamers either public or private except one belonging to the Khedive. The Dahabiah gave us ample opportunities for reading and we used it. . . . We really worked hard at the temples and history, and also gained a smattering of colloquial Arabic. . . . We had a great deal of shooting, especially pigeons, but also water-fowl of different kinds, including geese—now I believe quite unapproachable. We were on the Nile from December 9th until February 3.

The distinguishing feature of the tour no doubt was the journey through the Desert and through the Petra country. He explored the heights of Sinai and saw the sun rise from the top of the Mount (Jebel Katerina). In both letters and journals he gives vivid pictures showing how deep an impression his experiences were making on his mind. Recalling these days as Archbishop he wrote:

> The Sinai Peninsula was . . . brimful of interest every day, but we were resolved to go farther East, and succeeded at Akabah in making a bargain with the wilder Alawin Tribe to escort us through the Petra Country. Strangely enough I found in 1906 in the House of Lords that I was apparently the only man there who had been at Akabah, at that moment the centre of diplomatic strife and discussion. Our journey through the Petra region was not without adventure, but we had no real perils of a grave sort.

The exploration of the Petra country was an unusual feat, and, as a long and interesting letter to his father shows, the journey, if not accompanied by actually serious danger, was risky and hazardous:

RANDALL *to* HENRY DAVIDSON, ESQ.

Akabah. 15 March, 1873.

The list of travellers who have been turned back by force from Petra is nearly as long as the list of those who have been robbed when there. . . . There is no other town in the world the least like it, and above all it contains almost the only very interesting site of ancient Bible history about which there is and can be no dispute. I mean Mount Hor and the actual grave of Aaron. . . .

Since I wrote the last portion of this we have passed along the old Roman route from Akabah. This route is one which has never yet been described properly, as it has only been open for the last 3 or 4 years, even theoretically; and practically the Bedoueen feuds have closed it for the last two. . . . We have had some extraordinary scenes with quarrelling Sheikhs and their wild Bedoueen retainers. . . . We know that we are liable to be robbed at any time, and yet I suppose our *persons* are as safe as they would be at home. . . . But they are not reassuring individuals to look upon. Wild, unkempt savages, lithe and bony and semi-naked, and each one armed with an ancient and very huge matchlock and a yet more ancient sword.

And here he recounts the marvels of the rose-red city of Petra:

On glancing over what I have said about Petra I don't seem to have made enough of what is I suppose the most wonderful among its many wonders, the *colours*. Remember then that all the precipices and *all* the columns, and all the caves, in short everything except the actual soil is of a deep thorough red, not always bright, but always red—and that everywhere it is crumbling and cracking and wearing, and every inch of worn or crumbled surface is streaked with purple and blue and yellow unlike any rocks anywhere else in the world. Among these colours we wandered all day—never getting into a more sombre atmosphere till Petra was far behind. Imagine also what these be-carved rocks must have looked like when fitfully lighted up by the flickering of the huge bonfires lighted by the many Arabs who spent their night in squabbling and singing round our tents. Sometimes it was all aglow from top to bottom. . . .

The tour ended in Palestine, which the party reached on March 30, when Davidson paid his first visit to Jerusalem. But he was again unwell, and was unable to spend the time he had planned in the Holy Land. He returned to England, and arrived home in June. After a few months in Scotland, he went back to

the Temple. And here he continued his training without further disturbance, from October 1873 until his ordination the following March. In later years, looking back at the years 1871–4 and their varied experiences, he used to maintain that all had played their part in equipping him for the ministry—the months spent in Scotland, and the visits to Italy and the East, no less significant in their way than the actual course of theological training under the Master of the Temple. And he thought that just because the training was less professional it fitted him more than that given to most young students of theology for understanding the layman's point of view. Had he received the more normal training, or gone into retirement with his books like Edward Talbot or Edgar Gibson, he would probably have been (he said) better as a preacher and as a teacher of young men —but not necessarily better equipped for the work of life:

> I have persistently through life found the gain of my thought about religious and literary matters having reached their undergraduate maturity in surroundings which taught me instinctively to grasp the lay view, and sometimes the sporting view, on all sorts of questions on which people have got to think and act with such capacities as they possess. So I should by no means be prepared to put down as a blank space in life's preparation days the many months which I spent of those years on the hills of Dunira or the Spey or the Tweed at Yair and at Drygrange. And still less could I regard as blank spaces the months at Rome or in Northern Italy. . . .

II

It was arranged, chiefly through his friendship with Craufurd Tait, that Davidson should be ordained for work in the diocese of Canterbury, and that he should serve as curate at Dartford in Kent. He notes the Ordination (on March 1, 1874) and its circumstances thus:

> I had had opportunity of getting to know Dr. Lightfoot, who was examining Chaplain to Archbishop Tait, and after my many disappointments in competitive fields it was a satisfaction to me when he told me that I had done best in the Ordination Examination and was to read the Gospel, my papers on Butler's Analogy and the Epistle to the Hebrews having especially pleased him.
>
> I have a vivid recollection of Lightfoot speaking to three or four of us about the papers in the Archbishop's study (to be for more than a quarter of a century my own) and of the way in which he

told me, with his hand on my shoulder, that he had no hesitation in wishing that I should read the Gospel. I can remember the very spot in the room where this occurred.

Craufurd Tait had been preparing for Ordination at the same time, and we were both to be ordained with some fifteen other men, by the Archbishop either at Addington or Lambeth. Unfortunately the Archbishop was taken ill shortly before the Ordination day and was obliged to depute the task to Edward Parry, Bishop of Dover. The Ordination accordingly took place, not at Addington or Lambeth, but in St. Mark's Church, Kennington, Edmund Fisher, Vicar of St. Mark's, being one of the Archbishop's Chaplains. There I was ordained on the second Sunday in Lent, 1874, little thinking that seventeen years later I should be living as Bishop of Rochester near that Church. For the sake of the associations of the place I arranged in 1891 to hold there my first Confirmation as Bishop, two or three days after my Consecration.

Dartford, where he went to work, is in the north of Kent, fifteen miles from London and about seven miles from Gravesend. It was a town of some size, and its importance consisted in its industrial life with its paper and powder mills and iron works. He had two vicars during his two and a half years. For the first six months his vicar was Canon Bowlby, 'a capital Vicar under whom to start'. Bowlby was 'methodical and somewhat rigid in his Church manner and usages, keen about efficient pastoral work', 'an old fashioned and staunch High Churchman of the moderate sort'. For the rest of his time Davidson served under the Rev. F. S. Dale, 'a Birmingham vicar of marked evangelical opinions'. From each he learned a great deal, both in pastoral work and in piety. He was ordained priest by Archbishop Tait on February 21, 1875, in Croydon Parish Church, and celebrated the Holy Communion for the first time on Sunday, March 7, at Dartford.

Long after, Davidson wrote thus of his happiness at Dartford—and note should be taken of his nursing of the smallpox patients:

I do not think any years in my life have been happier, and none, I think, have been more useful than those which I spent at Dartford. I enjoyed all departments of the work, except for the shyness which has always hampered my house-to-house visitations. In my second year at Dartford the work was immensely helped by the fact that a serious outbreak of smallpox of a particularly virulent type raged in the town. There was a good deal of foolish panic about it among the people, and undoubtedly we obtained access,

both to houses and to hearts, which would in ordinary years have been very unwelcoming. There were a great many deaths, and I became familiar for the first time with case after case of confluent or 'Black smallpox', the most horrid I suppose of all human ills.

Nowadays when the science and system of nursing have been developed, one looks back with amazement to those days when we had in all this epidemic no nurses, and it is literally true that we curates frequently had to help in tending the sick and dying (and even the dead!) for lack of other people—the friends being often panic-stricken.

He also took an active part in the life of the neighbouring Home of St. Mary's, Stone, for preventive and rescue work, and came to the fore in Rural Deanery organizations.

Thirty years later Miss Armes, the headmistress of the National School, wrote some interesting reminiscences of Davidson at Dartford, showing amongst other things his interest in schools:

Once, when I was ill, he kept School for me (Oct. 30th, 1874). He had no difficulty about order, as the Verger at his Church testified—'I should think he can keep the Boys quiet; but then, he's got such a eye, and he does leer at 'em'. . . . He was one of the Managers of the National Schools, and took a load off the Vicar's shoulders by acting as Correspondent, Secretary, and Treasurer at various times. He was instrumental in getting the School premises in better order, and having them better furnished, for they were not elegantly equipped; and I remember his saying 'We've got you a new ceiling, a new floor, new desks, and a harmonium—what more can we do for you?'

He was so good in visiting the sick, even the worst cases—we had several during his stay here. On one occasion a child was suffering from fever, and it was a severe case. Mr. Davidson ascertained from the Doctor when the crisis would be; and on that night about 11 o'clock, he went to the house to enquire how Florrie was. After looking at the child a little while, he prevailed on the Mother to take a rest, and he would watch instead. He did so, and when at last the child sank into a quiet sleep, he knew the fever had turned, and there was hope. Afterward, he told the Mother he did not like to think of her sitting there alone, to see the little one die; and a very true thanksgiving was offered up for the child's recovery. . . . It was a very big cloud that came over Dartford when Mr. Davidson told us he was going to leave us, and, for a while, everybody was lamenting.

He was serious, known among his fellow curates as 'the Dean', and Miss Armes records that 'generally he seemed to take the serious side of life and be so much in earnest that he did not descend to frivolity and fun'. But he had his relaxations and of these he writes:

> I was fortunate in having been able to take over from Fisher [George Carnac Fisher, his predecessor] not his work only, but his house and his housekeeper, Mrs. Richards. It was a villa in Miskin Road with a largish garden behind it. This Fisher had stocked with roses, being himself an expert. I felt this to be part of my heritage, and acquired in the early mornings the art of budding roses, and was so successful that I obtained a 1st Prize in the West Kent County Show held near Dartford. Nowadays I could no more bud a rose than I could shoe a horse!

In the middle of his Dartford life came a second visit to Palestine. He writes:

> In 1876, my fellow-curate, Arkwright, who was rich, proposed that he and I should go together to Palestine at his expense. We did so, and I had all the satisfaction which so peculiarly belongs to one's second visit to a region of absorbing interest. We left England on March 6th, but we had not been more than, I think, a week in Palestine, having visited the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea, when he was taken ill. I did not realise at first how serious it was, and we struggled back to Jerusalem, where we were encamped outside the Damascus Gate, when, in the middle of the night, I found him raving in delirium. A thunderstorm came on at the time, and I had literally to struggle with him in the tent while I called in vain for help. Next day we got a doctor, who thought him most gravely ill; none of the then inns, such as they were in Jerusalem, would receive him, and finally we got a stone room over a Greek drinking shop. There he was laid up for weeks with most serious typhoid fever. I shared the room with him all the time, and was his only nurse, except for such aid as the Dragoman occasionally gave.
>
> The English doctor, Dr. Chaplin, was most kind, and told me afterwards that he daily expected to find me down with the fever myself. I kept myself well by taking long hard rides in the early morning and at sundown, so that I came to know the country for six or seven miles round Jerusalem better almost than any part of England or Scotland. No nurse was obtainable; the German deaconesses offered to take him into their Hospital, but none of them could speak anything but German or Arabic; he knew no word of

either, and as they refused to let me go there, he would not hear of going alone. We declined the offer.

I had not at all realised till afterwards how terribly serious his illness had been. Ultimately, as the heat became unbearable and Dr. Chaplin had to leave for England, we decided to run the risk of moving him, ill as he was. There was no road from Jerusalem to Jaffa, but we got a sort of litter, slung between two mules, one in front of it and the other behind, and carried him down through a hot night to Jaffa, although he had not previously left his bed. The litter got into difficulties and tilted him during the night. The Dragomen were lingering somewhere behind. When I dismounted to help to pick him up, my horse ran away in the darkness, and I felt that I could have sat down and cried, so hopeless did the whole matter seem. We got him, however, on board ship more dead than alive, and next day at Alexandria his brother, M.P. for Derbyshire, met him and released me. He soon got well.

This time it was his fellow traveller who was ill, and, as the account just quoted shows, very seriously ill, depending for his life during part of the time on Davidson's unremitting and devoted attention as 'his only nurse'. But it will also be noted that Davidson during these weeks acquired a most unusually perfect knowledge of Jerusalem and its surroundings, by means of 'long hard rides in the early morning and at sundown'. And fifty years later he was able to discuss the exact geography of this part of Palestine, with soldiers and administrators who were stationed there in and after the Great War, with a knowledge the freshness and accuracy of which amazed them: though he never visited the Holy Land again.

The day came, however, when Davidson had to leave Dartford. He had been a curate for three years when the move was made which was to determine the whole course of his life. It is true that one or two proposals had already been received, including the offer from the Archbishop of the living of St. Andrew and St. Mary Breadman, Canterbury, which he had declined, feeling his unsuitability for the post. The change he was destined to make was not to another parish.

One Sunday, late in 1876, Craufurd Tait came down to Dartford. He was then acting as his father's Resident Chaplain; but he was hoping to be married and would shortly leave Lambeth. A successor would be needed, and Craufurd was commissioned to inquire of Randall whether he would be ready to take his

place. Randall was willing, and after some period of uncertainty the Archbishop made the offer, and it was at once accepted. By Whitsuntide 1877, Randall Davidson had taken up his abode as Resident Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace.

III

We may pause a moment to consider what manner of man it was who thus began an association with the central life of the Church of England which lasted more than fifty years.

In personal appearance Davidson was slight, though broad-shouldered. He had worn a heavy moustache before ordination, but the Archbishop had then asked him to remove it. He was now clean shaven, except for the side-whiskers customary at the time. His hair was thick and of a dark reddish-brown. But his eyes were his most conspicuous feature—clear deep-set eyes, overshadowed by great eyebrows which as time went on became more and more predominant. He had even a hungry look about him; for, while his face was not specially gaunt, his eyes seemed to pierce what was before them. And though the hungry look did not last, the deep piercing gaze remained throughout his life, looking steadily forth from under the shaggy eyebrows.

In manner he was active and energetic. He loved sport, whether fishing or shooting, and, as we have seen, he was devoted to Scotland. He had a real grace of his own, and was both kind and sociable. He had a passion for information, and a remarkable memory. He was not philosophic or poetic, but a sturdy lover of facts; and he was not at all averse from catching people out who talked in a large and rhetorical way, or had failed to verify their statements. And certainly he was prepared to make the most of any opportunities which Providence gave him. Above all, he was deeply interested in human beings, and in the work he had to do for its own sake.

To go to Lambeth as Archbishop's Chaplain is to open a door into a large new world; and while Randall no doubt missed the personal work in the parish and its schools, he quickly found all sorts of fresh, far wider, interests awaiting him in the daily programme. It was not only the diocese, nor even the Province, that demanded attention, but the whole Church overseas with all sorts of missionary problems; the relations of the Church of England

with other Christian communions; critical issues in the life of the Church at home, and great national questions. He soon discovered a natural taste for affairs—and negotiations both by letter and interview—and he soon came to see at close quarters the men whose names he had known as prominent in the life of the Church and the Nation. His letters home show how quickly he took hold of his new duties, which, as Craufurd Tait had gone on a visit to the United States, covered the whole of the secretarial work. He wrote thus to his father, July 22, 1877:

The Rev. R. T. Davidson *to* Henry Davidson, Esq.

I am now bound to see and do everything. . . . I am certainly enjoying my life here hugely and making many friends. I had two nights ago an interesting little dinner at Dean Stanley's. He very kindly asked *me*, without the Archbishop, to meet a few delightful people, and a more enjoyable evening I never spent. I think Stanley himself about the most brilliant man I have ever met, much more sparkling than I had imagined. . . .

Two postscripts were added to this letter, both showing the pleasure and pardonable pride which the young man was taking in his sudden change of outlook and new touch with public matters:

Did you read the —— Correspondence? The letters were mainly my handywork.

and:

. . . I am off to coach Lord Beaconsfield's secretary, upon the working of the Public Worship Regulation Act.

His very handwriting changed, and gradually acquired the beauty of form which it retained almost to the end of his life. And his manner of expressing himself on paper also matured and assumed a new sense of responsibility. And as to his health, looking back in later years he was able to say:

Notwithstanding all the hard work, that was, I think, the time of my own life at which I was stronger and healthier than at any other. My days were very busy and my nights very short, but I do not remember being laid up at all. Gradually I was getting the Chaplaincy work better and better in hand. . . .

His first big task was the Church Congress which met at Croydon in October 1877—only a few months after his arrival. The

main arrangements were left in the young chaplain's hands, and at the close of the Congress Week he wrote to his father:

The Rev. R. T. Davidson *to* Henry Davidson, Esq.

Sunday night. Oct. 14, 77.

A few lines before I go to bed. This has been a quiet day after a week of ceaseless turmoil and excitement.

The Congress has more than answered the highest hopes formed for it. In answer, I am very sure, to faithful prayers.... We have had a most interesting week in this *house*. Most of the notorieties have been here more or less. Several are here still We have a curious bevy of great preachers now in the house. The two great Irish orators, the Bishop of Derry and Archdeacon Reichel. Then Dean Stanley, Dean Howson of Chester, Dean Lake of Durham. Imagine my having to hold forth—extempore—in Addington Church this evening—in presence of Archbishop, Bishops and Deans, not to speak of other big people. Lord Hatherley strikes me as one of the finest specimens of a Christian man of genius I have ever seen.... But the hand to hand encounters of argument between the Dean of Durham (Lake)—a vigorous logical fiery sensible high-Churchman (Gladstone's friend) and Dean Stanley have been our most remarkable episodes in the household....

Some notes of conversation during that Congress include the following:

Dean Stanley wholly disapproves of Church Congresses. He says he would not ever have thought of consenting to be present save for a personal desire to support the Archbishop. He could not go thither after praying 'Lead us not into temptation'.... Beresford Hope recounted a conversation in which Gladstone deliberately selected the four greatest men, in his opinion, in mediaeval history. They were Dante—Aquinas—Charlemagne—Innocent III.... Nobody agreed with G.!!

Side by side with the official work was the home life—and the Archbishop and Mrs. Tait were able to blend the two in a remarkable way. The year was divided between the two Archiepiscopal residences at Lambeth and Addington, and Stonehouse, a private house which Archbishop Tait had bought on the North Foreland. The Taits were a wonderfully united family: and the tragic loss of five little daughters in a single month twenty-one years before (March–April 1856), through scarlet fever, at the Deanery of Carlisle, had bound them all even closer to each other.

There were three daughters, all young, Lucy (21), Edith (18), and Agnes (17), and one son Craufurd (27), and they all made Randall Davidson (29) a very welcome member of the circle. In the autumn months of the first year, a new light began to dawn in the young chaplain's life, and love sprang up between him and the second of the Archbishop's daughters. She was very young, just turned nineteen—ten years younger than Davidson; but for four years she had known him as Craufurd's friend. Davidson spent Christmas 1877 in Scotland with his parents; and told his father what he was daring to hope might come to pass. A few days after returning to Addington he asked Edith Tait to be his wife. On the late afternoon of January 10, 1878, they became engaged, the Archbishop and Mrs. Tait gave their blessing, and Randall wrote joyfully home to his father:

The REV. R. T. DAVIDSON *to* HENRY DAVIDSON, ESQ.

10 Jan., 1878.

I do feel that the words 'thank God' are no empty form with me to-day—and I feel well assured that when you know something of her whom I may now call *mine*, you will join with me with all your heart.

Nothing on earth could have been kinder in the whole matter than the conduct both of His Grace and of Mrs. Tait. They utterly surprised me by their quiet readiness to accept me as a son. I shall ever feel grateful to them both for their calm wise words before I saw Edith this evening.

And now all is smooth, and *utterly* happy—and my great wish *is for you to learn, by experience of her, how happy I am.* . . .

The Archbishop also wrote—and reminded Henry Davidson of the days when they were schoolboys together at Edinburgh Academy:

ARCHBISHOP TAIT *to* HENRY DAVIDSON, ESQ.

Addington Park, Croydon.
Jan. 14, 1878.

Your kind letter arrived to-day. Randall has those sterling qualities which make me glad to have him as a son-in-law, and seems to promise every prospect of happiness to my daughter. I think both of them much to be congratulated.

He has been a great help to me and I rejoice to have him in a nearer relation.

As to material resources your letter is quite satisfactory, and

Randall, if his health is prolonged, has before him every prospect of great usefulness and eminence in the high profession to the work of which he gives himself with so much zeal and wisdom.

I trust we shall see you and Mrs. Davidson here very soon.

Edie is only 19—so they must wait till she is 20.

Your letter reminds me how long a time has passed since we were at the Academy, and it is satisfactory to both of us that our children should be settling in life before the close comes upon us.

It was arranged that the marriage should take place at the end of the year, after Edith Tait's twentieth birthday; and there was talk of where the young couple should settle after marriage. But long before the wedding day came, a new sorrow came to the Taits. Craufurd Tait died at Stonehouse on May 29, 1878—a blow from which Mrs. Tait never recovered.

In July of that year the Lambeth Conference met, and Davidson acted throughout as a sort of additional secretary under the orders of the Bishops of Gloucester and Edinburgh, and Chancellor Brunel, who were the officials of the Conference. It was the second Lambeth Conference so far held; and Davidson was himself destined to be present at four more in four successive decades.

At the close of the summer of 1878, the living of Maidstone fell vacant, and Tait offered it to his future son-in-law. In making the offer the Archbishop was thinking, no doubt, of the new start which Davidson and his own daughter might make together in a home of their own when they were married. And Davidson's own journal shows how attractive such a prospect was to them both. Indeed he was greatly perplexed, as he wrote in his journal in the first days of August.

I don't think I have ever felt more perplexed as to what is right than I do this evening.... Ought I to accept it or not? May God guide me to a right answer. There is so very much to be said on both sides that I am utterly at a loss. On the one hand—an important parish—a grand Church—lots of work—and a delightful curate who would, I think, remain with me (Howson)—such an opportunity for doing God's work may not be again within my reach.

On the other hand to leave His Grace at present seems impossible—and I shrink from it more than I can express. He has no one else ready to come as Chaplain, and at the moment of all others in his life he is least fit to be left in the hands of someone

who does not know his ways—and whom he would have to teach. If it were possible and desirable for Max Spooner to come to him again it might answer. But I do not see how it is possible. In his unselfishness he may very likely press me to go to Maidstone, and if he does so with authority I shall have no choice but to obey. But I trust he won't do so. The sum of my inclinations to-night leads me to the conclusion that it would be far better that I should stay here and help His Grace to the best of my ability.

O God direct and guide me what I ought to do! I love the Archbishop more dearly every day, and at the moment with the halo of a sacred sorrow about him he is more lovable than ever. . . .

It was Craufurd's death that made the difference, in his own judgement, as in that of those whom he consulted. He took counsel of Dr. Vaughan and Dean Stanley; and his father came specially from Scotland to advise. Henry Davidson also interviewed Dean Stanley (who had already expressed the same view to Randall)—and he said plainly, so Henry Davidson told his wife in a letter of August 7, 1878:

I would really look on your son's leaving the Archbishop at this time, heavily burdened by a great sorrow, and shaken in system, as nothing short of a National Evil!! For the sake of the Church, and the valuable life *for it* of His Grace, I would quite deplore such a thing at this time. . . . I cannot contemplate too gravely, the gravity of the loss at this moment.

Randall's decision was made—to decline Maidstone and stay at Lambeth. There was indeed another side:

There must certainly be a disagreeable side to living on in a house after marrying a daughter thereof, and if Craufurd had lived I think I should have been very unwilling to consent to stay here.

Nevertheless his judgement was clear:

God has ordered it otherwise—and as Craufurd is not visibly with us I think it my clear duty to do everything in my power to help His Grace, and to enable him more easily to carry on his work.

And there is this far-seeing note about his future wife:

My mind is now at rest, as I am sure we have come to the right decision. As for Edith she is now as always so absolutely ready to do what is shown to be *right* that self never seems to come into the case at all. I positively *dread* her unselfishness after our marriage.

One will need to be very watchful to prevent her from giving way over-much. I do thank God for her love! and all my countless other mercies.

During the next four years further offers came at intervals from the Archbishop or others—including the vicarage of Croydon and a residentiary canonry at Canterbury. But Davidson used to say in later years that, except for the offer of Maidstone in 1878, when he was really perplexed, he never had any real doubt that, so long as Tait lived, his place was by his side.

His marriage with Edith Tait took place in Lambeth Palace Chapel on November 12, 1878, and the bridegroom and his bride started off for their honeymoon to Florence. But within three weeks of the wedding day they were called home. Mrs. Tait was suddenly taken ill on November 29. She died, fifty-nine years old, on Advent Sunday, December 3, and was laid to rest in Addington Churchyard on December 7, the twentieth birthday of her married daughter. So, doubly bereaved in a single year, the old Archbishop came to turn more than ever before to his chaplain and 'true son' for a help which never failed.

IV

The story of his chaplaincy has been told by Davidson himself in the penultimate chapter of his *Life of Archbishop Tait*. He speaks there of the affection which he felt for his chief, an affection that increased in a measure he had not expected with every month of his remaining years. And he describes how the 'sacred principle of delegation', as Tait called it, became with him a fine art, and how he applied it with a success to which Davidson knew no parallel; rarely writing a letter himself, and yet retaining even in small matters a control and recollection which frequently surprised them all. But there were many letters both written and signed by Davidson, notably the correspondence with the Rev. S. F. Green, imprisoned for contempt of court in a ritualist controversy, March 1881, which admirably illustrate Davidson's characteristic power of sticking to the point and pressing a correspondent. The following letter is a good example, and at the same time prophetic of the issues which it was to be Davidson's task to try and get the Church to face for many years to come:

The REV. R. T. DAVIDSON *to the* REV. S. F. GREEN[1]

Addington Park. Croydon
My dear Sir, 20th Jan. 1882.

Your letter, just received, makes it clear, if I understand you rightly, that no authority, ecclesiastical or civil, exists to which you would feel yourself at liberty to defer with respect to the practical action which you found upon your own interpretation of the Ornaments Rubric. If I am mistaken in this, please set me right, in order that the Archbishop may clearly understand your position. His Grace now directs me to ask you further: Does any authority exist, ecclesiastical or civil, at the command of which you would be willing, under protest if necessary, to abstain for a time from officiating in the church of Miles Platting, if you were now at liberty?

You will, I am sure, excuse the formulating of the question in this abrupt form, with a view to a clear understanding of the facts of your position.

Believe me to remain, yours very sincerely,

RANDALL T. DAVIDSON
Chaplain.

Readers of the *Life of Tait* will also remember Davidson's share in the correspondence between Tait and the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie in the last weeks of the Archbishop's life, when the chaplain helped to pave the way for Mr. Mackonochie's resignation of St. Alban's, Holborn, and the termination by this means of the proceedings against him in a court the jurisdiction of which he had so long refused to recognize.[2] It is perhaps worth noting, even thus early in the present work, a comment by Davidson in his *Life* of his father-in-law which throws a good deal of light on his own attitude to ritual disputes:

> It is necessary to remember that the space occupied by the narrative [of the Ritual controversy] is out of all proportion to the Archbishop's estimate of its direct importance. His speeches and letters must have made it clear how anxious he always was to relegate the subject of ritual details to the comparatively insignificant place which he thought to belong to it, in face of the great problems of faith and morals which were claiming the attention of the Christian Church. The question was forced into prominence by the far larger subject which had become connected with it—

[1] See *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. II, p 460.

[2] Ib., vol. II, pp. 474–80.

nothing less than the whole question of authority and discipline within the Church.[1]

There are references in his papers to the missionary side of the work at Lambeth, and to his relationship to Church Societies:

> I have already in Archbishop Tait's *Life* said a good deal about my Chaplaincy years, though of course the things which happened had to do with him rather than with me . . . I was from the first led to concern myself actively with the work of different Church Societies in London. . . . [Archbishop Tait] had never taken an active part, for example, in S.P G work or, indeed, in missionary administration. There had been great episodes like Copleston's troubles in Ceylon, or the Madagascar rivalries of French and English, in which he had been forced to act, and had acted with supreme wisdom, but, speaking generally, I was the first at Lambeth to become active in the daily administration of missionary questions. I was on committees and sub-committees of S P.G., and a few extracts from my rough journal will show how ceaselessly I was in Delahay Street.
>
> Again, the Junior Clergy Society, which was then rather an important body of the more active of the young clerics in London made considerable trespass on my time and thoughts. The active men in the thick of it with me were J. W. Horsley, Stewart Headlam, and Dawes—afterwards Bishop of Rockhampton. I was elected to be chairman and attended without fail I soon came to see the gain for the Archbishop's chaplain being thus in touch with what these young men were doing and saying, and I have since tried, when myself Archbishop, to encourage my chaplains to a like course, and certainly Macmillan, Bell, and Haigh, and to some extent others also, have carried on the tradition. . . .

It was, it may be added, through his membership of the Junior Clergy Society that Davidson first came into contact with the Trade Union Movement. Stewart Headlam, the well-known reformer and educationalist (whose fag Craufurd Tait had been at Eton), was on the extreme Left of this Society, and the founder in 1877 of the Guild of St. Matthew with its strong Christian Socialist programme. It was Headlam and a few like-minded members who arranged meetings between the Clergy and the Trade Union leaders, in which Davidson also took part. In those days such an ardent championship of Labour as Headlam's was very unpopular with Churchmen; and Davidson's sympathy at

[1] *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. II, p. 473.

such a time must not be forgotten, nor the fact that he intervened on Headlam's behalf in his struggles with the Bishop of London (Dr. Jackson) over a telegram which Headlam had sent to Charles Bradlaugh, the radical free thinker, in prison. In the *Life of Stewart Headlam* it is noted a few years later, after Davidson had ceased to be Chaplain at Lambeth, that Headlam, an enthusiastic disciple of the works of Henry George, in a letter to a friend, one of his left wing colleagues in the Junior Clergy Society, states:

> Davidson told me that he had got the Queen to read *Progress and Poverty* which she found difficult.[1]

Davidson also took a special interest in the Salvation Army, and acted as Archbishop Tait's intermediary. Thus he attended all sorts of meetings in connexion with the Army, and obtained information of every kind, officially and otherwise, about its agencies and modes of work. It was he who supplied Tait with the material for his speeches in Convocation and in the House of Lords, and it was he too who sent the contribution of £5 on the Archbishop's behalf to General Booth 'for the purpose of acquiring a site, at present occupied by a theatre, tavern and dancing gardens', for the religious work of the Salvation Army, especially on its rescue side. And there is an even more interesting point. Randall Davidson, while full of appreciation of 'the straightforward ability and earnest zeal of the leaders of the Army', fastened at this early date on what was to prove the principal cause of difficulty for the Army in the future. In an article on the Salvation Army, in *The Contemporary Review* for August 1882, he wrote as follows:

> I pass on now to notice some of the characteristics of the work, which, if uncorrected, must tend, as it seems to me, to impair its usefulness as a permanent agency for God's glory and man's good. Some of them may at present be mere symptoms of possible danger ahead If so, the more reason they should now be considered and examined, both by the 'Army' and by those who wish it well.

[1] *Stewart Headlam. A Biography*, by F. G Bettany, 1926, pp. 38, 40, 84. To Headlam, in his last illness on October 22, 1924, Randall Davidson wrote a warm letter in which were these words: ' "What a many" years you and I look back across to our London experiences. I vividly recall the old Junior Clergy days in St Martin vestry, with Horsley and Dawes and Thomas and Hancock and Hill, and a great many more' (ib., p. 239). The links between Headlam and Davidson were thus maintained to the end.

> The point which naturally suggests itself first, though I do not think it is the most important, is the *Autocracy of the General in Command.* Few outsiders, probably, are aware how absolute is his rule. He is the sole trustee for all the buildings and property of the Army; he is empowered to nominate his successor in the trust; and he can by his mere fiat dismiss any officer in the service, or transplant him to another station or to new work. . . . Now this may work very well so long as Mr. Booth is alive and able for all his duties, but the experience of history does not lead us to anticipate that it will of necessity work equally well when he is gone. . . . It is understood, if not yet definitely enacted, that 'General' Booth is to be succeeded by his eldest son, already a prominent officer upon his father's staff. If the system of arbitrary generalship is—judging by the experience of history—a dangerous one for the common good, the danger in the case of a religious organisation is certainly not diminished by introducing the notion of hereditary rule. Unless it be in some of the smaller and more benighted Eastern Churches, where the Patriarch is necessarily succeeded by his nephew, I doubt whether an analogous system can be found in any religious community in the world. It may possibly be said that the results should be left to God, who will guide and protect His own. But a like plea might of course be put forward for any honest system which could be devised, and the problem is not by any means thus easily disposed of.

The latest biographer of General Booth, though critical of Davidson's efforts in other ways with regard to the Army, has called attention to the remarkable accuracy of this prophecy. He says:

> [Dr. Davidson] criticized the Army's government and, with singular penetration and prescience, foretold the impasse to which that government brought Bramwell Booth and the Army in 1929. This is one of the few prophetic articles which can bear republication without fear, since its forecastings have not been refuted.[1]

During these years Davidson also gained a remarkable position among the Bishops, and much of their business was done through him instead of direct with the Archbishop. With Bishop Lightfoot of Durham he had a special link from his ordination, and he took it as a very particular honour that this great scholar invited him to become one of his Examining Chaplains; and, still feeling the disappointment of his third class at Oxford, it

[1] See *God's Soldier*, by St John Irvine, vol ii, p. 838 (1934).



ARCHBISHOP TAIT, EDITH DAVIDSON,
RANDALL DAVIDSON
(*About* 1879)

was with the utmost diffidence that he accepted. Another Bishop for whom he conceived a growing admiration was Bishop Benson. He and Mrs. Davidson stayed with the Bensons at Truro in 1881—and Davidson noted in his journal that he 'is a grand man, whom I would give much to see Bishop of London some day . . . full of fresh sympathy with all forms of Church life from Ritualism to Methodism'. In days when Church meetings were far less frequent than they are now, a convenient place of meeting was the House of Lords, where the senior Bishops have a special Bench which was more constantly filled then than it is to-day. Tait made much use of the Archbishops' room at the House, and Davidson acquired for himself the right, as Chaplain, to stand with the private secretaries of Cabinet ministers and other official assistants, just by the steps of the Throne, beside the Bishops' Bench, a right which has been accorded to the Chaplains of the Archbishop of Canterbury ever since.

As domestic chaplain in the strict sense of the word, Davidson carried out his duties with quietness and efficiency. He held a Bible class for the members of the household; and he prepared them for Confirmation. He effected reforms in the Embertide arrangements preceding the Ordination Sundays. By his suggestion the examination of the candidates was held some time before the Ember Days, instead of during those days, as was then the common custom: thus allowing a time of peace and devotion under the Archbishop's roof immediately before the men were ordained, unharassed by the writing of their papers or anxiety as to the result. The help and sympathy he gave those who came for Ordination was very marked, and by some long remembered.[1]

His personal relations with the Archbishop were, as we have already suggested, as those of a son to his father. Occasionally Tait's calmness and dislike of anything approaching 'hustle' would make his zealous and eager chaplain anxious, but on such occasions Tait would merely remark 'It is only Dibson in a fuss'. And his grave references to his young son-in-law as 'that eminent

[1] When R. T. D first went to Lambeth as chaplain the result of the Ordination examination was announced on the Saturday, on the very eve of ordination. He changed this—and developed the personal relations between the candidates and the Archbishop. In the Diocese of Ely R T D related, in connexion with a Canterbury Embertide of 1920, how Bishop Turton's (Bishop 1845–64) one personal touch with his candidates was at dinner after the Ordination, when he would call out, e.g. to the gospeller, 'Mr. Smith, a glass of wine with you!'

divine' show that the leaven of humour was not lacking in their relationship. But it must be confessed that the pressure was considerable, and work always came first—as was somewhat ruefully recognized by Edith Tait even before their marriage. So at least the following note suggests:

EDITH TAIT *to* RANDALL DAVIDSON

26 June, 1878

Then I shan't see you till Saturday! I can't help a little wishing in the bottom of what I am pleased to call my heart that you and Father weren't quite so 'devoted and excellent'. But of course you will say that this is very wicked and it is all for the good of the Church and I don't know what. Well then I submit, as there's nothing else to do.

And after their marriage the Rector of Lambeth used to shake his head and say, 'She wants more cherishing. Davidson is too austere—too much wrapped up in affairs.'

As a recognition in the diocese of his service to the Church, the Archbishop appointed Davidson one of the Six Preachers of Canterbury Cathedral. He was invited to do a good deal of preaching away from Lambeth, and spoke at more than one Church Congress. He was sufficiently well known outside to make it natural for the Dean of Windsor (Wellesley) to nominate him as sub-almoner to the Queen in 1882, and for the Lord Chamberlain (Lord Sydney) to recommend him for a chaplaincy to Her Majesty.

Randall's mother died in 1881, after a long illness. Though they were devoted to one another, Davidson has never felt that his mother cared for or understood his chaplaincy work. She felt there was a danger lest the secretarial and administrative duties might outweigh the pastoral life—the winning of souls—to which she had dedicated him in her heart. But it is significant of the close spiritual tie which bound them that often he wrote and asked for his mother's prayers for some important meeting or conference. On one such occasion he wrote '... *Don't* neglect to pray for us definitely on *Friday* soon after you get this. We meet at 11.30.' And as he prayed beside her as she lay dying, the words that came to her lips again and again were 'Randall, Randall'.

A year later it became clear that Archbishop Tait's life could

not be prolonged, and in the autumn of 1882 the long weeks of gradually lessening strength began. On December 1, Davidson wrote to his father, 'The doctor thinks it must come *to-night.* He is quite calm and like *himself*... *God is strengthening him* and all about him, and when the change comes it will find him "prepared" if ever man was....'

The 'change' came on the morning of Advent Sunday, December 3,[1] three weeks before his seventy-first birthday. His son-in-law ministered to him to the end, and received both blessing and charge from the dying Archbishop in the parting words, 'My dear Randall. Dear dear boy. You have been a true son to me ever since Craufurd died. Take care of them all.'

[1] Archibald Campbell Tait, born at Harviestoun, Dec. 21, 1811; died at Lambeth, Dec. 3, 1882.

CHAPTER III

FROM LAMBETH TO WINDSOR

I write again praying you that ye will be at the court as shortly after Easter as ye can, for the Queen will see you, and for as much as Mr. Betts is departed, I think her mind is to have you to her chaplain I pray you resist not your calling. 23rd March, 1534-5. JOHN SKYPP, *the Queen's Almoner, to the* REV. MATTHEW PARKER (*Correspondence of Archbishop Parker*).

It is after all most difficult to judge when the Queen likes a person or what sort of person she will like. DEAN WELLESLEY *to* LADY DERBY, *September* 1874.

FOR some months before the Archbishop's death, many of the foremost leaders in Church and State had been considering the question of his successor. The names most prominent in such private discussions were those of the Bishop of Winchester (Harold Browne, aged seventy-two), the Bishop of Durham (J. B. Lightfoot, aged fifty-four), the Dean of St. Paul's (R. W. Church, aged sixty-seven), and the Bishop of Truro (E. W. Benson, aged fifty-three). Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister, and it was known that he would act with a high sense of responsibility, whatever the recommendation he thought right to make to the Queen. It was also natural that the dying Archbishop himself should consider the question. But the Archbishop, though having views of his own, was most anxious not to express them in any way which would have even the appearance of a desire to influence the Prime Minister in his decision; indeed, he quite definitely said, some two months before his death, in answer to his chaplain's specific inquiry as to whether he desired him to make a statement to the authorities about his own view:

> No; not, at all events, as a message from me. God has not laid on me that responsibility. It is in other hands, and I have no wish to assume it.[1]

It is clear, however, that Tait's own judgement led to a choice between the Bishop of Winchester and the Bishop of Truro. The Bishop of Truro stayed at Addington in September, and the Archbishop told him then that he hoped he would succeed him. But he was unwilling to make a specific recommendation. And, perhaps with some consideration of the Bishop of Truro's

[1] *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. ii, p. 592.

comparative youth, he said, only a few days before his death, November 23:

> I should be truly thankful to think it certain that the Bishop of Winchester would succeed me at Lambeth. He could do more than any other man to preserve the Church in peace for its real work against sin. I pray God he may be appointed and may accept the call.

Indeed, Tait went so far as to request his chaplain to write to the Bishop of Winchester about the wisdom of his continuing Bishop Parry as Bishop-Suffragan of Dover. Davidson felt that such a statement was too grave for him to keep locked up in his own breast. He accordingly informed Dean Bradley of Westminster, with whom, as well as with the Deans of Durham (Lake) and St. Paul's, Mr. Gladstone was likely to be in touch. He also informed the Queen through Lady Ely; and thus began that long and remarkable association with Her Majesty which was to mean so much for his whole life. The following are the first letters which passed between the Queen and the Chaplain:

The REV. R. T. DAVIDSON *to the* QUEEN

3 Decr. 1882

Madam, Addington Park, Croydon.

In accordance with Your Majesty's gracious wish, expressed through Lady Ely, on Friday last, I beg leave dutifully to lay before Your Majesty some of the details as to the last days of the Archbishop's life.

Last Thursday evening he told us repeatedly that he felt sure it was to be his last night on earth, and longed it might be so.

I took down a few words of the prayer which he, as usual, offered with us, before going to sleep.

> 'Father into Thy hands I commend My spirit: Myself, with all my sins, forgiven for Jesus' sake,—All my dear ones—All whom I love here—The Church with all its difficulties—The Queen in Her Person, Her Family, Her Office,—Our orphan Home,—Keep them all under the shadow of Thy wings for Jesus Christ's sake—Amen.'

At three o'clock on Friday morning, we were called to his bedside. He had had a slight convulsive fit, but had not lost consciousness, and was then quite himself.

He thought, as we did, that he was just dying. I reminded him that it was the anniversary of Mrs. Tait's death, and he called out 'O *is it*? What a blessed thing!' He said a few farewell words to

each of his Daughters, and to me, and then asked for the Commendatory prayer from the 'Visitation service'.

When I had read it he gave the benediction, and then added quite in his usual manner, 'And now that is all. It isn't so dreadful after all. My beloved children—God keep you—and my friends—and my servants—and all whom I love. How many there are that I love, and don't forget!'

Afterwards he rallied somewhat, and had some broken sleep for several hours. At ten o'clock on Friday morning he asked to receive the Holy Communion. He followed the service throughout, and—speaking with some difficulty—gave the benediction at the close.

We did not expect him to live through the day, but he lay in a drowsy state, not suffering much, and quite conscious when roused.

Lady Ely's visit with Your Majesty's kind message touched him very deeply.

Of that Your Majesty has already received an account.

He did not speak much more during the afternoon or evening, but referred twice to Your Majesty's gracious message.

We were again summoned about three o'clock yesterday morning as he seemed to be dying. But he once more rallied and then for twenty-four hours he lay still—breathing very heavily but seldom sleeping and apparently conscious of all that went on. He was able to answer if we spoke to him, but it seemed rather to disturb him. We read short passages of Scripture and said hymns and prayers at intervals, and he was always aware of it, and it seemed to soothe him.

Early this morning a change came over his face, and his breathing became much quieter—until at last, at a quarter past seven, it simply ceased, without any struggle or pain whatever.

Your Majesty was good enough to ask that I should state how the Archbishop's daughters were—when the Archbishop had gone.

They are all perfectly well and cheerful—thanking God for this quiet end to an illness which seemed as though it might close with violent pain.

We all attended Church this morning and remained for Holy Communion.

I need not say how great a help has been afforded by Your Majesty's gracious and touching kindness.

I have the honour to remain, Madam,

Your Majesty's Most obedient humble Servant,

RANDALL T. DAVIDSON.

The QUEEN *to the* REV. R. T. DAVIDSON[1]

Windsor Castle. Dec. 5, 1882

I have been deeply touched by your beautiful account of the last days and hours of the beloved Archbishop, who had ever been so kind to me and mine and for whom I had the greatest respect, esteem, and sincerest affection! That he should have thought and spoken of me, so near the end of his exemplary, useful, and valuable life, is most gratifying to me and will help to reconcile me to the great disappointment of being unable to go and see him. Nothing but the distance from Addington and the overwhelming number of public duties could prevent me from doing so. It was also most painful to me to be unable to put off yesterday's Ceremony. [This refers to the opening of the new Law Courts]

Lady Ely has forwarded to me your letter and I am most grateful to you for what you tell me as to the dear Archbishop's views, respecting his successor, painful as it is to think of such a thing. I may however say that I had heard just the same from Mr. Gladstone, who had heard it from the Dean of Durham, *not* as a message, but from what he (Mr. G) had *gathered* from the Dean. These views, I may in confidence state, will be followed, the Bishop of Winchester's age being perhaps the only difficulty. It is a great comfort to know the dear Archbishop's opinion on such a momentous question.

I shall be most grateful for the engraving you mention and have a request to make, which is whether I might have a little of his hair?

Would it suit you to come and see me on Saturday, either at ¼ to 3 or ½ past 5? I am most anxious to make your acquaintance having heard so much of you.

Pray say everything most kind from me to dear Miss Tait and her sisters. You have been so devoted to him that the thought of this and his present happiness must be a comfort in the midst of the great sorrow for the loss of such a Father!

The interview took place on December 9. The impression made by Davidson was immediate, as the extract from the Queen's Journal for that day clearly reveals.[2]

December 9, 1882.

A fine morning, without much frost.—After luncheon, Leopold and Helen left.—Saw Mr. Davidson, the Arch Bishop's son-in-law, and was seldom more struck than I have been by his personality. He had written me a most striking account of the Arch Bishop's death,

[1] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 2nd Series, vol. iii, p. 367. [2] Ibid., p. 368.

and said he believed there had been but little suffering. They had been 3 times called up, when it was thought he was dying, but he had rallied again. The Arch Bishop, Mr. Davidson said, had been much attached to me, and always used to pray specially for me every night. Mr. Davidson alluded to the letter the Arch Bishop had written me, and to the strong hope he had expressed (though he would not leave it exactly as a message) that the Bishop of Winchester, or Bishop of Truro, might succeed him. The former was rather old, but would command the respect and acquiescence of all the Bishops. The Arch Bishop had seen him several times during his illness, also the Bishop of Truro, and had had a great deal of conversation with him and entered most fully into his views and plans. The Bishop of Truro, Mr. Davidson said, was a man of singular power, firmness, and at the same time, gentleness. He, Mr. Davidson, had been during 6 years, Chaplain to the Arch Bishop, and for 4 years, his son-in-law. For the last 2, he had written everything for the Arch Bishop from dictation, and latterly he had only got directions as to what he was to say. The 3 months illness had been much blessed to them, for they had been able to talk over and discuss everything, nothing being omitted. A cast, after death, had been taken, and they hoped to get a statue made, either for Canterbury or Westminster No Arch Bishop, since Cardinal Pole, had been buried at Canterbury, hence the idea of his being laid at Westminster Abbey, but they greatly preferred Addington. We went over various topics, and I feel that Mr. Davidson is a man who may be of great use to me, for which I am truly thankful.—Lenchen and Christian, Lord and Lady De Vesci, (both handsome) Mr. Boyd Carpenter, a very nice clever little man, Sir J. McNeill, Lady Abercromby and Lord Dalhousie, dined.

Sir Henry Ponsonby's comment, when Davidson returned to his room at the end of an hour's talk (in which, says Davidson, 'she certainly startled me by the openness of her confidence, and by her genuine anxiety to hear all that I had to say'), was 'What on earth has been happening? I don't know when the Queen has had such a long interview with anybody'.

The next step concerned Mr. Gladstone, who had very soon made up his mind that the Bishop of Winchester was too old, and, in Dean Lake's words, 'on the whole decidedly inclined to Truro'. Dean Lake, who reported this to Davidson, after a long bedside talk with Mr. Gladstone, went on to make the following suggestion in a letter of December 4:

The DEAN OF DURHAM *to the* REV. R. T. DAVIDSON

Athenaeum. Dec. 4

Most private

This being the case, I feel sure you will allow me to suggest, that if you say anything of the Archbishop's views as to his successor to the Queen, it might be right in itself and might diminish the possibility of difficulties, if the Archbishop's decided preference for Truro *next to Winchester* were mentioned. You mentioned to me the Archbishop's unwillingness to interfere with Gladstone's responsibility,—and yet there might be danger of his doing so, if the Queen, in her present keen feeling of affection for him, imagined that his wishes were entirely set upon Winchester.

It must also be remembered with regard to Truro's difficulties with Bishops, that a very few years may probably see an important accession of younger Bishops to the Bench.

The Queen, as Dean Lake had prophesied, desired the appointment of the Bishop of Winchester. Mr. Gladstone in a long memorandum stated his conviction that the Bishop of Winchester was 'no longer equal to such duties as the Primacy would entail' and recommended the Bishop of Truro. The Queen persisted in pressing the Bishop of Winchester, and objected to the Bishop of Truro's youth. The following letter was written to Mr. Gladstone:

The QUEEN *to the* RT. HON. W. E. GLADSTONE

Windsor Castle. Dec. 10, 1882.

Though the Queen will see Mr Gl tomorrow she thinks it may facilitate a decision which will have to be come to now—as to who is to succeed the beloved and excellent Archbishop of Canterbury—if she writes these few lines.

She has thought a great deal about it and feels convinced that to place a man of only 53, excellent as he is, above all the other Bishops would create a very bad and angry feeling in the Church and that the Bishop of Winchester is far the fittest to be appointed now.

He could resign in two years if he were unable to go on—but for that time he surely could undertake it—and should be pressed to do so. In the last letter the dear Dean W. ever wrote to the Queen he spoke of this as the best arrangement and said he thought Mr. G. likewise thought so.

The dear Archbishop by what Mr. Davidson wrote and told the Queen certainly hoped this.

The Bishop of Truro should go to Winchester which is far harder work than the Archiepiscopal see.

The Queen was very much struck with Mr. D. with whom she had a long interview yesterday. He is singularly pleasing both in appearance and manner, very sympathetic and evidently very intelligent—wise and able.

At the same time the Queen instructed Davidson to obtain the most accurate information possible respecting the health and physical strength of the Bishop of Winchester; and in response to his suggestion entrusted Davidson with the very delicate mission of going to Farnham with a view to a confidential talk with Mrs. Harold Browne about her husband's health. The result of his difficult embassy is recorded in the following letter:[1]

The REV. R. T. DAVIDSON *to the* QUEEN

Addington Park, Croydon.
Dec. 13, 1882

I have the honour to report, in accordance with Your Majesty's direction, the result of my confidential interview this afternoon with Mrs. Harold Browne. I merely told Mrs. Browne that your Majesty having certain names under consideration, had directed me to find out as accurately as possible what is the present condition of the Bishop of Winchester's health and physical vigour. I feel quite sure that Mrs. Browne will respect absolutely the confidential character of the communication.—I learn from her that the Bishop of Winchester is really stronger at this moment than he has been for some time past, and that he finds himself quite competent for the discharge of any reasonable amount of work *upon his present lines*. He suffers from no actual complaint of any sort, except that he is subject from time to time to really severe colds which lay him temporarily aside—At the same time Mrs. Browne shrinks from the responsibility of saying decidedly that the Bishop, who will be 72 next March, would be physically strong enough to enter upon all the somewhat unknown duties of the Primacy—should the post be offered to him. She naturally sees that his strength and vigour are likely to grow yearly less; and she tells me that she and the Bishop would alike recoil from the idea of his entering upon such vast and new responsibility unless with a reasonable prospect of his being able to discharge its duties for some years at least. On this point, were the Primacy to be offered to him, the Bishop would—Mrs. Browne thinks—take a competent

[1] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 2nd Series, vol. iii, p. 375.

medical opinion before accepting or declining. I tried to explain to Mrs. Browne as fully as I could the actual character of the work done during the course of the year by the late Archbishop; and while she thinks the Bishop's strength would be husbanded by his having as Primate so much less travelling than the Diocese of Winchester demands, she evidently has some fear as to his very nervous temperament being proof against the exceptional anxieties which must press upon the Archbishop of Canterbury. In short, Madam, Mrs. Browne is unable to form a clear opinion of the Bishop's physical capabilities for the post, although on the whole she would look hopefully to his being able for it.—Your Majesty will perhaps allow me to say that my protracted conversation with Mrs. Browne led me to attach somewhat more weight than I had previously given to what I have certainly heard in more than one quarter as to the Bishop's decreasing vigour. Nor would it be right for me to lead Your Majesty to suppose that the late Archbishop before expressing the private opinion which has been communicated to Your Majesty and to Mr. Gladstone, had given special and minute consideration to the *physical* qualifications or disqualifications of the Bishop of Winchester for the work of the Primacy—I have now, I think, had the honour of laying before Your Majesty with my humble duty all the information within my reach as to the health of the Bishop of Winchester—Your Majesty has been pleased to direct me also to answer another question to the best of my humble ability—viz 'What would the feeling of the Bishops be, looking to the *possibility* of the Bishop of Truro being chosen?'

The knowledge I have gained from the private correspondence and the episcopal and other meetings of the last five years at Lambeth enables me, I think, to answer Your Majesty's question with tolerable certainty. The Bishop of Winchester is probably the only Bishop whose Presidency, were his health known to be equal to it, would fall in with the general wish of the entire Episcopate. His gentle wisdom and unobtrusive learning have long commended him in a marked degree to all the Bishops, even to those who would naturally be most afraid of his supposed High Church views. I have again and again had opportunity of observing the respect with which his views have been received on subjects where the difference of opinion had been marked.—Next to him, IN THE VIEW OF THE EPISCOPATE, would undoubtedly stand the Bishop of Durham. His position is so unique a one, and his reputation in certain fields so unrivalled, that with two dissentients only among the Bishops I believe he would be received with emphatic favour as their chief.

The Bishop of Truro would, as I believe, stand next in Episcopal favour. He is only a few years younger than the late Archbishop was on his appointment to the Primacy, and I cannot recall a single instance, either at a Lambeth Meeting or in Convocation, in which he has met with anything but cordiality and admiration among the assembled Bishops. The Archbishop often spoke to me of his remarkably sudden access to Episcopal favour and reputation—But undoubtedly there are three (or probably four) Bishops who would feel hurt and angry at his appointment to the Primacy and this it would tax all his remarkable geniality and grace and goodness to overcome.

I have felt it my duty, Madam, to endeavour, to the best of my ability, to answer frankly the important question Your Majesty did me the honour of putting to me. I cannot find words to express the natural diffidence I feel, on being thus called upon to give, however humbly, an opinion on matters involving such momentous issues. Your Majesty's most gracious letter left me, however, no alternative, and I have tried, in humble reliance on the guidance of Almighty God, to answer your Majesty's questions by as plain and simple a statement as possible of what I believe to be the truth.

Almost simultaneously came a note from Mr. Gladstone:

The Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone *to the* Queen

10 Downing Street. Dec. 14, 1882

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty submits to Your Majesty a list of the ages of the Archbishops of Canterbury at the time of appointments, complete for 220 years, with the insignificant exception of Archbishop Hutton's Archiepiscopate. Your Majesty will not fail to observe 1. That no Archbishop has ever been appointed at or over the age of 70. 2. That seven Archbishops have been appointed under 60, and two of them in the reign of George the Third were appointed at 50.

Mr. Gladstone believes that if earlier records were examined, either before or after the Reformation, they would exhibit a range of younger appointments.

By December 16, the appointment was settled.

The Queen *to the* Rev. R. T. Davidson

Windsor Castle. Dec. 16, 1882.

I hasten to say that it is definitively settled to be the Bishop of Truro. I suppose there is no doubt of his acceptance? At the

same time I find that Mr. Gladstone himself wished as I had suggested to write himself to the Bishop of Winchester to mention that but for his age and not very vigorous health or something to that effect, the offer of this very high and important office would have been made to him.

I hope and think our dear Archbishop would have approved.

I have heard the Bishop of Winchester's sons very well spoken of. Are they promising?

The Queen never withdrew the trust she thus placed in Randall Davidson in so conspicuous a manner. He was practically at once installed in the post of Dean Wellesley's successor as adviser on ecclesiastical appointments, and the extent of Her Majesty's confidence is shown in the following letter:[1]

The QUEEN *to the* REV. R. T. DAVIDSON

Osborne. Dec. 20, 1882.

I am very grateful for your kind letter. As there will be two vacancies on the Episcopal Bench and a Deanery (if not two!) I should be *most thankful* if you could *help* me with names. I need not say that *your* name will *never be mentioned*, but losing, as I have done, the two dear Deans, Stanley and Wellesley, I am left without any one to turn to for advice and help—when sometimes names are submitted which I often feel would *not* be suitable. And I feel you have had such immense opportunities of knowing *all* the Clergy that I could *not* look to *any* one *more likely* to help me than yourself.

Both extremes of High and Low Church are to be avoided.

To this letter Davidson wrote a long and exhaustive reply in which he not only suggested clergy who might be appointed to the three vacant posts but gave a list of ten others worthy of consideration when important vacancies occurred. At the same time the Queen's Private Secretary, Sir Henry Ponsonby, was permitted to establish a short cipher code with him for use in case of necessity.

II

There was, however, Davidson's own future to consider. The Bishop of Truro, immediately on receiving Mr. Gladstone's letter, had telegraphed to Davidson and begged him to continue for a while as chaplain at Lambeth. This arrangement,

[1] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 2nd Series, vol. iii, p. 380.

which was very desirable on all counts, had the Queen's warm approval. But Davidson had served Archbishop Tait with remarkable ability for six years; and he was married. Clearly it was desirable that he should soon be placed in a post of independent responsibility.

The new Archbishop came to Lambeth in February 1883. Davidson had naturally a great deal to do in helping him to undertake the very varied work of the Archbishopric for the first few months. In the later spring, the question of the future became practicable. On the very day of Archbishop Tait's funeral, he had been offered by Bishop Lightfoot the canonry at Durham filled afterwards by the appointment of the Rev. George Body, but he had declined this, feeling that his real work and interests belonged to the South. He had also declined an offer of the vicarage of Maidstone, made during the vacancy of the Archiepiscopal See. The appointment of the Rev. G. H. Wilkinson as Bishop of Truro left the important parish of St. Peter's, Eaton Square, vacant, and there was a good deal of discussion as to the possibility of his serving there. Wilkinson showed him the parish books, discussed the services, and, in all sorts of ways, without definitely saying so, led him to think he wished Davidson to succeed him. Davidson, writing in 1906, said, 'Why he changed his mind I do not know, but I think it was the result of a conversation with Mary Gladstone (or Drew, I forget if she was yet married) who took a keen, not to say, a dominant interest in such matters.'

On February 23, 1883, Wilkinson wrote a letter to Davidson which shows that a doubt of his suitability as a churchman had reached his ears.

The Rev. G. H. Wilkinson *to the* Rev. R. T. Davidson

> Someone who ought to know better has, I am told, been saying that you could not carry on the work here in the spirit in which it has been begun because you are so 'Broad Church'. On the strength of our talk in the Park, I shall contradict this unless I hear from you to the contrary.

On March 6, 1883, Wilkinson wrote again:

> The *impression* which I gathered yesterday is that, *after a while*, a parish will be offered to you, but not St. Peter's.

Sir Henry Ponsonby wrote to Davidson (April 7, 1883):

> I believe . . . that Mr. Gladstone objects on the ground that you have never had charge of a parish. . . .

Thus though there were many comings and goings the offer never came. Instead Mr. Gladstone, on April 27, wrote and invited Davidson to become Vicar of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, in succession to Dean Fremantle. At the same time news came that Dean Connor, who had only been Dean of Windsor for six months, was dying. Davidson had already been warned 'by a well-informed friend' to wait before taking any decisive step. Let him tell the story himself.

> Just then I heard that Dean Connor was dying. I was in some perplexity and returned Mr Gladstone a dilatory answer; after a week he wrote once again for a definite 'yes' or 'no'. By that time Dean Connor had died. On Sunday, May 6, I was staying at Lord Stanhope's, at Chevening, with Archbishop Benson, who was confirming in the neighbourhood. On the Sunday morning the Archbishop's bundle of letters was brought to me in bed. There was one from the Queen, which I sent to his room unopened. At breakfast he said nothing to me about what it contained, but before starting for the Confirmation he wrote a long reply, which he left with Mrs. Benson to copy.

The letters follow:

The QUEEN *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Very Confidential. Osborne. May 4th, 1883.

I write in the first person, as I can better express myself and wish to consult you on a subject, *of very great importance* to myself. It is about the successor to good kind Dean Connor, whose loss is in many ways a great one. I appointed him to the Deanery, as I had a high opinion of his upright, kind and sympathetic nature, and because I had known him long and felt he was no stranger. Alas! I have now lost almost all of those who were associated in any way with my altered and saddened life since Decr. 61. and I must look around for other helps. It is however therefore *most* important, nay *imperative* that I should *find someone* who possess's a kindly sympathetic nature—who could be a comfort to me, now that I get older, and have been sorely stricken as Mr. Davidson can tell you!

I may mention *that I know of only two* people who personally

would at all possess these qualities, combined with just intellectual ones as well.—these are Mr. Davidson himself—and Mr. Boyd Carpenter! And I would ask you to answer me *openly* which of these two, *you* would think the best choice? I myself, can think of no one more fitted than Mr. Davidson (if you could give him up!) from his great knowledge of *society* and of the Clergy generally, and his great charm of manner. The only thing that might be said against his appointment is his youth. But surely that is a fault which recedes quickly, and he has had so much experience, and is so much liked—that I should think this would be no insurmountable obstacle.

Pray answer me openly and think of my sadly lonely position and of the great need I have of loving and sympathetic help and of some one to lean on. May I ask you to consider this as most *strictly confidential*?

The appointment of Dean of Windsor would go through The Prime Minister, but it is *understood* that I should select him. The position at Court is one requiring tact—and it is not desirable that the Domestic Chaplain should interfere with the Servants (who are of a superior class)—unless they seek his advice and assistance.

You should answer me in the first person also —I would have preferred waiting till after the last sad Duties of to-morrow, but there seems so much speculation as to the Choice that I feel it necessary not to delay longer in writing to you.

I omitted to mention that I think Mrs. Davidson would be of great use at Windsor, which is a place of rather a gossiping nature, requiring tact and Judgment.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* QUEEN

On Monday and after, Lambeth.
Chevening, Sevenoaks.
May 6. 1883. Sunday Morning.

I am much grieved that Your Majesty's most important letter has only this moment reached me.

I will indeed write with perfect openness. I know and feel that the appointment to the Deanery of Windsor is of utmost moment to Your Majesty's Service and Happiness. And upon the point of whether I could give up Mr. Davidson, I will only say that nothing which concerns me should ever for a moment be kept back or withheld from its proper devotion to Your Majesty.

I have grieved most deeply to see friend after friend removed by the Hand of God in His wisdom from that service, and have

prayed that He would raise up others to fill their places—especially if it were possible those three whom I have so long loved and mourned—and again of these especially the place of Dean Wellesley. One could not but trust that the kind goodness of Dean Connor might be such a help. But God has again seen otherwise.

And now of the two whom Your Majesty names, I will, as I am desired, speak quite freely.

I do not know Mr. Boyd Carpenter. But I think this is owing to a point which is important in the consideration. I believe that his acquaintance with men, even clergymen, is rather limited. I know very few who do know him personally. He is on few or no Committees of a general kind. I have heard of odd little misjudgments of his about people arising from want of knowledge of them. In all other respects I should think him delightful. *But* is not this of *very great* importance? I should have thought the Dean of Windsor ought to know everyone, so to speak. But if Your Majesty thinks my own want of knowledge of Mr. Boyd Carpenter is a hindrance in the way of my own judgment, I will at once contrive through friends to see him and have one or two conversations about affairs which would help my judgment. Only I am sure of what I *have* said so far.

With regard to Mr. Davidson,—he has a most wide and a very thorough knowledge of the clergy and others; he has a remarkably good, sober and at the same time a kindly judgment; his advice, as well as his power of executing business, is always not only carefully weighed but is prompt; and then he is of a deeply sympathetic and loyal nature. His affectionateness makes him *wholly* at service, whatever he has to do. It is done with the heart as well as with the head. And a sounder head and warmer heart I do not know.

With regard to his youth—I think Your Majesty can wholly set aside whatever might be said about that. *His* youth has all the advantage of spring and freshness, while it does not carry him away into any intemperate expression even, at any time—much less into any rashness. Besides it is a shortcoming of which he is daily being cured as Your Majesty says, and it will be cured all too soon. With his particular carefulness of judgment I think it an advantage.

I am writing this from my daily experience and sense of his value. I should, knowing it well, give him up at once to what is so far more precious to us all, and all that I feel I should lose in him makes me only more honestly glad of Your Majesty's gain.

What may I do more? I will see Mr. Boyd Carpenter before firstly giving an opinion, if it is wished. But so far as I have written,

it is from knowledge and I trust it may be of use. I am sorry that my letter is so long, owing to the shortness of time in which I write—And I earnestly hope that I have not written too freely.

On May 7 (to quote Davidson's dairy):

the Archbishop received a telegram from the Queen asking him to find out whether I would accept the Deanery of Windsor!! . . . He then dissuaded me from answering Gladstone definitely about St. Mary's, Bryanston Square.

O God give me grace for this great responsibility. Thou knowest how it is needed! And yet the call comes so unexpectedly—so solemnly—that there is no alternative left as to acceptance.

Two days later came the Prime Minister's offer.

The RT. HON. W. E. GLADSTONE *to the* REV. R. T. DAVIDSON

10 Downing Street, Whitehall.

Dear Mr. Davidson May 9, 1883.

I have received the permission of Her Majesty to propose to you that you should now fill the vacancy so sadly created by the death of Mr. Connor, in the Deanery of Windsor, and I am sure that, if you accept the office, you will preside in a Chapter, over most of whose members you have so much the advantage in point of age, with a courtesy and consideration which will show the circle of your gifts is complete.

Believe me
with all good wishes
Very faithfully yours
W. E. GLADSTONE.

The REV. R. T. DAVIDSON *to the* RT. HON. W. E. GLADSTONE

Lambeth Palace, S.E. 10 May 1883

I have the honour to acknowledge, with respectful thanks, the receipt of your kind letter proposing, with the sanction of Her Majesty, that I should succeed to the post vacated by the sad death of Dean Connor.

It is an offer to which, under all the circumstances, only one reply seems possible. With fear and trembling, under a deep sense of the responsibility of the position, I accept the call, and I venture to ask at once, not, I am sure, in vain, for your prayers, that I may be enabled by God's Grace to discharge aright the great duties of the office.

The fact of my inferiority in age and experience to those with whom I am called to work, and the deep sense of my many

deficiencies for a position of such a kind will lead me, I humbly trust, to a more absolute reliance upon the strength which comes from above. I need hardly assure you that it will be my earnest endeavour to listen and to learn rather than, at first, to lead.

For your own kind words I thank you from a full heart and once more I ask your prayers.

The appointment gave rise to a good deal of talk in ecclesiastical circles, the new dignitary's youth (according to the *Manchester Guardian*) being the chief ground of complaint among those who objected to his nomination. Scott Holland, a contemporary (who was later to follow Liddon at St. Paul's), writing in his free way to Mrs Drew, the Prime Minister's daughter, expressed himself thus:

The Rev. H. S. Holland *to* Mrs. Drew

I have been immensely amused at the Dean of Windsor. It set me staring and amazed, more than anything else that has lately happened; but I expect it may do wonderfully. Only it is indeed bold.[1]

Truth was also somewhat caustic. A week before the announcement it had commented on the attractions of the 'most desirable piece of preferment' which Dean Connor's death had vacated; and, after dealing with the somewhat large salary and the number of canons and minor canons who would assist in the duty, described the whole office as 'perhaps the closest approximation to doing nothing obtainable in these days'. In the next issue it expressed its chagrin at Mr. Davidson's appointment. 'He would have done very well for St. Peter's, Eaton Square, where there would have been a fine scope for his very considerable administrative talents, but it is not right that at thirty-five he should be promoted to the luxurious indulgence of Windsor.' On the other hand, by most of those who knew Randall Davidson's abilities and personal qualities, as well as the special opportunities of the post, the appointment was very cordially approved. 'Dear Davidson, conscience of the Empire', one epistle (from R. W. Raper) began. Many were the episcopal congratulations, but here it will be of greater interest to print two letters from a different point of view.

[1] *A Forty Years' Friendship. Letters from H. S H. to Mrs. Drew*, ed. Ollard (1919), pp. 32–3.

The REV. BENJAMIN JOWETT *to the* REV. R. T. DAVIDSON

Oxford. May 11, 1883.

I congratulate you heartily on your new preferment. The Deanery of Windsor is one of the most considerable positions in the Church of England, though a peculiar one. I used to think that my dear friend Hugh Pearson would have held it: may I venture to think that it is still held by a friend?

PROFESSOR B. F. WESTCOTT *to the* REV. R. T. DAVIDSON

6 Scrope Terrace, Cambridge.

My dear Davidson, May 11th, 1883.

May I once again use the old address? In spite of the Archbishop's loss, which must be most serious, I rejoice more than I can say in the appointment which I have just seen. We had perhaps rather confidently anticipated it, but royal appointments are uncertain There is no place, I think, in which you could have had a nobler opportunity of doing good service. The few conversations which I had with Dean Wellesley enabled me to feel what a power for good there is in an office where Christ's minister can speak with simple and direct counsel to those who have the heavy burden of sovereignty.

May God guide you in the work which has to be done in a critical time. But all times are critical, and they are in His hand.

ἔστω μεθ' ὑμῶν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας

Even more practically useful, as well as personally gratifying, were the kindly and generous greetings of the canons at Windsor and the Queen's personal staff. To the former Her Majesty had taken pains to cause special letters to be sent, prèparing them for the news and expressing the hope that the new Dean would be welcome.

III

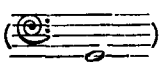
Randall Davidson was installed as Dean of the Free Chapel of St. George's, Windsor, on June 25, 1883. There was 'much trouble beforehand as to the possibility of having any special service of any sort', Lord Wriothesley Russell objecting on the grounds that it would be a 'reflection' upon previous installations. However, 'after much discussion in private' it was resolved that there should be a special service for the new Dean. He was the fifty-fourth holder of an office which had been occupied by not a few distinguished men, amongst whom might be counted many

bishops; one Archbishop of Canterbury, Manners Sutton, who owed his Primacy to the favour of George III; and one Archbishop of Spalato, Marcus Antonius De Dominis, 1618–22, who, in an unusually romantic career, forsook the Church of Rome, held the Deanery for four years, and then returned to Rome, where the Pope refused the promised pardon.

The Chapter was composed almost entirely of old men. Of the four canons, Lord Wriothesley Russell had been appointed in 1840, the Rev. Frederick Anson in 1845 (both before their new Dean was born), the Hon. C. L. Courtenay in 1859, a cousin of Lord Halifax and an ardent High Churchman (who had withstood Temple's appointment to Exeter, in 1869) but most ready to take his share with the Evangelical Lord W. Russell in preparing the choristers for confirmation. The Rev. W. Boyd Carpenter, appointed in 1882, was alone near the new Dean's age. Even the minor canons were not young. When Dean Davidson came to Windsor (said a minor canon of the day) 'he was, I believe, the youngest on the staff of clergy'.

It is difficult to realize the difference which such an arrival meant to the intimate life of the Cloister and the Castle, a difference increased by the youth and charm of the wife he brought with him, only twenty-four years old, ten years younger than himself

Sir Walford Davies, a later organist of St. George's, writing of the three deans he knew as a chorister, says:

> I came to Windsor in January 1882, and have a vivid recollection of three successive Deans. Dean Wellesley had a deep, rolling, resonant way of reading the Communion Service. He always stood at the North End of the Communion Table, where we could (as Decani choristers) clearly see his stern, rugged face, and feel something like awe at the sight. He recited the service on or near
>
> a low A flat or G ()
>
> Then came Dean Connor, with a very gentle face and manner. He seemed always to wear his Garter blue ribbon (which Dean Wellesley did only on Sundays); so his face and the bright ribbon are quite inseparable in my memory. Then in 1883, after what seemed a very little while, he died; and there came a young Dean, —so young that I remember a minor canon expatiating vigorously in the Vestry (as we waited to go in to service) as to the appoint-

> ment of a 'Boy-Dean'. But though Dean Davidson (as he then was) brought youth and freshness with him, he never seemed young to us as choristers. He had the dignity and authority of Dean Wellesley himself; but he had a grace and quiet friendliness as well, which gave us great confidence. The Deanery became a new place to us as boys; for Mrs. Davidson and Miss Agnes Tait (afterwards Mrs. Ellison) read to us, played games with us, and gave us homely Sunday lessons; and the long room in the Deanery became something of a choristers' paradise.

But if the choristers were conquered, the members of the Chapter and the community at large equally fell victims to the spell of the Dean and his wife. Where an old man in failing health, with a team of old men, has ruled for long, especially in a cathedral or collegiate church, affairs tend to become slack. It required, therefore, knowledge and courage to handle the situation in the way required, but the new Dean was very wise and very considerate in presiding over the Chapter in its little room above the cloister.

'In manner', said Canon Dalton[1] (appointed in 1885) to the writer, 'he was quiet and cheerful, very self-restrained, but so natural, a charming Chairman'; and again, 'He did everything so thoroughly. There was no pretence about him, yet he could be firm when the need arose, and when he said a thing had to be done it was done.'

Those who have not been members of a Chapter would be surprised at the amount and variety of actual business which such a body has to get through. A very serious responsibility falls upon the Dean, and it may test the skill and patience of a new Dean sometimes to persuade a Chapter composed of his elders that certain business is very urgent. One of the first things to which the Dean had to attend was the repair of the roof of St. George's, and later it turned out that very considerable repairs were required for the vaulting of the nave, and for the mullions of the windows in the clerestory of the nave. Again, it was found that the Chapel and the collegiate buildings were gravely under-insured against fire and that the apparatus for dealing with fire was sadly out of date; that the Chapel was inadequately warmed; that the respective shares of the Office of Works, which was responsible for the out-

[1] Canon Dalton (d. 1932) gave the writer great help in a long conversation at Windsor in January 1931.

side of the fabric, and the Chapter, which was responsible for the inside, in protecting the Chapel, required very careful investigation. All these things and many others the Dean took quietly in hand; amongst them the conditions under which the minor canons and the lay clerks served. Sometimes, of course, a canon thought the Dean went too far, but the Dean always won. Once the very Evangelical canon, Lord W. Russell, expressed his fury because *Hymns Ancient and Modern* had been introduced into the Chapel. He stormed: 'I shall burn every book in the Chapel. There was no Chapter order.' But he stormed in vain.

The Dean was indeed an irresistible Dean; not because he fought (he never fought), still less because there was anything dramatic about him (he was never dramatic), but because he was so cool and Scotch and right and always to the point. It hardly requires to be said that the charm of his wife made him doubly irresistible, and that their combined thoughtfulness, friendliness, and hospitality in the Deanery and outside it, their kindness, their natural spontaneous interest in the lay clerks, the minor canons, and everything that went on, won all hearts.

A study of the diaries intermittently kept during the first five years at Windsor reveals a life quite extraordinarily full. But the activities were by no means confined to Windsor—as we shall see in the chapters which follow. Nevertheless, in and near Windsor he did a great deal. There is constant evidence throughout the Dean's diary and his papers of the pains he took in preaching wherever he was asked to preach. He preached university sermons of a practical character; he preached on occasions outside Windsor, and in the Chapel itself he took particular pains, remembering the variety of his congregation, and feeling, as one who remembers his sermons at the time realized, a particular responsibility in view of the masters and their wives and others who often came up from Eton.

It was, however, to the Ladies' Bible Class that his own and Mrs. Davidson's thoughts used to go back. 'The at that time comparatively modern way of studying the Bible' (said a lady mentioned in the Archbishop's note below) 'opened one's eyes and seemed to give the key to so much that happens in the world of today.' This was what the young members of the class felt,

though some of the older ones, and there were several quite elderly, did not always quite approve:

> One of the interesting points about that Bible Class [said the same member] was the unconscious self-revelation of the lecturer. His faith, sympathy, insight, wide views (and humour) made one realise what manner of man was giving of his best to us and influencing many lives.

The Dean's own memorandum is as follows:

> One more important matter belonging to the Windsor time I ought to allude to. From an early period of my tenure of the Deanery up to the time I finally left it, I conducted a Ladies' Bible Class which was to me a matter of constant interest and about which I took a great deal of trouble week by week. Reference to the current diaries of that period will show the amount of time I was giving to the preparation of these lectures. Among those who came to them (and there were many, at one time I think more than a hundred) were a good many really intelligent and cultivated ladies, wives of Eton masters and others of that type. There were also some devout and oldfashioned ladies of worth and piety, and these last I was constantly told that I should inevitably frighten away by dealing as I did with questions of Higher Criticism, but to the best of my belief no single member of the Class ever left on that account, though some of them doubtless shook their heads over my opinions. The lectures were on the general structure and growth of the Bible. Miss Ella Ellison, afterwards Mrs. Bliss, a most capable woman, took very full notes and of these I was ultimately allowed to have a transcript made so that the lectures remain in a rough form on record.
>
> Biblical criticism has moved rapidly during the last few years, and some of the things which I then said I should express differently now; but I am quite sure of the real gain which ensued from these lectures, both to myself and to the ladies who attended them. They gave me a constant subject of study, and awakened and maintained in the minds of many of the ladies a vivid interest in the Bible the fruits of which have frequently come under my notice since.
>
> The authorities of the Oxford Diocesan Higher Religious Education Society begged me to adopt their syllabus and lecture on the subjects therein prescribed, and they would also have liked me to throw the lectures open to men as well as women, but I did not think either course was desirable. The lectures began by being held in the Deanery, but when the large dining-room there became

too small we migrated to the Chapter Library where the lectures were continued during my subsequent years.

I also undertook a class for the lay clerks, or singing men, which I held in the Deanery, and which, though at its start it laboured heavily and the men did not much care to come, grew in interest, and I think we had a really keen Bible Class, fruitful I believe of actual good, and certainly interesting to myself.

CHAPTER IV

THE QUEEN AND HER CHAPLAIN

I do think that ye have receiued or this a letter from Mr. Secretary, willing you to come up immediately, if your health will suffer, for certain weighty matters touching the Queen's service 4th January 1558–9. SIR NICHOLAS BACON *to* DR. MATTHEW PARKER (*Correspondence of Archbishop Parker*).

THE Queen first spoke to Randall Davidson on December 9, 1882. In January, 1883, he was sent for to Osborne, and he has described in his diary how within an hour of his arrival on January 20 he received a message from the Queen, followed very soon by a summons to the Presence.

At 6. o'clock had a kind visit from Lady Ely who came from the Queen to ask whether I had any objection to dining with her own circle—being in such mourning. I reassured her.

At 7.45 I was sent for to see the Queen. She received me in a dressing room. Washingstand, towels, hot water in a kettle—looking glass, brushes etc. and a set of nice pictures—miniatures etc. about the room. She stood all the time (about 20 minutes) I was with her. She asked about Edith and the girls, and then passed on to wider topics—the new Archbishop—his earnestness and vigour—the *memorial*, that *dreadful* scheme—the new Bishops—Wilkinson suited for Truro—'I never myself liked him much—but perhaps I dont do him quite justice. It is commonly supposed I dislike him because he preached at Windsor against painting and false hair and so forth. Not at all!—I respect him for his courage in saying it, though it was singularly out of place *there*! But I dont like some of his teaching—inclined to the confessional etc. But he will suit Truro very well. But he is too *sacerdotal* for me! As to the Welsh see, I have had such a "*to do*". All the *ladies* have been writing to me, and saying there was nobody suitable except their pet man. Lady Llanover—Lady Londonderry etc. Gladstone took great pains about it all—and quite tried to get the best men—apart from his personal church sympathies. I think he (Gladstone) is *very* unwell'—etc. Then other subjects. 'Do you know who is to succeed Mr. Wilkinson?' Full enquiry as to the parish &c. She had evidently not had the matter before her, and didn't at all refer to me for that or any other post. Then she discussed Farrar his feeling of being 'wronged' etc. Then Henry Villiers, whom she

happened to have seen. 'Can you imagine a young lady wanting to marry that man? He may be *good*, but his personal appearance is terribly against him.' Then *Wilberforce's Life* with which she is very angry indeed. 'Perfectly disgraceful.' 'But then Mr. Wilberforce is an unsatisfactory man . . . was a great trial to his father' etc. I told her some of the things in the book (she had not read it) which would be likely to make mischief. She was much amused about Denison and the Archbishop of York. But then Bishop Wilberforce *hated him*. He wanted to be Archbishop of York himself.

Next day he preached to the Queen on 'The Faithful Creator', after being 'initiated by Sir John Cowell in the mysteries of the strange service'—in the drawing-room. That night there was another long interview with the Queen in the same room as before, though 'for the first time she sat down', and the diary narrates 'she told me she was *specially* pleased and interested in my sermon, which had "suggested many quite new thoughts to her"'. Thus the trust which the Queen instinctively reposed at first sight in the late Archbishop's chaplain was deepened, and it is safe to say that for the rest of the Queen's life her belief in Randall Davidson as a man, her dependence on his counsel in the affairs of the Church, and her confidence in his general ministry and judgement were unwavering.

I

The office of Dean of Windsor in Queen Victoria's reign was possessed of a character and possibilities altogether its own. The Queen divided her time more or less equally between Windsor, Osborne, and Balmoral. But Windsor possessed a special importance ever since the Prince Consort's death on December 14, 1861. She was at Windsor every year for a couple of months from the middle of February; then again after Easter (spent at Osborne) for two or three weeks; then another three weeks or a month in those June and July days when the business of the session was wont to prove critical; and finally, after a few weeks at Osborne and a long spell at Balmoral, back for the autumn Cabinets in November until after the anniversary of the Prince Consort's death on December 14.[1] Osborne and Balmoral were for the less busy times—and provided opportunities of withdrawal. Thus Windsor Castle (hallowed also for her

[1] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 2nd Series, vol. 1, Preface, pp. xi, xii.

Majesty by her husband's tomb) had become in a special way the centre of the royal authority. The appointment, therefore, of a Dean of Windsor, who was an independent person touching the life of the world outside on the one hand and touching the life of the household so closely on the other hand, might mean much to the happiness of the Sovereign. It might mean much if the holder of the office were a man possessed of the right gifts. But it might mean nothing, for the office was an office with opportunities rather than rights.

Dean Davidson's immediate predecessor was Dean Connor, who only held the post for some seven months. He was a worthy and devoted parish priest, but he was not suitable for the quite peculiar position at Windsor. He had lived quietly as vicar of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, and was quite outside the circle of such knowledge as the Queen had a right to expect in her confidential adviser.[1]

It was Dean Wellesley who had really created the position. He was nephew of the great Duke of Wellington and a personal friend of Mr. Gladstone. In twenty-eight years he had acquired such an influence with the Queen as to give him an almost commanding authority in all Church affairs in which the Crown was involved.[2] Indeed, Mr. Gladstone once suggested that he should be offered the Primacy,[3] and it is to this approach that Mr. Gladstone referred in the epitaph which he composed for the monument to Wellesley in St. George's Chapel—an epitaph which was founded upon an English epitaph by Dean Vaughan:

Episcopatus etiam summi gradum
Pro sua modestia
Strenue detrectavit.

Dean Davidson writes of Dean Wellesley:

> If the holder of the office so desired he need have practically no active duties at all. On the other hand opportunities of usefulness abound in all directions and in the Queen's time the personal relations between herself and the Dean had for many years been

[1] The offer of the Deanery was actually made to Dean Connor not by Mr. Gladstone but in the Queen's name by Prince Leopold on October 3, 1882.

[2] Extract from the Queen's Journal· Balmoral, September 18th, 1882 (on the news of Dean Wellesley's death): 'By degrees and imperceptibly he had grown to be our best friend' (*Letters of Queen Victoria*, 2nd Series, vol. III, p. 335).

[3] Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, vol. III, p. 93.

the closest possible. Dean Wellesley had been among the most trusted of her friends.

It was Dean Wellesley who, as adviser to the Queen, secured the appointment of Tait as Archbishop of Canterbury in succession to Longley, notwithstanding Lord Beaconsfield's strong and persistent pressure for Bishop Ellicott. It was Dean Wellesley on whom in all ecclesiastical affairs the Queen leaned. And though the difference was great between Wellesley's seventy-three years and Davidson's thirty-five, it was to Wellesley's relation to the Queen that Davidson succeeded. It is therefore of no little interest to know that only three weeks before his own death Wellesley, reporting to the Queen how he paid his last visit to the dying Tait on September 1, added these words:

DEAN WELLESLEY *to the* QUEEN

> Just at the time when he was taken ill, the Dean offered the place of Sub-Almoner to his [the Archbishop's] son-in-law, Mr. Davidson, both as a mark of respect to the Archbishop and because the young man himself is most highly esteemed. The delight this gave to the Archbishop threw a gleam of sunshine over his sick-bed. Now as to the successor. . . .[1]

When Dean Davidson began his residence in Windsor in June 1883, the Queen was sixty-four years old. She was 'very little in stature' but had an extraordinary dignity, and also irresistible charm:

> I have always regarded her as embodying to a degree I have never known in other people a combination of the best sort of common sense, persistent industry, genuine and whole-hearted devotion to duty, and affectionate sympathy with people who were in trouble. It was her common sense which welded together the other attributes and enabled her (though not in the ordinary sense of the words a really clever woman) to do far more than most clever women could have accomplished.
>
> What exactly it was which constituted the irresistible charm attaching to her I have never been able quite clearly to define to myself, but I think it was the combination of absolute truthfulness and simplicity with what had become an instinctive realisation of her position and what belonged to it. I have known many prominent people, but I have never known one of them with whom it was so easy and so natural to speak freely and frankly after even

[1] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 2nd Series, vol. iii, p. 330.

a very short acquaintance. I imagine it would be difficult to name any attribute more valuable to a sovereign than the possession of this particular power. This must perhaps be qualified in one respect. She hated conversational controversies about matters wherein she differed acutely from the person to whom she was speaking. It was not exactly resentment against contradiction; she disliked contradicting as much as being contradicted, and if the subject was really an unpleasant one, on which one was bound to point out that she was mistaken or wrong (and I had several such marked occasions), she obviously disliked it very much, and would be apt to end the conversation and then write a note about it. Similarly, she would not find fault with people directly, but made somebody else do it for her. This came out oddly when she wished severely to criticize things done by e.g. one of her sons or daughters, and she would make me, for my sins, go to them with peremptory statements of her emphatic objection to something they had done or said. I could give examples of this—some of them funny—some of them almost tragic.

One wonders a little whether the same combinations and qualities would have been possible in a person of stately or splendid appearance, or whether the lack of those physical qualifications, combined with the reality of her dignity in word and movement, did not itself constitute a sort of charm because of the very way in which it took people by surprise.

In the early eighties, the Queen was a very solitary woman. Her mother, the Duchess of Kent, had died in March 1861, and the Prince Consort the following December. Of the Royal Family there was no one member, when Davidson went to Windsor, who was continually with the Queen: though Princess Beatrice was her mother's most constant companion to the end of her life, and it was to Princess Beatrice that it fell, as her mother grew older, to read her the confidential communications from ministers and other people every day, and to do much of her writing. The Dean also saw a great deal of Princess Christian and her daughter, and the Duchess of Albany, and others very close to the Queen. It is very interesting to read his account of the Prince of Wales:

So far as my own experience goes, the member of the family who showed the most unswerving loyalty to the Queen was the Prince of Wales. Difficult as his position was, and real as were sometimes the grounds of complaint as to the position either allowed or not allowed to him in discussions and decisions, I have

personally never heard him say anything but what was absolutely respectful and loyal about the Queen. . . . The position of a man, who, when sixty years of age, is still only Prince of Wales, presents difficulties of a very grave sort. The Queen personally had fears, about which she has more than once spoken to me, about the mistake which is committed when the heir-apparent is given responsibilities respecting political or public matters. What she used to say is, I think, true; but she certainly in my judgment overdid it, and when she was known to be consulting a younger member of the family about public matters on which she did not invite the counsel of the Prince of Wales, it was very easy for jealousy and misunderstandings to arise in more than one quarter.

The Master of the Household was Sir John Cowell, 'a man of deep religious earnestness', and friend of General Gordon, and a capable soldier of the scientific sort. He was (wrote the Dean) 'essentially something of a martinet, and strangely lacked adaptability or ingenuity in effecting his excellent purposes for and in the Royal Household. His splendidly high tone and serious views of life were appreciated by the Queen although, I think, she came personally to be tired of him and certainly did not follow his advice.'

The two ladies most closely attached to the Queen were Lady Ely and Miss Stopford, who shared the secretarial labours between them—the latter a very religious woman with strong High Church sympathies but over-nervous. There were many more—among them the Duchess of Atholl, full of vigorous common sense and with plenty of courage, Lady Waterpark, Lady Churchill, and Lady Errol, 'keen and eager, a hot Evangelical, a supporter of all kinds of odd philanthropic causes'.

Without a doubt the foremost member of the staff was Sir Henry Ponsonby, Private Secretary to the Queen and Keeper of the Privy Purse. He had the help of an extraordinarily clever wife. 'I imagine,' wrote Davidson, 'although I do not know this, that he told her everything and consulted her about everything. She had had many years experience of Court surroundings, and her natural gifts were of a high order.' Ponsonby was about sixty when Davidson became Dean, and throughout his tenure of the Deanery they were on terms of the closest friendship. Every day when the Court was at Windsor, after the service in the private chapel at 9 a.m., Davidson and Ponsonby used to pace up

and down the Castle walks, discussing most things in the Castle and out of it. Nor is there any doubt that while the Dean learnt much from his intercourse with Sir Henry, the latter came to rely more and more on the younger man's shrewd judgement for help in all manner of political and general problems. Ponsonby was a man of great charm, a letter-writer of remarkable wit and skill and considerable insight. To quote Davidson's words: 'Ponsonby showed, I think, great capacity in all political matters, advising the Queen admirably, and communicating with her Ministers in exactly the right sort of way....' Both Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone 'entertained for him a high respect and regard'. But there was one quality missing:

> He distinctly lacked courage, and seldom, if ever, stood up bravely to oppose the Queen in things in which he thought she was wrong. He would cleverly try to get her out of doing wrong things, but I think he might have done far more sometimes by a direct appeal, as she had, rightly, full confidence in his judgment. I do not remember his ever doing so, although many a time he would discuss with me how best to prevent this or that plan of hers being effected.

Ponsonby had as assistants, though he used them but little:

> two men whom it is impossible to over-praise, Sir Fleetwood Edwards and Sir Arthur Bigge. In selecting these two, the Queen had shown her extraordinarily acute perception, for each of the men had been more or less accidentally brought to her notice. I think I am right in saying that Edwards had been selected as an equerry to the Duke of Albany, and on his coming to Windsor to be approved by the Queen . . . the Queen had on the same evening told the Duke that she did not intend him to have Captain Edwards as she meant to retain him herself. Sir Arthur Bigge, a keen artillery officer, had been in South Africa in the Zulu war, and was, I think, deputed to take out the Empress Eugénie to see her son's grave. The Queen in a similar way spotted him when appointed to that service and herself retained him. Edwards and Bigge became two of my closest friends.

It was during the rides with Captain Bigge in Windsor Park particularly, that the seeds were sown of that intimate friendship between the future Archbishop of Canterbury and the future Lord Stamfordham, which lasted for nearly fifty years.

Such was the family into whose circle the new Dean came, winning their friendship and confidence with remarkable speed.

Very soon he was the recipient of all sorts of confidences. As one of the ladies of the Court once wrote to him:

> If I thought that you felt an 'outsider' to anything of ours, I tell you it would make me very unhappy, as I could never come again with utter confidence, as I do, and tell you anything, from the shape of the kitchen-maids' new caps to some of the deepest padlocks of my soul!

It so happened that two great sorrows which the Queen suffered drew Her Majesty and the Dean together at once in a very unusual way:

> I never at any later period had more intimate private talk with her than I had in my first year at Windsor. She from the very first opened out to me upon big subjects, religious and secular. This was in part due to the fact that during that year she was twice in deep distress, once at my very outset, and again in the following Spring, in consequence of the death of the Duke of Albany. She felt that sorrow very acutely and it gave new opportunities of really confidential talk and even ministry. I think I got at that time to understand thoroughly her rather unusual religious position and holding.

One of the earliest entries in his diary describes his first experience of St. George's Chapel, on May 20, 1883, and shows how the Queen turned to him only two months after the death of her faithful servant, John Brown:

> *May 20.* 7.15–8.15. Interview with the Queen. Most touching, solemn and interesting, but terribly difficult. Oh God give me guidance and grace if I am to be called on thus to counsel and strengthen in spiritual things.
>
> Dined with household. A most important talk with Miss Stopford, which filled me with deep thankfulness and anxious fear.

When Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, died in March 1884, Randall Davidson felt keenly for the unhappy Queen and did everything in his power by word and deed to help her bear her grief. After the funeral the Queen wrote to him as follows:

The QUEEN *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

April 9, 1884.

. . . Let me however express to you *now* from the *bottom of my* poor bleeding heart, which has been so cruelly torn of late—for all your great and tender kindness and thought on this most

solemn and overwhelming occasion! You have been such a help to us, and we feel it the more as you had not the long acquaintance with us and experience of our dear old friend Dean Wellesley! The Services were most touchingly beautiful and the spirit in the memorial chapel partook more of Heaven than Earth. . . .

Realizing Her Majesty's need of and demand for sympathy, Davidson never let an anniversary of a great grief in the Queen's life pass by without a letter of sincere and tender feeling. Thus the assurance of this sympathy led the Queen to talk to Davidson freely about spiritual things in a way which those who knew her best had never witnessed before. 'Until you both came to Windsor,' wrote Miss Stopford in 1884 of the new Dean and the new Canon, Boyd Carpenter, soon to be Bishop of Ripon, 'the Queen had literally no one whom she ever spoke of these matters to.'

The circumstances of her life after 1861 [the Dean's memorandum continues] threw her religious thoughts to the life beyond the grave. Upon this she was constantly dwelling; she liked allusions to it in sermons, and constantly brought it up in conversation.

There is an instance of her interest in the future life recorded in the Dean's diary at the time, just after the sudden death of Agnes Ellison, Mrs. Davidson's newly married, younger sister, and with reference also to the death in the same year of the Emperor Frederick:

January 20, 1889, Osborne. I have had a pleasant visit here and a great deal of talk this evening with the Queen, both before and after dinner. She was most kind about Agnes and we talked long over the general questions of this life and the next. She asked me if there ever came over me (as over her) waves or *flashes* of doubtfulness whether, after all, it might be all untrue. 'And yet', she added, 'these feelings never last, for it is simply *impossible* to believe that lives we have seen cut short in the full swing of activity (e g. Prince Consort, Emperor Frederick, and others she had named) can really have come then to an utter end, or that we shall not see and know them hereafter. The Empress', the Queen said, '*never* feels these sudden qualms, and I am so thankful it is so.'

To continue the memorandum:

With her the thoughts about it were very real and were not, I think, mawkish. Indeed, she used to be specially indignant with the mawkishness of a good many of what she called 'con-

solatory letters'. She used to quote to me some of those she had received when the Prince Consort died as examples. . . . I remember one special letter to which she more than once alluded. I do not know who was the writer, but from the terms she used about him he must have been a person of some importance religiously. He had used what seems to me an atrociously wrong expression: 'Henceforth you must remember that Christ Himself will be your husband'. This she used to repeat to me with indignation, and say 'That is what I call twaddle. The man must have known, or ought to have known that he was talking nonsense. How can people like that comfort others or teach anybody.'

I was often surprised by the definiteness with which she held her beliefs about the intercourse in the other world of those who have been friends here. It did not correspond with the sort of common sense test which she liked to apply to theological teachings even about matters upon which we have ampler biblical authority than we have about this. She used to denounce as amazing any disbelief or hesitation about the assurance we ought to have of such maintenance beyond the grave of the relations we have held to one another upon earth.

Upon many other subjects she used to say, 'I suppose the orthodox belief is so and so; do you think we have really ground for holding it firmly? Do you really and truly believe it yourself or is it only a pious opinion?' But about this particular branch of ordinary Christian opinion or belief she never seemed to have any hesitation or questioning.

People entitled to put the question have sometimes asked me 'Do you think that the Queen, besides being a good woman, was a really religious one?' and I have never had any hesitation in answering 'Yes'. The talks I have had with her were much too genuine, too unconventional, too simple in diction, too untheological, I might almost say too matter-of-fact, to justify one in doubting that the religious impulse in her life was definite as well as deep. She had not I think been very wisely taught as a child in these matters. I do not suppose that her mother had much religion in her character, though perhaps I have no right to say so, and from the account she has given me of her other instructors, male and female, I should not expect to learn that any of them really helped her in religious matters. Bishop Davys, of Peterborough, who taught her many things, she evidently never liked. She used to say he had two or three daughters on whom he practised the lessons he was going to give her, and that they were so stupid that he was in a bad temper by the time her lesson began. How far this corresponds with fact I have no means of knowing.

The Prince Consort brought into her life a large religious element, but I should think it was, in his case, of a very nebulous sort so far as Christian dogma goes. His intellectual powers were, of course, far greater than hers, and she would not, I think, have attempted to follow him in metaphysical speculations on credal subjects. . . .

I should certainly say that her life was fashioned and carried on upon a religious basis, and that her shrewdness and common sense combined with her genuine and prayerful anxiety to do right at every juncture, made religion a more potent force in her conduct, both public and private, than either she herself or some of her family and friends probably realised.

There is one little point to which I ought to allude.

People were constantly puzzled or irritated by the Queen's rather morbid dwelling upon the details of the past, and especially upon the actual physical surroundings of those who were gone. About this I would say, first, that the facts were even more odd than most people had any idea of, secondly that the explanation is more reasonable and less morbid than is ordinarily realised. As to the facts—nothing that the Prince Consort had had or used in daily life was allowed to be set aside, and his room at Windsor remained as he had left it, with his old-fashioned white hats and gloves and canes lying about. Odder still at Osborne—I do not know whether it was so at Windsor—hot water was actually brought to his dressing-room at dressing-time forty years after his death, and this room she used as a sitting-room or interview-room for intimate people as it was conveniently situated next to her own set of rooms, and I have again and again had talks to her there before dinner with the hot water actually steaming.

The Queen acted in a similar way with regard to the sitting-room of the Duchess of Kent, her mother, at Frogmore. The practice was indeed odd but:

the explanation is not any fantastic or morbid idea about retaining memorials of the dead, still less, as was sometimes suggested, a sort of spiritualistic notion of their still haunting the rooms. It was simply this. She had at the time of these successive deaths given orders that nothing was to be moved or touched until she gave orders to that effect. Then these orders were not given. There was nothing to bring pressure to bear upon her, nothing to force her, so to speak, to make a decision, yes or no, by one particular day.—The rooms were not wanted for any other purpose, and it rested therefore with her to take the initiative in directing any

change to be made. I remember two of the old pages, Searle and another, speaking to me about it in the nicest way. 'Such a pity Her Majesty does not give us orders to stop this; it makes people mock, and yet nobody likes to say anything to her about it.'

Such is, I am convinced, the simple explanation of what was sometimes ignorantly exaggerated by those who described it as a morbid craze. It is exactly one of the cases I have before referred to in which a sovereign suffers from having nobody on the appropriate terms with her for friendly remonstrance or even raillery of a kindly sort.

The services in the private chapel were, of course, the Dean's special and regular care. Every morning there were prayers at 9 a.m. for the household. On Sundays there was a service, with a sermon, at 10.30.

When I began at Windsor, the Queen used to give me minute instructions as to what ought and ought not to be done with respect to the services in her Private Chapel, the relation of the Domestic Chaplain to the servants, both indoor and outdoor, and the management of occasional functions, such as a baptism or a marriage. The curious aloofness of her life from the ordinary current of English ways showed itself in her wishes and arrangements about Divine Service. When she came to the Throne, English Ritual, in the large sense of the word, was at its lowest ebb and ordinary Church services were dreary in the extreme. The Prince Consort brought with him the traditions of Lutheran services, which he liked, and what was called the Ritual Revival, then in its mildest forms, surplices, chanted psalms, eastward position, turning eastward at the creed, found no recognition or even toleration in the Royal chapel.

Forty years later, when I began my Windsor life, these things had become usual elsewhere, but the Queen never saw them, and I remember her incredulous surprise one day when I was discussing these matters with her and contrasted the usages of the Private Chapel at Windsor with common usages elsewhere. Even the very Protestant ritual of Whippingham Parish Church was thought by herself to be rather advanced because the clergy preached in a surplice. The black gown never departed from the Private Chapel at Windsor, though bishops of course preached in their episcopal dress. In the Private Chapel we used Mercer's hymn-book, a most dreary compilation. Fortunately she took a fancy to some special hymn *tunes* in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, and I suggested incidentally one day that we might have both hymn-books in the Chapel. She agreed, the new hymn-books came and Mercer was

never used again. She was however very particular about the hymns and would deprecate or forbid any that she disliked. It was the custom, still maintained I believe by King Edward, that the preacher should write out his text and that it should be placed in her seat, together with a paper showing the hymns to be sung.

With regard to sermons, and her likes and dislikes thereon, a great deal of nonsense has been talked by people who knew little about it. She was in my opinion a very reasonable and sensible judge of sermons. She actively disliked to have in the Private Chapel sermons of an ambitious public character, dealing largely with great affairs. On the other hand she always wished that some allusion should be made to personal incidents, specially those connected with the Royal household and it was her constant use to send to the preacher an intimation, perhaps ten minutes before service, that she wished an allusion made to the death of so-and-so, or the illness of somebody else.[1] This was very disquieting to many men. What I used to urge upon preachers who asked my advice was that they should preach as they would to the household, simple sermons with something to attract attention or awaken interest. It was her very common habit to ask to have in writing a copy of a sermon which had interested her.

Most of the preaching was done by the Dean himself, by the Queen's special command. On certain anniversaries, notably December 14, the anniversary of the Prince Consort's death, there were memorial services in the Mausoleum at Windsor, and on those occasions the Queen always desired some special reference to be made to recent happenings and recent sorrows. The first time that Davidson had to conduct that service, he says:

> I was directed to prepare prayer for the special Mausoleum service and to introduce reference to the Duke of Connaught in India, successive deaths of Wellesley and Connor, and above all J.B., a very difficult task. But it must be done.

According to the entry in the Dean's diary for the day the 'Queen afterwards expressed herself, through Miss Stopford, completely satisfied'.

[1] 'February 19, 1886. Though very possibly the Dean may have thought of it himself, the Queen wishes to say she hopes he will make an allusion tomorrow to the death of dear Principal Tulloch, one of our most distinguished men, noble, brave, most intelligent, large-hearted and liberal-minded, and a great personal friend of the Queen, who is deeply grieved at his loss, which is irreparable for our beloved Scotland and her Church. He was one of the Queen's Chaplains and Dean of the Order of the Thistle.'

The Dean was sometimes rather embarrassed by the Queen's requests that he would print his sermons:

The QUEEN *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

Windsor Castle. May 11, 1885.

The Queen *must* ask the Dean of Windsor to let his admirable sermon of to-day *be printed.* It was so true and would be *so* useful. Indeed there is none of his which she would not like to see printed for the benefit of *high and low.* Why not have several printed in a small volume for the benefit of some charity? . . .

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to the* QUEEN

May 11, 1885.

I had the honour to receive yesterday Your Majesty's most gracious and encouraging letter with reference to the sermon I preached in the Private Chapel yesterday morning—and with allusion to other sermons also.

With my humble duty I venture most respectfully to thank Your Majesty for the kindly words of approval with which Your Majesty has honoured me.

It is a high privilege to be allowed from time to time to preach before Your Majesty, and any wish Your Majesty may express respecting any sermon of mine ought, of course, to be regarded as a command which, as in duty bound, I will gladly obey.

And yet after waiting for 24 hours so as to think it all over, I ask Your Majesty to pardon me if I venture to give expression to the exceeding difficulty I find in bringing myself to believe that it would be a gain that such sermons of mine should be reproduced in a permanent shape.

I write with all submission, but it does appear to me that so many indifferent sermons are constantly published, that I shrink immensely from what (notwithstanding Your Majesty's most gracious words) I cannot but feel would be adding to the number!

I hope I am not too bold in saying that I would very greatly prefer not publishing—or even privately printing—any such volume at present, unless it be Your Majesty's special wish that I should do so.

It is not so much the difficulty of recalling such sermons (though they have never been written) that daunts me. *That* I would gladly undertake at Your Majesty's desire. But I honestly cannot help thinking that Your Majesty's kindness overrates the merit of the sermons, and as I have unhappily a great lack of facility in reproducing in writing words which I have spoken, I fear that even such merit as any of them possess would disappear in print.

I must ask pardon for my presumption in thus questioning, however humbly, Your Majesty's gracious suggestion, and, of course, should Your Majesty, after what I have said, still desire me to print a little volume, I will do my best to give effect to Your Majesty's kind wish. But perhaps Your Majesty will at least permit me to delay the matter for awhile, and to see, by degrees, what may be practicable.

Once more I must, with my humble duty, thank Your Majesty for words of encouragement and kindly approbation which are an incentive of no ordinary kind.

I return herewith, with my dutiful thanks, the very interesting letter from the Archbishop of Chambéry which Your Majesty has allowed me to read.

I hope it will become known in Ireland as well as in England how strong a protest the respect shown to Your Majesty by the French clergy has practically raised against the bad conduct and disloyalty of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland. It must have been a source of satisfaction to Your Majesty to find how warmly the consideration shown to Roman Catholics in England has been appreciated in France. Certainly the cordial respect shown by the monks is eloquent in no ordinary degree.

I thank Your Majesty much for telling me of these very interesting and important facts, and I have the honour. . . .

The Queen disliked new faces, and, on the rare occasions on which strange preachers were in fact invited, Bishop Magee, Dean Vaughan, and Bishop Boyd Carpenter were the favourites. Norman McLeod, Principal Tulloch, and Matheson, the blind Presbyterian minister (in Scotland), Dean Stanley and Dean Vaughan, were all of them men whose opinions she was fond of quoting on religious topics, though (Davidson writes) 'in talking of Dean Stanley, she always distinguished between his delightfully liberal sympathies and his theological holdings, with which she repeatedly told me that she had no sympathy'.

The Queen's views on other preachers, when they came, were usually at least decisive.

SIR HENRY PONSONBY *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

Osborne. August 3, 1886.

The Queen tells me to let you know she was well pleased with the sermon preached by the poor but prolific ——.

I am to add that on the previous Sunday R. preached a long and most tedious rambling discourse. He lost his place, repeated

himself, and Her Majesty thought it would never end. She cannot let him preach again, though if you consider it necessary he may read the service here.

The Dean's help was sought by various members of the Royal Family in religious questions. Thus on Christmas Day 1885 he wrote to Mrs. Davidson from Osborne:

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to his* WIFE

The Duchess of Albany was most refreshing and *un*royal. She wants me to go to her for an hour tomorrow to solve sundry vexatious problems which are vexing her in religious matters: 'If I am to bring up my children to understand these things surely I must first learn them better myself.'

He also had the special task of preparing the younger members of the Royal Family for Confirmation. On one occasion a difficulty had arisen about the suitability of the particular clergyman chosen by the Prince and Princess of Wales for the preparation of their daughter, Princess Louise. On the Dean's telling the Queen that he had undertaken the duty, she wrote:

The QUEEN *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

Windsor Castle. June 28, 1884.

The Queen has to thank the Dean for his letter received yesterday morning and cannot sufficiently express her great satisfaction at its contents. Her son and daughter had not mentioned the subject to the Queen but she knew that in talking to the Princess of Wales about it, she felt anxious on the subject, not liking that Mr. T. should continue to teach the Princess (in which she entirely agreed) and yet feeling a delicacy and difficulty about it.

The Queen is therefore greatly rejoiced that one so kind, so intelligent and enlightened as the Dean of Windsor should be entrusted with this charge. And from being the Queen's domestic Chaplain as well as Dean of Windsor nothing could be better, and the Queen thinks that this must have softened the fact of the *cessation* of Mr. T.'s duties to him. . . .

With respect to the household (in Davidson's words):

The Queen's views were of a similarly old-fashioned and restrictive kind. She had a quite extraordinary fear of clericalism in any form and above all of such confidences as might lead, as she used to say, 'to the very border of Confession', and it was with her discouragement rather than approval that any really pastoral relation-

ships either in health or sickness could be maintained. What exactly she was afraid of I never could tell, but I had some odd counsels from her about the danger of my visiting too much, even her old coachman, who specially liked me to come when he was ill.

There were many other matters on which the Queen spoke or wrote to the Dean, for he was constantly at her service, whether at Windsor or Osborne or Balmoral or on occasional expeditions to Italy. There are a great number of letters in the Queen's handwriting, and her directions or questions to him were various and frequent. Now the subject was the birth of a great-granddaughter:

The QUEEN *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

Windsor Castle. February 27, 1885.

The Queen thanks the Dean of Windsor very much for his extremely kind letter received yesterday. The birth of this dear little *great*-granddaughter is a source of gratitude, and recalls many a day and hour in her past life, especially the birth of dear Victoria herself—in this very place. The Queen is not feeling very strong yet and her anxiety about the War and her brave Troops prevents her being as well as otherwise she might, added to the sad and harassing recollections of this season. The Queen asks the Dean to have collect-prayer on Sunday to thank for dear Princess Louise of Battenburg's safety and the birth of the Queen's great-granddaughter. Unlike many people, the Queen does *not* rejoice greatly at these constant additions to her family. . . .

Now, again, she would discuss a character in a novel:

The QUEEN *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

May 18, 1887.

We have been (or indeed are *still*) reading that really beautiful book *We Two* (we read *Donovan* last year)[1] and the Queen wishes to know if the character and life of Raeburn are not taken from some real atheist Orator and leader. The Queen thought the Dean might know.

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to the* QUEEN

Deanery. Windsor Castle.

I am extremely interested in the fact that Your Majesty should have enjoyed that most remarkable book *We Two*. Considering how young the authoress is, she seems to me to have promise of

[1] By Edna Lyall.

the very highest order, and her books are already in immense circulation. I think the character of Luke Raeburn is an entirely idealised one, although no doubt different men—whose teaching professed to be anti-Christian but was really more Christian than they knew—may have suggested many of the episodes. I will however find out incidentally, as I can easily do, whether any one life formed the basis of her picture. She has, as I think you will feel, done good service in calling attention to the fact that real Christianity is utterly *misunderstood* by so many who oppose it, and that if we can get a wider and more wholesome and rational Christianity to take the place of the narrow and rather sour creed which turns so many minds against it, very much of the present opposition will disappear.

On another occasion she put straight a curious story of her accession, in which it was stated that Lord Melbourne, on coming to announce William IV's death to the young Princess, opened a Bible and read to her 1 Kings iii. 5–14:

The QUEEN *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

November 11, 1886.

The Queen hastens to answer the Dean's letter, and Dr. Plumptre's story. From beginning to end it is a *complete invention,* and the Queen *never heard* of it even, during these nearly 50 years of her reign. It was always stated (which was the *fact*) that the Archbishop of Canterbury (Howley) and the Marquis of Conyngham (Lord Chamberlain) came to announce to the *Princess* Victoria her Uncle, the King's death, for which we had been prepared for some days.—The Queen was asleep, as it was quite early in the morning—in the Duchess of Kent's Bedroom (where she always slept) and was woke by her Mother. She got up *at* once and hastily put on a Dressing-gown and went into her (the then Princess') Sitting-room, where she found the 2 above-named gentlemen. The Lord Chamberlain knelt down and handed to Princess Victoria the paper on which was written the fact of the King's death, signed by the Physicians. The Archbishop then gave the Princess some details of her poor Uncle's last hours. Both knelt down and kissed the young *Queen*'s hand, and left.

The Queen has *since writing this* referred to her Journal written at the time, which she has had copied out, and sends to the Dean. He may copy it *or* get it copied, and send the copy to Dr. Plumptre *to read.* It is exactly as she wrote the account today. It shows the value of keeping a Journal, laborious and often overwhelming as she frequently finds it.

It contradicts the *whole story* from *beginning* to *end.* She was NOT nervous. Perhaps some of the details in the extract need not be copied and the Queen has put a pencil mark where it might stop.

On reflection the Queen has *not* marked anything—as it is as well to have the whole account of that *memorable day.*

II

The Dean's confidential relations with the Queen, to use his own words, 'brought me sometimes into rather sharp conflict with her, when I wanted to press some point of which she disapproved, or still more to object to something which she wished'. The most notable instance occurred very early in the Dean's time at Windsor. It concerned a proposal on which the Queen's mind was set for a further volume of *Leaves from the Journal of a Life in the Highlands.* This addition to what had already appeared caused no small anxiety amongst those nearest Her Majesty. The Queen had just published *More Leaves from the Journal of a Life in the Highlands* early in 1884. She gave the Dean a copy of the book and told him of her further intention. He had already heard of the plan from Dr. Cameron Lees of St. Giles', Edinburgh, who was at that time much in her confidence in Scotland, and had been entrusted with the editing of the memoranda concerned. The Dean read the volume and the memoranda, and at once felt that publication, or even the printing of anything of the sort suggested, would be injudicious. Indeed, he had told Dr. Lees that in his judgement such a course would be most undesirable, and had urged him, in vain, to communicate with the Queen himself. It was, however, obvious that Dr. Lees was afraid to express his real opinion about it to Her Majesty, though as a matter of fact he shared the Dean's view. Accordingly the Dean wrote the following letter to the Queen:

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to the* QUEEN

The Deanery, Windsor.
6 March, 1884.

I have delayed, perhaps unduly, in writing, according to Your Majesty's kind permission, to thank Your Majesty again for the copy of the recent Volume of *Leaves,* which arrived while I was absent from Windsor. The reason of my delay was that I have been anxious to re-read the whole with all the care which is its due.

I have done so, with an ever-deepening interest, and your Majesty will permit me to say once more how much there is in these 'leaves' which must, as I think, do real and permanent good. To feel sympathy with human sorrow is good for all people. To be the means of evoking such sympathy is a privilege which for more than 20 years has been Your Majesty's in no common measure, and the privilege, however sad a one, is a sacred power for good. The people of England would have lost much had the books been withheld from them whereby Your Majesty has admitted them to a closer share in the lifelong sorrow which clouded both the Nation and the Royal Home more than 20 years ago.

And the little volume which has now been given to your Majesty's loyal subjects contains in a simple form much that is calculated to keep alive that wholesome flame, as well as to strengthen other sorrowing hearts, in the darker hours of life, whether of bereavement or of anxiety.

If I may venture to particularize I would refer specially to the good which must accrue to many from the records Your Majesty has allowed to become public with regard to the tragic death of the Prince Imperial, to the drowning of the little boy in the spate at Balmoral, and to the details of the day on which Your Majesty received intelligence of the battle of Tel el Kebir. The constant and appreciative tribute, spoken and unspoken, which Your Majesty has borne to the faithfulness and loyal affection of those with whom Your Majesty has been surrounded, ought to have a powerful effect for good in more than one class of Society.

May I be pardoned by Your Majesty if I take courage to add, in this connection, something more. I have taken great pains during the last few weeks to ascertain by all such means as are available without direct enquiry what is the actual reception with which the volume has met among the thousands who are reading it. The ordinary upper class newspapers of course convey some picture of this public opinion, but, as Your Majesty is aware, it is usually possible to know pretty accurately beforehand what such newspapers will say, and they write under a conventional restraint which diminishes to some extent the value of their testimony.

I have tried to gather, in addition to such testimony, some view of the reception the volume is meeting with among other classes of Society.

I am pleased, but not surprised, to be able to tell Your Majesty that beyond all question these *Leaves* have in the main been received and read, among the humbler classes of Your Majesty's subjects in the very spirit in which Your Majesty has given them to the world—a spirit on the readers' part of that loyal and dutiful

sympathy which it has been so long Your Majesty's privilege to evoke.

At the same time Your Majesty will readily understand that such a spirit of ready response to the gracious confidences so frankly given, is not always to be found, and I should be deceiving Your Majesty were I not to admit that there are, especially among the humbler classes, *some*, (perhaps it would be true to say *many*) who do not shew themselves worthy of these confidences, and whose spirit, judging by their published periodicals, is one of such unappreciative criticism as I should not desire your Majesty to see. —These facts, which are, I fear, beyond dispute, do not in any way detract from the respectful sympathy with which all the better natures among Your Majesty's subjects accept this volume from Your Majesty's hands—but the facts remain and give a special point to words which I venture to quote from the letter Your Majesty was good enough to write to me a few weeks ago:

> 'the sacredness of deep grief may be desecrated by unholy hands, and when it is for the loss of a friend that is far more the case as it is much more one's own alone'.

I feel I should be wanting in my honest duty to Your Majesty who has honoured me with some measure of confidence were I not to refer to this, for Your Majesty's consideration, in connection with what Your Majesty in the same letter was good enough to tell me as to some further publication which Your Majesty has in contemplation.

I humbly trust Your Majesty will not deem me presumptuous in saying this much—and will indeed believe in the earnest gratitude and loyalty which alone prompts me to be so bold. I feel well assured that in this as in other things the prayers of a devoted people will be answered as heretofore by the gift from God to Your Majesty of a right judgement in all things, and that He will bless and prosper Your Majesty in every way.

Once more I would express to Your Majesty my very earnest thanks for the gift of a volume calculated in so many ways to promote the Christian simplicity of English and Scottish homes and to awaken afresh among the truer hearted of Your Majesty's subjects the loyal devotion to Your Majesty's person which finds daily expression throughout the land.

The letter was, to use the Dean's own epithet, 'a careful letter', but it was also very brave. The effect on the Queen was immediate. Her Majesty expressed her surprise that the Dean should hold such a view, and let those about her know that, notwithstanding what he had said, the book should go forward.

The Dean then sent a further letter, in which he declared that he felt so strongly about the inappropriateness of any such publication that he would feel bound to take every means of persuading her if possible to desist. The Queen replied, through a third person, asking Davidson to withdraw what he had said, or at least apologize for the pain he had given. The Dean answered that, while he was quite willing to write a letter expressing his distress at causing the Queen pain, he would be bound at the same time to reiterate his view as to what was right, and having said this he wrote the letter and offered his resignation.

> I wrote the letter, adding an assurance that, if I was unduly or unfairly taking advantage of my privileged position as her confidential Chaplain and counsellor, I would without a moment's demur resign the position so that she might get someone else whose presence would not recall to her mind this unfortunate incident. I promised to do this without giving anyone a word of explanation, and I thought it could be quite easily arranged—but as to the suggested book, I repeated that I must adhere to everything that I had said.

The letter was met by complete silence. The Dean did not see the Queen for a fortnight, and by his own suggestion another preacher took his place on the next Sunday. But at last the strain was over.

> A few days afterwards she sent for me on some matter of a totally different nature, and was more friendly than ever, and we have never heard another word about the proposed book. To the best of my recollection Dr. Cameron Lees heard next Spring that the matter was postponed for the present.

The following comment is added in Davidson's memorandum dealing with the whole incident. It shows the significance of the episode in the relations between the Queen and her Chaplain, and not least the sound common-sense judgement of the Queen.

> This was only one, though the most serious, of several occasions of difference or remonstrance on my part towards her. In the long run her sound common sense judgement always prevailed, and she was much too good *au fond* to let things continue to rankle harmfully. My belief is that she liked and trusted best those who occasionally incurred her wrath provided that she had reason to think their motives good.

III

There were, of course, many other problems which came to the Dean, of varying degrees of gravity. Often they were put in a somewhat pungent way by Sir Henry Ponsonby, with regard not only to ecclesiastical appointments, of which we shall speak later, but to problems of charitable relief and points of ritual and doctrine, e.g. about turning to the east for the creed, or the state of the departed.

SIR HENRY PONSONBY *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

Windsor Castle. December 6 1884.

Do we officially believe in Purgatory?

Canon Luckock of Ely wrote a book about the future state. He apparently knows all about it.

He states that the Queen has expressed herself warmly in favour of his book (??).

And so wants to send another—

An appeal once reached him from the Public Schools, a little staggered at the unexpected largesse of a week's holiday on the occasion of the Jubilee, asking the Dean to act as intermediary to protect them against future bounty of the same kind!

On not a few occasions he had to act as ambassador between the Sovereign and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Thus he was asked to let Archbishop Benson know the Queen's wishes with regard to the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill[1] in 1883, of which she was a strong supporter in opposition to the Archbishop. This led to the Dean's suggesting a letter from the Archbishop to Her Majesty, justifying his position. Sir Henry Ponsonby's comment was: 'Your reply about the message to the Archbishop did very well, though the Queen "deplores his views" and hopes to beat him on Monday next.'

Once he had to explain the proposals for services at the Abbey and St. Paul's in memory of General Gordon, and show that they had no political character.

On another occasion the Queen was anxious about a Bible class of Society ladies, which the Archbishop had started at Lambeth Palace, intended, the Queen believed, to reform 'Society'. The Dean, after consultation, wrote to Sir Henry

[1] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 2nd Series, vol. iii, pp. 422–7, 429.

Ponsonby. He said (March 6, 1885) that he was quite sure that some mistaken report of what had taken place must have reached Her Majesty. He repeated twice in the letter that there was no sort of idea of any general scheme for the improvement of Society or anything of the kind. All that had happened was this:

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to* SIR HENRY PONSONBY

Windsor Castle. March 6, 1885.

A few ladies came to the Archbishop some months ago and told him they thought they and some of their friends would find it helpful if he could give them an opportunity this Spring of something a little systematic in the way of religious *teaching*, or addresses, adapted specially for educated people. He agreed to do so, in the quietest way possible. The notion was *theirs*, not his. They said they would find out which of their friends would like to come, and it ended, as I understand, in some invitation cards being printed, showing the hour at which he would hold such a service weekly in Lambeth Chapel. These invitations were given in a quiet way through the ladies themselves to those of their friends who would, they thought, care for it—and the result has been that for the last few weeks these ladies have met on Friday afternoons in Lambeth Chapel, had a little service, prayers, hymn, address—and gone away again. That is all.

The Dean offered to see the Queen, and give her any further explanation as to who attended, and anything else, 'including what had happened about the Princesses'—through whom, or an invitation to whom, the news had apparently reached Her Majesty.

The Deanery, with Mrs. Davidson as hostess, was, it need hardly be said, a considerable addition to the charm and effectiveness of the Dean's influence in the Castle. It was not only visited by the Royal family (on one celebrated occasion, at the time of the Jubilee, 1887, five present or future Sovereigns took tea with the Davidsons), but it was the means of bringing other people, among them American bishops, into direct or indirect touch with the Queen of England. And there was a very general impression abroad, most helpful for all, that the Deanery was a centre of friendship, and a home where everybody could meet.

IV

St. George's Chapel contains the tombs of kings, and there was one remarkable event, recorded at the time by Dean Davidson, in which one famous king of England of the past and the future King Edward VII were brought into a close association.

In the centre of the Chapel, midway between the Sovereign's stall and the high altar, lies a vault under a pavement made of squares of black and white marble. Within the vault are four royal coffins. The large leaden coffin of Henry VIII lies in the centre. On its south side, with a space of about three inches between their shoulders, lies the coffin of Charles I, covered still with a black velvet pall, which seems to be in good preservation. Upon the coffin of King Charles, near the foot, lies a little coffin covered with black cloth, containing the remains of an infant child of Queen Anne. At the north side of Henry VIII lies the small leaden coffin of Queen Jane Seymour.

In 1813, in the reign of King George III, the coffin of Charles I had, apparently with the connivance of the Dean of the day (Legge), been opened for inspection by the Prince Regent, Sir Henry Halford,[1] his physician, and others. It would seem that certain articles were removed at the time, namely (1) a portion of the cervical vertebra cut transversely with some sharp instrument, (2) a portion of the beard of the King of auburn colour, with a bit of linen cerecloth attaching to it, (3) a tooth. In 1888, these relics were in the possession of Sir Henry Halford's grandson, Sir Henry St. John Halford. He desired to restore them, and presented them in a small ebony box to the Prince of Wales. The box contained the following inscription, engraved on a plate inside the lid:

En
Caroli I^{mi} Regis
Ipsissimum os cervicis
Ferro eheu! intercisum
1648
Et regiam insuper barbam

[1] Cp. Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, ch. xxvi, where it is stated that at Dr. Baillie's request Sir Henry Halford transmitted to Scott a lock of the hair of Charles I, taken 'when the royal martyr's remains were discovered at Windsor in April 1813'. Scott wore a ring containing the lock for some years (vol. IV, p. 141).

Dean Davidson, with a view to their safety in the future, suggested to the Prince of Wales that he might think it right to replace these relics in the vault or grave from which they had been abstracted. The Prince of Wales agreed. The Queen was consulted and her consent obtained, on condition that no one entered the vault or disturbed the coffin. The Prince handed the ebony box to the Dean on Tuesday, December 11; and the Dean had a leaden casket prepared, which was enclosed in a stout oaken case, fitting closely, and all firmly closed with screws, with the following inscription on the lid of the leaden casket:

> The relics enclosed in this case were taken from the coffin of King Charles I on April 1, 1813, by Sir Henry Halford, Physician to King George III. They were by his grandson Sir Henry S. John Halford given to H.R.H. Albert Edward Prince of Wales.
>
> On December 13th, 1888, they were replaced by H.R.H. in this vault, their original resting-place.

The day appointed for the restoration was Thursday, December 13. After the service of Evensong, the Dean, with Canon Eliot, as Canon in Residence, and Canon Dalton, superintended the removal of the pavement stones above the vault. This was done with the utmost care and reverence by Mr. A. Y. Nutt, Surveyor to the Dean and Canons, and three workmen, and occupied a very short time. Six of the small squares of black and white marble were raised, with the mortar that lay between them, and the brick arch of the vault was removed. From this about twenty bricks were taken out with the greatest care so that no débris should fall on the coffin beneath. By this means an aperture of about eighteen inches square was made immediately over the centre of King Charles's coffin. The workmen retired from the Chapel as soon as the aperture had been made.

The Prince of Wales then came to the Chapel. It was just past seven o'clock and the choir was wrapped in darkness on the winter evening. Only a long coil of magnesium wire served to light the narrow chamber, in which the Martyr King and his royal companions lay. All was silent as the little company of watchers gazed within; but no foot was allowed to enter. The Prince of Wales stooped down and lowered the ebony casket in its oaken case, with the relics, and placed it near the centre

of King Charles's coffin. The Prince then withdrew. The workmen re-entered the Chapel, and the aperture into the vault was closed. The opening in the brick arch was rebuilt from above, each brick being held in place by hand till the mortar had set. The marble pavement was relaid, and by half-past nine that night all had departed from the Chapel.

CHAPTER V

THE DEAN AS CHURCHMAN

Is it not whimsical that the Dean has never once written to me? And I find the Archbishop very silent to that letter I sent him with an account that the business was done. I believe he knows not what to write or say; and I have since written twice to him, both times with a vengeance. DEAN SWIFT, *Journal to Stella* (Nov. 25, 1710).

WHEN Edward White Benson became Archbishop of Canterbury he expressed a particular wish that Randall Davidson should remain at Lambeth to help him. And though Davidson's actual service as chaplain lasted for only a few months, he was as much behind the scenes during the whole of Benson's primacy as he had been in the later years of Tait. The contrast between Tait and Benson was great indeed. Like Tait, Benson had been headmaster of a public school and member of a cathedral chapter, but he had none of Tait's ways or his manner of looking at the world. He was a churchman and a poet—in one; a lover of pageantry; a master of curious language, delighting in beauty, revelling in old chronicles, fascinated by the constitution, ritual, and archaeology of the Church; with a very high sense of the dignity and prestige of the see of St. Augustine (*Papa alterius orbis*). His interests lay not so much in the defence of orthodoxy as such, or in keeping the stream of the Church's teaching fresh with the currents of new thought, as in the setting forth of the Church's law, establishing historic precedents, declaring the Church's system, and making the Church tell as a spiritual society—as the Catholic Church of England in the midst of the modern world. He was not at home in Parliamentary proceedings, and always felt himself a stranger in the House of Lords. On the other hand, when vexed with ritual troubles he met these troubles by the unexpectedly bold and successful vindication of the ancient Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury as an independent spiritual tribunal with an authority and jurisdiction of its own.

I

To an Archbishop of this quality the aid of a man with Davidson's training was of unusual value. But from the very circum-

stances of his previous service Davidson also gained from Benson an experience and outlook which were likely to count for a good deal when the time came for him in his turn to take his place upon St. Augustine's marble throne. The relationship between the two men was very different from that between Davidson and Tait. To Davidson, Tait had been a father who had given and taught him almost all that he had. But Davidson was rather the counsellor of Benson, his partner and intimate friend. Davidson always looked at Benson as Archbishop and Master—and loved him as his 'dearest Lord'; and he knew that Benson was rich in gifts and qualities different from his own. But he did not in any sense become his spiritual heir, as he was certainly Tait's. He received much and he learned much; as a junior partner learns from the head of the firm. But he brought his own resources also to the common stock. He gave unreservedly all the knowledge he possessed; and the large correspondence between them, which still survives, reveals the magnitude of his contribution to Benson's work, not only his stored knowledge of the past but his extraordinary skill. Indeed, Davidson got the nickname of *Sapum* from the Benson family because he was 'more subtle than all the beasts of the field'! There is a story told of Canon Carter of Clewer which illustrates this. He had got into some kind of trouble over his teaching about the Eucharist. Davidson went to see him and said, 'Don't you mean so and so?' using an entirely different phraseology from that in dispute, which conveyed what Carter wanted and yet could not be fairly rejected by others. Carter said, 'I suppose it is what I mean', and after a little reflection agreed. 'May I tell the Archbishop so?' asked the Dean. Carter again agreed. Davidson went to Benson and told him what had happened. Benson looked at Davidson and said *'The old serpent!'* and everything was settled happily.

Davidson himself writes thus about the correspondence, much of it preserved amongst his own papers, and more still at Trinity College, Cambridge:

> Practically every day there arrived a packet from him containing the most important items of his correspondence with brief annotations or queries, and I returned the documents with further comments, suggestions, etc. Forcible as he was in correspondence, and weighty as his opinions were upon all ecclesiastical matters,



R. T. D. and HARRY DAVIDSON
When a boy



AT HARROW 1867
R. T. D. A. G. MURRAY (afterwards VISCOUNT DUNEDIN) H. N. ABBOT



R. T. D. CHAPLAIN AT LAMBETH
(*About* 1878)



R. T. D. as DEAN OF WINDSOR
(*About* 1885)

he was not a quick worker, and he was a man who specially sought counsel and help from somebody else before finally dealing with big questions. Bishop Lightfoot during his life, and Dr. Westcott both then and afterwards, Canon Mason in Benson's earlier years of episcopal duty, and, in some branches, Lord Selborne and Sir Richard Webster, were his constant counsellors. Sir Lewis Dibdin also helped him greatly on certain matters of Church patronage and the like, but there is I think no doubt that it was to me that he chiefly looked for daily aid, and it was I think a happy thing that my Windsor duties were of a kind which left me full opportunity for giving him such help.

Of course the mass of these annotations are either not preserved at all or are buried in the official correspondence bundles, but besides this I have a very large number of letters from him, all of which were placed at Arthur Benson's disposal for the purpose of the biography. The confidence with which he honoured me, and the opportunity he gave me for keeping in touch with the matters which had afforded me my main work in the Chaplaincy years, have been among the happiest episodes of my life.

There were continuous conversations, as well as the unbroken stream of correspondence, and all manner of topics public and personal tumble in and out of the letters. Drafts of Benson's Charges and of his Diocesan Letters used to come to Windsor, and Davidson made detailed comments upon them, and suggestions, even to the very syllables.[1] And there is a letter of April 12, 1887, about a clergyman ('Whatever you do with B. dont try to appeal to his commonsense') which Benson annotated in the top left-hand corner, 'The Dean really gets too cautious'. One or two specimens may be given by way of illustrating the importance and variety of the problems on which counsel was sought. His methods in advising the Archbishop were the very same that he used with the Queen.

In view of a Radical Disestablishment Campaign during the General Election of 1885, which in fact flared out, the Dean had suggested a manifesto in the name of the united Episcopate. The Dean's letter comments on a form of this manifesto which the Archbishop sent for his criticism. Eventually a Statement signed by the two Archbishops appeared in the press November 2, 1885:

[1] *Life of Archbishop Benson*, ii, p. 383.

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

17 October 1885.

I have, in the midst of a whirl of other important things, been giving all available thought to the Yorkist packet herewith returned.

The suggested manifesto is *not* what I had myself anticipated or desired There is too little about the general duty of electors—too little of the serious WEIGHT which such an utterance emanating from two Archbishops ought to carry—and, in my opinion, too much about disestablishment It is undoubtedly ably written and effective in its way, and as an address from a Bishop or Archbishop to his Diocese I should have no special fault to find. But what is wanted in this case is, to my mind, something different. An appeal from the Archbishops as representing the accredited teachers of Christianity in the nation—calling on the citizens at large to realize their responsibilities towards God and man. But it is obviously easier to criticise than to manufacture such an address!

I confess I think the Bishop of Peterborough's[1] marvellously telling pronunciamento has a good deal changed the case. IT IS now (necessarily and rightly) regarded as the foremost existing exposition of the Church's case against disendowment in 1885–90!! and if, as I suppose, the Church Defence Institution is reprinting it as a pamphlet to go forth by thousands, a fresh address by the Archbishops, of a necessarily much milder and less partisan sort, will surely be apt to fall flat. I should have thought it might have been said, (in your joint appeal to the electorate) that you abstained from going *here* into the question of disestablishment (earnestly as you deprecated so terrible a national calamity) because you did not want your solemn counsel to have even the appearance, far less the reality, of political or ecclesiastical partisanship. You could thus, as it appears to me, throw much more weight into the few plain and straightforward paragraphs, which should simply urge on the voter—in the very simplest available Saxon—the duty of thoughtfulness, earnestness, and caution; the danger of giving rash promises of support, or of crediting rash promises of special legislation, and should at the same time press on the employer the wrong he would do by trying to coerce voters. I think the opening and closing passages of W. Ebor's[2] draft are capable of being worked well into such a document.

I honestly confess that I think more of such a manifesto for the

[1] William Connor Magee, Bishop of Peterborough, 1868–90

[2] William Thomson Archbishop of York, 1862–90

recognition it claims for the Voice of the National Church at a National crisis, than for the actual difference it is likely to make in the votes given!

Bosworth Smith's most admirable letter in last Thursday's *Times* is of real importance He tells me he is getting the thanks of Liberals by every post. He is, of course, not a 'Churchman' in any technical sense, and some would call him rather a lax 'Christian'. All the more are his words weighty. If you have not written anything to W. Ebor before we meet on Tuesday, I should greatly like to talk the manifesto over with you further—and express my growing conviction of what is wanted.

I will try to put on paper before Tuesday what I mean.

The following letter deals with the Trial of Bishop King and other matters, annotated in Benson's hand 'Assessors—Southwell —Booth'.

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

9 Jan. 1889.

I return herewith the *very* important and interesting packet you have sent me. I need not say how intensely I feel for you the burden and difficulty of the position in which at this moment you are placed. But I do most honestly believe that in such a matter as this we have no shoulders in the Church which could have carried so well as you can this particular load. You seem to me to have *throughout* acted in a way which is less susceptible of unfavourable criticism from fairminded men than anyone prior to experience would have deemed possible (What a clumsy sentence!) May God continue to you the grace for a right judgement in the face of what is no ordinary mountain of difficulty and anxiety.

As regards the particular letters you sent me, may I say a word on each.

1. *Winton*[1] is what you would have expected. He is a 'grand old man' although he cant be of any great use to you if real *complications* should arise. His name is a tower of strength (among the clergy). . . .

4. As to *Southwell*,[2] I think he wants his ears boxed. The notion of writing in that fashion and then going off up the Nile is monstrous. If he had been in England, I think there is enough in some

[1] Edward Harold Browne, Bishop of Winchester, 1873–90
[2] George Ridding, Bishop of Southwell, 1884–1904

of the points he raises to have made it worth your while to have seen him—and shown him the facts and heard his criticisms thereon.

I should suggest for your consideration whether you should not now write to him in something of this vein:

> The points you raise are interesting and important. If I could now see you I think I could show you that you have misapprehended the case—which you admit not to have studied at all. But you wont expect me to enter into a discussion by letter which may be months before it reaches you—I wish you had been able to tell me your news by word of mouth, that I might have seen whether your objections have any residuum after I have explained the facts to you. As it is I haven't a notion what you expect me to do—I have taken the best advice in England and have weighed the matter with the whole facts before me. Have you the effrontery to suggest that I should throw all this advice overboard and start upon a new tack altogether because of the criticisms of *one* of my brethren which he fulminates at my head and then goes off for an African holiday!

That, put into civil language, is the sort of answer he should get, I think. I should certainly not try, if I were you, to argue or explain the details to him further on paper, and I should make the fact of his being on the Nile a sufficient reason

You might add that the fact of floating on the Nile in an ark does not of necessity make him a Divine Lawgiver

I thank you for your prompt and kind regard to my note about Birkbeck. It is of course possible that your original letter to the Kieff folk may provoke criticism—but it is better perhaps to be criticised for what you really said than for some imaginary version of it made public because people cant get the original.

Have you seen *Booth*'s statement in today's *Times* as to your supposed 'visit' to him?? You will see it is even referred to in the Leader. What can he mean? Does he refer to the day you went with me to Clapton in 1881? If much notice should be taken of the statement Booth has made, it might *possibly* be well for you to send to 'a correspondent' in answer to an enquiry, a few lines to say that you have no notion what Booth can mean. But I should not think you ought to send a contradiction direct to the papers. Possibly you have had some later communications with Booth whereof I know nothing.

I also return herewith the Natal letter you sent me, and (in a separate packet) the Australian Paper about Bp. Barry's 'return'.

Neither seem to call for much remark. The Natal letter you will, I imagine, merely acknowledge with thanks.

What a specimen of the variety and bigness of the Archbishop's work this letter gives:

Salvation Army
Bp. Lincoln Trial
Russo-Greek Synod at Kieff
South African troubles
Australian Primacy

II

But, busy as Davidson was in helping the Archbishop in all manner of problems, he was making his own independent and individual contribution to the work of the Church in addition. The representative assemblies of the Church were the Convocations, with their two Houses of Bishops and Clergy. After a disuse of 138 years (since 1717) Canterbury Convocation had been revived, notwithstanding opposition, in 1855. Dean Wellesley, however:

> had shared the old-fashioned dislike of Convocation as a new-fangled thing . . . and a curious correspondence exists at Windsor in which the Dean and Canons indignantly declined to receive from the Bishop of Oxford, or indeed from anybody, a summons to attend Convocation. Times had changed however, and I was naturally anxious to take my part in Convocation work, and, on consulting the old precedents, I found that there was no doubt at all that the Deans of Windsor had sat—as such—both before and after the Reformation . . . Archbishop Benson duly summoned a Dean and a Canon in the first year of my tenure, and they have sat ever since.[1]

The Dean's first appearance was in February 1884. At that time the Lower House met in Westminster School Hall, and the Dean of Windsor sat at the end of the Prolocutor's table looking (says a Proctor of those years) 'so wise, so quiet'. The main debate of that session was concerned with the composition of the Final Court of Appeal in ecclesiastical suits, a subject to which Davidson was to devote much attention for the whole of his life. The Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts, in the

[1] Till 1921, when a new canon was passed limiting the representation of Cathedral and Collegiate Chapters to the Dean or in his absence a Canon.

chairmanship of which Benson succeeded Tait, had just been issued. Davidson spoke, upholding the right of the lay judge to deal with ecclesiastical matters, as well as the cleric, in opposition to the followers of the fiery Archdeacon of Taunton (Denison), who maintained in the following May that 'it was not the layman's province to be trained in theology', and 'that Our Lord gave jurisdiction not to laymen but to the Apostles'. Of the Dean's speech on this occasion the *Church Times*, not usually his supporter,[1] wrote:

> The most noticeable incident of the week was the début of the Dean of Windsor, who at once took a high place amongst the debaters of the Lower House. Mr. Davidson is an excellent and judicious speaker, and is likely to form a great acquisition.

A glance through the *Chronicle of Convocation* (1884–91) shows that Davidson was always 'in' things at Convocation, and an active debater. Though of course not yet in a position to lead, or openly determine Church policy, he made contributions of no small value from the point of view of shrewd common sense, not unmingled with a liking for catching people out on the questions of the day, anticipating on certain points the line he pursued as Archbishop. Thus, in speaking of Church Councils (1886), Davidson was not afraid to reprove even so learned a speaker as Dr. William Bright for some words he had used a little carelessly, and observed:

> There was a way of speaking of the relation of Parliament to Church questions as though Parliament was a body altogether common and unclean. . . . An immense deal of harm was being done to the Church because Churchmen declined to expect that any good thing could come out of Parliament.

To some again who urged a multiplication of Diocesan Bishops (1888) he opposed the counsel *Audi alteram partem*; and suggested to those who wished to get rid of the old Bishops' Palaces that:

> Those who sit here a generation hence would look back with very mixed feelings upon our work when they saw Fulham Palace perhaps become a candle factory and Farnham Castle a Jesuit seminary.

It is also significant for the future that Davidson's last speech as

[1] After his speech at the Church Congress in 1882, against the falsehood of extremes, the *Church Times* had remarked on his 'sneering, especially ungraceful in a young man'.

Dean of Windsor in the Lower House was made in February 1891, when he persuaded the House to negative outright the motion of Archdeacon Denison, asking for a committee to examine the volume of essays *Lux Mundi*, of which the editor was Charles Gore, dealing (it was thought dangerously) with the doctrine of the Incarnation. The Archdeacon was then 86, and the Dean 43. Thirty years before, to the month, he reminded the House, the same fiery Archdeacon had persuaded the Lower House to appoint a committee to examine an earlier collection, *Essays and Reviews*, which he had described then as containing 'all the poison which is to be found in Tom Paine's *Age of Reason*, while it has the additional disadvantage of having been written by clergymen'. Indeed Davidson, in the course of his speech, through a suggestion that no member of the present Convocation, save the Archdeacon, would now be likely to sign the Report which the Committee on *Essays and Reviews* had produced, drew a remark from the Archdeacon which, with the Dean's conclusion, is worthy of reproduction:

> *Archdeacon Denison*: I wish to say that I should not myself be willing now to append my signature to it.
> *The Dean of Windsor*: Could there be a stronger support for my argument than that observation of the Archdeacon's? The report then drawn up was of such a character that even its author would now disown it. Now, is that the sort of process which if this Committee be granted, the Archdeacon wishes to see repeated now?

In 1884 the Queen appointed Davidson a Trustee of the British Museum,[1] in succession to Prince Leopold. One of the earliest questions with which he had to deal in this capacity was that of the Sunday opening of museums. The objection to the opening was partly on the score of Sunday labour for the museum staff, but it was also based on the view that, apart from the question of attendance at public worship, it was wrong 'to provide for our people on that day amusements or occupations which are not religious and spiritual'. Such was the objection of the Lord's Day Observance Society, as expressed in a letter from its Secretary to the Dean. And here again we find him handling a matter much more controversial than it afterwards became in very much the same way as he was often to handle it in later

[1] In 1884–1903 he served as the Crown's nominee, 1903–28 as Principal Trustee; 1928–30 as Permanent Trustee. See *infra*, p. 1195.

days; and (what is of equal interest) taking a line of his own in opposition to Archbishop Benson and (it was supposed) to Archbishop Tait.

He wrote thus to his father:

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to* HENRY DAVIDSON, ESQ.

19 Jan. 1885.

On Saturday we had our British Museum debate on the Sunday Question. I did not have to initiate the matter, as it came up in the form of a report by the Secretary.

But I did finally move the resolution whereon we voted.

I moved that a letter be written to the Treasury to say that in the opinion of the Trustees it is desirable that, as an experiment, the Natural History Museum at Kensington should be opened on Sunday afternoons from 2–6 o'clock and that the Treasury be asked for a sum not exceeding £500 to meet the expense.

I made a full speech which was very well received. Sir F Leighton seconded me. I was supported by Lord Rosebery—Sir John Lubbock—and the Prince of Wales (who was in the Chair and said only a few words) and we carried the motion, though the Archbishop (not very vehemently) and Beresford Hope were potent opponents.

Some of those who voted with me did so because they thought it certain that the Treasury won't vote the money unless Parliament reverses its previous decisions, and they wished to press the question on Parliament by means of *our* decision.

What will come of it, it is hard to say. The more I look into it the more do I feel sure we are doing right—and that Our Lord Himself would have been—under modern circumstances—on that side.

I have not another moment—Please let me hear soon how you are going on.

When his aid to resist the decision of the Trustees in favour of an experimental opening of the Natural History Museum on Sundays was invoked by the Lord's Day Observance Society, the Dean replied as follows:

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to the* SECRETARY OF THE LORD'S DAY OBSERVANCE SOCIETY

Jan. 28, 1885.

I am in receipt of your letter about the British Museum and the possibility of its being opened to the public on Sunday afternoons. I am afraid our views on that subject would not be altogether

in agreement, as I am one of those who believe that it is a mistake, both on religious and other grounds, to keep the doors of the Museum closed when so many other doors, leading to evil and not to good, stand open. I am well aware of the difficulty of the problem, and of the wide issues it raises, and I know how much is to be said from your point of view. It is, it seems to me, a case wherein no absolute law of right and wrong can be laid down with certainty, and we must therefore act, by the help of God, in such way as we believe to be most in accordance with His will, and most after the example of our Blessed Lord. I have, as a trustee of the British Museum, taken part in the movement for making an experiment in the direction of Sunday opening, for the benefit of those now debarred from such opportunities, and driven, by force of circumstances, into an evil mode of spending Sunday.

I do not refer so much to what are popularly called the 'working classes' as to the classes a little above them, many of whom feel, to my knowledge, the help towards good which would thus be given them. I fear I dare not expect that you will agree with me in this view, but it is not lightly or thoughtlessly that I have arrived at it. I am, however, most anxious that nothing should be done in the direction I desire without the fullest and fairest consideration of all that is so truly said by you and others upon the opposite side, and I hope you will use every effort to ensure the due discussion of the question by those in authority before any final step is taken. I entirely approve myself of your proposal to memorialize the First Lord of the Treasury on the subject, and also to bring about a discussion in Parliament. I imagine that you are sure, under present circumstances, of the efficient aid of Mr. Broadhurst and others to secure a majority in the House of Commons, and that, no doubt, will effectually prevent, for a time, the fulfilment of the wish I and others have at heart. I cannot complain of this though I personally regret it. But I have felt it impossible as a Trustee of the British Museum to face the terrible responsibility of aiding in keeping the Museum doors locked, in the face of the evils which I believe their opening will tend to counteract. If, in the course of the controversy which is now likely to be raised on this most difficult subject, you perceive any risk that your side of the question is not being fully presented or patiently heard, I shall be glad if you will let me know, and I can promise you that I will do all that I reasonably can to secure the fullest consideration of anything you bring forward.

May God give to us in these matters the 'right judgement' so hard for us to attain to. The 'Sunday Question' was certainly a burning one during our Master's earthly life, and the religious

authorities of His day believed the action He took to be dangerous and wrong. One can but ask Him to be with us still, and to guide our authorities towards such a decision, on whichever side it be, as may most conduce to the advancement of His Kingdom.

The Dean's attitude, as thus explained, was a great disappointment to the Lord's Day Observance Society. Its Secretary demurred to the suggestion that their:

> Sabbatic opposition to the free handling of the Lord's Day by the Sunday Society and those who are doing the work of that Society is to be compared with the opposition shown to our gracious Lord by the pharisaic Sabbatarians of the gospel period.

He also added:

> The Committee are very sad that they should find on the side of a movement such as led to our correspondence one by whose hand they had not unfrequently received communications on the question from the late revered Archbishop Tait and one to whom they had looked as likely to use any position he might hold in the Church of God on the same side as that on which the Archbishop ranged himself.

The Dean sent a civil reply. He could hardly refute the charge that he was not on the same side as 'the late revered Archbishop Tait'; and contented himself with the following comment:

> Your reference to Archbishop Tait was, I am ready to believe, kindly meant. I think however I may claim to have known pretty thoroughly his views on all such matters. Perhaps you have not noticed how marked a line he drew between a Parliamentary vote and the decision of the Museum Trustees.

III

The year 1885 was a very heavy year. It was the year of the General Election, the Disestablishment Campaign, the *Pall Mall Gazette* revelations and the passing of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the Dynamite Outrages, the death of General Gordon, the marriage of Princess Beatrice, the completion of the Revised Version, the appointments of Bishop Temple to London and Bishop Moorhouse to Manchester—to name only some of the important events with which Davidson was definitely associated in one way or another. For some months of it Mrs. Davidson

was away, and we get some interesting sidelights on the heavy demands made upon the Dean in letters written to her during her absence abroad:

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to his* WIFE

June 18, 1885.

All Windsor is upside down. It is on the one hand ASCOT *Cup Day* and on the other hand Ministers are coming and going. Yesterday I went in to see Ponsonby and rushed in upon Lord Salisbury who was shut up in Ponsonby's room composing his cabinet. . . . One cannot help wondering whether Lord S. has some deep plan for making the Tories *popular* before the General Election comes.

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to his* WIFE

44 Grosvenor Road
12 July, 1885.

I have treated you very badly in the matter of letters for the last few days, but it really has not been wholly my fault. I got last night your letter of Friday. Of course I shall not get one tonight.

Yesterday I greatly enjoyed the Harrow and Eton match which had the most exciting finish that has been seen in such a match for years, and which kept the whole thousands in a state of enthusiasm on one side or the other for at least an hour. The match had in any case to stop precisely at seven o'clock in accordance with rules—and Harrow, which was winning, had to try whether it was possible to make the necessary runs (93) in an hour and three quarters. During the first hour they only made about 20 and then it became a race against time. Finally Harrow won by getting the 93rd run at ONE *minute to seven o'clock*. Had they been two minutes slower in getting their runs the match would have been drawn. The boy who most distinguished himself was Arthur Watson (Vanity's son), and Teddy Butler, as Harrow Captain, was the hero of the second innings and finally won the match. Both these *fathers* will be in a state of supreme content. I enjoyed it all extremely.

This morning I went with Lucy to early service in Lambeth Chapel and officiated with the Archbishop, Monty being absent. We breakfasted there and then I went on alone to *Spurgeon*'s. Lucy was to have gone with me—but at the last we decided she should not go—thinking that Spurgeon would be sure, after all the horrors which have been revealed this week—to preach a coarse and trying sermon. The Archbishop quite approved of *my* going, in order to see what line Spurgeon was taking on this

horrible but, at present, all absorbing topic. As it turned out he never directly alluded to it at all—but preached a most powerful sermon on final judgement—with a running reference throughout to all that has been published—but did not say one word which was indiscreet or coarse or harmful. I disagreed with nearly all he said about the Day of Judgement—but I could find no cause for censure with respect to his taste in the matter of these awful revelations or statements.

In case you don't know what all this is about, I will tell you briefly. Last Saturday week the *Pall Mall warned* its readers that it proposed to begin on Monday a series of revelations of the wickedness now going on with respect to very young girls, as the result of an enquiry they had themselves (the Staff of the paper) set on foot, to show the necessity of passing the Act for which we have all been petitioning and which seemed in danger of being again allowed to collapse in the House of Commons. It therefore bid them beware of its own pages for a few days. On Monday the first chapter of these Revelations was published and was so sickening and horrible in its ghastly revelations that an hour after its publication all the bookstalls were forbidden by W. H. Smith to sell it. This created huge excitement and troops of men and boys were selling it in the streets and the price went up to 6d. or 1/- per copy in some streets.

On Tuesday the excitement was still greater and the paper was selling in hundreds of thousands as fast as it could be printed. It was less revolting than Monday's, but was still most terrible. It was attempted to prosecute the sellers in some of the streets, but that failed, as the Lord Mayor said it was not *their* fault. Questions were asked in the House of Commons and still the sale went on. The other newspapers who noticed it at all abused the Editor and declared the whole thing to be abominably false, but that won't do. From the first the Editor has said he will submit all his facts *with the names* to any three of the following—The Archbishop of Canterbury—Lord Shaftesbury—The Bishop of London—Samuel Morley—Lord Dalhousie (as in charge of the Bill)—the Lord Mayor—Cardinal Manning—Mr. Howard Vincent—in order that they may testify whether he is a liar. At present no names are published—but Mr. Stead declares that if he is prosecuted (as is threatened) he will rejoice—inasmuch as he will then, in self-defence, summon into the witness box in open court all the people of whose awful wickedness he now possesses proof, and will confront them '*princes, peers, and M.P.s*' with the victims of their sin. After this, probably he won't be prosecuted! He professes to long for prosecution.

The last chapter appeared on Friday—and yesterday had only comments on the whole—and statements as to the means used for discovering the evils and a repeated request for investigation into the truth or falsehood of the charges made.

I can't, of course, go into the particulars, but the general gist and outcome of the whole charge is this—That a deliberate trade is going on for the inveigling and capture and horrible treatment of young girls who are quite innocent and know nothing of what is going to be done with them—and who are bought and sold like slaves at so much a head. Such is his charge, and he professes to know names, places, etc. etc. and to be prepared to reveal them if he is prosecuted—or to tell them privately to any three of those whom he has selected as leading men, on the understanding that the three judges are only to testify to whether the charges are lies or not, and are to promise not to prosecute or expose the guilty men. You can well believe what a difference of opinion there must be as to whether the publication of such things is right or not. He has certainly gone fearfully far in the way of plain speaking and hideous details, and certainly the paper must have done harm to many who were pure and innocent. But I cannot myself doubt that, on the whole, the good outweighs the evil, and that the wave of moral wrath and indignation which has been evoked will sweep things before it, and will go far to prevent such hideous things going on unchecked. For example, the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which was supposed to be hopelessly doomed in the House of Commons was carried on Thursday night *without a division* though it is to be again very carefully considered and discussed in Committee next Tuesday. His *immediate* purpose therefore already bids fair to be accomplished. Pray God it may all turn out well—and that He may bring good out of the evil.

Enough (perhaps too much!) of such a subject.

It was perhaps after the receipt of this letter that Mrs. Davidson put in the plea for more quiet, to which the following letter refers:

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to his* WIFE

17 July 1885.

As the days lessen in number which separate us from one another I keep thinking about you more and more. May God bless and keep you in body and soul. You will come back refreshed in all senses, to give some of your refreshment to your rather be-jaded husband who wants above all things to get into his life some of that peacefulness which you have been writing about and which is the sure producer, I suppose, of better strength. I don't want to be

overrestless and overbusy—indeed I don't—but I seem to have somehow so many more sides open to such attack than most people have, and I don't think it is quite my fault that *I*, or rather *we*, have so little time of quiet refreshment. But I will try, please God, to make these things more manageable. The real difficulty lies in the fourfold character of my present duties, no one of which, I suppose, can possibly be really shoved aside—except for a time:

Duty as Queen's Chaplain and Adviser.

Duty to *Windsor*, as Dean, Head of Chapter, and Lecturer to class etc. etc

Duty to public matters in the Church wherein I have had so unusual an apprenticeship and about which your father felt so strongly.

Duty with my *pen*—especially at present in the matter of the *Life*! This last is growing upon me with a kind of night-mare bigness—and if I only could see a fair Genie rise out of the earth and undertake the work for me I should feel as if a veritable burden were lifted off my shoulders.

Nobody else, so far as I see, has so many quite different duties of the very first importance pressing on him—and as I am not clever enough to discharge them with the ease and rapidity which some men would exhibit, the burden squeezes me down and prevents me (and you too) from having the time for the refreshing and beautiful side of life which you so rightly feel the lack of for us both. Ask God to guide us rightly that we may see how to rearrange the days and hours in some wiser mould.

In 1886 and 1887, there was a considerable agitation in Church circles about the Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem. In its original form it was jointly financed, and the Bishop was alternately nominated, by England and Prussia. From the start it had been bitterly opposed by most of the leaders of the Oxford Movement. Bishop Barclay, the third Bishop, died in 1881. The Prussian Government then withdrew from its share in the arrangement; and a very strong body of High Churchmen, headed by Dean Church and Canon Liddon, set their faces against any revival. Liddon went out to Jerusalem and wrote to tell the Archbishop that the Orthodox Patriarch was very strong against a Jerusalem Bishopric of the Anglican Church. Davidson had been himself in touch with the Bishop of Gibraltar, who was of an entirely different opinion about the views of the Patriarch. 'He thinks' (Davidson wrote, November 7, 1886) that 'Liddon, of whose views he was quite cognisant, tried when at Jerusalem to force

an unfavourable opinion, first into, and then out of, the Greek Patriarch.'

On March 2, 1887, the appointment of Archdeacon Popham Blyth as Bishop in Jerusalem was announced. On the same day, Davidson wrote to the Archbishop, who had heard of a threatened memorial against the appointment of what Mr. Athelstan Riley described as 'the episcopal resident in Jerusalem —this seems to be the title which gives least offence':

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

March 2, 1887.

I return herewith Riley's letter and his three enclosures.

I greatly hope they won't get up such a Memorial to you as Liddon foreshadows, as it is by no means to be desired that you should now have to prophecy in detail all that is or is not to be done hereafter by a man who won't, after all, be under your direct command though you have the main voice in his appointment. You have two colleagues who are not apt to be ignored and one of them would very likely take the opportunity of answering in a very different spirit from that which the Memorialists profess to find in *you*. Liddon would like nothing better than to evoke from Bishopthorpe[1] something which he would parade as justifying all his violent language.

As far as I understand him, he wants to denounce Blyth simply because he (Blyth) won't use his own bad language about C.M.S.

It may be difficult for you, without doing harm, to choke off such a memorial as is suggested. But, if it comes, I hope it will receive the briefest and most dignified of replies.

It is intolerable that you should be pecked at by outsiders till they force you into some declaration upon a matter in which they are in no way concerned, and for which nobody asks them to be responsible. I wish somebody would ask Liddon to give the dates and circumstances of the personal visits of inspection at Jerusalem on which he bids Riley rely!

The memorial was, however, presented with a formidable list of signatures and was duly acknowledged.

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Deanery, Windsor Castle
22 March, 1887.

I thank you much for sending me your strong, dignified, and as it seems to me most satisfactory letter. It is *very much* superior—

[1] Bishopthorpe, York—the residence of the Archbishop of York (Thomson).

as is meet—to the rough draft I ventured to send as an element for consideration. . . . As to Talbot's private reply, herewith returned, I think its frankness does him credit. *He is* evidently writing with utmost honesty and I think you will probably have sent him a line of genuine thanks without much difficulty. But its very honesty betrays a sad lack of grip of the real facts! . . .

Bishop Blyth was consecrated and received a very cordial welcome from the Orthodox authorities, to whom he was officially commended by the Archbishop of Canterbury. He ruled long (1886–1914) and wisely.

The Jubilee year, 1887, made many demands on the Dean of Windsor, as was to be expected; and he took a full part in the various celebrations—at the Abbey, at Buckingham Palace, and at Windsor itself. The following is the entry in his Diary for June 21, the Jubilee day:

At 7.30 a.m. Alice[1] arrived, from G.N. Hotel.

She was to go with me to the Abbey in lieu of Edith, as E. had received a second ticket admitting her to the Queen's Gallery, a special place on S. of Sacrarium. Lucy and Agnes had places on N. side of Sacrarium. We all went to Abbey together about 8.30 and got easily to our several places. The best by far was where Alice and I were, as we looked straight westward from above the Altar. The whole service and scene impressed me far more than I had at all anticipated, and I was also most agreeably surprised to see how comparatively little the beauty of the Abbey was marred by all the erections once they were filled with people.

The Archbishop read most clearly and well, and the Dean was also, I suppose, fairly audible. So soon as the Queen left, people began to move, and Alice and I soon went out and walked by the back streets to Buckingham Palace, missing Edith at the door where we had hoped to find her. We overtook Courtenay by the way and took him with us. We were nearly alone in the great forecourt of Buckingham Palace and could see the whole procession most admirably, after waiting rather a long time for it while we could trace its position by the cheering. By 3, we got back to Grosvenor Road, baked and hungry. Alice and Edith soon afterwards went off to Windsor. I dined again at Buckingham Palace where all was on a bigger and grander scale than last night and there was in the evening a very brilliant small reception by the Queen in the Ball room. The foreign Ambassadors and the Papal Nuncio![1] and the Indians and the Queen of Hawaii were in an

[1] His sister-in-law, wife of Henry Davidson.

ascending scale the things most admired! Few others save the Household were present. The Queen was most gracious. I got away at 11.30 and walked and 'trammed' home.

The year 1888 opened at Sandringham. It was the Dean's third visit, but the first with Mrs. Davidson. He preached at Sandringham Church on the Sunday morning (Jan. 1), and at dinner that night sat next the Princess of Wales:

Had much very interesting talk to her. She described her first coming to England 25 years ago and the (most reasonably) alarming character of her visit to Osborne 'to be inspected' a few months before the marriage, when the Queen was in deepest mourning and the poor girl had to visit her for several days without anybody to break the gloom. She had not even a lady in waiting, and was terribly frightened at the whole process. Then the great triumphal entry into London came a few months afterwards. She had not been in London before, having gone straight to Osborne to see the Queen, and being bidden to avoid London. Then she described to me with the utmost enthusiasm her brother's going to the throne of Greece.[1] Her account of it was that Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell, one night at Marlborough House soon after her marriage, asked him half-jokingly whether he would like to go to Greece as King, and he, being then in the Navy 'and not good at his examinations' answered at once that he would like it immensely. Thereupon (so says the Princess) the then King of Denmark was privately consulted by the English Foreign Office, and, before either the boy's father or mother had heard a word about it, he was officially nominated as King and his consent made known in Europe. Then, she says, he had four years of tremendous hard work in the midst of cliques and abuses of all sorts, which he, as a lad, was powerless to stop, and he worked like a horse at learning his duties, but hated the dreariness of it all, till he married in 1867 'and lived happily ever after'. Nothing could be nicer than her sisterly enthusiasm about her brother's work.

On January 12, Mrs. Davidson's sister Agnes was married in Lambeth Palace Chapel to the Rev. J. H. J. Ellison, who had been Assistant Chaplain to Archbishop Tait from 1881 to 1882, and was then vicar of St. Gabriel's, Pimlico. On January 14, the Dean went to Osborne to see the Queen:

On Saturday, 14th, I went to Osborne. The fog had been terrific for days, but had happily lifted, and the boats were again crossing.

[1] King George of Greece, who at the age of eighteen succeeded King Otto, who had been deposed.

I had a pleasant 36 or 40 hours there—the Queen in good spirits. I dined with her both nights and had much talk at and after dinner. (Music by Alec Yorke and Miss Cochrane.) The Queen discussed the Lambeth Conference, and I explained why I had undertaken to serve. Also she spoke much of the schemes for more Bishoprics. I urged the encouragement of *suffragans* rather than the multiplication of sees. I don't think she much likes *either* plan —but she is dead against the multiplication of sees.

The spring found the Dean, Mrs. Davidson, and Miss Tait at Florence for a quiet holiday, he reading a good deal, including *Ecce Homo* and Addington Symonds on the Renaissance. Then came the chief event of the year—the Lambeth Conference, to which Davidson acted as Assistant Secretary to the Episcopal Secretary, Bishop Ellicott of Gloucester. A history of the Lambeth Conferences of 1867 and 1878 had been prepared and published by him beforehand. From his knowledge of the past he had of necessity a 'very large say in arranging what the subjects should be, as also in fixing . . . who should be the speakers invited to open each subject':

The Archbishop steered wisely and cleverly through some of the initial difficulties—such as an endeavour by some extreme Bishops to get it privately arranged that they should appear in copes and mitres for the processions at Canterbury and Westminster. To stop this, a circular was issued saying that a question had arisen (as it had) whether the red or black chimere should be worn, and that the Archbishop recommended black chimere, lawn sleeves, and red hood for all the Bishops, to secure uniformity. I don't think anybody outside ourselves knew what had been planned and how it had been stopped.

The opening service was at Canterbury, and the Dean notes the contrast in manner between his former chief and Benson:

The Archbishop's address from St. Augustine's Chair was wise and generous if somewhat obscure. Seldom to my mind has the contrast been more remarkable than between the big simplicity of the words *spoken* from the Chair in 1878 and the somewhat eager, apologetic and involved utterance *read* from the same chair in 1888. But it was thoroughly *good* all the same—and no-one is more effective *looking* in a function of this sort, or more genial and kindly as the centre of such a gathering.

The Conference contained two crises. One related to the

recognition of Presbyterian Orders; and the other concerned the definite teaching of the Faith, the report, drafted by the Bishop of London (Temple), being rejected 'after a stormy and most unfortunate debate'. The Encyclical Letter, drafted in July by Archbishop Benson for the approval of the Conference, was, as regards its actual wording, the handiwork of Bishop Lightfoot of Durham and Bishop Stubbs of Oxford:

> I well remember sitting up with them almost the whole night, certainly until after daylight, while the actual wording and even transcription of the document went on.

The Report of the Conference was published in record time, and the Dean received the following appreciation of his work from old Bishop Ellicott of Gloucester and Bristol:

The BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

August 3, 1888.

> We all owe you a very deep debt of gratitude, and I say this most deliberately, that the great success of the Conference is to a very large degree due to your unflagging energy and rapidity of successful labour.

In the middle of the Conference Davidson was 'distraught . . . by a very private but important communication asking me whether in the event of Barry resigning [the Archbishopric of] Sydney I would allow my own name to be . . . put before the Committee of Synod'. But with the full approval of the Archbishop he declined.

When the Conference was over, the Dean noted in his journal 'an absurd and really disgraceful letter from the Bishop of Liverpool' in *The Times* about the Lambeth Encyclical; and added, 'the Archbishop had a reply in the next day's *Times* (*cujus pars magna fui*), as I went over to Addington with the letter already drafted and he accepted and inserted it'.

Immediately after this entry, the Journal gives a long and careful account of two conversations between Davidson and two American Bishops, in succession, on the Race question. The account is significant as showing the Dean's interest in this problem even in these early days. He describes the views of Bishop Thompson of Mississippi, who dined at the Deanery on two nights running and 'talked magnificently'. His view was that the negroes

had not got it in them to be the dominant race whatever their *numerical* superiority. Bishop Whipple of Minnesota, whom Davidson saw in between the two nights, on which Bishop Thompson came to dinner, and 'pumped . . . on the same question', held the opposite opinion: 'He is of course the champion of the inferior races and he rose at once to the occasion and proclaimed to us his real belief in the possibility, aye the certainty, that the negro has all the latent capacity, if only you will give him time and opportunity.' Davidson's comment at the end of these talks is as follows:

> It is to be noted that there are very few negroes in Minnesota, and that this question in no way presses there: while in Mississippi it is vital.

For the rest of the year he was kept busy with the *Life of Archbishop Tait*, and with the preparation for the Lincoln case, which was soon to be almost overwhelming in its demands; and in addition to this and his regular duties he found time to write an article for *The Contemporary Review* on Religious Novels, with special reference to Mrs. Humphry Ward's *Robert Elsmere*.

The year ended in tragedy for the Dean and Mrs. Davidson. The young bride of the previous January, Agnes Ellison, had died quite suddenly on December 19, two months after the birth of her child. She was only twenty-eight, the life and soul of Lambeth in old days, and on her mother's death she had been everything to Archbishop Tait: vivacious, brilliant, beautiful, sparkling, in quite indescribable ways:

> No sorrow in my life has been to compare with the death of dear Agnes last month. The death of my Mother, and of the Archbishop were so different in kind from this that I can't compare them: and of course in each case they had, so to speak, finished their course. Craufurd was very dear to me: but not to compare in any way whatever with the intense love I had for this dearest of sisters.

Then follows in Davidson's journal a long and interesting study of Agnes Ellison's character and development. She was the youngest, but in some ways the most remarkable, of the three surviving sisters—Lucy, Edith, and Agnes—and Randall was almost as often with Lucy and Agnes at Grosvenor Road

as they were with him and his wife at the Deanery. The note in the journal continues:

> No one could know of the work she had done among the Lambeth girls—or, still more, the work she had *planned* for St. Gabriel's folk, both rich and poor, without feeling that she might hereafter, with a combination of her father's Christian common sense, her mother's warmth of sympathy, and [her aunt] Lady Wake's vivacity and attractiveness and originality, have become a real power for good, of the best and freshest sort. Truly 'in a short time she fulfilled a long time': compressing into the last few years of her life what for most people would be spread out by degrees over a much bigger space. A life like hers affords, as it seems to me, the very best conceivable evidence of a continuance of Life, and Work, and energy, beyond the river. It is simply impossible to me to conceive the position of the man who would say that her personality came quite to an end a fortnight ago and ceased to be. I can only believe—and I do believe—that if such a man had known Agnes as we knew her he would perforce have reconsidered his creed.

CHAPTER VI

THE ARCHBISHOP'S COURT AND THE LINCOLN JUDGEMENT

He that cares not though the material church fall, I am afraid is falling from the spiritual. . . . He that undervalues outward things in the service of God, though he begin at ceremonial and ritual things, will come quickly to call Sacraments but outward things, and Sermons and Public Prayers but outward things in contempt. Beloved, outward things apparel God, and since God was content to take a body, let us not leave Him naked and ragged. JOHN DONNE.

ONE of the great problems with which the Church of England was confronted during the primacies of Archbishops Tait and Benson was the problem of authority. This especially affected ecclesiastical discipline in ritual questions. Several causes combined to produce the situation. Partly, as Davidson used often to maintain, under the influence of Walter Scott, 'with no necessary doctrinal purpose', church-people were coming to have a new respect for order, for history, for venerable buildings, and to rebel against slovenliness in public worship. Partly as a result of the Oxford Movement, a new sense of the continuity of the Church of England was created, with a resulting emphasis upon the doctrine of Apostolic succession. This led to a new interest in the Sacraments, together with a desire to make the Eucharist the clear centre of the Church's worship, and to restore (as it was claimed) the ancient vestments of the minister and ornaments of the sanctuary.

It was inevitable that what some proclaimed as an Anglican Revival should be denounced by others as a betrayal of the very principles of the Reformation. The outward matters at issue, though taken by themselves they might seem small, were in reality far from small, for a whole philosophy of the Christian life was ultimately involved. It was therefore natural that, as strong sides were taken by clergy and laity alike, certain of the points in dispute should be challenged in the only forum where a decision could be reached—the ecclesiastical courts. The difficulty, however, lay in the Final Court of Appeal. Prior to 1832 this had been the Court of Delegates. An Act of 1832 abolished the Court of Delegates and substituted for it the Privy Council

itself. An act of 1833 transferred appeals from the Privy Council to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. To High Churchmen, whatever might be their views of the lower courts, this was a most unsatisfactory body. It was composed of lay judges who neither occupied such an official position in the Church of Christ as would give spiritual authority to their decisions, nor possessed any special training in religious learning as a necessary qualification of office. Since 1833, it had heard many important appeals involving questions of doctrine and ritual. In deciding those cases it had acted on its own view of doctrine and ritual, as stated in the formularies of the Church of England, without seeking to obtain the opinion of the Bishops as a body. The objection to the Judicial Committee as the Final Court of Appeal in doctrine was stated at the time of the Gorham litigation (1850)[1] by Bishop Blomfield (of London) as follows:[2]

> In all matters requiring judicial acuteness and calmness, impartiality and firmness, for the discovery of the truth of facts, and for the explanation and application of the law, nothing more is to be desired. It is only when questions of doctrine arise, and points of faith are to be determined, that I object to that tribunal as incompetent; it is competent to decide all questions of ecclesiastical law, but not matters purely spiritual, involving questions of divine truth; for this office it is not properly qualified, with reference either to the Church's original constitution, or to the personal qualifications of the judges. . . . But, my Lords, I would not be understood to rest my case entirely upon the probabilities of superior fitness in point of theological learning. I rest it also, and in the first place, on the inherent and indefeasible right of the Church to teach and maintain the truth by means of her spiritual pastors and rulers; a right inherent in her original constitution, and expressly granted to her by her Divine Head, on the terms of the Apostolical Commission. . . . I cannot conclude without protesting against an inference . . . that I think lightly of what is in truth the fundamental and vital principle involved in this subject, namely, the inherent and inalienable right of the Bishops of the Church of England to be the judges of questions of its doctrine duly submitted to them. (House of Lords, June 3, 1850.)

[1] The Judicial Committee held that the Rev. C. T. Gorham's teaching with regard to Baptism, that the grace given depended (in part at least) on worthy reception, was not contrary or repugnant to the declared doctrine of the Church of England.

[2] See *Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*, 1906, pp. 66–7.

The objection to the Judicial Committee as the Final Court of Appeal in questions of ritual and ceremonial also grew steadily—notably from the time of the Purchas Judgement of 1871.[1] Hostility to its proceedings had also been increased by the series of imprisonments which followed the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act (1874), when four High Church clergymen successively were sent to jail for refusing to obey the order of the court.

I

It was in the year 1888, while the imprisonment of yet a fifth clerk in Holy Orders (the Rev. J. Bell Cox)[2] was still fresh in people's minds, that the Church Association decided to appeal to a new and indisputably spiritual court, and to make, not an ordinary incumbent, but a Diocesan Bishop, the object of a prosecution. If it be granted (and it is of course a large concession) that litigation was for any reason desirable, there is much to admire in the courage of the Church Association in going to the Archbishop's Court, and in attacking a Bishop who was one of the most devoted and beloved of the Bishops on the Bench.

In 1888, Edward King, Bishop of Lincoln, was fifty-eight years old. For ten years he had been Principal of Cuddesdon College, where he had done a wonderful work in training young men for ordination. For another twelve years he had exercised an even wider influence among undergraduates of many kinds as Professor of Pastoral Theology and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. In 1885, he succeeded Bishop Wordsworth at Lincoln, chosen for this see as a foremost leader of the High Church school. In his first three years as Bishop he had obtained a great hold alike on the clergy and the laity, and was as popular with the villager as with the

[1] The Judicial Committee in the case of the Rev. John Purchas held that Vestments were illegal and the Eastward Position illegal, and forbade the use of the Mixed Chalice and of wafer bread.

[2] The Rev. J. Bell Cox of St. Margaret's, Liverpool, was prosecuted for ritual offences in 1887. Dean Church, writing to Archbishop Benson (26 May 1887), spoke thus of this prosecution and consequent imprisonment. 'This Bell Cox case has come home to my sense of justice far more strongly than any of the previous imprisonments. They were in the thick of battle, and of hot blood. This comes after all has cooled down. . . . And what all see is, that while Mr. Bell Cox goes to prison for having lighted candles, and mixed water with the wine, and refusing to give up such things, dignified clergy of the Church can make open questions of the personality of God, and the fact of the Resurrection, and the promise of immortality.' *Dean Church's Life and Letters*, pp. 323–4.

working man of the town. In 1887, his action in taking on the duties of prison chaplain in order to minister to a young Grimsby fisherman, condemned to death for the murder of his sweetheart, touched the imagination of England and served to show the public that a new type of spiritual ministry had arisen in the Church.

Such was the Bishop against whom the Church Association presented a petition to the Archbishop of Canterbury in June 1888, on the ground that he had been guilty of certain ritual acts and practices which had been declared illegal. And the court to which the petitioners appealed was that of the Archbishop of Canterbury himself, as having jurisdiction over his suffragans.

The full story of the trial of Bishop King belongs to the *Life of Archbishop Benson*. But (as is constantly stated in that *Life*) the Dean of Windsor was throughout an adviser on whom the Archbishop specially relied. Moreover, since the ultimate questions behind the trial have their own connexion with latter developments in which Randall Davidson was destined to play a very large part, we may properly describe certain events with which he was practically connected in the two years during which the trial proceeded.

The first is the conspicuous interest taken by the Dean at this juncture in the nature of the Final Court.

The full bearing of the case was only recognized by degrees, and the friends of Bishop King could hardly believe that the Archbishop would give it serious treatment. The Archbishop was indeed implored to refuse to hear it. There is thus a letter from the Rev. E. S. Talbot, Warden of Keble, to the Dean, who is clearly recognized to be very close to the Archbishop from the start; and the Dean's reply is full of interest:

The Rev. E. S. TALBOT *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

June 21, 1888.

Isn't this little cloud which has risen out of the sea *re* Bishop of Lincoln threatening to become a big storm? I confess to feeling most seriously alarmed. We have all come, have we not? for some time past to the feeling that the *status quo* must in some shape be maintained as the condition of peace, and of life. When you spoke to me in 1885 you entirely recognized this, and urged the with-

drawal of Bell Cox on the ground that a strange conjuncture, unlikely to recur, threatened to break up the *status quo*.

The present matter gives a rude shock to all such ideas.

All the points of moderate ritual, from the Eastward Position onwards, are directly challenged, and if the case is allowed to proceed, and the decision is unfavourable, there must be (the Church Association will take care that there is) war along the whole line.

I hear that the Archbishop has urged the Bishop of Lincoln to concede three of the main points. But I shall not believe till I know it that you, my dear Davidson, can think that he *could* do this. Just think of his relations to people all up and down the country. Could anything be more cowardly or more mean than for him to yield points which with his full knowledge and support they have adopted? It would be an incredible course.

But—if he did it—what could conceivably follow? Can any one really think that you can unravel history to that extent, that we can go back now without catastrophe to Bishop Blomfield's Ritual? enforced all round, or at least on High Churchmen?

Yet if the Archbishop allows the case to proceed, how can he, upon your principles, decide the points otherwise than as the Privy Council has decided them, because it has so decided them?

Conceive what this means, the strife, the trouble, the strain to consciences.

Surely the only course is for the Archbishop to decline to take up the case. I know that it may involve risks first of attack by way of application for mandamus, then through Parliament.

But even if these are possible (and the latter is most doubtful) surely the risks are well worth running. He would be fighting for what on every ground of policy and principle we should desire—the right of the Church's chief Officer to independence and discretion in the exercise of his functions (a right which in his place every Bishop has even by the P.W.R.A.).

And he would be standing out clearly and boldly for the only one policy which for the sake of fairness and religion is really to be accepted—the policy I mean of insisting that the two great parties should live side by side without mutual molestation.

I do not see how any other policy can possibly save the Establishment.

Surely we may think that Archbishop Tait would have seen this: it is his last policy.

Unless it is *certain* that the Archbishop has no discretion (and surely that cannot be) we should be infinitely better off if he claimed it. If he were driven in the last resort by mandamus to act, this would not necessarily be nearly so disastrous. and

he would have a great force of sympathy and support on which to rely.

I do trust that I shall find that you see the force of this which must be all clearly present to your mind. I do not *think* that I exaggerate the least.

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to the* REV. E. S. TALBOT

June 22, 1888.

I need not tell you that I have read your letter with the greatest care, and have pondered over what you say. Not that pondering does much good in this case, for, as far as I can see, there is practically nothing to be done by us, and I should shrink extremely from pressing the Archbishop upon a subject of such a character —and especially upon what may have passed between himself and the Bishop of Lincoln in an interview of such an absolutely confidential, and even solemn character The Archbishop has, I am certain, reported to no one his conversation with the Bishop. I suppose, from what you say, that the Bishop of Lincoln has been less reticent, though I cannot suppose he has told many people, and I most earnestly trust he will not. It surprises me to learn from you that the Archbishop has definitely asked the Bishop to give up certain points of ritual. I should have thought any such request most unlikely, at all events at this stage. But of course I cannot tell, and no doubt you have authority for what you say. The whole subject is evidently one at this moment of intensest difficulty and complexity and obscurity, and a rash or irregular step on the Archbishop's part may plunge the Church into trouble for many a day. I do not believe he will be either rash or irregular, for though I know no more than other people know and read for themselves about it, I can see what infinite and earnest pains the Archbishop is taking to act with caution and 'in order'. I am not sure from your letter whether you recognize what seems to me to be almost the most important point of all in the matter. Perhaps you do, and deem it of less importance than it seems to me to have, or you may see and know some answer to it which I do not. It is this: The Archbishop, if the accounts which are made public in conversation and otherwise be true, is found to possess a jurisdiction to try certain cases of ritual HIMSELF—a strictly spiritual court if ever there was one. The movers in this matter have, according to common report, satisfied themselves that such is the case—that it is a power inherent in his office. But it is not certain by any means, I should imagine, that the Queen's Bench, if the question were argued before them, would agree that he has such a jurisdiction. It is said to be the immemorial practice of the Queen's Bench to minimise

or deny all jurisdiction (outside their own) which is questioned. Now suppose the Archbishop to be formally asked to hear this ritual case in this 'spiritual' court of his, and suppose him to reply that he declines to let the case be so tried, and declines on the ground (not that he has no jurisdiction, but) that it is inexpedient to have such a trial.

Then suppose the promoters to go, as they would, to the Queen's Bench to ask for a *Mandamus*, what do you think would be the result? There are various possibilities, of course, but to me it seems likely that they would say:

'This imaginary "spiritual court" which has been so rarely called into exercise is a very dubious and unsatisfactory sort of thing. We don't believe in its existence. We won't grant a Mandamus because we deny the existence or jurisdiction of any such Court.'

Now is that what we should desire? I suppose this court (which if it exists at all, may surely be independent of the Privy Council, which is part of an organised Act of Parliament system) to justify its existence and its power of action. May we not have gained, by a side wind, but very really, some restitution of a spiritual authority, the area of which might perhaps be hereafter extended.

Nobody that I have heard speak on the subject (except a silly and ill-informed writer in the *Guardian*) supposes that it is Lord Penzance before whom the Bishop of Lincoln is to be brought. Are the High Churchmen wise if they object to the Archbishop's exercise of this (so suddenly exhumed but perhaps quite regular) distinctly spiritual jurisdiction?

That is the point which seems to me to be almost more important than any other at this moment. It may be that my facts are wrong —nobody seems to understand them—or that I have misunderstood the process whereby the thing would work. But surely we had better be cautious how we 'madly cast away' the power of exercising a distinctly spiritual jurisdiction, if such there be.

As I have told you—I have not sought, and will not seek, to extract from the Archbishop on such a subject one word more than he chooses to tell any of us, whose counsel he might desire. He is placed, in such a matter, in one of the most difficult positions in which a man can stand, and the difficulty he must always have in talking over such a thing with anyone consists largely in the danger that he as judge prejudges the case he has to try by expressing an opinion upon the merits of the case. But nobody can doubt that he is the very last man in England who would wish to narrow, by any act of his, the fair and legitimate liberty of Bishops or clergy in any direction consistent with our formularies, and we

have a right surely to expect that he will have wisdom from above for the exercise of functions so serious in a matter of this kind.

I don't quite follow your allusion to what I tried to urge on you and others in connection with the Bell Cox case. My view was that (1) *That* could not be regarded as a typical case, likely to recur all over England; (2) An exhibition, on Bell Cox's part, of the spirit of obedience, and loyalty to his Bishops *as such*, even at some sacrifice of what he cared for, would have an immense effect, in the public mind, in favour of the school he represents. How does this apply now? You say 'A rude shock is now given to any such ideas'—I don't see it a bit. For surely (1) No two cases could be less alike in their inception, character, and probable issue, than that of Mr. Bell Cox and that of Bishop King; and (2) Bell Cox *didn't* do what I and so many others tried to urge. Canon Carter —as you know—tried hard to get a few leading men of like views to join him in urging such a course on Bell Cox. But, as he told me, with the utmost sorrow, the fiery party prevailed, and Bell Cox would not budge an inch. Surely then you cannot urge now that the idea (of which Mr Carter in precept and in action has been so warm an exponent) 'has received a rude shock'. It has not been tried. Would to God that it had. However, that is quite beside the mark. I don't want to go off into the past.

I don't think I need to tell you how intensely and whole-heartedly I am myself in favour of the *toleration* line, and how I should use every possible opportunity in favour of it. But a case of this sort—the relation between the Archbishop and one of his best-loved suffragans, is holy ground indeed, upon which I, for one, could not try to 'rush in'. The Archbishop has of course spoken about it. But in the most guarded way (especially as to any communications between Bishop King and himself). I can scarcely doubt, he would be helped by anything the Dean of St. Paul's could say to him. But I can imagine (though I don't at all know) the difficulty—which as a potential judge—he must feel in talking about it to even his closest friends—who might afterwards be called as witnesses to what he had said.

I am going to Lambeth tomorrow for some *Lambeth Conference* work with the Archbishop, and it is quite possible (I don't at all know, but it is *possible*), that he will speak to me about this most serious matter in its details. *If so, should you object to my showing him your letter to me?* It puts one side of the case most forcibly, and though of course he would see it was to *me*, and not to him you were writing—he might be glad to have read it. But this is *as you like*. Will you send me a note to LAMBETH PALACE upon that point and any others.

One principal point to be settled was the authority and even the existence of the Court before which the prosecution was made. It appeared that only one precedent was forthcoming for the exercise of the Archbishop's jurisdiction over his suffragans —the case of *Lucey* v. *Bishop Watson* (of St. David's), 1699, in which the Archbishop of Canterbury (Tenison), attended by six episcopal assessors, tried the Bishop, who was a man of scandalous conduct in various ways, for simony, and passed sentence of deprivation upon him. As such a precedent seemed hardly sufficient by itself to dispose of all objections, Archbishop Benson decided after much consultation 'especially with the Dean of Windsor' that before exercising jurisdiction he would wish for some instruction from a competent Court that the jurisdiction referred to in the *Lucey* v. *Watson* case was applicable.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council[1] were accordingly approached by the prosecutors, and on August 3 gave their opinion 'that the Archbishop had jurisdiction in the case'. They were also of opinion that the abstaining by the Archbishop from entertaining the suit was a matter of appeal to Her Majesty. 'They desired to express no opinion whatever whether the Archbishop had or had not a discretion as to whether he would issue the citation.' They humbly advised Her Majesty 'to remit the case to the Archbishop to be dealt with according to law'.

The Lord Chancellor (Halsbury) told the Archbishop, just after the judgement, that amongst the points agreed by the five judges and their assessors was this:

> That the Archbishop had jurisdiction over his Suffragan Bishops; that he ought to exercise it in person. It is not proper that he should merely remit it to his judge, the Vicar General, *propter dignitatem* of the Bishops.[2]

The Archbishop decided that he would exercise his jurisdiction and hold the trial, though 'Davidson gathers that the whole party are ominously banded to frustrate it'.

The Dean had a good deal of discussion with various members of the High Church party; and he caused some irritation, at times, by his persistence—as once when he came to Dean Church on a mission from Archbishop Benson. 'Master Davidson',

[1] The Judicial Committee on this occasion consisted of five judges with five episcopal assessors.

[2] *Life of Archbishop Benson*, II. 329.

Church exclaimed, 'mustn't fancy he can always get his own way!' He was also much concerned to secure that Bishop King and his friends should not rely on what Benson called 'the confessed loveliness of the Bishop', but get the best legal help they could obtain.

The citation was issued by the Archbishop on January 4, 1889, and the trial was opened on February 12 of that year. Five Bishops were chosen as assessors, after a good deal of difficulty.[1] The charges against the Bishop were seven, as follows:

1. Mixing water with the sacramental wine during the service and subsequently consecrating the Mixed Cup.
2. Standing in the 'Eastward Position' during the first part of the Communion service.
3. Standing during the prayer of Consecration on the West side of the table, in such manner that the congregation could not see the manual acts performed.
4. Causing the hymn *Agnus Dei* to be sung after the Consecration prayer.
5. Pouring water and wine into the paten and chalice after the service and afterwards drinking such water and wine before the congregation.
6. The use of lighted candles on the Communion table or on the retable behind, during the Communion service, when not needed for the purpose of giving light.
7. During the Absolution and Benediction making the sign of the Cross with upraised hand facing the congregation.[2]

There had been some doubt as to whether the Vicar-General, Sir Joseph Parker-Deane, should sit by himself or whether the Archbishop should sit with the Vicar-General beside him.

Davidson writes (Friday, Feb. 8, 1889, 4 Warwick Square):

> This morning I was summoned to Lambeth by telegram to meet the Archbishop, the Bishop of London, the Vicar General and Hassard,[3] to discuss the Lincoln case arrangements. The Archbishop, the Bishop of London, and I had half an hour's talk first, and decided that the Archbishop should not yield to Dr. Deane's wish to sit *alone* (as Vicar General) when the Court opens next Tuesday. The Archbishop felt that in the present excitement amongst the clergy, and especially after Lord Halifax's violent

[1] The Bishops of London (Temple), Rochester (Thorold), Oxford (Stubbs), Salisbury (Wordsworth), Hereford (Atlay).

[2] *Life of Archbishop Benson*, vol. ii, p. 354.

[3] Sir John Hassard, K.C.B., Registrar of the Province of Canterbury.

Clifton speech, it would never do to let it be said that the Bishop of Lincoln was simply brought before Dr. Deane. But we knew the Vicar General would not like it, for he had set his heart on sitting alone in the purely formal business which must precede the hearing of the case on its merits. Nor *did* he like it! When he and Hassard came in (Baynes being also there as Chaplain) the Archbishop and the Bishop of London both told him their view very strongly. He gave way at once, like a gentleman—(as he always is) and if he was not *convinced* he at least yielded with a good grace—though it was clear that he was disappointed. The Bishop of Lincoln's solicitors have written some very slippery and dodgy sort of letters and evidently mean to give all the trouble they can. It is a very black look-out, however one regards it. Dr. Deane said to me privately, in the most emphatic manner, 'I do not believe, after this prosecution, that the Church of England will last for five years'. We settled the details as to dress (Convocation Robes), place for *public* in the Court, and a few more particulars, and I arranged to meet Hassard at Lambeth next Monday morning to help him to get these all put straight.

At the opening of the trial Bishop King made a formal protest against the jurisdiction of the Court, and demanded that if tried at all he should be tried by the Archbishop sitting with the Bishops of the Province. Davidson's diary gives the following account (Tuesday evening, Feb. 12, 4 Warwick Square):

This morning I idiotically fell while dressing (missing a 'supposed' chair!) and hurt my back which made me less fit for work. But I have had a busy day nevertheless. At 10, Edith and Lucy and Beatrice Ellison were taken by me to Lambeth, that they might see something of the Trial. I had a good deal of private talk with the Archbishop in his dressing room and with the Vicar General also. Everybody was pleased by the long memorandum in big type which had appeared in the *Times* (nobody knows whence!).[1] It formed the basis of a leading article also, and I think it will do good. The 'trial' opened successfully. I met the Bishop of Lincoln on the stairs, on his way into the Court with Halifax, Randolph, Clements, and other friends. I ventured to ask him if he was going to speak, and he said *yes*, he would make a statement, and would then leave all to his Counsel. He also said 'I suppose I am right not to be in robes? Who wears robes?' I answered 'Only the Judges I believe. I think you are right as you are.' I told the Archbishop and Vicar General of the Bishop's intention to make

[1] The memorandum was written by R.T.D.

a protest himself, and the Archbishop and Deane thereupon asked the Bishop to come out and speak to them. He asked if he might bring Phillimore—and he did—and the four had a confab. in the guard room simply as to the order of proceedings—whether the Bishop should say his say *before* or *after* the Court was formally 'opened'. It was agreed it should be *before* and they retired. The Archbishop then told his assessors and the Vicar General that he intended to open with prayer. (He wisely asked no advice from the lawyers as to *this* 'formality'.) On the Bishops and Deane taking their places on the Dais—the same which was used for the Metropolitans at the Lambeth Conference—the Archbishop *standing* used three collects and the Lord's Prayer. Then the Bishop of Lincoln read his protest, and the rest went on, precisely as is reported in to-day's *Times*. On the whole I think things were smooth and satisfactory. The trouble will (I anticipate) be with the *assessors* who seem all to have fads of their own as to what ought to be done. Rochester (being on the high seas) was the only absentee. The Bishop of London was admirable—strong and clear and helpful; but, in the conversations both before and after the case, Stubbs[1] (as usual) was quietly sneering and carping at the whole thing from the strength of his very conscious omniscience. Wordsworth was quietly critical and implied that he could easily settle such things himself. Dear old Winton had started a hare of his own—some rather obscure argument as to the non-liability of Bishops to obey rubrics at all, as they had, of old, a dispensing power. We shall probably hear more of this a month hence.

The Archbishop did his part well, I thought, and *looked* so well! He has been much cheered since he had (yesterday) a long talk with the Attorney General (Webster) who has encouraged him in every way to go on and who is very hopeful as to the good which will come out of the suit, and the opportunity given for a wise and clear and strong judgement going more to the root of matters than the Privy Council has ever done. This took place, by arrangement, at the Athenaeum yesterday and I met the Archbishop there afterwards to hear the result.

The protest of the Bishop of Lincoln mentioned above, against trial by the Archbishop of Canterbury as such instead of before all the Bishops of the Province, was duly argued in March. Then the Archbishop took time to give his judgement. In the interval Dean Davidson saw Bishop King and others, including Lord Halifax, and pointed out the mischief 'the Bishop of Lincoln or

[1] He is said to have continually muttered: 'It is not a court. It is an Archbishop sitting in his Library.'

his lawyer may do if they allow the case on some technicality of jurisdiction to get out of the hands of the Archbishop and into the Queen's Bench or elsewhere'. In the end he succeeded. The Bishop of Lincoln made up his mind to accept the Archbishop's decision and to free himself from the lawyers.

II

But the most conspicuous action taken by the Dean was through a letter to *The Times*, as a sort of challenge to make the High Church party face realities and state what kind of Court they would accept if the Archbishop's Court, so obviously spiritual, was unacceptable. He privately consulted the Archbishop, who wrote the following note:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

23 March 1889.

As regards this Trial—undoubtedly the Laity (those who are not merely disposed to banter about it) do take the view you mentioned. They divide the Clergy into Romanizers and Puritans and are angry with both. A letter such as you well planned would do good in two ways. It would open the eyes of the laity as to the existence of the broad plateau of central sensible clergy—and it would encourage many clergy to stick to that centre instead of joining either Romanizers or Puritans which the attitude of the laity and others tends to make them do. They are very likely to become what they are told they are.

On April 2 (six days after the conclusion of the argument about jurisdiction before the Archbishop) a letter appeared over the Dean's name in large type in *The Times*, under the title 'Ritualists and the Law'. It was of considerable length. It urged that the real question at issue was that of authority. The Dean declared:

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to the* EDITOR *of* '*The Times*'

Rightly or wrongly, they [i.e. the 'Ritualists'] are persuaded that every decision of an ecclesiastical Court is at present invalidated, to say the least, by the fact that the existing Court of final appeal, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, sitting with episcopal assessors, is not properly qualified to decide cases in which a question of ritual or doctrine may be involved.

He gave a full résumé of the proposals which had been made for

reform, particularly through the Royal Commission of 1883. He showed how all these proposals had been rejected by High Churchmen, and challenged the rejecting party to produce a scheme which was a practical substitute—i.e. a substitute compatible with the Establishment and therefore one that might be proposed in Parliament with some chance of success. The letter ended:

> If the Ritualist leaders have indeed arrived at a solemn conviction that they cannot, without disloyalty to Christ, obey, even for a time, either the Court which has existed since 1833 or any final Court now obtainable, and that they prefer disestablishment, then the Church and nation have a right to be told of their resolve, and their followers above all should understand clearly and without delay what is the path upon which they are being led. If no such resolve has been arrived at, we have an equal right to know in plain, unmistakable terms what is the plan proposed. The moment for considering it is opportune, and it will receive in every sense a favourable hearing. The great central body of the Church, both clergy and laity, is weary of these strifes. Its members, I believe, care comparatively little for any of the points directly raised, and are anxious to have their minds set free for their larger work—the promotion of the social, moral and religious progress of the people of England. And the strife, such as it is, turns less, after all, upon ritual than upon authority. Once let us secure somewhere an unchallenged jurisdiction, and the ritual problems will be quickly and quietly solved.

The publication of this letter caused a sensation, not least because the Dean was known to be in the inner counsels of the Archbishop. In addition to scores of private communications, a long correspondence followed in the Press. The *Rock* spoke of the Dean's pluck; the *Church Times* attacked what it described as the Dean's 'Eristikon'; the *Guardian* and the High Church papers generally disliked it.

Lord Halifax expressed the views of the High Churchmen on the crucial point thus in a letter to *The Times* of April 8:

> VISCOUNT HALIFAX *to the* EDITOR *of 'The Times'*
>
> There was [when the Royal Commission reported in 1883], so far as 'the disaffected section of High Churchmen' are concerned, a very general acceptance of the recommendations of the Commission with respect to all the Episcopal and Provincial Courts. The difficulty arose as to the nature of the appeal contemplated

from the Provincial Courts of Canterbury and York to the Crown. Upon this point there was an ambiguity in the recommendations of the Commission.

Was the appeal from the Archbishop's Court to the Crown of the nature of an *appel comme d'abus* and affecting only temporal consequences, leaving the Archbishop free, when the case was remitted to him, to reassert, if he saw no reason to modify it, his original judgment; or was he bound to amend his decision, even in the most spiritual matters, in accordance with the finding of the civil tribunal?

If the latter, it was obvious that the recommendations of the Commission left matters exactly where they were, and had done nothing to meet the difficulties entertained by such men as Mr. Keble. If the former, there could be no question of opposition on the part of those whom the Dean mentions, since not only in public but in private Lord Addington, myself, and others repeatedly said that the recommendations of the Commission afforded the basis for a settlement which we could thankfully accept.

The crux was, as the Dean pointed out in a further letter (April 9), to preserve both the principles of the Church and the principles of the Establishment. ('Lord Halifax desires to preserve both. So do I.') The correspondence ended on April 20, when the Dean made a general reply. Many champions on both sides had taken part in the controversy, and he claimed that a considerable amount of agreement had been reached. In this he was perhaps too sanguine. So a leading article in *The Times* surmised. For the real question, it pointed out, was whether the decisions of the Final Court proposed by the Royal Commission were to be really final. The Royal Commission had proposed a Court of Appeal which should consist of not less than five lay judges, members native of the Church of England, who should be empowered, and in some cases bound, to consult the Bishops of the Province before giving a decision. It further provided that 'when on appeal to the Crown the judgment of the Church Court is to be varied, the case shall be remitted to the Court the judgment of which is appealed against, in order that justice may be done therein according to the order of the Crown'. Then came the question—when the Final Court disagreed with the Church Courts was the Archbishop to be free to adhere to his former judgement, or must he alter it? If the former, the Final Court was a superfluity. If the latter, the Civil Court ruled the

Spiritual Court and all the objections of the Ritualists remained unabated.

> Of course [*The Times* concluded] if the Dean of Windsor is content to reduce the functions of the Final Court to the cognizance of an *appel comme d'abus*, or of an appeal in plea of excess of jurisdiction, and to surrender its authority altogether in matters of faith he may find it easy to come to an understanding with the Ritualists. But it has never been difficult to come to an understanding with them on those terms. The difficulty has always been, and still is, to reconcile their claim to spiritual independence with an Establishment over which the authority of the Crown is, in the last resort, supreme.

From the point of view of argument towards agreement, therefore, *The Times* would say no progress had been made. But it is very clear that, from the point of view of opening the eyes of the laity, and forcing the friends of Bishop King to show where they stood, and the difficulties of agreement on their side, there had been great gain.

The Dean's own comments at the time, and seventeen years later (when himself Archbishop) are as follows:

Note by DEAN DAVIDSON, *April 15, 1889*

> I am the recipient of a great deal of abuse from some people and a good deal of praise from others. I do not think either is very much deserved. . . . On the whole I incline to think the correspondence has done good, though I am not sure I should have plunged into it had I foreseen the amount of work and worry it would involve.

Note by ARCHBISHOP DAVIDSON, *1906*

> Looking back upon it all now I am not quite clear that I acted rightly or justifiably in thus plunging into controversy while occupying the known position I did (*a*) as the Queen's confidential adviser and (*b*) as the constant correspondent and friend of Archbishop Benson, who was at that time engaged in the Lincoln case about which I had myself as was well known to many people given him important advice. But I had consulted him on the point and he entirely approved of what I was doing, though of course holding himself quite aloof from the controversy, nor do I think that what I said was in itself other than right.

III

On May 11, Archbishop Benson delivered his judgement, which concluded as follows:

> The Court finds that from the most ancient times of the Church the Archiepiscopal jurisdiction in the case of Suffragans has existed; that in the Church of England it has been from time to time continuously exercised in various forms; that nothing has occurred in the Church to modify that jurisdiction; and that even if such jurisdiction could be used in Convocation for the trial of a Bishop, consistently with the ancient principle that in a synod bishops could hear such a cause, it nevertheless remains clear that the Metropolitan has regularly exercised that jurisdiction both alone and with Assessors. . . . There is no form of the exercise of the jurisdiction in this country which has been more examined into and is better attested and confirmed. . . .
>
> This Court decides that it has jurisdiction in the Case and therefore overrules the protest. (*Life of Archbishop Benson*, ii. 347.)

A good deal of correspondence followed with Lord Halifax, in which the Dean urged the importance of arguing the whole case on behalf of the Bishop of Lincoln with the greatest thoroughness, and rather vigorously objected to a warning given by Lord Halifax in the course of a letter:

VISCOUNT HALIFAX *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

June 11, 1889.

> Depend upon it, the Oxford Movement was God's message to the Church of England—and the decision which the Archbishop has to make is whether so far as in him lies—he will ponder it or reject it.

The Dean replied:

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to* VISCOUNT HALIFAX

17 June 1889.

> I do not think however that he [the Archbishop] is likely, in the actual trial of the cause, to look intentionally beyond the historical and other facts which can be adduced as argument on either side. The business surely is to decide fairly upon the facts and not to consider what is 'wanted' or whether 'it will hinder or assist the Oxford movement' or be 'a safe position to take up'. As a man, and as a Churchman, he may be feeling the pressure of all or any of these points and have a very clear notion of what would be 'politic' and helpful. As a Judge however he has surely a solemn obligation to avoid consideration of *policy* altogether.

> I gather from your letter that you would not quite agree in this, and I own some of your words surprise me. Nor have I any sort of right or means of conjecturing what line the Archbishop is likely to take. I only know that he is certain to do his duty as a Judge with the most absolute and straightforward impartiality, and with a knowledge of the subject perhaps unrivalled among English Churchmen.

Lord Halifax in his answer said that he had not meant quite what Davidson supposed—only that in his view a certain line of action 'would be contrary to the mind of the Church of England'!

On the resumption of the trial on July 23, Bishop King's Counsel objected that the word 'Minister' in the Rubrics to the Communion Service did not include a Bishop, and therefore that the Bishop was not bound by them. The Archbishop dismissed this plea. All the preliminary obstacles were now removed, and the course was clear for the trial in the following spring.

For the remainder of the trial, though the Dean was without doubt in close touch with the Archbishop, it would not appear from the correspondence that he played as active a part in immediate connexion with the proceedings as he had clearly played in the preliminary, vitally important stages. But outside the precincts of the Court he found himself engaged in defending the Archbishop against continuous criticism both of himself and of his Court from various points of view.

From the Diocese of Ely there had already come an 'address of sympathy' to the Bishop of Lincoln from Ely Theological College in which past and *present* students—Davidson underlines 'present' with a blue pencil in his copy—expressed their 'profound regret' that the Primate had allowed the case to proceed and their 'most earnest gratitude' to Bishop King for his 'unflinching attitude against the medieval and monarchical mode of exercising the metropolitan jurisdiction of the see of Canterbury'—(this also is strongly marked with Davidson's blue pencil). Another document came from the same diocese in the autumn of 1889, signed by doctors of divinity and others in Cambridge, in which Bishop Gray's dealings with Bishop Colenso,[1] who was deposed by him as Metropolitan from the

[1] The Rt. Rev. J. W. Colenso, Bishop of Natal, deposed by the Bishop of Capetown (the Rt. Rev. Robert Gray) as Metropolitan, sitting with two assessors, for heresy. See *Life of Archbishop Tait*, 1. 326–64.

Bishopric of Natal in 1863, were favourably compared with Archbishop Benson's methods with Bishop King. Other protests were threatened from clergy in other dioceses. There was much correspondence in the *Guardian* to which Davidson himself contributed, and there were various exchanges with Dr. William Bright, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, who took a leading part in a protest in the Diocese of Oxford.

The following letter from Canon T. T. Carter, the eminent Warden of the Clewer Sisterhood, gave Davidson particular pleasure:

CANON T. T. CARTER *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

Clewer. Sunday, Nov. 17, 1889.

. . I cannot see how the Archbishop could have done otherwise than he has done unless he could have vetoed the attack at the beginning. But I have supposed that if he had attempted it his hand would have been forced which would have been worse. I think he could not but have claimed jurisdiction though it might not be the only method. Certainly precedents seemed in favour of such increase of archiepiscopal powers I hardly see how as a practical way of dealing as the Church spreads it could be otherwise. The difficulty as to synods thus acting I believe would be that the synodical principle is against delegation. Proxies are possible but proxies cannot vote and as you say to expect the 25 Bishops to sit week after week is ridiculous I am unable to go along with these protests. The one now being circulated in our Diocese seems the best and most respectful and I see Bright takes a lead in it, but I cannot sign it. I am afraid there is a tendency to 'bespatter' any court that could now be formed. I am afraid I cannot hope to live to see what will escape.

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY'S CHAPLAIN

20th November, 1889.

. . . I think he [the Archbishop] will like to see the enclosed from old Canon Carter. I wish the old boy would say publicly what he says privately. But he won't.

The Dean was certainly very pertinacious, and his interrogations were not always appreciated, as when Dr. A. J. Mason, Archbishop Benson's close personal friend, turned on him once,

when they were both at Bishop Lightfoot's funeral in December 1889, with the strong protest: 'What business have you to catechize me?'

IV

Shortly after this, Davidson made it his business to deal with a strong agitation from various Protestant associations, directed partly against the Ritualists and partly against the policy of the Bishops. He thus found himself, as he was often to find himself through his long life, answering extremes on either side and explaining formally and courteously what he felt to be the real facts of the situation.

On February 13, 1890, the Rev. T. Davis, Vicar of St. John's, Harborne, sent Davidson a leaflet about the Church Association, containing the following statement:

> About thirty years ago, what is now known as Ritualism had begun to manifest itself in the diocese of Norwich, and some clergy began to introduce unlawful practices in Divine Services, all in imitation of the services of the apostate Church of Rome. An appeal to the Bishop was made to put these practices down, and he resorted to the Ecclesiastical Courts. To defend in these courts the breakers of the law, the English Church Union was formed in 1859.... The law-breaking clergy, now called the Ritualists, stated through their own organs that if the matter were decided in a court of law, they would willingly obey. The Bishops said that if the law were only clearly defined, they would gladly enforce the law. *Some of them, alas! were insincere in this statement.* At this point the Protestant laity of England, guided by godly clergy, came forward and, at a COST OF MORE THAN FIFTY THOUSAND POUNDS, undertook to have the points in dispute legally tested; and so in the year 1865, six years after the formation of the English Church Union, the Church Association was founded.... Case after case was tried in the very highest courts of the realm, and the law upon fifty-nine points fully declared. Every hindrance was thrown in the way by the law-breakers which could possibly be devised, some utterly disgraceful to them as men, to say nothing as clergymen, but they were beaten all along the line. *And now comes the melancholy issue.* The Bishops almost entirely sided with the criminal clergy, refusing to enforce the law, and in some cases, notably the Bishop of Lincoln, have joined the ranks of the law-breakers themselves;... Of the Church Association let me say at once, it is neither a prosecuting society, nor is it a persecuting society.

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to the* REV. THOMAS DAVIS

18th February, 1890.

It has fallen to me as the Biographer of Archbishop Tait to examine with a good deal of care the historical facts of the last quarter of a century, and I cannot honestly say that I am led with you to the conclusion that the Church Association is adhering in its present course of action to the lines on which it was originally founded.... Perhaps you are hardly aware how frequently it was stated by those who were concerned in the earlier work of the Association that its business was to ascertain the law, and when this was done it would be for the officers of the Church, Episcopal and other, to administer according to their due responsibilities the law which had been ascertained. It was and is of course open to those who had at first been engaged ascertaining the law to criticise afterwards the over vehemence or over laxity of its administrators. Nor can it be called necessarily wrong that a man who has the legal right to prosecute some clergyman for ritual irregularity, should exercise that right even in the most ruthless and wholesale manner. But such a course of action is a totally new departure and does not correspond with the aims and objects set forward in public and in private by those who founded the Church Association or who supported it in its earlier days. To say, as your paper says, that the Association in its present attitude 'is not a prosecuting Society' is certainly a little startling. If it is not the prosecutor in all or nearly all recent suits, it has certainly been wickedly misrepresented. If it is the prosecutor in these suits, how can it be said that it is not a prosecuting society? That it was not founded upon such lines or with such views I am well aware, and it is precisely because of its having departed from the lines of its earlier days that it has forfeited the support of so many who were in full agreement with its early desire that the law should be authoritatively ascertained. I gather from your sending me the paper that you desired to invite such criticism as I have ventured to trouble you with. You will see that I have carefully abstained from any expression of opinion as to how far it is the duty of the authorities in the Church, Episcopal or other, to enforce *vi et armis* the rigid letter of every law. Some people think such is their duty, others do not; but to most of us it certainly seems obvious that the responsibility for administering ascertained law rests with the authorities to whom God has committed the care and governance of the Church, and not with any independent Society or Association.

Mr. Davis, while thanking the Dean for his 'kind and courteous

reply', qualified the statement to which exception had been taken, saying that the Church Association 'does not exist for mere prosecution'. But when Davidson referred him to the evidence given by the Church Association before the recent Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts, he was reduced to the remark:

The REV. T. DAVIS *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

March 1, 1890.

It has never prosecuted except for the purpose of testing some point, or to see if the law would not be enforced.

If the Bishops only had fulfilled their promise, or the law-breaking clergy theirs, all would have been well. But it was the Bishops who took a new departure, and instead of enforcing the law as they ought, some of them have joined the law-breakers. These are facts that cannot be denied.

The Dean replied:

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to the* REV. T. DAVIS

March 3, 1890.

I thank you for your letter of the 1st inst. I gather from it that you have found on inquiry that you were mistaken when you said in your letter of February 20 that the Association 'has never prosecuted a second clergyman for the breakage of the law on any point which had previously been tried'. You now tell me that the object of the Society is either to test some point of law 'or to see if the law would not be enforced'. This was precisely what I criticised before, and I still venture to think that the Society departs altogether from the original intention of its promoters when it seeks to take out of the hands of the constituted authorities the duty of enforcing law which has already been declared. I have myself no doubt whatever that a very large part of the extreme Ritualism now in use has been distinctly fostered by the irritation not unnaturally felt by earnest men against the particular modes adopted by the Church Association. . . . I ought to add that in my opinion the further result has followed that Bishops have found themselves hampered and thwarted in the exercise of their legitimate authority by the action which the Society has taken professedly for their help.

In the summer of the same year another memorial was circulated, this time requesting the Archbishop of York (Thomson) to introduce into Parliament a Bill substituting deprivation for

imprisonment in cases of clerical contumacy. The covering letter was signed by five lay peers including Lord Grimthorpe, and three Deans, including the Dean of Canterbury (Dr. Payne-Smith). The movement was not one with which the Bishops generally sympathized; but the Archbishop of York, popular in many ways though he was, did not altogether agree with the others on the matter, nor with his brother Primate, who had referred to him in a letter to Davidson a little before this date as 'William the Hinderer':

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to the* DEAN OF CANTERBURY

Amsterdam June 7, 1890.

Private.

Will you pardon me for writing to you upon a matter which has surprised and perplexed me more than I can say.

Among the letters which have just reached me forwarded from Windsor, whither I hope to return on Tuesday, is a printed one from yourself and one or two others, asking me to append my name to a memorial to the Archbishop of YORK, requesting *him* to introduce a Bill to substitute Deprivation for Imprisonment. I imagined it had come to be a matter of general agreement that Archbishop Tait was right in his oft repeated opinion that a Bill *to that sole effect* would defeat its own object, and that the provision would only form part of far wider and larger measures to meet present needs. Of course I know that a mere partisan cry of the Grimthorpe order is easily raised to proclaim that such a Bill is both workable and desirable—but I thought calmer folk had come to see the fallacy of this. This however is not what I meant to write about—Why do *you* ask us to address the Archbishop of YORK?

I know why Lord Grimthorpe does. He has stated in private that he will do all he can to hamper and hinder Archbishop Benson, whom for some reason he dislikes—and he wants to make him seem to the public an Anti-Protestant. Now, you and I know that Archbishop Benson has done and is doing more perhaps than any man living to restrain and regulate High Church excesses and follies. Could his difficulties of a personal sort be made public, he would win deserved applause at the expense of others whom he is too chivalrous to throw over and expose, badly as they have treated him. But for the Dean of his own Cathedral (pray pardon my presumption) to say to the world—'We can't trust Archbishop Benson so we ignore him altogether, and turn to the Archbishop

of the other Province for help'—will surely bewilder the faithful beyond all measure, not to mention the pain and distress it must of necessity cause to the Archbishop of Canterbury himself. I am glad to see that most of the signatures printed on the paper which accompanies your letter are those of clergy of the Northern Province who are, of course, perfectly in their rights in asking their own Archbishop for such legislative aid as they desire. It is *your* name which is to me the puzzle and distress (knowing the pain it must cause at Lambeth), and at the imminent risk of seeming impertinent and presumptuous I do venture to appeal to you to consider the effect it will produce, as coming from one occupying both personally and officially such a position as yours.

I do not of course know yet—having been abroad—whether the Archbishop has seen your printed letter—but I suppose it will soon reach him if it has not already done so. Why could not the petitioners be invited to address the TWO Archbishops? Lord G. would of course not approve because he means this to be a weapon for damaging Archbishop Benson in the eyes of Protestants—though he knows perfectly well how grossly unfair such a representation of him is. But must others therefore follow the same envenomed course?

I feel you may be reasonably angry with me for writing thus freely—especially as I am away from friends and may be ignorant of something that has passed, but I have felt bound with all most true and genuine respect *liberare animam* and I half think you will pardon me.

The DEAN OF CANTERBURY *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

June 13, 1890.

Nothing could be further from my wishes than to show any disrespect to the Archbishop of Canterbury for whom I have not respect only but a strong personal attachment. But as regards imprisonment of clergymen for theological views I have the strongest possible objection to it. It is a remnant of a barbarous age of jurisprudence and is silly as well as useless. If a man is so disobedient as to refuse to obey the constituted courts and authorities, let him finally after every method of patience is exhausted, be treated as a solicitor would be, and struck off the rolls. As for anything stopping ritualism, I for one believe in no public remedies. Probably there will come a turn in public opinion in due time, and I think that reasonable men now are in a large majority. As for this blot of imprisonment, I would rather see someone else bring in a bill to remove it, when the matter would be fully dis-

cussed, and the air cleared; but any such bill would be roughly dealt with probably in the Commons' House, and our Archbishop should hold the place of umpire rather than combatant. A bill brought in by the two Archbishops would be too serious a matter, and would be right only on some point which commanded general assent, and besides our Archbishop's judgment in the Bishop of Lincoln's case, however fair and wise, is sure to lead to troubles, and I would not put any fresh load upon him. He is doing much by quiet influence and guidance, and that, I believe, to be his wisest course.

During the busy months which followed the close of the proceedings Archbishop Benson was occupied with the preparation of his judgement—a task at which Davidson would often find him in 'his dressing-room at Lambeth . . . surrounded with stacks of books, deep in liturgiology as if he had nothing else to do'.[1] He completed the Judgement in Switzerland in August and September. On November 21, the Judgement was delivered—a judgement in which all the Assessors concurred save on one point in which there was one dissentient. The Judgement was very fully argued—learned and independent, showing a careful consideration for recent decisions of the Privy Council, but taking a different line on some of the points at issue.

The Court decided:

(1) that the ceremonial mixing of water with the sacramental wine, in and as part of the Service, is against the law of the Church, but finds no ground for pronouncing the use of a cup mixed beforehand to be an ecclesiastical offence.

(2) that pouring wine and water into the paten and chalice after the Service and afterwards drinking it before the Congregation is lawful.

(3) that it is lawful to stand in the 'Eastward position' during the first part of the Communion Service.

(4) that the manual acts during the Prayer of Consecration must be visible to the communicants properly placed.

(5) that singing of the hymn *Agnus Dei* after the consecration prayer is lawful.

(6) that the use of two lighted candles, when not wanted for the purpose of giving light, standing on the Holy Table continuously through the Service, is lawful.

(7) that the making of the sign of the cross in giving the Absolution, and in giving the final Benediction, is unlawful.

[1] *Life of Archbishop Benson*, II. 355.

The Judgement was received with gratitude and admiration, as a work of rare excellence and wisdom.

Dean Church voiced the thanks of the High Churchmen when he said, 'It is the most courageous thing that has come from Lambeth for the last 200 years.' The Church Association appealed, but the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council dismissed the Appeal in August 1892. The Archbishop's Court had thus been declared able to exercise its ancient authority to the general satisfaction. On two points in particular Benson set an especial value. The first was that history had been proved admissible in the interpretation of the substance of rubrics. The second was that the judgement of the Privy Council could be reversed.

CHAPTER VII

PAGES FROM A JOURNAL; THE LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP TAIT

We talked of biography—*Johnson.* It is rarely well executed. They only who live with a man can write his life with any genuine exactness and discrimination; and few people who have lived with a man know what to remark about him. The chaplain of a late Bishop, whom I was to assist in writing some memoirs of his Lordship, could tell me scarcely anything. BOSWELL'S *Life of Dr. Johnson,* 1776.

IT has been necessary for the sake of clearness to tell the story of the Lincoln trial without any break. But it will not be supposed that the Dean had nothing else to do but watch the various proceedings within the Court, and champion the Archbishop without. We have already given instances of other occupations, and we shall see very soon that during many months of these years the whole question of his future was agitating not only his own mind but that of the Queen.

I

An intermittent Journal was kept in 1889, and we can gather from it some illustrations of the Dean's various interests and duties during the spring and summer of 1889:

The Dean attends a dinner at Nobody's Club:

Wednesday, Feb. 13. Dined this evening at 'Nobody's Club' where we had a big muster to greet *Liddon,* who made his début, along with Wace and Bernard. Liddon's speech was disappointing.

He has a long talk with the Empress Frederick, full of sorrow at the thought of returning to Germany:

Sunday night, Feb. 17. This morning I preached in the Private Chapel on Genesis i. 1. and this evening I dined with the Queen—sitting between the Empress and Princess Beatrice.

At dinner the Empress was full of interesting talk—tackling me about my sermon this morning wherein I had said that before the time of the Exodus there was no real history in the true sense of progress. She thought both Nineveh and Babylon were evidence to the contrary, and she poured forth much—in a somewhat crude shape—about ancient Egypt as the source of Mosaic Law. Some of her statements would have astonished *Ebers* on whom they

were fathered by her—e.g. she said that Ebers had himself found a mummy—of a period long anterior to Moses—on whose swathing clothes were written *exactly* 'the ten commandments', word for word as we have them in Exodus!

We had also much talk at dinner about the Lincoln prosecution—the Queen showing much interest in the subject, and objecting equally to the Bishop's doings and the prosecutors! After dinner I had much further talk both to the Empress and the Queen. The Empress spoke very freely about the trial of returning to Germany and of leaving England where her visit had done her so much good. She said it was hard to know what in her case *forgiveness* ought to mean. 'She would not pretend to say she was not full of anger and "unforgiveness" towards the traducers of her husband. Ought she to regard such feelings as *wrong*? etc. etc.' She said it was not so much Bismarck himself against whom she felt anger, as he was only carrying out the unscrupulous policy which he had pursued so long. 'It is a quarrel of thirty years' standing.' The people against whom her real indignation was most keen were the much smaller folk who had for years received favours at her husband's hands and who now traduced him 'in this cowardly way, because they know I am helpless and can't answer them'. She said emphatically that her anger and 'unforgivingness' did not mean that she bore them illwill or would not be glad to meet them half way if they would make some approach or amends. Altogether there was much that was both interesting and touching in what she said.

The question of his own future is raised in a talk with the Bishop of Ripon (Boyd Carpenter).

Friday, March 8. 89. Yesterday and the day before I had two very important talks with the Bishop of Ripon who came here each day to see me. He is very unhappy at the silence of all moderate men in the present difficulties and wishes I think for some protest or declaration. In this I don't agree with him. I have been in correspondence on the subject with Dean Vaughan, Sir Walter Farquahar, Kitto of St. Martin's, and others, and all, as it seems to me, tends to shew that it would be impossible to draw up such a declaration in any form that would be effective. E. G. H. McNeile of Manchester wanted Vaughan to head a Memorial to the effect that those who sign it pledge themselves to abide by the Archbishop's decision whatever it may be. I don't see how we could—with the possibility of an *appeal* lying ahead—agree to such a declaration without making the mischief worse than now. I now

hear that Kitto is going to get up a meeting of some sort to assert the loyalty of moderate folk. I can't say I feel very hopeful of its effecting much.

But what the Bishop of Ripon is far more keen and unhappy about is the general drift in the direction of moving heaven and earth to include Ritualists, and yet taking no step to include Broad Churchmen or Nonconformists, but the reverse. He feels the responsibility of having got into Parliament and yet having no scope for *moving* in that wider direction. He says he is always in a minority of one at Bishops' meetings and clerical gatherings and so forth, because everybody is organisation-mad and is working upon a different line altogether to what seems to him (Ripon) to be most essential. Huxley is hammering at the gate with the cry of No God—and we are worrying about ritual details of the smallest sort. Can he, ought he to, DO anything? That is his view. 'Surely', he says, 'somebody in authority ought publicly to declare that we are not *all* concentrating our thoughts on these trivialities'. I discussed it all with him very fully but I can't, for my life, see how at this moment any definite *public action* can be usefully taken. I think he and all who agree with him should keep on saying it, but that is all I can regard as possible. That was the point of our first day's talk (on Wednesday). Yesterday his line was a more personal one. What can be done to get upon the Bench of Bishops some men of wider sympathies and different views? Men like Wilson, and Farrar, and so forth? And then a very strong pressure (which he said was his real point in wanting to see me) as to the need of making *me* a Bishop, so as to bring the views of Archbishop Tait forward, and have them pressed on the Church with the force which comes from my knowledge of the Church History of our time. I honestly think he quite overrates and exaggerates the power I should have of doing this. I don't think he has had means of judging of the feebleness which would in many ways mark any public utterances of mine. But it would be affectation to deny that I do want often to be unmuzzled by some more independent position where one could speak out freely what one felt instead of being, as now, trammelled by the responsibility of not bringing 'the Queen' into party politics. But anyhow, as we agreed, there is nothing that can be practically done, and one must work on *behind the scenes*, so far as it may be, and do one's best for the cause of freedom and wider sympathies. If I know myself, I think I can say quite honestly that I have no personal ambition for great office, and that I am well content to do what is set before me from day to day, my *only* discomfort and dissatisfaction being that I am *muzzled* at the very time when the numbers in favour of outspoken

freedom of sympathy are so few, and when every voice, however weak, might help

The contrast between Huxley's vigorous campaign against Christian dogma and the Church's absorption in ritualist controversy was much in Davidson's mind at this time:

March 10. Read in the train Wace's article on Agnosticism in this month's *XIXth Century* in answer to Huxley's attack on him in last month's. Wace is very strong in such argument, but spoils it by a sort of bad-temper which underlies it all.

A note of a visit to the House of Commons, and speeches by Mr. Herbert Asquith and the Hon. George Curzon:

March 29. 10 p.m. I had a very interesting four hours in House of Commons from 3–7, and heard the interesting *Bright*[1] discussion well (W. H. Smith, Gladstone, Hartington, Justin McCarthy, Chamberlain). Gladstone and Justin McCarthy were both admirable, and the flexibility and ease of the former is a standing marvel. Also an interesting discussion on the payment of members—A capital, rattling speech from Asquith, whom I had never heard before, seconding Fenwick's proposal. He was opposed in a similar (but far less thoughtful) speech by George Curzon, who is a slashing young debater but with overmuch self-assumption for my taste.

'A strange sort of life!'

April 7. 11. [Private Chapel] when I preached on Luke xix. 10, with allusion to the old Duchess of Cambridge who died yesterday. Then much reading and writing till 5 o'clock Chapel. Then more ditto, and talks with Ethel Smyth and Etta McArthur. Then I dined in the Castle very quietly—sitting next the Duchess of Albany at dinner and having a great deal of talk with her both then and afterwards. Also with the Queen, who is very full of her visits to the Bernardine Convent and Reformatory at Biarritz and who has today written me a long letter on the subject. The Queen very well and lively.

My birthday today—no less than 41! More than half—probably two-thirds—of life already gone—and very little done. Mine is a strange sort of life, with very much that is unlike other people's.

A conversation on Religion and Science:

May 18. Professor Flower, of the British Museum, has been staying here for the last two days and I have had a great deal of talk with

[1] After John Bright's death, March 27, 1889.

him on many subjects, and specially on the question of the present relation of scientific opinion towards religious thought. He is very warm upon the subject, and seemed indignant at the popular notion that there is some antipathy on the part of scientific men generally towards any definite statement of the Christian faith. He says it is very hard and very unfair that, because Huxley and Tyndall happen to be scientific men of the first order, and happen also to be opposed in some sense to the truths of religion, that scientific men generally should be ticketed as though they belonged to the same school of thought. He says that both Huxley and Tyndall were anti-religious in a dogmatic sense long before they had made any mark in science, and that their views on these subjects cannot therefore be regarded as the legitimate outcome of scientific thought and scientific knowledge. In evidence of this he refers to a little autobiography of Huxley just published, of which he promises to send me a copy. Even with respect to Huxley himself, he maintains that there has been more religious belief than Huxley is perhaps himself aware of He tells me that on one occasion when he (Flower) was President of the Biological Section of the British Association at Dublin, and concluded his address by quoting the words 'Lord, how manifold are Thy works: in wisdom hast Thou made them all,' he afterwards remarked to Huxley: 'I said that, not in order to please or displease anybody, as some suppose, but simply because it is what I firmly believe.' And Huxley replied 'Well, I am not sure that I do not believe it myself' —or words to that effect. In Flower's opinion Huxley's present rather solitary life, with friends only of his own way of thinking, tends to make him go further in the wrong direction than he would naturally be inclined to go, and Mrs. Huxley encourages him in doing so. The bitterness of his recent articles, in answer to Wace, have been a distress, Flower says, to very many of Huxley's best friends. . . . His own acquaintance with scientific men is of course immense, and he says emphatically that he knows not the slightest reason for thinking that unbelief is more rife among them than it is in other professions—*e.g.* barristers. Among the younger men, for example, in the British Museum, he says, there is abundance of belief, and that anything like aggressive unbelief is at a discount. And he believes the same to be true of scientific men generally.

In the summer of 1889, Davidson got right away from England and all the problems of the Lincoln trial. With Mrs. Davidson, Lucy Tait, and John Ellison he visited Denmark and Sweden *via* Belgium. Wherever he travelled, Davidson always found the

people, the country, and their institutions of absorbing interest. As a memorial of this tour two small notebooks remain filled with graphic accounts of things seen and persons met.

The most interesting part of the holiday was spent in Sweden from the middle of August. At Lund he acquired a great deal of knowledge about the University. The Cathedral 'is ten times finer than any of the guide-books say'. The place generally 'is very like one of the Scottish Universities and must be doing a great deal for the life of Sweden generally'. From Lund the Davidsons passed to Jonkoping, where Ernest Davidson joined them; thence to Motala, Linkoping, and Stockholm. Here he pursued his explorations, and on Sunday after Church took the opportunity of seeing how the Sunday opening of museums worked in Sweden:

> We went to the National Museum, which is full of interest. It is open 1.–3. on Sundays (i.e. *not* in Church hours) and I wanted to see how the Sunday opening answers here. Certainly the right sort of people, working men and women of all sorts, were thronging it. I never saw a museum being better patronised.

There is further a long and interesting account of the conditions and constitution of the Swedish Church, the number and the payment of the clergy, etc., the method of appointing bishops, patronage, ritual, etc. Another place the Dean visited was Upsala, a university town and the seat of the Primate of Sweden, whom he was anxious to see. It was a real regret to him that the Primate did not find it possible to arrange for an interview. The following letters passed between them—of no little interest when we remember the close friendship which came to exist between the Dean, as Archbishop of Canterbury, and a later Archbishop of Upsala, Dr. Nathan Soderblom:

The ARCHBISHOP OF UPSALA *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

Upsala, 3 Sept. 1889.

Very Reverend Sir!

At this time of the year I am much occupied, and it is often very difficult to say what day I certainly can be ready to receive visitants. When I sended my last letter to you, reverend Sir, I believed that I would be at home 10th September, but the circumstances are altered, and I fear now that I probably will become an unsteady traveller during the whole month. Best therefore to

leave all hope of our meeting. I deplore that my answer on your honored letter of Aug. 28 not is more satisfying for us both; but can not help it. May God bless yourself and your Church!

With greatest esteem your thankful and dutiful servant

A. A. SUNDBERG
Archbishop of Upsala.

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF UPSALA

At Leksand. 7 Sept. 89.

My Lord Archbishop,

I am greatly obliged to Your Grace for the kind letter I have here received. I confess it is a disappointment to me that Your Grace has not been able to arrange for my having the privilege of an interview with you, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is very keenly interested in the Swedish Church, will also, I know, be disappointed that I have not been able to communicate more directly with Your Grace as to the important matters which were treated of in the recent Conference of Anglican Bishops. But I shall be able to explain to him that Your Grace's numerous and pressing avocations rendered such an interview impossible for you, and I will take care to convey to him your expressions of esteem and good will.

I have the honour to be etc.
Your obedient and dutiful servant
R. T. DAVIDSON.

On his journey home, Davidson returned through Copenhagen and lunched with Bishop Fog, the Bishop of Seeland, the foremost ecclesiastic of the Danish Church, 'a really good old man of deep and earnest personal piety, many of his expressions and lines of talk being like Archbishop Tait's'. It was another opportunity for acquiring information and was fully used. The Bishop's description of an ordination made a profound impression on Davidson:

> The Bishop described with emotion the impressiveness and beauty of an ordination—dwelling specially on the custom of hand-giving by the ordinands. They are asked as they kneel at the altar rail, whether they will promise to observe all that belongs to their office (in words not unlike those of our ordinal). They answer 'Yes'. 'Then', says the Bishop 'give me your hand upon it.' And each of them solemnly takes the Bishop's hand in turn—and then turning to the great row of clergy of the Diocese who are sitting round the choir behind, the candidate takes the hand of each

Priest in turn. It is not till after this that the 'laying on of hands' takes place—the priests present assisting, as with us, in thus ordaining the new Priest.

Bishop Fog also told him 'of a quasi High Church movement inaugurated in the present century by a priest named Grundtvig who seems to have been a man of the utmost pugnacity, earnestness, and force (a sort of Archdeacon Denison)—who lived in a fray from first to last'!

The party reached Hamburg on September 17. But their holiday was brought to an abrupt end by a telegram announcing 'the sudden death to-day of our dear Father—a strangely solemn and, for us, sad ending of our tour'. All returned home at once, and the two brothers, Randall and Ernest, with Ernest's wife went straight to Edinburgh from London. The Dean's journal continues:

How different from the happy arrivals here of so many former years. What scores of times I have driven to the door, and seen *him* looking out for me—from Worksop—Harrow—Oxford—travels—Dartford—Lambeth—Windsor: and now, one could only go up again to his little room—where he lay, looking so peaceful and like himself that one could hardly believe it possible he was dead. I never saw so little change in the face of one whose spirit had fled.

It was the break-up of the old home, and the entry in the little Journal ends with a note of pathos:

We were all together for this *final* Muirhouse week.

The Dean of Windsor *to the* Archbishop of Canterbury

Muirhouse,
Davidsons' Mains, Midlothian.
27 Sept. 1889.

I thank you with all my heart for your kind and affectionate words. We are indeed passing just now through rather 'deep waters'. One grows angry with oneself for not being able to let the sunshine conquer the mist, but the sense of what we have lost in him comes surging across one again and again, and the melancholiness of breaking-up an old home with all its manifold associations does not make it easier to look upon it as one tries to do. To sorrow for *him* is impossible. He was I think the most simply 'pure in heart' of any man I ever knew, and he has stepped in a moment —as he always said he would wish to do—into the fuller sunshine

beyond, without pain of parting, probably without even the consciousness of death.

I can recall no period in my life, from little-childhood till now, in which he has not been my most intimate and trusted confidential counsellor and friend, and the *blank* is now proportionately great.

We are here for another week (during which however I have to go to Banffshire to marry our friend Helen Gordon Duff) and hope to be at Windsor about the 7th or 8th of October.

I feel somehow as if I had been cut off from you for a long time, and there are hundreds of things I long to know and to ask you about—besides all I would fain tell you about the Swedish Church and its apparent possibilities (which seem to me much less than I had expected to find them). I wonder what is happening about your *Charge*—I have kept on wondering how you are going either to say or to leave unsaid the things which must be trembling on your lips as to our present troubles. I wonder when I shall see you. Might we go for a night to Addington when you get back from the Congress? Is the Charge to be in type before it is spoken? But if I began to ask questions I should have a wearisome list to inflict upon you—Lincoln, Australia, Tithes, Perowne, Liverpool, Manning *versus* F. Londin, and scores of other matters. So I forbear.

After his father's death, Randall Davidson, as the eldest of the family, had much to do, and there are a few notes in his journal of the plans he had to make 'for the not very easy-looking future'. But he paid a visit to his old uncle, Archibald Swinton, with his wife:

On October 5th Edith and I went to Kimmerghame for a few days. I thought Uncle A. a good deal weaker than last year. I preached in Dunse on October 6th and shot some partridges on the 7th.

And he noted particularly, with regard to the weeks which followed after the return to Windsor:

Edith was all through these weeks busy with the foundation of an Association for the care of friendless girls and the rescue of those who need *that* form of help. She seems to me to have managed splendidly and to have steered with all her tact and graceful skill through a shoal of petty difficulties and materials for possible strifes. I do think there is no other woman quite like her.

II

The following year (1890) was much taken up with the last stages of the writing of the *Life of Archbishop Tait*. Indeed a great

part of the Dean's time at Windsor was spent on that task. It was not entirely his own handiwork, for a second name appears on the title-page, that of Canon William Benham. But though Benham worked hard and was most amenable in letting Davidson use the facts and quotations he had collected, the amount of his actual composition which survived in the published volumes is very small. Davidson's own notes, as he looked back from a distance when himself Archbishop, are as follows:

> Few people, I think, realise how much labour the writing of that book involved. It is a comparatively simple thing to edit the letters and record the facts about an individual who has left large material behind him, and it is often easy to fit into such biography an account of the surroundings and the life, or, as is commonly said, to tell of a man's 'times' as well as his personal life, but usually this is easy because the facts relative to those times are already accessible in a published form, political or ecclesiastical History or the like.
>
> As regards Archbishop Tait, this was for the most part not so; of course the ordinary sources of information, e.g. files of the newspapers etc., were available for a great many leading facts, for the verification of dates etc., but I aimed at telling the story of each controversy, in which he bore a part, in such manner as to give the record a permanent interest as a book of reference. For this purpose I had to make out afresh the full story of such things as the controversy about *Essays and Reviews*, the earlier Ritual Disputations, the Colenso question, the Athanasian Creed Controversy, Burial Bill, and a good many more such things, and no existing book except Archbishop Tait's *Life* contains any considerable or consecutive story of these incidents.
>
> It was for example of great interest and satisfaction to me to find in the discussions of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline which issued its Report some years ago that the standard Book of Reference for the Church History from, say, 1860–1880 was Archbishop Tait's *Life*, and the care which I took in furnishing references and authorities and in verifying them, is I think amply justified. But the labour was immense.

A few extracts from the journal of 1890 may be given.

> *April 13, 1890.* I find a great gain from having been elected (*tandem*, for my name was put down in 1875) into the Athenaeum —so that I can see friends, Episcopal and other, more easily.
>
> *Sunday, May 4, 1890.* On Saturday I had a busy day. First, the

funeral of Miss Gale who died last Tuesday—a touching ceremony, as the little girl Maud was led to the grave by her big brother etc. Then a luncheon in the Castle and the Baptism of the Duke of Portland's infant daughter (Victoria Alexandrina Violet), the Queen standing sponsor. There was some mistake between Her Majesty and me about the Pronouncement of the babe's names by the Royal Godmother—and she was vexed about it and somewhat angry; and said I had quite misunderstood her Pronouncement. [I thought she said to me on giving me the babe 'Have you got the name?' meaning that *she* hadn't—whereas it seems she had really said 'Have you got the baby safe?'!!]

Then I went to town for the Royal Academy dinner—the first time I had attended that function—Lord Salisbury's speech seemed to me one of the cleverest things I ever heard, and contrasted markedly with most of the others which I thought poor—barring always Sir F. Leighton whose elaborated periods are, to my mind, somewhat *too* finished and polished up. The gathering as a whole supremely interesting I sat 'twixt Sir Dighton Probyn and Mr. Tate, the . . . rather interesting rich benefactor of South London. But opposite were other folk of higher order. Sir E. Bradford just back from showing Prince Albert Victor over India —and Ouless, the portrait painter—and (very interesting man) Calderon, the R.A , with whom I had very much talk on Sunday Opening, and other kindred questions.

Caught the 11.30 train, and worked hard at preparation of sermon for today. Preached this morning (May 4), in private Chapel unwritten—(not unsatisfactorily I think) on 'Manifestation of Spirit given to *every* man to profit withal'.

This evening Edith, Etta, and I have been reading carefully the first part of *A Death in the Desert.*

Tuesday, May 6th. This morning to Convocation, where we had a dull day with little matter for important discussion, and I hurried back to Windsor in afternoon so as to be in time for the reception of Stanley,[1] who was to arrive at 7 o'clock on a visit to the Queen. But he had anticipated matters, and arrived earlier, before he was expected.

Finding he was going to give a sort of lecture at night, I went into the Castle for dinner with household, and then we had an hour's discourse from him in the white drawing room. He was on the whole very interesting. Lord Salisbury and Lord Knutsford were also there—and it was intensely amusing to me to see the former's obvious dislike at being thus brought to Windsor to swell

[1] Sir H. M. Stanley, the explorer.

Stanley's triumph. He sat gloomy and *uneasy*, but listening most attentively. All the Royal party possible were present—and some 20 of household. Nobody else Then when the Queen had retired about 11.15 we adjourned to the smoking room, and Stanley held forth, in the midst of an admiring circle, for nearly two hours more, answering all our questions and discussing the position, especially about Emin,[1] most fully and freely.

Saturday, 21st June. Mr Bentley the publisher came, by appointment, to luncheon, and formally invited me to undertake the continuation of Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*—He pressed it very strongly—and would not take a final refusal, leaving it open for me to write to him after 'further consideration'. [The Dean was unable to undertake the task.]

Tuesday, 22nd July. Spent the morning with Mr. Gladstone, going over portions of the Archbishop's *Life* in proof, in order to get his sanction to the publication of certain letters of former years. A very curious interview full of interest He was anxious to hold forth upon the questions raised in each of the letters—and then upon the 'Gospel of Wealth' as enunciated by Mr. Carnegie. A most extraordinary and pointless outburst against Lord Selborne for permitting the publication of a certain letter. I offered *not* to publish. But Mr. Gladstone said that if Lord Selborne consented, he most readily did, as it could only damage Lord Selborne himself and nobody else. A curious scene altogether.

[1] Emin Pasha, German naturalist and one-time governor of a province in Equatorial Africa, who had been abandoned in command of Egyptian army, when the Mahdi overran the Sudan. Stanley had been sent to rescue him 1887–9.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PATRONAGE OF THE CROWN

The Duke of Ormond has told the Queen he is satisfied that Sterne should be Bishop, and she consents I shall be Dean, and I suppose the warrants will be drawn in a day or two. DEAN SWIFT, *Journal to Stella* (April 7, 1713).

THERE are few things more important in the general life of the Church of England than the securing of the right men to be Diocesan Bishops. From very early days the Sovereign has claimed a considerable say in their appointment. Indeed, it has been said on high authority that while in most countries the questions between the Pope and the Sovereign were ultimately settled by the system of concordats, in England from very early days appointments to bishoprics were practically at the disposition of the Crown.[1] In theory the Chapter elected and the Pope confirmed or even provided—but in each case the person chosen was the person nominated by the King. Indeed, so great was the power of the King in such matters that Pope Clement VI actually exclaimed, 'If the King of England were to petition for an ass to be made Bishop we must not say him nay.'[2]

After the breach with Rome, the King was left in sole possession. The actual procedure was laid down by statute in 1534 (25 Henry VIII, c. 20), the Crown being empowered on a vacancy of a bishopric to send the Chapter a *licence to elect* with a *letter missive*, containing the name of the person whom they shall elect. If the Chapter fail to elect within twelve days, the Crown shall appoint by *Letters patent*, and the Chapter failing to elect, or the Archbishop failing to consecrate, are subject to the penalties of *Praemunire* (16 Richard II c. 5—1393) including the loss of civil rights, forfeiture of lands, goods, and chattels, and imprisonment during the King's pleasure. Thus refusal to elect and refusal to consecrate were both recognized as possible, though on pain of dire penalties. The King at first had the power of choosing the

[1] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, III, ch XIX See also *Les Élections épiscopales dans l'Église de France du* IXe *au* XIIe *siècle*, par Imbart de la Tour, ch V, Jervis, *History of the Gallican Church*, I 165 f, *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Article. Concordat, pp 196 seq

[2] Stubbs, op cit, III 324

person to be elected. But later he came to be advised in his personal choice, and as a rule by the Secretary of State. Thus Cecil undoubtedly advised Queen Elizabeth, as is clearly shown by *Parker's Correspondence*. During the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, more especially after the growth of the organized parties of Whig and Tory, the sovereigns tended necessarily to pay more regard to the advice of their chief ministers; but there is indeed plenty of evidence in Hanoverian times of a successful claim on the part of the King to make his own nominations. The most famous case is the appointment of Manners Sutton to be Archbishop of Canterbury in 1805. Pitt had recommended the Bishop of Lincoln (Pretyman) to succeed Moore; but the King, George III, on receipt of the letter, rode over to Windsor where Manners Sutton was, and offered him the archbishopric on the spot, telling Pitt the next day what he had done. Pitt 'was exceedingly angry at having been over-reached by the King'. Lord Sidmouth told Dean Milman that he believed such strong language had rarely if ever passed between a Sovereign and his minister.[1] It was not until 1821, in the reign of George IV, that the Prime Minister of the day (Lord Liverpool) succeeded, under threat of resignation, in enforcing his will, the post at issue being a Windsor canonry, for which the King's nominee was the Rev. C. R. Sumner,[2] subsequently Bishop of Winchester.

I

Queen Victoria, throughout her long reign, took a deep interest in all matters of Church patronage. For nearly thirty years (1854–82) Dean Wellesley was her trusted adviser, and with his help the Queen exercised a great influence in most of the important ecclesiastical appointments. It was on Dean Wellesley's advice, and against the wishes of Mr. Disraeli, that Tait was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in preference to Bishop Ellicott.[3] When Dean Wellesley died Randall Davidson succeeded to the role of the Queen's confidential counsellor; and for the eighteen years from the date of his appointment to the

[1] Jervis, *Memoirs of George III*, iii. 414, Convocation of Canterbury, *Report of Joint Committee on Crown Nominations to Ecclesiastical Offices*, 1920, Appendix II.

[2] See *Life of Bishop Sumner*, p. 61 f, Lord Liverpool's *Life*, iii. 150.

[3] See *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, iii. 269.

Deanery of Windsor until the Queen's death in 1901 the Queen was constantly asking his counsel.

In the memorandum which he drew up in 1906—five years after the death of Queen Victoria—and revised in later years, Randall Davidson described the practice of the Queen as follows:

> The Queen's usage was this; when an ecclesiastical post of any importance—a Bishopric, a Deanery, sometimes even a Canonry—was vacant, the Queen would ask me to advise her as to the sort of man who ought to hold such and such a position. About this she took a really continuous interest and did not like to wait until a recommendation should arrive from the Prime Minister before forming opinions of her own about the vacant position and the sort of man who was to fill it. I say the sort of man, for I always deprecated any endeavour upon the Queen's part to shift to her own shoulders the responsibility belonging to the Prime Minister, as representative of the English people, of nominating the particular man who should fill the vacant office. I was always impressed by her ready appreciation of the quite different men who were wanted for the different positions, apparently, though not really, identical in their requirements. I remember being struck by hearing her blurt out with reference to an appointment at Manchester: 'The man seems to think he is making an appointment to Wells or Ely and not to a great industrial capital'. I always tried to impress upon her that the Prime Minister of his day holds office because he is the man the English people want to have in that position, and therefore we are bound to regard his judgement as expressing the contemporary judgement of the nation as a whole. This, though she admitted its truth, she used to regard as a rather troublesome dogma of mine. 'Lord Palmerston with Shaftesbury at his elbow, was a very different adviser', she used to say, 'than Lord Salisbury or Mr. Gladstone'. But she agreed that, for the time being, the Prime Minister's opinion, if persisted in, must be taken as the *Vox Populi*, so far as we could get at it. I remember this coming up markedly when Lord Salisbury made a concurrent nomination of Edward King to the See of Lincoln and Edward Bickersteth to the See of Exeter.
>
> The usage was this. As soon as the Prime Minister's recommendation reached her she used to send it to me, or if I were at a distance it was telegraphed to me. . . . Sometimes the . . . telegrams were long and elaborate. This depended greatly upon who was doing her Secretarial work. Ponsonby and Bigge wrote more fully than Edwards. I then gave her in writing a full memorandum about the recommendation which had been made, unless

indeed, as often happened, I was able simply to say that I thought it the best possible.

A kind of conventional reticence was observed between herself and the Prime Minister about these communications with me, which were not supposed to exist although Lord Rosebery, I remember, when Prime Minister, made no bones about it. . . .

Sometimes I advised her to accept nominations which did not seem to me very good ones, but I never scrupled to advise her to veto nominations if they were really unsuitable or bad, and during my years of advising her the veto was exercised a great many times.

My view always was that she might exercise the veto as often as she liked with regard to the Prime Minister's suggestions for filling a vacancy, but that it was not desirable that she should initiate recommendations for a particular place. I always thought it suitable that she should occasionally put before the Prime Minister names of men who ought to be considered when opportunities should arise, but I thought she was placed in a false position if she initiated suggestions as to specific appointments which the Prime Minister did not like and which he declined to be responsible for.

The MS. calendar of Church of England papers in the Royal Archives at Windsor gives abundant evidence of the consultations thus described between the Queen and Randall Davidson, and also of the unfailing reliance which she placed on Davidson's judgement.

For the two years following Davidson's appointment as Dean, Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister.[1] Davidson describes him as of the four Prime Ministers who held office during his years of advisership to the Queen (Gladstone, Salisbury,[2] Rosebery,[3] and Balfour[4]), 'the most painstaking in regard to appointments'. But he adds: 'He was also the most determined to adhere, if possible, to his own opinion.'

The Queen's insistence on her right to consultation, even before formal submission, is illustrated in the following correspondence between Mr. Gladstone's private secretary and Sir Henry Ponsonby, about the appointment of the Rev. W. Boyd

[1] Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister for the second time 1880–5; again (on Lord Salisbury's failure to secure a majority in the House of Commons at the beginning of 1886) for five months in 1886; and for a fourth time 1892–4.

[2] Lord Salisbury, Prime Minister 1885–6, 1886–92, 1895–1902.

[3] Lord Rosebery, Prime Minister 1894–5.

[4] Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, Prime Minister 1902–5.

Carpenter, Canon of Windsor, a close friend of Her Majesty, to the Bishopric of Ripon:

E. W. HAMILTON, ESQ., *to* SIR H. PONSONBY

10, Downing St., Whitehall.
May 10, 1884.

I don't think Mr. Gladstone quite clearly understood the objection which Her Majesty had taken to the submission of Canon Carpenter—whether it was because he had not communicated with Her first before making a submission, or because he had not accompanied the submission with an explanation.

He does not remember to have suggested a name for a See, previously to and independently of a formal submission. But he is of course most ready to furnish Her Majesty with a statement of reasons why he thinks Canon Carpenter suited for a Bishopric and for this particular Bishopric. He only abstained from doing this, thinking that, as Her Majesty was so well acquainted with Canon Carpenter, he would be troubling Her unnecessarily.

There is one letter which bears the mark of a dispute about the merits of a particular clergyman whom Mr Gladstone, not for the first time, was pressing for a canonry. The memorandum submitting this particular name is annotated by Her Majesty in her own hand, in blue pencil, 'Consult the Dean. If it is granted it should be with the understanding that it is final.'

II

At the beginning of 1885, a series of episcopal appointments had to be made which were, for various reasons, of more than ordinary interest. They reveal the Queen's own powers of intervention. They also throw a very clear light on the manner in which the Dean was consulted. Two sees had to be filled—London and Lincoln—and if London were filled by translation there would be three. The Bishop of London (Jackson) died suddenly on January 6, 1885. The story begins with the following letter from Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Dean:

SIR HENRY PONSONBY *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

Osborne. 7th January, 1885.

Henry.

So then our good ~~Archbishop~~ Theobald
Lies dying.

Becket.
I am grieved to know as much.
Henry.
But we must have a mightier man than he
For his successor.
Becket.
Have you thought of one?

Would you answer the above question?

Her Majesty wants to learn your thoughts. I told her I thought the Bishop of Bedford??[1] I must show your letter in reply to the Queen—so if you quote Tennyson, as I have done, it must go before the Royal eye.

Bigge told me that retired Bishops weren't called Bishops. I said Hurrah—then A. can be Chaplain General—But you have upset his wild theories. All the same the Clergy list doesn't call them Bishops.

Telegram from SIR HENRY PONSONBY *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

8th January, 1885.

With reference to the work mentioned in first part of my letter I find a wish here that your late carpenter[2] should be employed

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to* SIR HENRY PONSONBY

8th January, 1885.
The Deanery, Windsor.

Confidential.

On returning here this evening after spending 48 hours in Scotland with my Father, who is ill, I found your letter and telegram on the subject of the vacant Bishopric of London.

The vacancy now created is more difficult, I consider, to fill properly, than any other (except the Archbishopric itself) which could have occurred.

I do not think that any man among the present bishops stands out as *markedly* suited above all others for the position. What is wanted is not merely a man of great power, and ability, and liberality of view on Church questions, but a man who adds to these qualities the *weight*, and recognized position among English clergy which will enable him to hold his own and to make way. He must also have marked *business* powers, for the Bishop of

[1] Rt. Rev. Walsham How.

[2] The Rt. Rev. W. Boyd Carpenter, Bishop of Ripon; formerly Canon of Windsor.

London is the principal Manager of the enormous business of the Ecclesiastical Commission, in addition to all his other duties.

For many reasons one would have desired to see there Dr. Boyd Carpenter of Ripon, our late Canon here. But, immensely as I like and honour him, I cannot think this particular post is one which is at present suited to his peculiar gifts. He is *par excellence* a *preacher*, and it is not the preaching power of the Bishop of London which is most important. Archbishop Tait was a very bad preacher; but he was an admirable Bishop of London. . . .

It is much less easy, however, to say who ought to go to London, and, to tell the truth, I shrink greatly from giving, at present, without further thought, a decided and definite opinion. If I were obliged to give some positive opinion I should say that three possible men suggest themselves:

1. The Bishop of Durham (Lightfoot)
2. The Bishop of Exeter (Temple)
3. The Bishop of Carlisle (Goodwin).

No one of the three is one's *ideal* for the post, but all the three possess *many* of the necessary qualifications.

The Bishop of Durham stands indisputably first among the theologians and scholars of England, and he combines with his scholarship and culture, a wide liberality of thought and action in religious matters, of which I am quite sure the Queen must approve. As a Bishop he is every day gaining in popularity and influence in his Diocese as he gains in experience of Episcopal work. He would be quite invaluable as an adviser and helper to the Archbishop, and his speeches in the House of Lords and elsewhere would be of immense weight and would all be on the side of a wholesome and liberal theology like that of Archbishop Tait. The great *dis*advantage under which he labours, for the Diocese of London, is that he is unmarried, but I doubt whether this ought to outweigh the other considerations. His appointment would be universally welcomed.

2. Bishop Temple of Exeter has entirely lived down the foolish cry once raised against his theological opinions, which have turned out quite 'safe' after all, as Archbishop Tait and Dean Stanley always said they would. . . .

3. Bishop Harvey Goodwin of Carlisle is one of the most popular speakers and preachers in England, and is withal a great (Mathematical and Scientific) scholar—and possessed of a huge fund of experience on all Church questions. He would I think be less good for the post than either of the others I have named, but he would in many respects be an admirable Bishop of London. . . .

Please understand that all these views are somewhat crude. I

give you them for what they are worth, as I understand from you that Her Majesty was good enough to ask you what I thought. . . .

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the occasion.

Communications then passed between Dean Davidson and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had heard from Mr. Gladstone, and had informed him already that he would welcome the appointment of the Bishop of Exeter to London—and found no disposition on the Prime Minister's part to substitute the Bishop of Durham or any one else for Temple. He commented thus on the Bishop of Durham:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

Addington Park, Croydon. 15 January, 1885.

Private.

. . . I should be well content with either. I do not wonder that you think J. B. D.[1] would be the best counsellor for me. So he would, if he would counsel. But of late years his caution has grown upon him so exceedingly that I can get nothing out of him. 'I can't advise' has become a fixed phrase with him. The oldness of our friendship has made this rather a trial to me, and lately when he has been at Lambeth it has been almost impossible to get him across the threshold from Lollards Tower. He was always doing some bit of work which would not allow him to breakfast at 8.30 instead of 8 or to dine. Consequently all the opportunities for talk which are so essential were lost—and I got next to none. One wants to learn his view of things in casual ways, and not by direct interrogation always—for the latter fails, while it 's of no use looking for the former. He is what you might call terrifically selfish in pursuit of utterly unselfish ends. Also it is said that he is guided himself by younger people almost entirely: that they have an unfailing influence over him, and that the real Bishop of Durham just now is named Watkins.

Hence I don't feel so sure that his sagacious perceptions, thorough consideration, and sound conclusions would have a fair chance of helping the archbishopric work and counsel. Also if he applied himself to London in the spirit in which he applies himself to Durham, it would of course cut off a good many of my pressures, but it wouldn't help those that were left me. I think there would be a very clean cut.

Temple would often wound and bruise one without knowing it

[1] J. B. Lightfoot (Bishop of Durham) He was at King Edward's School, Birmingham, with Archbishop Benson.

—and think if he knew you were hurt that it was your own fault—more brusque than people would like, or I should find pleasant. But one could always depend on having hearty sympathy, outspoken counsel, and any amount of time and trouble.

It is a very nice balance. It seems a *little* in favour of Temple to me—a very little. And a little would turn it. It was a great pity that the question came to me in so narrow a form, and with such injunctions to secrecy. The secrecy only lasted over the time when it would do harm.

On receipt of this, the Dean wrote as follows to Sir Henry Ponsonby:

The Dean of Windsor *to* Sir Henry Ponsonby

The Deanery, Windsor. 17 January, 1885.

With respect to the Bishopric of London, the more I think of it the more doubtful do I feel whether, after all, Bishop Temple of Exeter might not be quite as good a man for the post as Bishop Lightfoot of Durham. The bachelorhood of the Bishop of Durham is now certain to be permanent, and would be a very serious drawback to a man who has already a shrinking from Society.

Bishop Temple is certainly not so great a man as Bishop Lightfoot—but he is a first rate administrator and a born leader.

Either of the two would be an admirable Bishop of London, and if I were suddenly called upon to make responsible choice between them I should feel myself in a very serious difficulty.

P.S. I hear some papers speak of Edghill (Chaplain General) as being an advanced High Churchman! I believe him to be one of the most moderate of men.

Important, however, as the see of London was, the Prime Minister could not disregard the other see or sees which would also require to be filled. There was a considerable discussion about Canon Liddon, the great preacher of St. Paul's Cathedral, and pronounced by Lord Acton to be 'the greatest power in the conflict with sin and in turning the souls of men to God that the nation now possesses'.

Although when sounded, in the end Liddon begged not to be nominated,[1] there is a letter from Davidson about his relations with Tait, which is too interesting to be omitted. On January 9, Mr. Gladstone wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury describing

[1] See *Life of H. P. Liddon*, p. 314.

Liddon as 'The first champion of belief', and asking whether he would welcome him as a bishop: but at the same time referring to the perplexity which he felt about a statement of which he had just heard that Dr. Liddon had declined to work with the late Archbishop,[1] and asking for enlightenment. The Archbishop accordingly wrote to the Dean, who replied as follows:

The DEAN *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

The Deanery, Windsor. 12 January, 1885.

Private.

You ask me to tell you definitely, to the best of my belief what were the relations of Canon Liddon towards Archbishop Tait.

I should greatly have preferred to say nothing on the subject. When it has come up, as frequently happens, in conversation I have always endeavoured to avoid it, but since *you* ask me it is my duty to tell you exactly what I know or believe—*valeat quantum.*

I remember, just after I became Archbishop Tait's Chaplain in Spring of 1877, being sent by him to see Mr. Bullock, the then Secretary of S.P.G., on some matter connected with the S.P.G. controversies then going on, about which a somewhat stormy meeting was anticipated. Bullock, who was the gentlest of men, was speaking of those likely to be present at the meeting, and I asked if there was any chance of Canon Liddon being there. He answered, No, I wish he would come—but *it would be of no use to ask him, as the Archbishop is to be in the Chair.* I looked enquiringly, and he simply replied, 'The relations there are quite impracticable.' I remember the words because they surprised me so much that on returning to Lambeth I asked Craufurd Tait what Bullock could have meant, and he answered that Liddon, to the best of his belief, would attend no meeting, if he could help it, where Archbishop Tait was to preside.

Twice that same year (in August and December) the Archbishop invited the leading men of all parties to come to Lambeth for a quiet devotional meeting. The invitation was accepted by Canon Carter, Montagu Villiers, Murray of Chislehurst, Herbert Briston, and many other extreme High Churchmen. *Many* also wrote expressing their great regret at being unavoidably kept

[1] In 1871 Liddon informed Tait, who desired the disuse of the Athanasian Creed in the public service of the Church, that 'if this most precious Creed is either mutilated by the excision of the so-termed damnatory clauses, or degraded by an alteration of the rubric which precedes it from its present position in the Book of Common Prayer, I shall feel bound in conscience to resign my preferment and to retire from the ministry of the Church of England', *Life of Tait*, ii. 137.

away by engagements. I think about 150 invitations were issued. The one only man who *declined to attend* was Canon Liddon. Of this I speak from personal knowledge, and I know how keenly his refusal to be present was felt by the Archbishop, who was striving by these meetings to draw men together.

During the six years that I was Chaplain, Canon Liddon never, as a matter of fact, attended any meeting, public or private, at which the Archbishop presided. Nor, I think, was he ever present in St. Paul's at any of the many Episcopal Consecrations held there by Archbishop Tait. On this last point I cannot speak with absolute certainty, but I knew Archbishop Tait to have believed, and to have sorrowed over this belief, that Canon Liddon did not wish to be present when he (the Archbishop) celebrated the Holy Communion

When Archbishop Tait, shortly before his death, dictated from his bed an article upon his Oxford reminiscences, he spoke, in the first draft of his article, with some severity of a recent sermon preached by Canon Liddon before the University. When I read over the article to him in proof, he stopped me at the passage and said, as nearly as I can remember, 'Stop I must alter that. It is not kind. He has striven against my efforts after unity, but all the more I must beware of speaking unkindly of him.' And the words were softened down.

I write these reminiscences, trivial as they appear, as the best means of answering your question I have purposely not dwelt upon the, I suppose unquestionable, fact that people generally *believed* Canon Liddon to have practically declined of late years to meet the Archbishop on any official occasion. The belief may be an erroneous one and I wish the question had not been asked of me, because I fear lest, even unconsciously, I should be doing some wrong to so great and good a man as Canon Liddon. Please set your own value upon what I have said. Whatever be your Grace's object in asking the question, the less weight you give to my words the more thankful shall I be.

Mr. Gladstone made his formal submission to the Queen for the three sees of London, Lincoln, and Exeter, as follows:

The Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone *to the* Queen

January 23, 1885.

The Bishop of Exeter (whom failing, the Bishop of Durham) is humbly recommended to Your Majesty to succeed Bishop Jackson in the See of London

Mr. Bickersteth, recently approved by Your Majesty for the Deanery of Gloucester, is in like manner humbly recommended to be named for the See of Exeter, in the event of its becoming vacant.

And the Rev. Dr. King, Professor of Pastoral Theology (Regius) in Oxford, for the See of Lincoln.

The Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone *to the* Queen

Memorandum to accompany the present Episcopal Submissions

1. *See of London* Inasmuch as the names of the Bishops of Durham and Exeter were those which had already suggested themselves to Your Majesty, Mr Gladstone will only trouble Your Majesty by stating that he has been prompted to submit first the name of Bishop Temple:

a. by the great eminence of the See which Bishop Lightfoot already holds, and by the desire to avoid a double translation;

b. by the likelihood that the offer, if made, might be declined;

c. by a sense of the value of Bishop Lightfoot's studies to the Church, and by the high probability that acceptance of the See of London would put an end to them.

2. *See of Exeter.* Should Your Majesty accede to the recommendation just given, the great appointment will, with the two last Episcopal nominations, have been given in one and the same line. For Your Majesty was undoubtedly most accurate in the appreciation of Bishop Boyd Carpenter, as more nearly related to what is termed the Broad School than to that called Evangelical. (Bishop Ridding was of the same colour.)

Searching among the clergy who bear the last named designation, Mr. Gladstone, after taking pains to inform himself, believes that the claim of Mr. Bickersteth, who has recently received a conspicuous mark of Your Majesty's favour, is upon the whole the best.

3. *See of Lincoln.* It has been since the death of Bishop Jackson that this See has been placed at Your Majesty's disposal. Bishop Wordsworth had a short time ago announced his intention to resign not later than Lady Day: but he has taken the present opportunity to anticipate the resignation, and a Deed has been prepared accordingly, which will have been executed before this Memorandum has reached Your Majesty's hands. The Bishop desired Mr. Gladstone to convey to Your Majesty his humble gratitude for Your Majesty's goodness, especially in allowing him,

many years ago, to be relieved of a portion of his labours through the appointment of a Suffragan. It was this announcement, which widened the field of operation, and somewhat retarded these submissions to Your Majesty.

Dr. King as to opinion would be reputed a Divine of the High Church. At the time when he received his important Professorship from Your Majesty, he had by a wise and loving spirit attracted confidence and attachment from many, Bishops and others, within a wider circle than that of any special party. No occupant of a Theological Chair in Oxford has, as Mr. Gladstone believes, ever done more than Dr King for the maintenance of practical and earnest religion among the younger members of the University, and few indeed have done so much. Dr. King is also an accomplished modern scholar, with a noteworthy gift of languages; and a person who would in all respects do honour to the Bench, and be a worthy successor to Dr Wordsworth, who has undoubtedly attracted as a Diocesan Bishop much veneration and affection.

Mr. Gladstone refrains from troubling Your Majesty, unless so commanded, with further particulars.

The Dean was asked to report on these names, and wrote as follows:

The Dean of Windsor *to* Sir Henry Ponsonby

The Deanery, Windsor 25 January, 1885.

You bid me report upon the three recommendations which have been made for Bishoprics. I will do so, in order:

1. Bishop *Temple* for London. I have already, as you will recollect, written about him. I believe him to be (with the single exception of the present Bishop of Durham, if he *is* an exception) the fittest man in England to become Bishop of London.

Notwithstanding his rough exterior and harsh voice he has proved himself to be eminently qualified to lead and influence men. He has gained the confidence of all those whose confidence is best worth having to whatever party they belong. Possibly the extreme Evangelicals don't like him much, but that is all He is distinctly a broad Churchman in theology—but the outcry which formerly arose about his connexion with *Essays and Reviews* has entirely died away. His personal friendship (from early days onwards) with Archbishop Benson will tend, if Her Majesty appoints him, to make everything work with utmost smoothness —and Mrs. Temple's links with so many men prominent in the political world will be a clear advantage socially. He is a man remarkable for earnestness of purpose and terse vigour of expres-

sion, and though now 63 years old is physically very strong and active, a most necessary qualification for London.

2. The Rev. E. H. Bickersteth, who had just been nominated to the Deanery of Gloucester, is a most *liberal-minded* Evangelical, of no party bias whatever, a man acceptable to all who know him as a refined Christian gentleman. He is *58* years old. His University career was a distinguished one—and he has since been widely known as the author of much religious and other poetry of a high order—and as a vigorous and earnest parish clergyman. The narrow partisan Evangelicals regard him as too lax and wide in his sympathies to please them—and for that very reason he is the better suited—as I believe Her Majesty will think—to be placed in a position of authority and influence.

I have every reason to think he will make, if appointed, a good and wise Bishop, and his nomination would certainly be acceptable to a large and important section of English Churchmen. Indeed if a man of his school of thought has now to be selected for a Bishopric I do not know what other name would be so suitable as his.

3. Canon King—now professor of Pastoral Theology at Oxford—is a remarkable man in every way. He has a strangely winning power, and has at Oxford succeeded beyond any other theological teacher in gaining the confidence of young men of all sorts of opinions His own views are very decidedly High Church, but he has never thrown himself actively into the *public* controversies on these subjects, and he is so bright and cheery that he has done much to counteract the rather severe and gloomy views both about present and future, which have characterized some of the other teachers who share his Church opinions. Next to Canon Liddon he probably stands foremost among the representative and popular High Churchmen—but he has a much greater power than Canon Liddon has of getting on with all sorts and conditions of men. He is extremely popular, and as a Bishop his winning manners, and his power of ready sympathy would be valuable.

He openly and emphatically avows decided High Church opinions, and must be distinctly classed as belonging to that school. But I imagine that Her Majesty will feel it to be necessary or desirable that there should be among the Bishops some representative of a body so largely represented among the parochial clergy, and supposing Her Majesty to approve of the two other recommendations which have now been made the High Church party would only have had *one* representative among the *five* Bishops last appointed.

Bishops *Carpenter*, *Ridding*, and *Temple* are all Broad Churchmen

and Mr. *Bickersteth* is a liberal *Low* Churchman. Canon King would thus be the only High Churchman among them.

Her Majesty will judge best how far it would be desirable to exclude this modicum of representation. I confess to being myself a little surprised that Mr. Gladstone in recommending a High Churchman, did not submit the name of Canon Liddon with whom he is on such terms of friendship.

Canon King, however, would, I think, be very decidedly a better *bishop* than Canon Liddon—and perhaps Mr. Gladstone also thinks so, and does not mind the outcry which some High Churchmen may possibly make at Canon Liddon being apparently passed over in favour of a lesser man. An excluded leader is sometimes a source of danger and difficulty, but all this Her Majesty will judge of far better than I can

What I have endeavoured to do is simply to state the *facts* about the various men named, leaving the issue to Her Majesty's judgement.

I rather wonder that Mr. Gladstone should have wished to send Mr. Bickersteth to *Exeter* and Canon King to *Lincoln*. The former is much more of a High Church *Diocese* than the latter—notwithstanding the characteristics of their present Bishops. But this has doubtless been weighed.

I am afraid my letter has run to an inordinate length.

SIR HENRY PONSONBY *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

Osborne. 27 January, 1885.

The Queen has approved the Episcopal nominations and was very much pleased by your excellent letter upon them. . . .

III

In June 1885, a new Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, was in office, and the following month, at Osborne, Davidson 'got a very interesting talk with Lord Salisbury, who was very ready to discuss some of his Church Patronage problems and talked about them as if he was certain to be Prime Minister for at least a generation or two'. To the Queen, Lord Salisbury did not seem to be very judicious or well-informed:

> Lord Salisbury on many occasions [writes Davidson] consented without a murmur to the Queen's veto to some suggestion which he made.

His first experience was discouraging. He had obtained the

Queen's leave to offer the Bishopric of Salisbury to Dr. Inge, Provost of Worcester College.[1] The Provost declined, Lord Salisbury reported to the Queen, 'most resolutely—in terms which would be unnecessarily strong if he had been asked to go to Sierra Leone'. The name of Dr. B. was then submitted and referred to the Dean of Windsor, who wrote:

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to* SIR HENRY PONSONBY

Most Confidential. Deanery, Windsor Castle.
5 August, 1885.

. . . I am very sorry Dr. Inge has declined. His appointment would have been good in all ways. He is a scholar, and a man of real intellectual power as well as a good and vigorous man, who would in every way have done credit to Lord Salisbury's very wise selection.

Of Dr. B. it is, I fear, impossible to say the same, however much one may desire to do so.

Personally, I like him. I have always found him a kindly, amiable gentleman. But that is all! What qualifications he has for a Bishopric it is really very hard to see, and we do, at this moment, so sadly lack men of real intellectual power and scholarship on the Bench that every one had hoped the Salisbury vacancy would be used to give an accession of new *intellectual* power to the Bench of Bishops. . . . It was stated in the newspapers that he was likely, as Lord Salisbury's old colleague and friend, to be nominated, and instantly I received letters from men, high and low, saying, 'Can this be true?'

One most competent judge, who might have been expected to think the nomination a desirable one, writes to me, 'Such an appointment would be a disaster: he has no claim: he preaches feebly, speaks in wearisome fashion, he has written nothing, done nothing, organised nothing.'

I should not myself have spoken quite so strongly but the words are substantially true. . . .

It costs me something to say this about a clergyman whom personally I esteem highly.

I wonder what his episcopal qualifications are *supposed* to be?

The name was withdrawn, and Bishop John Wordsworth, one of the first scholars of the day, was appointed.

The Queen had a strong wish, emphasized by the controversies on ritualism, that Bishops should be nominated who were not only

[1] His son, W. R. Inge, in later years became Dean of St. Paul's.

ecclesiastics but also statesmen. The Dean made the following entry in his journal for November 21, 1889—in the very midst of the trial of the Bishop of Lincoln:

> *November 21st.* Got back to Windsor on same day as the Queen and in the following three weeks saw rather more of Her Majesty than has of late been usual. She was very much exercised about the ritual and other difficulties and most eager about the appointment of some new and stronger sort of Bishops who should be statesmen as well as ecclesiastics. . . . My business is to try to put the *good* side of High Churchmanship before her. She hears and thinks plenty on the other side without my help!

In the course of his association with ecclesiastical appointments as adviser to the Queen, Davidson became the recipient of a great many letters from other people who wished their views taken into account. Sometimes the letters were critical of the trend of recent appointments. There were not a few correspondents who expressed their profound disappointment, for example, with Lord Salisbury in his supposed neglect of Evangelical clergy.

To one of these who had written about 'the rising discontent with the ecclesiastical patronage of the Government', Davidson replied as follows:

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to the* REV. F. GELL

The Deanery, Windsor Castle. 11 Mar. 1890.

Private.

I thank you for your letter. I am well aware of the existence of such a feeling as you describe on the part of some Evangelical clergy. But I thought it had been confined to the less thoughtful and the less well-informed. It is a simple delusion to suppose that there is any disinclination on the part of the authorities to give due prominence, in Church appointments, to men who belong to the Evangelical School. The difficulty is to find the right men, and they must be men not only of piety, learning, and power, but of physical strength sufficient for the daily increasing burdens of Episcopal work. Some of the best men are growing old. The younger generation is not overstocked with clergymen possessing all these qualifications.

I do not gather that you had yourself given credence to so utterly absurd a rumour as that the great Diocese of Bangor would be used as a place of exile wherein to confine a man 'who is too strong to be kept in England'. You quote it, I imagine, as showing the length to which some men will go in such arguments.

I speak that which I know when I say that the notion that there is a determination not to promote Evangelicals is the merest delusion.

There was much correspondence about Welsh bishoprics. The appointment to Bangor (just mentioned) had very special difficulties of which Davidson heard full details from all sides. There were letters also about the appointment of a successor to Bishop Walsham How[1] as Suffragan Bishop in the Diocese of London, when, owing to special circumstances, the Queen, on Lord Salisbury's advice, made a departure from the usual custom by selecting the second name of the two proposed. There were also a few, but very few, letters from clergy who felt that their own claims had been disregarded. There was, for example, a long letter from the well-known preacher Canon *** enclosing a news-cutting giving an unfounded report that he had been chosen for the Deanery of Manchester. The letter was long and full of feeling. It was docketed by Davidson, on the back of the envelope containing it, '***, Canon (his woes!)'. A short extract may be given:

I do not think that I have been idle, or unfaithful or unsuccessful. Is it right that appointments should be mainly influenced by the wives, daughters, and sisters-in-law of Premiers? It is, of course, useless to hope that Lord Salisbury who, I am told, has been so often urged to promote me, that my very name makes him *angry*, will ever notice me. (*17 June 1890.*)

Davidson's reply was kind and disarming. His attitude may be summed up in the following sentence:

My own position in the matter is one of the utmost delicacy and I have practically no *initiative* voice whatever. If I had you need not doubt how it would be used. (*21 June 1890.*)

The last appointment to which we need refer is the bishopric of Durham, vacated by the death on December 21, 1889, of Bishop Lightfoot—a great scholar and a bishop for whom Davidson always entertained a special honour and affection. The Archbishop of Canterbury and Dean Davidson were, from the beginning, most anxious to secure the appointment of Dr. Westcott as his successor. Davidson was summoned to Osborne on December 28 and dined with the Queen:

She talked long and earnestly . . . telling me of her real wish to have *wise* Bishops appointed, and recounting with a good deal of

[1] Appointed first Bishop of Wakefield, 1888.

satisfaction how entirely it was she herself who had got Archbishop Tait appointed to the Primacy, how earnestly Dizzy had pressed Ellicott, and how Dizzy had often thanked her in later years for having taken the line she did! She thinks Lord Salisbury not very wise in his nominations and means 'decidedly to take the matter largely into her own hands, while leaving the initiative *always* with him'. Lord Salisbury, she said, 'is so sensible and liberal-minded in political matters, and so ready to give up the foolish points of old-fashioned Conservatism, that it is a great pity he should so lack liberality in his view of Church appointments'. She told me of her recent correspondences and conversations with him about several people (in which she seems to me to have shown great wisdom) and quite approves of my wish that Westcott should go to Durham.

Sir Henry Ponsonby was instructed to write to Lord Salisbury. Lord Salisbury, however, was not very well, and on January 10, 1890, Lady Salisbury wrote to Sir Henry Ponsonby promising to give him some notes about Episcopal appointments after his fortnight's rest, adding:

LADY SALISBURY *to* SIR HENRY PONSONBY

10 January, 1890.

I always find that anything to do with the appointment of Bishops has a special power of worrying and tiring him.

At the end of the month, Lord Salisbury wrote a long letter objecting to Dr. Westcott as 'too learned for Durham'. A considerable correspondence took place between Sir Henry Ponsonby on behalf of the Queen, and Lord Salisbury; Dean Davidson being consulted throughout, and maintaining throughout the great superiority of Westcott. Dr. Walsham How (Wakefield) and Dr. Jayne (Chester) both declined. When Dr. Ridding's (Southwell) name was proposed, Davidson suggested a letter from Her Majesty 'to the effect that, although the Bishop of Southwell is not a High Churchman, his action at Clumber, and still more the letters which he had written in answer to remonstrants, had so irritated the Evangelicals that he is now regarded as a foremost offender and protests have been everywhere got up. *Is it a wise moment* for sending him to Durham? Also the Queen feared his health was bad. But if Lord Salisbury, knowing this, persists, the Queen will not refuse him.'[1]

[1] See also *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 3rd series, vol. 1, pp. 553–63, 575, 577.

The final result appears in the following memorandum by Davidson, showing the persistence of the Queen, which culminated in her sending for Lord Salisbury to Buckingham Palace:

> The ultimate facts were these. The Bishopric having been refused by the Bishops of Wakefield and Chester to whom it was quite formally offered, much correspondence took place. I have preserved the letters which explain themselves. The only point of importance which they don't, I think, say, is that Lord Salisbury was told by the Queen that he might certainly nominate Maclagan of Lichfield as he would do well. He replied that he had already sounded him (doubtless through Lord Barrington, his own private secretary and Mrs. Maclagan's brother) and found that he would not accept. He kept on suggesting Bishop Boyd Carpenter again and again, and the Queen said she didn't think him suitable. At last they had an interview and long conversation at Buckingham Palace on Tuesday, March 4th, and at this interview the Queen again said to Lord Salisbury that she was surprised he didn't accept the notion of Dr. Westcott for Durham which she had throughout desired—*whereupon he consented.* Had he refused, the Queen would have pressed, or even insisted, on his appointing *me*—as she said she was determined there should be no more refusals.

On March 16 the Dean dined at Windsor Castle with the Queen, and noted in his journal as follows:

> Much talk with the Queen about the Bishoprics etc. She is greatly amused by Lord Salisbury's jubilation with which Westcott's appointment is received. 'He talks as if he had done it, instead of having opposed it with all his might for weeks!'[1]

[1] In his papers (1906) Davidson also noted: 'A year or two later the Queen sent me in great triumph a letter from Lord Salisbury to herself in which, after Bishop Westcott's intervention in the Coal Strike (1892), Lord Salisbury took special credit to himself for the acumen he had shown in selecting Westcott for that office.'

CHAPTER IX

FAREWELL TO WINDSOR

I hope you occupy yourself with the several great questions which agitate parties. I think a good mode will be to talk concerning them sometimes with the Dean. He is a good moderate man, and still well able to give you sufficient information.' KING LEOPOLD *to* PRINCESS VICTORIA, April 1837.

IT has been convenient in the survey of the different departments of the work done by Dean Randall Davidson to give a separate treatment to each. But it would be a complete missing of the character of his seven years at Windsor to forget, even for a moment, that all these different activities were in fact going on together. He was Dean, and therefore had the necessary duties which the office involved in the care of the services of St. George's Chapel, the preaching, the music, in the pastoral charge of the members of the society which sang or ministered within its walls, in the leadership of the Chapter and the administration of the Chapter business. He was Chaplain to the Queen—her religious counsellor and, in an uncommon degree, her spiritual pastor and teacher: and also her invariable and deeply trusted adviser in the exercise of the patronage of the Crown and in all manner of questions which might come up concerning the Church. He was besides, outside Windsor, an active member of Convocation and deeply involved in the central affairs and policies of the Church of England. Again, he was in practically daily communication with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the counsellor on whose experience and judgement His Grace instinctively relied with regard to the main Church questions which poured into Lambeth Palace. He was therefore Dean, Chaplain to the Queen, and Archbishop of Canterbury's trusted lieutenant, all at once: and though a particular claim might be uppermost at a particular time, he could not, and he would not, forget the others.

One of the things which made it possible for him to do so much, and to do it so well, was his vivid interest in everything that was going on. He was extraordinarily alive. He never, as we should say, missed anything. He extracted all that he could out of the

particular matter before him, and he was ready to give his whole mind to it at the moment when it claimed his attention. Thus he possessed a remarkable faculty of concentration. He was absorbed in the problem for the time, and, when the problem was finished, he passed with equal interest and equal zest to the next, treating it in the same way. Moreover, he never forgot, but stored up events, precedents, and facts of all sorts and kinds, in a wonderful memory, ready to bring them out whenever the need came. Above all he was deeply interested in people—individual human beings, just as human beings. The Queen commented on his warm, affectionate, sympathetic nature, the Archbishop of Canterbury on his charm, and the two were thinking of the same thing. Certainly he had a great gift, which was to remain with him throughout his life, of drawing people to him, winning their confidence, and communicating to them a conviction of his sincere desire to be of use.

I

But time slipped by, and in 1889 Randall Davidson had been Dean of Windsor for six years. The days were critical for the Church. The trial of Bishop King was still proceeding, a trial in the course of which the whole question of Authority in the Church was raised—a question, as we have seen, of the deepest moment to Davidson. Again, the end of 1889 saw the publication of *Lux Mundi, a Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation*, edited by Charles Gore; and 'great stir' was caused by the liberal views on Inspiration which the Editor expounded. And though not specially attracted by the Catholic tradition which bound the authors together, Davidson would certainly respond to the claim made in the Preface that 'theology must take a new development', together with the statement that the 'true development of Christian doctrine' does not mean 'a narrowing and hardening of theology by simply giving it greater definiteness or multiplying its dogmas. The real development of theology is rather the process in which the Church, standing firm in her old truths, enters into the apprehension of the new social and intellectual movements of each age: and because "the truth makes her free" is able to assimilate all new material, to welcome and give its

place to all new knowledge, to throw herself into the sanctification of each new social order'.[1]

On another side there was 'Huxley . . . hammering at the gate with the cry of No God—and we are worrying about ritual details of the smallest sort'.[2] It was not unnatural that Davidson, with his strong sense of the multitude of problems facing the Church, should sometimes wonder whether those were right who, like Bishop Boyd Carpenter, urged the need of making him a Bishop 'so as to bring the views of Archbishop Tait forward and have them pressed on the Church with the force which comes from my knowledge of the Church history of our time'.

To quote his own words (1906):

> The question of my own acceptance of a Bishopric was a difficult one, and I had a great deal of hesitation about what was right. In early years at Windsor it would obviously have been inappropriate either to leave the Deanery or to rule a Diocese, but as the years went on the Queen frequently said to Sir H. Ponsonby and others that she did not wish to stand in the way of what was right.

There was a genuine clash of duties in his mind. He owed much to the Queen, who in various ways relied greatly upon him. He did not want to fail her; and he knew too that through his relations with her he could do considerable service to the Church. At the same time there were those who believed that he could make a special contribution as a Bishop at a moment 'when every voice, however weak, might help.'

The question had been first tentatively raised in December 1889—actually in connexion with the see of Durham, for which Lord Salisbury mentioned him to the Queen. The Queen rejected the idea (though ready to adopt it, as we have seen, had Dr. Westcott's name been refused). She told Davidson that she had rejected it and 'that both the Bishop of Ripon and Lord Salisbury without knowing what the other's opinion was, told the Queen how very fit the Dean himself was for a Bishopric. But she hopes the Dean will not think she acted selfishly or against the Dean's interests, when the Queen said she *could not spare him* —at any rate for some time to come—and she trusts that he will feel that she is right and that he should not forsake his post?' (22 Dec. 1889).

[1] Preface to first edition of *Lux Mundi*. Signed C G. (Charles Gore), Pusey House, Michaelmas, 1889.

[2] See *supra*, ch. VII, p. 152.

The Dean's reply was not quite what the Queen expected. It ran as follows:

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to the* QUEEN

Windsor. 23 December 1889.

. . . As regards myself, it is not necessary that I should assure your Majesty how deeply I feel the kindness of your Majesty's words, or that I should repeat that it is my one desire to do just that which may be given me to do, for the glory of God, for your Majesty's service, and for the promotion, in whatever way I can, of the good of the Church and Realm.

The present position is a critical and complex one, in which I shall be intensely grateful for such direction as your Majesty may be pleased to give me. Most assuredly your Majesty may rely on my anxiety simply to serve your Majesty in whatever way God may enable me, and the generous and kindly words your Majesty has now used must be to me a strength and stimulus whatever I should be called upon to do here or elsewhere.

The Queen was somewhat disturbed by the Dean's words. She explained to Sir Henry Ponsonby what had happened and added:

The QUEEN *to* SIR HENRY PONSONBY

Osborne. 24 December 1889.

The Queen . . . is sure Sir Henry will agree that, after only six years, he ought *not* to be taken away so soon. In short the Deans never were moved. But she *owns* that the Dean's answer is not *quite what* she expected. She knows of no one whatever who could at all take his place. . . .

The Queen wonders if the Dean is at all an ambitious man. She wishes she had said nothing to him about this idea of Lord S's, but she did it from a (perhaps mistaken) sense of straightforwardness. Silence is however generally the best 'Least said soonest mended.'

Sir Henry Ponsonby[1] acted as intermediary, and very sympathetically explained the Dean's position to the Queen, the desire of the Archbishops and others who 'remonstrated with him for remaining in this quiet and comfortable place when others were doing their utmost for the Church and devoting themselves to work', and his own wish to be of use to the Church as a Bishop 'not in ecclesiastical matters so much as in social and national

[1] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 3rd series, vol. i, pp. 544–5.

points of view'—coupled with his conviction that he could still be of equal use to the Queen as adviser.

The Queen reflected much; saw the force of what was urged; and wrote thus to the Archbishop of Canterbury:

The QUEEN *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Osborne. 3 January 1890.

. . . I have been told by various people that the Dean of Windsor would be admirably suited to be made a Bishop. You will easily understand that I do not wish to lose him, as besides his merits as a preacher, and his great suitableness for the position, which as the Queen's Chaplain and Dean of Windsor is one of great importance, he is socially most agreeable, which is also of importance. My first impulse was to say that I *could not* give him up, but when it was represented to me by people of influence and experience how much good he could and would do, I felt I could not, from selfish motives—though I *do* think *all underrate* the *importance* of his present position, even for the good of the Church—refuse to allow his name to be submitted to me when the time comes for new Bishops [1]

There were many discussions and much searching of heart. The Dean was greatly perplexed—and full of anxiety as to the path of duty. There were soundings about St. Albans, a see which was in fact offered to and declined by Dr. Talbot. But this was not to be, and Davidson wrote to Captain Bigge:

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to* CAPTAIN BIGGE

January 11, 1890.

It is an unaffected satisfaction to me to feel that my leaving Windsor is not—at the very worst—an immediate thing, and perhaps it may never come about at all. If not I am thoroughly well satisfied to stay where I am. I must own the wrench of leaving Windsor would have been to me very severe, and this is greatly due to the strong links of affection and regard I have been allowed to feel binding me to so many friends in the Household. I can say without a spark of humbug that your own kindness to me in this matter—and what you said as to the possible usefulness, in the present, of our Windsor life, gave me a new notion of it in more ways than one.

Lord Salisbury's comments on the Dean's powers, and also on the character of his future influence, are full of interest:

[1] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 3rd series, vol. i, p. 554.

The MARQUESS OF SALISBURY *to* SIR HENRY PONSONBY

January 26, 1890.

If a third Diocese fell vacant, I should recommend the Dean of Windsor. He has not the influence over High Churchmen which Talbot would have. On the other hand his power of dealing with men is very great indeed. He ought to have a southern Diocese as he would be constantly wanted in London. I have no doubt that in time he would establish new influence over the Church, not unlike that which Bishop Wilberforce possessed towards the close of his life.

A little later Sir Henry Ponsonby told the Queen that the Archbishop and Dean Vaughan wanted the Dean of Windsor to go to Durham, 'or at any rate that he should soon come into the House of Lords, where his presence is so much required' (February 22, 1890).

In his journal for April 13, 1890, Davidson wrote:

I was for a time greatly worried and 'difficulted' by the announcement in the papers that *I* was appointed to Durham.

On May 1, he was present at the consecration of Dr. Westcott as Bishop of Durham in Westminster Abbey:[1]

I attended the Archbishop of York (the consecrating Primate) as an extra chaplain in order to be close to the ceremony. . . . The day altogether—and especially the whole consecration service suggested to me very many thoughts in connection with all the discussions and searchings of heart that I went through a few months ago. It seemed to me nearly impossible, and altogether unsuitable, to picture myself in the position occupied that morning by B.F.W. Full of thankfulness, we may well be, that such a man goes to such a post, and that others do not!

II

In August it was known that two sees were about to be vacant—Winchester and Worcester. Lord Salisbury recommended the Bishop of Rochester for the former, with a view to offering Rochester to the Dean. The Queen wrote to Lord Salisbury on August 20, to press the Dean of Windsor for Winchester, on the ground that this see had special associations with the Sovereign

[1] Archbishop Benson was present in a stall. The consecration was held in the Abbey, as Westcott had been a Canon of Westminster.

and that, as Bishop of Winchester, Davidson would at once take his seat in the House of Lords:

The QUEEN *to the* MARQUESS OF SALISBURY[1]

August 20, 1890.

Everyone in the Church, High and Low, has confidence in Dean Davidson's great intelligence, knowledge, and straightforwardness, and *all* desire his promotion. Of course he will be a serious loss to the Queen in many ways; but she would feel consoled if he were placed in a *post* of real usefulness, which in a small Bishopric like Rochester he would not be.

The Dean was at Osborne August 17–18, two days before the Queen sent this letter. On Sunday he preached on Cardinal Newman, and then went for a walk with Captain Bigge. On Monday (*he writes in his journal*):

In the forenoon at Osborne I had a very long talk with the Queen, who sent for me to her tent in the shrubbery for the purpose. She discussed Newman, Pusey, the Archbishop's Biography, and a great many other subjects, including the relative powers and characters of many Ecclesiastics—Farrar—Barry—Spence—Liddon etc. etc. For a long time she made no reference whatever to the impending Episcopal vacancies. Then she said—'The Bishop of Winchester is, I suppose, going to resign immediately? Lord Salisbury thinks Bishop Thorold of Rochester should succeed him. What do you think?' I answered that I had the greatest respect and esteem for Bishop Thorold, but that his health was so bad that I could hardly think him equal to so big a task—the Diocese of Winchester having been long in the hands of an old man, not up to much work, and needing a vigorous stirring up. She was interested, and we discussed it for some time. Then she said 'Failing him, what do you think of the Bishop of Ripon for it?' I answered that she knew my admiration and love for the Bishop, but that I feared the appointment would not be a very popular one, at all events with the clergy.

Further conversation followed about the suitability of other names for Winchester, also for Worcester, and the Dean continues:

All this conversation puzzled me a good deal, for I knew from Sir H. Ponsonby that the Queen had been discussing the question of *my* leaving Windsor and going to some Bishopric, and Sir Henry thought her wish was that I should go to Winchester straight. This

[1] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 3rd series, vol. i, p 632.

had been the outcome, as he believed, of what had occurred in the spring about Durham etc. and of her correspondence at that time with Vaughan and with the Archbishop. The perfect absence therefore of any sort of constraint or reserve in her talk about these Bishoprics (for she had spoken also of the Worcester vacancy) surprised me a little. I was not at all surprised at her being perhaps unwilling that I should go straight to Winchester, on her *personal* nomination, knowing that she isn't fond of these *personal* responsibilities for particular appointments. What did surprise me was her apparent unreserve in speaking about the different vacancies, as though my name had never been under discussion at all, whereas I knew this was not so

The perplexity remained until the end of September, when Sir Henry Ponsonby came to Windsor for his holiday:

On Thursday evening, Sept. 25th, Edith and I dined quietly with the Ponsonbys—no other man being there. After dinner I had a very long and important talk with Sir Henry. He told me that he had that morning had a telegram from the Queen from Balmoral, bidding him narrate to me all that had passed and take my advice as to what She ought to do. The story he then told me was this. The Queen had from the first wished that I should go straight to Winchester and had been pressing this repeatedly upon Lord Salisbury. When she saw me at Osborne on Aug. 18th she was already taking this line, but, as she told Sir Henry, she 'felt it was better not to talk to the Dean about himself, and so she conversed about other names instead'. In short she *acted*—and acted so well that she quite took me in. It was touching to hear of this really considerate thoughtfulness which was quite of a piece with all that followed.

After seeing me at Osborne she wrote again to Lord Salisbury, and finding that he raised objections on account of my youth and inexperience and of the offence which would be given to the older Bishops she wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury who was then in Switzerland, and to Vaughan of Llandaff.

The QUEEN *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY[1]

Balmoral Castle. September 1, 1890.

I have another object in writing to you to-day and that is with respect to Dean Davidson. You, and I believe many others in the Church, are very desirous that he should be promoted to the Episcopate. Of course he will be a very serious loss to me at

[1] Ibid., p. 634.

Windsor; at the same time I quite feel the great necessity of having able, young, good, courageous and large-minded men on the Episcopal bench. Now two vacancies are likely to occur soon by the resignations of the Bishops of Winchester and Worcester. Lord Salisbury I know wishes to place the Bishop of Rochester at Winchester and the Dean of Windsor to go to Rochester or Worcester. I had however thought (of course *without any* consultation with the Dean *himself*) that it would have been such a good thing to promote him at once to the See of Winchester, as Windsor[1] and Osborne are in the diocese, the Bishop of Winchester is Prelate of the Order of the Garter, and the connection with the Royal Household would thus be maintained, besides the great advantage of his entering at once into the House of Lords I have pointed this out in 2 strong letters to Lord Salisbury but he won't agree; and says if the 2 great Bishoprics were given to Broad Churchmen it would be thought by the 2 parties of the Clergy, High and Low Church, that we were rationalizing the Church. A very extraordinary idea I must say I am not aware what your feelings on this subject are, but should you agree with me about Winchester, I think a letter from you, as from *yourself* and *without mentioning* me, to Lord Salisbury recommending this, would have much weight; and perhaps others, Dr. Vaughan for instance and any one else of weight, writing in the same way to Lord Salisbury, might remove the prejudice in his mind He seems to undervalue the talents and power of Dean Davidson and thinks he is unknown.

The Archbishop strongly supported the Queen's view:

The Archbishop of Canterbury *to the* Queen[2]

8 September, 1890.

The Dean is now *very well known,* and the appointment would be well received. His practical good-sense, unsparingness of self, and earnest purpose are appreciated by the Clergy of both sections, and he is just the person whom the laity will like. He makes himself felt when he speaks. Indeed we must have in the House of Lords men who see, and will care to use, its great opportunities, and have the power to do so. We must have in London men who will enter into the great social questions which are stirring, with sympathy and yet with a good sense which will not be run away with by mere cries of uninformed sympathy. All this requires judgment, intelligence, vigour and, I should say, youth. I know *no-one* so well adapted as the Dean for these works. . . . When I say '*we*

[1] Windsor is in fact in the Diocese of Oxford.

[2] *Letters,* 3rd series, vol. i, p. 635.

must' have such men, I mean that if we do *not*,—if we are to have tired, gentle, good men, uninterested in social questions, the Church *cannot* do her duty, or fill her position as a national Church.

Lord Salisbury, however, persisted in his refusal to nominate the Dean to Winchester; and the Queen, though writing him a very frank letter in reply, acquiesced, and agreed that Davidson should have the offer of Rochester or Worcester:

The QUEEN *to the* MARQUESS OF SALISBURY[1]

27 September, 1890.

The Queen was much surprised to receive from Lord Salisbury yesterday the accompanying submission. . . . She fears that Lord Salisbury has been much misinformed on the subject; for the Dean is certainly particularly well-known. . . . As however, unfortunately as the Queen must think, Lord Salisbury persists in taking a contrary view, she will no longer withhold her consent to the appointment of the Bishop of Rochester to the See of Winchester, and the choice of Rochester and Worcester being offered to the Dean, who will be a very serious loss to the Queen at Windsor. She cannot help reminding Lord Salisbury that when the question of naming a Bishop for the Diocese in which Hatfield is situated arose, the Queen, out of consideration to Lord Salisbury and to what might be agreeable to him, made no objection to what was proposed whatever, though Canon Liddon was one mentioned. But in this case of Winchester, which borders on Windsor and includes Osborne, the Queen's personal wishes and convenience are overlooked. It is painful to the Queen to say all this; but Lord Salisbury knows that she is always frank in all her dealings with him.

Private Memorandum by the DEAN OF WINDSOR

Sir Henry Ponsonby sent me (I received it on Oct. 9) a long letter from Lord Salisbury to the Queen dated Oct. 3 which seems to shew that she had, before receiving back the draft which I saw at Hull and which I returned to Edwards in my letter of Oct. 1, written—in similar terms—to Lord Salisbury. He says in this letter to the Queen that he is sorry to differ from her or to seem to put her to inconvenience, but that (1) Rochester is as near Windsor as Farnham is and therefore the Queen can see me as well from Rochester as from Winchester. (2) That Thorold's

[1] Ibid., p. 639.

nomination is a public move, to please the Evangelicals, and that Thorold is an admirable and moderate implement for that purpose, an 'unexceptionable candidate' he calls him.

He goes on:

'The fact that Dean Davidson's high qualifications are not known much, outside his own acquaintance, and that he has no celebrity as a preacher, an author, or a parish priest and is still young, would tend to aggravate the disappointment as his promotion would seem forced and unnatural.

His moral strength in the Church would not be increased by an unexplained rapidity of promotion. If he distinguishes himself, as he probably will, in one of the ordinary sees he will have a claim to promotion to the highest offices, which any minister will be glad to press upon Your Majesty.'

After reading this, I replied to Sir Henry Ponsonby (in a form which he could show.)

Oct. 9. 90.

Many thanks for sending the letter which I return herewith. I am bound in fairness to say that in Lord Salisbury's personal remarks about myself, from first to last, I entirely concur, and think he has stated the facts very correctly The Queen's constant personal kindness to me has, I think, led Her Majesty to take an over-favourable view of anything I may have been able to say or do.

I also quite see Lord Salisbury's point about the need of appointing some Evangelical etc. . . .

I suppose from Lord Salisbury's letter that I am now to regard it as certain that Rochester will be offered to me.

R. T. D.

The Dean had in the meantime been sounded as to whether he would accept Worcester or Rochester if they were offered to him. He consulted the Archbishop, but both he and the Archbishop agreed that he would be wrong to refuse Rochester. He wrote as follows in his Journal, while staying at Muirhouse after the Church Congress in Hull.

October 5, 1890.

So now it seems as though I am almost certain to be offered the charge of what is I suppose the second largest Diocese in the world—with all the biggest problems of social life and difficulty, stirring and seething there almost more than anywhere else. It is an overwhelming prospect—and one can but cast oneself in utter feckless helplessness upon the LORD who knows all—and resolve,

in humble reliance on Him, that we two will together face what he sends us, and strive to do His will in such way as He may show it to us.

It has been a big burden of thought and anxiety to carry through these Congress days—as one sat quietly listening to the casual allusions of one speaker after another to South London, as THE problem of our time, THE place where 'Christianity is not in possession'—where needs are greatest and agencies weakest, etc. etc. I don't know that it was unhelpful—and GOD seemed to give me thoughts (at times) of hopefulness and energy and courage to try (with Edith alongside) to see what we can by His grace do, however feebly. I had a ten minutes talk with the Bishop of Durham in a Congress interval, and he was as clear as every other counsellor has been that the call was one to which no other response was possible than an answering submission thereto. May the LORD give us grace and guidance, if indeed it so comes about—I cannot doubt that our own dear Archbishop would have said 'Go, in the strength of the Lord!'

After the Church Congress at Hull the Davidsons went to Scotland, first to Muirhouse, then to Kimmerghame, the home of the Swintons, where Davidson had spent so many holidays as a boy. On Monday, October 13, just as Davidson and his cousins were about to start out partridge-shooting, came the letter from Lord Salisbury.

On Monday we shot partridges (George and Alan and I) for a very short day. But before starting, came the momentous letter which we had been expecting, Lord Salisbury, in kind terms, offering me the choice between Worcester and Rochester. I merely acknowledged it, and said I would write fully next day, though of course, after all that had passed before, there was no real doubt in our minds as to what the decision ought to be. On Tuesday, before going out shooting, I wrote fully to Lord Salisbury accepting Rochester (copy preserved) and told him also that I would next day write to some of my friends. After a few hours shooting we went off in the afternoon to the Pitmans at Gala House.

The MARQUESS OF SALISBURY *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

Foreign Office.
Oct. 10, 1890.

Private.

My dear Dean,

I have the Queen's permission to inform you that she desires

that you should take your place on the Episcopal Bench, and to ask you whether you would accept either of the Sees of Rochester or Worcester which are now vacant. I should think Worcester perhaps would suit you best as being connected with a more stirring and influential population. But that is entirely a matter for your own judgment.

Perhaps you would kindly keep this matter to yourself for the moment.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
SALISBURY.

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to the* MARQUESS OF SALISBURY

(written at Kimmerghame) *Gala House,*
Address Deanery, Windsor Castle. Galashiels, N.B.
14 Oct. 1890.

My dear Lord,

I have given the fullest consideration to the subject of your Lordship's very important and kind communication yesterday received. I have come to the conclusion that as the Queen graciously consents to my leaving Windsor and entering upon the higher work of the Episcopal Office, it is my duty, in reliance upon the help of Almighty God, to accept the position thus offered me, and to set myself, with whatever powers I possess, to endeavour to discharge its responsibilities. I have to thank your Lordship much for the kind terms of your letter, and for giving me the privilege of choosing in which of the two vacant sees my work shall lie. I appreciate to the full what your Lordship has said with reference to the vast importance of the Diocese of Worcester, but I feel quite sure that, upon the whole, I should be less able to do good service there than in the Diocese of Rochester. Rochester, containing, as it does, all South London, has an even larger population than Worcester, and so much of my work, during my years of residence at Lambeth, lay in that Diocese, and I have so large a knowledge of its clergy, that I feel no hesitation in believing that such powers as I possess would be more appropriately exercised there than in the, to me, almost unknown regions of Worcestershire and Warwickshire. I venture therefore, though with fear and trembling, and in reliance upon a strength which is not my own, to accept the Diocese of *Rochester*; and I have once more to express my sense of the kindness and confidence shewn to me by

your Lordship in offering to nominate me to a position of such importance.

I remain, my Lord, with much respect, very truly and dutifully yours,

RANDALL T. DAVIDSON.

Your Lordship will not, I hope, consider that I am forgetful of the request you made that the offer should, for the moment, be regarded as confidential, if I communicate the fact in strictest confidence tomorrow to a *very few* of my most intimate friends and relations in order that they may not hear of it first through the public press. I can guarantee that the few individuals to whom I write thus privately will not allow the matter to become prematurely public.

Extract from Journal, Oct. 19, 1890

I have not found that these days of open air walking (without conversation, for the most part) were at all adverse to a quiet thoughtfulness about these great new responsibilities and all that they imply. I think I was able—though perhaps it seems strange to say so—to make them really days of prayer. We got to Gala on Tuesday Evening and I told Ernest and Mary and Mr. and Mrs. Pitman—not the others—what had happened. Wednesday was a day of showers and the River was too big for fishing, so I stayed at home all day and wrote some 40 letters to friends in anticipation of the announcement which I knew would appear on the following day. On Thursday morning I had telegrams (as requested) from J. Ellison and other friends in London to say that the appointment was officially announced in *The Times*. None the less I spent the day fishing (vainly) for salmon, with plenty of time for quiet thought and devotion.

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to the* QUEEN[1]

Deanery,
Windsor Castle.

Gala House,
Galashiels, N.B.
14 Oct. 1890.

Madam,

Now that I have received Lord Salisbury's formal letter offering me, in Your Majesty's name, the choice of the See either of Worcester or Rochester, and have replied to him accepting the See of Rochester, I am not I hope and believe, acting wrongly in

[1] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 3rd series, vol. i, p. 647.

writing, with my humble duty, direct to Your Majesty, to express, with my whole heart, the grateful sense I entertain of the immense kindness and consideration which has, from first to last, been shown to me by Your Majesty in this matter, to me so momentous as to be almost overwhelming.

Your Majesty will, I hope, believe me when I say that nothing in my life has ever affected me more deeply than this characteristic evidence of the gracious readiness of Your Majesty to consider the interests of others whether public or private, rather than Your Majesty's own personal convenience and comfort.

It is thus that Your Majesty has for fifty years, whether in joy or sorrow, won the *hearts* of those whose privilege it has been to be among Your Majesty's more immediate servants.

For myself, I can say in all sincerity that my desire to serve Your Majesty with loyal honesty and devotion has gone on, steadily increasing, during each year of my Windsor life, and I do most earnestly trust that our removal to London—where my home as Bishop of Rochester will probably lie—will not prevent Your Majesty from exercising to the fullest extent whatever claim upon my personal services may be to Your Majesty's convenience in any way whatever.[1] No claims of other duties, to whomsoever due, can ever in my mind compete with the privilege of Your Majesty's personal service, and I shall be more than ready at any moment to render by word or deed all and every service which may conduce to Your Majesty's convenience.

The kindness which Your Majesty has shown, in an unbroken course, both to Mrs. Davidson and to me, ever since the day when Your Majesty sent for me at Christmas *1882* upon the death of Archbishop Tait, has made an ineffaceable mark upon our hearts, and each sorrow which in these eight years has fallen upon Your Majesty in the loss of those whose affection and loyal service had been a source of strength and comfort in former years, has, if possible, strengthened the sense of loyal personal devotion to Your Majesty which will endure with us while life shall last.

I trust Your Majesty will pardon the freedom of this letter, which comes from a full heart, and will believe that I am at all times . . .

I have to thank Your Majesty most cordially and with my very humble duty, for a most kind letter received from Your Majesty yesterday at Kimmerghame.

[1] The passage 'No claims . . . shall last' is not printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, *loc. cit*, but appears in MS.

The QUEEN *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR[1]

Balmoral Castle. Oct. 17, 1890.

The Queen has been much touched by the kindness of the Dean of Windsor's letter. She is naturally much grieved that he should leave Windsor where She hoped he would and could have remained and been of such use to herself and others.

But when She saw and heard how useful he would be to the Church in another position, She felt She had no right to be selfish; and therefore gave her consent to a Bishopric being offered him. The Queen must honestly confess that She has (excepting in one case, the Bishop of Ripon) never found people promoted to the Episcopate remain what they were before. She hopes and thinks this will not be the case with the Dean. Many who preached so well before, did no longer as Bishops—excepting the Bishop of Ripon The whole atmosphere of a Cathedral and its surroundings—the very dignity itself which accompanies a Bishopric—seems to hamper their freedom of speech. The Dean must not [be] discouraged or hurt by what She says here, but She cannot help just mentioning this, as it strikes her from experience. She feels sure that the Dean will not let himself be hampered by his future position, and most truly and sincerely does the Queen wish him all possible success and happiness in his new elevation. The Queen's only fear is that the work may be too much for his health, and She trusts he will ask for assistance if that should be the case. He must take exercise and try and get out of London as much and as often as he can.

The choice of a successor will be a serious difficulty.

She fears the persons mentioned will hardly do.

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to the* QUEEN

Muirhouse, Davidson's Mains,
Midlothian.
20 Oct. 1890.

I have the honour to thank Your Majesty, with my humble duty, for the very kind and gracious letter which I have to-day had the honour of receiving from Your Majesty, and I can assure Your Majesty of my anxiety that in no way whatever shall the fact of my having become a Bishop, interfere with my free exercise of whatever powers God may have given me for serving

[1] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 3rd series, vol. i, p. 648. (The last two lines are omitted by the Editor)

Your Majesty, whether as a preacher in the Royal Chapels or otherwise.

I can promise to be on my guard against any such danger as Your Majesty's experience suggests, and I am most grateful to Your Majesty for writing to me so kindly and fully on the subject.

With respect to what Your Majesty has said about suitable names to be thought of for succeeding to the Deanery of Windsor, it is a very great distress and anxiety to me to learn that Your Majesty does not feel that any of those whose names have been suggested would fill that office properly. I could easily bring forward other names for Your Majesty's consideration if desired, but I shrink from suggesting strangers, as I did not understand that Your Majesty wished me to do so. I hope Your Majesty will pardon me for saying that I am perfectly ready, even now, to withdraw from the proposed arrangement for my going to Rochester, and to place my services again unreservedly at Your Majesty's disposal as Dean of Windsor and Chaplain, rather than that Your Majesty should suffer any inconvenience.

I simply could not bear to feel that I was, by any action of mine, leaving Your Majesty's service inadequately or unsuitably provided for. . . .

The Queen's public spirit and genuine unselfishness throughout had been very striking. She had a real and deep affection for the Dean, on whom she had learnt to rely so much. And now she became full of concern lest the Dean's health might prove insufficient for the great strain of the work in South London. 'Her motherly heart', said the Dean, 'is all taken up about her fears that the strain of the work will be too much for my physical strength.' And there was the further problem of the Dean's successor at Windsor:

CAPTAIN FLEETWOOD EDWARDS *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

Balmoral Castle.
4 Oct. 1890

Private.

Since writing to you this morning[1] the Queen has been discussing the matter of your departure from Windsor which, as I am sure you know, She deeply regrets. Her Majesty desired me to write to you again on the subject of your successor. . . . You know however the sort of man that is required: not only a good preacher,

[1] This refers to a letter of the same date from Captain Fleetwood Edwards, in the course of correspondence on the question whether R.T.D. should go to Worcester or Rochester—prior to Lord Salisbury's formal offer.

but a man of various qualities, clerical, individual and social. Will you consider and report. She also don't want too young and rising a man appointed who would soon be taken away for a bishopric! . . .

Shortly after this the Dean was at Balmoral and had a long talk with the Queen. He noted (October 25, 1890):

I dined with the Queen, and after dinner had a very long talk to her on the whole subject. Her anxious motherliness on the subject of my health was again very striking! She thought that on *that* ground it was doubtful whether I ought to accept—but that on all other grounds it was now clearly right that I should go forward as she had quite made up her mind to it. I told her that I was quite strong and able for work and could not possibly refuse on any such ground, but that if she were to be placed in a real difficulty by my departure nothing should induce me to go away. Then we discussed the various people possible. She was afraid A. was a 'very narrow low Churchman'—as to which I was able to set her mind at rest. She was afraid he was 'a terribly dull preacher' and I pointed out to her that it really didn't matter much, as he needn't preach a bit more than she liked, and I promised to come and preach as often as ever she summoned me, and to tell the Diocese that I must regard her commands as paramount.[1] She agreed that B. would not be a suitable man for Windsor, even as a Canon, and that the same applied to C. I pointed out that there can be no need of settling at present who should succeed to Eliot's vacated canonry.[2] Nothing could be kinder or more affectionate and even *motherly* than she was about it all. I was immensely touched and impressed and felt the same enthusiasm for the dear old lady which I have many times felt before on occasions of some earnest conversation of this sort.

At night I had a long and interesting talk about it all with Bigge, and today I have again gone into the whole matter both with him and with Sir Henry. We all feel the strong advantage of having a man as Dean who is already (through his wife) more or less behind the scenes as to Castle difficulties and complications rather than an 'outsider' who would have everything to learn. It is very clear that, whoever is appointed, she will expect me to go on

[1] 'She discussed the possible advantage of separating the Deanery from the Chaplaincy, a course which seems to me to have really nothing to recommend it—and which had, I think, only occurred to her secretary. She was in a fuss about the whole matter.' [R.T.D.]

[2] The Rev. P. S. Eliot was appointed Dean of Windsor in succession to Dean Davidson.

'taking the lift' of things, in the way of advice—and this, God helping me, I must try to do. It is a very solemn thing to feel that she is thus dependent on my counsel even after I have gone, and surely the load of responsibilities gathers into bigger volume every day. May God give me grace and guidance.

The decision was taken. But the wrench in leaving Windsor was very great, and there was much lamentation. Congratulations from those outside the Windsor circle came, and came in abundance. But in Windsor itself, whether in the Castle or the College, in the inner circle of friends and neighbours or among the Eton masters, and in the Royal Holloway College at Engelfield Green which he had done so much to help as one of the original Governors, regret was very deep.

III

There are many references in the letters to the Deanery itself, to Mrs. Davidson and to the welcome which she and the Dean always so readily gave to everybody: making a real fellowship within the Castle walls, and a hospitable harbour for friends and strangers from outside. If we were to express the general affection and trust and loss in a single message it should be through this poem of their gifted neighbour, Mrs. Oliphant:

Valedictory Address to the Very Rev. The Dean of Windsor

Mr. Dean, oh Mr. Dean
How can you have the heart
To leave—I do not say the Queen
For 'tis that Lady's part
To summon by command
Any bishop in the land
To come and dine and sleep
And discourse on questions deep.
But us: who never may
To his Grace of Roffen say
Oh Bishop, come and dine!
Come and preach, oh sound divine!
Come and pleasant lore impart?
Mr. Dean, oh Mr. Dean
To leave us can you really mean?
How could you have the heart?

To leave us in the lurch
When we all know that the Church
Is by times a little slow
And old and lothe to go
With the movement life demands;
And the world is rather weary
And the royal borough dreary
And there's nobody that understands!

. . . . . .

Yet Goodbye we'll say and mean
Mr. Dean!
Fare you well, with wishes true
And a gracious bishop be:
But if well as we loved you
You had loved us, sure are we
That no knife that e'er was made, no Prime Minister so free
Could e'er have cut those loves in two!

It was always those who came into personal touch with Randall Davidson who valued him most. He was little known to the general public. No wonder, therefore, that some newspapers at least should accompany their announcement of his appointment to Rochester with a somewhat frank criticism. 'No man in the Church', says *The World*, 'has had a record which justified his rapid promotion less than the new Bishop of Rochester. His qualifications may be roughly summed up in the words that he is "le mari de sa femme". Had he not married Archbishop Tait's daughter, he would have been content with a fat country Living, and thought himself well off.' *The Pall Mall Gazette* devoted a leading article to what it described as 'A Royal Job', which led up to a vigorous correspondence in which Lord Halifax intervened on Davidson's side:

VISCOUNT HALIFAX *to the* EDITOR *of the* '*Pall Mall Gazette*'

Hickleton, Doncaster. October 17, 1890.

The *Pall Mall* ought not to be ungenerous, and your article upon the Dean of Windsor's nomination to the see of Rochester is ungenerous. The Dean is giving up a position which has everything to recommend it—opportunities of influence, historical association, means of usefulness greater, as some might think, than those enjoyed by almost any other clergyman in England, together with everything that makes life agreeable and inter-

esting, for an overburdened diocese, and for hard work among the masses of South and East London. Surely the editor of the *Pall Mall*, who appreciates so often and so well the higher side of things, might see something better in such a nomination than a 'Royal Job'.

There were, however, other papers, like *The Daily Graphic*, which took a different point of view. One thing at least Randall Davidson made clear from the start. It was no post of ease to which he was going. Not without reason might Bishop Ridding (of Southwell) write, in his caustic vein, to the Dean, 'Leaving your fatness, your sweetness, your good fruit and wine, to be promoted over such a forest—what a plunge from the comfortable to the un!' Not without reason might Bishop Thorold, his immediate predecessor, declare, 'South London needs a Titan.'

IV

The consecration of the new Bishop was fixed for April 25, 1891. During the intervening months, apart from the pangs of good-bye, there was much work to be done, and through these weeks Davidson, as ever, was in constant consultation on Church affairs with the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Archbishop of York (Thomson) died, and a successor must be appointed. There was discussion, often protracted, on the schemes of General Booth and others for relief work amongst the London poor in a time of great distress.

On Septuagesima Sunday, January 25, Davidson preached at Osborne for the last time as Dean of Windsor:

> It was on Septuagesima Sunday 1883 that I *first* preached at Osborne (or anywhere) to the Queen. In the intervening years I have preached to her more often by far than any other clergyman ever did in her life. She says that Dean Stanley would come next in frequency. Dean Wellesley, of course, hardly ever preached.

From the end of February till the beginning of March was a time of farewell. The Queen showed constant kindness of every sort:

> On February 17 the Canons, Minor Canons, Lay Clerks etc. of St. George's presented me with the beautiful ring which had cost them so much pains (and so much money!) ... On Sunday, March 1, we had the Empress Frederick, the Prince of Wales

etc. to tea after Chapel. We dined with the Queen and had much talk about our departure, etc.

... On Wednesday, March 11, the Queen came to tea to bid us a formal farewell. She was full of kindness.

On Friday, March 13th, I had my final Ladies' Bible Class, but did not wish them any very formal farewell. I felt the close of this endeavour very keenly. Nothing that I have ever in my life tried to do has met with a warmer welcome than this Bible Class, and its numbers have never fallen off during all these years . . .

On Sunday, March 15th, I preached my last sermon to the Queen as Dean of Windsor, but did not make of it a formal farewell. I preached on 'The letter killeth, the spirit giveth life'. . . . We dined in the Castle and the Queen was most kind in her farewells. She gave Edith a brooch and wrote to me afterwards to say that she had not felt equal to bidding me a regular 'goodbye'.

The DEAN OF WINDSOR *to the* QUEEN

Athenaeum Club, 18 March, 1891.
Pall Mall.

I hope Your Majesty will not think I am taking an undue liberty if I ask leave to send to Your Majesty, with my humble duty, a single line of most dutiful and loyal and heartfelt gratitude at this eventful moment in my life. The resignation of the Deanery of Windsor involved in my acceptance of the See of Rochester, is to me a *wrench* of no ordinary kind, and it is not until the time of leaving that I have fully realised all the painfulness of our departure from what has been to us so happy, as well as so interesting a home. But most of all do I feel at this moment the strain and trial of giving up that more immediate service of Your Majesty which has been, during these eight years, not less of a pleasure than a high privilege and honour.

I cannot attempt to put into words my sense of Your Majesty's unvarying kindness towards me, and of the confidence Your Majesty has been pleased to shew me. I feel it from the very bottom of my heart; I can only ask GOD to enable me, in the years to come, to use to the utmost any such opportunities as may occasionally arise for serving Your Majesty, or those dear to you, in any way direct or indirect in which I can be of the smallest use.

It is not a light thing for any man to lay down a responsible office which he has held for eight years, but the gravity and even *solemnity* of such a change is increased a hundredfold in my case by the vivid remembrance of all Your Majesty's goodness to me, time after time, and of the unmeasured consideration and favour

which in these last few weeks Your Majesty has shown me, in connection with my change of work and scene. Nothing would have induced me to consent to such a change, but that I knew Your Majesty was of opinion that, under all the circumstances, it was right that I should go.

I need not, I am sure, add how entirely my wife shares with me these feelings of reverent and affectionate gratitude, which Your Majesty's kindness has inspired. It is our earnest desire and hope that no inconvenience or discomfort of any sort or kind may be caused to Your Majesty by this change in the Office of Dean of Windsor, and I pray with all my heart that Almighty GOD may be pleased to bless and keep Your Majesty day by day for many years to come.

We hope to start tomorrow for Italy, and I have tonight the honour of dining with the Prince of Wales.

The QUEEN *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

Windsor Castle.
March 20, 1891.

The Queen was intending to write to the Dean when she received his very kind and touching letter, for which she wishes to thank him very much. She could not take leave on Sunday evening. It would have been too painful. She now repents having ever listened to the proposals of raising him to the Bench—for really for his sake as well as for hers she cannot think it is a good thing. But we know not yet what the advantages may be, what Dean Davidson's power to do good may be—which naturally would somewhat reconcile her to his departure. . . . She would now wish to mention what she hopes he would be able to do, viz. —always to preach in the Mausoleum once in the summer (this year perhaps the 1st Sunday)—that he would perform the services on the 14th Dec.—and that he would preach once at least in the winter and once in the summer at Osborne.—She hopes he and Mrs. Davidson will stay here for 2 nights at the time he does homage. What has he arranged with Canon Eliot as to Preachers in May?

The Queen trusts the Dean will enjoy his time at Perugia.

On March 19, after two most trying days ('The farewells at every turn upset us both'), the Dean and Mrs. Davidson left for Italy. They visited Florence (where Davidson was extremely unwell, though the doctor did not understand his symptoms), Siena, Perugia, Pisa, and were greatly refreshed:

On the whole nothing could have been better than these weeks

abroad. They gave us both just what we wanted in quiet and thinking time and reading and preparation for all that was to follow. How little we knew what the next few months were to be! But all our lives we shall thank God for those special weeks in Italy at such a turning-point.

The consecration took place in Westminster Abbey on St. Mark's Day, April 25. Dr. Mandell Creighton was consecrated Bishop of Peterborough at the same time. Dr. Butler, Master of Trinity, his old Headmaster, preached the sermon with a sensitive word or two about the old Archbishop (Tait) and his relation to his former chaplain and son. 'The voice of the dead is a living voice to-day.' Many bishops were present, including the Bishop of Minnesota, who had travelled specially from Cairo. Davidson wrote, looking back a few weeks later:

> No two hours in all my life—not my Ordination as Deacon, not my Marriage, not my Mother's death, or my Father's, or the news of my appointment to Windsor, or the news of my nomination to Rochester,—ever conquered or took possession of me so completely as those hours in the Abbey.

Such was the beginning of Randall Davidson's episcopate.

Eleven days later, May 6, he was taken gravely ill. Dr. Barlow, whose advice they sought, found that he had a very serious ulcer in the stomach, and decided that he must at once go to bed and remain a complete invalid for at least three months to come. The seeds of the illness had been sown long before. They were present during the last months at Windsor, and had been still more evident on the Italian tour. It was a wonder that, in the last few days, just before breaking down, when he had gone for a ride in Windsor Park with Dr. Warre, 'thinking it would perhaps do me good', the adventure had not proved fatal.

The blow was terrible. The new Bishop at once thought of resignation, but the Archbishop, the doctor, and certain clergy whom he consulted in the Diocese, persuaded him to put the idea on one side. Yet the illness was so severe that he used to say in later years that had the collapse come ten days before the consecration instead of ten days after, not only would the consecration never have taken place but he himself would never have been a Diocesan Bishop, as it would always have been said that his health was too poor to stand such a strain.

Nevertheless, with his extraordinary capacity for getting things

done, Davidson managed to see the chief diocesan officials in his bedroom, and to transact all the business of the diocese from a bed covered with letters. The work did not stop, and what was more significant, there can be no doubt that the severity and length of the illness had its own silent effects on the character of the man. The Bishop got through a good deal of reading, he and Mrs. Davidson then, as their habit was through life, reading many books aloud to one another. He tried thus to fill up many blank spaces in his knowledge of facts, of men and of nations; and he made a special study of the Bible. He had then, in his own words, 'more opportunity for quiet thought and quiet prayer and quiet reading, such as it is, than I have had for many years or perhaps ever, and more than I ever expected to have again'. After the first few days at Lambeth Palace, where he had been staying, he was moved to the new home—two rather dingy looking houses knocked into one in the Kennington Park Road—and there remained till the middle of July.

During this time, the long-expected *Life of Archbishop Tait* was published. It was in two volumes. It had occupied the best part of nine years and had cost Davidson much toil, research, and thought, the work having had to be done at intervals and with many interruptions, yet governed all through by the author's passion for accuracy and thoroughness. It was an immediate success. The reviews were full of admiration, and the book was proved at once to be, not only a mine of information accessible nowhere else, but a fine study of Tait's development and character which secured for Tait himself a new place in the thoughts of many, and thoroughly established his position as one of the greatest Archbishops of Canterbury—if not the greatest—since Archbishop Laud.[1]

So the convalescence progressed—first at Windsor, then at Osborne Cottage, finally in Scotland. And all through he kept in close touch with the Archbishop, who still sent him a succession of queries and drafts for his criticism. Here is an interesting note from Benson at Pontresina, thanking him for replies and introducing a later Primate:

[1] Benson wrote to the author, June 12, 1891. 'Your happier work—the Life—is simply done *ad unguem*. I cannot conceive how you bring such a thread out of such a τολύπη. . . . And then you keep out of sight in the most interesting way' (*Life of Archbishop Benson*, II 401).

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* DEAN OF WINDSOR

26 August 1891.

Thank you for your information about the Colombo papers and your excellent impartial advice about Jerusalem. *Lang*[1] is here. What a fine fellow he is!

At the end of September, he and Mrs. Davidson returned home to Kennington, and on Michaelmas Day he took his part in the Consecration of Bishops at St. Paul's Cathedral, one of the Bishops being a new Suffragan to help his own labours—Huyshe Yeatman, Bishop of Southwark.

[1] The Rev Cosmo Gordon Lang, Fellow of All Souls and Curate of Leeds; afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

CHAPTER X

THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER

I verily believe your lordship and I are both of the same religion, if we were thoroughly understood by one another; and that all honest and reasonable Christians would be so, if they did but talk enough together every day, and had nothing to do together, but to serve God, and live in peace with their neighbour. ALEXANDER POPE *to the* BISHOP OF ROCHESTER, 1717.

WHEN Lord Salisbury offered Randall Davidson, at the age of forty-two, his choice between the two dioceses of Worcester and Rochester, he expressed the view that the Dean would probably choose the former as connected with a more stirring population. It is true that in 1890 Worcester contained within it the great industrial towns of Birmingham and Coventry. But Rochester was not only more industrial but it also had a much larger population. It included all London south of the Thames from Woolwich to Kingston, 'a region which has very little of the wealth of London', and growing steadily poorer every day. It was also a very difficult diocese in which to lead the work of the Church; and a recent inquiry, which had aroused great public interest, had started the cry that in South London Christianity was not in possession.

The new Bishop had been ill for six months, when he first met the clergy and laity in the Diocesan Conference at the end of October 1891. He at once showed that he meant to enter on the field with spirit and courage. He had taken great care beforehand to study the local social conditions, in such books as the newly-published *Life and Labour in London* volumes by Charles Booth. He was probably over-sanguine, as some of his critics said, when he declared that at present he saw no sort of ground, or even of excuse, for the cry which has just been quoted. But his speech revealed the kind of temper in which he wished to tackle his task; and some elderly clergy, not given to enthusiasm, remarked that they had heard nothing which inspired them so much since they had been ordained. He had of course an immense amount to do in the way of meetings, sermons, committees, and correspondence; and, as he knew full well, the evening work for a London Bishop was bound to be very exacting. But 'the

presence of the Bishop', he used sometimes to reply to the remonstrances of his doctor, 'at meetings where funds had to be raised, might make the difference of a £10 note, which a poor diocese could not afford to disregard'. There were countless interviews with clergy and laity, and a considerable number of young men came his way as candidates for Holy Orders. Indeed he took a particular care with his ordination candidates, and one of the pieces of work on which he looked back with some satisfaction was the trouble taken to make Embertide a really devotional experience. In view of later events, it is not a little interesting to note that one of the younger clergy, who came to see him about work in South London, was the Rev. C. G. Lang, whom the Bishop invited to be Wilberforce Missioner. Fresh from the slums of Leeds, where he was curate for three years (1890–3), the future Archbishop of Canterbury, as he has told the writer, was much struck by this first interview with Dr. Davidson, whom he saw on his sick-bed, and by the conviction he received that here in the Diocese of Rochester, with South London, was the real thing! Nor has he ever forgotten how deeply the Bishop's understanding of pastoral training and the needs of ordination candidates impressed him. A particular quality which the clergy at once noticed about Bishop Davidson was that personal interest in the individual on which we have already remarked; and, as an old clergyman said in a time of illness, men were 'greatly encouraged by their letters being answered as you answer letters, and by their mole-hills of trouble being looked into by their Diocesan taking the trouble to go into them'. The laity noticed it as well, and one rather well-known but by no means ecclesiastical layman, when thanking him for his humanity, wrote: 'One touch of nature in a Bishop does more to make his clergy kin to him than any amount of official repellence.'

I

To write a complete record of his diocesan work is not possible, and indeed there is a very great deal in which his activities were exactly the same as those which fall to the share of most bishops. But certain things stand out in the brief four and a half years of his Rochester episcopate.

First, the Bishop's House. He considered well 'the weighty and

tempting arguments' (as he called them in his *Charge*, p. 3) in favour of a country home—a Bromley, a Danbury, a Selsdon—to which those who were jaded with the noise of 'dusty lane and wrangling mart' might be invited, from time to time, for rest, for fresh air, or for quiet conference *sub tegmine cedri*. But he firmly decided that for the Bishop of South London the proper place to live was in the very heart of South London itself. The following is his account of the steps taken:

> It may be well to explain what the position was as regards a See House. The Act of Parliament which had re-arranged the See of Rochester made no immediate provision for a house for the Bishop. Bishop Claughton, ex-Bishop of St. Albans, was retaining Danbury during his life. At his death it was to be sold, and the proceeds were to go to provide a house for the See of Rochester. I therefore had been called upon to choose a temporary place of residence, and I had no hesitation in deciding that the centre of South London was the proper place for the Bishop of Rochester to live in.
>
> I therefore decided to go there at once and to leave the question of a permanent residence to be settled when the money should be forthcoming and it should be necessary to make a decision. The two end houses of Kennington Park Road—173 and 175—were therefore taken by me and doors knocked through so as to make one house. It was quite comfortable but singularly inconvenient for the public side of a Bishop's work. There however we lived until I was translated to Winchester, but before that time came Danbury was sold, and with the proceeds a site was bought within fifty yards of the house we had thus occupied, and under our directions a new house was built by Norman Shaw, who fell in with every suggestion of ours, and produced an Episcopal House which is, I think, of its sort, the best in England, combining possibilities of economy with possibilities of hospitality, and with Chapel and Examination Room etc. complete.
>
> The money available was not sufficient to build the house and provide what I thought an adequate garden, available for us on occasions of gatherings etc., and I accordingly contributed £800 to make possible the purchase of an adequate site.

Bishop Davidson was not able, however, to do very much with regard to St. Saviour's, Southwark:

> Bishop Thorold, with characteristic energy, enthusiasm and hopefulness, had taken in hand the great work of restoring that Church as a future Cathedral for South London. I succeeded to the work

and carried it forward exactly upon his lines, but I am afraid without his power of obtaining big financial aid. We had big gatherings and functions at successive stages as the work went forward, but it has been left for my successor to inaugurate there a true Cathedral life, and he is doing this with greater effectiveness, I think, than I should ever have been capable of, but the whole story is so well known that I need not dwell upon it here.

Next, we may put two special pieces of work (besides the Embertide occasions already mentioned) on which he laid stress as he looked back in later years—the work for the revival of Deaconesses, and the visitation of individual parishes. We have his own recollections of each:

I found the Deaconess work in full swing. Bishop Thorold, whose heart was in the cause, had been especially fortunate in securing as Head Deaconess Mrs. Gilmore, a widow sister of William Morris, the Socialist Poet, a woman of remarkable capacity, enthusiasm and perseverance. The whole subject was new to me, but as soon as I looked into it I felt persuaded that if the Deaconess order could be wholesomely and vigorously revived it would mean more than almost anything else could mean for the practical efficiency of the ministry in poor parishes. I think I grappled with the subject on more definite Church lines than had previously been thought possible or desirable. I worked at the early History of Deaconess life as well as at the Story of its modern Restoration, and I believe that those who were most keen about the matter in Rochester Diocese, where Deaconess work, as such, was certainly at its best, would say that its strongest impulse forward had come during the years of my Episcopate.

The Deaconesses were in a little house in Clapham and during my time they removed to far larger and better premises on the other side of the Common and acquired the freehold of them. Head Deaconess Gilmore and I worked together in completest harmony, my only difficulty being that Bishop Yeatman was not wholly, if at all, in sympathy with our endeavour, and certainly did not work to promote it. He started instead his admirable system of Grey Ladies, though that idea was really borrowed from what had been done in St. Paul's, Walworth, under C. H. Simpkinson who had there a small body of 'Brown Ladies'.

He describes how he ordained Cecilia Robinson (sister of Dr. Armitage Robinson) and a great many more, and adds:

Thanks to the active co-operation of an eager and capable set of

men and women, I left the Rochester Deaconesses well established on true historical lines, with a clear distinction between their position as Deaconesses and the position of those who, as Members of a Sisterhood, owe their first allegiance to the Community and are only indirectly connected with the Bishop of the Diocese.

The visitation of individual parishes was a practice to which he attached considerable importance. His custom was, sometimes from Kennington, sometimes from the country, sometimes from a vicarage in Rochester, to spend whole days in seeing parishes, probably in a group, and in the evenings to dictate to his secretary the facts and impressions which he had gleaned. Before he left Rochester he had visited the majority of the parishes both in London and Kent.

I managed this in what is, I believe, an unusual, certainly an unconventional way. I had always wished to take it in hand but it did not become possible until I was well advanced in my Rochester Episcopate. During that period I visited the larger number of the London Parishes in the Diocese, taking two or sometimes three in a day, visiting the schools, talking individually to the schoolmasters and mistresses and Heads of Sunday schools and other work, and giving a short address to Church workers gathered in Church to meet me. I saw the Churchwardens separately from the Vicar, and in all ways tried to get a fresh and natural knowledge of what was happening in the particular parish. These visitations were only a part of my systematic endeavour to understand and, if possible, relieve the extreme difficulty of the work in a great poor town area like South London. Life in those parishes, and the almost insuperable obstacles to making it religiously bright and buoyant, weighed upon my thoughts by day and night.

There was one special piece of work to which Davidson gave much more of a Diocesan character than had hitherto belonged to it in his or most Dioceses—Rescue and Preventive work among women and girls. He formed a Diocesan Association with a woman of experience to guide it. Both the Bishop and Mrs. Davidson gave it their active support from the start.

It is also, perhaps, not unimportant (though Davidson does not make a special point of this himself) that, at the very beginning of his episcopate there were letters from prominent Free Church leaders, such as the Rev. J. Scott Lidgett, who had just started the

Bermondsey Settlement, and the Rev. J. Guinness Rogers; and replies from the Bishop, which show a readiness for co-operation in Christian work which was to become much more widely developed in later years. The following letter is typical:

The BISHOP OF ROCHESTER *to the* REV. J. GUINNESS ROGERS

Private. Kennington, 9 July, 1891.

Will you kindly pardon the delay which has occurred in my replying to your letter received some days ago. I am mainly confined to bed (save for a short time each day in the open air) and writing is extremely difficult. Most cordially do I appreciate the kindness of your letter and the sympathy you have been good enough to express with me in my enforced postponement of all active work. It is a strange and unlooked for beginning, but it is rich in disciplinary lessons, and my task just now is to learn to interpret these aright. You are certainly not wrong in believing that it is my earnest wish to co-operate in all possible ways with fellow-workers outside the Communion of the Church of England. No man, as it seems to me, can rightly study either the English history of the last two centuries, or the 'signs of the times' in our own day, without recognising the duty and the privilege of such brotherliness and fellow-feeling as shall unite for efforts in the cause of godliness and truth all those who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity; and it will be my earnest endeavour, if God shall grant me opportunity, to promote such unity of aim, and such mutual respect and charity, as may soften, instead of embittering and emphasising, the lines of demarcation which keep Christian men apart. Again asking you to pardon a rough and 'bed-written' note.

Two other general statements from the Davidson papers may also be quoted here, by way of illustrating the claims upon the new Bishop outside the Diocese.

The Archbishop was continuous in his demands for counsel:

During the whole Rochester time I had, besides my own Diocesan work, been in daily touch with Archbishop Benson and his central responsibilities. He consulted me constantly about it all, indeed there were times when I did almost as much work for him week by week at Kennington as I had done in the previous years at Windsor. This meant a very heavy addition to labour, but it of course kept one in touch with the larger affairs of the Church and with its labourers both clerical and lay.

The Queen again, who had made him Clerk of the Closet,[1] April 27, 1891, two days after his consecration, was constantly requiring his services:

> Besides these duties and controversies I was in my Rochester days in very close touch with the Queen. She showed me continuous kindness and confidence. After my first great illness in 1891, she lent us Osborne Cottage, now Princess Beatrice's home, for a part of my convalescent time, and I went very frequently both to Windsor and Osborne to preach, nor were any ecclesiastical appointments made without my being consulted in the way I have described in the Windsor period.

II

Dr. Davidson had three serious illnesses as Bishop of Rochester: the first in May 1891, the second in March 1894, and the third in February 1895, each of the last two coming at the conclusion of a winter's labours. The period of good health, therefore, in which his active work could be done was only too short. We may select a few incidents and occasions which have a special interest.

It was the Bishop's fate in after years to meet various challenges in the field of Biblical criticism. The following exchange between himself and Dr. Cheyne, the eminent Hebrew scholar and a Canon of Rochester, has a quality of its own. It arose out of a complaint made by Dr. Hole, Dean of Rochester. A report of the Canon's most recent sermon had been placarded in the local newspapers as 'Sermon on the life of David . . . combat with Goliath a myth'; and the Dean wrote in his letter to the Bishop: 'We hear that the reports in the placards and newspapers remark that they cannot see why, if some parts of the Bible are untrue, they should believe anything.' Dean Hole was a famous rose-grower, and his books upon roses were delightful and widely read, but he had not kept abreast of the latest Biblical scholarship. Canon Cheyne was one of the most distinguished Biblical scholars of his day, and had an eager desire to communicate the fruits of his research to the ordinary educated public; but he certainly had eccentricities, which became much more marked in his later life. On learning of the Dean's complaint, and receiving a letter of inquiry from the Bishop, he wrote thus:

[1] As Clerk of the Closet the Bishop was entitled to the Entrée—'the only reward for the arduous duty of that office' (S. Ponsonby Fane, April 21, 1891).

CANON T. K. CHEYNE *to the* BISHOP OF ROCHESTER

Rochester. August 27, 1891.

Upon reflexion, I think my right course is to throw myself on your Lordship's protection. At Oxford there is no one but Mr. Ffoulkes to do these things; but when I come to Rochester it is not right that I should be exposed to these attacks, even if made in private. Our Dean is an old man, frank, impulsive, and injudicious (as is well-known to the Canons). I therefore ask no apology from him; but I nevertheless must bring before your Lordship the circumstance that he sent in hot haste to two influential persons (yourself and the Archbishop) copies of an injurious placard, without inquiring whether the words on the paper were justified by facts, and aware that his imperfect hearing made it impossible for him to judge fairly of any sermon in our Cathedral. I venture to describe this act as unbecoming in the head of a Society. But the Dean is an old man, and brought up from a country rectory, where he never absorbed any new facts or ideas in theology. It is otherwise with another person,—with whom I am on friendly terms and towards whom, knowing his infirmity, I have always shown deference,—Canon Jelf. I suspect him of having stirred the Dean up to take action; some one, I know from what the Dean said, fomented his excitement, if he did not rather cause it. It was Canon Jelf who did the mischief before, and led the Dean on to take unjustifiable steps, which I must now, once for all, explain to your Lordship in anticipation of any further attacks.

I am not really angry with Mr. Jelf, we all have our weaknesses, which have to be guarded against. Mr. Jelf's special weakness is the desire to make every one do as he conscientiously thinks every one ought to do. From the Minor Canons downwards this is pretty well known in the Cathedral. He has also tried the plan on with me, writing letters about sermons which he has failed to agree with. I have perhaps been too kind, always hoping to overcome his prejudices by gentle argument. Of course, this delusion is at an end now.

It was Canon Jelf who, as soon as he had resigned St. Mary's, Chatham, undertook the functions of fault-finder in relation to the Oriel Professor-Canon. The very Sunday (or else the next after it) on which for the first time he appeared in the Cathedral, he took offence at a Sermon on Psalm xvi, in which the Davidic theory was not indeed attacked but quietly put aside, the psalm being regarded as a late Church-psalm, a vastly more edifying theory! He then proceeded (as the Dean frankly admitted) to stir the Dean

up: No, he first of all sat down in the Chapter House with a great Bible, as I was unrobing after Evensong, and proceeded to catechize me. That having no result, he stirred up the Dean. A day or two afterwards came a singular short letter from Dr. Hole,

'Dear Canon Cheyne, Will you tell me how you reconcile your sermon with St. Peter's speech?

Yours very truly, S. R. Hole, *Dean*.'

I, believing in people (as is my wont), thought even this old man, so good, so devoted, but so prejudiced, would give way to such evident grounds as I could offer. But no. And now comes his second error:—his first being that of picking holes in a sermon of a Canon, and so sowing strife, where he ought to promote peace and love. He violated the laws of courtesy which prevail among gentlemen, and sent my letter off to the Bishop. The issue you know; the Bishop was not quite so ignorant as the Dean and the Canon, though for form's sake he asked me to consider whether I could not confine myself to simple evangelical truth. I then wrote to the Dean, proposing to bury the past in oblivion. The Dean (who is not quick of comprehension) did not see that this was meant as an act of forgiveness on my part; however, he agreed that we should start fresh on both sides.

Of course, I expected the Dean to keep the peace henceforth. This expectation has not been realized. But knowing what I do of Canon Jelf, I think it highly probable that he is partly responsible for this attack.

With regard to the choice of David,—your Lordship will I think see at once that if people are to learn to read the O.T. narratives in a more historical manner, public teachers must go gently to work and not begin with Genesis. Besides I could not say farewell to the Psalter without David. The Dean of course is utterly incompetent to consider these things; he ought to have thanked me for my gentle dealing. There is on all hands a cry for help on the *narratives*. I feel that I have not been too bold, but in the past not bold enough. All that your Lordship says, I heartily accept; I have said it myself long ago. I ought not to give way to the Dean, who in fact owes me, as does Canon Jelf, an apology for repeated ill-treatment. Of their many excellent qualities, and services to the Church, I am well aware, and I will willingly forget and forgive the past. Also I will willingly take all due care to avoid hurting any one unnecessarily:—*I ought not however to have to say this*.

PS. This letter is not meant as private. I leave its contents in your Lordship's hands.

The following was the Bishop's reply:

The BISHOP OF ROCHESTER *to* CANON T. K. CHEYNE

Kennington Aug. 29. 91.

I have received your two letters of Aug. 27th. The subject as a whole—nothing less than the best mode of presenting to a generation brought up under a different type of teaching the results of the newer O.T. criticism—is so vast and momentous that one shrinks from dealing with it in letters of this sort. It is perhaps in some ways *the* most important Church problem of our time. Speaking generally—without touching on the criticism itself—I imagine that my standpoint as regards the duty of outspokenness in our teaching is not widely different from your own. But everything of course depends upon the degree of wisdom—reverence—tact—considerateness—with which the duty is performed; and it is upon these points that I look forward to the advantage of having a full talk with you before very long. You have now considerable experience in the matter and I am most anxious to hear from you, in such detail as is possible in a conversation, what your experience has been both with University congregations and with mixed congregations elsewhere. You have done me the real favour of writing very frankly about the particular difficulties which have met you at Rochester—and I hope you will not be hurt if I venture, with similar candour, to say that your letters leave in my mind a certain doubt whether you fully appreciate the attitude of those to whom —as for example to Canon Liddon or Bishop Wordsworth—such a treatment of O.T. subjects as you feel to be necessary and right gives pain and distress of the acutest sort. I cannot personally share their feeling, but there is surely no doubt of its existence in many of the religious teachers to whom we owe the highest respect, and for whose feelings—or prejudices if you will—we are bound to show a tender consideration.

The existence of this difficulty does not of course relieve those of us whose studies or sympathies have led us to a different view of the history of O.T. Revelation, from the duty of being honest and outspoken in teaching what we believe to be true. But it ought surely, to lead us to treat with something more than patience—rather with tender respect—the comments which the modern criticism of the O.T. evokes from such men as those to whom I have referred. May it not be that your experience of a University congregation has led you possibly to expect too ready a tolerance from those whose life and work for Christ and His Church has tended to stereotype their views upon other lines?

Like other teachers of truths which are new, the modern students

of the O.T. may be called upon to 'endure hardness' for the sake of what they believe to be true, and I venture to think they ought not to be either surprised or angered thereat. I feel sure you will pardon my saying this with a candour reciprocal to your own.

After thinking it well over, I cannot feel that any good purpose would be served by my writing further to the Dean upon the subject at present. Perhaps our conversation to which I am looking forward may throw some new light upon the position, and I do not fail to ask that The Lord of all truth may guide you alike in your teaching and in your relation to your colleagues in these solemn and difficult matters.

P.S. You will understand that I am not expressing any individual opinion—indeed it would be presumptuous for me to do so—upon the critical problems raised in your sermons.

As there are no further letters upon this subject from Dean or Canon, we must suppose that the matter was allowed to rest; and certainly the last letter from Canon Cheyne in the Rochester period recalls a grateful appreciation of the Bishop's support. 'One Canon', he says, 'who does not find himself on a bed of roses, has to thank you for much kindness.'

Bishop Davidson was also able to give practical illustration of his friendly attitude to Nonconformists very early in his episcopate. In February 1892, the famous Baptist preacher, the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, who had died abroad after a long illness, was buried in Norwood cemetery. The Tabernacle at Newington was only a short distance from the Bishop's house at Kennington, and the Bishop wrote at once to Spurgeon's son:

The BISHOP OF ROCHESTER *to the* REV. JAMES SPURGEON

February 18, 1892

It is not I hope necessary that I should assure you how deeply I share the feeling which at present animates our whole community in South London and elsewhere as to the loss we have sustained in the death of so stalwart a champion of Christianity, so great a preacher, and so good a man, as he was who has just been called to his rest and his reward. I should have felt it deeply at any time, but in the position of responsibility which I have been called to hold in South London his death has to me an increased and solemn significance. I am anxious to have some opportunity, if it may be, of sharing in the general expression of respect and regard for the memory of one who has worked so long and so man-

fully in his Master's cause, and of thus bearing witness to the substantial unity in Christ which underlies our differences. Although it would not, I fear, be possible for me, holding the position I do, to take part in the public memorial services which I understand are to be held in the Metropolitan Tabernacle on Wednesday next, I should deem it a high privilege if you would allow me to be present at Norwood and to take a place among the friends who stand beside his grave. May I ask you kindly to let me know whether this would be in accordance with your wishes, and, if so, to give me any necessary directions as to the hour?

The Bishop's offer was accepted. He joined the procession at the cemetery gates, and pronounced the benediction as described in the following extract from his Journal; and he was entirely unperturbed by the charge that thus he had been guilty of 'an indirect approval of the sin of schism':

On February 11th I attended Mr. Spurgeon's funeral—a deed which has ever since given opportunity to *Guardian* letter-writers and others. I suppose the main *gravamen* was my pronouncing the benediction by the grave. As a matter of fact this had not been pre-arranged in any way—but, as we approached the grave and saw the crowds gathered there, Mr. James Spurgeon said to me 'Will you pronounce the blessing? There is a huge multitude of people and you are Bishop of the Diocese', and I accordingly did so—not in robes—and not by any means with the view of formally 'taking part in the Service' as it is recounted!

Of problems connected with worship and ritual, the Bishop seems to have had comparatively few. But as an example of his method, on a small scale, the case of an attack on a clergyman in Hatcham may be quoted. The clergyman having been charged with introducing *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, and also with refusing to have Evening Communion, the parish committee of the mother church protested against the innovation in a temporary church in that very populous district.

The Bishop took endless trouble to discover the actual grievances, interviewed the committee and the clergyman, and in the end, pointed out, most politely, how very slight were the real grounds for any complaint. The letter was accepted as final by the parish committee, though the committee deplored that 'his Lordship has missed a very valuable opportunity of restoring peace'. The Bishop's letter acknowledged the right of the

parishioners to request the use of his influence with the vicar, and proceeded as follows:

The BISHOP OF ROCHESTER *to the* PARISH COMMITTEE OF ST. CATHERINE'S HATCHAM

Bishop's House, Kennington Park, S.E. November 10, 1892.

. . . In such circumstances I am compelled to examine carefully not so much the legal aspect of the question as the amount of actual grievance from which those who have addressed me are personally suffering. In this connection it is not unimportant for me to notice that the first name upon the committee . . . is that of a gentleman who is at present church-warden of another parish and therefore can scarcely claim to be entitled to a voice in such questions as the hours of divine service or the hymn-book in use in St. Catherine's church, which he presumably would not at present in any circumstances attend. I do not wish, however, to make too much of such a point as this . . . but when I look further as to what sort of advice it is wished that I should press upon Mr. Truscott I find that I am asked to bid him discontinue the use of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, a book which in your opinion 'should not be tolerated'. I am further asked to insist that Mr. Truscott, whatever be his personal opinions upon the subject, should celebrate the Holy Communion in the evening. You explained to me at our recent interview that you have yourself ceased to attend divine service at a neighbouring church, where the services are of a markedly Evangelical character, because of the introduction in that church of an early morning celebration of the Holy Communion . . . in your letter you further specify particular acts on Mr. Truscott's part and you ask me 'to order him immediately to discontinue these acts inasmuch as they have been declared by competent authority to be illegal'. I have looked carefully into these particular items . . . upon some of the points you mention you are, I venture to think, mistaken as to the facts, and upon others as to the law . . . I deplore as deeply as anyone can the self-will and at times the defiance of authority which some few clergymen have exhibited in ritual matters during recent years. You have mistakenly classed Mr. Truscott among those who have so behaved. I believe you to have acted in the matter with perfect good faith and I have the deepest sympathy with all who are endeavouring to maintain the doctrines and discipline of our reformed Church against encroachments either in the direction of superstition or infidelity; did I see any such danger in St. Catherine's parish I should say so and in my conversation with Mr. Truscott I have told him exactly what I think.

Throughout this year, and again in 1893 and 1894, the Bishop continued his advocacy of a more liberal attitude to Sunday observance. In May 1892, he presented a petition to Convocation from the Sunday Society for the Sunday opening of Museums, public libraries, and art galleries. He made a speech, described by the *Guardian* as one of great courage and importance, achieving 'with remarkable success' the very difficult task of putting a subject which had been under debate for years in a totally new light. He dealt successively with the objections that the working classes did not want Sunday openings, that it would mean more Sunday labour, and that this was the thin end of the wedge towards a Continental Sunday. One forcible point concerned the needs of the shop assistants, clerks, and others educationally a grade or so above that of the working classes:

> I remember [he said], having a conversation on the subject several years ago with an intelligent young fellow, who was then a clerk upon a very small salary in a London office. He lived in rather comfortless lodgings with a brother clerk as poor as himself. 'I want to know,' he said, 'how you clergy think that a man like me ought to spend a wet Sunday.'

As a result of the debate which followed, a joint committee of bishops and clergy was appointed to investigate the subject of the petition and to report.

The Report was presented to Convocation in July 1893. The Bishop, as Chairman of the Joint Committee, approached the matter historically, not theoretically, and with characteristic thoroughness set out a complete list of the existing Statutes which bore, in whole or part, upon the subject of Sunday Observance from 1448 to 1887, and also the findings of Parliamentary Select Committees, together with a statement of the facts in the British Colonies, the United States, and the Protestant countries of northern Europe.

The report also showed from the evidence of many English towns that many libraries and institutes were open on Sundays and widely appreciated. Five resolutions were attached to the report, the first two emphasizing the character of Sunday as a day of worship and rest, the last three dealing cautiously with the library problem itself:

> III. That since it is evident that an increasing number of persons, for whom Sunday is the only day of leisure, find the

reasonable use of Libraries, Picture Galleries, and Museums on that day to be wholesome and profitable, it is necessary, in the highest interest both of visitors and attendants, that such Sunday Opening should be carefully guarded against unfairness or misuse.

IV. That in no circumstances ought any Library, Institution, Gallery, or recreative resort to be permitted to be open on Sundays for payment.

V. That, if these conditions be observed, the cause of true religion has, in the opinion of this House, nothing to fear from the reasonable and careful extension of the system of Sunday Opening described in the Report.

The Bishop's speech in commending the Report and Resolutions concluded as follows:

To me the evidence before us shows conclusively that the cause of religion has nothing really to fear from the reasonable and careful extension of the principle to which we have referred. Some of those who read the Report may think that its compilers have suppressed the evidence furnished to them by the Clergy and others opposed to such Sunday opening. On the contrary, we have endeavoured to make the very most of it, and have anxiously wished for more, but we cannot obtain it. . . . I confess to have been greatly surprised by the overwhelming preponderance upon one side of the clerical opinion furnished to us. Scarcely any disapproval is expressed by any one, and this notwithstanding our endeavours to elicit it wherever it exists. We do believe, my lords, that the Church has nothing to fear, or rather that the deposit intrusted to her keeping will be in no way harmed, if more institutions than now should be opened for a time upon Sunday.

The older bishops, however, seemed to be more or less afraid of the subject, and the debate was adjourned for a year. In July 1894, the three main resolutions were rejected. Even the Bishop's caution, as the *Westminster Gazette* pointed out, in slipping in the main point parenthetically, instead of moving a resolution frankly in support of Sunday opening (with safeguards), had failed to persuade his brethren. The Bishop himself notes:

I was disappointed by the line taken by some of the bishops, notably London,[1] Southwell[2] and Peterborough.[3] They all spoke as men belonging to another generation than ours. Of course Exeter,[4] Gloucester[5] and Chichester[6] did so, but this was to be expected. Nobody save Legge of Lichfield voted with me.

[1] Dr. Temple. [2] Dr. Ridding. [3] Dr. Creighton.
[4] Dr. Bickersteth. [5] Dr. Ellicott [6] Dr. Durnford.

The social conditions under which the people of his diocese lived, formed another matter in which Bishop Davidson took a deep and thoughtful interest. In November 1892 he played an active part in the conference convened by the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, to consider the duty of the National Church to the aged poor. A Royal Commission at about the same time had been announced to deal with the Poor Laws and especially Old Age Pensions. Amongst those who had spoken at the Lambeth meeting were Lord Halsbury, Lord Coleridge, and Mr. Charles Booth. The last named had expressed his strong sense of the extraordinary amount of knowledge of the needs of the poor possessed by the parochial clergy. The Bishop of Rochester, after the meeting, wrote to his old tutor, Mr. James Bryce, then Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, suggesting that the Royal Commission should include some clergy:

The BISHOP OF ROCHESTER *to the* RT. HON. J. BRYCE, M.P.

Kennington, 11 Dec. 1892.

You will let our long friendship be my excuse for writing you a few lines upon what seems to me a matter of considerable importance, less perhaps in itself than as part of a larger question. I allude to the announcement made and uncontradicted that no clergyman is to be a member of the forthcoming Royal Commission on the Aged Poor.

People are writing to me about it, I suppose because of my known identification, speaking generally, with liberal principles and policy. I can very easily understand that whoever appoints the Commission will greatly *simplify* his task by the omission of all clergy; but I do think he will thereby materially weaken the Commission What I imagine is wanted, and probably intended, in such a Commission is not the representation of any class interests —or technical knowledge of poor laws—or of minute administrative details—(all these things can be furnished as evidence by witnesses)—but rather the mature general knowledge of the facts of English life, and especially of English life among the poor: their manner of living, in health and sickness, their family claims and responsibilities, etc. etc.

Now it is, I suppose, simply indisputable that there exists no body of educated men whose knowledge on these subjects is to be compared with the knowledge necessarily possessed by the parochial clergy, whose lives have been in no small degree spent in the homes of the poor, and who have therefore an acquaintance with

poor men's needs and possibilities which no other class of educated men has had the means of acquiring in the same natural and quite unartificial way.

Is it really the case that sectarian jealousies, or political exigencies, are to be allowed on a question like this to deprive the Commission of that sort of knowledge, except when given in the evidence of witnesses?

You know me too well I think to suppose that I am writing thus from what may be called a mere *denominational* point of view. I should say exactly the same if it were Nonconformist Ministers, instead of National Church Clergy, whose special knowledge seemed to me to be in danger of being wasted. I want to see one or two clergy on such a Commission, not sitting *qua* clergy but *qua* citizens and men of education who have had absolutely unique opportunities of becoming hourly familiar with the matters which such a Commission must consider. It will be for experts to give evidence as witnesses upon the details of poor-law administration etc., but among those who, as Commissioners, weigh that evidence, should surely be one or two men of the class whose knowledge of English poverty is, from the very nature of the case, unique.

So much for the Commission itself I do not enter on the larger question raised of necessity in the minds of clergy who are also liberals by the adoption of such a policy of exclusion of competent men *because they are clergy* from helping to weigh the evidence given on a topic which is specially forced on their own attention every day of their lives. If we are to regard this as significant of the attitude of the Liberal Government towards the Church upon matters in no way connected with Disestablishment, it certainly gives us food for thought.

It may be you have nothing to do with the matter, but you will at least pardon I think the frank outpourings of an old friend.

Mr. Bryce agreed with the Bishop in principle, and wrote to the President of the Local Government Board, Mr. Henry Fowler, but his representations were unsuccessful.

A public question of a different kind which engaged the Bishop's attention in 1893 was Welsh Disestablishment. A private Conference was summoned at Lambeth on March 4, 1893, to discuss the Welsh Church Suspensory Bill with Lord Salisbury, who emphasized the gravity of the situation. Lord Salisbury begged the Bishops to issue Pastorals, which should be against Disestablishment in general, and not particularly against the Welsh Bill, and argued that it was a time for ecclesiastics rather

than politicians to come to the front. There were six bishops in the room besides the Archbishop and Lord Salisbury:

> The Bishop of Chester asked whether we should say 'Rather than let Wales be disestablished we would ourselves in England submit to it also'? Everybody (save the Bishop of St. Asaph who was silent) was against any such line being taken. Lord Salisbury said 'No good in urging a man "If you rob me of my rubies, I will throw my diamonds at your head!"'

The result of the conference was a mass meeting in the Albert Hall on May 16 to protest against Disestablishment. It was an immense demonstration, attended by Bishops, members of the Lower Houses of the Convocations, the Houses of Laymen, and churchwardens from all over England. The meeting was a success, so far as numbers and oratory were concerned, but, considering that the Welsh Bill had made practically no progress owing to the Home Rule agitation, Davidson was doubtful as to its ultimate value. He notes in his journal:

> Suppose there were a real and urgent danger of Disestablishment in England as well as in Wales, what should we now have left us to do? May we not have fired our big guns too soon?

The industrial situation also aroused his keen interest. A great cotton strike, which had begun in November 1892, came to an end the following spring with an agreement as to the means of settling disputes which marked a big step forward. In the late summer of 1893, a disastrous coal strike commenced. The Government, under Lord Rosebery, successfully intervened in November. But, with these various clashes between Capital and Labour, there was a growing feeling that some united action should be taken by the Church. 'Could not something', it was asked, 'be done by the various sections of the Christian Church, with a view to putting an end to, or at least diminishing, the evils of the present system of industrial warfare?' A conference was summoned by the editor of the *Daily Chronicle,* for November 14, in the Jerusalem Chamber. The Bishops of Rochester and Ripon, Cardinal Vaughan, Dr. Marshall Lang, Moderator of the Church of Scotland, Dr. Clifford, Canon Scott Holland, Mr. Charles Gore, and others, were to meet under the chairmanship of Mr. G. W. E. Russell, Under-Secretary of State for India. A series of resolutions had been agreed, dealing especially with the living wage.

But when the day for the meeting came 'for unexplained reasons the Cardinal was absent, the Moderator was absent, and the Dean of Westminster took the chair instead of Mr. Russell, and begged the conference on no account to pass any resolutions'. The Bishop of Rochester took the Cardinal's place in introducing a resolution, which he was not allowed to press, to the effect that in the opinion of this conference the principle of the maintenance of a standard of decent living should be recognized as an essential condition in the settlement of labour disputes. 'He spoke up manfully,' said the *Chronicle* in its extremely candid account of the proceedings, 'while the Bishop of Ripon, with coalfields in his diocese, objected to all resolutions and was most doleful.' The general effect of the meeting showed the extraordinary nervousness of Church opinion at that time. Though the Bishop of Rochester was annoyed at the inclusion of his name without his leave in connexion with a large public meeting a fortnight later, it is an interesting note on the spirit of nervousness of the times, that he was the only Bishop whom Scott Holland, Adderley, and their friends could find to say anything in public, however guarded, about a standard of decent living.

III

In 1894, the Bishop summed up the experience so far gained in his Primary Charge. A few months before its delivery he had been seized by the second grave illness of his Rochester period. Various newspapers discussed the possibility of his resignation. On June 15, he was asked to go and see the Prime Minister, Lord Rosebery, who strongly pressed him to go to Bath and Wells, as a lighter diocese than Rochester, and a 'more sanitary See', in succession to Lord Arthur Hervey. But after reflection and consultation he refused. He gave his Charge in October 1894, and he was able to express some of his views on the principal subjects of the day, notably the conception of a National Church, arising out of the campaign for the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales. He had much to say about the National Church—something also with regard to the Ritual Controversy and Loyalty to the Prayer Book. But there was a special reference to the duty of the clergy with regard to economic questions, in the light of the recent strikes, that showed not only a true disciple of Bishop

Westcott, whom he constantly quoted, but a man looking forward to crises and strikes still to come, and the duty of the Church with regard to them:

> On us then, the clergy of the National Church, it devolves to bring home to the minds of men and women these fundamental principles; to correct or condemn every custom or theory or law which implies that some province of life or conduct lies outside the operations of the law of Christ. So to teach little children that they may grow up to feel and know this as a matter of course. So to influence, bit by bit, the public opinion of average folk that any other principle than this may come to be looked upon as base and wrong. That is our business day by day. 'It is the office of the State to give effect to public opinion, it is the office of the Church to shape it.'[1]
>
> Be this our task, and men by degrees will cease to talk of social questions which affect the homes, and so the characters, of tens of thousands of English men and women and children, as lying outside the province of the clergy. The bishop, priest, or deacon who thinks he can define in any trade, or group of trades, the limits of a 'living wage', and prescribe the mode of its enforcement, must be venturesome indeed; but the Christian man belies his creed, who fails to recognise the law of Christ as laying an absolute obligation upon us all to accept our responsibility for the lives of others, and to see that, if we can help it, no family in Christian England shall live, perforce, in such a home as must degrade and stunt the life.

The Charge also expounded Bishop Davidson's attitude on religious education—a subject with which he had much to do in view of the election to the London School Board in November 1894. He spoke strongly for Church schools, but he also emphasized 'our sense of common responsibility for the teaching our children receive in Board Schools', and he said:

> No effort must be spared to secure, so far as in us lies, that in every Board School such religious education as the law allows shall be honestly and reverently given, and, further, that the teaching shall be Christian in fact as well as in name. In this endeavour, which we must make with all our might, we may surely count upon the support of every thoughtful Christian man. We are happily unfamiliar in Kent and Surrey with the bitter sectarianism which, in the profaned name of religious equality, has

[1] Westcott, *The Incarnation and Common Life*, p. 23.

banished even Bible lessons from nearly a hundred Board Schools in Wales and Northern England. The lamentable controversy in the London School Board has not been as to whether or no religious teaching shall be given; it has turned on the question how best to secure the Christian efficiency of such teaching without hardship to the few individual teachers who find conscientious difficulty in giving it. We have of course no guarantee of its permanence, and therein lies a grave peril; but it is to me almost inconceivable how any Christian man who knows the facts can speak of the religious teaching at present given under the London Board as 'worthless' because it is—to use a sorely battered term—'undenominational'.

At the end of Bishop Davidson's Charge, there was a reference to 'English Orders and Rome'. Cardinal Vaughan had just been proclaiming to the public that Anglican bishops and clergy 'can only be considered as so many laymen'. The Bishop's answer was:

> This is merely to repeat what was said in other words by Cardinal Patrizi on behalf of the Pope nearly thirty years ago, in reply to approaches which had been made to him by Clergy of the Church of England in connection with the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom.[1]

But while expressing the desirability of the authorities of the Church of Rome being on these, as on other matters, better informed, the Bishop pointed out:

> What separates us from the Church of Rome is another set of considerations altogether than questions about her view of the validity of Anglican Orders; and men are surely forgetting the mighty issues which depend upon those differences, when they talk as though Western Christendom might be again at one if only Rome admitted the truth about our Orders.

A change was necessary in the principles and practice of Rome, before such reconciliation could take place, and he concluded:

> Meantime, alas, the words still remain true which were spoken by Archbishop Laud two centuries and a half ago, when he was approached with proposals of reconciliation and friendship: 'somewhat dwelt within me which would not suffer that, till Rome were other than it is'.[2]

[1] See the full documents in Archbishop Manning's Pastoral Letter, 1866: *The Reunion of Christendom A Pastoral Letter.* See also *The Life of Cardinal Manning*, by E. S. Purcell, Macmillan, 1896, vol. II, pp. 276–88.

[2] *Diary*, August 17, 1633.

These words were particularly opportune at a time when a new attempt had just been begun by Lord Halifax and the Abbé Portal for a *rapprochement* between Canterbury and Rome. The story is told in detail in Archbishop Benson's *Life*. But a short account is necessary here, as on certain points Davidson's advice was of the greatest importance.

Portal had published a book *Les Ordinations Anglicanes*, and had been brought by Lord Halifax to see the Archbishop of Canterbury at Addington in the summer of 1894. He then went to Rome, and saw the Pope and Cardinal Rampolla. On his return he paid a further very sudden visit with Lord Halifax, quite unannounced, to the Archbishop at Dulverton. He had hoped to bring a letter from the Pope himself to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. But the Pope had, on reflection, felt such a step to be incautious, and what Portal actually brought was a letter to himself from Cardinal Rampolla, 'nice,' as Benson said, 'but very general'. The Archbishop did not conceal his annoyance that the interview with an emissary of the Pope should have been forced upon him by Lord Halifax, who had not said a word of Portal's presence when asking the Archbishop to see him. The Archbishop was also aware that, in fact, between Portal's first interview with him in the summer and his later visit at the end of September, the head of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England, Cardinal Vaughan, had gone out of his way to attack the Church of England, and to declare at Preston that the only conceivable kind of reunion was individual or corporate submission.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF ROCHESTER

Private. Baron's Down. 3 October 1894.

I send you some papers which I think will rather astonish you. The history of them is that Halifax wrote to say he had some news which would 'both please and astonish me *very much*' and wanted to come with it to Addington. Being told I was here taking holiday, he telegraphed on Thursday that he would come down next day Friday 28 Sept. He came and brought the Abbé Portal! They travelled two whole nights hither and back from Doncaster. And then took place the interview, of which I send you Mason's notes with my additions in correction. Mason was staying here a few days. I enclose you Cardinal Rampolla's letter (French translation) to Portal—a draft of a letter which a chaplain might write to Halifax

—Mason's improved version of the same. I prefer my own, slightly touched up.

Of course all this must be most private. And I should greatly value your opinion on the whole. I was much taken aback naturally by having the 'emissary' face to face. And we must remember that my letter is quite certain to appear sooner or later. Hence, as well as on its account, the utmost care is needed.

You will conclude, what is the fact, that Halifax has taken the greatest care of M. Portal. He has seen and heard nothing but with H's eyes and voice. Has been to St. Paul's, to the Ritualistic churches, to Cowley, etc. His poor Holiness may well have been surprised.

The Archbishop's original draft for a letter to Halifax which might be communicated to Rampolla was of a very stiff character and intended to be signed by a chaplain. It was also very general. The final letter actually sent, and printed in Benson's *Life*,[1] owed all its main points to Davidson. It took the form of a letter from the Archbishop himself, and, after some general words, pointed out the lack of consideration for the Archbishop's position, in not informing him beforehand either that Portal was to be with Halifax, or of the subject of the interview. It also pointed out that it was a practical impossibility for the Archbishop of Canterbury to enter privately and unofficially into communication on such subjects with the authorities of another branch of the Church Catholic—especially when Cardinal Vaughan was at that very moment publicly declaring the absolute repudiation by the Church of Rome of Anglican Orders.

The disappointment of Lord Halifax was very great. At the same time he kept urging the Archbishop to negotiate directly or indirectly with the Holy See on the matter of a possible conference on the validity of English Orders. Indeed Davidson used to say in later years that the Archbishop was in effect invited to ask the Pope, 'Are Anglican Orders valid?' And this was an impossible question for a self-respecting Archbishop of Canterbury to ask, as the Bishop pointed out vigorously at the time. Lord Halifax did not mend matters by writing a long letter on behalf of the Council of the English Church Union to the Archbishop of Toledo, in which he repudiated the action of the Archbishop of Dublin, who had recently consecrated Senor Cabrera a bishop of

[1] Vol. ii, pp. 604 f.

the Reformed Church of Spain! The letter only opened the way for a further attack on Anglican Orders by Cardinal Vaughan, on the Church of England generally, and on 'the marvellous communication presented to Your Eminence by Lord Halifax!'

In the following February, a debate took place in Convocation on the Spanish consecration, in the course of which the Bishop of Rochester spoke. He agreed that the circumstances of a comparatively small movement hardly justified the Archbishop of Dublin's action, but maintained that, 'whether we look to the old authorities of the Church of England of the High Church school (Laud, Wake, etc.) or whether we look to the authorities of to-day, corporate or individual (e.g. Christopher Wordsworth and the Old Catholics), we have a practically unanimous witness to the fact that, in case of extreme necessity', such interference as the Archbishop of Dublin's may be justified.

A week later Lord Halifax made a very important speech to a Bristol branch of the English Church Union on 'England and Rome'. He then went to Rome, saw the Pope and Cardinal Rampolla and others, and found that Portal's pamphlet and visit and the articles of the Abbé Duchesne had been a great surprise, and a great source of irritation, to many of the English Roman Catholics. From Rome he wrote to Davidson:

VISCOUNT HALIFAX *to the* BISHOP OF ROCHESTER

April 17, 1895.

I have never thanked you as I ought for your most kind and help-ful letter, or written to tell you what I had been doing here—but the truth is I have not had a moment to myself. Writing Memorandums in French, translating letters, and seeing people all day, leaves little time for anything.

The accompanying papers will, however, I think put you in possession, substantially, of what has occurred and the present position of affairs. I shall be glad if Your Lordship will show them *privately* in any quarter where they are likely to be useful—and let me, at your leisure, have them again to 79 Eaton Square where I hope to be by May 2 or 3?

I translated Your Lordship's letter into French *in extenso* and showed it to the Pope together with some others which I thought likely to be useful. There is no doubt at all that with prudence—some self-restraint and patience, we have *a great opportunity*—not perhaps so much at this exact moment as a little later on—if

nothing is done to check what, if all goes well, will develop of itself *here* out of existing circumstances. The misfortune is that our way of looking at things, and doing our business, is so entirely opposed to Italian methods that it will be quite easy to throw away what might, if properly managed, be turned to the greatest advantage of all we have most at heart.

I go to Florence tomorrow to stay with Lady Crawford, so I shall hope to see the Archbishop. If Your Lordship is well enough I would come any day that suited you to expand any information I am in a position to give. The French Ecclesiastics and Baron Von Hugel have been invaluable. The Pope's Mass this morning was most touching.

Davidson at once wrote to the Archbishop, and urged him to write a letter to Halifax saying that he (the Archbishop) utterly repudiated the representation given of his position, that he never invited the interview, that Portal came without warning, and that he (the Archbishop) was by no means of Halifax's opinion as to all the blessings which would ensue from a mere recognition of the validity of Anglican Orders by an unreformed Papal Church. He also wrote himself to Lord Halifax, very thoroughly explaining his own position:

The BISHOP OF ROCHESTER *to* VISCOUNT HALIFAX

Saltwood, Hythe. April 24, 1895.

I am grateful to you for kindly giving me such ample information with regard to your action in the matter of a Roman recognition of Anglican Orders, in connexion with the desires you entertain for a future corporate reunion with the Roman Church. I have read with the closest attention all the memoranda you have sent me, and I will take care that they are duly returned to you as you desire. It is not easy, I think, to exaggerate the possible importance of what you have done, but you will pardon me for saying that I cannot regard that importance exactly as you do yourself. To me it seems that the perils attaching to *this sort* of communication with the Roman authorities are at least as great as is the probability of possible advantage. I know you would wish me to express my views to you explicitly, and that you will not take offence at what I say.

1. I do not think that you yourself realise adequately the strength and depth of the present Protestantism of England. For myself—if the word 'Protestantism' be used in its proper sense—I rejoice that it is both strong and deep. The *principles* which

underlay the Reformation—as contrasted with the mere surface agitations and the mistakes of individual workers—are in my opinion sound and true principles, and I confess I think they need assertion now—in opposition to the principles and policy of Rome—as truly as they did in the sixteenth century. Our wish in the Church of England, as all our best representatives testify, has always been for *daylight, fresh air*, outspoken truthfulness and candour—the unswerving assertion of what we believe to be true without concealment or reserve, and, so far as possible, with a frank disregard of the diplomatic expediency and so forth which has taken so large a place in the words and acts of Roman controversialists ever since the middle ages. To adopt your own words in your letter to me, 'Our way of looking at things and of doing our business is so entirely opposed to Italian methods'. I agree with you in that statement, but whereas you speak of it as a 'misfortune', I thank God for it as an evidence of His guidance and blessing upon the Church of England. I believe this principle, this 'way of looking at things and doing our business' to be deeply and I hope ineradicably rooted in us as Englishmen and English Churchmen. It is not the Roman way of 'looking at things and doing business', and the contrast is, to my mind, admirably illustrated by your account of the scheming and counter-scheming and wire-pulling and diplomacy of which you have been witness in these late weeks at Rome, where the thought of the ecclesiastical authorities seems to be so much more 'what will be *effective*?' what will advance the interests of the Church of Rome?' than 'what are the plain facts of history? what is the truth?' *We*, as it seems to me, have nothing to conceal, nothing to 'diplomatise' about. We are ready to publish to the world all the facts in our possession, and we invite and desire the fullest and freest criticism thereupon, and a plain, straightforward judgement by the ordinary use of common-sense and reason, and in answer to the prayers of us all that God will enlighten and guide us.

2. Now such an endeavour as that in which you have been engaged seems to me to have a perilous tendency to force you into modes of action which are *theirs* rather than ours—to make you consider *policy* rather than principle, and give a subordinate place to the consideration of what is straightforwardly and simply *true* either as to the history of the past, the facts of the present, or the doctrines and character of the Church of England. I do not of course mean that you would yourself for one moment compromise or conceal or distort what you believe to be the simple truth—you are as incapable of it as man can be—but, for that very reason, you are attempting to take up an impossible position if, as a loyal

member of the Church of England, you try to negotiate with the Roman Ecclesiastical diplomatists on their own ground. It seems to me that this is already apparent in the impossibility one finds in expressing in plain words any clear and indisputable step which has yet been taken either by the Pope or his official advisers in the direction you desire. He has seen you, heard your statements, received the books and letters you gave him, including a large number, I suppose, of most confidential documents (which his representatives may hereafter use as they will!) and has given you kind words and benedictions. But beyond the very guarded letter written by Cardinal Rampolla to Abbé Portal, they have, as it seems to me, committed themselves to nothing whatever of a definite sort. Your letter to Rampolla made a definite request that he would put certain things in writing. He has not done so. All they have said (*valeat quantum*) might be disavowed tomorrow, and called a mere misunderstanding on your part of kindly expressions which were never intended to have an operative force. It is this sort of diplomatic dealing on matters of sacred doctrine and practice which seems to me so perilous.

3. Then, further, what does it all come to even at the best? You may be right in thinking you have smoothed the way for a declaration on the part of Rome that she recognises the validity, historically, of Anglican Orders. *From the point of view of Rome* I can see the advantages which might accrue to her were she, while retaining all her distinctive doctrines and corruptions, to admit the truth of certain facts of history which indeed can hardly be gainsaid by any fair-minded man. And, as you truly say, this would remove one barrier to the ultimate reunion of Christendom. One barrier, out of so many. So far it would be indisputably to the good, and one can be honestly thankful for any step on the part of Rome which admits daylight into what had been hitherto kept artificially dark. But surely so long as the Roman accretions upon the true, primitive, Scriptural faith of the Church remain, and are asserted as dogmas *de fide*, the mere admission that Archbishop Parker was validly consecrated is an admission of *comparatively* small importance. And have you seen or heard a single thing which would make you believe in any coming disclaimer on the part of Rome of those distinctive and unscriptural doctrines which bulk so large in the Roman system as a whole? If so, there is, I think, no reference to such expectation in the papers you have sent me. Do not suppose I wish to minimise the importance and value of a distinct declaration on the part of Rome that she will henceforth recognise our Orders as fully and frankly as we have always recognised hers. I should welcome it with all my heart as (1) an

enlargement of our common ground of action, (2) an admission of possible, or certain, error on Rome's part in the past, (3) a contribution to the value and strength of historic evidence as such. For all these reasons it would, I think, do real good and remove a *needless* source of irritation. You remember perhaps a sentence in one of Maurice's letters: 'I know the kindling of heart which I feel towards a Dissenting or Romish controversialist who frankly disavows, not to his own class, but to the public and to me, dishonest artifices to which his party and he have resorted. I know what a prepossession he causes me in favour of himself and his cause. I love a man who does this' (*Life*, i. 476). (I don't mean to apply the words 'dishonest artifices' in this case, but the principle of the sentiment is the same.) And yet I should not be honest with you if I did not say that while I should thankfully recognise the gain, so far as it goes, even for us (and should see it very clearly indeed for the Romans), I should at the same time regard such *démarche* (to use your word) as having an element of danger for the Church of England, as leading the unwary and uninformed to make less than they ought of the deep and even fundamental differences which would still remain. This feeling would, I am certain, prevail strongly in England, and I, for one, should share it. However *magna est veritas*; and by all means let us encourage and welcome, whatever be the consequence, any honest attempt to know and proclaim what is historically true.

4. One more point and, to my mind, a most important one. I wonder whether you have fully weighed the possible results *in England* of the documents you have sent me becoming known to even a limited circle. The French memorandum which (so far at least as we in England are concerned) is much the most important, was I presume prepared for the information not of those in England but of the Pope and his friends. Indeed, it bears this impress upon its face, nor does it profess to recount in detail the interviews or communications which may have taken place between M. Portal and yourself on the one hand and English ecclesiastical authorities on the other. It refers, for example, to letters as 'appended' which do not appear in your document as sent to me, and it summarises the general result of these letters in very decided terms (page 8 of your memorandum), while it gives us no means of judging whether we should quite agree in your opinion of what the letters may be regarded as showing. If my own letter to you is among those thus summarised, I should demur to your description of its tenour, and it is *possible* the same may be the case with others of your correspondents. With regard to the letters and opinions of the Archbishops, which you describe of course much

more fully, you have presumably taken steps to secure that the summary is sanctioned as accurate. But do you quite realise how grave is the peril of some wide misunderstanding as to the attitude of e.g. the Archbishops, arising on the part of those who in England read your memorandum? If the kind confidence you have shown in me, in authorising me to show the papers privately 'in any quarter where they are likely to be useful', has been also extended to others, a good many eyes may perhaps ere long have seen the documents; and you know the strange way in which things *do* leak out and get misrepresented, however unintentionally. The consequence of any such misrepresentation might be simply incalculably grave. But all this you must have weighed, and perhaps I am mistaken in supposing that you have sent copies to more than one or two friends. I have myself shown the papers at present to *one* trusted friend only, in whom I have complete confidence. He feels as strongly as I do the risk I refer to. Of course if the actual words of the Archbishops had appeared in the document in their entirety it would be another matter. Whatever they may have said or written was doubtless well weighed. But the responsibility (in a matter at once so grave and so liable to be misconstrued) of circulating, even to a few, an independent summary of their words is one which cannot be overrated, and I confess I feel not a little anxious to know how far the possible risks I refer to are guarded against.

I know you will excuse me for speaking thus plainly. Your confidence invites it. Since I received your letter (on the 22nd) I have thought of little else. I write now, while all is fresh in my mind, but as you do not return till May 2, and I know not where you are, I shall not post this for a few days, and if ought else occurs to me I will add it.

I fear you will think me cold and unsympathetic in the endeavour you are making for Christian reunion. It is not so. No man in England is more keen than I for such reunion as is based upon *truth*. I long for it, and pray for it with all my heart. But I cannot at present share your hopes as to the *way* in which a real reunion of Christendom as a whole—not of the Roman and Anglican Churches only—is to be brought about. I fear on the contrary that anything which seems to advocate a corporate reunion between the Church of England and the unreformed Church of Rome may and will really retard the grander reunion for which we hope and pray. I do not expect you to share this opinion, but I should not deal honestly with you or reciprocate aright your confidence if I did not say what I think. Nor would you desire me to do otherwise. I do dread the Roman *way* of doing things,

and most earnestly desire that we in England may keep clear of it. I confess I see little, if any, change in this respect since the days when the diplomacy of the Fathers at Constance was opposed to the straightforward open honesty of Huss, or the craft of Cajetan was opposed to the rough, brusque, mistaken (if you will, but) HONEST Luther. These seem to me the same weapons which are being employed to-day, and I cannot bear to think that we should be tempted to try ourselves to employ them. The documents you send me appear, to my judgement, to show the persistence of these characteristics on the part of Roman controversialists. You will not, probably, agree with me, but I have told you frankly what I think and what I dread, and that is what you would have wished me to do.

A conversation of the friendliest kind followed between Davidson and Halifax. The latter was indeed the most grateful and eager of ambassadors. He was also the most transparently innocent. As Cardinal Vaughan wrote to the Archbishop of Toledo 'I believe his Lordship to be incapable of deceiving anyone'. But his fundamental defect as an ambassador lay in a complete inability to see the real difficulties, as others saw them, or to imagine any other picture of the Church of Rome than the picture which he saw, or any other picture of the Church of England than that on which he desired the Pope to gaze. As Archbishop Benson said, 'Halifax is like a solitary player of chess, and wants to make all the moves on the board himself, on both sides'.[1]

That very same week (April 22) the Pope's encyclical *Ad Anglos* appeared, urging the English nation to come back to the Church and showing no sign of recognition that there was such a body as the Church of England.

A year later, in September 1896, the Papal Bull *Apostolicae Curae* was published, condemning Anglican Orders. All hopes of any response to the Halifax overtures were destroyed. The wisdom of those who had urged the Archbishop to have nothing whatever to do with an inquiry into Anglican Orders was proved to the hilt. In due course the *Responsio*, a Vindication of Anglican Orders by Archbishops Temple and Maclagan, was given to the world. But the chapter was closed, and the next chapter was not to begin until thirty years later, with the help of the same principal collaborators, under the auspices of Cardinal Mercier at Malines.

[1] *Life*, vol. ii, p. 608.

CHAPTER XI

THE BISHOP AND THE QUEEN. FAREWELL TO ROCHESTER

Lord Treasurer is at Windsor too: they will be going and coming all summer, while the Queen is there and the town is empty. DEAN SWIFT, *Journal to Stella.*

THROUGHOUT his four and a half years at Rochester, as the quotations from his private papers have already made plain, Bishop Davidson was in close and continuous touch with the Queen and the Royal Family.

I

Early in 1892, the Duke of Clarence died, a victim to a terrible epidemic of influenza. As the Archbishop of Canterbury was in Algiers and was told by the Prince of Wales himself on no account to return, the Bishop of Rochester took the funeral. Davidson notes the great dignity of the Prince in his grief.

> The Prince of Wales behaved splendidly. Devout, reverent, grave, and courteous to everyone, though showing all the while how his heart was rent. He said to me with tears in his eyes 'Well, I *am* glad you were able to officiate. It is what we all wished from the first. You are now a friend of so many years.'

He was at Osborne with the Queen in February, and by the Archbishop's wish discussed with Her Majesty the question of a Day of Humiliation or Prayer which had been suggested in connexion with the epidemic. But, he reported to Dr. Benson (February 7, 1892):

> This has not at present become a practical question, and the Queen was very guarded about it. It would be necessary to approach her again about it when the time comes, as I hope it may not come.

In the following summer came the marriage of Prince George (now King George V) to Princess May (now Queen Mary).

On June 10, 1893, the Bishop was at Richmond, and had a good deal of talk with Princess May and her mother, as they sat in the royal box at the horse-show, watching the jumping.

> I confess to feeling very hopeful indeed of her [Princess May] being a success in her great position. There is a quiet energy and

common sense about her which distinguish her. . . . I am glad to have had an opportunity of a good talk of this sort. Prince George too was most agreeable and ready to talk, and full of recollections of some talks he and I had before both at Windsor and at Sandringham, especially about the lives of working men and kindred subjects.

Thursday, July 6 was the day of the Royal Marriage. Sheppard, the subdean, who was in a great fuss about the whole proceedings, insisted on our going to St. James much too early, and we had a terribly long stand in the Chapel—in a position neither very dignified nor very pleasant—crowded beside the Altar. The Bishop of London with Dalton and Hervey on one side; myself with Sheppard and Glyn on the other; and the Archbishop in the middle. *He* had to utilise the occasion for preparing his little address. He had been told the day before by Prince George that there was to be no address. But on the morning of the wedding day the Queen sent *me* an autograph note to bid me be sure that the Archbishop knew all about the Service, and that he was to give an address! I could only send the note on to him by the messenger. He did wondrous well, and the address was perhaps better than it would have been, if the opportunity given had been greater.

At the end of July he went to Osborne.

Saturday, July 29. In the afternoon the Queen sent for me for a talk and I went with her into all sorts of subjects, including Prince George's marriage. . . . She also poured forth upon political subjects, and upon the German Emperor and his doings, and upon her own reminiscences of former years, and upon very private and personal thoughts indeed. I have seldom had a more interesting talk with her and I do feel for her the keenest possible affection and respect and sympathy.

The next entry shows the German Emperor himself in a very interesting light. Dr. Davidson often used to refer to the incident twenty years later, during the European War, pronouncing the words in italics with great gusto.

Sunday, July 30. I went with Bigge and Clarke and Munthe to leave our names on the Emperor's yacht, which was then in Cowes together with the Prince of Wales' and many others. The Emperor was himself on deck, and the Duke of Connaught who was with him saw me and came at once to say the Emperor wished to talk with me. I found him most agreeable and genial—very odd and opinionative, full of himself and his doings, full of the glory of the German army and navy. He had been preaching that morning

on board, he said, but the sermon was *mainly* written by his chaplain-general, only he altered it to suit his congregation of sailors, '*leaving out all dogmatic trash*'. (Those were his words.) He also spoke of the good done by the German army chaplains going *into action* with the troops and 'blessing them before they charge, just as in the Middle Ages'. Also of the friendship subsisting between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant chaplains. 'They do not both of them think the other a damned heathen you know'; and a great deal more to the like effect. I enjoyed my talk with him very much.

On July 7, 1894, the Bishop and Mrs. Davidson went to Windsor, where he preached in the mausoleum and had a long talk with the Queen.

She poured forth upon both public and private matters, making me (as an invalid) *sit* beside her. She spoke of the Cesarewitch and his marriage, and the question of the Greek Church. Also of the whole question of the marriages of Princesses and its difficulty, illustrating her views by all sorts of anecdotes and facts about the marriages and *non-marriages* in her own family and grandchildren, too private for recording even here. . . . In the evening after dinner I had a long talk to the Cesarewitch . . . He gave me the best account I have ever heard of the position and history of the Greek Church in modern times and its relation to the State, and he expressed repeatedly and strongly his own ardent wish for a reunion between the Eastern and Anglican Churches

Early in 1895 the Bishop was in close consultation with the Queen about changes on the Staff, due to the death of Sir John Cowell (in August 1894) and also the hopeless illness of Sir Henry Ponsonby. But, after being unwell for some time, on February 12, 1895, he was seized with the old symptoms, had a very violent attack of haemorrhage, and he wrote 'I imagine that on February 12 I very nearly died'. He could not therefore go with the Queen to the Riviera and officiate as her Chaplain:

It was a great disappointment not to go to Cimiez. I had been having much confidential work with respect to the Queen's rearrangement of her staff in consequence of Sir Henry Ponsonby's hopeless illness, which had come suddenly in January. In particular at Osborne January 19–22 I had one very delicate and confidential job assigned me after another. The Queen wrote me afterwards an exceedingly kind and appreciative letter as to the help I had given her and the value to her of my friendship. All this had made me specially eager to be with her on the Riviera

when the new arrangements as to Bigge and Edwards were to be tested. But it was not to be. I spent [four] weeks in bed—Edith was, as always, *the* most useful, helpful, and inspiring of wives that any man—sick or whole—could have, and the tax on her was necessarily great.

II

Dr. Davidson's advice was also still continually asked in connexion with ecclesiastical appointments. There was, for example, the case of Dr. Percival and the See of Hereford.[1] The Bishop had his alarming third illness, but his Journal says:

I had during my illness a grave responsibility with regard to the appointment of Percival to the Bishopric of Hereford.

The Queen was not at all disposed to favour the appointment of a Welsh Church disestablisher to an English see. The Bishop of Rochester, however, urged that while the appointment by the Prime Minister was a grave risk, it was a risk for which the Prime Minister was responsible, and he said, writing to Sir Arthur Bigge:

The BISHOP OF ROCHESTER *to* SIR ARTHUR BIGGE

Kennington. 23 January, 1895.[2]

Considering the high qualities and merits of Dr. Percival, I certainly see great difficulty in the Queen giving an absolute refusal, on the single ground of his opinions upon one political question of the hour.

He suggested that, instead, the Queen should raise the issue of acceptability:

What would certainly happen would be that he would be placed in grave difficulties with his own clergy, and this I think the Queen might—as in the draft I have sketched—point out to Lord Rosebery, and ask him for some reassurance—(which he will find it difficult to give in any cogent form).

This course appears to me perfectly fair both to Lord Rosebery and to the Church, and in complete accord with the attitude the Queen has, I think, always taken with respect to ecclesiastical appointments.

Lord Rosebery, in reply to the Queen, who had written on the

[1] 'By the death of Bishop Atlay of Hereford I succeeded to a seat in the House of Lords, and took my seat on the day of the opening of Parliament' (Journal, Jan. 1895).

[2] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 3rd series, vol. ii, pp. 468–72.

lines suggested by Davidson, did not touch on the objection of acceptability. He simply stated that in Wales, though not in England, the Church of England had lost her authority over the mass of the people and therefore, as the diocese of Hereford contained some thirteen Welsh parishes, it would not be possible for Lord Rosebery, as in the case of Bath, to submit the name of a prelate in favour of the Church Establishment in Wales. On the Bishop of Rochester's advice, the Queen then wrote reiterating the objection as to acceptability, but concluded by telling Lord Rosebery that the responsibility must rest with him.

A few months later there was another battle of letters, on the political character of Lord Rosebery's appointments, arising out of the recent nomination of Dr. Fremantle to the Deanery of Ripon:

The BISHOP OF ROCHESTER *to* SIR ARTHUR BIGGE

Saltwood, Hythe. 8th April 1895.

I am much interested in what you tell me about Ripon Deanery. I know Fremantle intimately. He was once Chaplain to Archbishop Tait. He is a thorough gentleman in all ways, and this commends his Liberal sentiments to many who would not otherwise find them acceptable. He is a strong Liberal, politically, and eke ecclesiastically, and Mrs. Fremantle is the same. . . .

If Rosebery should nominate for the Canterbury Deanery another strong political Liberal, I venture to think the Queen might with great appropriateness point out to him that he has been somewhat markedly political in his nominations. The Bishopric of Hereford, and the Deaneries of Hereford, Durham, Winchester, and Ripon having all been filled by men noted as his political partisans, (though excellent in themselves). So with his Canonries, both at Westminster and Canterbury.

No recent Prime Minister has I think made his political bias quite so prominent in his ecclesiastical nominations.

Sir Arthur Bigge followed the Bishop's suggestion, and Lord Rosebery 'who cannot help being chagrined at the views expressed' in Sir Arthur Bigge's letter, caused a detailed reply to be sent, incidentally remarking (April 16, 1895):

G. H. MURRAY, ESQ., *to* SIR ARTHUR BIGGE

For this question of political church appointments has been unfortunately pressed to the front not by Lord Rosebery, but by the late Conservative Administration. Lord Salisbury practically

ostracised Liberal Churchmen, and during the whole of his Administration no one had a chance of preferment who was not a supporter of his Government.

This, I think, would not be denied by Lord Salisbury himself; and yet Lord Rosebery cannot help wondering if any such remonstrance was ever addressed to that Prime Minister on the one-sided character of his Church appointments.

The Bishop of Rochester replied by drawing up a list of Mr. Gladstone's appointments (2 Deans, 1 Canon), followed by Lord Rosebery's appointments (1 Bishop, 4 Deans, 3 Canons), as a consecutive series, all of them belonging to the 'distinctively Liberal' Party;[1] and suggesting that Lord Rosebery's attention be called 'to the danger of prolonging unduly a series of appointments of men who are many of them *marked* as political partisans.' He added (April 23, 1895):

The BISHOP OF ROCHESTER *to* SIR ARTHUR BIGGE

But I do think it will be well Lord Rosebery should be told that he is mistaken in supposing no similar remonstrance or rather *suggestion* was made to Lord Salisbury. I could name off-hand three cases at least in which the Queen definitely *vetoed* nominations of Lord Salisbury's because the men seemed SIMPLY to be political supporters and *all* these were to *Bishoprics*! It would also be most untrue to say that all Lord Salisbury's appointments were political supporters in the true sense. What of Westcott at Durham, or Creighton at Peterborough, or Perowne at Worcester, or even myself?

The suggestion was taken.[2]

In July there are two interesting extracts from the Journal just after the change of Government, when Lord Rosebery had made way for Lord Salisbury, the first describing a dinner with Rosebery, the second a talk with the Queen:

Windsor Castle. Sunday night 7 July 1895.

Since the last entry we have had a stirring week in public affairs. The new Government is formed and I have many friends in high places therein.

On Monday last I dined with Rosebery. The dinner was to have been in Downing Street, but he had left office! and his private

[1] '. . . and Bishop Kennion [Bath and Wells] has certainly in no way marked himself to the contrary, except as to Disestablishment.'

[2] See *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 3rd series, vol. ii, p. 498 (for Lt.-Col. Bigge's letter).

house is under repair. So we dined at the Reform Club, the party being—Rosebery, Lord Acton, Professor Powell (Rosebery's nominee to Oxford History Chair), Farrar, Lecky, Dean Stephens, Henry James (Novelist), Spencer Walpole, Sir J. Lubbock, myself, Traill the journalist, and Sir Alfred Lyall. I sat next Rosebery and had a great deal of talk about Abdul Karim and many other matters. I was amused by a slip of Acton's. Speaking across the table with reference to a discussion on Westminster Abbey and the burial therein of many inferior men, Rosebery commented on the big statues—the large space required and the present fulness—and someone alluded to Dizzy's statue. Acton replied 'Yes—At all events there is no room for *primroses*'. Nobody said aught. . . .

I came here yesterday—Arthur Balfour and Sir M. White Ridley here last night—Much good talking. The Queen not very lively, being sadly upset by the illness (and now the death) of Francis Clark, who has been her 'Highland attendant' for 24 years. . . . I dined both last night and this evening with Her Majesty and had a good bit of talk. She is not specially happy I think at the change of government. In her heart I think she *personally* likes Rosebery, Bannerman, Spencer and Fowler better than their successors. She told me of her talks with Rosebery—and her letters to him and remonstrances against extreme words and deeds. She has persuaded herself that Rosebery told her some time ago not to be alarmed by the attack on House of Lords, as it didn't really mean anything. But I think she must either have exaggerated or misunderstood his words. He could hardly have so committed himself!

On the whole I don't think the Queen looking very well, and her blindness is evidently a sore trial, though she says it is not increasing much if at all.

I had much quiet talk on the personal side of the political changes—but must not put it down.

III

During June 1895, Bishop Davidson was gradually recovering from the last of the three grave illnesses which marked the Rochester episcopate. Among the letters of encouragement, which he received at the time, was a very warm one from his predecessor, Bishop Thorold, welcoming his 'clear, strong and tranquil handwriting', and bidding him take a whole year's rest. 'Your life, my dear Bishop, is in my mind one of the three most important on our Bench.'

On July 28 Bishop Thorold himself died, and Bishop Davidson attended his funeral in Winchester Cathedral. Lord Rosebery had gone out of office at the beginning of the month, and Lord Salisbury was now Prime Minister:

> I knew that it would be the Queen's personal wish that I should succeed him as Bishop of Winchester. I was not so sure that this would be Lord Salisbury's wish and I felt that such an appointment might not be generally acceptable.

The Davidsons went north on July 30. While at Durham he received in cipher the following telegram from Osborne:

Telegram to the BISHOP OF ROCHESTER

What do you think of Talbot for Rochester?

BIGGE.

The telegram puzzled him, and he wired back to that effect. Next morning a telegram came as follows:

Telegram to the BISHOP OF ROCHESTER

Queen wishes me to say you will hear if not done so already offering you Winchester which she hopes you will accept and Talbot to succeed you.

BIGGE.

Bishop Davidson returned immediately to London, and saw Dr. Barlow and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Both were emphatically in favour of acceptance. Dr. Barlow 'was most clear and strong on medical grounds that Farnham and the open air work in the diocese of Winchester would be far less perilous in all ways'.

It appeared that the delay had been due to the fact that 'Lord Salisbury's submission of my name to the Queen had been *crossed* by the Queen's letter to Lord Salisbury asking him to consider my name':

The MARQUESS OF SALISBURY *to the* BISHOP OF ROCHESTER

Hatfield House, Hatfield, Herts.
August 3. 1895.

I am authorised by Her Majesty to propose to you that you should be translated to the See of Winchester in place of the most lamented Bishop Thorold. I have naturally received the

expression of many opinions from persons connected with the Diocese; and I believe that your acceptance of the see would be generally welcomed with great satisfaction.

The Bishop accepted the Prime Minister's offer, and in a letter to the three Archdeacons made public at the time, explained the reasons which had led to his acceptance, as follows:

The BISHOP OF ROCHESTER *to the* ARCHDEACONS OF ROCHESTER, SOUTHWARK, *and* KINGSTON-ON-THAMES

Kennington. 7th August, 1895.

Among the gifts required for the due discharge of our town work is physical strength of a peculiar sort. To name one point only out of several. The demand upon the Bishop for *evening* work in this poorest region of London increases steadily, and, as I think, most rightly. In no other way can our multiplying Confirmations take their proper place in the life of each parish: at no other hours can our gatherings, great and small, of working men and women be appropriately held. But my recent illness has proved that from such evening duty I must, for some time to come, be largely debarred. In other ways too it has become clear to those by whose advice I am necessarily guided that the conditions of Episcopal work in South London, if that work be adequately performed, are such as involve a real risk of a return of the incapacitating illness which has already caused so much inconvenience to the Diocese.

On the other hand, I am led with confidence to believe that in the somewhat different conditions of work which belong to such a Diocese as Winchester I may reasonably hope to be able—so far as physical strength is concerned—to discharge to the full the duties, both Diocesan and general, belonging to the Bishop of that great See. I have the deliberate assurance of my medical adviser, before whom the facts have been carefully laid, that the anxiety with which he would regard my return to full work in the Diocese of Rochester does not apply to the work, equally absorbing and important, but different in character, which is required of a Bishop of Winchester.

In these circumstances my right course has seemed no longer doubtful.

CHAPTER XII

THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER. A GENERAL CHAPTER

The Bishop is like a man that is surety for his friend; he is bound for many and for great sums. JEREMY TAYLOR (A Sermon preached at the consecration of Two Archbishops and Ten Bishops, Dublin, 1660)

FARNHAM CASTLE, to which Randall Davidson now went, is one of the most lovely of all episcopal houses, and, long after they had left, the Davidsons always returned to it with delight. It stood in a great park, at the head of the town, a beautiful building of fair red brick, with a Norman keep, most romantic of castles. All round was beautiful country; and in the park ranged red deer, which certainly the new Bishop had no desire to surrender. It was an old and famous castle, and not a little history of a secular kind had been made within its walls. Again, for a thousand years it had been the official residence of the Bishops of Winchester. All these things—history, beauty of architecture, country scenery, country activities, and the deer themselves—were the very things bound to fascinate and impress the spirit of Randall Davidson. And the purpose with which he went to Farnham, so very different a residence from the two houses knocked together in Kennington Park Road, is indicated in the letter which he wrote to his wife from Auckland Castle in September 1895:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to* MRS. DAVIDSON

29 Sept., 1895.

Certainly a river is worth a great deal in such a park. But I wouldn't exchange Farnham for this house, grand as it is. Farnham is far more interesting and I should say quite as convenient. I long to make Farnham as much of a loved centre for Winchester Diocese as this is for Durham. I don't see why we shouldn't, though of course our distances are greater and we haven't the same sort of stirring *mining* population to deal with. If you set your mind to it—and you will—I think it will be done if we live yet a bit.

One thing we may remark at once is the difference which the new home made to Davidson's health. Farnham and the Farnham

air and exercise, and the journeying all over the diocese, by carriage, by steamer, and by rail, through Hampshire and West Surrey, across to the Channel Islands and the Isle of Wight, made him a new man. In later years Davidson smilingly declared, remembering the critics' fears, 'Whatever else the Diocese may have suffered from during my episcopate, it did not suffer from an invalid Diocesan.' And there is something further that must be said about the Castle and the Davidsons. Canon T. G. Gardiner, who was Rector of Farnham during most of the Davidsons' reign, writes as follows:

> The hospitality of the Davidsons knew no bounds. Then, as now, Church people were heard to complain that as Bishops were no longer feudal lords they should not reside in Castles or in Palaces! As a matter of fact the Castle, which could accommodate large numbers, was constantly, almost continuously, filled with guests. If Church workers, deaconesses, or rescue workers needed peace and quiet, Farnham Castle became their home for longer or shorter periods. If incumbents' wives were in danger of breaking down owing to the strain of an unpaid curacy and hard work, if problems of their children's education became insistent, if clergymen needed comfort, cheer, guidance or encouragement, they stayed for a week or more, and returned home helped in many ways. If missionaries returning from an extended spell of work overseas were in doubt as to whether they should return or undertake work in England, prolonged interviews 'in the study' coupled with the home life of the Castle helped to make plain the path that should be trod.

The Castle also came to be a centre of friendship for the town as well as for the diocese. Here the people of Farnham found an eager welcome from the Bishop and his lady. And from its walls and walks Mrs. Davidson, practical, strong, full of happiness and charm, used to sally forth to the town to visit and cheer. He was forty-eight and she just ten years younger—and their vitality and buoyancy were all the more positively felt by contrast with the age and failing health of the previous two Bishops of Winchester.

I

Randall Davidson did homage to the Queen at Balmoral on October 2, 1895. He was enthroned in Winchester Cathedral on October 15, as sixty-seventh successor to St. Swithun. In the same afternoon he was received as Visitor of Winchester College

Ad Portas, replying to the Senior Prefect's Latin speech of welcome in a speech of singularly felicitous Latin himself, for which he had secured the aid of the Master of Trinity, Dr. Butler. Two months later he was present at another kind of school function, for he opened two new Board Schools in Farnham and took the opportunity to express his satisfaction at the system of Board Schools and Church Schools working side by side in Farnham 'which is England in miniature'. There was not a little comment in Church quarters on his action at the time.

Looking back in 1906, three years after his Winchester episcopate had closed, the Bishop commented as follows:

> It is not very easy to summarise the work which I attempted or accomplished in my Winchester years 1895–1903. My hands were very full, and I can say without any doubt at all that what I enjoyed most was the purely Diocesan work—Confirmations and such-like duties. . . .

It is therefore to his diocesan work that we first turn.

We have already referred to his travels in the diocese. He was away constantly for a week at a time, as he moved about. He stayed in different houses, sometimes using a house as a centre from which to visit various parishes. And as the method of travel had to be slow—before the time of the motor-car—he used the opportunities of his nights, as well as his days, for getting a close personal knowledge of the clergy and the leading laymen. Many were the long waits in stations, and many the friendships he made with stationmasters on the line, who lent him their offices, where he wrote hundreds of letters. Besides, while he often had to go to Osborne to see the Queen, he was very skilful in fitting in diocesan work with his royal visits.

Here is his own description of the scene of his labours:

> The diocese is, I imagine, one of the most difficult in England to handle satisfactorily, perhaps the most difficult of all, combining as it does an immense area, with singularly awkward means of communication. The Solent is a most troublesome barrier between the Isle of Wight and the rest of the diocese, and the Channel Islands are an accretion of the most inconvenient sort possible, especially to Bishops who are not good sailors. Besides this it has quite other characteristics than those which usually belong to a country diocese. Portsmouth, Southampton, Aldershot, Bournemouth have extreme difficulties of their own, but with the problems

> of town life I was better familiar than with the problems of English country life in rural parishes. I think I succeeded fairly well, and I certainly did my best to enter into those country parish difficulties and to advise the clergy how to meet them; but the task of visiting all the country areas proved more than I could overtake during my tenure of the See, and there are many parts of the diocese into the corners of which I never penetrated.

With this picture of the diocese before us, let us follow the method adopted in the case of Rochester and group together in this chapter certain special features of the diocesan work which stand out most clearly.

At Farnham itself, the most conspicuous result of his episcopate was the foundation of the Hostel for the training of young men for ordination. Right preparation for the ministry was one of the things for which the Bishop cared most deeply. He remembered his own training at the Temple, and believed that something rather different from the regular professional course was required for certain types of men:

> Ordinations were among the happiest, perhaps quite the happiest of our duties at Farnham. The Castle is splendidly adapted for such gatherings and we were able there to arrange the Ember weeks in a way that had never been possible in Rochester Diocese with the inconveniences I have described. . . . My intercourse with the ordinands impressed upon me the need of more preparation places for the future clergy, many of whom are men who do not fit happily or usefully into the life of an ordinary Theological College.

The sense of such a need led him to give a very warm support to the venture of the new Rector of Farnham, the Rev. T. G. Gardiner, in July 1899, who, with material help from a well-to-do friend, Mr. Bolton, secured an adequate house in West Street, and started the Bishop's Hostel. In some notes on the Hostel written during the last year of his life, Davidson says:

> In seeking for a Warden I consulted Westcott, but I forget whether the suggestion of B. K. Cunningham's name came from me or from him. Anyhow he knew Cunningham and wrote me a strong letter, saying that . . . his personality was such that it would be worth anything to secure him, and this decided me in favour of inviting him. He accepted. . . . Of course I could not myself give much time to the Hostel, but I determined that the men should be in close touch with me somehow. Accordingly they came on

Sunday evenings, and at other times too, to the Castle.... Cunningham undertook the training of the men, and Gardiner ranged in and out and gave superintendence and inspiration to the whole. We were, I think, very fortunate in the men who came as students, but we owe profound thanks to Cunningham for the teaching he gave. . . . He was absolutely free from any partisan allegiance within the Church and attracted men of widely differing sentiments and attainments. True, he was very deaf, but he possessed the power more than I have known in any other deaf man of overriding it by his beaming power of affection and sympathy.... The men did a good deal of theological work for him, and so far as I could judge his teaching was really excellent. During all my later years at Farnham I found one of my chiefest joys in this Farnham Hostel or Brotherhood. It was quite different from any Theological College I have known, and yet it is a little hard to define exactly what made it unlike other Colleges. There was more freedom; there was less ecclesiastical formality, and the numbers were small. With two such guides as Thory Gardiner and B. K. Cunningham, the very notion of formality and conventional regulations were alien to the place. . . . It was more like what I had myself experienced in the Temple under Dr. Vaughan though there were of course marked differences. . . .

. . . I tried never to be out of touch with any part of the life, and our Sunday evenings remain vivid in my memory.

Canon T. G. Gardiner writes:

. . The entrance to the Hostel was through Farnham Castle, that is to say all applications for admission were considered, approved or rejected, by Dr. Davidson himself. He interviewed all candidates. So far as the time at his disposal allowed he saw much of individuals, and on Sunday evenings all members of the Hostel supped at the Castle. Difficulties and questions which had not been solved satisfactorily in the Common Room at the Hostel were, after notice, brought up for frank and free discussion. With singular patience, with great frankness, he was prepared to give his own views emphasising the Church of England position, the very greatest help to men preparing to make of their lives a great adventure, in which to undertake a measureless responsibility.... These Sunday evenings at the Castle stand out in the memory of many men in country parsonages and overseas to-day, who look back with gratitude and affection to their time at the Hostel. . . . Sometimes the Bishop read aloud such books as George Herbert's *Country Parson*, and serious discussion was illuminated by touches

of pawky Scotch humour which tended to banish diffidence and self-consciousness, setting everyone at his ease.

Mrs. Davidson shared the Bishop's interest in all that concerned the Hostel; and all those who resided there went out to their work with a clear insight into the foundations of a Christian home of the highest type.

As Bishop of Winchester he again had much to do with the revival of the order of Deaconesses in the Church of England. The Winchester diocese had been concerned in the early stages of that revival, though on somewhat different lines from Bishop Thorold's plans in Rochester:

A little body of Deaconesses had been established at Farnham under Bishop Harold Browne, who took a keen interest in the question of the revival of the Order. But when the deaconesses had become established as a community, the community itself took a somewhat different form and became virtually a Sisterhood, very much as has happened in London diocese, where the Deaconesses are really Sisters first and Deaconesses afterwards.

A beautiful house was ultimately built and equipped in Portsmouth, mainly by the allocation thereto of money placed in the hands of Bishop and Mrs. Harold Browne, and when I came to the diocese the community was flourishing there in its somewhat hybrid character of something between a Sisterhood and a Deaconess Community. At its head was that admirable and capable lady, Emma Day, who, originally Deaconess Emma, had become Sister Emma and ere my time had developed into Mother Emma, with all the insignia appropriate to the Superior of a Sisterhood.

I set myself to make the best of these conditions and struggled long to believe that it was possible to have Deaconesses who were also Sisters and yet to preserve the Deaconess character in its true elements, but my emphasis on the Deaconess side of the question, though it raised the ideal of what a Deaconess should be, and facilitated the examinations as to the study and training acquired by each woman during the probationary period, did not please everybody, and though I personally had retained the friendliest relations with them all, and threw myself earnestly into their interests and their work, it was impossible to prevent elements of friction becoming developed, and since Bishop Ryle succeeded me the Community has been somewhat largely reconstituted upon lines more definitely in accord with the Deaconess idea.

Into the details of this I need not enter, but no record of the

work I tried to do in Winchester Diocese would be complete without some such reference as I have given to the question of these ladies and their work which occupied a considerable porion of the time and energies both of myself as Diocesan and of Bishop Lyttelton of Southampton.

It is I think through such experimental endeavours as these that the Church of England will win its way to the right solution of a very difficult problem—what are the true lines upon which Deaconess life can rightly and usefully be revived in England in our own day.

He had a large correspondence with Sister Emma, and the following letter is typical both of his considerateness and of his sense of proportion:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to* SISTER EMMA

Osborne, 14 Aug. '97.

One point in what you told me yesterday has, as you will know, been giving me some cause for thought, though it is not a great matter.

If I rightly understand, the point is this. You have noticed of late a little departure from the uniformity of usage hitherto followed by all the Sisters in the matter of personal attitude and procedure during the Celebration and administration of Holy Communion.

I gather that the divergence is a purely personal thing in no way affecting, of course, the conduct of Divine Service—mere details as to genuflexion before going forward to receive, and an attitude of unusual prostration at the time of reception, and possibly other similar details. These are trifling matters, the usages being probably almost instinctive on the part of those who adopt them, who are perhaps accustomed so to do in their parish Churches. I should be the last to wish to lay down authoritatively any *rule* as to such details and in an ordinary congregation in a parish Church one would *expect* such small divergences to be common and to attract no attention, so different are the lives, habits, opinions, etc. of different families or individual worshippers many of whom may be strangers belonging to different congregations. But in a Community like ours there is not of course the same variety as in a parish congregation and divergences of usage and manner will obviously be more noticeable if they occur, and may be—nay rather *must* be—distracting to some communicants. I do feel strongly that in such a Community as ours there ought to be as little as possible of such diversity in noteworthy outward

things. That there should be some diversity as to the precise personal devotions used, or the small unobtrusive details of personal action, is inevitable—nor is such diversity in *unobservable* trifles to be deprecated. But I think the feeling of those best able to judge will probably be unanimous that it is distracting and may even become slightly mischievous should divergence of usage become common in the more noticeable things.

One knows well that each is simply acting as she feels to be most conducive to her own soul's good and that there is no sort of *intention* to create petty differences. But it is precisely one of those cases in which St. Paul's principles as to *mutual* consideration and *mutual* help in trifles comes to the front—and a Community as I have said differs widely in such respects from an ordinary mixed congregation where uniformity of use would practically be unobtainable.

We adhere to our rule of conforming in our several parishes to the parish usage where such usage can be said to exist. This may involve for some Sisters a slight effort of personal care, or even a slight sacrifice of personal inclination. If so, let us be very sure that 'He who seeth in secret' accepts the devotion as offered to Him whatever its precise outward form.

Apply the same principle to our services and congregational use in our Community chapel. Please let me make it quite clear that I am in no way whatever prescribing in such details the exact 'use' which should be followed. I greatly prefer to leave such small details to the Christian good sense of the Community. All I ask is that, so far as possible, we should follow *one* usage even at the sacrifice—either in one direction or the other—of individual taste and inclination.

In larger matters you will I hope always find me ready to give positive direction and guidance where it is wanted. I regard my association with St. Andrews as one of the very highest privileges of my office, and I thank God every day for the blessing He is vouchsafing to your manifold works—and pray with a full heart that His Presence may abide among you.

You will use your own discretion as to making any use of this letter.

The Bishop tried to do the main part of the Confirmation work himself—though this did not in fact prove possible. But he delighted in his Confirmations wherever they were held—and there is an interesting note of the parent's gratitude for the Bishop's sympathy, in the following letter written after an Epsom confirmation, by Lord Rosebery:

The EARL OF ROSEBERY *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

The Durdans, Epsom.
April 9, 1896.

How can I thank you enough for your kindness to my little girls. I am quite stupefied. To find time to write to either is surprising, but I am dumbfounded by your writing to both, and such beautiful, heartfelt, simple letters.

You have won all hearts here.

Another illustration of the strong personal sympathy both of the Bishop and Mrs. Davidson is found in the special plans for clergy wives:

Among the most delightful and profitable of our endeavours at Farnham I should place what we called 'Clergy Wives Days'. I do not know that in any other Diocese, gatherings had been held by the Bishop corresponding to those which we inaugurated at Farnham. We took a portion of the Diocese and invited the wives of all the Clergy resident therein to visit us at Farnham for a couple of days. They were not what is technically known as 'quiet days'. Those are common enough, but we tried to combine the advantages which a quiet day offers with something rather more stimulating intellectually, and calculated to cheer and brighten up lives which often have rather too many quiet days of a prosaic sort.

The response which this endeavour met with, and the enthusiastic and almost embarrassing warmth of the gratitude evinced by those ladies who had taken advantage of them gave abundant evidence of their genuine usefulness. Here again we were preeminently fortunate in having such a home as Farnham Castle wherein to gather the ladies. The house and its surroundings are ideally well fitted for the purpose.

Bishop Arthur Lyttelton's help, as Suffragan Bishop, has already been mentioned in connexion with Deaconesses. There were at different times four Suffragan Bishops—of whom he writes thus:

When I came to the Diocese I found Bishop Sumner of Guildford, nominally a Suffragan, but practically doing very little work owing to failing health. He had not, I think, greatly appreciated Bishop Thorold, and he showed a readiness to do more for me than he had done for him. Also there was Bishop Awdry as Bishop of Southampton, but he was appointed to be Bishop in Japan in the following Spring, so I had little advantage from his help. As his successor I nominated my old friend, George Fisher, who

had preceded me in my curacy at Dartford, and until his health gave way and his domestic anxieties . . . told upon his nerves, he was both popular and effective. Then I secured as his successor Arthur Lyttelton, who soon became one of my fastest friends, and whose qualifications and merits it is impossible to exaggerate. I believe him to have been a man fit for any position whatever in the Church. His intense goodness, his sound judgement, his wide literary knowledge, and his attractive personality, set him apart from most other men whom I have known. His fatal illness began during my last year at Winchester, and he died just when I was leaving the Diocese. The account of him in the preface to his essays edited by Bishop Talbot is in every way worthy of him.

A single word should also be said about the Bishop's relations with the Cathedral authorities. In 1900, Dr. Davidson conducted a Visitation of Winchester Cathedral, and the letters and records show that at Winchester (just as at Rochester) Bishop and Dean were on the most cordial terms. The following passage in a letter from the Dean,[1] in answer to a kindly act of co-operation on the Bishop's part, shows the confidence and affection existing between them:

The DEAN OF WINCHESTER *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

October 28, 1900.

In reply to your extremely kind letter received this morning I will only say that I thank you most heartily for it, and assure you that it is one of the greatest comforts of my life in this place to have a Bishop for whom, and with whom I can work with such entire cordiality, and on whom I can rely with such perfect confidence for wise and friendly counsel in all matters of difficulty and doubt.

Bishop Davidson does not say much actually of himself in his reminiscences of the Farnham days. But as we read his reflections on the different aspects of his work, and watch him grappling with some of his problems, we can see a development, and an increasing sureness of his strength. At Windsor he had been alert and eager, and had proved perhaps a little more actively influential behind the scenes than those outside the inner Lambeth circle altogether relished. At Rochester he received a series of shocks, and disappointments, caused by his bouts of grave ill-

[1] Dr. W. R. W. Stephens.

ness—and these had shaken him much. He therefore entered on his labours as Bishop of Winchester with much less sureness, and something more of apprehension than he would have displayed had he passed immediately from the Deanery of Windsor to Farnham Castle. There was a certain puzzled look at times on his face. It was with him for a while at Lambeth also, though increasingly an inner peace and strength found their outward expression. But the point is worth just this passing note. And it may be best brought out through a sketch drawn by an old friend, Sir Michael Sadler, with the graphic touch at the end. Like other people Sir Michael was struck by Bishop Davidson's eyes—and he writes:

> His eyes, brave and faithful as a dog's, were a little strained by uncertainty and apprehension. To a stranger his expression at times wore the appearance of discomposure and almost of intellectual distress. He saw, no one saw more clearly, the dislocation of things In the inner chamber of his heart and mind he was at peace. But on the plane of logical definition he (like all of us) was often at a loss how to reconcile beliefs which he knew to be true with facts which cannot be ignored. The strain of this dubiety left its mark on his countenance. I remember once getting into a train which had reached Weybridge from Farnham and Winchester. I found Sir Edward Grey, as he then was, sitting at one window, the future Archbishop at the other. They did not converse. But when Dr. Davidson had got out at Vauxhall, Sir Edward Grey asked me 'Who was that Bishop with such a puzzled face?'

II

Last, we note the Bishop's sense of responsibility with regard to Diocesan Conferences, and his utterances at such times:

> I found it worth while to take great pains with my central utterances in the Diocese. In 1899 I held a visitation and delivered a Charge wherein I tried to deal with thoroughness as well as fairness with two great questions;—Eucharistic worship, and Confession. I spent the summer holiday at Farnham working hard upon this Charge, and as I re-read it now I am inclined to think that it is a really good bit of work and that I ought to republish its permanent and non-local parts as a book. What I had said upon Confession was I believe taken as the textbook in the Conference which took place a few years later at Fulham upon that

subject, and my Catena of quotations and references is, so far as I know, the most complete thing of its kind now published. . . .

I also every year, except the Visitation year (1899), delivered a very carefully prepared Address at the opening of the Diocesan Conference. To these I devoted a good deal of time and I know that some of our wisest men thought it had been worth while. Parts of these also I might I think with advantage republish as a book.

In a note added later Dr. Davidson, then Archbishop of Canterbury, referred as follows to that portion of his Charge of 1899 which dealt with the Holy Communion:

With the other subject, Eucharistic Worship, I also dealt with great care, but as I re-read it in later years I find it very inadequate in its treatment, if treatment it can be called, on the objective side of the Holy Eucharist. It is all about Communion, and I have no wish to alter what I said on that part of the question; but I pass far too lightly over the other ground and deal most insufficiently with the sort of question which has led since then to the movement for Reservation etc

It is also interesting—and was perhaps disquieting even at the time to Bishop Davidson—to note that Sir William Harcourt, who was then engaged in a long correspondence with the Bishop, wrote a letter on November 4, 1899, thanking him for his Charge and praising it warmly, and adding with regard to Holy Communion:

The Rt. Hon. Sir William Harcourt *to the* Bishop of Winchester

Your chapter on the 'Holy Communion' places that which is the Keystone of the whole matter on a firm footing and vindicates the Protestant 'Communion of the faithful' against the Romish doctrines of the 'Priestly Sacrifice' in a manner more satisfactory than I have yet seen it done. It is sound and thorough Anglicanism, worthy of Hooker.

Sixty-seven pages in all, that is over one-third of the whole Charge, were devoted to 'The Holy Communion'. And as the doctrine of the Eucharist was to play so large a part in the whole question of the Prayer Book and its use during the next thirty years, it may be well to give a brief summary of the position which Davidson held in 1899. The treatment is extensive and contains a remarkable series of extracts from leading Anglican Divines from Cranmer to Benson. The Bishop stated the contrast

between the unreformed and the reformed Order of Holy Communion as follows:

> What, then, speaking generally and omitting unimportant details, were the principal differences between a Celebration of Holy Communion in the reign of Charles II, and the corresponding Service in the reign of Henry VIII? Or, if you will pardon me for putting it in such a form, what contrasts would have been apparent to Sir Thomas More if he could have returned from the unseen world to be present at a Celebration of Holy Communion, say, by Bishop Morley, in Winchester Cathedral?
>
> Primarily, and most obviously, four: the Service was said in English, not in Latin: it was simplified in many of the accompaniments which strike the eye. it was a general Communion of the people. and lastly, the Office itself was altered and re-arranged.[1]

And he reduced the principles on which the compilers of our Prayer Book acted to three:

> The Reformers set themselves:
>
> I. To restore the original idea of Communion as an essential part of the Sacramental rite.
>
> II. To provide that everything done or said should be visible and easy to be understood by all.
>
> III. To remove sternly whatever had been found by experience to lead to superstition or to a materialistic view of the Sacrament.[2]

First then, he emphasized the great importance of Communion,—and claimed that 'the whole structure of the Service, as it grew into the form with which we are familiar, has evidence stamped upon it that it was meant and fashioned for those who then and there were themselves the Communicants'.[3]

He also maintained that this principle of making the Communion of the people an essential part of the Eucharistic Service 'was deliberately adopted, and continuously supported by High Churchmen no less than by Low Churchmen, as a return to Scriptural and primitive teaching about the Holy Sacrament'.[4] He recalled the almost scornful words of Bishop Andrewes:

> "Partake"—how? By receiving and eating, as the Saviour commanded; for as to "partaking by praying", it is a modern and newfangled kind of partaking, newer even than your Private Mass.'[5]

[1] *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Winchester*, 1899, by Randall T. Davidson, Bishop Macmillan & Co., 1899, p. 54.
[2] Ibid., p. 55. [3] Ibid., p. 68. [4] Ibid., p. 74.
[5] Ibid., p. 71. See *Responsio ad Bellarmine*, p. 250: Anglo-Catholic Library.

Next he laid stress on 'openness' as the tenor of the Book of Common Prayer:

> The Reformers set themselves to clear away, so far as possible, the cloud of mystery in which the Ritual of the Mass had been shrouded from popular understanding.[1]

He quoted Archbishop Benson's striking words in the Lincoln Judgement with whole-hearted approval:

> 'By the use of the mother tongue; by the audibleness of every prayer; by the Priest's prayers being made identical with the prayers of the congregation; by the part of the clerks being taken by the people; by the removal of the invisible and inaudible ceremonial, the English Church, as one of her special works in the history of the Catholic Church, restored the ancient share and right of the people in Divine Service.'[2]

He finally laid great stress on the danger of superstition. He acknowledged his sense of the mysteriousness of the question of 'the manner in which the Lord uses the Consecrated Elements of bread and wine so as to make us verily and indeed partakers of His Body and His Blood'.[3] He expressed his view of the peril and difficulty against which the Reformers worked and guarded thus —and the quotation is crucial for a proper understanding of the later controversies with regard to Reservation:

> The peril or difficulty centred, as was to be expected, in the attitude both of Priest and people towards the Consecrated Elements themselves. It was not for nothing that the sweeping change was made by which all such rubrics as the following were clean removed from the Office of Holy Communion. I quote from the Sarum Missal:
>
> > 'These words [*Hoc est enim Corpus Meum*] ought to be said in one and the same breath without pause. After these words let the Priest incline to the Host, and afterwards elevate It above his forehead, that It may be seen by the people; and reverently replace It before the chalice, making a cross with the same.'[4]

[1] *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Winchester*, p. 77.

[2] Ibid., p. 77.

[3] Ibid., p. 80.

[4] *'Debent ista verba proferri cum uno spiritu et sub una prolatione, nulla pausatione interposita. Post haec verba inclinet se Sacerdos ad hostiam, [et capite inclinato illam adoret] et postea elevet eam supra frontem ut possit a populo videri; et reverenter illam reponat ante calicem in modum crucis per eandem faciae.*

The clause within brackets was added to the Sarum Missal in 1554, after the reconciliation with Rome.' [Footnote in Charge.]

It would be as easy as it is needless to multiply such quotations.

It is difficult to picture a greater contrast than that which the whole series of these elaborate rubrics presents to the simple directions in our successive Prayer Books. Nor, I am persuaded, can any man who looks calmly into the facts have any doubt that the absence of the old directions from the new Book was an absence due to determined and deliberate rejection. People may approve or disapprove of what Cranmer and his colleagues did, but that their action in this particular respect was intentional and significant is placed beyond question by the existing letters and sermons of the men themselves.* They set themselves, by deliberate changes both in the Rubrics and in the text of the Prayers, to lop off unsparingly what they deemed the 'dangerous deceits' which had grown out of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. We have seen that the new Service was made pre-eminently a Communion, and a Communion in both kinds We have seen that it was popularised and translated and simplified. But these things might have been effected without any marked change of actual doctrine. Not so the changes of which we are now speaking. They were distinctly intended, and thoughtfully and soberly framed, to render impossible the sort of 'element-worship' (I use the words of Archbishop Benson),† which had in the popular mind replaced the true doctrine of the Holy Sacrament.

This protest against a materialistic doctrine of the Presence of Christ in the Consecrated Elements, and against the adoration superstitiously paid to them in consequence, was reiterated, as we know, by nearly every leading English Reformer throughout the Sixteenth Century.‡[1]

With this principle firmly declared, Davidson gave expression to some strong criticism of certain mischievous manuals in use at the time; and spoke thus of the 'Central Service' of the day:

What we all desire to see is that the Holy Communion may indeed become for all the great Service of the Lord's Day, and that every Christian man, by taking his full part therein, may show the Lord's

* See, e.g , Cranmer, *Answer to the Devon Rebels*, Art. iv; *Works*, Park. Soc. i, p. 173; and *Answer to Gardiner*, iv. 9, Park. Soc., p. 229, &c , &c.

† *The Seven Gifts*, p. 167.

‡ See, e.g. Cranmer, *On the Lord's Supper*, Park. Soc , pp. 228–9, 234–5; Jewel, *Sermon on 1 Cor.* xi. 23; *Works*, Park. Soc. i. 15, 16; and *Controversy with Harding*, Art. VII, ib., pp. 512–13; Art. VIII, pp. 514–552; and *Sermon on Haggai*, i. 2, ib., p. 990; Becon, *Catechism*, Part V, Park. Soc., p. 251, 265–7, 283, &c. Ridley and Latimer, *Conference*, Park. Soc., pp. 106–7. Examples might easily be multiplied.

[1] *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Winchester*, pp. 84–6.

death till He come. But we are very far as yet from realising in England that Scriptural and primitive ideal.

As a matter of fact, what has happened in a good many of our town parishes, and in a few country parishes, has unhappily been this. To magnify the honour of the Sacramental Service—to 'place it in its proper central position'—all have been urged to attend it, though the Communicants are few: nay, sometimes actual Communion thereat has been even discouraged. This, surely, however excellent the intention, is a fundamental and grievous error. To teach people better to value and to use the Holy Sacrament, it is being celebrated in a way against which our Church of England has emphatically set its face. The act of the people's Communion, one of the main essentials of the Rite, is slighted, and the seeds of a false doctrine of the Eucharist are week by week sown in the minds of the ignorant and the young.[1]

And he uttered a final warning:

The history of the Church in other lands rings out for us a warning note. The sturdy common-sense of most English Churchmen will, I think, respond to that warning. We have a wholesome dislike of needless obscurity or of a recondite esoteric symbolism in our Eucharistic Rite. Superstition does not fit in well with the national characteristics God has given us. . . . We have inherited in our Liturgy a Service strong in its Scriptural phraseology and tone, strong in its genuine and reverent simplicity, strong in its tacit appeal to the reason and intelligence of the worshipper. Do not, I beseech you, do anything to mar these characteristics. Does any one allege that, by omitting the elaboration of gesture and act prescribed in Rubrics other than our own, we diminish the reverence paid to our Blessed Lord present with us in His Sacrament? Rather we multiply that reverence tenfold, if we are worshipping Him aright. Simplicity can help, not hinder, the deepest possible devotion of body, soul, and spirit. It consists with the most eager care for seemliness and decorum in every particular. Such characteristics are distinctive, in all Christendom, of our English Liturgy. *Spartam nactus es: hanc exorna* [2]

[1] *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Winchester*, pp. 105–6.
[2] Ibid., pp 118–19.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CLASH WITH FATHER DOLLING

The wise minister sees, and is concerned to see further, because government has a further concern: he sees the objects that are distant as well as those that are near, and all their remote relations, and even their indirect tendencies ... He considers his administration as a single day in the great year of government, but as a day that is affected by those which went before, and that must affect those which are to follow BOLINGBROKE, *The Idea of a Patriot King*.

IT was a singular misfortune that Bishop Davidson, at the very outset of his Winchester episcopate, found himself in conflict with one of the most remarkable clergy in the Diocese of Winchester, or in any diocese of that day. Robert Radcliffe Dolling was an Irishman of a most unconventional kind. He went to school, like Davidson, at Harrow. As a young man, in the interval of looking after some difficult property in Ulster, he did slum work in Dublin and slum work in London with a head-quarters of his own in Borough Road, Southwark, where he was known as Brother Bob. At the age of thirty-two, he was ordained and ran a short-lived mission in the East End with what he called 'a sort of Chapel and music-hall combined'. Two years later, he found himself Vicar-designate of St. Agatha's, Landport, and Priest-in-charge of the Winchester College Mission. He has written an account of his life at Landport in *Ten Years in a Portsmouth Slum*. His work was magnificent. The heart of it was the Parsonage, and the Mission Chapel was its soul. The Parsonage had a gymnasium attached with cubicles and hammocks for sailors to sleep in at night. It had also a common table where all sorts and conditions rubbed shoulders with one another—soldiers, sailors, unemployed, Winchester College men, emigrants, down-and-outs. And Father Dolling presided over all, rotund, laughter-loving, affectionate, wearing a cassock and a biretta, with a cigar or clay pipe sticking out of his mouth. At the end of six years, he was able to claim that, besides much else, he had reformed 25 thieves just out of gaol, rescued 144 fallen women, started in life 100 young men living in the Parsonage, and closed 50 brothels in the district. No wonder that Mr. John Pares, a well-known layman of the diocese, should write to Bishop Davidson at the end of Father Dolling's time:

I have seen one of the worst 'slums' of Portsmouth completely changed in character, and hundreds of souls brought to Christ by Mr. Dolling's life and devotion.

With the College itself, which supported the Missioner, he was no less successful. As the Headmaster, Dr. Fearon, said: 'His relation to Winchester College was pure, unbroken sunshine.' Wykehamists loved him, and he loved them. He was himself a boy to the end of his life, and he revelled in the fun and the jokes of boys. He touched their hearts. He did not talk much about the Mission, but he got the boys to visit it year after year for week-ends. He was astonishingly good in his talk to the boys in the Big School, in the Chapel and the Chantry, and in their studies. He was a great rollicking, serious, irrepressible Christian gentleman—one of the institutions of Winchester during the ten years he was their missioner.

Such was the man who, on September 28, 1895, only a week after Davidson was confirmed as Bishop of Winchester, wrote to tell him, as he was getting ready to settle in Farnham, that he, Dolling, proposed to take possession of his new church on October 27. Up to that time the soul of the Mission had been a stuffy little brick church, with mission services, extempore prayer, gospel preaching—and incense, acolytes in scarlet cassocks, and the Mass. Very evangelical, very unconventional, and very ritualistic! But now a fine new permanent church, for which Dolling had raised the money, or most of it, was about to be opened. Dolling hoped that the services which had been going on in the little mission church would continue exactly as before, in the new permanent building, without any further question of formal sanction. 'It practically is joined by the vestries to the old church which was licensed for celebrations by Bishop Harold Browne, and so your predecessor did not think that it would require a new licence.'

But, for weal or woe, the coming of the permanent church inevitably altered the situation. Bishop Thorold, who was very fond of Dolling but did not like his ritualistic ways, had feared that a crisis was bound to come whenever the question of a permanent church building arose. It was tragic indeed that Davidson, almost before he had had time to turn round in his house, should be brought straight up against the issue without chance of escape. He promised to consider the question whether a licence

was in the circumstances necessary, and in the meantime consulted Canon Jacob, Vicar of Portsea and Rural Dean. Here was another stroke of bad luck, for Canon Jacob and Father Dolling were as poles apart from one another in human sympathy. Canon Jacob sent a memorandum to the Bishop which began in this ominous way:

Mr. Dolling—New Church.

Oct. 12 1895.

If Bishop Thorold said (did he?) a new licence was not required, I am sure he was mistaken.... The licence can't cover 2 churches.

EDGAR JACOB.

The Bishop accordingly wrote to Dolling, and told him that a licence would be necessary, and that therefore in accordance with custom, he would ask the Rural Dean to visit the church and report that all was in order. When the visit took place a few days later, Father Dolling, with a malicious glee, delighted in pointing out all the most ritualistic points on which the eye could be fastened, in order that nothing whatever might be missed by the inquisitor. The Rural Dean reported to the Bishop that all would be in fit and proper order for the due ministration of the services of the Church of England, save for one feature:

CANON JACOB *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Oct. 23 1895.

There is however one feature of the church which I told Mr. Dolling I should have to report to the Bishop, leaving with him all responsibility of decision.

It is proposed to place a third altar in the middle of the S. aisle surmounted by a 'Calvary', i.e crucifix with the usual figures, taken from the old temporary church.... On either side of this altar will be tablets with the names of those belonging to the church who have died 'in religion', arranged according to months, and the altar is avowedly to be used for 'Masses for the Dead'. Mr. Dolling said that Bishop Thorold saw this in the temporary church (there it was simply the second altar, corresponding to that in the E. end of the S. aisle of the new church) and intensely disliked it. Here however it assumes a far greater prominence, for it is not the altar for ordinary daily use—as in the temporary church—but simply to be used for 'Masses for the Dead'. Mr. Dolling laid the greatest stress on this....

The Bishop was compelled to take notice of such a report, and

he wrote at once to Father Dolling asking him to come and see him about this particular point. The day on which the letter was received was October 24. The great service for the dedication of the new church was fixed for October 27.

On October 25, Father Dolling came up to Farnham Castle for the interview. It was an extraordinary occasion. Dolling had publicly protested against the appointment of Dr. Davidson to Winchester, both in the *Church Times* and at his own Men's Service in Landport, on the ground that the new Bishop was an invalid and could never get to know the people of Portsmouth, 'understand their ways... and lead them into truer understanding of what the Church was'. And now he came to see the Bishop, armed with a sheaf of telegrams to the Headmaster, the Bishop of Southwell (Dr. Ridding, a former Headmaster), and many others, which were to announce that the opening services were all postponed and that the church was to be locked up for the next few months until he himself had given up the mission.

The Bishop, however, disarmed Dolling by his kindness, and the pistol-full of telegrams was not fired. It took two hours to come to a provisional settlement. The crucial feature was the third altar. But Dolling said:

> Canon Jacob had misunderstood him when saying that the third altar was to be simply used for 'Masses for the Dead'. There would probably be twelve celebrations at this altar every week . . . and only one of these would, in ordinary cases, be for the Dead. At the same time he did not wish to disguise the fact that the significance of the altar and of the teaching associated with it would have special relation to the prayers for the Dead.

The Bishop explained his own position as follows:

> I explained to him my position, namely, that he and I were neither of us at liberty to act in matters of this kind upon our mere personal opinions, but were subject to the order and rules of the Church of England as properly and constitutionally interpreted. Our membership in the corporate life of the Church involved this loyalty, and neither sentiment, personal inclination, sympathies, or modes of teaching could be allowed to settle a practical question so definite and important as whether or not, in a great new church, a third altar should be allowed to stand in the position proposed with the special objects he had described. He fully admitted this, and said that his difficulty lay in the fact that no proper decision

could he believed be at present arrived at, as the question of an informal licence could not properly come before the Courts but would be for the Bishop's private discretion. The decision would be mine and mine only, and this seemed to him inadequate. Had it been a question of consecration he would gladly have brought it formally before me for the Court to decide, and he would have been ready to appeal to the Higher Courts (he did not specify this) from the judgement of the Chancellor. On my suggestion that the alternative he preferred seemed to be that he (Mr. Dolling) should decide the question, he said that this had always been the way in which of recent years victories for the cause of Catholic truth had been won in the Church of England.

In the end, after much further discussion, the following memorandum was agreed:

Memorandum read to MR. DOLLING *and assented to by him.*

The alternatives I suggest are as follows:—

1. Open the Church for Divine Service next Sunday as arranged, screening off by some temporary arrangement the site of the proposed third altar. Send me the plans showing what is designed, and I will immediately take such steps as are necessary for approving them or otherwise. Meantime I will informally sanction the use of the Church. Announce to any who are interested in the matter that a question has been raised as to the legality or propriety of what was intended, and that pending the Bishop's decision upon the subject the final arrangements in that part of the aisle are postponed. [I am ready to write you a letter for publication if you desire it, to show that you are acting with perfect propriety and in accordance with due order in thus submitting the question to the Bishop for decision. Such a letter would prevent or answer any possible allegation that the Bishop is disapproving of your action.]

2. Withdraw the proposed third altar and a licence will at once be issued, subject of course to the question of the legality of the arrangements, fittings, or ornaments in the Church being sanctioned by the Diocesan Court before the Church is consecrated.

In the course of the conversation Dolling 'earnestly disclaimed any wish to seem to hold up his resignation as a sort of threat, and he desired to emphasize the fact that in any case he proposes without fail to leave his present position a few months hence—say before Easter—and that therefore if my decision when given should involve his resignation, it would merely mean that it would

expedite a little what was already arranged'. Nevertheless Dolling went back to Landport, told everybody that a crisis had arrived, and that if the Bishop was unable, after consideration, to license the third altar (he said this to the congregation in church), 'I am at once to resign so that a successor may be appointed who will remove the altar and the memorial'.

Canon Jacob, as we have seen, was not the most sympathetic Rural Dean for a priest of Dolling's impulsive temperament. He wrote to the Bishop:

CANON JACOB *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

The Vicarage, Portsea. Oct. 26, 1895.

. . . Dolling has hitherto got his way by threatening resignation. He tried it on with the Bishop of London but did not succeed there and so left London—Bishop Billing told me this. He refused any conditions from Bishop Harold Browne and that dear good Bishop, not liking to offend Fearon, let him go on unlicensed and had nothing more to do with him. He refused to conform to Bishop Thorold and said he was willing to resign I have told you the line the Bishop took. This seemed to me a curious idea of episcopal responsibility . . .

The Headmaster also knew that the Rural Dean and the Missioner were hardly a harmonious pair, and that with a Missioner like Dolling the College and everybody connected with it were always living on the edge of a volcano:

The REV. W. A. FEARON, *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

The College, Winchester. Oct. 27, 1895.

I am most grateful to you for your letter—nothing could be possibly kinder or more considerate I confess that lately I have been dreading some such crisis as seems to be impending in the Mission; and only regret deeply that even indirectly we should be the cause of bringing you anxiety and trouble in such early days of your Episcopate among us. There is one consolation, that we have managed to survive similar crises before: in fact, with all his merits, with Dolling one has to accept perpetually the prospect of a crisis. One can only pray that now the vast good he has done may not be undone by want of self-control in the last act.

As far as any question of fighting Ecclesiastical questions goes, I do not see that Dolling has any legal status to afford a basis for

any legal claim of any kind whatsoever. No doubt it is desirable to avoid a 'Paper' war. But if he feels bound to make a fight for his cause, that I take it is the only form it can assume. I would only say 3 things, with all respect.

1. There is an unfortunate personal element in the present controversy; and the more Jacob can be kept out of the matter, the more chance there is of peace. Jacob is like a 'red rag' to Dolling. There have been faults on both sides: but the fact is the 2 men's temperaments are such that they can hardly help being in antagonism: and they certainly have not helped it.

2. On every ground the College Mission field is not the place on which Dolling or anyone ought to raise any anxious questions. This I have said plainly to him; but I cannot hope to influence him.

3. Both by desire, and by policy, we are absolutely loyal to our Bishop. We have of course been obliged to acquiesce in much that we did not like. But you may confidently rely on our sympathy and assistance, as far as they can be given, in any difficulty.

Pardon my writing freely to you in this way—the kindness of your letter challenged it.

The new church was duly opened with great outward jubilation on October 27—though hearts were heavy both at the parsonage and in the castle. After more correspondence, a second interview took place on November 15 between the Bishop and the Missioner at Farnham. The following is the memorandum prepared at the time by the Bishop:

Full conversation about the facts of his services and his views about prayer for the dead etc. . . . The number of his communicants is large. . . . There is never any communicant at the 11 o'clock service The Celebrant always knows at the time of the offertory whether there will be communicants or not, as communicants are directed to kneel at a special bench. When no one is going to communicate, the Celebrant omits Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution, and goes straight from the Prayer for the Church Militant to Sursum Corda. On Weekdays, unless they are festivals, neither the Creed nor the Gloria is ever said. (He was unable to recollect the reason for this, but said it had long been the use.) With regard to the special identification of the third altar with Masses for the Dead, Mr. Dolling said that if he were starting afresh in another church, he thought he would probably be less anxious to (so to speak) localise the teaching at one particular altar; but in the present case the proposed altar, from the facts of

its history and the manner by which it came to be erected, is so connected with this particular teaching that it has come to be locally identified with it in the minds both of clergy and people. With regard to the utility and meaning of what he has described as 'Masses for the Dead' his views may be thus expressed:

> 'At the moment of death some souls go directly into the beatific state, others unto a state of "preparation" or purgation. I do not use "purgatory" to my people, because I think they would connect it with notions of physical flames etc, but I do not personally object to it. The Mass for the Dead, as I understand it, is to benefit the souls in that state of "preparation". We benefit them by our Mass because our prayer for them shortens —we know not how—their remaining in the state of "preparation", and hastens their admission to the beatific state.'

The foregoing is taken from a rough note made by me during our interview, and assented to by Mr Dolling as a correct record of his view.

I pressed him as to what he regarded as the distinction between England and Rome with regard to what the Articles describe as (*a*) the doctrine concerning Purgatory, (*b*) the Sacrifices of Masses. He seemed to mix the two thoughts together and said that in his mind the difference turned almost entirely upon a question as to the manner in which Christ's sacrifice is on the altar offered or repeated—Romans, as he believed, regarding it (at least popularly) as being repeated at each Mass He did not think there was any marked distinction between his view and that of Rome with regard to the effect of the Mass upon the condition of the departed. He did not consider that the doctrine we repudiate respecting Masses had anything to do with the question of payments for such Masses, although he thought that practice a very terrible one.

It did not seem to me that his views on these doctrinal subjects were at all clear, but the above is what he said.

He promised to send me the books that he uses at his Mass for the Dead, and also at his Vespers of the Blessed Sacrament etc., as well as those used at his Children's Service.

I explained to him the legal position with regard to the question of the Consecration of his Church, namely, that it rests in the Bishop's discretion to give or to withhold Consecration just as to give or to withhold Licence, and that if he desires to appeal from the Bishop to Diocesan or Provincial Courts, or to the Privy Council, with regard to such a question as the third altar, his proper course would be to wait until the Church is consecrated, and then to apply for a Faculty to introduce the structures or orna-

ments in question. Were this Faculty to be withheld, he would then have full right of appeal. He quite saw and understood the point.

I purposely refrained from asking him whether he still adhered to his intention to resign in the event of my deciding against licensing the Church with the proposed third altar.

We also spoke shortly of his wish to introduce a fourth altar in the Baptistery. This had been suggested to him by a member of his Mothers' Meeting, who had remarked that a certain niche in the Baptistery would be suited for an altar, and that a Celebration might be held there on the day a child was to be baptised, so that its parents might communicate. He was taken with the idea, and would wish, when the time comes, to apply for this also, but he does not press for it at present.

Throughout our interview nothing could be more frank and cordial than his whole manner, and I was impressed by his readiness, or even anxiety, to conceal nothing from me, and to state his full position to the best of his power.

The interview was of the friendliest and kindest description; for when they were together Dolling would get on with the Bishop quite well, though swayed by other influences when he got back to the Mission. But the Bishop, as an officer of the Church, was forced to consider the law of the Church, and the teaching and practice of the Book of Common Prayer, not forgetting what had been in fact, as well as what might be, declared by competent ecclesiastical courts. Father Dolling was not a theologian. Moreover, he had never disguised his poor opinion of the Book of Common Prayer, as a handbook for missioners seeking to convert poor ignorant souls in a slum. Besides all this, he was suffering from a bad attack of influenza, though he wrote to the Bishop on the day after the interview that he was none the worse, and also said:

The Rev. R. R. Dolling *to the* Bishop of Winchester

16th Nov. 1895.

Our conversation of yesterday was so different from what I have had with Bishops in former days. They seemed to desire to deal with things concerning which complaint had been made to them and so when I had ventured on other details as to the service here they stopped me as though to say, 'That question is not before me; I do not desire to know it'. It seemed to me yesterday that your attitude was the very opposite of this.

He was, however, not at all himself, and, on November 22, wrote to say that he was trying to get well and had gone away for eight days, while waiting full of anxiety for the Bishop's decision. The Bishop was also much harassed—'the whole work of the Diocese to learn, the house to get into, and all manner of people, from Ordination candidates onwards, to see'. The final decision was conveyed to Dolling in the following letter:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* REV. R. R. DOLLING

Farnham Castle. 7 Dec. 1895.

I am now able to write to you definitely upon the question which has arisen with regard to St. Agatha's Church, and as you may probably wish to make my letter public, it will be convenient that I should briefly recall what has taken place.

On October 2nd, a few days after I had become Bishop of Winchester, I heard from you that you had made arrangements to open the new Church for Divine Service on Oct. 27th. With a view therefore to your receiving the necessary licence, I directed Canon Jacob as Rural Dean to pay the customary preliminary visit to the Church and to report to me whether all was in due order. On Oct. 24th I received his report He told me of the beauty and dignity of the building and its general suitableness for Divine Service in a great Parish The fittings and ornaments were not yet *in situ*, and he was therefore unable to report upon them in detail. But he directed my attention, as in duty bound, to the structural arrangements for Holy Communion. These, as shown in his report and in your subsequent explanations to me with appended plans, are as follows: One large Holy Table or Altar in the usual position in the centre of the East end of the Church; a second (for less largely attended Services) at the East end of the South Aisle, and a third in the South Aisle, placed against the side wall of the church. It is also your wish to place a fourth in the Baptistery at the West end of the North Aisle, but that question is not at present before us.

When Canon Jacob paid his official visit to the Church, the proposed third Altar had not yet been erected; and, after full correspondence and conversation between yourself and me upon the subject, it was decided that the opening Services should be held in accordance with the arrangements you had already made before I became Bishop, but that the site of the proposed third Altar should be temporarily curtained off, and its erection, at the least, postponed so that I should have time, before issuing formal

Licence for the conduct of Divine Service in the building, to consider the arrangements proposed.

You urged me to give you an answer as speedily as possible, as in the event of my being unable to sanction the proposed arrangements you would feel it necessary to withdraw immediately from St. Agatha's instead of remaining until Easter next, when you proposed in any case to resign.

As it is not proposed that the Church should be consecrated at present, the question raised does not, and indeed cannot, now come formally before the Diocesan Court. Pending consecration, it rests with the Bishop to grant or withhold at his discretion the necessary licence for the conduct of Divine Service in the new building. In order therefore to understand in all its bearings the question to which you attach so much importance, I have, in addition to our correspondence, had two prolonged interviews with you, and I am anxious again to express to you my appreciation of the honest and straightforward readiness you have throughout shown to give me all possible information as to your usages and the opinions on which they are based. In a matter of this kind, where we have but one object—namely, to arrive at a right conclusion in accordance with the doctrines and laws of the Church of England—it is of paramount importance that there should be no concealment or reserve in setting the facts before the Bishop on whom lies the grave responsibility of decision. I am cordially grateful to you therefore for freeing me from any difficulty of that sort.

After deliberately weighing all that you have put before me, I have come to the conclusion that I should act wrongly were I, on my personal authority, now to sanction the erection and use of the proposed third Altar in the situation and for the purposes you have described to me. When the Church is consecrated it would of course be possible for you or your successor to apply to the Diocesan Court for a faculty for the erection of such a third Altar, and, were the faculty refused, you would have the opportunity, which you tell me you desire, of bringing the question before the higher Courts on appeal from the decision of the Chancellor. In the meantime, as I have fully explained to you in conversation, I cannot, in exercising my discretion upon a proposition so unusual, regard the question as merely the technical one,—may there be three Altars or Holy Tables in one Church? It is easy to conceive a Church or Cathedral of such dimensions or construction as to render it desirable to extend yet further the principle upon which a second Altar or Holy Table has been sanctioned in so many of our Churches for more convenient use when the

number of communicants is small, and, whatever might be the legal decision on such a point, no question of doctrine or principle need thereby be raised. But such is not the case at St. Agatha's. You do not ask for my sanction of the third Altar on grounds of convenience (in the ordinary sense of the word), and indeed it is obvious that in that respect it would have no advantage over the second or subsidiary Altar, to which I have raised no objection. You have explained to me that your wish for the addition rests in the main on quite different grounds. The Altar in question is intended to have special association with a deceased friend whose memory is rightly cherished in the parish You desire that it should be surrounded with memorials of the dead, and that its special, though not exclusive, use should be for the celebration of what you describe as 'Mass for the Dead'.

I endeavoured in our recent conversation to ascertain exactly what you mean by this term, and you explained candidly and clearly what it is that you believe and teach You regard the Celebration of Holy Communion 'for the dead' as having the effect [you add 'we know not how'] of shortening the period during which the souls of the faithful departed are in a state of 'purgation' or 'preparation', and of hastening their admission to the beatific state.

Now I have no wish to dictate to you, or to dogmatise, upon the mysterious and difficult question of what is known as 'prayer for the dead',—a term obviously capable of a great variety of meaning, ranging from the words we use in the Prayer for the Church Militant to doctrines of quite another sort. The whole subject is of great importance and I will gladly discuss it with you hereafter; but, whatever liberty of private opinion and individual devotion may be permissible, I have no hesitation in saying that I should depart both from the spirit and the letter of our Church's formularies were I definitely to sanction the addition of a third Altar to St. Agatha's with the knowledge that one main purpose of its erection is that it should be a centre for services and teaching of the character above described. I myself believe your teaching on this subject to be contrarient to some of the distinctive principles of the Church of England, and I am bound to add further that I am unable to reconcile your usages in celebrating the Holy Communion with the specific directions in the Book of Common Prayer, which both you and I have solemnly pledged ourselves to follow. You tell me, for example, that in St. Agatha's Church, where you have about twenty Celebrations of the Holy Communion every week, more than half the Celebrations on week-days, 'perhaps eight out of fifteen', are in ordinary circumstances

without communicants. You have so arranged that the celebrant shall know beforehand if any desire to communicate, and, if not, the celebrant omits the Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution from the Service. On week-days, unless they are festivals, the Creed and the Gloria in Excelsis are always omitted.

It is impossible for me to disregard these facts in coming to a decision as to what I ought at this juncture to do. You have, as it seems to me, dealt practically at your will with our Church's Rules. I do not for a moment doubt that your motive is a good one. Your Services are those which, in your individual opinion, are best calculated to lead your people into a knowledge of what you believe to be the truth But the Church of England does not allow us thus to deal at our will with the Book of Common Prayer, and in the event of your deciding to remain at St. Agatha's I must carefully discuss with you what modifications are required in order to bring your Services into harmony with the Prayer Book.

I need not repeat to you what I have so often said as to my sense of the value of your devoted work in the midst of special difficulties. Many of your distinctive Church Services seem to me to have a special value, as bringing home to the minds of unlearned people, by the use of anniversaries and memorials and otherwise, the links which bind us to the world unseen. These are, as I believe, compatible with perfect loyalty to the Book of Common Prayer. I earnestly trust you may not think it necessary to sever yourself at present from a parish in which God has signally blessed your energy, your self-devotion, and your enthusiasm; and you may rely upon my constant endeavour to help and further your work in every legitimate way.

There was no doubt that the Bishop felt keenly the pain of such a decision, and hardly less the pain of the answer which it quickly drew from the Missioner:

The Rev. R. R. Dolling *to the* Bishop of Winchester

St. Agatha. Dec. 9, 1895.

I have to-day sent to Dr. Fearon my resignation. I think that your account of our interviews is quite correct, except in one detail. I did not intend to say that I did not know how the Service of the Holy Communion affected the state of the Dead.

There is however one practical question. I must conduct the services as I have for the last 10 years.

Do you wish me and my staff to go away at once, or to wait till Dr. Fearon has appointed my successor? I am ready to follow either course, only, for fear of mistakes arising, I should like to say that

as long as I am in charge the Sunday and daily services remain the same.

The shock to Portsmouth—to Winchester—it is hardly too much to say to the Church at large—was instantaneous.

More letters passed—friendly and considerate on both sides—the Bishop more than once pointing out to Dolling, as also to others, that he had no wish that Dolling should resign:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* REV. R. R. DOLLING.

13 Dec., 1895.

A grave question of Church order has come formally before me for decision as Bishop of the Diocese. With anxious care and with an earnest wish to consider your difficulties, I have decided in accordance with what seems to be my duty, and therefore, to my great regret you have resigned at once instead of waiting until the time you had publicly announced. I can scarcely conceive that anyone who studies our ordinal and realises a Bishop's obligations and responsibilities could wish me to have acted otherwise than I have.

I must, in all kindness, remonstrate against your representing your resignation—even at a time of excitement—as though it were my act rather than your own. Few things in my life have caused me more sorrow and anxiety than this.

But Dolling's view was equally clear that he had no other course, and that his resignation was due to the Bishop's act.

Public sympathy was deep and widespread. Dolling was an old favourite, while the Bishop was still new to the county. The Bishop taking, and taking bravely, an unpopular course, because he believed it his duty, felt keenly and deeply for Dolling as well as for the Mission and its friends.

What of the College? The boys were all, or practically all, on Dolling's side; and who would wish it otherwise when the friend of the whole school was in trouble? Never again was the Mission the same after Dolling left it. But the old Warden, who had long been opposed to Dolling, wrote to express his pleasure to the Bishop:

The REV. GODFREY B. LEE *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Winchester College. Dec. 13, 1895.

The correspondence which has appeared in the newspapers relative to Mr. Dolling induces me to inform Your Lordship that

our Governing Body, i.e. the Warden and Fellows, have nothing whatever to do with the Mission, which would be more appropriately named the Winchester *School* Mission. I withdrew my support from the Mission some years ago owing to Mr. Dolling's papistical doctrines and practices. I had frequent conversations with Bishops Harold Browne and Thorold on the subject, from which I learned that Episcopal advice and remonstrance are thrown away on Mr. Dolling and I should be very glad to hear that he had left Portsea.

The Headmaster, who could look at the matter from the boys' point of view as well, wrote in a different strain, and showed Dolling himself how clearly he appreciated the Bishop's position:

The Rev. W. A. Fearon *to the* Rev. R. R. Dolling

The College, Winchester. Dec. 13, 1895.

I don't see how your suggested 'compromise' is any solution of the difficulty, or indeed touches the main question at all,—even supposing we were prepared to make the enormous sacrifice of giving up the new church, on which our money and care has been expended.

But in fact we are absolutely loyal to the Bishop, and should desire to carry out his wishes, which seem to us all to have been very considerately and wisely expressed. Indeed you have always recognised that the School Mission was the last place in the world where it would be fair or right to raise any agitation, or fight any battle. We have submitted to a considerable straining of our position in order to give you large liberty in matters in which we could not go with you. I hoped you would make the return to our affection of being willing to withdraw quietly, and to do your utmost to allay an agitation which is already doing us much harm.

As a matter of fact, I was of course prepared to act; and I have already, with the Bishop's consent, offered the post to another man.

I am sure it is wisest both for you and for us that we should part, bitter as the parting is.

Letters poured in to Farnham. Some of Dolling's friends tried to secure a *modus vivendi*. But no *modus vivendi* could in the circumstances be permanent. It was urged, with Dolling's leave, that the third altar might be removed 'provided the services in the church remained the same as hitherto'. But this, the Bishop pointed out, would only mean that he would 'by the issue of a

formal licence give official sanction to the very arrangement for Divine Service, apart from the local question of the third altar, to which I took exception in my published letter to him of 7th December'. The problem could not be solved thus. The resignation took effect. A new Missioner was in due course appointed. Father Dolling retained—the Bishop was eager to make this plain—episcopal permission to minister in the diocese whenever invited by an incumbent, but he left Landport, and the College and the sailors and the soldiers and the slum and the men and women, bad and good, of Portsmouth knew him no more.

Could such a catastrophe have been avoided? Certainly there were very many unhappy circumstances about it. The Bishop, a newcomer; the Rural Dean, a curiously unfortunate person for this particular Missioner at this particular job; Dolling himself in a state of great strain, and in any case—so he told the Bishop—after ten years' work at Portsmouth, about to retire! All these things made for unfavourable conditions. If only there had been a little more time, a little more patience, perhaps another twelve months before the new church had to be opened!

But, after all, decisions have to be taken when the particular case arises. And in this instance let us see why it was that the Bishop felt bound to decide, unpopular as the decision must be, in the way that he did.

The root of the matter lay in the erection of this fine new church, large enough to hold a thousand, in place of the little brick chapel. The services which Dolling held—admittedly outside the Book of Common Prayer—inevitably came up for consideration when the necessary licence for the new church was sought. In the Mission Chapel much might go on of an unusual character, but it was not a permanent place of worship on the way to consecration as a parish church, and Dolling was such a remarkable man that a Bishop would not be too severe. In passing however from the temporary to the permanent, personal questions ceased to have the old meaning, and the Bishop was obliged to consider whether the various types of service, admittedly outside the Prayer Book, were sufficiently near the Prayer Book standard to justify him in giving them, by his licence, the stamp of Episcopal authority. The Bishop came to the conclusion, which certainly at that time it would have been impossible to avoid, that, with the best will in the world, certain things could not be so brought

into the comprehensive ambit of Anglican teaching. He did not issue any deliberate judgement of his own that saying masses for the Dead was unlawful, or that the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice for the faithful departed must be ruled out of court. He was most careful to say that he deplored an individual Bishop's *ipse dixit*. Thus he wrote to Canon Gore at the time:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to* CANON CHARLES GORE

Dec. 26, 1895.

With regard to the doctrinal question of Prayer for the Departed, or of the relation of such prayer to the Holy Eucharist, I have deliberately refrained from attempting to dogmatise, or indeed to make any statement whatever My letter to Dolling was as careful in what it left unsaid as in what it said No-one feels more strongly than I the danger of individual Bishops making such formal declarations—unless with the utmost care and consultation; and I am persuaded of the need of a wide elasticity as to individual opinion and practice. Dolling's case was *sui generis*.

What Bishop Davidson felt bound to do was to restrain Dolling, as he put it to Canon Carter, 'from dealing absolutely at his will with the directions of our Prayer Book'. It was, in the last resort, a question of authority and Church order. and as such it was judged by the most famous missioner of the day, himself a leading High Churchman, Canon Body of Durham·

The REV. CANON BODY *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

The College, Durham.
Dec 14, 1895.

May I write one line of sympathy to you in your troubles with Dolling, and of most sincere gratitude to you for your action in this matter? I believe strongly in your wisdom and am now justified in this belief—conspicuously. I am as glad for what you have not said as for what you have said: for what you have not done as for what you have done. Bishops so often in dealing with High Church extravagances say and do what hits, not self-willed and Romanising men only, but loyal Anglo-Catholics (*e g* the Bishop of Exeter's regrettable charge). You give us no pain· you cause us no perplexity. As one whose loyalty to Anglo-Catholicism has been proved and tested, I thank you for your letters and action in this matter.

Of course it is most regrettable for us to jeopardise the services

of such a man as Dolling who has found so many dead stones and quickened them into life, and with them built the Temple of the Lord in such a parish as St. Agatha's. Yet for his sake and for that of *the English* Church the reintroduction of the Romish Doctrine of Purgatory and of its system of Masses for the Dead must be resisted. And even more his uncatholic spirit of disobedience must be contended with. To tolerate this *Doctrine*, spirit and system is too great a price to pay even for his strength and zeal. For the sake of Christendom and the Recovery of its Unity the distinctive witness of the English Church to Primitive Doctrine 'Order' and Practice must be preserved at any and every cost.

CHAPTER XIV

A NEW PRIMATE

Honesty. I am, as you see, an old man, and have been a traveller in this road many a day, and I have taken notice of many things. JOHN BUNYAN, *Pilgrim's Progress.*

DURING the first year at Farnham Archbishop Benson was alive, and Bishop Davidson enjoyed the same close touch with Lambeth as before. But a great change was now to take place.

On October 11, 1896, at the age of sixty-seven, the Archbishop of Canterbury died with dramatic suddenness at Morning Prayer in Hawarden Parish Church while visiting Mr. Gladstone. The news was telegraphed to Farnham. To quote Davidson's words:

> Lucy Tait and I started that evening for Hawarden and travelled by the newspaper train leaving London about 3 a.m. We thus reached Hawarden about 10 a.m She left the next day with Mrs. Benson, and I remained on until the Thursday, when I accompanied the body on its removal to Canterbury, Arthur Benson being my companion throughout. It was a curious experience in more ways than one. The tragic interest and solemnity of the occasion suggested large thoughts, and besides this I had the curious opportunity of three or four days' intercourse with Mr. Gladstone. The other guests had of course left the house and it was a time of leisure for him, and he talked ceaselessly to me for the three days, walking in the park or sitting in his sanctum. The conversation was largely about Manning, whose *Life* by Purcell had just been published and had absorbed Mr. Gladstone's interest.

As we have seen, the relations between Benson and Davidson were close and affectionate. Throughout the whole of Benson's Primacy, Davidson, whether as Chaplain, Dean, or Bishop, was his counsellor in almost everything he did. Scores, if not hundreds, of letters which passed between them survive, and the very difference of their temperament contributed to the health and value of the partnership.

The following letter of deep gratitude was written by Arthur Benson after the funeral:

A. C. BENSON, ESQ., *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Addington, Oct. 17th.

It would be too ungrateful of me if I were not to write you a few words—because it is so much easier to write deliberately than to speak—to thank you from my heart for all that you have done for us this last week: your presence and your readiness to advise and be consulted was an inexpressible relief, at a time when as a rule even one's best friends shrink from all the strain that such situations demand. I am never likely to be able to repay you for what you have done and been, but I do want you to know that I have felt an affection and honour for you all this sad week which exceeds all the esteem which I had before—and even that was very great.

I have written a great many letters today, and this letter may seem tainted by formality and the hyperboles of grief, but it is not so at all and I feel very deeply every word I say—and so do all in this household.

The Bishop replied (October 19, 1896), that he could not 'bear to think of the word "gratitude" being used by you or yours as regards any relationship of mine to the sad doings and arrangements of this last week—the most sad to me, I think, of any in my life'.

He spoke of the contrast between the quiet gathering of Archbishop Tait to his rest and reward, when his work was done, and this sudden taking of Edward White Benson at a moment when there was so much more for him, as it seemed, to do. And he added:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to* A. C. BENSON, ESQ.

What he has been to me as friend and guide and teacher in the deepest things I cannot even try to say. I have had nothing else quite like it in my life, partly I suppose because the lines on which he helped and taught me were so utterly different from my own natural lines.

I

There were many who thought that Randall Davidson himself might succeed to the Primacy; and there is no doubt at all that this was what the Queen desired. Her Majesty, after several telegrams had passed on the news of Benson's death, asked Davidson to give her his views on the succession, as she had already been

approached by Lord Salisbury. In a letter of October 18, 1896, he named 'the qualifications desirable at all times and specially needed at this moment':

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* QUEEN

Farnham Castle. October 18, 1896.

1. A real devotion of the highest sort to the spiritual part of the great Office.

2. Such capacity, and knowledge of the world and of men as will enable him to take his proper place in the public affairs of the Church and Realm

3. Such learning and reputation as shall ensure real weight for his words apart from the position he holds.

4. A large hearted and liberal sympathy with men of other 'schools of thought' than his own, both inside and outside the Church.

It is further clear that, if it be possible, the new Archbishop should be a man of ripe years, and of the sort of experience to ensure for him the *ready* and not merely the *dutiful* allegiance of those who have long been Bishops.

He named as 'foremost beyond question both in power and in influence' the Bishop of London. 'But he is 75 years old, and his eyesight is failing.' He also mentioned the Archbishop of York (Dr. Maclagan) and the Bishop of Manchester (Dr. Moorhouse), each seventy, and three younger bishops, of whom he put easily first Bishop Talbot. He followed up the letter with a telegram on October 21, pressing Temple as the man who would 'alone command real confidence at this juncture and serve the best interests of Church and nation'.

Lord Salisbury was clear for Temple. Let Davidson describe how he heard the decision:

I returned to Farnham [from Benson's funeral at Canterbury] and was in considerable anxiety as to what might be occurring, having in the last days heard nothing either from the Queen or from Lord Salisbury. We had on one evening in the following week a great meeting in the Hall at Farnham in connection with the Home Reading Union, and somebody was lecturing to a full hall. A telegram was brought to me, it was long [*sic*], and in cipher. I was in the Chair and could not move, so I had to get hold of paper and then and there work out the cipher in use between the Queen and myself. It took a little time, and the newspaper report commented on the careful notes I had taken of the lecture! My

wife was sitting in the audience, and the relief which my face showed told her what had happened. It was the Queen's intimation that to her surprise Bishop Temple had accepted the Primacy.

Telegram from the QUEEN *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Balmoral. 24 October 1896.

Somewhat to my surprise London has accepted Canterbury.

V. R.I.

It was followed by a letter, October 24, 1896:

The QUEEN *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Balmoral Castle.

I have 3 very kind and interesting letters to thank you for.

You will perhaps have guessed what I wished for the Primacy? It was *yourself*, and for the following reasons: 1. my opinion is that you possessed the necessary qualities for that important Post, and above all because your great intimacy with the 2 last great Primates enabled you to know their views and their work. In fact I think *their* mantle has fallen upon you

Lord Salisbury, though speaking of you in the highest terms, says that you are the youngest of the Bishops and you have had rapid preferment, and thinks it would be an advantage to you if the Bishop of London became Archbishop for a short while, my wishes would then be accomplished. I do not like the choice at all, and think the Bishop of London's presence eminently *unsuited* to the post.

Then comes the choice for the Bishop of London, quite as important a Post! The Archbishop of York and the Prince of Wales were very anxious that the Bishop of Peterborough [Dr. Creighton] should be the Primate. Perhaps that would not have done, though it might for London.

Bishop Davidson telegraphed and wrote words of warm welcome to Temple and received this reply:

The BISHOP OF LONDON *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Fulham Palace, S.W. 24 Oct. 1896.

Thank you much for your generous warmhearted Letter. I did not expect to be called to Canterbury, though of course I knew that it was possible. But I thought that a younger man would have been preferred. But I think I can do some service and I will try to do it.

I shall lean much on such help as yours.

May God be with us both.

In the meantime there was the question of the vacancy at London, which Lord Salisbury very much wished Davidson to fill:

The MARQUESS OF SALISBURY *to the* QUEEN

October 26, 1896.

The Bishop of Winchester in most respects is the most deserving of Your Majesty's selection. His knowledge of Church matters, the confidence that was reposed in him by successive Archbishops, his great breadth and liberality of mind which makes him acceptable to all parties in the Church, his high ability, and the general charm of his manner, point him out as specially fitted to fill the vacant see. His rule will be in some respects a contrast to that of the present Bishop. His defects will probably arise from too great gentleness and moderation· while those of Bishop Temple have arisen from too great energy. But the change will not be hurtful.

There are only two serious objections to his appointment. One is the state of his health: for the work of London is much harder than that of Winchester. He is however a very sensible man, as well as a very good man: and he may be trusted not to accept the office if he is physically unequal to its duties. The other objection arises from the relations of the See of Winchester to Your Majesty. He is undoubtedly singularly well fitted to discharge them: and possibly Your Majesty may not wish to part with him. That is a point which Your Majesty alone can decide.

But the Queen rejected the proposal.

Telegram from the QUEEN *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Balmoral October 29, 1896.

Lord Salisbury wished for you to go to London but feared for your health. I said it must not be offered to you as it would be utter ruin to your health, and have appointed Peterborough, the only other proposed. Glyn to be offered Peterborough.

The following letters passed between Lord Salisbury, who knew nothing of this telegram, and the Bishop of Winchester:

The MARQUESS OF SALISBURY *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Hatfield House, Hatfield, Herts.

Oct. 31. 96.

The newspapers will have informed you that the Bishop of Peterborough has been nominated to the See of London. I hope

you will not think me impertinent if I refer to the grounds which led me in the recommendation I made to the Sovereign to name him rather than yourself. I abstained from the latter course with very great reluctance, and after some hesitation—and only for one reason. Great as are the Bishop of Peterborough's claims in respect of learning, character, and position in the Church, they certainly do not surpass your own There is alas! one point in which you are inferior—and that is in the kind of physical robustness which enables a man to endure the strain which ministrations in a huge crowded city involve, where much of the work must be done late. This was a consideration which I could not overlook. If I rightly estimated it, the effect of your nomination would have been (supposing you had accepted it)—not that we should have had you as Bishop of London, but that we should have lost you altogether.

The Queen desired me to write to you on this subject. and I may say so much as this, that I should not have written this letter, had I not known that she entirely shares the opinions I have expressed in it.

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* MARQUESS OF SALISBURY

The Athenaeum. 3 Nov. '96.

Most cordially do I thank you for the more than kind terms in which you have written. I cannot however receive without a respectful protest what I honestly believe to be quite an overestimate of any powers or capacity I may myself possess. In no way whatever could I regard myself as qualified for such a position as the see of London, and with regard to the prosaic but very necessary qualification of physical strength, the reasons which led me last year to consent to leave S London for Farnham, would, even by themselves, disqualify me absolutely for the arduous physical strain which the Diocese of London involves.

None the less do I, with all my heart, thank your Lordship for your exceedingly kind words, while I join in the universal acclaim which welcomes to Fulham the strong man—strong in every sense —whom your Lordship has so wisely recommended to the Queen as Bishop Temple's successor. Shall I be impertinent if I express further, in my own name, and I believe I might add in the name of almost every Bishop on the Bench, our intense gratitude to you for your action in the matter of the Primacy. Age notwithstanding, Bishop Temple is indisputably the strongest man among the English Bishops—the one man whom we can every one of us welcome as our leader at a moment when a strong leader is so

pre-eminently necessary. The Lambeth Conference of next year may have far reaching issues, and no hand upon the helm could be comparable to his.

II

At the conclusion of the letter just quoted, the Bishop of Winchester went out of his way to thank Lord Salisbury for the appointment of Dr. Temple to the See of Canterbury. How little can he have expected the change in his own relations with Lambeth which the appointment brought about!

In his recollections of 1906, Dr. Davidson writes:

> He was in many ways one of my heroes, and when Archbishop Benson's unexpected death occurred, I had not a single hour's hesitation as to his being the proper person to succeed to the Primacy. . . .
>
> In many respects he towered above all other members of the then Episcopate, and for him to have served as Bishop under any one of them as Archbishop would have been incongruous in the last degree. To myself he had always been exceedingly kind; for abundant kindness there was under his rugged and at times rude exterior and manner. Archbishop Benson had given us rooms in the Lollards' Tower and these had greatly facilitated my constant intercourse with him When Archbishop Temple was appointed I offered to give up the rooms, but he genuinely, though brusquely, bade us stay on. . . .
>
> Thereupon my direct association with Lambeth work, as regards its correspondence etc., came absolutely to an end.

Before the end of November (less than six weeks after Benson's death) he wrote thus to the Rev. E. L. Ridge, who, after four years as chaplain to Benson, continued for another four years as chaplain to Temple:

The Bishop of Winchester *to the* Rev. E. L. Ridge

Farnham Castle. November 21, 1896.

Many thanks for your letter. It is a real pleasure to hear from you. Mind you keep me in touch so far as you can with what goes on, for to me it is the strangest of all the changes of my life to find myself out in the cold as regards the central affairs of the Church of England, after nearly 20 years of closest knowledge.

The 'nearly 20 years of closest knowledge' had begun when Davidson went to Lambeth as Tait's chaplain in 1878.

It was indeed the strangest of experiences. But the experience was made even more painful by the remarkable idea firmly planted in the Archbishop's mind that Davidson had himself been hoping for the Primacy, and had been passed over. The facts, however, are clear enough, as the following letters reveal.

A. C. BENSON, ESQ., *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

January 22, 1897.

I had a long and curious talk with Ridge on Sunday in town.... T himself is in high spirits, and looks upon the change to Canterbury as a headmaster might accept a Deanery ... *But*—and this is a very serious matter which I feel bound to tell you—Ridge says that it is obvious that their view of yourself is that you intended to obtain the Primacy, and were passed over, to your own chagrin, for himself, and that you are disappointed and vexed. These are hard and disagreeable statements, but I cannot involve them in any periphrasis, because they seem to me to be dangerous.

Considering that you enacted the part of Warwick, and that T. would not have had a moment's consideration but for yourself, I cannot help feeling that he ought to be disabused of this idea.

I write to you fully and I hope discreetly—at least I trust that I am not only making mischief and causing uncomfortable feelings. Ridge says that it is quite *obvious* that this is his view.

I did not see exactly who else was to tell you this—so, though I don't like handing on such statements—*liberavi animam meam.* You have shown me such confidence, and especially in this particular matter, that I felt bound to repay it. I should like to do anything, if I could. But after weighing the respective merits of silence and speech in the case, I have thought I might do more harm by being silent than by speaking out.

You may scold me if I have done wrong.

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to* A. C. BENSON, ESQ.

Farnham Castle, Surrey.

Private 23 Jan '97.

I thank you cordially for your thoughtful kindness in telling me what I should not have been so likely to learn from others—while I most certainly ought to know it!

Its importance lies in this—that, if the great man really believes what you think he believes, he must be regarding me as the most doubledyed humbug and hypocrite unhanged, as he has received

and apparently welcomed from me letters and telegrams and spoken words expressing my belief that none other than he could rightly have taken the position—and has responded thereto in cordial terms. If he really regards me as capable of writing and speaking thus while *thinking* the opposite, his conduct to me is simply inexplicable.

The mystery is so great that I can't help thinking Ridge must be under some total delusion. Mrs. Temple has been, and is, as warm as her husband.

Ridge and I know one another so intimately that I think I must —unless you positively forbid it—have it out with him privately next week, when we shall meet in Convocation.

Many thanks for writing as you did.

The Bishop saw Ridge, and found that there was no delusion; but for the moment it did not seem that anything could be done to disabuse Temple's mind. A year or two later, however, possibly through Mrs. Benson's offices, the Archbishop was disabused and the old kindly relations were resumed. But even then the resumption of friendship did not mean the resumption of the former position of intimate counsellor.

Such were the facts as to the cessation of the intercourse between Lambeth and Farnham, as Bishop Davidson saw them. There were also other reasons why Bishop Davidson no longer found himself a partner in the work at Lambeth. Temple had never got over the shock which he received when Tait, his old tutor at Balliol, lent the weight of his name, as Bishop of London, to the agitation against *Essays and Reviews* in 1861. Temple had written the opening Essay in that volume. He had been deeply wounded by the public censure inflicted upon him and his collaborators by the two Archbishops, by Dr. Tait, and the whole Bench of Bishops, including this declaration, 'We cannot understand how these opinions can be held consistently with an honest subscription to the formularies of our Church.' And what had hurt Temple most was that Tait (who had in former days urged the undertaking of the critical study of the Bible, 'a dangerous study but indispensable'), after speaking kindly to him in private at Fulham about his share in the book, should then, without warning, in deference to a popular clamour, join in an act of unexampled severity.[1] To the end of his days Temple remained critical of

[1] The correspondence is printed in Davidson's *Life of Archbishop Tait*, i. 287–301.

Tait; and perhaps, therefore, was inclined to be less welcoming than he would otherwise have been to Tait's chaplain and son-in-law as a helper in the archiepiscopal labours. And there was a further reason. Readers of the *Memoirs of Archbishop Temple* will remember what is there said about one special tendency which showed itself markedly in Dr. Temple's Primacy, 'the isolation of a powerful mind'. Dr. Benson had been his 'most intimate friend for forty years'; and throughout Dr. Benson's Primacy, the two minds, dissimilar as they were, 'had been in close concert on the large affairs of the Church, and also in comparative isolation from other minds'. And then the writer of the *Memoir*, himself a diocesan Bishop (Dr. Forrest Browne, Bishop of Bristol) continues:

> When Dr. Benson was removed, there was no one left with whom Dr. Temple had been accustomed to take counsel on the greatest questions; and with his long experience, his unrivalled knowledge of the ins and outs of different matters, and his consciousness of adequate powers of mind, the isolation from the rest of the Bishops of the province continued.[1]

It is well, therefore, to remember this general tendency of Archbishop Temple to isolation from all the Bishops, in estimating the special severance of the link with Lambeth from which Bishop Davidson suffered, though Frederick Temple and Randall Davidson were, no doubt, extraordinarily unlike one another in their whole point of view. In the Davidson papers there is the following description of Archbishop Temple's methods:

> Archbishop Temple took a line wholly different from his predecessors. The splendid work which he did for many years as Bishop of Exeter, Bishop of London, and Archbishop, consisted, if I understood it aright, in the vigorous carrying through of various obligatory duties devolving upon the holder of the post which he occupied. For a diocesan Bishop, who means to be diocesan almost exclusively, this gives ample opportunity of strenuous service. The daily round of Confirmations, preachings and other branches of diocesan administration is his, whether he will or not, and the difference between a good diocesan Bishop and a bad one depends upon how far he really rises to the adequate discharge of duties which in some form or other, adequately or inadequately, have got to be discharged.

[1] *Frederick Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury*: Memoirs by Seven Friends, ii. 247–9.

For example, the Confirmation list for the year must be carried through, the men appointed to benefices must be instituted, the letters about parish disputes must be attended to, visitations must be periodically held, and so on. In all such work Frederick Temple excelled. He was strong, thoughtful, self-reliant, forcible in speech and action, a great educationalist, and above all an enthusiastically earnest Christian man. His energy was quite untiring, and in his earlier days no task was beyond his strength. When duties other than diocesan came in natural course to him to be performed he performed them better than anybody else.

The Bishop goes on to give an account of Temple's practice at Lambeth:

The former intercourse about public matters in the way of daily correspondence was ended. Temple neither sought, nor could have used any such help. His habit of doing everything for himself extended from petty trifles, such, I believe, as carefully sorting and tidying his dressing room every morning before he left it, folding, hanging up towels etc., to the biggest things in Church and State. His Chaplains had no knowledge of his correspondence, though a certain number of letters, not many, were given them to write. He told them little or nothing, and they had to pick up facts as best they could. Obviously the kind of help I had given Archbishop Benson would have been not only useless but even offensive to him, and henceforth anything that I was to know about what was happening in the Church's life I had to pick up as best I might. As a matter of fact he practically abandoned, so far as I am able to judge, any real correspondence about overseas affairs. It had for many years been customary that Colonial Bishops and Missionaries should consult the Archbishop upon points of perplexity, and the Archbishop had usually taken counsel with the Church Societies and with individual Bishops—e.g. with Temple himself as Bishop of London, before replying. He brushed aside all that help and answered everything of the sort with his own hand, so far as it was answered at all. I fear that generally in his later years the reply was merely that the matter would receive consideration, and nothing more was heard of it.

My own correspondence files during the years of his Primacy show how constant was the complaint made to myself and others by those who had written to him from across the sea, that they could not get an answer, or an answer of a really helpful kind—still less did he himself initiate enquiries or consultations upon those big matters outside England in the way that had been customary

before. His strength, as I have said before, lay in doing thoroughly the thing which was obligatory and could not be put aside.

But then Bishop Davidson shows how something more than this thorough performance of obligatory tasks was required of an Archbishop of Canterbury:

> To a great part of the proper Lambeth work this description does not apply. The Archbishop must of his own accord keep himself abreast of what is happening, must then on his own account take counsel about it and thus fit himself for giving real help to those who ask for it. Whether Temple could have done this or would have consented to do it had he become Primate at an earlier age I cannot tell. Certainly he did not do it coming to the Primacy when he did. His physical power as regards eyesight was already impaired, and was to be increasingly impaired, and his ruthless refusal to let anybody help him rendered it practically impossible that he could master the details required for what ought to have been done It would be easy to give abundant instances of the mischief which ensued, but it would be invidious and I shall not attempt it. The West Indian Problems present a noteworthy example about which the Archbishop of Jamaica could say much.
>
> His self-reliance sometimes stood him in good stead, and it gave to everyone an impression, a true impression, of his real strength and power, but many a time mischief might have been averted if he had condescended to take counsel with one or two men whom of course he could have chosen according to his own wish.

It would be difficult to bring out the contrast in method between Archbishop Temple and his successor more clearly than it is brought out in these extracts; and certainly the conception of the office of Archbishop of Canterbury which Davidson here expressed was one to which, a few years later, he did abundant justice himself.

III

A curious incident occurred in connexion with the Confirmation of the new Archbishop, in which Bishop Davidson played an important part. He was one of the Commissioners appointed to execute the Royal Commission from the Queen for the confirmation of the Archbishop-elect, at Bow Church, December 22, 1896. In the course of the proceedings a protest was made by the Rev. S. D. Brownjohn, formerly chaplain to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, appearing as 'opposer' to the confirmation, 'on the ground

that the said Dr. Frederick Temple is a self-confessed believer in the full doctrine of evolution, and because I believe acceptance of the teaching of evolution concerning the origin of man to be absolutely incompatible with fidelity to the teaching of the Book of Common Prayer and of the Articles of Religion of the Church of England'. The Vicar-General (Sir James Parker Deane) ruled, in pursuance as he stated of a Judgement by the Queen's Bench in the case of Dr. Hampden's confirmation as Bishop of Hereford in 1848, that the Court had no power to hear the objection. The protest had been most quietly, and, by the Archbishop of York as First Commissioner, on the Vicar-General's authority, most courteously disregarded. But the incident raised important questions with regard to the real significance of the whole ceremony. On the following day a letter from Davidson appeared in *The Times*, side by side with the report of the proceedings:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the Editor of 'The Times'*

Farnham Castle. 22 Dec. 1896.

I was one of the Commissioners who in Bow Church to-day took part in the 'confirmation' of Archbishop Temple's election. As your report will doubtless tell, a protest against the confirmation was handed in by a clergyman, objecting to what he believes to be the Archbishop's opinion on the subject of evolution.

On the judicial or *quasi*-judicial authority of the Vicar-General the protest was courteously disregarded, its author being informed that he could not then be heard upon the subject. I have no doubt this ruling was legally correct, but the incident, though of the quietest and most unsensational character, serves to emphasize the necessity of the revision of the existing form of 'confirmation'. Its wording, including the 'citation of opposers', is certainly calculated to mislead the uninformed and to create a belief that any and every protest, whatever its character, may legitimately be heard and discussed on such occasions.

I am not so rash as to attempt, without preparation, to describe accurately the historical, canonical, and legal significance of a ceremony about which so much has been written. It is, I suppose, true that its original object was to secure that the person about to be consecrated or admitted to the privileges of his See was the identical person who had been elected by the chapter, and that the election had been in all respects duly and canonically performed. No one will, I believe, contend that it was ever the proper occasion for discussing the opinions of the Bishop-elect or

his special fitness for his new office. But the 'form' used is in its wording so misleading that I trust the incident of to-day may enable us to secure by due process its revision and amendment. This I, for one, shall certainly endeavour to promote.

The interest in the protest was not lessened by the fact that Dr. Temple's confirmation as Bishop of Exeter had been similarly opposed. Hardly anybody on this occasion sympathised with the grounds of the objection. It was the manner of ignoring the objection which aroused profound dissatisfaction, freely expressed in the columns of the daily and weekly press. Davidson at once gave notice that he would bring the whole subject of the Confirmation of Bishops' elections before Convocation in January. Meantime, according to his wont, he made exhaustive inquiries into the history and the facts in libraries and elsewhere, with the help of many friends—especially Chancellor Dibdin and Canon Gore. Chancellor Dibdin had written an admirable article in *The Record* pointing out that Confirmation was the regular name for a process in two parts: (1) a preliminary inquiry into the fitness of the person nominated to the vacant See, and (2) the sentence of Confirmation which followed upon it, assuming the inquiry to end satisfactorily. By way of explaining the fitness the article referred to the petition which alleged that the person nominated 'is a prudent and discreet man and eminent for his knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, for his life and morals deservedly commended, of a free condition, born in lawful wedlock, of a lawful age, and an Ordained Priest'. 'The essence of the proceeding is that it is a safeguard.' The Chancellor wrote to the Bishop:

CHANCELLOR DIBDIN *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

25 December 1896.

I am very sorry for what happened. I do not mean that the Commissioners could do otherwise than follow the octogenarian advice they received, but the advice I greatly deplore . . . I hope you will not abolish confirmation.

The Bishop of Winchester tried to induce the Vicar-General to give notice at the Confirmation of Dr. Creighton as Bishop of London, on January 15, that the form of Confirmation was under consideration—but without success. There was a disgraceful scene arising out of a protest, this time on Ritualist grounds by

Mr. Kensit; and the Vicar-General was physically incapable of dealing with the proceedings, so as to maintain decorum.

On January 27, a full debate took place in the Upper House of Canterbury Convocation on the motion of the Bishop of Winchester. His speech was a masterly survey of the situation before and after the Reformation. He pointed out that the question had not really been settled in 1848, as the four judges of the Queen's Bench, to whom application had been made for a *mandamus* to the then Vicar-General, Dr. Burnaby, were equally divided. He also maintained that the decision of Sir Travers Twiss, Vicar-General in 1869, that objections could only relate to defective form in the election or the identity of the person presented, was unsound. And he urged the Archbishop, with whom alone the decision lay, to 'consider afresh whether or not the precise manner in which Confirmation is at this moment carried out conforms exactly to what was originally intended and is intended now by the Sovereign who issues the Order'. The Archbishop, at the unanimous request of the Upper House, promised that he would look into the matter. By the Archbishop's desire, after the debate, Bishop Davidson sent him a memorandum of suggestions:

Suggestions as to the procedure in 'Confirmation'

I. Let the Bishop's formal acceptance of his Election take place either at his own house or elsewhere quite unconnected with the Confirmation ceremony. This was always the custom until quite recently.

II. Let the Confirmation ceremony proceed in the ordinary way, but without the presence of the Bishop-Elect, down to the end of the reading of the second Schedule, including the double citation of opposers and the hearing of them, if any. This will involve a slight modification in the wording relating to the presentation or production of the Bishop-Elect in person, but no other change.

III. Let the Court then adjourn to a subsequent day, on which the Bishop-Elect shall himself be present to take the oath, etc., in exact accordance with the Form as at present observed.

Of course in the event of opposers appearing and offering some material and reasonable objection, the hearing of it might involve more than one day, especially if no notice had been given beforehand and the Vicar-General was unaware of what was coming. But in any case such hearing, whether for one day or more, would

be in the absence of the Bishop-Elect. This of itself would diminish the probability of any opposition being made.

In the covering letter, he begged the Archbishop not to avoid the difficulty by making a fundamental change in the form of citation, but to give the proper opportunity for objections inherent in the present proceedings, and so make the Confirmation itself a reality:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Farnham Castle. 1 Feb. 1897.

. . . I imagine that if Your Grace were now to modify the form of citation in the fundamental way which (as you tell me) has now been suggested to you, it would make it impossible ever hereafter to return to what I for one believe to be the true interpretation of the law and to allow opposers to be heard. That such a step would raise a storm, as it certainly would, is comparatively unimportant, if the decision were in itself indisputably right legally, historically, and ecclesiastically. But my own opinion is so convinced that it would be *wrong* in all these respects that I feel bound—as the mover of the resolution we unanimously passed in Convocation—to say so to Your Grace though I repeat what I there said that I regard the question (*quoad* the Confirmation of Bishops as contrasted with Archbishops) to belong to *you* and not to us.

I am sure you would wish me to say out what I feel on a subject to which I have been giving close attention, and however unimportant my own judgement it is no small matter that such men as the Bishop of Oxford, Dibdin, and others of different schools and opinions, who have studied the matter, are in agreement about it.

That there is an element of danger in giving a possibly new opportunity for 'heresy hunting' as Your Grace described it, I do not of course deny. But I believe such danger to be exceedingly small, and anyhow far less serious than a new departure in the direction of formally limiting—in a way that has never been done before in the Church of England—the area within which a protest is allowed to be brought forward. . . .

The correspondence which survives contains no record of any reply from the Archbishop, or evidence as to how or where the matter was concluded, save the copy of a letter to the Archbishop himself from Bishop Stubbs:

The BISHOP OF OXFORD *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

The Palace, Cuddesdon, Oxford.
Feb. 4, 1897.

I think that it may be said with confidence that there is no case in England, before the Reformation, of any Bishop being refused Confirmation on the ground of heresy. I do not think that, in the case of unconfirmed Elections, matters ever got so far as an attempt at formal Confirmation.

The objection was raised on the Election, and appeal was at once made to the Pope, who decided what was to be done and generally did it himself. There is a case, that of Bishop Stretton of Lichfield, about 1360, whom the Archbishop refused to confirm because he could not read. The King and Pope insisted upon its being done, and the Archbishop had to allow, or commission, two of the Bishops to consecrate, and did not do it himself.

I had to conclude, whilst I was on the Courts Commission, that the Court of Rome did not favour appeals on heresy; and I then hunted up every case of heresy that was to be found in books or registers. None of them touched any Bishop. Indeed Reginald Pecock, under Henry VI, is the only one against whom heterodoxy was ever formally alleged, and his history is the only one that can be really made to throw any side light on the matter. He was not put on trial until he had been a bishop for 13 years: all his adventures are in print.

The appeals on Elections were owing to divided votes, alleged unfitness, illegitimacy, and other non-doctrinal causes.

The next chapter of the story had to wait for the Confirmation of Bishop Gore in 1902.

Two smaller incidents affecting the property of the See of Canterbury may be mentioned here, for, though they were decided a little later, the decisions were the result of deliberation by Archbishop Temple very early in his reign. Archbishop Benson had been devoted to Addington Park—a beautiful estate near Croydon—as the country house of the Archbishops of Canterbury. But Temple regarded it as an expensive luxury, and also desired that the Archbishops should have their country residence in Canterbury itself. He therefore sought to sell Addington and rebuild the Old Palace at Canterbury, with the knowledge, of course, that the consent of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners

was necessary for the transaction. Addington Park was in fact sold for £70,000 in 1897. There was much opposition in Addington and Croydon, and Bishop Davidson was pressed to intervene, as an Ecclesiastical Commissioner. The Queen also was approached, and telegraphed expressing her hesitation as to the wisdom of the step, on the eve of a meeting of the Privy Council, at which she was to be asked to approve the sale. Davidson, who had throughout refused to take action against the sale, gave his views on the subject in the following telegram in reply:

Telegram from the BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to* SIR ARTHUR BIGGE

2 Feb. 1898.

The subject has been under consideration for many months but I think present occupant rather hasty in his decision. Ecclesiastical Commissioners have had full discussions. Archbishop Benson was strongly opposed to any sale and wished place retained by future Primates. Archbishop Tait never considered or discussed the question. I cannot personally defend retention of so expensive a place besides Lambeth but I think terms now obtained very unsatisfactory and that delay would have been desirable. Am writing to explain my view.

The order was signed.

The case of Lambeth Field, however, was in Davidson's judgement a different matter. It had been the practice with successive Archbishops to give the use of 10 acres of land adjoining the Palace to the people of the neighbourhood. Some 7,500 tickets had been issued annually, each ticket admitting a whole family, excluding boys over eight years old. The field was used for school-treats, football and cricket clubs, an annual flower-show, a donkey-show, Volunteers' drill, and a variety of other purposes, and the personal relation between the Archbishop and the people of Lambeth secured by this arrangement was, it was claimed, of very real value. But the new Archbishop took the view that it would be far better used as a public open space, and agreed with the London County Council to hand it over to the Council without charge, on condition that it was open free for the use of the public all day, properly laid out and controlled.

Bishop Davidson and a majority of the Commissioners opposed the Archbishop, but their appeals and signed memorials to His

Grace were all in vain. The Archbishop found that the sanction of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to a lease during the Archbishop's pleasure was not required, and as the Chairman of the L.C.C. (W. H. Dickinson) correctly stated in public on October 9, 1900, though 'for technical reasons the fee simple of the land was not transferred . . . for all practical purposes this valuable space was now secured to the public for ever'.

No friendship, however, was forfeited:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

October 23, 1900.

It never occurred to me that what you said was either impertinent or in bad taste. I thought your pertinacity unwise. . .

Do not let us quarrel because we cannot agree on such a matter as this. If you can stop what I propose to do, by all means stop it. I shall be vexed, but I shall not feel any resentment, nor rely less on your friendship.

IV

We have already referred to Archbishop Temple's relations with the overseas work of the Church. It may be well to conclude this chapter with some notes of Bishop Davidson's impressions as Episcopal Secretary of the Lambeth Conference, for they also illustrate his own view of the office of Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Lambeth Conference—a decennial gathering of the Bishops of the Anglican Communion—gives a special opportunity for knitting the various provinces and dioceses of the Anglican Church together in mutual counsel. It was Archbishop Temple's duty to preside over the fourth of these Conferences, while Bishop Davidson acted as its Episcopal Secretary. We propose to give a particular instance of action taken by Bishop Davidson, consulted on a matter of first-rate importance, and then Bishop Davidson's own general impressions of the Conference and the part played by Temple.

We quote first the letters which passed between Bishop W. C. Doane of Albany and Bishop Davidson on the subject of a Central Consultative Body and a Tribunal of Reference for the Anglican Communion. The letters have considerable importance historically in connexion with the development of the Anglican Communion and the attitude of the American Bishops

to anything like a Canterbury Patriarchate or a centralization at Lambeth. It is to be noted that the item had been placed on the Agenda of the Conference by Benson, whose method certainly tended to draw all things to Lambeth:

The BISHOP OF ALBANY *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Albany, N.Y. Feb. 19, 1897.

I have concluded, after a good deal of thought and anxiety, to write confidentially to you about a matter, which I find is more and more exciting a good deal of interest and anxiety in this country. I mean the subject which is set down among the agenda of the Conference under No. 2 as b and c.[1] Of course it is a very easy matter to discuss and decide any one of the three points a, b, or c, as far as the colonies of the Church of England are concerned, but there is a very decided objection and a very strong opposition to any idea of attempting to establish any authoritative relation to the See of Canterbury in America, and I know there is also in the Church of Scotland. The feeling here is so strong that I know some of our Bishops, who otherwise would have gone, have given up the idea. I have myself the very deepest convictions that in the light of all historical experience, and in the existing conditions of the Church to-day, it is most unwise to attempt and would be absolutely impossible to create anything like a Canterbury Patriarchate, to which National Churches would be willing either to refer, or with which they would be willing to consult, or to which they would be willing to establish any relation. I am sure that we have shown here in America, and I am sure that you know how strongly my own feeling runs in that way, the strongest reverence and regard for the old See and for the Church of England. I am very clear in my own mind that the suggestion of this subject for discussion has been injurious to the best interests of the Conference; that its discussion would be inevitably painful; and that if it could, now that the change has come, (alas, alas,) in the personality of the Archbishopric, be dropped from the list of subjects; or, if that cannot be done, if only the words 'or elsewhere' could be taken out of clause c, I think it would give a very much better impression at the beginning, and secure a very much better feeling throughout the Conference and conduce to far better results in its delibera-

[1] A Committee of the Lambeth Conference, 1897, was appointed to 'consider and report upon the subject of the organisation of the Anglican communion—(*a*) a Central Consultative Body; (*b*) a Tribunal of Reference; (*c*) the Relation of Primates and Metropolitans in the Colonies and elsewhere to the See of Canterbury; (*d*) the Position and Functions of the Lambeth Conferences' (*The First Six Lambeth Conferences, 1867–1920*, S.P.C.K., p. 212).

tions. I write this in the confidence of very sincere affection, and in the belief that you will recognize and realize at any rate the motive and reason of my writing.

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* BISHOP OF ALBANY

Farnham, April 6, 1897.

Private.

You must, I fear, have been wondering what can have happened to bring about my taciturnity! Your very important letter of (I fear) many weeks ago respecting the Lambeth Conference programme has been constantly in my thoughts, and I have often wondered whether I ought to speak to the Archbishop of Canterbury confidentially about it. But on the whole I have considered that I should do more harm than good by so speaking. *Ere your letter reached me* the formal programme of the Conference (including the names of suggested speakers specified *by you* on behalf of the Presiding Bishop) had been posted to every Bishop of our Church entitled to attend, and it was clearly too late to change the programme even if it had been desirable. And, notwithstanding all your weighty and most kindly words, the importance of which I cordially appreciate, I do still doubt whether such a change would be desirable. That anything of the nature of a Canterbury *Patriarchate* will receive the support of the Conference I do not for a moment believe. Some would wish for it, but they will be few. On the other hand the idea of some central tribunal of reference, for disputes on doctrinal or even disciplinary questions, has got a firm hold on the minds of very many, perhaps I ought to say of *most* of the Colonial and Missionary Bishops. I did not realise that it was wholly unpopular even in the United States, though of course it is suggested for the help of our South African, Australian, and Missionary Bishops rather than with any direct thought of *your* branch of our Church, a branch eminently capable of taking care of itself! I believe the S. African and Antipodean Bishops regard the question as quite the most important of any that are to come up for discussion, and, considering the immense weight of authority with which the subject was *suggested*, I don't see how dear Archbishop Benson could do otherwise than place it on our agenda. I suppose it would be perfectly in order for the American Bishops, should they so desire, to say that they preferred to be left out of consideration in that matter and to take no part in forming any such tribunal of reference or consultative body.

I am writing to you in strictest confidence, believing such to be your wish. Do, if you can, let me have a few lines again on the

subject. No one can for a moment doubt the generous and brotherly—if I may not say filial—attitude you have always taken towards the Chair of St. Augustine, or suppose you could have any but the highest and most public spirited desire for the good of the *corporate* life of our Anglican Communion as a whole.

You suggest the omission of the words 'or elsewhere'. I don't think the United States were in the mind of those who drafted the heading. The 'elsewhere' includes (1) India, (2) All our Missionary work, (3) All such Dioceses as Gibraltar, Jerusalem, &c. &c.

In the result it was decided by the Conference not to set up any Tribunal of Reference as proposed by the Committee. The Archbishop of Canterbury was, however, 'requested to take such steps as he may think most desirable' for the creation of a consultative body 'to which resort may be had, if desired, by the National Church, Provinces, and extra-Provincial Dioceses of the Anglican Communion either for information or advice'. It was to the Tribunal of Reference that the American Bishops most objected: but they were still somewhat suspicious of the informal Consultative Body. Perhaps we may add another letter from Bishop Doane, written after the Conference was over, which shows Bishop Davidson as a skilful mediator in a more personal matter—the gift from the Bishops to the President. The first proposal appears to have been a mitre, and the reference is to the great reopening ceremony at Glastonbury Abbey during the month of the Conference:

The Bishop of Albany *to the* Bishop of Winchester

Northeast Harbor, Maine,
Aug. 23d, 1897.

I am most grateful to you for your note of the 9th of August. I was quite sure myself that the suggestion about the mitre would not be agreeable to the Archbishop. Indeed, my impression of him, after Glastonbury, is, that he never wants to have anything on his head at all. I beg you will assure him that you have succeeded in stopping my 'kindness', as he calls it, and at the same time, thank him for his kindly way of putting it. It is the greatest pleasure to know of something that he wants, and it will be a still greater pleasure to all of us to see that what he wants is sent to him. I shall take it in hand at once. Why should we not have the brightest and most delightful memory of England, after a month

that was crowded so full with every sort of kindness and pleasure and delight, to all of which you contributed so much?

Mrs. Doane joins me in most warm regards to Mrs. Davidson.

Bishop Davidson's general impressions of Archbishop Temple and the Lambeth Conference are as follows:

At its very outset he had to arrange for and preside over the Lambeth Conference of 1897. It had been summoned by his predecessor who had thrown himself with enthusiasm into all its details and identified himself with the things it was going to do. It was his characteristic idea that the Conference should be held not in its natural year 1898 but in 1897 as the thirteen hundredth anniversary of the landing of St. Augustine, a fact to which Temple never alluded in any part of the Conference proceedings.

I had been appointed the Episcopal Secretary and was conversant with everything, yet he hardly consulted me about anything, leaving me a perfectly free hand about things that were in any sense within my province and saying absolutely nothing to me, unless under pressure, about the policy, or the plans, or the order of proceedings, for which he would have to be when the time came technically responsible, but in which I was necessarily closely concerned. The whole thing was done by him like other things in his life, vigorously, brusquely, and effectively but with no attempt to touch any vein of sentiment or to recognise the work of Archbishop Benson in the programme laid down or the matters selected for discussion.

In his opening address at Canterbury everyone had supposed that his main theme would be the absence of the master mind to whom the Conference in its details was due. He made a speech about duty and did not allude in the remotest way to Archbishop Benson's existence. Everyone spoke of this, and I made bold on the morning of the day when the Conference was to meet for discussion to say something as to our hopes that he would allude to Benson in his opening address. I did it gingerly not knowing what answer I might receive. I simply asked him whether it would be his wish that the American Bishops should make such allusion as was appropriate to Archbishop Benson or whether he would do it himself. He replied that he thought nothing of the sort was necessary. I said that I knew some of the Bishops would wish for it and he answered 'Then I will do it' and spoke some admirable and telling sentences.

It would be easy to give scores of other instances as to his curiously direct way of keeping always to the exact point then before him and urging the plain duty of the hour without the

admission of anything of a sentimental or illustrative sort. Whether that element in life was absolutely trampled under foot or was simply ignored because the thoughts were absent from his mind I do not know. . . .

It cannot be denied that these reflections by Bishop Davidson on his predecessor at Lambeth are critical in character. All the more striking therefore is the tribute with which he concludes:

It may have been that the hold he obtained upon men, and the glamour he undoubtedly had for the public in the later years of his life, was due to his single-hearted outspoken devotion to the sacred principle of duty, inspired by a quite overmastering sense of the presence and help of God.

CHAPTER XV

THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER AND THE QUEEN

There is an admirable epistle written by Petrus Blesensis, in the name of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to P. Alexander III, in the defence of the bishops of Ely, Winchester, and Norwich, that attended the court upon service of the king. 'It is no new thing for bishops to be counsellors to princes,' saith he; 'their wisdom and piety, that enables them for a bishopric, proclaims them fit instruments to promote the public tranquillity of the commonwealth: they know how to comply with oppressed people, to advance designs of peace and public security, it is their office to instruct the king to righteousness, by their sanctity to be a rule to the court, and to diffuse their exemplary piety over the body of the kingdom, to mix influences of religion with designs of state, to make them have as much of the dove as of the serpent.' JEREMY TAYLOR, *Episcopacy Asserted*, Section 49.

THE Queen, when staying in the Isle of Wight, was in the Bishop of Winchester's diocese. We have already seen how he fitted in his own work with his various visits to Osborne. The calls Her Majesty made on his time were still numerous. It was not only that his counsel or comfort were needed in personal sorrow or perplexities—as when he was recalled by telegram from Cannes, in January 1896, on the death of Prince Henry of Battenberg of fever in Sierra Leone. There were public questions as well—though the written recollections are not so full in these days as they were during the life at Windsor or in South London.

In September 1896, the Bishop's influence with the Queen was solicited by Canon Scott Holland and others, for the purpose of gaining her interest with the Czar on behalf of the suffering Armenian Christians, in view of the approaching visit of the Czar to Balmoral:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to* CANON SCOTT HOLLAND

Private and Confidential.

[Edinburgh]
19 Sept. 1896.

Farnham Castle,
Surrey.

I received Mr. Hecht's packet last night. I have done, am doing and will continue to do everything I can in the delicate and difficult matter on which you invite my aid. But from the nature

of the case it is well to say as little as possible about what I *do* do! and I am writing briefly to Mr. Hecht to that effect.

I am going this afternoon to Dalmeny to spend Sunday under Rosebery's roof with Prince of Wales and Duke of Connaught who are awaiting the Czar's arrival.

The Princes and Rosebery may perhaps be helpful and you may rely on my anxiety to be of any use I possibly can.

We observe the Bishop's immediate action—and the skill with which he uses the link of the Diamond Jubilee, the preparations for which were already beginning.

The Bishop wrote at once to the Queen. He began by offering 'a few lines of dutiful and loyal affection and thankfulness' for the longest and most beneficial reign in English annals. Then he noted 'a rich significance in the fact that at the hour when all previous records of English History are eclipsed by the length of Your Majesty's gracious rule, Your Majesty should also wield a personal and domestic influence over the thrones of Europe absolutely without precedent in the History of Christendom'. The heart of the letter is contained in the following paragraph:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* QUEEN

19 September 1896.

It can be no small matter to the world's life that the occupants of the Imperial thrones of Germany and of Russia should at such a juncture bear the relation they do to Your Majesty and, during the present fearful stirring of men's minds in view of Eastern violence and wrong, nothing surely is more touching than the simple belief which those unlearned in political complications hold that somehow or other 'The Queen will set things right when she sees the Czar'.

The letter concludes:

It betokens a genuine and loyal trust born of long experience—and, however mistaken the notion of simple hearts that matters can thus readily be set straight, the fact that people say and think it is in itself a striking evidence of what Your Majesty is to tens of thousands of English men, women, and children who know nothing of public life but know and trust and reverence their Queen and believe in her influence for all that is good.[1]

[1] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 3rd series, vol. iii, p. 77 (for the full text).

In view of the hope which the Bishop expressed in his letter to Scott Holland that 'Rosebery may perhaps be helpful', it is interesting to note the surprising form which that helper's action took.

In October, a Liberal crisis had been forced by an extraordinary speech made by Lord Rosebery in the very height of a public agitation about the Armenians and Turkey. Here is a note on a talk by Davidson with John Morley at the Athenaeum on October 10, 1896, on its significance.

> This act of Rosebery's has smashed up for a generation to come the organisation known as the Liberal Party. We shall now have one pope at Dalmeny and another at Malwood, each with his followers, and no coherence possible. (I asked 'Which is Rome and which is Avignon?' But he declined to say!) It also gives the *quietus* to all the agitation, for it tells the Turkish and the European Statesmen that all the agitation means nothing—will lead to nothing—and that the Turk may go on as he likes.
>
> (I urged the effect on Foreign peoples.)
>
> I don't believe in the public opinion of Foreign peoples. In Germany it is crushed and kept down by authority. In France nobody really cares about Armenia except the bondholders, who are numberless in France and who don't want Turkey disturbed. I agree in the main with what Rosebery says, but why say it? Why tell them we shan't go to war alone? Why not leave it in the haze in which *Mr. G.* always leaves such things? Lord Salisbury, I believe, encouraged and desired these meetings—but he won't like this action of Rosebery's, which practically tells the Turk that English opinion is divided and that he may discount the meetings and 'feelings' as much as he likes.

With the Diamond Jubilee itself, the Bishop was involved in various ways. There was the school holiday appeal, almost inevitable at such times, which commended itself to the Queen, but not to Archbishop Temple or Bishop Davidson.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

51 Lennox Gardens, S.W.
5th February 1897.

Advise me how to stop the Queen from giving an extra week holiday to Rugby, Harrow, Winchester etc. this year. The Holi-

days at the Public Schools have grown very much of late years and are really as long as is wholesome.

Could it not be suggested that a whole holiday on the 22nd June would be the right thing?

Tell me the right course to take.

The Bishop agreed with the Archbishop, though he found some difficulty in persuading the Queen.

The difficulty about the Jubilee Service at St. Paul's was of slightly larger proportions. It included the problem of Sir George Martin's setting for the *Te Deum* at the west door. This involved some delicate negotiations with Sir George Martin and even a visit to Farnham in which the last difficulties were settled. It was not easy altogether, for there were some very important persons who did not want a service at all, but thought that thanksgivings on Sunday June 20th would be sufficient. The character of the service was considerably affected by the fact that the Queen could not get out of her carriage, so that a service, however short, inside St. Paul's was impossible. The following letters tell their own tale:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S[1]

2 March 1897.

The Queen has been talking to me very fully about the plans for the service outside St. Paul's on June 22.

She is evidently nervous about its *length*—and, unless she were satisfied it can be kept *within* the limits of time we spoke of at our recent Committee, she would I think be tempted to give it up.

'About a quarter of an hour—or at all events well under 20 minutes' she repeated several times. She dreads sitting there in her carriage long, with all the Princes on horseback round her.

She quite approves of the sort of service we planned, but she says emphatically

'Tell the Dean to arrange with Dr. Martin that the *Te Deum* is simple with no additions or "flourishes"' (whatever that may mean!).

I promised to communicate all this to you and I reassured her as to the length. She has apparently been counting or measuring how long an average *Te Deum* takes (say in St. George's chapel), and is assured it can be *within* ten minutes—leaving thus a full five or six minutes for the rest of the service.

[1] Robert Gregory, Dean of St. Paul's, 1890–1911

Will you send me a line to Farnham (which I can show or quote), assuring me that you will see to this? It would be disastrous if the plan for such a service were now to be given up.

The Queen is about to intimate publicly her hope that on Sunday June 20th. there shall be everywhere a religious service of praise and thanksgiving. This is in order to make it clear that *that* is to be regarded as the great National *religious* function throughout the Empire.

On Tuesday the 22nd. the *gist* of the matter, the 'objective', will be the great procession in full pomp through the streets of the capital of the Empire—the religious service at St. Paul's being—so to speak—an *incident* in the day's procession and not its main feature.

She feels that if it were to be said 'The Queen is on that day going *to St. Paul's for a thanksgiving service*' the service ought to be a far grander and longer thing that *this* can possibly be

So she is anxious to emphasise that *the* religious service of the occasion is on the Sunday, and that the Tuesday Service is merely to make it clear that we recognise in that 'Function of state' the religious element.

I am sure you will understand and appreciate all this, and will explain it to any who are puzzled or vexed (as some are) by what is planned.

I mark this private as it is of course not for publication—but pray show it to anybody you like who is concerned in the matter. I have tried to represent the Queen's views as clearly as I can—and not to import my own sentiments in any way.

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S

Farnham, 9 March 1897.

I am grateful to you for sending me Dr. Martin's letter. But either I must have written awkwardly in my former letter, or Dr. Martin has misunderstood my words, or both.

Dr. Martin's proposal now is that the *Te Deum* should be simply chanted to an old chant, *without accompaniment*, the choir being merely your own 18 men and 30 boys.

Now, as it seems to me, this would be quite different from what was formally laid before the Queen as the proposal of our Committee, and has been approved by her. It was distinctly proposed that the *Te Deum* should be of a more dignified sort—that there should be a strong force of men's voices, and that two military bands should accompany it. In my view we are not now competent

to alter those arrangements unless by the Queen's commands. And surely, apart from our 'competence' to do so, it would be a very great pity? In a crowd so immense on pavement and at windows, and with horses trampling all round in hundreds etc., it will be essential surely to have a huge volume of sound for the *Te Deum* if it is not to be despicable? The Queen spoke especially of the *bands* as a feature in the service.

Again, surely it would cause wide disappointment to everybody (I should *think* to the Queen also, though I have no authority to say so) if we did not have *Dr. Martin*'s special *Te Deum*. We are all looking forward to it. Or, if he prefers that *that* should be inside St. Paul's, and by his own splendid choir alone, he would, better than anybody, choose some other *Te Deum*, be it in form of Chant or of 'Service', which would enlist the powers of band and of *many* voices.

From what he says as to his own *Te Deum* already written taking not more than ten minutes, I should have imagined it was the very thing, and (if I don't misunderstand the Queen's wish) all Her Majesty meant by deprecating 'flourishes' would be long instrumental passages without words.

I can easily ask for further information or commands if necessary, but I have so often had to arrange for services to suit the Queen's wish that I can speak pretty positively; or, if Dr. Martin would be helped by the counsel of a musical expert accustomed to these 'Royal' arrangements (sometimes very trying and inconvenient!) let him consult Sir W. Parratt, whom he knows well, and who could, I am certain, give him any information he desires.

I feel convinced the Queen would be disappointed, if not *pained*, if the Service were reduced to the dimensions Dr. Martin suggests, and I can't believe that in the midst of such a noisy open-air multitude, civil and military, the *Te Deum* could be dignified if chanted as he proposes by your own unaccompanied choir.

I can fully appreciate the difficulties with which Dr. Martin has to contend, and no one is so well able as he to overcome them. If I can in any way be helpful to him, or to you, by again writing to the Queen (who goes abroad to-morrow), or by any other step, you have only to command me. But I think it would be best that we should if possible arrange matters without further appeal to the Queen personally.

There is an excellent photograph of the Queen at the west door of St. Paul's on the great day, and the Bishop of Winchester on the steps in his Garter robes not far away. Davidson used to repeat with some satisfaction at times the Queen's remark at the

end of the Jubilee day, that she supposed that the procession through London had been a very fine procession, but that she herself had been in a bad position for seeing it.

Easter 1898 was spent at Cimiez with the Queen:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to* MRS. DAVIDSON

Cimiez:
1 p.m. Easter Sunday, 1898.

I have your Thursday letter here this morning, sent on from Cannes. I am so distressed to hear that Mike Chapman is not so well, but 'glands' sounds less alarming than the former ails.

I look forward to Friday when I shall I hope find you safe at Rochmount.

Meantime the weather here is heavenly. Sun a little hot, but a delicious air. This Cimiez is an odd place! The biggest Hotel I think, I ever saw. I am housed sumptuously 'au premier' in the public part of it. The Queen's part is one end of the building and one can pass to and fro. There is a really beautiful Chapel, in which there is service for the Hotel when Her Majesty is not here —but when she is here the public have to go to Church in Nice, where—as you know—Erskine Knollys is chaplain. I hope to see him at evening service today. I went to early service this morning in the other Church (*Langford's*) in Nice—with Princess Christian and Princess Beatrice. Since our service (at 11) I have had a walk with Fritz Ponsonby and Reid. The views are splendid. The glare and dust however are considerable. You will be glad to hear I have secured a sleeping berth for Wednesday night, so I hope to get to St. Malo fairly fresh on Thursday night and to sleep there before the Friday crossing.

I am looking forward now to a good many quiet times before I leave the Riviera—as I have done my *work* and have no more responsibilities. This morning in the Chapel, Sir Arthur Sullivan played the Harmonium, and *Signor Tosti* sang the responses—in a loud voice—knowing no English. He is an R.C.

The poor old Queen is terribly worried by domestic and family wrongdoings, and last night Princess Christian sent for me to prepare me for a talk with Her Majesty thereon today.

The Duke of Edinburgh (Coburg) is very ill still—*here* on board ship—but is mending.

Other household worries seem to be rather less than usual! I must try and help if I can.

I think this respite, in midst of hurrying work, has been wholesome all round—I will try to use it to my best profit. I like to

have time for weighing matters, and for prayers, and for thoughts of you and all your work for other folk. I think your plan of having that poor Alice Trigg taught by somebody is good. But what a depressing outlook at the best! Truly the world is a very puzzling place!

A note just come in to say the Queen wishes to see me after luncheon.

I am so well and feeling so freshened up already!

In October 1899, the South African War broke out. This made special claims on a Bishop in whose diocese the great military centre of Aldershot lay. In the early months we find him preaching in All Saints' Church to the troops before they set forth for service with the Sixth Division, and his engagement-book shows conferences with the Chaplain-General and many more as to the soldiers' religious needs. He was also later appointed Chairman of the Church Navy and Army Board, which had been formed on the initiative of Convocation, with its agencies in the dioceses, for promoting the moral and religious welfare of sailors and soldiers.

There were two special instances in which the Queen's help was sought by the Archbishop, both applications being referred to Bishop Davidson. The first was the proposal for a special collection in all churches, under the Queen's auspices, for sufferers in the war. To this the Queen agreed, though requiring some reassurance as to the need. A 'Queen's Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury' for a general collection in the Churches of England and Wales on behalf of sufferers in the War, on January 7, 1900, was officially issued and forwarded to the Archbishop by the Home Secretary—the last instance, we believe, of a Royal Brief.

When, however, a second suggestion was made to the effect that a special day of intercession should be appointed, the Bishop was less successful. The following correspondence passed between Sir Arthur Bigge and the Bishop of Winchester:

SIR ARTHUR BIGGE *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Windsor Castle. Decr: 22. 1899.

I have telegraphed to say the Archbishop of Canterbury suggests that a special day for intercession should be appointed.

The Queen is strongly opposed to the idea, and would prefer

that the Archbishops and Bishops should throughout their Dioceses inculcate the necessity for special prayer and praise not *on one day* but throughout these times of national anxiety—but *not* of humiliation.

As the 7th January has been appointed for special collections, the Queen suggests that the intercessory prayers might be then used if the Archbishop is inclined to press for the 'day'.

Please let me know if you can represent to His Grace how disinclined The Queen is to approve of the proposal.

The Queen entirely sympathises with memorial services and prayers on behalf of all who are engaged in or suffering through the War: but Her Majesty objects to the concentration of these into one 'by order' occasion!

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to* SIR ARTHUR BIGGE

Farnham Castle, Surrey.
23rd Dec. 99.

I have this morning a very important telegram telling me of the Archbishop's request that a day of intercession be appointed in connection with the war. The subject is a most difficult one. On the one hand it seems to me quite vital that nothing should be done which could have the effect at home or abroad of making people think or say that our attitude at this juncture is 'we are losing ground or losing courage and losing men and *therefore* we appeal for Divine aid against our enemies'. The appointment of anything which could be called a 'Day of *Humiliation*' would inevitably so far as I can see have that result and appearance and nothing could be more disastrous. I do not know what are the grounds on which the Archbishop bases his request or who are the representative persons, if any, whom he has consulted. (He has not communicated with me about it. It is his way to do things independently.) I myself receive letters by every post, as, I suppose, do all the Bishops, expressing distress and dismay that no recognition by the *nation as such* of the duty of prayer in connection with our war has been put forth, and a great number of people who would feel as strongly as I do against a 'Day of Humiliation' are yet of opinion that a day of general intercession on the part of the nation and recognition of our duty towards God ought to be appointed. If it be appointed it seems to me quite vital that the directions given on the services authoritatively sanctioned should be so worded as to be equally applicable had our victories been continuous and complete from the first. It ought not I think to be impossible for the Archbishops or other authorities to secure such

wording. Tens of thousands of people are in a condition of strain and of anxiety about those they love best. This does not mean that they are losing heart or courage but it makes them want some public national recognition of the Divine Governance of our Nation's Life, and they feel that a day set apart for this purpose would be helpful to everybody. Columns of the *Times* have shewn that this feeling though by no means a unanimous one is strong on the part of many who are certainly neither apt to whine or to cringe and who represent the robust side of English public life. I doubt whether they all see the *difficulties* so strongly as I seem to see them, but I do think a wise course might be steered and these difficulties thus evaded or overcome.

You suggest, as I understand your telegram, that if some appropriate service were drawn up for use on Jan. 7th, when national collections will be made, it would meet the demand. I don't think it would satisfy those who desire a day appointed for prayer. For one thing there are an immense number of churches, perhaps the majority, in which the collections have been already made, and in these cases the 'Queen's letter' directing collections would not apply. If independently of the question of collections the first Sunday of next year were directed to be a day for special prayer *and the lines were laid down in the way I have suggested,* the fact that in a great many churches there would also be collections for the Soldiers' Families etc. would not be an objection, but the prayers ought not in my judgement—if there is to be a National authorization of them—to be a mere appendage to the collections.

I feel terribly unhelpful in giving counsel in this matter, on account of my total lack of knowledge as to the communications on which the Archbishop bases his request, or as to what may have passed between him and responsible statesmen about it. I do not even know in what way he has made his request to the Queen—but I believe the wish for a day (preferably a Sunday so as to avoid making it a holiday) is real and widespread though not unanimous, and I think, with properly safeguarded wording the notion of 'humiliation under defeat' could be eliminated.

In the end the proposal for a Day of Prayer, by appointment of the State, was dropped. The Bishops agreed to advise the use of special prayers in their dioceses on Septuagesima Sunday, February 7, on their own initiative; care having been taken by Davidson, on behalf of the Bishops, to see that no objection was likely to be made to this proposal by the Government or by the Queen.

At the end of January, when Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener had arrived in Capetown as Commander-in-Chief in South Africa and Chief of the Staff, things having gone ill for the British under the command of Sir Redvers Buller, a delicate personal mission was entrusted to the Bishop by the Queen. A letter came from Osborne to the Bishop, asking him to give a special message of sympathy to Lady Audrey Buller, wife of Sir Redvers, 'as you know her well and often see her'. The Bishop wrote at once and received a most grateful reply:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to* LADY AUDREY BULLER

Farnham Castle, Surrey.
1 Feb 1900.

In a letter I have just received from Osborne the Queen requests me to take an opportunity of saying to you that while she 'cannot well write to you direct' (owing I suppose to official custom in such matters) she is anxious you should know how much she feels for you in all this anxious time, and for all that it must be to you, and that she has all faith in Sir Redvers. As it would be nearly impossible for me in the next few days to arrange to call upon you—so heavy is my work—I write this at once, as I feel sure you would like to know it. I have given you the message exactly as it comes to me.

Need I assure you how entirely what the Queen has said in this private communication gives expression to the feeling which the whole nation is entertaining at this time.

Our thoughts and prayers are constantly with you. God grant we may soon have bright and cheering news.

If you should think well to send me a private note which I could enclose to the Queen I feel sure it would please her.

LADY AUDREY BULLER *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Government House, Farnborough, Hants.
Feb. 2 1900.

I am indeed grateful and touched beyond words by the Queen's words of true kindness and sympathy, and above all, by her expression of faith in Sir Redvers.

It was so wonderfully good and thoughtful of Her Majesty to send this message and to *think* of me in this time of dreadful and *peculiar* anxiety. I do feel it more than I can say—this great kindness.

I am writing to Sir Redvers by this mail, and I hope I shall not

be doing wrong in sending him your letter. I am sure it will do him great good. In all my great anxiety, I *know* that whatever happens, the best that *can* be done will be done by *him*. But certainly there never was a General who had more to struggle against than he has had—all that could possibly happen to frustrate his plans *has* happened not only since his arrival in S. Africa, but *before* he set foot there.

Thank you very, very much for your most kind and helpful words—I know how you and Mrs. Davidson *do* think of me and feel for me, and for *him*. I should like you to read the enclosed, as I have quoted some words of Sir Redvers, which I should like *you* to see. I must thank you so very much for the very fine haunch of venison you have so kindly sent.

Enclosure for the Queen.

From Lady A. Buller to the Queen.

2 Feb. 1900.

I have had a great wish to copy a few words out of one of Sir Redvers's letters (Dec. 18) which I think will interest Your Majesty and I now venture to send them. They were written to explain the reason for going to Natal.

> 'I regarded the attempt to relieve White as a forlorn hope, and did not want anyone to take the risk of a failure that I ought to be responsible for. So I came, and I can truly say I did what I thought right.'

CHAPTER XVI

THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER AND THE HOUSE OF LORDS

A desire to serve the Nation in Parliament is an *English* Man's Ambition, always to be Encouraged, and never to be disapproved. THE MARQUESS OF HALIFAX.

The Lower Chamber is a chamber of eager politicians; the Upper (to say the least) of *not* eager ones. WALTER BAGEHOT, *The English Constitution.*

IT was only a week or two before the South African War began that Bishop Davidson gave his Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese (September 28—October 5, 1899). We have already referred, and shall have to refer again, to the main portion of its subject-matter—the doctrinal and ritual difficulties in the Church of England. But he wished to call attention now to his conception of the duties of a Bishop in the 'secular' field—a conception expressed with great emphasis at the very opening of the Charge, before he turned to the ecclesiastical controversy. The Bishop, he said (speaking in the choir of Winchester Cathedral), has his immediate diocesan responsibilities, and must be in touch day by day with the strangely varied needs and interests of each of his parishes ('We have 566 parishes in all'), and find time for looking personally into their circumstances:

> This is all as it should be. It is one main purpose for which a Bishop exists. But he is, besides, and not less rightly, expected to be giving time and thought to a whole multitude of central things in the life of the Nation or the Church, things quite other than Diocesan. Look back into any period you will of English History, and see the part which the Bishops whose tombs surround you in this Choir have always taken, as in duty bound, in such central matters as affected at the time the wellbeing, and especially the moral and religious wellbeing, of the English people. Unless I am strangely mistaken, it is not the wish of contemporary Churchmen, whether lay or clerical, that their Bishops should now for the first time in our history be so exclusively local officers as to have neither time nor opportunity for interests which are larger still.
>
> To evolve a working plan for the combination of these conflicting duties is no doubt a task to baffle any man. As I try to do it month by month I gratefully recognise that it is what you, whose claim upon your Bishop's time and energy stands indisputably

first, desire him to do. He is set in this peculiar office, which has its duly assigned niche in our National history past and present, to be in some sense your representative and mouthpiece for dealing with moral as well as with religious questions in the public life of England.

To give practical examples of what I mean. When questions directly affecting the affairs of the Clergy, or the system of our Church Schools, or the observance of Sunday, and so forth are under discussion, it is expected, as a matter of course that the Bishops should take an active part. But in my judgment they are not less truly called upon—especially while they have a place in the National Legislature—to accept and use their responsibility in other matters which concern the social and moral health of our citizens and their children, say the protection of infant life from cruelty and wrong—or such amendment of our prison laws as shall make them remedial as well as punitive, or provision for the cases of workmen who are injured in the discharge of duty—or enactments for checking commercial immorality—or arrangements for promoting the health of shop assistants.

Bishops, in short, are entrusted, as I believe, with a place in the Legislature not only for what are technically called Ecclesiastical questions, but for whatever things directly concern the moral life and the social well-being of the English people.

These words express some of the deepest convictions of Randall Davidson regarding the responsibility of his office, which he held from the beginning to the end of his episcopate.

I

We are not surprised, therefore, that Bishop Davidson should take his duties as a member of the House of Lords very seriously. He was a member of the House as Bishop of Rochester for a few months, taking his seat in 1895, only four years after his consecration. But it was as Bishop of Winchester that he first spoke and began to play that active and public part in the debates of Parliament which continued without a break for thirty-five years until his death. He had been brought up to follow the proceedings of the House by Archbishop Tait; and we have already seen how he secured the special post in the corner of the Chamber for the Archbishop's chaplain. He came, therefore, with a far better acquaintance with the atmosphere of the House than is possessed by most bishops, or indeed most peers; and he knew

the kind of approach and argument which would weigh with their lordships.

He was also deeply interested in human beings, not only those about whom he had to talk but those whom he met in the House. One of the great pleasures of the House of Lords, he used to say, was the opportunity it gave for friendly intercourse with the responsible leaders in public life. Davidson enjoyed people, and when a man enjoys the company which he finds day by day in the regular course of his work it makes his own part in the work not only more agreeable but also more effective. And there could be no doubt that regular attendance at the House when he became Archbishop enabled him to know things, and to do things, or get them done, through personal contact, which would have been quite impossible without it.

He also took immense pains with everything he did in the House. He knew his subject. He scoured London, and if need be the provinces, and even the Dominions, for help if he wanted to press a particular point home. He missed nothing, and was not only ready, but eager, to see workers, Government officials, representatives of public bodies, or anybody, whether for or against some particular opinion, from whom he could get light on the subject under discussion. He was thorough, and he was absolutely fair.

What was he like as a speaker? He spoke almost invariably from full notes carefully marshalled on long strips of paper, as often as not supplemented by quotations copied out in full from his authorities. Sometimes he would have more than enough material for a speech, and a packet is still preserved which he took to the House of Lords for one of the Temperance debates, unused, labelled '*Bona fide* travellers, surplus evidence'. People sometimes complained that in speaking he was apt to address his remarks much more to the reporters in the gallery than to the lords on the floor of the House. Some of those who heard him in those early days as Bishop of Winchester, describe him as turning his back on his brother bishops and the Lord Chancellor and levelling his voice straight at the reporters' gallery. They also remarked on his vigorous, clear, ringing voice. His previous experience in listening to the debates, as chaplain to Archbishop Tait, stood him in good stead; and he was thus enabled to get accustomed to the atmosphere of the House, and to gain the ear of its members, more quickly than the majority of Bishops.

We have already noted his interest in the Sunday question. A Bill for the legalization of Sunday entertainments was before Parliament. The Bishop had proved himself in favour of opening museums and galleries on Sundays, but he drew the line at the provision of lectures and music in public places for money, though the Bill proposed that the money taken should be for the good of the community and not for the profit of the promoters. In June 1897 he successfully moved the rejection in a striking speech, including a description of a sacred concert in New York, which caused the Lord Chancellor to 'shake and mumble ominously' on the Woolsack.

In July 1898, the Benefices Bill passed into law. It dealt with the transfer of patronage, and matters of clerical discipline. Bishop Davidson paid a tribute in the House of Lords to the indefatigable perseverance of Archbishop Benson as responsible, together with the eloquence of Archbishop Magee, for the placing of the Bill at last on the Statute Book. He also took occasion to condemn the false reports sometimes published as to the morals of the clergy. And as he always enjoyed catching inaccurate or malicious people out, we cannot doubt that it was with a particular relish that he related certain recent experiences of his own. The following account in his speech on July 7, 1898, is an admirable example of his thoroughness in digging things out.

He had noticed (he said) in a newspaper, a letter giving a tabulated statement of cases of wrongdoing among the clergy for twelve months, and according to this there had been 228 gross cases of moral misdemeanour or criminal conduct among the clergy in England. The writer of the letter professed to give his full name and address. The Bishop wrote to him and asked him for fuller information as to the figures upon which the table was based. He received his letter back, after it had wandered through many parts of England, marked to the effect that no such person was known. He then wrote to the editor of the newspaper in which the letter appeared, but owing to a change in the editorship his letter was overlooked; and yet the original letter with its statistics had been copied into many other newspapers! Then, a few months later, he saw a strange statement in the press that at a gathering for the relief of decayed sandwich-men in the East of London, it was discovered that about one-half of the fourteen or fifteen men present had been

in Holy Orders! He wrote to the editor of the newspaper, and, with a candour he hardly expected, the editor favoured him with the grounds upon which the statement had been made. It turned out that a correspondent had listened to some gossip in the smoke-room of his club to the effect that a large number of these people were members of the Church of England! This showed how often it was that scandalous statements concerning the clergy, when inquired into, were found to be absolutely without foundation.

But, as we have already said, Davidson's share in the debates of the House of Lords was by no means confined to ecclesiastical questions. And his action at the time was remarked upon as uncommon.

The earliest instance of his interest in general social welfare is found in his action on behalf of the Seats for Shop Assistants Bill in the summer of 1899. The object of that Bill, which had been brought forward by Sir John Lubbock and other supporters of the Early Closing Association, was to compel the provision of seats in shops or other premises where women assistants were employed. There was no doubt about the suffering endured by women in all too many places of business, where they were compelled by their occupation to stand for too many hours together. At the same time there were not a few excellent employers who disliked the idea of compulsion, and the substitution of legislation for voluntary effort, among those immediately concerned—a point of view sure of a favourable reception in the House of Lords. Bishop Davidson, his sympathies once aroused, tackled the subject with characteristic thoroughness. He interviewed social workers, inspectors, employers, and shop assistants themselves; went into the question of wages as well as leisure and health; and visited shops—some of the larger ones like Gorringe's and Marshall and Snelgrove's as well as the small—nor was he deterred by attacks such as that of Lady Frances Balfour, who poured scorn on this well-meant philanthropy, and described the Bill as the Grandmothers' Armchair Bill!

Accordingly, when it came up before the House of Lords for second reading on July 11, 1899, the Bishop of Winchester spoke with unusual personal authority. He reminded the House of Lord Salisbury's remarks when opposing a former Bill of a similar kind: 'In such matters as sitting down and standing up we trust

to human instincts, leaving people to manage it for themselves.' He pointed out that the very object of this Bill was to allow the shop assistants to stand up or sit down as they pleased. We learn also from the report of a watchful observer in the press (*Pall Mall Gazette*, July 12) that the Bishop's narrative of private investigations produced a mild sensation. 'The Bishop', it said, '... but he of Winchester is not altogether as other Bishops are..., during the last fortnight has been on a pilgrimage through certain drapery establishments in London and, to quote his own words which fell with something like a shock upon the nerves of his peers, "I went behind the counter in each shop"!' There were other arguments of a more statistical kind as well, and the Bishop drew a distinction between first-class and second-class shops. In the result, despite a long and emphatic speech from Lord Salisbury against the Bill, the second reading was carried by 73 votes to 28; and on August 9 the Bill received the Royal Assent.[1]

It was perhaps Davidson's notable interest in the fortunes of this Bill which led to correspondence about another measure in which Mr. and Mrs. J. Ramsay Macdonald were interested—a Bill for the better regulation of Home Industries.[2]

Several letters passed on the subject between Mrs. Macdonald and the Bishop in February 1900, but Davidson, though sympathetic, did not see his way to introducing the Bill in the House of Lords.

II

The most important of all Davidson's contributions to social legislation, if we except his work on the Education Bill, 1902, was connected with the reform of the liquor trade.

A Royal Commission of twenty-four persons was appointed by Lord Salisbury in April 1896 under the chairmanship of Lord

[1] Mr. Frank Debenham, of Debenham & Freebody, an opponent of the Bill and himself an admirable employer, wrote after the Debate to the Bishop 'Whatever our views may be as to remedies, we must all feel deeply grateful for the deep interest yourself and others are taking in these questions. The result of the debate on Tuesday was largely attributable to your own speech, and its influence on public opinion is bound to be great' (14 July).

[2] Lady Laura Ridding was the intermediary between the promoters of the Bill and the Bishop. She wrote to him on February 1, 1900. 'I do thank you most kindly for your thorough plan of going into the Home Work question. If you could see Mr. and Mrs. Macdonald, 3 Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C., also about it, it would be a very kind and informing step. He has had, I believe, a great deal to do with drafting the Bill.... Mr. Macdonald ... is a Labour M.P. candidate for Leicester.'

Peel to investigate this question. It collected an immense amount of evidence and in July 1899 presented its final conclusions in the shape of a majority report and a minority report.

In spite, however, of their apparent independence, out of 99 recommendations 77 were substantially common to the two reports. It was significant of the public disquiet about the general situation that the majority report itself should contain this paragraph:

> It is indisputable that a gigantic evil remains to be remedied and hardly any sacrifice would be too great which would result in a marked diminution of this national degradation.

No sooner were the reports published than a very considerable controversy arose. Lord Salisbury, curiously enough, seemed indifferent whether any action at all were taken on either report. The Temperance party generally ranged itself behind the minority recommendations, which had been signed, amongst others, by the Archbishop of Canterbury. There was, however, real danger that the whole labours of the Royal Commission might be lost. Some who foresaw this, including Davidson, therefore pressed for legislation on that large area where majority and minority were agreed. The matter was debated in the public press, at meetings, sometimes at quarter sessions, and in Convocation.

With a large body of public opinion behind him, Davidson decided to raise the whole question in the House of Lords. He accordingly proposed the following motion on May 8, 1900:

> That it is desirable that legislative effect be given to such of the recommendations contained in the Final Report of the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws as are common to the 'Majority Report' and the 'Minority Report' of the Commissioners.

It was the first time that the attention of the Lords had been called to the Report, and a large number of peers were present. The Bishop made a most interesting and exhaustive speech. As he pointed out, with some humour:

> One Report is signed by seventeen of the twenty-four members, headed by the vice-chairman of the Commission, that is to say, by the whole of those representing the Trade and by the party who claimed the attribute of approaching the matter with open minds. The second Report was signed by the Chairman of the Commission

and by seven of his colleagues who were ranged upon what is commonly called the 'Temperance' side. One Commissioner of great ability—an Irishman—signed both Reports.[1]

The Bishop laid great weight on the substantial measure of reform on which both Majority and Minority were agreed, and he expressed his regret 'that the matter had not been taken in hand on their own initiative by His Majesty's Government who appointed the Commission . . . and who, it would seem to me, have some measure of responsibility for dealing with the unanimous conclusions to which the Commissioners ultimately came'.

Lord Salisbury, in reply, refused to accept the motion, though inviting the Bishop, if he liked, to produce measures of his own; questioned the meaning and the value of the unanimous recommendations; and spoke somewhat slightingly of the Report of the Commissioners 'who undoubtedly have gone through a labour of extreme severity and have attained results that are perhaps not altogether satisfactory'. The Archbishop of Canterbury not unnaturally asked why, if all the objections urged by Lord Salisbury against any legislation on licensing were well founded, he and his colleagues had appointed the Commission at all. On His Grace's suggestion the Bishop of Winchester's motion was negatived and the following amended motion was put:

That it is desirable that Her Majesty's Government should at an early date lay before Parliament proposals founded on such of the recommendations contained in the final Report of the Royal Commission with regard to the Liquor Licensing Laws as are common to both the Minority Report and the Majority Report of the Commission.

Lord Salisbury insisted on treating this motion as one of want of confidence, but even so the motion was only lost by a narrow majority (42 to 45).

The Prime Minister's invitation to Davidson to bring in a Bill on his own with the promise of respectful attention did not fall on deaf ears. Lord Rosebery wrote to him, as follows:

The EARL OF ROSEBERY *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

38, Berkeley Square, W.
June 21, 1900.

I think you are quite right to make even a nibble at legislation. The extent indeed matters little, as nothing will pass.

[1] The chairman was Lord Peel, the vice-chairman Sir Algernon West.

With the help of a Committee of Bishops, he drafted three separate Bills, and in March 1901 introduced them into the House of Lords. By his manner of speech Davidson earned the praise of Lobby Correspondents: 'His Lordship is one of the few prelates who recognize that the art of legislation is learned by steps' (*Nottingham Daily Express*, March 15, 1901). His quietness and pertinacity had their reward. Of the three Bills, one (Intoxicating Liquor Sale to Travellers Bill) was rejected. A second, on Licensing Sessions, was passed by the House of Lords but made no progress with the Commons. The third (Habitual Drunkards Bill) was substantially amended by the Government and passed the Lords, Lord Salisbury in an ironical speech observing: 'I rather wish to push into the foreground the fact that by a strange chance I was able to find myself in agreement with the Right Reverend Prelate. It was rather a satisfaction to know that for once we could pull in the same boat.'[1]

Lord Salisbury had throughout the discussions on Temperance legislation adopted a line which seemed flippant or cynical to his opponents, and he was particularly caustic to the bishops. There is a charming cartoon by F. C. G. in the *Westminster Gazette* (May 16, 1901), called 'The Aged Man', in which Lord Salisbury is sitting on a stile, very sleepy, while the White Knight, in the shape of Lord Rosebery, is trying to pull him about and shake him. The legend below the picture reads thus:

I shook him well from side to side
Until his face was blue.
'Come, tell me where's the Bill', I cried,
And what you're going to do.'

He said 'I hunt for jibes and pins
To prick the bishops' calves,
And search for Royal Commissions too
To use as safety valves.'

The Bills thus introduced by the Bishop of Winchester and amended by the Government for the moment got no farther than the House of Lords. The critics of the Government laughed at the idea of any such legislation going forward. 'In the episcopal bosom', said Lord Rosebery, referring to Davidson, 'a more

[1] Bishop Westcott wrote, March 15, 1901, just before he died: 'To have won praise from Lord Salisbury on questions of Temperance legislation is an unlooked for achievement.'

sanguine spirit may lurk than that which inspires merely secular individuals. He must indeed have it in abundance if he expects any Temperance legislation from this Government.' Randall Davidson was certainly sanguine, but in this case his wild hope of Temperance Reform was rewarded. In the spring of 1902 he had the satisfaction of seeing a full-fledged Licensing Bill introduced into Parliament by the Home Secretary. Indeed it covered a wider field than the Bishop's three Bills, as it also provided, amongst other things, for the registration of clubs. But Davidson's claim when he spoke of the Bill in Convocation on May 2, 1902 was not without its justification.

> The Government has very rightly announced that this Bill is the outcome of prolonged consideration and careful thought on their part in the draft of its various clauses. We are glad to remember, although I do not think that any recognition has been given to the fact, that most of the clauses were, as a matter of fact, drafted in this room and were portions of our Bill which was presented in the House.

The Bishop of Winchester took an active part in the House of Lords debates as the Bill proceeded, and on July 31 it received the Royal Assent.

CHAPTER XVII

THE RITUAL CONTROVERSY AND THE CRISIS IN THE CHURCH

The discourse fell at length upon a point which seldom escapes a knot of true born Englishmen, whether in case of a religious war, the Protestants would not be too strong for the Papists! This we unanimously determined on the Protestant side. ADDISON, *The Political Upholsterer.*

THE crisis which led to the appointment of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, and so to the twenty years or more of Prayer Book revision, broke out in 1898. But (apart from its earlier history in the days of Archbishop Tait and Archbishop Benson) we notice an interesting suggestion, in which Bishop Davidson was concerned, for giving legal authority to liturgical revision. It has a special interest as a kind of anticipation of the procedure later adopted under the Enabling Act of 1919.

In February 1896, Davidson brought before the Upper House of Canterbury Convocation a draft Bill to provide facilities for the amendment of the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer, and for the addition of prayers thereto. The method proposed by the Bill was procedure by scheme through both Houses of Convocation; the scheme to be laid before Her Majesty in Council and to be approved unless either House of Parliament within three months should have presented an address to Her Majesty praying her to withhold her consent. A similar Enabling Bill had been approved by Archbishop Tait and the Upper House in 1879. The present Bill was also approved by the Upper House, and sent down to the Lower House (composed of the inferior clergy), where, however, it met with a sad rebuff. The Lower House in July, on the motion of the Dean of St. Paul's (Dr. Gregory), declared that it was inexpedient to seek for powers to make alterations in the rubrics as proposed by the Bill. The Bishop's disappointment was keen. 'I do not', he said to the Upper House, 'recognize my child on its coming back to me from what I had almost been rude enough to call the gypsy camp.' The Bill was dropped.

In connexion with the Bill, the Bishop had some correspondence with the Rev. T. A. Lacey, a learned clergyman usually associated with the High Church party, who sought his sympathy for a Measure to permit the alternative use of the Prayer Book of 1549 (the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI). The Bishop's objection is significant, for it is very early evidence of his abhorrence of submitting changes in the Church's services to detailed discussion in the House of Commons:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* REV. T. A. LACEY

28 March, 1896.

It seems to me that to endeavour at present to obtain such permission as you refer to would (quite apart from any question of its expediency) be putting the cart before the horse. What I am endeavouring to do is to obtain power for the Convocations to suggest changes which should become law without having to be discussed in detail by Parliament. Such a proposal as you make might in due course be made by Convocation if the powers I ask for are granted by law. But if we were now to go to Parliament to ask for a Bill to authorise the use of an alternative Office for the Holy Communion, that Office would require to be itself a schedule to the Act, just as the Prayer Book is a schedule to the Act of Uniformity, and it would thus, *horribile dictu*, have, in its every line, to run the gauntlet of the House of Commons.

I

The crisis, however, so far as the public was concerned, began as we stated, two years later, in May 1898. In that month a petition from Mr. John Kensit was presented by Bishop Creighton to the Upper House of Canterbury Convocation. It was a protest against services in a number of dioceses which, it was alleged, were 'largely those in use in the Church of Rome, and taken from the Roman Missal and other books belonging to that Church'. Mr. Kensit had already made himself notorious by his interruptions of Divine Service, and he gave an undertaking to the Bishop of London that for the next two months he would cease such interruptions and at the same time prepare a memorial setting forth the 'various illegal practices' to which he objected. A debate followed in which the Archbishop and several other Bishops, including Davidson, took part. From that time on the ritual

controversy steadily gathered force and held the attention of the public for nearly two years.

The Diocese of Winchester was in no sense the resort of ritualistic clergy, though there were certainly churches in which 'illegal practices' went on. But it was the home of the redoubtable foe of all mutinous priests, Sir William Harcourt, whose seat was at Malwood, near Lyndhurst. He was a stubborn and a strong Churchman, devout in his own way. And he was an Erastian who looked on the Church as a creation of Parliament and the Book of Common Prayer as 'the Schedule of the Statute'. From his pen flew forth prodigious polemics. The pages of *The Times* abound with his letters on 'Lawlessness in the Church', 'The Powers of the Bishops and their Veto', 'The Confessional as it is', 'The Mutiny of the Priests', 'The Laity, their Rights and Powers', and kindred themes.

A voluminous correspondence between Davidson and Harcourt survives among Davidson's papers; and there were encounters also in the Press. One principal feature in the controversy concerned 'special services'. Both Davidson and Harcourt agreed in dismissing Archbishop Temple's interpretation of the words of the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act—allowing special services on special occasions upon the express condition 'so that there be not introduced into such Services anything except hymns or anthems which does not form part of the Holy Scriptures or the Book of Common Prayer'. Dr. Temple claimed that these words meant 'that there must be nothing (in those Services) which contains and nothing which expresses any doctrine which you cannot find the substance of in either the Bible or the Book of Common Prayer'. No other Bishop agreed with the theory of the Archbishop, though they might all appear to act upon it.[1] The point Davidson made, however, was that the Acts of Uniformity only referred to 'open' prayer and to the duly appointed Services of the Church on week-days and

[1] In his evidence before the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline in 1905, Davidson referred to Archbishop Temple's interpretation as one held, as far as he knew, by Temple alone. He added (13227): 'If Archbishop Temple's interpretation held good, it would seem that anthems or hymns might be contrary to the teaching contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and that the only things which might not were the prayers. But be that as it may, I am not aware of anyone who defends in theory that interpretation, although in practice I think many of us act almost as though it were the interpretation.'

Sundays alike and did not by any means cover the ground of legitimate worship. In a letter published in *The Times* of August 29, 1898, he wrote:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the Editor of 'The Times'*

August 26, 1898.

A few generations ago it was usual for Sunday-schools, with the devotions accompanying them, to be held in the parish church, nor was it ever, that I have heard of, suggested that this contravened the Act of Uniformity. Further, what is the authority by which the service for the consecration of the Church is habitually used, in the presence too of the Chancellor, in a form prescribed by each Bishop for his own diocese and modelled usually on the service drawn up by Bishop Andrewes in 1620? When a new incumbent is inducted, by what authority, other than episcopal, is the service used? These, Sir, are not newfangled innovations. They have long prescription in their favour.

I am far from saying that the legal question is a simple one. Still less would I claim for my opinion any other weight than may rightly attach to the opinion of any responsible man who has done his best to consider a difficult question. My position is this. I have to decide, as a diocesan Bishop, whether or not I am under a legal obligation to prohibit such services as I have described On examining the facts I find that concurrently with the obligatory and continuous use of the services legally and universally prescribed, our parish churches have been utilized for centuries, without suspicion of illegality, for other teaching and devotion appropriate to the needs of the day. In somnolent, dreary Georgian days such use was, no doubt, sparse and broken. But there it was. In face of this fact can it be a Bishop's duty, at a time of welcome activity and life, to put a peremptory stop to the use, for special purposes and at special hours, of wholesome and profitable services submitted in every case for his approval, services based from first to last on Scripture and the Prayer Book, and proved by daily experience to be absolutely required for the modern needs of our people and deeply valued by those who use them? Rather, as it seems to me, ought each diocesan Bishop to redouble his efforts to safeguard the character of every service used, however occasionally, in his diocese. It is, as was pointed out by the Lambeth Conference last year, his bounden duty to take care 'that all such additions or adaptations be in thorough harmony with the spirit and tenor of the whole Book of Common Prayer'. The vagaries of a very few men in a very few dioceses have diverted public attention from the real character of the special services in ordinary use.

Harcourt, writing privately later to Davidson about his remarks on the Reformed Church of England in his Diocesan Conference, with which he agreed, said (Sept. 23, 1898) that whatever might be true of 'special services' in a general way, 'the Ritualists with true Ecclesiastical wile have taken advantage of them as stalking horses to cover their approach to Rome', and added:

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

September 23, 1898.

For myself I would willingly trust the present Bishop of Winchester, but I should certainly not have the same confidence in the contiguous Sarum. You would have a special service approved on one side of the road and disapproved on the other side.

The Bishop, in reply, defined his attitude to the special services, and spoke of the general situation thus:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to* SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT

Baveno, Lago Maggiore.
Sept. 27, 1898.

I am indeed profoundly convinced of our present dangers. Though they are, so far as I can judge, partly the *inevitable* accompaniment of the aesthetic (as contrasted with doctrinal) change which characterises modern modes of worship in all English-speaking Christendom, among Nonconformists as surely as among Churchmen—there is also a weak and sentimental return to emotional rather than intellectual beliefs and forms of devotion. It is I think a mistake to suppose that things can readily be 'set straight' by sheer exercise of authority, either by Bishops or by anybody else. I don't defend the Bishops. I think they have been slack and that too much liberty has been allowed to hard-working and devoted men to do very much as they liked in matters of ritual and even teaching provided only they worked hard. But it has to be remembered that 'sacerdotalism' is not a very *tangible* thing, that some of its worst developments are matters of degree rather than of 'kind'—exaggerations of truth rather than contradictions of it—and that Bishops, like other men, are cautious about issuing ukases which they have no power to enforce.

You speak specially and truly of the dangers arising from Confession. No man, I think, can feel these more strongly than I do. . . . But the wholesale and absolute denunciation of private Confession in any and every form is, so far as I can see, equally

incompatible with the Prayer Book words as they stand.... I agree with you that the English people is sternly and inflexibly resolved to have no return to the 'System of the Confessional', and in enforcing this resolve they will have nearly all the Bishops enthusiastically on their side. But if we are to carry our best men with us in restraining—sternly if need be—sacerdotal excesses and distortions, we must be on our guard against anything that can be represented as unfair. I believe most of the 'advanced' men (not quite all but most) can be kept loyal or won back to loyalty if we treat them fairly. If we don't, there is no chance at all. The best friend the irreconcileables—the handful of impracticable or disloyal Ritualists—have at this moment is Mr. Kensit.

Meantime the public agitation was increasing, and the Bishops were obliged to deal with the situation by concerted action. Though the Confessional was attacked with some violence from without, the two practices which the Bishops appeared to be resolute in forbidding were the ceremonial use of incense, and—most important of all—Reservation. Davidson was in communication with the Archbishop as to an active policy, particularly with regard to his much cherished plan for reforming Ecclesiastical Courts. The letters show a certain nervousness, as well as persistence, on Davidson's part as to whether Temple was really going not only to take the Courts question out of his hands but, when undertaken, to carry it through. The following letter refers to the proposal adopted at the Bishops' Meeting in January of a twofold policy of reforming the Courts, and making use of the provision at the end of the Preface to the Prayer Book, whereby any Bishop in doubt as to the bearing of the Prayer Book rules on a particular service or ceremony 'may send for the resolution thereof to the Archbishop':

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Farnham Castle, Surrey.

Private. Dec. 27, 1898.

I appreciate your kind confidence in the matter of possible 'Court' legislation. . . .

As regards your interesting and I think *new* proposal to make something more formal and more practical of the appeal to the Archbishop provided in the Prayer Book Preface, I think it *admirable*, provided it be not in any way announced as a *substitute*

for the legal Courts (reformed or unreformed). If it were proposed and announced as a substitute for these, it would I think play into the hands of the Harcourt party, who already complain that the Bishops keep the matter in their own 'clerical' or 'sacerdotal' hands, and bar out the laymen from any voice.

The Bishops met on January 17, 1899, and duly announced their dual policy in the Press: (1) to submit a Bill for the reform of the Ecclesiastical Courts, drawn on the lines laid down by the Royal Commission in 1883 to the Convocations in February; and (2) to provide for Hearings by the Archbishop of the Province at which those who are concerned in the case may 'argue the matter openly before him, either personally or by counsel', neither Archbishop pronouncing a final decision without first consulting the other Archbishop.

Meantime the controversy raged with increasing fierceness outside the walls of Lambeth. More than ever did ritualism become the absorbing question of the hour. A special attack was levelled on the use by the Bishops of their veto under the Public Worship Regulation Act [1] It was said that they had used it so deliberately, that all prosecutions of disobedient clergy had been stopped and the Courts had been destroyed.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Malwood, Lyndhurst.

Private. January 13, 1899.

I have no doubt that you have done and are doing what you can in the way of private communication to restrain unlawful Ritual practices, but unfortunately the results are at present very little apparent to the public eye. . . .

I have recently been in communication with Sir Francis Jeune —the greatest living authority upon this subject—and he writes to me 'the Church Discipline Act was employed in the case of Mackonochie and he was deprived by sentence of the Privy Council in 1883. This action was a complete success and there is every reason to believe that had the Bishops not interfered to close the Law Courts the result must have been that illegal Ritualism

[1] The Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874, gave an express power to a Bishop not to proceed on a representation made to him [against a clergyman] under that Act, subject to the condition that he should consider 'the whole circumstances of the case', and, if he should decide not to proceed, give his reasons in writing (*Report of Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, 1906*, p. 69). There were thirty-three cases in which the veto was used between 1874 and 1906.

would have been ended and never would have been revived. It was a great responsibility to take and its assumption could only have been justified by their using some power of their own to better purpose than the ordinary course of Law, but so far from this being the case, they either were never able to stop illegalities or were not able to prevent their coming into existence again. I don't think there could be a doubt that to take away this clearly misused Veto would end illegal Ritualism once for all.' This action of the Bishops by neutralising the law of the Church is the *fons et origo* of the present lawlessness and chaos.

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to* SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT

Farnham, Jan. 14, 1899.

In your main contention in this controversy, I am, as you well know, in agreement with you. If you will pardon what may seem to you the impertinence of my saying so, I think you underrate the difficulties which beset our *speedy* action, and further that you perhaps do not quite realise the strength of *lay* opinion in support of advanced men. These laymen are, I am thankful to know, a mere insignificant handful among the lay Churchmen of England, but they are good and earnest men who have a right to our consideration, and whom we have no right to 'bully'.

To deal with each such Church and congregation by the process which seems to me the right one—i e. first privately, by remonstrance, personal influence, and (if need be) formal direction, and then, if these efforts fail, by public 'action', does require time, say a few months, and it is peculiarly difficult at a season of popular excitement on the subject. I am in complete agreement with much of what you say as to the responsibility belonging to those Bishops who have refused to repress excesses on the part of hard-working earnest men. I have urged it repeatedly, and have not I hope myself erred gravely in that direction. But the result of this policy —what has sometimes been called the Gamaliel policy—has been that thousands of laymen have become keenly in favour of usages which public opinion *now* calls on the Bishops to suppress; and I honestly think these men are fairly entitled to sympathy and consideration as to the manner in which they are to be deprived of what they prize. It is to be remembered too that the present hot enthusiasm for repressing vagaries on the part of earnest men has not long been aroused. You may possibly remember that I, on coming into the Diocese, three years ago, was immediately confronted with the case of St. Agatha's, Portsmouth, where Mr. Dolling desired an altar specially for 'masses for the dead'. I abso-

lutely declined to tolerate this, and in the result Mr. Dolling was, as most people put it, 'driven out of Portsmouth by his Bishop'. If you were to consult the Press comments, etc., and still more if you were to see my correspondence files at that time, you would find the outcry which was raised against me 'for letting a hard-working man be harried because of some foolish ritual fads', and so forth.

Harcourt replied in his usual trenchant way:

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Malwood, Lyndhurst.
January 15, 1899.

I confess I am getting rather sick of the 'good and earnest men' who violate the law and break their oaths. It really does not melt my heart, when a man is discovered to be a swindler or a pick-pocket, to be told that he is an admirable family man and goes to church twice on Sunday. . . . I fully recognise the pluck which you showed in the Dolling case, but you stand, like Lot, alone, and without any episcopal family about you. The cause of all mischief is cowardice, and moral cowardice the worst of all, *misera est servitus*, when the Bench is suffering from this influenza. . . . Half a dozen deprivations of contumacious law breakers will do more good than all the 'talky talky' of well-meaning and weak-acting people and might tranquillize the public mind. If these gentlemen take themselves off to the place where they properly belong so much the better—until these bacilli are got out of the system there will be no health in the Church.

A few days later Davidson was the cause of a considerable amount of speculation in the Press, as he went straight from Osborne to Malwood, whence, the public opined, Harcourt would be given the Queen's own views:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* QUEEN[1]

Lindisfarne, Bournemouth.
25 Jan., 1899.

Your Majesty was good enough to desire me to write about the result of my visit yesterday to Sir William Harcourt.

I had a great deal of conversation with him and while in his general wish to maintain the true Protestant character of the Church of England against foolish innovations, I am in full agreement with him; I yet cannot think his present violent and heated

[1] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 3rd series, vol. iii, p. 335.

letters are conducive to a wise result. He is stirring up passions which had slumbered, and the result of that will be to make a solution more and more difficult.

I tried to point this out to him but without much effect I fear. I told him, of course, what Your Majesty had said upon the subject.

I am now corresponding with Sir William privately upon some of the points raised in the controversy, and perhaps Your Majesty will graciously afford me some opportunity of reporting further upon the whole subject before very long. The Bishops are placed at present in a most anxious and difficult position, as your Majesty knows.

The next step in the controversy was taken by the Bishop of Winchester giving notice of a Motion in the House of Lords to call attention 'to statements lately made respecting the actions of the Bishops in dealing with irregularities in public worship'. To some it might be surprising that the Bishops should ask for battle in the House of Lords. But in reality it was a very sound policy, especially when Davidson was able to say at the beginning of his speech that he had challenged Lord Kinnaird to repeat in the House the statement made about the Church and the Bishops in the Albert Hall a week or two before, and that on Lord Kinnaird declining the challenge he had felt it right to come forward himself. The House was crowded. The Bishops were present in force (eighteen out of twenty-four); the galleries full; and among prominent members of the two front Benches of the House of Commons, on the steps of the throne, were Arthur Balfour and John Morley.

There were many comments on the Bishop's manner in the Press next morning. 'Bishop Davidson knew his House of Lords', 'His Lordship is a cheerful-looking, middle-aged man with very little of the prelate and nothing of the ascetic about him', 'He cooed gently with glib, smooth tongue.' After referring to the attacks in the Albert Hall and the Press, the Bishop dealt with the alleged misuse of the episcopal veto. He stated that, with three trifling but significant exceptions, no living bishop had in any circumstances ever exercised that veto at all. The eloquent indictment had been launched against an imaginary foe. Was this fair in controversy? Was the Bishop not right in taking the first opportunity to call attention to the matter in the House of Lords?

He then proceeded to give the facts as to the circumstances in which the veto had been used by Bishops now alive—in 1876, in 1886, and in the case of the St. Paul's Cathedral reredos, more recently. He then said (*The Times*, February 10, 1899):

> It might be asked how it was that there had been no suits for many years past, and that the position of the Dean of Arches had been a sinecure for many years. Simply because the Church of England as a whole—laymen, clergy, and Bishops together—had come to the conclusion that a cessation of these prosecutions was desirable. They found them to be doing incalculable harm. The folly of those who promoted them resulted in the imprisonment of several estimable and worthy men; and if there was one thing which had aroused the feelings of the people against these prosecutions it was these imprisonments. (Hear, hear.) The times had changed since the days of Queen Elizabeth, when it was laid down in the *Reformatio Legum* that a Bishop should have within his jurisdiction 'a prison, or two prisons, or even more' to which to commit offenders. (Laughter.) It was not the Bishops who had stopped prosecutions; prosecutions were not initiated, because the Church at large—Low as well as High—was against them.

After referring to his own action in the case of Father Dolling, and certain particular 'outrageous actions' of individual men to which attention had been called, he went on to say:

> What was the evil that in his opinion was great and growing? It was not the performance of overt acts or outrageous acts. These things were, in his opinion, being speedily suppressed, but the evil, in his opinion, was far more insidious and far more difficult to deal with. It was the exaggeration of a truth rather than the overt act of wrong. It was the growth of mistaken ideas of a materialistic kind with regard to the celebration of the Holy Communion; the perils, which seemed to be very real indeed, with regard to the growth of the practices surrounding confession; the growth of the use of small manuals of devotion and the like, which were circulated by laymen and women quite as much as by clergymen among those who were of tender years. These things, in his opinion, constituted for the Church of England to-day a peril which he did not say was a growing one, but which was at this moment great. They, the Bishops, were entitled to speak on this matter. They desired to support the English laity in dealing with these things quietly, gravely, and steadily, but their power of doing so effectively, of using the powers of guidance and persuasion, which alone could deal with these specific things, which did not come within

the four corners of any Act of Parliament, was directly impaired, just in proportion as he thought those mistaken men were made the objects of violent agitation with scurrilous abuse.

He concluded by emphasizing the comprehensiveness of the Church of England, and said that the meeting at the Albert Hall would have made short work of such men as Andrewes, Wilson, and Keble.

The same day saw a similar debate in the House of Commons; and a month later there was another discussion, mainly on Confessional Boxes, in the House of Lords.

Towards the end of February Davidson issued his own Directions in a letter to each of his 566 incumbents, specifying twelve liturgical points which had given rise to controversy and stating explicitly, 'What is to the best of my judgment the rule of the Church of England':

[*Ritual Irregularity*

The Bishop of Winchester's Directions to Incumbents]

Private. February 22, 1899.

1. No Celebration of Holy Communion ought to take place without, at least, the minimum number of Communicants prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer.

2. No Reservation of the consecrated Elements is permissible.

3. In celebrating the Holy Communion it is not permissible, in ordinary circumstances, to omit the recitation of the Commandments, or to administer the consecrated Elements otherwise than with individual recitation of the full prescribed words. If special arrangements are desired, as for example when, on a great festival, the number of communicants is likely to be very large, my sanction ought to be asked beforehand for what is proposed.

4. In order that there may be no question of using, in the office of Holy Communion, any other form than that prescribed, no books or cards containing other prayers or forms ought to be upon the Holy Table, even if the additional prayers be intended solely for the private devotions of the officiant.

5. If it be desired to use wine mingled with water, the mixing ought to be effected elsewhere than at the Holy Table, and not as a ceremony.

6. The 'Manual Acts' ought not to be intentionally hidden from the view of an ordinary communicant.

7. The habitual attendance of children at Celebrations of the Holy Communion is undesirable. If children are occasionally per-

mitted to be present, with a view to their better understanding of the Service, the Order of Service ought not to be modified in any way, nor ought the children to take any part not ordinarily taken by non-communicants who may be present.

8. The ceremonial use of Incense is not permissible.

9. In any official notice of the Holy Communion no other designation of the Holy Sacrament ought to be used than one of the terms to be found in the Book of Common Prayer.

10. No phrase ought to be used in public notices or Services which carries the idea of prayer or intercession for the departed further than it is carried in the Book of Common Prayer.

11. The Athanasian Creed ought to be said or sung upon the days appointed.

12. The directions of the Book of Common Prayer ought to be followed with regard to the days for which Special Services are appointed.

He asked any who felt a difficulty on any of the twelve points to write to him at once. He received letters from 176 incumbents and wrote a further letter in which he explained that he was not attempting a 'formal and authoritative Direction', but advice. With the letter he sent, as the case required, a memorandum, printed or written. The memorandum (cyclostyled) on Reservation is as follows:

Reservation of the Consecrated Elements

So very few letters have reached me with reference to the above that I print no memorandum.

The subject is an anxious one. The harm that has arisen from abuse of what might in other circumstances have been reasonably sanctioned is real though rare, and adherence to it may occasionally seem hard. After fullest thought and care, I feel bound to say that Reservation, in any true sense of the word, must not take place. Emergencies may arise when a rule ought to give way to a pressing necessity. *Necessitas non habet legem.* In such cases an Incumbent will rightly use his discretion and report to me at once what he has done. I am asked in a very few instances to authorise what cannot be called, in any ordinary sense of the term, Reservation: May the priest carry the consecrated elements straight from Service to a sick bed? I do not wish to prohibit this absolutely in all circumstances. . . . This kind of use of an incumbent's discretion ought to be justified by some exceptional circumstances. It is impossible to prescribe for each detail. I can but rely on wise and

loyal adherence to the principles laid down with such emphatic care in the Prayer Book. Among them is the principle that the sick communicant is entitled to the Service specially provided for his use.

Only 15 of the 176 remained unsatisfied with the Bishop's advice on the various points, and with them he dealt personally. He claimed six months later that there were 'only a very few parishes in which ritual matters still remained seriously unsettled'.

II

Meantime the strong feeling evident in the House of Commons crystallized in a debate on a motion by Mr. Gedge on April 11, when the House, by 200 votes to 14, definitely censured the lawlessness of certain members of the Church, and recommended the Crown to refuse preferment to any clergyman who would not obey the Bishops and Prayer Book and the law as declared by the existing Courts.

On May 6, the Archbishops opened their Hearings at Lambeth, on the applications of the Bishops of London and Norwich (in accordance with the provision in the Preface to the Prayer Book for the abolition of doubts), as to the lawfulness of the liturgical use of Incense and of the carrying of lights in procession, and with regard to Reservation.

On May 10 the Church Discipline Bill came up for second reading, and the Government then declared its policy in a motion which was unanimously adopted by the House, to the effect that:

> this House, while not prepared to accept a measure which creates new offences and ignores the authority of the Bishops in maintaining the discipline of the Church, is of opinion that, if the efforts now being made by the Archbishops and Bishops to secure the due obedience of the clergy are not speedily effectual, further legislation will be required to maintain the observance of the existing laws of Church and Realm.

In July, the Archbishops gave their decision on Incense and portable lights. It was against both. Unfortunately it was based on a strict interpretation of the Acts of Uniformity, the worst possible grounds for influencing High Churchmen. The following letters passed between the Bishop of Winchester and Sir William Harcourt:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to* SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT

Private. 25 Aug., 1899.

I am glad to have the opportunity your letter affords of writing to you on the present position of matters with regard to the recent Lambeth pronouncement. There were I believe 7 churches, and 7 only, in this Diocese in which Incense was used. Since the Lambeth pronouncement I have been in communication with the incumbents of all of these (save one who had already at my direction discontinued the use). The result, roughly, is this. One man says he will obey but resigns. I have accepted the obedience but asked him to reconsider the question of resignation. He has a very small cure in the Channel Islands. Two men (including Tremenheere about whom your correspondent writes) have promised now to discontinue Incense and Lights as directed. One man (absent on his holiday) asks me to wait till his return. Two men are causing me trouble by virtually refusing to obey my direction. But I believe I shall succeed in enforcing obedience on both. . . .

You will not mind my saying that our difficulties in obtaining obedience have been very greatly increased by your own letter to *The Times*. Your attitude is clearly consistent and your words are weighty. But they are so to speak 'rubbing in' upon these men the very thing which makes their obedience most difficult, the notion, namely, that all they have to do is to see what Parliament has said or may say and then to regulate their mode of conducting Divine Service accordingly. I am not now challenging your argument, still less am I saying it is inconsistent with all you have said from 1874 onwards, and no doubt you considered well the *effect* of your letter upon such men before publishing it. All I am saying is that as a matter of fact I honestly believe that if that letter could have been withheld, at a time of extreme difficulty, the number and strength of the recalcitrants would have been diminished, by at least one half. The present number is, I trust, small, and it will be smaller, I believe, a few weeks hence, if we are allowed to use our authority without intervention from outside. But I quite realise that we have no right to ask anybody and least of all *you*, to be guided by our wishes in such a matter.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Private. Aug. 27, 1899.

You do me justice in believing that I did not write my letter to *The Times* without due reflection and with a view to the consequence it might produce.

From the first I have had no object but to bring the Bishops into action to restrain the lawless Priests. As soon as they began to take action I have religiously kept silence awaiting the Resolution of Lambeth. You naturally approach the question in a different point of view from that in which I regard it. You of course look to the effect on the clerical mind, I to that on the opinion of the laity.

The inconclusive shape of the Lambeth procedure, which bound no one, made it necessary to enable the public to understand that it was not really a *brutum fulmen* intended to end in smoke. I therefore thought it right to expound its real inwardness and to demonstrate how it might be made effectual. . . .

Of course we are only yet at the outside fringe of the matter and the really material outrages have still to be dealt with. . . .

I am very glad that the Bishop of London[1] has acted with so much courage and firmness. His position was the most difficult one in which any of the Episcopate found themselves. The condition of the Diocese of London was the result of connivance and *laches* of his predecessor. If Bishop Temple had spoken out 20 years ago, as he has spoken at Lambeth this month, the situation would not be what it is today. He and others have fostered rebellion till it has reached a height from which it will be difficult to displace it. . . .

May I be allowed to say that I consider the future of the Church lies very much in your hands. There is no one who by his youth, experience, character, reputation and judgment can more powerfully affect its fortunes. I look forward to your action and your Charge with great interest and anxiety. This is a critical moment at which the tide may turn either way. . . .

The great battle I suppose will arise upon the condemnation of the Reservation—which is inevitable. I have no doubt many of the Romanisers who give way on Incense will take their stand on that. . . .

The reader will observe Harcourt's hopes of the lead which Bishop Davidson might give in the future. He will also note his prophecy that the great battle was to be fought on the issue of Reservation.

In September of this year, as Harcourt was fulminating in *The Times* against the acts and the braggadocio of Lord Halifax and the English Church Union, correspondence on the crisis passed between the Rev. C. G. Lang, Vicar of Portsea, and the Bishop of

[1] Dr Mandell Creighton.

Winchester. Unfortunately none of Davidson's letters survive. From Mr. Lang's appeals, however, we can form a shrewd opinion of the somewhat drastic tone which Davidson must have adopted. Mr. Lang put the case for a tolerable use of Incense, a distinction between ceremonies within, and ceremonies outside, the limits of the official services of the Church, and took up the cudgels for some of those with whom he was more in sympathy than his Bishop.

REV. C. G. LANG *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Largie Castle, Tay in Loan, Argyll, N.B.
Sep. 18, 1899.

Many thanks for so kindly letting me know your thoughts about this Incense complication. . . .

I am not in any way writing a brief for those who wish if possible to retain some use of Incense. I do not say that I agree with all the arguments which they might use. But I would like on behalf of many of my own friends among them—some of whom have been writing to me—to try to put their position in a way which might tend to show that perhaps they do not altogether deserve the very hard words which you deal out to them. I cannot think—knowing some of them as I do—that even the want of a true sense of proportion, which I quite admit the Ritualistic development has often produced, could of itself induce them to urge a mere 'humiliating quibble' or 'shuffling pretence unworthy of a Christian gentleman'. . . . I would not think it worth while to write at such length if I thought that those who are anxious for this modified use of Incense would not be prepared to refer its *manner* of introduction to the sanction of the Bishop: many of them I know would: and would defer at once to his decision. . . . I quite admit that such a way of retaining some devotional use of Incense—or any other ceremony—is most unsatisfactory: but may not the same be said of almost all the arguments in principle by which the rigidity of the Act of Uniformity has been by all Bishops and by all schools of thought mitigated in the interests of the progressive life of the Church? . . .

I easily see the answers which might be made to these considerations. Only I have ventured—and I hope you will forgive my presumption—to lay them before you because the tone of your letter was so very drastic and indignant against a position which it is certain many good men affected will take, and which I think is capable of a kindlier consideration. It would be a great misfortune if by any means the impression got abroad among these men

and their people that such a plea would be immediately and almost contemptuously rejected by the Bishops. Such an impression would tend, however wrongly, to make them think that the Bishops were antagonistic to Incense itself, and were paying more heed to the demands of 'Protestants in the street' than to the claims to consideration of those who for so long have been permitted to use an ancient symbol of worship. If on the other hand the plea were considered with some sympathy, even its rejection would be made easier to bear, and so bring less bitterness with it. And, as you so truly say, the *really* important matter in all these difficulties is the firmer and more willing recognition of episcopal authority.

In the autumn the Bishop delivered his Charge, which dealt, as already described, with the main issues at stake in a masterly way. In an important section he urged the reconstruction of the Ecclesiastical Courts:

I have never been one of those who thought that that matter could, with common fairness to lay Churchmen, be allowed to slumber. . . . I have consistently supported the plan which was drafted in the Report signed by a large majority of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission, and which was, with some modifications, embodied five years later in the Bill prepared by Archbishop Benson, after prolonged discussion with a Committee of leading laymen. It provides, as you will remember, for the strengthening of our Diocesan and Provincial Courts, and for an appeal from the Provincial Court to the Crown, who shall refer the question to a Committee of highly-qualified lay Churchmen, such Committee being bound, before advising the Crown upon the matter, to obtain, upon any particular point of doctrine or Ritual which is in controversy, the opinion of the whole English Episcopate specially summoned for the purpose. . . . A fallacy seems to me to underlie the oft-repeated dictum that spiritual matters must be decided by a spiritual authority. I cordially assent to the proposition if it means that in the last resort a decision affecting Christian Doctrine or the Ritual which expresses Doctrine must, if it is to bind Christian men in *foro conscientiae*, be a decision consistent with the Church's own view of what is true in Doctrine or appropriate in Ritual, and must not be a decision forced upon an unwilling Church by any body or power external to or independent of the Church. But if it means, as it sometimes seems to mean, that the Christian laity, even when acting through duly accredited representatives, have no voice in the decision of such controversies, I believe it to be as false in theory as it would be mischievous in

practice. The more determinedly that we force the matter back to 'first principles', the more likely shall we be to arrive at a true, reasonable solution of present problems in the Church of England.[1]

The Charge received a wide and generous welcome from all sorts of people. Sir William Harcourt amongst others approved of its main character most heartily. He took exception, however, to Davidson's views on Ecclesiastical Courts:

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Malwood, Lyndhurst.
Nov. 4, 1899.

. . . There is one other point to which I must demur, viz. to your views on *Ecclesiastical Courts*. In the first place as an old Parliamentarian I must express my absolute conviction that the House of Commons will not entertain this, or any other large measure of Church Reform, except in the shape of Disestablishment, which is a thing you know I do not desire. I know stress is laid on some expressions of Mr. Balfour, but in this he utters no opinion but his own. His views on Church matters have no echo even on his own side. The present system of the Courts is not in my opinion likely to be improved

The ecclesiastics have no right to complain. They have (1) the Bishop's Court in which he can pronounce his own judgments either personally or by his Assessor; (2) they have the Court of the Archbishop who can do the same; (3) the final appeal is to the Crown as representing the laity, and even the Royal Commission have admitted that this is to be of exclusively lay composition. From this principle you may be well assured that neither Parliament nor the Protestant laity will allow any departure. It is of the very essence of the Royal Supremacy, which is the corner stone of the Reformation. The idea that this Royal Court is to share its exclusive authority with the 'whole English Episcopate specially summoned for the purpose' does not appear to me to be within the range of practical politics.

(1) It would make all proceedings impossible. The cost, the time and trouble of an appeal where the 'whole English Episcopate' was to be summoned, would exceed even the cumbrousness of the old appeals to Rome.

(2) It is not the least likely that the 'whole English Episcopate' would agree among themselves or with the lay tribunal.

Archbishop Benson's Bill will never reach the House of Com-

[1] A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Winchester, 1899, p. 136 f.

> mons (*a*) because the ecclesiastics reject it as giving too much authority to the laity and (*b*) the laity repudiate it as giving too much authority to the ecclesiastics. But if it ever got there I think I could pledge my Parliamentary experience that it would not survive a night's Debate.

He chaffed the Bishop a little on his 'great confidence' in the *mollia tempora fandi*, and still pressed the weapon of prosecution.

In the following May (1900) the Archbishop of Canterbury's decision on Reservation was given:

ARCHBISHOP TEMPLE *on* RESERVATION

> . . . In conclusion, after weighing carefully all that has been put before us, I am obliged to decide that the Church of England does not at present allow Reservation in any form, and that those who think it ought to be allowed, though perfectly justified in endeavouring to get the proper authorities to alter the law, are not justified in practising Reservation until the law has been altered.

In the full text of this decision, it is interesting to note after the outcry against the first hearing, there is no reference to any Act of Parliament.

In July a debate took place in the House of Lords, on Lord Portsmouth's motion, to call attention to the continued lawlessness in the Church and to ask for legislation to make the Clergy obey the law. The request was not granted. Lord Portsmouth was also a layman in the Winchester Diocese, and in August headed a movement which, under the title 'Protestantism before Politics', aimed at returning to Parliament members who were pledged to the maintenance of the Protestant Constitution and amongst other things to abolish the episcopal veto. Some letters of a lengthy character passed between the Bishop and the noble Earl, and though the Bishop succeeded in taking off a little of the edge of Lord Portsmouth's attacks, so far as his own diocese was concerned, he did not satisfy his correspondent that the Bishops as a body might be trusted to maintain the Protestant faith, or even persuade him that there was not a single incumbent in the Diocese of Winchester who was deliberately disobedient.

It was very soon after this that Davidson's intimate acquaintance with Mr. Balfour began. All through the crisis Mr. Balfour

had been leader of the House of Commons. He had defended the Bishops and refused to give way to the pressure brought upon him from many sides. But, so far as counsel and sympathy from the leaders of the Church had gone, he had been unsupported. A moment came in December, following upon the use of the veto by Bishop Creighton[1] to stop proceedings against two of his clergy for the use of Incense and Reservation, when even Mr. Balfour's patience was sorely tried. One of Mr. Balfour's private secretaries was Sydney Parry of the Treasury, whose father had been Bishop Suffragan of Dover under Archbishops Tait and Benson, and who had known Davidson ever since he could recollect. Realizing that his chief's repeated appeals to Archbishop Temple for counsel and co-operation had been altogether ineffective, and that Mr. Balfour's long patience had at last reached breaking-point, Parry wrote a strictly confidential and personal letter to his old friend, in which, after rehearsing the House of Commons history of the crisis, he went on to say:

F. S. PARRY, ESQ., *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

15 December, 1900.

. . . I would now beg you to turn off for a moment and consider what has been, all along, the attitude of Mr. Balfour as Leader of the House. I can assure you that it is not too much to say that, but for his restraining power over both sides of the House, and but for that unique magnetism and attractiveness which he exercises over everyone with whom he comes in contact, the Bishops' sympathisers in the Commons would have been in a pronounced minority. Few people seem to realize the immense weight which any appeal to the 'Law and Order' argument carries with it in the Lower House, and even those who do must often have been astonished at the unanimous condemnation passed by Members not only on the 'lawless' clergy themselves, but also on the authorities who are accused of winking at their lawlessness. They can imagine pretty well what would have happened if the Leader of the House had been a *roi fainéant* like ——, or a bully like ——, or a time-server like ——; but they do not give Mr. Balfour a tithe of the credit he deserves for his steady and successful efforts to induce the great 'Law and Order' party in the House, against its own convictions, to trust the Bishops and give them time. A glance at his speeches on each of the occasions I have men-

[1] See *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton*, ii. 452.

tioned, will, I think, fully bear out what I say. He has said the same, in the teeth of similar opposition, to the Country in general —vide, for instance, his speeches at Bristol (*The Times*, 30 Nov. 1898) and at Manchester (*The Times*, 1 Feb. 1899 and 1 Oct. 1900); and he has avowedly put his principles into force by exacting from every Crown incumbent, before appointment, a pledge of obedience in matters of discipline and ceremonial, not to the Law, as the House of Commons Resolution of 11 April 1899 recommended, but simply to the Bishop.

Meanwhile, what advice or encouragement or even acknowledgment has he received from the Primate or the Bishops generally? . . . We recently learnt, not from the powers spiritual but from common rumours in the press, that proceedings were on foot against 5 London clergymen for breaking the ecclesiastical laws as regards not only non-communicating celebrations, but also two of the practices specifically condemned by the Archbishops' decision—reservation and the ceremonial use of incense. The published accounts now show that the Bishop of London promised at first to proceed in two of the cases; but after receiving a protest from his Archdeacons, he changed his mind and vetoed the actions, not because there was any doubt as to the existence of the practices complained of, but simply because (as he must have known all along) the complainant was not a parishioner. I know, of course, that the Bishop was ill at the time; but surely, after we have been repeatedly told that the Bishops are working together in such matters, his action was not taken without the knowledge and approval of the Primate—or, indeed, of the whole Episcopal Bench! . . .

I believe Mr. Balfour intends to tell the Primate that His Grace really must provide him with *some* 'brief' in the matter; but what I want *you* to understand is that the Archbishop's policy of ignoring both the strained attitude of the great 'Law and Order' party whether inside or outside the House, and also the strenuous and self-denying efforts of the most loyal champion the Established Church possesses, is disheartening and dangerous to the highest degree. No excuse for the Bishop of London's volte-face has been produced that will hold water for a moment; and if it is construed into something like a challenge to the House of Commons to take its own course, and a hint, or more than a hint, to Mr. Balfour that his line of defence was absurd from the first, I fear that no one will be surprised and most men will be delighted.

The Bishop acknowledged the letter, and suggested a confidential talk, which took place a few days later at Canterbury. He added:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to* F. S. PARRY, ESQ.

December 19, 1900.

So far as the Archbishop is concerned I can never be responsible for anything he does or leaves undone. He is inscrutable—and perhaps most inscrutable of all to *us* who are supposed to have most to do with him. He cannot be regarded as like other men! grand as he is.

At the same time Bishop Davidson defended Archbishop Temple from the charge of ignoring Balfour, and said that it had never been the practice for the Archbishop to volunteer advice to a Minister before being asked. He also justified the Bishop of London's veto in the case of Colonel Porcelli (the complainant in question), since he was not a parishioner, but he added that he could not, and would not, veto such a prosecution if a parishioner demanded it.

More important, however, than this conversation was the fact that it led directly to a visit from Randall Davidson to Balfour at Whittinghame on January 4, 1901. It was the first time the two men had effectively met, though they had been in the same company together before, and it was the beginning of a close friendship which lasted nearly thirty years. The following note of Mr. Balfour's own impression of the interview is full of interest as showing once again Dr. Davidson's extraordinary gift of common sense and understanding. It is also very interesting to observe Mr. Balfour's own view at this early date, that the only fit solution for the present perplexities was some form of ecclesiastical autonomy:

The RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR *to* F. S. PARRY, ESQ.

January 7, 1901.

I was lucky enough to catch the Bishop for a night and half a day, and had a great deal of talk with him. I rather startled him, I think, by telling him what is certainly the fact, that in all probability the 2nd reading of the new Liverpool Bill will very likely be carried in the House of Commons, which I should regard as a serious misfortune, even though the Bill itself should go no further. I need not trouble you with a report of all the talk we had on matters theological. I found it personally of great profit, —for the Bishop has the art of stating with great clearness and sympathy the gist of opinions from which he differs: so that I

really understand more of Halifax's position now than I think I did before.

I am more than ever convinced that the only true solution of our present perplexities lies in the direction of ecclesiastical autonomy, subject of course to Parliament, and I am seriously reflecting whether I cannot induce my colleagues to allow me to prepare the way for legislative action next year.—In the meanwhile I suggested to the Bishop, as a palliative for immediate use, the appointment of, say, a joint Committee of the two Houses, to enquire into the exercise by the Bishops of their veto. He seemed to think the Bench would have no objection to this, but would rather welcome it. I think it might prove of great value.

The Bishop reported the interview to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was most careful to keep his Grace in touch with everything he did, telling Parry indeed that he would not, and could not, do anything behind Temple's back. The Bishops met as a body a few days later and issued a manifesto, signed by all the Bishops except the Bishops of London and Sodor and Man,[1] addressed to the whole clergy, appealing for obedience to the decisions of the Archbishops 'lately given on questions referred to them in accordance with the direction in the Book of Common Prayer'.

But the letter had hardly been issued before graver causes intervened. The Bishop of London died on January 14; and eight days later, January 22, 1901, a whole epoch came to an end with the death of the Queen.

NOTE

In 1901 only one question on ritual matters seems to have been asked in Parliament—but a good many more in 1902. In the light of later events it is particularly interesting to note a phrase in Mr. Balfour's answer to a question pressing for legislation 'in view of the continuance among a section of the clergy of certain practices and doctrines' (17 February 1902). He said:

'As far as I know this House has never dealt with the question of doctrine. It has always concerned itself with the practice of the clergy and not with the doctrine.'

[1] Dr. Straton.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PASSING OF THE QUEEN

In the death of that Queen, unmatchable, inimitable in her sex; that Queen, worthy, I will not say of *Nestors* years, I will not say of *Methusalems*, but worthy of *Adams* years, if *Adam* had never faln; in her death we were all under one common flood, and depth of tears. JOHN DONNE. *A Sermon Preached at Pauls Cross to the Lords of the Council, and other Honorable Persons*, 24 March, 1616.

IN the last months of 1900, the Queen's health was visibly failing. Personal sorrows and public anxieties had weighed heavy upon her. The New Year came, and one of the last efforts the Queen made was an hour's talk with Lord Roberts (on the progress of the war) on January 14. On the same day the Bishop of London (Creighton) died at Fulham, and Davidson's last letter to the Queen is a description of the impressive funeral service at St. Paul's at which he was present as her representative.[1]

On the Saturday after the funeral Davidson went to see Mrs. Creighton, and at this point we have Davidson's words to describe in graphic manner the course of events.[2]

> On Saturday, January 19th, 1901, I was sitting with Mrs. Creighton at Fulham when a . . . telegram, which had followed me from Farnham, reached me. It was from Sir Arthur Bigge, stating that the Queen's condition had become most serious and that the family had been summoned. . . . I was engaged to preach next day at Holloway College, and was going thither from Fulham, but I decided to go at once to Osborne, though Bigge had not exactly summoned me to do so. I got back to Waterloo and telegraphed to Holloway College, stating that I could not come; to the Dean of Windsor, asking him to provide for my place there; to Sir Arthur Bigge, stating that I would come to Cowes that night and sleep there unless he summoned me to his house at Osborne. Fortunately on Saturday night there is a late boat from Southampton to Cowes. The journey was most unpleasant, as it was a stormy night with some rain, and the train does not on those occasions run from the Dock Station to the Pier. We were packed into some cabs provided by the Railway Company. My companions

[1] The letter, sent to Osborne, was never read by the Queen.

[2] From a long memorandum written immediately after the series of events which it narrates.

were Press men and telegraph clerks, and on the boat we found a great company of footballers, rather boisterous. Altogether it was a strange companionship in an hour of such anxiety.

On reaching Cowes about 11 p.m. I found a letter from Bigge stating that every room in the Osborne houses was full and that the immediate anxiety was relieved. Launcelot Smith met me and I went to his Vicarage. Next morning we heard that no worse reports had been issued. I attended the early Celebration in St. Mary's Church, and then walked to Osborne. It was the day for the commemoration of Prince Henry's death in Whippingham Church, and Parratt had come from Windsor for the occasion. The commemorative service was to take place at 12. I sent a letter from Bigge's house to Princess Beatrice, stating that I should be in Whippingham Church and take part in the Service, and was ready to be of any further use if desired. A message came back begging me to go to Osborne House immediately after the Service. I did so, and had much talk with different members of the Family. The Doctors thought the Queen was rather better and wished to keep her perfectly quiet: even her daughters were not seeing her. I accordingly arranged to sleep at Whippingham Rectory. I attended Whippingham Church at 6 o'clock and preached. There was a good congregation, evidently in anxious strain. We added some special prayers to the Service, and I tried to say something helpful. After I had gone to bed a carriage arrived about midnight bidding me come at once to Osborne and remain there, as the Queen was again worse. I found, however, on arrival at the house, that there had been a further rally, and they again wished her to be kept quiet. In my room I wrote a long letter to E.M.D. and then went to bed for a few hours.

On Monday, Jan. 21st, between 7 and 8 a.m., I went down and found the house quiet and the report unofficially current that the Queen had decidedly rallied. . . . During the morning she brightened up and said to Sir James Reid 'Am I better at all?' He said 'Yes', and then she eagerly answered 'Then may I have Turi?' (her little Pomeranian dog). Turi was sent for, and she eagerly held him on the bed for about an hour. (Turi now belongs to the Duchess of Albany.) Throughout the day I did not go to the Queen's Room at all. I saw most of the members of the Family, either together or separately, and they all talked quietly over the position of matters. It was arranged that I should stay at Kent House (just outside the Queen's Lodge), lent at present to Sir Fleetwood and Lady Edwardes. Princess Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein was there also. She and I had a great deal of conversation in the afternoon. She had just returned to Osborne after

a few days' absence, except for which she had been with the Queen for many weeks.... The Queen had talked to Princess Tora[1] pretty often lately about illness and even death, which was not according to her wont....

Just after dinner at Osborne I went to the three Doctors (Reid, Powell, and Barlow), who were sitting together in the Stockmaar Room I had so often occupied....

After seeing them I had a long talk with the German Emperor and the Duke of Connaught together. They were both keen to know what judgment we all formed about the probabilities! I pointed out that our judgment was surely of no consequence, but I told them with reserve what the Doctors had said....

The Duke of Connaught spoke warmly of the good of my being here with them all, and tried, not very successfully, to describe to the Emperor the accumulated offices I hold as Bishop and otherwise. I returned late to Kent House to sleep, and wrote another long letter home.

On Tuesday, the 22nd, soon after 8 a.m , I was summoned from Kent House, a carriage being sent to bring me as quickly as possible to Osborne I went straight to the Queen's room. The Family were assembled....

I paid one other visit to the room during the morning, but for some hours Clement Smith and I waited in the Drawing Room downstairs while the Queen slept.... She lay very quietly looking white and thin.

While we were at luncheon about 2.15 I was summoned to go at once, and Clement Smith came also. We found her much weaker and the family again assembled.... We remained in the room a long time, Clement Smith and I saying prayers and hymns at intervals. She was not obviously responsive to the words said, but certain things, and specially the last verse of 'Lead, Kindly Light' seemed at once to catch her attention, and she showed that she followed it. About 3 o'clock the room was again cleared, and from 3 to 5 there were intervals of quiet.... Twice I was asked to come in for a few minutes. I remained in the Dressing Room and in the adjoining Drawing Room. There I had a good deal of talk with the Emperor, who was full of touching loyalty to 'Grandmamma' as he always described her. 'She has been a very great woman. Just think of it: she remembers George III, and now we are in the Twentieth Century. And all that time what a life she has led. I have never been with her without feeling that she was in every sense my Grandmamma and made me love her as such. And yet the minute we began to talk about political things she

[1] i.e. Princess Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein.

made me feel we were equals and could speak as Sovereigns. Nobody had such power as she.' I spoke of the good his coming to England would do. He said repeatedly, 'My proper place now is here; I could not be away.'

At 6 o'clock we were told that the end was certainly approaching.... The Family wished to see her alone one by one.... Then came a great change of look and complete calmness. I had been mainly in the Dressing Room. At 6.25 Powell summoned me to come in I said the Commendatory Prayer and one or two texts and ended with the Aaronic blessing at the very moment that she quietly drew her last breath, the whole Family being present in the room. This was just after 6.30....

We left the Family alone for a few minutes. Then the King came out alone. I was in the passage and was the first to greet him as Sovereign. I then went to the Equerries' Room, where Clarendon (Lord Chamberlain), Arthur Balfour, Sir Arthur Bigge, and (I think) Edwards, were present, and told them that the end had come.

In accordance with arrangements already made, the house was at once surrounded by police at intervals to prevent any servant or messenger from taking the tidings outside until telegrams had been despatched to the Prime Minister, the Lord Mayor, and several other potentates. Then, after ten minutes or so, Inspector Fraser took a message to the gate, where a crowd was waiting.

I then walked to Kent House and returned a little later, when I was sent for by the Prince and Princess of Wales (as they still wished to be called till the next day). They expressed a wish that we should have a little Service in the room beside the Queen's bed at 10 o'clock that night. I had a long talk with both.

... At 10 15 we all gathered in the Queen's Room and had a calm and bright little Service. She was lying in the bed where she had died, all being beautifully arranged, with quantities of white lace and a few simple flowers; the little crucifix which had always hung over her head within the bed being in her hand.... They all, I think, liked our little Service....

On Wednesday, the 23rd, I was at Osborne House early, in time to see Arthur Balfour and others before they started with the Prince of Wales for London. The Prince left us directions to arrange the Dining Room as a sort of Mortuary Chapel in which the coffin might be placed next day. I set to work on these arrangements with the Princesses....

To return to the morning: I had a long walk with Dr. Barlow and much interesting talk. Then a series of interviews with most of the Princesses and with the Queen, and then a long one with

the Emperor. I paid a visit about 1.30 to the Queen's room. . . . Nothing could be better than the simple arrangements in her room. During the afternoon the servants and tenants were allowed to pass through the room and to see her as she lay.

At 6 o'clock we again had a Service in the room, at which most of the Family were present. It was, at their request, somewhat fuller than the Service of the previous evening. I was greatly struck by the Emperor's demeanour throughout, and again had talk with him afterwards. . . .

On Thursday, the 24th, I was early at Osborne, seeing to what had been done during the night in fitting up the Chapel. . . .

A message came from the King in London saying that he wished to have a Celebration of Holy Communion in the Queen's Room as soon as he arrived from London that afternoon. . . . The King arrived at 2.30, and at a little before 4 p.m. we had the Service he desired We had not felt it to be right to move the furniture much in the Queen's Room, and as the room was not large and the furniture was plentiful we had some difficulty in arranging for the large number of Royalties who stated that they desired to take part in the Communion Service. But all was ultimately managed. It was altogether a historic scene.

The Bishop then describes the scene, in the centre of which 'lay the little Queen, with fresh flowers arranged on the bed, the small Imperial Crown lying by the side, her face . . . most calm and peaceful'. And he reflects, as the King of England and the German Emperor each received the Sacrament in turn, 'what the memories of that hour might mean for them and for the world'. He notes of the rest of the service, the whole record of which, with its setting, is too intimate for reproduction here:

I shortened the Service, using special Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, and deliberately did not read the Prayer for the King until after the Gloria and just before the Blessing This gave, I think, and was felt to give, a significance to the whole. . . .

The Bishop left Osborne for a little while in order to take part in the consecration of Herbert Ryle as Bishop of Exeter (January 25) in Westminster Abbey, and to make arrangements with the Duke of Norfolk for the funeral at Windsor. During most of this time he was in close touch with the King, and had constant talks with various members of the Royal Family. The Memorandum proceeds:

Wednesday, the 30th, was a quieter day, as most of the arrangements had now been made. E.M.D. and I had a long walk by the

sea in Osborne grounds. At 6 p.m. Parratt, who had arrived from Windsor with some men and boys from St. George's Choir, helped us with a Service in the little Chapel. The choir sang Anthems and Hymns most beautifully. The whole Royal Family were present and appreciated it greatly. . . .

On Thursday, the 31st, we had another fairly quiet day, but a great many detailed arrangements had to be made about the Windsor proceedings. At 6.15 we again had a musical Service in the little Chapel. The Choir did even better than before, and everyone was moved. The Household were invited to be present and were in the Drawing Room adjoining with the doors open. . . .

On Friday, Feb. 1st, I was early at Osborne, after seeing E.M.D. off from Kent House for Windsor, with Parratt and the boys and Lady Edwards. After breakfast I had a long walk with the Bishop of Ripon and much talk. He then left. Then a further interview with the King about matters on which he wished details to be arranged. The Funeral Procession was to start at 1.30. Soon after 12.30 Clement Smith and I went to the Chapel and superintended the final arrangements as to the cushions, etc. for the coffin, bearing the crown, sceptre, and orbs Then we were left alone in the Chapel for half an hour before the men came to remove the coffin. I felt this to be as solemn a time as any we had had.

At 1.30 the coffin was removed into the Hall at the foot of the Queen's Staircase opposite the large entrance. After a time the Royal Family all gathered there, and we had again a short Service—'Nunc Dimittis', 'Prevent us', a Lesson from St. John, and a few special Prayers. Then the body was carried out, and the rest of the arrangements were public to all and are recorded fully in print. Clement Smith and I (not in robes, but with ribbons, medals, etc.) walked with the late Queen's Household, immediately behind the ladies, to Trinity Pier. Then he returned home, wishing to conduct the Saturday Service in his own Church, and I embarked with the Household on the 'Victoria and Albert'.

The scene crossing the Solent was beyond question the most solemn and moving of which I have ever had experience. Everything combined to make it as perfect as possible. A quite calm sea, the very slow motion of the vessels, which made them seem to glide without visible propelling power, the little 'Alberta' going first (with the coffin on the deck) through the broad avenue of towering battle-ships booming out their salutes on either side, the enormous mass of perfectly silent black-clothed crowds covering Southsea Common and the beach; and then the 'Alberta' gliding silently out of sight into Clarence Yard just as the sun set and the

gloom of evening fell. I do not envy the man who could pass through such a scene dry-eyed. . . .

Sunday, Feb. 3rd. . . . At 11 we had full Morning Prayer in St. George's, with Sermon by the Bishop of Oxford. He and I, in ordinary episcopal robes, sat in the Sanctuary, the Dean and Canons in their usual stalls. He was not very audible, being really unwell. All the Royal Family were present, some in the Choir and some in the Royal Pew aloft In the afternoon, at 3 p.m., I had to go with the King, Lord Esher, Lord Pembroke, and Fritz Ponsonby to the Mausoleum to arrange the details about Monday. . . .

At 6 p.m. we had a Service in the Memorial Chapel, the Dean and I taking Prayers and Lesson, all of a special kind, and Madame Albani singing two solo Anthems. Her voice was too strong for the place, but the general effect of the Service in the darkness was very striking. . . .

Monday, Feb. 4th. In the morning I had to arrange a good many small details with the Dean and with Dalton. . . . The weather was fine until we had left the Mausoleum. The arrangements were admirable, and the Service itself was touching beyond words. The music was beautifully sung, and, for the rest, we simply followed the Prayer Book Service, with the addition of a Prayer of thanksgiving for the Queen's life which I inserted before the Blessing. After the Blessing it had been arranged that the Royal Family should all pass in single file across the platform looking upon the grave in which the two coffins then lay side by side. The King came first alone, but, instead of simply walking by, he knelt down by the grave. Then the Queen followed, leading the little Prince Edward by the hand. She knelt down, but the little boy was frightened, and the King took him gently and made him kneel beside him, and the three, in perfect silence, were there together—a sight not soon to be forgotten. Then they passed on, and the Emperor came and knelt likewise, and so in turn all the rest of the Royal Family in a continuous string. Then the Household or at least the few who had been invited to be present. As we left the building the rain or sleet began to fall. An hour later we drove to Bagshot to catch a train to Farnham, but before we reached Bagshot the snow was lying thickly on the ground, and everyone was commenting on the significant change of weather at the moment when it had ceased to matter.

So ended a fortnight as memorable certainly to me as any I am likely to see this side the grave.

CHAPTER XIX

ARCHBISHOP TEMPLE'S LAST YEARS

'Full of years and full of cares, of neither weary, but full of hope and of heaven.' JOHN HENRY SHORTHOUSE, *John Inglesant.*

THE death of Mandell Creighton, a week before the Queen, was a real calamity to the Church. He was only fifty-seven. He was one of the three younger Bishops whom Davidson had suggested to the Queen as a possible successor of Benson for the Archbishopric; and in the mind of many he was marked for the future Primate. He and Randall Davidson had been consecrated together in Westminster Abbey, less than ten years before. They were men utterly unlike—and, though they had known one another ever since Davidson, as an undergraduate, had attended Creighton's lectures, Creighton's brilliant versatility and slightly caustic, if not cynical, wit were a barrier to anything like real affection between them; while Creighton disliked what he regarded as too great a desire on Davidson's part for his share of public attention. Speaking of his relations generally, Davidson says:

> I never failed to learn much from my intercourse with him, but I was not one of those who had really discovered or appreciated what I now know from his *Life* to have been the deepest and best of his qualities. At the same time I found in his latter days when I knew him best, a frequent touch of something appealing to the deeper spiritual side of things, and it always seemed to me that he had a sound appreciation of the true proportion of great things to small in the Ritual Controversy.

Referring to Creighton's work as Bishop of London Davidson observes:

> In the duties of that Bishopric his versatility had full play; his extraordinary readiness, and thoughtful understanding, and suggestive speech, enabled him to go from place to place on the same day and say something at each which was worth hearing; and few gifts other than the purely spiritual ones would be so valuable as these to a Bishop of London.
>
> He managed his correspondence in a curiously rapid and even airy way, and seemed to keep himself abreast of everything. He

was certainly strangely unlike what any other Bishop of London had been, or is ever likely to be. A great many people who knew him well found it difficult not to believe him to be a cynic, and there were those who doubted his real hold upon the dogmatic side of Christianity. This last was probably due to his endeavour, mistaken and unsuccessful as I personally think it was, to appear as a finished man of the world with social experience and social gifts, who could meet other men of the world on equal terms. My personal belief is that he damaged rather than aided his real influence by this attitude, and it certainly laid him open to the misinterpretations which were widespread.

But he adds, in admiration of Mrs. Creighton's fine *Life* of her husband:

Since those days his *Life* has been published, and I know of no instance in which the publication of a public man's biography has so greatly raised him in the estimation of good and thoughtful people.

I

Who should be the new Bishop of London? The question was all important, for as Tait once said, 'London is the key of the Church'. 'The difficulty of Creighton's position in regard to ritual disputes', says Davidson, 'has been set forth in accurate terms in the Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, and it might have been expressed much more stringently.'

There was a very strong wish in influential quarters that Davidson himself should be appointed. The King at Osborne told him that Lord Salisbury was quite clear in desiring that he should go to London. Davidson says:

I told him that this seemed to be impossible, that all the objections to evening work which had proved fatal to my remaining in South London as Bishop of Rochester were equally strong with regard to the See of London, but I undertook to consult Sir Thomas Barlow, who was then in the house. I had long talks with him about it and he was peremptory in saying that I ought not to go. I then received a direct letter from Lord Salisbury.

The MARQUESS OF SALISBURY *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Private. Feb. 2, 1901. Downing St., S.W.

By the strongly worded counsel of the Archbishop of Canterbury —and with the approval of His Majesty—I write to ask you

whether you will not accept the vacant See of London. I am aware that you have expressed a reluctance to move from your present diocese—both on grounds of health and on other grounds. But the period is critical—the moral authority of a powerful Bishop is grievously needed by the Church—and there is no Bishop on the Bench that can speak with the authority which you possess.

I venture to break the seal of 'private and confidential' and to submit to you the letter in which the Archbishop disposes of the objections which you might feel bound to make I am sure the time is *very* critical· and if you feel forced to decline I fear the Church may have much to suffer.

The Bishop writes:

I replied that, after such a letter, conveying as it again did the wish of the King as well as of himself, I was ready to reconsider the position. I consulted Barlow again, and meantime heard from Archbishop Temple who urged me not to decline.

There was not one letter only, but a fusillade of short, sharp commands from Archbishop Temple Davidson saw the Archbishop and wrote to him as to the unshaken verdict of his doctor. It made no difference to the Archbishop's view:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Lambeth Palace, S E
Feb 8, 1901.

I have read your letter and thought about it

And I am still of opinion that it would be better for the Church at this moment that you should be in London doing nothing more than decide such questions as have to be episcopally decided than that another man should be there doing full work.

But indeed the medical verdict was decisive:

SIR THOMAS BARLOW *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

February 11, 1901.

The Archbishop of Canterbury thinks you could largely eliminate the night work.

With the greatest deference to his knowledge and judgment I do not believe that your personal equation would permit you to throw all the evening Confirmations on to your suffragans, nor do I believe that you could effectively administer the diocese unless

you were able to work along your own lines, which would involve a great deal of personal participation in evening meetings.

I hate overstatement and I don't pretend to prophesy—but I believe, if you go to Fulham, you run the risk of being incapacitated within a couple of years and thereby at the best being obliged to take a long rest. This would be attended with grave inconvenience.

If you keep a certain margin such as you can get at Farnham you can do your work effectively, but without the margin, I doubt if you can.

The Bishop did not lightly decline. The King and Lord Salisbury, both of whom he saw, approved the decision. As Lord Salisbury himself put it at the close of the correspondence:

The MARQUESS OF SALISBURY *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Downing Street, S.W.
February 11, 1901.

. . . If Sir T. Barlow distinctly says no, I should not wish, even if I could flatter myself I had the power, to persuade you to say 'Yes': for the Church would lose your present services without gaining anything in exchange

The see was then offered to and accepted by the Bishop of Stepney, Dr. A. F. Winnington Ingram.

It is interesting to observe that in the very early days of his tenure of the See the new Bishop of London got into close touch with Davidson over the troubles of the Diocese. Davidson told him of the qualms with which he viewed his new and independent plan for the regulation, instead of the prohibition, of Incense:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* BISHOP OF LONDON

27 June 1901.

Considering that the Bishops have resolved not to veto any prosecution, without first communicating with the Archbishop, so that he may invite the counsel and comments of other Bishops, I can't help wishing it had been possible for the Bishops generally to know beforehand that this new departure was imminent or inevitable. . . . I gather that when your action is challenged the defence might be 'It was a choice between giving way (under the euphemism of "regulating"), and open war, and it was wise to choose the first'. I shall be quite ready to say 'The Bishop of London knows the details of each case and I don't, I have complete confidence in him: he sees that by this means and not otherwise he can govern

his diocese; our business is to trust him: he no doubt felt it wiser not to tell us beforehand, and depend upon it he knows what he is doing.' That other Dioceses far beyond the London area will have new difficulties in consequence of this new departure goes without saying. But we must bear our burthens; and the mess Benjamin has *inherited*, not *caused*, is ten times greater than the mess of any of his brethren.

The Bishop of London, however, addressing Davidson as 'Dear Elder Brother' and signing himself 'Benjamin', thought that he was too pessimistic and that all would be well. He had, as he said in another letter later in the year, to do his best to deal with 'the twenty churches' and 'Tracy[1] (the leader of the twenty)'.

II

There were other changes this year on the Bench of Bishops, and it is of interest to note that the King, who renewed Davidson's appointment as Clerk of the Closet, pointedly expressed his wish to get just the same counsel from Bishop Davidson on all new Church nominations as he had given to the Queen.

The most striking appointment was that of Canon Charles Gore to the Bishopric of Worcester. The nomination of one who was the founder of a Religious Community[2] known as the Mirfield Monks, and yet had caused so much grief to Dr. Liddon by the liberalism of his views on inspiration, had caused something of a sensation in the Church. He was a close friend of Davidson's, and there are certain letters from Gore himself, giving his point of view of his own difficulties about becoming a Bishop, during a crisis in the Church, when he did not at all agree with the regular archi-episcopal leadership.

Here is a letter written after a meeting of the Bishops, which the Bishop-designate had been allowed to attend:

The Rev. Canon Gore *to the* Bishop of Winchester

4 Little Cloisters, Westminster.

Confidential. Nov. 13.

I find the Consecration cannot be till Jan. 25.

During the meeting yesterday I felt several things. 1. A great desire to stand up and say 'My lords, I have been among ritualists

[1] The Rev. the Hon. A F A Hanbury-Tracy, Vicar of St Barnabas, Pimlico.

[2] The Community of the Resurrection, at Mirfield, Yorkshire

and used to their services since 1868. I can tell you, for I know, that to talk of suppressing incense or reservation is to talk about what is impossible. You might have regulated it, you may perhaps still do so:—but suppress it, no'.

But 2. I felt that I must have some *éclaircissement*. I must feel clear what the oath of obedience to the archbishop means, which the bishop takes. I suppose its interpretation is traditional and historical. Can you direct me to any standard interpretation of it as touches England since the Reformation?

I must in any case let the Archbishop understand that I am prepared to *regulate* incense and reservation, but not prepared to *suppress* it:—that is to say that I am not prepared to regard his Ruling as it stands as 'the Law' or to enforce it.

I am thankful for time to think over these things.

I suppose this attitude, as far as I am concerned, would be anticipated. Still I think I must make my position clear to the Archbishop.

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* REV. CANON GORE

Farnham. Nov. 16, 1901.

Since your letter of Nov. 13 I have not had one moment for replying. I have noted Jan 25 as your Consecration Day and you may be sure of my remembering you daily in my prayers from now till then—nor must that day be a terminus.

As to what you say about the Oath of Obedience to the Archbishop, its exact meaning in practical application is not very easy I suppose to define; but most assuredly no Diocesan Bishop, so far as I know, has ever interpreted it as meaning that the Archbishop's Suffragans are bound to follow his lead or command in such details of Diocesan Management as those which formed the subject of our discussion on Tuesday. Indeed the Archbishop has himself made it plain, often and often, that he does not so regard his office, and, so far as the recent Lambeth Opinion goes, he expressly stated publicly that he did not for a moment claim for it a binding force upon any Bishop at all. He had been invited, according to the Prayer Book, to help to resolve a matter 'diversely taken'; he had done his best to resolve it, and the action to follow must depend upon individual Bishops. I don't suppose any Bishop would definitely declare himself against what the Archbishop believes (and publicly says he believes) to be the law, unless he, the Bishop, has, on independent lines, satisfied himself that the Archbishop is mistaken and that those who had declined to obey Bishop Creighton did, in the recent arguments at Lambeth make good

their case. So far as I know, no English Bishop does think this, though several may wish the law were other than it is, and presumably we are bound, in controversial matters, to follow, speaking generally, what we believe to be our Church's existing law, even if we dislike it, and would like to see it changed. But this cannot, in the present circumstances, be fairly carried so far as to forbid us to make exceptional arrangements for exceptional cases of difficulty at an exceptional period.

That is how the matter presents itself to me. I entered on the Lambeth Hearing[1] with a mind really open to anything which I might hear, and in good hopes of hearing a better case made out for Incense and for Reservation than I had up to that time been able to find. Instead of that I found every argument against these things being now legal, strengthened, and nothing of any real weight urged on the other side.

I attended the whole Hearing and took careful notes and consulted all the Books. In the end I came without possibility of hesitation to the view that our Church does not at present sanction their usages.

I should not think of resting my conclusions on the arguments or premises used by the Archbishops, but *my conclusion* is identical with theirs. I should *therefore feel* bound by my Consecration and Ordination promises to conform—and generally speaking to promote conformity—to what I conscientiously believe to be the law of the Church and Realm, at the moment. But, if I had come to the opposite conclusion, I certainly should not have felt myself precluded from acting in accordance with that conclusion by the fact of my having promised 'due obedience' to the Archbishop. All this seems so elementary that I shrink from writing it to you—who are far more of a pundit in these things than I am. But you seem to ask me to say how the matter presents itself to me. I suppose in our action as Bishops in these matters we are bound to act in accordance with law—existing law as interpreted by the best authorities available—and not by our view of what ought to be permissible as a matter of expediency in deference to the usages of particular men. The utmost that we can do, consistently with Ordination and Consecration promises, is to make special arrangements for special cases, always supposing we believe the law to be what every single 'Court' or 'Authority' has declared it to be. Of course if we are convinced that they are all mistaken and that the law is other than as hitherto declared, and that this would be proved if it was again tested in Court, we should I suppose be not

[1] For the Lambeth Hearings on Incense and Reservation see pp. 340, 346.

only justified but perhaps bound to act accordingly in administering our Diocese.

I write curtly and perhaps confusedly—under great pressure—but the point is a very important one. Perhaps I have misunderstood you.

Gore's reply to the Bishop brimmed over with gratitude, but he added, about his interview with Temple (November 28): 'I had out my views to the Archbishop at Canterbury yesterday, and I thought he rather slew me than answered me.'

A further difficulty arose with regard to the Confirmation of the Bishop-elect. Sir J. Parker-Deane died in January 1902, at the age of eighty-nine, after holding his office of Vicar-General for thirty years. Archbishop Temple appointed Mr. C. A. Cripps, K.C., as his successor, and the whole question, which had been raised five years before but had been left undecided, was raised again in an acute form. A new procedure was adopted by which the citation required opposers to deliver their objections in writing before a date named, and stated that no objector who did not appear in Chambers and establish his right to appear and be heard could appear or be heard during the business of Confirmation. The Vicar-General accordingly sat in Chambers at the Church House, Westminster, at 10 a.m. on January 22, 1902. Certain objectors appeared, all of whom raised questions of doctrine. The Vicar-General informed the objectors that questions of doctrine could 'under no circumstances be entertained at the business of a Confirmation'. At 11 o'clock the public sitting was held in the Lower Convocation hall. Mr. Dibdin, who appeared for the Bishop-elect, stated that he was instructed to say that the Bishop-elect was quite willing to answer any legitimately made and relevant charges. The Vicar-General, however, repeated in public the ruling he had already given in Chambers and, in spite of indignant protests from many objectors present, proceeded with the Confirmation in the usual form.

Two of the objectors then applied for a Mandamus to the Court of King's Bench to compel the Vicar-General to hear the objections, and arguments were heard on February 3, 4, and 5. This involved the postponement of the Consecration—a course insisted upon by Canon Gore, though the Archbishop wished to go forward. The Bishop of Winchester saw a great deal of the

Bishop-elect at this time, and gave him invaluable support when he was suffering from strain and over-excitement ('I am afraid I was over-excited when last I saw you. But my temperature has become normal again'):

The REV. CANON GORE *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Westminster. Jan. 25 '02.

You are a great deal too kind to me. You do not know how glad I should be to repay you some of it.

I feel very much confirmed in the sense of having done right. And the Bishop of Coventry,[1] I find to my satisfaction, is thoroughly glad. One thing that presents itself to me more clearly is that, as far as possible legal consequences go, no taking of the responsibility by the Archbishop could have had any effect on my position. The legal difficulties would have remained mine or the diocese's.

Will you tell me whether I may assume that I am *not* to go to Windsor on Tuesday? *I will assume it unless I hear to the contrary.*

I should be very glad if somehow my side of the question could be presented to the King. The statement in this morning's *Standard*, which I am told came from Conybeare[2], is (not *quite* accurate—for I am sure the Court for Confirmation can't try an open question of heresy) tolerable.

Judgement was delivered by the Lord Chief Justice[3] sitting with Mr. Justice Ridley and Mr. Justice Wright on February 10. It was unanimous, each judge reading a separate written judgement dismissing the application. The Court decided that the Vicar-General ought not to entertain, still less adjudicate upon, charges of a doctrinal character in connexion with the Confirmation of a Bishop's election. With regard to other possible objections, the Lord Chief Justice added:

> It is not in my opinion necessary to decide that in no case can any objection be raised at the stage of Confirmation which might have to be investigated by the Vicar-General or the Archbishop, as e.g. an objection to the validity of the election or the genuineness of the documents produced, the identity of the person elected with the person named in the Letters Missive, or possibly some action or conduct of the Bishop-elect since the time of his election.

Canon Gore expressed the view, as the person immediately

[1] The Rt Rev. E A. Knox (afterwards Bishop of Manchester).
[2] The Rev. W. J Conybeare, Resident Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
[3] Lord Chief Justice Alverstone.

concerned by the Judgement, that it allowed Confirmation to have a real significance.

The REV. CANON GORE *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

February 10, 1902.

> The judgments give us all we could expect or hope. They are unanimous in refusing the rule. But they leave a real meaning or function to the Archbishop's Confirmation. He can hear objections, as he pleases; and, if he thinks fit, delay consecration and report to the King. So I gather. . . .

But it must be confessed that, though the meaning and function are real, they are confined within a very narrow area indeed.

In the following August the coronation of King Edward VII took place. The date originally fixed was June 26, 1902. But the King was seized with a grave illness a few days before, at Aldershot. Its serious character was not, however, at once detected by the doctors in attendance from June 14. He left for Windsor on June 16, giving up his proposed visit to Ascot. On June 21, all seemed of good augury for the Coronation. On June 23, he travelled to London. A denial of sensational rumours was published by Sir Francis Knollys on the same day. On June 24, however, alarming symptoms appeared. An operation was performed at once and the Coronation was suddenly and dramatically postponed.

This brief record has been given in order to emphasize one aspect of Davidson's own character which must not be forgotten. He was a very just man. He was also a very loyal subject; and he was a patient with good reason to be grateful to the medical profession. The new Bishop of Worcester,[1] preaching in Birmingham on Wednesday, June 25, expressed astonishment in emphatic terms that the public had not been forewarned about what they might expect for weeks past, and added that 'it was not good for them to have to feel that the rumours of the Clubs and the streets were right and the official declarations were wrong'. Sir Thomas Barlow's quick eye saw the reference and wrote to Davidson (in the course of one of his daily letters as to the King's progress):

[1] Dr. Charles Gore, consecrated February 23, 1902.

SIR THOMAS BARLOW *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

June 26, 1902.

. . . I wonder if you have seen the report in *The Times* of to-day (—under the paragraph head of Birmingham) of the address of the Bishop of Worcester. I should like you to read it if you have not done so.

The Bishop of Winchester wrote off straight to Dr. Gore:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* BISHOP OF WORCESTER

Lollards Tower, Lambeth, S.E.

June 27, 1902.

I have been at Buckingham Palace this morning as usual, and I find rather 'a state of mind' prevailing with regard to the report in yesterday's *Times* of what you said at Birmingham on the previous day. I am not quite sure whether the matter has yet come personally to the King's knowledge, but it certainly would distress him if it did. I have tried to point out that perhaps you have been unfairly or distortedly reported (it is our common lot!) but even when every such discount is allowed, the residuum is important. If there is one thing about which the medical men have been keen from the first beginning of the illness—it has been that they should, when bulletins have to be published, speak the truth simply and straightforwardly and deceive nobody. One of them (Barlow) is my intimate personal friend—one of the straightest and finest fellows I know anywhere—and all of them are men of such character and reputation as to feel intensely the sort of accusation which your words carry. Of course they are accustomed, like the rest of us, to misrepresentation and misunderstanding, or even abuse from the anonymous outside critic in the press; but, as it was put to me this morning 'it is another matter altogether when a man like the Bishop of Worcester takes that line and does it publicly'. You are reported as practically saying that the Doctors had known for weeks past about the King's illness and that they deliberately concealed it, or, as you are made to say, 'that the language of authority had no relation to facts'. This has (surely not unnaturally) caused deep pain and strong indignation in the Doctors, who are doing their level best—as the heads of their profession in England, to give an example of plain straightforward bulletins. They are of course prepared to stand by every word they have said, as written to the best of their knowledge and ability at the time. The full record of the illness given in yesterday's

Times in the ordinary way, as a medical communiqué, states the exact facts. Of course you had not seen it when you spoke as you did, or you would never have launched this charge against them with the great weight of your name. But their contention is that the statement was made by you without knowledge, while they are obviously, so to speak, at your mercy. It is at their request, and at that of Knollys who is familiar in such matters with the opinion of the King and Queen, that *I* write to you, as I pointed out that this would be far better than an *official* letter to you. I feel sure that you will be able to send me some reply which I can shew, to the effect that you did not mean to use words so calculated to give unfair pain. As the account will have shewn you, there was no trace whatever of the approach of the illness until the day when the King went to Aldershot—so any 'ominous rumours of the Clubs' must have been without real foundation, whatever they were. For the first days there seemed no need for any bulletins—so none were published. The doctors kept absolute silence by the express wish of the King, so as to avoid raising disquietude which might, and they fully hoped would, prove to have no *raison d'être*. As soon as it was clear that they must not hope for the disappearance *naturally* of the evil, they published a full and accurate bulletin, and they have done so ever since.

A more personal letter accompanied this reproach:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* BISHOP OF WORCESTER

Private. 27 June 1902.

The enclosed which seems *fiery* is less fiery than that which would have gone, had I not undertaken to write it! I found them on the verge of sending you an official document or formal letter which would have done infinite mischief. Do send me a letter which I can show. It is really hard lines on these good fellows to find themselves charged right and left with lying when they are as keen as you or I could be to be straight and true. Poor Knollys suffers in like manner, e g a newspaper agency telegraphs to him 'It is said King has had a paralytic seizure and is lying helpless' or words to that effect. Knollys replies that it is without foundation and instantly a statement is published that Knollys has been asked if *the King was ill* and has said there was no foundation for the rumour!

The Bishop replied, sticking to his guns with regard to the official denial in the Press of June 23, but energetically repudiating

the suggestion that his words reflected on the doctors. His final answer was as follows:

The BISHOP OF WORCESTER *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

St. Martin's Rectory, Worcester.
July 3, '02.

I am exceedingly sorry to have caused you so much trouble. I am at least as sorry to have caused distress to distinguished physicians and surgeons, for certainly there is no class of men in the country whom I honour more profoundly.

I think it is most likely that my words were not well chosen. Possibly, if I go back on the incident a year hence, I shall feel that it was not my business to speak at all. At present I can only feel bothered when I try to reconsider the matter. My motive was simply to try to maintain the honour of the Crown against idle or malignant gossip. Some good I believe I did. Probably if I had been wiser, I could have done the good without accompanying harm. Certainly I never intended to make any accusation against the medical profession. And, of course, I can very well understand how differently matters look from within—from without. I hope I need not say any more. Probably it will be felt by those who strongly condemn what I said that I was not malevolent.

The letters were sent to Sir Thomas Barlow who replied:

[Undated.]

I return Bishop of Worcester's letter. The doctors have no resentment.

It is kind of you to have taken so much pains.

The King recovered. The Coronation took place on August 9. Dr. Davidson acted throughout as intermediary between the Archbishop and the King. With Canon Armitage Robinson (in the Dean's illness) he undertook the re-editing of the Order of Coronation, and in all sorts of ways helped not only the Archbishop, but the Earl Marshal, the Duke of Norfolk, and everybody connected with the ceremony. The following letters tell their own tale:

LORD KNOLLYS *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Buckingham Palace. August, 1902.

I am desired by the King to thank you very warmly for all that you have done in connection with the Coronation. The unceasing

trouble which you took in regard to the ceremony, with the attention which you paid to every detail, and the personal assistance which you gave him in everything that concerned the part which he had to take in the service, was of the greatest use to him, and he has very highly appreciated it.

As a special mark of the King's satisfaction, the Bishop was awarded the rank of K.C.V.O.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Old Palace, Canterbury. 12 August, 1902.

The Coronation is over and there are very few things that have now to be settled. But about these things I should like to say a word or two. What is to be done with the Bible? If the King claims it, of course he must have it, but I do hope he will not give it away to somebody who will deal with it as the Bibles of past Coronations have been dealt with. It is not right to let it go, as it were by haphazard, to wander over the world I should prefer that it should be held in trust by some permanent Body (say the Chapter of the Abbey) for use at future Coronations. Or it might be deposited in Windsor Palace Library. But to secure this there ought to be an inscription in it very speedily.

Secondly what is to be done with those most useful Scrolls? These ought to be treated in the same way. But here there is another question to be asked. Who paid for them? They were got for me because of my very weak sight, and if they are not paid for out of the general expenses I ought to be allowed to pay for them myself. I have spent very little on the ceremony. The Cope was not my own but lent me by another Bishop. I shall be much obliged if you will tell me how the matter stands. But there must be some letter entrusting them to someone; and I ought to write it.

The success of the Ceremony as a National Ceremony is more largely due to you than to anyone else. But I am conscious that the debt of gratitude for all your labour is due to you from me more than from any other person. I cannot easily express how much I feel that I owe to you. You have been indefatigable in your endeavour to save me from overwork. To the end of my life I shall be sensible of your unselfish kindness.

You will like to know that the King sent for me yesterday and gave me the Collar of the Order of Victoria.

This letter was much treasured by Bishop Davidson who kept it

amongst his papers marked with two crosses 'Very important'. He sent the following letter in reply:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Private. Farnham Castle, Surrey. 13 August 1902.

I cannot tell you how deeply I have been moved by the kindness of your letter, just received.

Many a time during the last few months I have wondered whether I was not worrying you unduly and perhaps 'taking too much upon me' about details, and it is an immense relief and happiness to me to have such words from you as you have now written. Many many thanks. We are all so proud of you, and of the way you did it from first to last. I know (and no doubt he himself told you so) how much the King felt it.

During the King's illness and the days before and after the Coronation, the Bishop of Winchester won His Majesty's personal gratitude for the way in which he spoke of the lessons which such an illness at such a time might teach.

III

The latter half of 1902 was also much occupied with work on the new and very important Education Act of that year.

The educational problem in various phases was constantly coming up throughout Davidson's life and a brief word of introduction, therefore, may not be out of place at this point. Ever since the Act of 1870 made elementary education compulsory for all children, the real issue has been the relation of the State schools, at first called Board schools,[1] to Church schools and other schools set up by the Voluntary Bodies. The Board schools were entirely paid for by the State, while the Voluntary schools were simply aided, and, notably, not only appointed but paid their own teachers. Not unnaturally, as the Board schools developed and the standard of education rose, the Voluntary schools found it more and more difficult to compete and to make ends meet. In both Board schools (gener-

[1] School Boards were set up by the Education Act, 1870, with rating powers to establish and maintain public elementary schools, called as a consequence Board schools to distinguish them from Voluntary schools.

ally) and Church schools (always) religious instruction was given: though in Board schools it was given not by legal requirement, could be prohibited, and was of a general and undenominational character,[1] while in Church schools it was guaranteed by Trust Deed and consisted of definite Church teaching. The Voluntary schools and the Voluntary system had an immense advantage in country districts, where for various reasons School Boards were in a difficult position. The question which agitated the public mind was this—should the Voluntary schools be not only aided but practically financed throughout? And, if so, should they be nationally controlled in exactly the same way as the Board schools were controlled, or should they be allowed to retain their denominational character, and, as part and parcel of that, the control of the appointment of their teachers?

Between 1890 and 1902, many conferences were held and many Bills were drafted. The Liberal party steadily supported State control, and the Conservatives were in favour of financing the Voluntary schools and yet allowing them to retain their independence. In 1897, a partial Measure was passed by which the aid given by the State to Voluntary schools was distinctly improved. But the great issue was finally joined in 1902. The Conservative party, under Mr. Balfour, in addition to endeavouring to co-ordinate all forms of education under a single authority, decided to bring the Voluntary schools completely into the national system, so far as maintenance and the payment of teachers were concerned, yet retaining the schools definitely as Church or denominational schools with their full Church or denominational character.

It was a Measure of vast importance and inevitable perplexity. The hero of the Act, without a doubt, was the Permanent Secretary of the Board of Education, Mr. Robert Morant. It was he who, behind the scenes, bore the brunt of the attack and helped his chief to expound, to conciliate, and, where need was, to defeat. But a guide was wanted on the Church side, who could interpret the Church's view to the Government and *vice versa*; no easy task the latter, as the history of the past sixty years makes only too

[1] Under the Act of 1870, where religious instruction is given, what is known as the Cowper-Temple clause provides that 'no religious catechism or religious formulary distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in schools which receive rate aid'.

plain. No one could do this better than Davidson, who now, through his dealing with Mr. Balfour on the Church crisis, had completely won his confidence as a man of judgement and a statesman. His help was utilized to the full. At the end of 1901, when the exact nature of the expected Bill was yet uncertain, he wrote thus to Mr. Balfour:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR

8 Dec. 1901.

I hope I am not doing wrong in troubling you at this juncture with a letter on the position of the Education question. My excuse must be the fact that wherever I go, in this part of England with which I have to do, I find people's minds to be disquieted by a current rumour that in the forthcoming Education Bill the urgent problem of *Primary* Education may, after all, not be seriously grappled with, and that the Bill may be confined wholly or mainly to Secondary Education. Whenever I have heard this said, I have ventured to try to reassure the disgusted folk by the expression of my own firm belief that such a rumour cannot possibly be true, and that the Government is incapable of dealing in such a manner with the mass of its supporters, who have so bravely struggled on for the last few years in the face of ceaseless difficulty—many of them making greater financial sacrifices than anybody will ever know in order, as they believed, to render impregnable the continuance, in Elementary Schools, of Religious Education really worthy of the name. . . .

I do not like to contemplate what I should now have to say to those men were we to learn that all this had been a misapprehension: that no relief was to be given: and that our Voluntary Schools, after all the money we have spent on them—many of the clergy literally denying themselves everything for the sake of the Schools—were to be allowed simply to be closed or handed over to School Boards under the existing regulations. For it is absolutely certain that such would be the result (not of course everywhere but over large areas). We can no longer appeal for Voluntary Subscriptions on the existing scale with any prospect of success. . . .

When one turns from the general principle, that some such relief must be given—to the details or manner of the relief or readjustment, I do not claim that we stand upon such firm ground. The Government has never, so far as I know, made any promise or even held out any definite expectation as to the *mode* in which

what we want is to be given. Speaking for myself I have consistently urged that it is our duty, as well as our wisdom, to leave the Government a free hand. We have formulated detailed proposals, but (so far as I and many others are concerned) this has been in order to show that we had our own ideas as to workable schemes and possibilities and were ready to suggest them, and not that we thought our suggestions the only possible ones. You might fairly have said to us 'You assert principles, but you avoid working them out'. We therefore send in a detailed plan which to us seems a reasonable one—leaving the Government to suggest, if it prefers to do so, its own plan instead, and expressing (most of us) our perfect readiness to give a welcome to *any* plan, which gives effect to the *principles* which we advocate.

I may perhaps say that nothing has to me personally been more irritating than to hear and read the sort of language in which some of our Ecclesiastical friends have expressed their 'demands'. They have failed to recognise adequately the extraordinary difficulty of the problem, the opposition which has to be encountered, and the variety of possible ways in which effect might be given to sound principles. But you will know how to discount all this. The mistake would be to suppose that because some of the Resolutions and letters etc. are foolish or intemperate or ask for utter impossibilities, therefore the general demand for readjustment of the existing system can be disregarded.

Such disregard would to many of us seem a withdrawal of virtual pledges given,—pledges on the strength of which we have ourselves spoken and acted and persuaded others to speak and act for years.

Most fully do I see the magnitude and perplexity of the problem and the certainty of opposition, whatever be done. But I believe myself to be right in saying that in the event of the Government making *any* serious and reasonable endeavour to deal with the situation in a manner fair to Voluntary Schools and their friends, they would find an overwhelming majority of Churchmen, lay and clerical, prepared to meet them half way, and to accept loyally the proposals made as a basis for detailed discussion.

We believe ourselves to have established an indisputable claim to relief. We have long understood that that claim, in a large and general way, was admitted by the present Government, and we are counting upon this coming Session for securing to us something at least of what we have been waiting for. . . .

Pardon me again for troubling you with all this. I hope it may be quite unnecessary.

In March 1902 the Bill was read for the first time in the House of Commons, and it showed beyond doubt the Government's desire to tackle both the primary and the secondary school problems. It was welcomed at once by those who spoke for the Church as providing on the whole an equitable settlement of the education question. But it was violently attacked by Nonconformists. In relation both to the Church and to Nonconformists, Mr. Balfour obtained much useful advice from the Bishop of Winchester. They were in constant consultation, and Dr. Davidson was a frequent visitor to Downing Street, and occasionally at Mr. Balfour's home at Whittingehame. He was in close touch, independently, with Lord Rosebery about the violent onslaught of Dr. Clifford upon the Bill.

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR

Davidson's Mains, Midlothian.
17 Sept. 1902.

I am inclined to doubt whether anything substantial would be gained by the publication NOW of your clever and unanswerable reply to the Nonconformist Deputation. So far as it goes it is complete. But they have run off now into so many new paths of objection and criticism that your answer does not cover the ground taken up by your opponents.

The arguments or allegations which you are answering don't of course appear in the pamphlet—and it may therefore be represented (unfairly) as an endeavour to meet all that is said against the Bill. Probably it fairly *did* so at the time, and what you then said remains unshaken and *wants repeating again and again.* But there is now so much more to be said for the meeting of present objections, that I don't think the publication of the speech would be very opportune. It would doubtless do some good, but it would be plausibly attacked, and misrepresented as being your whole case.

I have arranged to see the Archbishop of Canterbury this day week and I am trying to arrest Roffen's[1] departure for Holland until I have seen him (on Monday or Tuesday)

I have written to Dr. Paton in the fashion which you suggested.

I find Rosebery obviously somewhat disquieted by the extravagancies of Dr. Clifford's appeal to the Nonconformist public. He thinks Clifford's absolute misstatements ought to be corrected, lest

[1] Dr. Talbot, Bishop of Rochester.

the lie gets too good a start! My own feeling is that it would be well to let Clifford publish his letters as a pamphlet and thus commit himself more deliberately to them before any attempt is made to show their falsity.

Rosebery is clearly in a position of great difficulty on the question—from his own belief in Municipal bodies and the maintenance or increase of their responsibilities. But I have naturally not felt at liberty to talk the matter over very frankly with him though I have listened to all he had to say, and he has no notion (so far as I can see) of the present complications and of course he is quite unaware of my having had any confidential talk with you about it.

I am most grateful to you for all your kind confidence—and I hope some means may be found for my doing some good among our friends. But it is very difficult to see one's way clearly.

I found Arthur Lyttelton after a full talk rather in favour of B.1 as against B.3. But he had not had time to weigh the position properly before we parted. If left to himself he would I think fully share *our* liking for A.1 as the reasonable and right solution. But he believes the *Church* feeling in favour of restricting the control of the Religious Education to the Clergy—(at all events where the trust so prescribes)—to be very strong.

I won't trouble you with more now—but I will keep you informed of anything that seems important when I have seen or heard from Cantuar or Roffen. I need hardly add that I will take every care to keep the whole thing quite confidential.

Our visit to Whittingehame was full of profit as well as pleasure.

Nine days later the Bishop wrote to thank Mr. Balfour for several letters and memoranda on the Bill, and spoke this time of the difficulties of Churchmen:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR

Old Palace, Canterbury.
26 Sept. 1902.

. . . The position, so far as we Churchmen are concerned, has become most perplexing, but speaking for myself and a good many others I may say that we shall of course stand by what you have secured in the House of Commons if you find that, on the whole, it is best to attempt no modification.

At the same time I ought to say that I, for one, am impressed by what in the last few days has been urged upon me by leading

Nonconformists, as to the wish of a large number of the more moderate men to come to some *reasonable* arrangement with us if it can be devised. They are I think irritated by Clifford's violence, and ashamed of his merely pugilistic attitude—and, if this be so, we, who necessarily look at the question from a religious rather than a merely political standpoint, should be thankful to find it possible to meet such men half-way. I am in no way empowered to speak for others, but this is my own view.

I have seen Dr Paton of Nottingham and have heard from Guinness Rogers—both of whom take this conciliatory attitude—and Paton keeps reiterating that there are thousands of Nonconformists who do the same. He is assured by Hugh Price Hughes that neither he nor the Methodists generally have in any way committed themselves to Clifford's position. Of course there are many Bishops and Clergy and certainly (as you know well) there are many politicians, whose feeling would be strongly against any concession or compromise. I speak merely for myself, but I am very sure that more are with us than is supposed, provided always that the *principle* of maintaining the Denominational system be genuinely (and not merely nominally) maintained.

I had a long talk to Roffen on Tuesday—and then to Gibson[1] of Leeds. I am now with the Archbishop, and on the way here I saw Paton as I have said.

What I have now done is to ask a few very leading men to meet me quite privately and unofficially on Tuesday next to talk over the situation. I shall be guarded in what I say as to what you have told me—but I shall ascertain what is the direction in which concession, if it has to be made, would be least intolerable.

How would it be for me then to run up to Scotland again and report to you what is the outcome? I would do so with pleasure if you wish it—and the matter is so complex that writing about it is not easy But this is just as you like. Will you let me know what you would desire? I am here till Monday morning and then Farnham Castle, Surrey.

I enclose a Memorandum which tries to boil down some of the confusing matter.

If you were able (or Morant were able) to send me some guiding information as to the *political* 'values' of these concessions, relatively to one another, it would be a very great help to us if we are considering them.

As to a Conference, the Archbishop of Canterbury is *inclined* to

[1] Rev. E. C S Gibson, vicar of Leeds (afterwards Bishop of Gloucester).

favour the idea, provided you could preside over it—but he feels that you alone can judge as to its perils or possible gains in a Parliamentary sense.

It is strange how difficult everybody seems to find it to be, to say how far Clifford's diatribes have really affected the minds of the people at large.

I don't trouble you at present with Memoranda upon your Memoranda but I will do so on Monday or Tuesday.

One grave difficulty on the Church side concerned what was known as the Kenyon-Slaney clause, which gave the Managers (two-thirds Churchmen and one-third appointed by the L.E.A.) the control of the religious teaching in the schools. Observe the skill with which the Bishop sets out the clerical case to the lay reader:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to* J. S. SANDARS, ESQ.

Farnham Castle, Surrey.
October 29 1902.

I am receiving today a great many letters from men entitled to be listened to, as to the panic which may easily 'set in' among the less thoughtful clergy and their friends if it goes out (in the sort of way that a speech from Hugh Cecil will set it out) that the clergy can at any minute and *without appeal* be ousted from the Schools in which they have perhaps taught for years by a vote of a body of Managers whereof two may be hostile Nonconformists and one or two very lukewarm Churchmen If it is further enacted that these men, again *without appeal*, may decide what is or is not the doctrine of the Church of England the position is not an easy one to defend.

I have always advocated, and do strongly advocate what we knew in our discussions as '*A. 1*'. When we have got our Denominational Majority secured, I should trust them with the full responsibility. For this I am prepared to argue to any extent. But I have always supposed—and indeed said—that there would have to be some arrangement for appeal in extreme cases against what might be a veritable wrong Surely it can be strongly urged that the granting of such appeal is really a safeguard for the elected *minority*. If the parson were able to get his own three nominees upon a Board of Management to sit and vote with himself, the two men from outside would have little power to prevent extreme teaching should such be the parson's wish. But grant these men an appeal to the

Bishop and they would have an immense access of weight. All this is obvious—pardon my saying it.

It is needless to give further extracts from the correspondence which follows. There was much; and there were many long interviews which showed the constant and most fruitful contact between Bishop Davidson and Mr. Balfour. Indeed Sir Sidney Parry, Mr. Balfour's private secretary during this time, has told the writer that, with the marked exception of the unique help given by Mr. Robert Morant, there was nobody on whom Mr. Balfour leaned more, for his general conduct of the Bill in both Houses and in the country, than Randall Davidson.

When the Bill finally came to the Lords on December 4, the Duke of Devonshire, who introduced it, said that it had occupied more time in Committee than any Measure ever submitted to Parliament up to that date. In the course of the debate, the Archbishop of Canterbury made the last speech of his life, and to the consternation of the House, fell back exhausted on his seat with his closing words. He was helped out of the Chamber and never appeared in public again. On December 5, Davidson made the main speech from the Bench of Bishops. He replied to the spokesman of the Nonconformist opposition outside Parliament, Dr. Clifford, who had used language to the effect that the Board schools were practically to be swept away. The Bishop of Winchester remarked 'that put in that form the words are the wildest distortion of the provisions of the Bill'. After carefully dealing with the main objections to the Bill, that it (1) retained denominational tests, (2) gave control without adequate popular representation, (3) used rates to pay for denominational teaching, he ended his speech, by delivering a sick-bed appeal from the Archbishop to Churchmen to work the Bill in such a way that no hardship should be inflicted on Nonconformists. He opposed the inclusion of the Kenyon-Slaney clause, which gave the control of the religious teaching to the whole body of Managers. He moved an important amendment himself; and, by way of emphasizing his strong central moderating position, it should be sufficient to say that he drew the fire of Dr. Percival, the Liberal Bishop of Hereford, on the one hand, and on the other that of the extreme Tory High-churchman, Lord Halifax, who denounced what he was pleased to describe as the extreme imprudence of the Bishops. In the end the Bill received the

Royal Assent on December 18. It was the last piece of legislative work with which Dr. Davidson was concerned as Bishop of Winchester.

Five days later, December 23, Archbishop Temple passed away at the age of eighty-one, and the Bishop's next appearance in the House was to be as Primate of All England.

CHAPTER XX

THE PRIMACY

. . . Because the fashion of the world changes we think that Heaven is farther off now than in the childhood of the Church. Let our Fathers in God make it clear that every righteous activity is a Divine service, that every aspiration after truth is, consciously or unconsciously, a looking to Christ, that every Article of the Creed is a motive and a help to holiness, . . let them offer as the scene of human labour a world not left fatherless, echoing with spiritual voices, and bound together through all its parts with underlying harmonies of love, let them keep steadily before the eyes of men the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith, which brings into their true place deep and doubtful questionings, framed of necessity in imperfect language, . . . let them hold forth in all its splendour to eager souls the ideal of that Kingdom in which each earthly achievement finds its consummation and each earthly effort its hallowing . . .

As the vision rises before us, as we feel that it answers to the inherent power of our Faith, as we confess that it lingers afar off, dim and fleeting, through our great fault, we cry again, bowed down by past failures, disheartened by our present divisions, paralysed by the measures of our hopes, *Who is sufficient for these things?*

There can be but one answer—he who wholly forgets himself in God Who called him; he who lays down at the footstool of God his successes and his failures, his hopes and his fears, his knowledge and his ignorance, his weakness and his strength, his misgivings and his confidences—all that he is and all that he might be—content to take up thence just that which God shall give him.

B. F. WESTCOTT *at Bishop Lightfoot's Consecration*, 1877.[1]

THE close of 1902 was full of sorrow at Winchester. The Bishop's intimate friend and Suffragan, Arthur Lyttelton, lay dying at Petersfield, and the Dean (Dr. Stephens) was near his end under the shadow of Winchester Cathedral. The Bishop's own personal feelings reveal themselves in the following letter:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* BISHOP OF ROCHESTER

Farnham Castle, Surrey.
December 20, 1902.

Your tidings are indeed grievous I have also a note from Barlow which does not, I fear, put matters in a brighter light—(so far as WE count brightness). It is to all of us a sorrow quite beyond words—or it *will* be, when others know. I have not heard from him or from Mrs L. so I don't write to them. I sent a letter

[1] This extract from the sermon of his old schoolmaster, Bishop Westcott, was printed as the main portion of the Note sent by Davidson to those who wrote him letters of goodwill on his nomination to the Primacy.

to greet him on his arrival, little dreaming of this. He has been, and is, to me a brother in the truest and robustest sense. Seldom have I found anybody on whom to lean so *surely*. GOD be with them, and with us all. It seems as though all the foundations of the earth were out of course—with that sickbed at Lambeth—and the other in the Deanery at Winchester (also a *very* dear friend)—and now this crushing blow. We have worked so thoroughly happily together. But one dares not grieve over much. The Lord reigneth, and it is one's faithlessness which pulls one's heart down. I am glad rather than sorry that it comes in Ember Week, for one's thoughts are, or ought to be, attuned to a bigger strain than any that can be marred by the changes and chances of this mortal life.

But it is humiliatingly difficult to be preparing aright—at such a moment—the words wanted for our ordinands tonight. We have a noble set of fellows—some of them really big as well as good. Unhappily we have influenza in the Hostel, and three ordinands are 'down'.

GOD bless you, my brother. You are one of those who seem to be made as a centre and pivot for our Church's life—a support and stay and guide for all of us, especially in deep waters like these.

Four days later he had a letter from the Bishop of London:

So the old Warrior did not last till Christmas. . . . I feel for you, dear Brother, so much at this time, with your Dean dead and dear Southampton going, and you yourself doubtless marked out for the great call, which means so much responsibility.

It was indeed true that Dr. Davidson, in the thoughts of most of those who knew the needs of the Church, was the almost certain successor of Archbishop Temple, as he himself could hardly fail to realize. This is not to say that he was unaware of his own infirmities and limitations. But he could not help perceiving that he knew the work of the Archbishopric of Canterbury better than anybody else. As he put it to a close friend, staying at Farnham during those eventful days, 'I know I am not good enough, but I do know the ropes better than others.' Yet, he said, when the decision was made, writing again to the Bishop of Rochester (January 8, 1903):

It all looms very big and bewildering and I have a good deal of the 'Faint Heart' sense to-day. Yet this is perhaps partly physical, for I am still in bed.

Anyhow you will do what one does *most* want—pray—ora pro nobis—ora ne quid detrimenti capiat Ecclesia Dei. My faint-

heartedness would be doubled but for the knowledge of friendship and support like yours. On that, more than on any earthly stay, I can, I know, rely.

The Bishop thus describes the actual coming of the offer:

Balfour's idiosyncrasies in the way of not writing letters came out in a peculiar way. He told me, in a letter with reference to the series of appointments which would become inevitable, that it was his intention and wish to nominate me to the King for the Primacy; but he sent no further letter on the subject, and although I had a long interview with Sandars in my bedroom at Farnham, while I was laid up with influenza, I had literally no letter which conveyed to me any definite proposal in the matter, until I had actually to ask for such and then it came readily enough.

The first letters are as follows:

The RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Whittingehame, Prestonkirk, N.B.
December 31, 1902.

Death has been making sad havoc in the Church, and the consequent changes throw a heavy burden of responsibility upon the unfortunate Prime Minister. I mean to propose your name to H.M for Canterbury. From conversations I have had with him, I have no doubt that he will agree But, what next?

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR

Farnham Castle, Surrey.
3 Jan. 1903.

Your letter of Dec. 31 with its momentous and to me most solemn intimation, has this morning reached me. You do not need that I should tell you what I feel about the great post now vacant. To dwell however upon one's own quite obvious inadequacies is sometimes paralysing rather than stimulating.

I perfectly realise that you are only *forewarning* me—and that my name has not yet been submitted to the King

You will I am sure give me notice of the King's decision and allow me at the least 24 hours for final reply on a matter so grave before you allow it to become public. One or two of the foremost Bishops ought to hear about it quite confidentially from myself before (or at least at the same time as) it appears in the papers.

Then came the interview with Mr. Sandars, the Prime Minister's Private Secretary, in the bedroom at Farnham Castle, and the formal offer:

The RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

10 Downing Street, Whitehall, S.W.
8th Jan. 1903.

The approval given by the King to the submission of your name for the Archbishopric of Canterbury will I am certain be in consonance with public sentiment. It is also, I feel well assured, in the best interests of the Church. At no period, and under no circumstances can the duties of Archbishop of Canterbury be other than of the utmost importance and difficulty. But, unless I greatly mistake the signs of the times, the occupant of that great post will have a task before him as critical as has fallen to the lot of any of the long line of his predecessors. It will be a fortunate event both for Church and State, should you consent to undertake responsibilities which none can, better than yourself, be qualified to fulfil.

Earnestly hoping that you will not dissent from this view.

The following letters also passed between the Bishop and King Edward:

The BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *to the* KING

Farnham Castle, Surrey.
9th Jan. 1903.

I hope I am not doing wrong in to-day writing direct to your Majesty with reference to the new and high responsibilities which your Majesty has graciously desired, or consented, to entrust me with. I have not until to-day been in a position to write to your Majesty upon this great matter, as I understand that your Majesty's decision was only yesterday finally made, nor have I even now received any such *formal* communication from the Prime Minister to that effect as is now doubtless on its way.

But I feel that to wait longer before writing to your Majesty would be improper now that the formal announcement has been made public.

Your Majesty will, I am sure, understand with what mixed feelings it is that I have expressed my readiness, on your Majesty's call, to take up the work of the great men who have in recent years presided, at Lambeth, over the deliberations and activities of the Clergy and laity of the National Church. My own inadequacies, as compared with any of the three Primates under whom it has been my privilege to serve, are obvious to all men, and to none more obvious than to your Majesty.

But no man, as it seems to me, has a right to refuse to respond to such a summons as has now been conveyed to me from those

with whom rests the deep responsibility of decision, and it is in humble reliance upon a strength which comes from no human source that I place myself, in accordance with your Majesty's wish, at the disposal of the Church and people of England for such devoted service as my limited powers are able, while life lasts, to render.

Your Majesty's personal kindness to me has been shown in a hundred ways and on innumerable occasions during the twenty years which have passed since I was called to the Deanery of Windsor, and it is not the least among the privileges which lighten the burden of the Primacy that its holder has ordinarily had some share in those public occasions of a sacred character on which the Sovereign and the Royal Family desire his services.

I hope I may still look forward to being allowed the privilege which your Majesty has so long accorded me, of approaching your Majesty directly upon any matter of public or national importance affecting the life and work of the Church of England, or the religious and moral well-being of the country, and I desire with the most genuine earnestness to express my sense of your Majesty's constant goodness to me, and my desire to be helpful in every possible way as God shall enable me and as occasion shall allow.

Will your Majesty pardon the roughness of this letter, written under some difficulty, as I am only sitting up for the first time to-day after an attack of influenza, now happily over.

With my very earnest prayers for a blessing on your Majesty's person and home, and on the reign which has in this last year been inaugurated with so much that is sacred and significant.

The KING *to the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Sandringham, Norfolk.
January 11, 1903.

Many thanks for your letter of 9th inst:

I am indeed glad to hear that you have accepted the high post of Primate which the Prime Minister has offered you in my name. When he and I discussed the question as to who was to succeed Archbishop Temple, the Prime Minister and I without hesitation came to the conclusion that no one could fill that exalted position more adequately than yourself—and that the whole Church would welcome it!

Your duties will doubtless be most arduous ones and I hope you will have the requisite health and strength for them. You must also nurse yourself—and not let yourself be worked too hard. Most sincerely do I hope that the friendly intercourse which has existed between us for so long will always continue, and I shall always

be only too happy to discuss your desires regarding the Church as heretofore.

I regret to hear that you have been suffering from Influenza, which seems very prevalent again, but trust that you will soon quite recover from it, and hope to see you at Windsor on 21st. The musical part of the Service on 22nd has been settled with Sir W. Parratt.

The first of many telegrams of congratulation came, curiously enough, from New York, sent by the Bishop of Albany (Dr. Doane). It arrived 'in the morning before the post came in, and the explanation was that the intimation had been sent to the newspapers late the previous evening, had been then telegraphed to New York where it was still afternoon, and the bishops there had read it and joined in a telegram to me which was the first to reach my hands'.

The telegram ran thus:

Salve dignissime grato animo.

His reply was characteristic of the spirit in which he entered upon his task.

Fratres orate precor frater indignissimus

More than fifty other telegrams followed. The Bishop received the first batch in his bedroom, for he was still suffering from influenza; and he then gave orders that he should be left in private for the morning. He spent some time with Mrs. Davidson, reading Mozley's sermon on *The Reversal of Human Judgement*. And though his mind was on the Divine judgement to come, it is difficult not to reflect briefly on the curious reversal of human expectations which placed one, who as a boy had been shot within an inch of his life, who was an invalid at Oxford, and had been three times dangerously ill as Bishop of Rochester, on the throne of St. Augustine. Later he came downstairs to lunch, for the first time since his illness. That evening and on the following days the letters poured in. They were from all manner of people and places and from Churchmen of all schools. It is only possible to quote a few. The first shall be from Princess Beatrice, the daughter of Queen Victoria:

(Jan. 9, 1903).

How my dear mother always wished for it and how she would have rejoiced over this appointment!

Mrs. Benson spoke for herself and his old master Archbishop Benson:

(Jan. 9, 1903).

You will let me say 'God bless you' from my uttermost heart I know—for I do not speak for myself alone but also for the one whose blessing at this moment would be singularly dear to you and whose blessing to the fullest I know you have. He always foresaw this and he rejoices.

Archdeacon Sandford wrote in deep appreciation of Davidson's considerateness of Benson's successor Temple:

(Jan. 9, 1903).

As one of the late Archbishop's oldest friends may I thank you for all that you did to lighten and share the burden of these last years. It would be presumptuous in me to say anything about the tact, delicacy and kindness; but I knew the man in his first vigour and strength and I noticed with gratitude the sort of help which you gave.

Here is the judgement of Lord Halifax:

(Jan. 20, 1903).

Except the Pope himself I suppose there is no man in the whole world who will have greater opportunities for influencing the future of the whole Church of Christ than those which will now be yours. It is a terrible responsibility. . . . I do not think that the ideals of St. Anselm or St. Thomas of Canterbury, of Stephen Langton or of Archbishop Laud are likely to be yours. I wish it were otherwise, but I can say with absolute truth that in view of our present circumstances if it had depended on my voice you would be where you now are.

Dr. Guinness Rogers represented the Free Churchmen:

(Jan 10, 1903).

Possibly it may seem strange that a Dissenting Minister should express such feelings, especially at the present moment. But ours is a conflict of ideas not of persons. To me it is sufficiently painful that we seem to find so much difficulty in understanding each other's ideals and principles. It is well surely to remember that as Christians we have a wide area of common heritage. Once let us see that, and we can at all events learn to respect each other personally. . . . I vividly remember my day at the Castle and the kindly welcome I received from Mrs. Davidson and yourself.

And there is this final note from the Duke of Argyll:

I have always said you are one of the very few preachers who prevent me from falling asleep.

The public on the whole gave the new Primate a very friendly welcome. 'The choice', said the *Guardian*, 'was generally anticipated and has been received if not with enthusiasm at least with wide-spread satisfaction.' There were of course some who complained of an alleged lack of intellectual distinction, others who said that the Bishop's promotion was due to his qualities as a courtier, though both of these charges were demonstrably untrue. *The Times* expressed the considered opinion of thoughtful men when it declared: 'The country may be satisfied that in the prelate who now passes to Lambeth Palace it will have to deal with a shrewd and capable statesman who knows more of the inner history of the close of the Victorian era than many a Cabinet Minister, but who has never lost his spiritual balance in those "slippery" places where much of his life has been passed.'

The Bishop was comparatively young—only fifty-four years old—and the future was to show what manner of Archbishop he should prove. At least, as a friend (Bishop John Wordsworth, of Salisbury) wrote on February 16: 'If God gives you an ordinary lease of life, you may have twenty-five years of archiepiscopal duty before you and you may do many things which others have put off for lack of time.' But at the moment it was his business to get rid of his attack of influenza. So, under doctor's orders, the Bishop and Mrs. Davidson went for a fortnight to Biarritz; leaving the staff behind to prepare for the move from Farnham.

Let us use the pause which Dr. Davidson needs to get well, in order to consider some of the tasks which will await him at Lambeth.

No Archbishop of Canterbury, least of all one who had been brought up in the school of Tait, could fail to be alive to the new era which began with the coming of the twentieth century. Queen Victoria had died in its very first months, and at her passing a whole world seemed to have departed. The South African War had just ceased in 1902. China and the Far East were uneasy, and there were signs of trouble in which Russia was to play its part. At home, the Conservative party had come into power in great force after the Khaki Election, but was already weakened by disputes over tariff reform. The opening years of the new century were therefore disturbed with anxieties on many sides.

The Church of England had its own share of trials. Indeed,

it seemed face to face with a most serious domestic situation. Mr. Balfour, writing to the Bishop of Rochester, spoke with the gloomiest apprehensions as to the future of the Church of England. If he wrote thus as an observer, what would those say who were leaders in the fray? Lord Halifax, the President of the English Church Union, and an old friend, addressed a portentous letter of seventy-six octavo pages to the archbishop-designate, for his quiet meditation at Biarritz. One passage has already been quoted. A few further extracts will show his view of the situation:

'I doubt [he said] if any Archbishop of Canterbury has ever had greater difficulties to contend with than those which are likely to confront you.' The difficulties incidental 'to the whole present position of the Church of England' were, in his judgement, 'well-nigh insuperable'; and he proceeded to arraign most professing Churchmen and practically the whole episcopate, besides giving his estimate of each of the three last Archbishops of Canterbury, praising Benson for 'putting the Protestant party for once more or less in their place', and condemning Tait and Temple for their completely inadequate view of the Catholic Church and therefore of the position and duties of the Church of England. As to the future and the new archbishop, his advice was this:

VISCOUNT HALIFAX *to the* ARCHBISHOP-DESIGNATE OF CANTERBURY

January 20, 1903.

May I add something as to the future? Whatever other people may like to say and think, the Acts of Uniformity are dead. The Church as things are cannot be held by the legal interpretation it pleases the lawyers to put upon those Acts. The State has entirely disregarded one part of them. The Church must disregard the other. Whatever difficulties stand in the way will be best met by ignoring them. The Church has nothing to expect or wish for from Parliament except to be let alone. I do entreat you, and nobody in this world is better qualified than you are, to do what has to be done warily, wisely and successfully in this direction, to take that bull by the horns . . . do everything that is needed for the good of the Church on your own inherent authority and that of the bishops.

Lord Halifax was thinking of the ritualist controversy, and its connexion with the Prayer Book, as annexed to various Acts for the uniformity of common prayer, and administration of the

sacraments. But there was also the problem of the interpretation of orthodoxy in his day. These were more fundamental problems, and, it may be added, more congenial to the temperament of Randall Davidson, and therefore, without doubt, more successfully handled on the various occasions when they claimed his attention during the next twenty-five years.

There were other tasks looming ahead—especially that of giving the laity of the Church a greater share in Church government, and the Church itself a greater unity, and larger powers of legislation. There was the little cloud of the disestablishment of the Welsh Church, far off on the horizon. There was the unceasing question of religious education, it being certain that any new Liberal Government would do its best to reverse some of the fundamental provisions of the Education Act of 1902.

In addition to these, and certainly adding greatly to the labours always inevitable to an Archbishop of Canterbury, there was the undoubted fact that in his later years Archbishop Temple had, through age and infirmity, failed to keep pace with the pressure of affairs, and the whole business of the primacy had diminished. Who could wonder, when it is remembered that Temple became Archbishop at the age of seventy-five? Added to this, he had never found it easy to delegate work (as we have already seen), and the amount of correspondence which he had done with his own hand was prodigious. Home affairs, temperance, and the immediate duties of the diocese occupied him day by day. It had not been his custom to take much share in ordinary 'secular' affairs, so that there had been a great lapse in that side of an archbishop's duties, as Tait and Benson had conceived them. The chief failure, however, concerned the various branches of the Anglican Communion, which the two former archbishops had gradually linked up in a particularly close correspondence and friendship with Lambeth. And there were large arrears. The new archbishop had not only to revive the relations between Lambeth and Sydney and Capetown and Ottawa and Calcutta and Zanzibar and the rest, but to cope with the considerable legacy of complicated Church problems in the Colonies (left, by a strange Nemesis, heaped together in a large set of pigeon-holes, called in Tait's days, after the name of the designer, 'Davidson's Folly'), which had, alas, received no attention whatever.

Such were some of the principal tasks with which Randall

Davidson was faced, when he came to the see of Canterbury. It was fortunate that he had the experience and special education which fitted him in a pre-eminent degree to discharge them. He had, indeed, as one of those who knew him best said, been trained by a quite unique life for the Primacy, and had been almost a partner in it.

But there were also other tasks, as yet unnoticed, which an Archbishop of Canterbury has, as it were, to take in his stride. No man has such varied responsibilities as his, or covers so many of the offices of what in parliamentary life would be given to different ministers of state. In regard to the Bench of Bishops, he is in the position of Prime Minister. As President of the Southern Convocation, he occupies a place analogous to that of the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords. In his dealing with the various provinces of the Anglican Communion, his labours may be compared to those of the Secretary of State for the Dominions. He discharges many of the functions of the Minister of Education. Occasionally he is called upon to act as Judge. He is also a Diocesan Bishop, with all the duties which necessarily fall to the work of governing a diocese, though aided in a special way by the suffragan bishop or bishops. He is a member of the House of Lords, and expected to be the spokesman of the Church in Parliament on national and ecclesiastical questions. He is President of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and takes the chair at the regular monthly meetings of the Board. He is a Principal Trustee of the British Museum, presiding almost every Saturday morning at the meetings of the Trustees in Bloomsbury or South Kensington. He is a Governor of at least two Public Schools, a Visitor of two other Public Schools, of three Oxford Colleges as well as of King's College, London, and of St Augustine's, Canterbury, and he is President of most of the chief Church Societies. In addition to all these, the Archbishop, by virtue of his office, is expected to be the religious spokesman of the country, the man to whom all others, of whatever denomination, naturally look to take the lead on great moral and social issues; and he is also the representative of the Christian religion in Great Britain to all foreign Churches and nations. Such is the daily labour, such the daily responsibility, of the Archbishop of Canterbury!

CHAPTER XXI

THE BEGINNING OF THE PRIMACY

To such men he seemed *commonplace*—not so to the most dexterous masters in what was to some of them almost a science, not so to Rose, Hallam, Moore or Rogers, to Ellis, Mackintosh, Croker or Canning. LOCKHART, *Life of Scott*, ch. xli.

THE new Archbishop arrived in Canterbury in fine spring-like weather on February 11, 1903, and received a most cordial official welcome from the Mayor and Corporation. All but one of the various stages of entering upon the see were completed: election by the Dean and Chapter on January 27; Confirmation in the Church House, Westminster, on February 6; paying of homage to the King at Windsor on February 7. It only remained for him to be enthroned in the Cathedral Church, so familiar to Randall Davidson since his early days as Chaplain to Tait. An immense congregation, including seventeen bishops, a large body of clergy, and representatives of the State, the city, and the nation at large, assisted at the familiar ceremonies on February 12. His old Harrow master, Dr. Farrar, was Dean, but too stricken to take an active part in the service. And another friend of long standing, who had made a point of being present was Lord Rosebery. The enthronement was followed by a luncheon in the library. In the speech responding to the toast of his health, Davidson's thoughts went back to his old chief. 'It so happens', he said, 'that it was in this very room that I performed my first act as Chaplain to Archbishop Tait.' He dwelt on the extraordinary growth of interest in Church affairs and the increasing range of the Archbishop's influence overseas during the past fifty years, paying a happy tribute to the three Primates before him. He said it would be his desire to steer a course between those who looked back to the sixteenth century as though everything in the Church of England depended on that, and 'those on the other side who with equal deficiency of historical knowledge try to make out that what happened in the sixteenth century was a lamentable blunder in Church life'. He said that the difficulties with which the Church was faced had been faced before, and he raised a peal of laughter by quoting the words used by

Archbishop Peckham, at a time of despondency, four hundred years before, when he spoke of 'the horrible frauds of Archdeacons, the plague and presumption of Apparitors, and the diabolical craft of Rural Deans'; and he ended on a note of solemn appeal for his friends' prayer and support, 'so that when I am laid "on" sleep, the words may be said that "He at least tried to serve his generation according to the will of God" '.

The day following his enthronement, the Archbishop and Mrs. Davidson returned to Farnham to say farewell to the parish and the Castle in which they had spent seven and a half happy years. It was not easy. Farnham had been the home and the source of inspiration for the diocese. The clergy of the diocese, in saying good-bye three weeks later at Winchester, showed their deep affection for a Father in God whose hold upon them had grown deeper and stronger as year followed year. As the Bishop of Guildford said in the name of them all: 'Never has any one of the Clergy of this Diocese—let alone whether he was a member of the Greater Chapter or not—gone to your Grace for advice, but he has returned happier for his visit to Farnham.' And the relation of the Castle to the town was made specially strong through the personal interest, sympathy, and neighbourliness of Mrs. Davidson. Kind words were spoken at the farewell meeting, when the Archbishop opened the new Council Offices. And the friends and neighbours joined in making Mrs. Davidson and the Bishop a gift which followed a little later in the shape of two cobs—a tribute to the exercise both had enjoyed when riding in the park, and a token that they would continue to enjoy a similar exercise at Lambeth. The gift came from all sorts and conditions of people at Farnham, including the Nonconformist ministers, and the Roman Catholic priest, and some of those who lived in the workhouses and infirmary.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* W. T. COLEMAN, ESQ.

Lambeth Palace, S E.
9th May, 1903.

Now that Farnham's beautiful gift to me stands actually in our stable as our own, I must write you a few lines to say how intensely we appreciate this further token of a kindness and a brotherliness which have meant so much to us day by day for eight eventful years. We have been profoundly touched, as you know, by the unbroken outflow of the helpful thoughts and words and acts

which have given expression to Farnham's goodwill ever since the day when the call came to us to leave the Castle which we have loved and the friends who have surrounded it with the truest kind of friendship.

Day by day, as I rejoice in the strong limbs and the fine paces of the 'high horse' on which you have mounted me, shall I again recall the goodness of our dear friends in the old town, and pray that every highest blessing and happiness may be theirs.

There was of course much left for the Archbishop to do in the way of settling in. Nor are most people aware of the expensiveness of the process, very crippling to a man of slender or even moderate resources. Writing to a friend who most generously helped him with an immediate advance of a large sum, he said:

We shall have to pay just £7000 to Mrs Temple for furniture and plenishing at Lambeth and Canterbury. I shall have to pay nearly £1000 in fees, and about £700 to Q.A.B. for poor benefices, and perhaps £400 or £500 for Farnham Park dilapidations.

Besides, there were the fees which he was required to pay to civil or government authorities, including a due of £62 to the Home Office, £67 to the Crown Office, £31 to the Board of Green Cloth, and £27 on introduction to the House of Lords—amounting to £398 8*s.* 4*d.* altogether. Well might he say at the end of a letter pointing out these facts to Lord Knollys, the King's Private Secretary:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* VISCOUNT KNOLLYS

March 2, 1903

Please understand that I have no sort of wish to be 'stingy' in the matter, or to grudge any legitimate or fair payments. But it is a very grave thing for a man who is not rich to succeed to this sort of office.

I

It was not long before the Archbishop found himself plunged into the very thick of the fray. Certainly his first year was heavy with difficulties enough to tax all his strength and resourcefulness of character, besides giving a very fair picture of the variety and scope of the duties with which an Archbishop has to contend.

The first test was concerned with the Creeds. In the previous December, a Conference of Clergy, under the chairmanship of Dean Wace had passed two Resolutions asking the Bishops for

a declaration to reassure the Church, in view of recent statements by Broad Churchmen—Dr. Rashdall, Dean Fremantle, Dr. Cheyne, and others—'as to the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection of Our Lord'. On February 13, the very day after the enthronement, Bishop Gore sent him what was to prove the first of many letters from his pen on similar subjects:

The BISHOP OF WORCESTER *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

February 13th, 1903.

. . . Can we not in this Convocation do something to reassure a great number of people that the Bishops would not connive at men being Ordained who do not believe in the Articles of the Creed; particularly the Virgin Birth? I think some such declaration as I enclose would do no harm and much good. Among other things it would make the ritual problem and the *Quicunque Vult much* easier to deal with.

Observe the caution of the Archbishop's reply:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF WORCESTER

14th February, 1903.

. . . With respect to the very important question of a Declaration on the Bishops' part about the doctrine of the Incarnation, I am certain that we must proceed with great caution. The history of 1861 (*Essays and Reviews*), and again of 1863–8 (Colenso), furnishes a significant object-lesson as to the perils which surround these Declarations. Look, for example, at the doings in Convocation in Feb. 1863. I am far from saying that we should certainly be wrong in putting out such a Declaration as you suggest, but I am quite clear that we must not do so without adequate notice to every Bishop and time given to him for weighing the whole subject. To raise it next week in Convocation, with a view to action *then*, would be in my judgment most unfair. Our senior Bishop (Gloucester)[1] writes that he is unable to be present, and he certainly would not desire to stand outside such a discussion as must take place.

What I think might be done is this: You might raise the question privately (I mean in the absence of reporters) next week, and furnish us with facts and references (this last is most important) to the books impugned—you mention Cheyne and Rashdall. The

[1] Dr Ellicott.

Bishops could then consider the subject before our next group of Sessions, and make up their minds whether or not such a Declaration ought to be put forth. To put it forth is a very grave step: it means virtually an addition to our formularies. Pray prepare your material so that we may have your help and information next week.

The subject was privately raised in the Upper House, and adjourned to a meeting of Bishops. In the long correspondence which followed, the Archbishop made clear his opinion that such a Declaration would be fraught with immense peril. He added, aptly enough:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* REV. S. BICKERSTETH

30th April, 1903.

. . . If we merely say that we hold the Creed and wish others to hold it, we surely do what is worse than useless. If, on the other hand, we attempt to define its terms in a particular way, the Church at large may well ask (1) by what right we do so, and (2) what claim our definition has upon the faith of Churchmen.

In May, the Lower House of Convocation, sitting behind closed doors, framed a Resolution praying the Upper House that, 'in order to allay considerable distress and perplexity felt by many at the present time', they would 'consider what measures may seem best to reassure all men that the Church of England holds the Virgin Birth of Our Lord and his Resurrection from the Dead as cardinal doctrines of the Catholic Faith'.

The Bishops' Meeting followed at the end of the month, when it was voted by a majority that the two Archbishops should write a joint letter. Various difficulties, however, arose in carrying out the decision, and the matter was allowed to drop for a while. Certainly one very potent argument against the issue of any declaration was a statement published at the Archbishop's suggestion by the Dean of Westminster with three lectures entitled *Some Thoughts on the Incarnation*[1] in the form of a 'Prefatory

[1] *Some Thoughts on the Incarnation*, J Armitage Robinson (Longmans), pp v–xvi. 'If the Bishops were asked to declare that the Incarnation is a cardinal doctrine of the faith, such a statement would be superfluous indeed, but it would be true. But to say that the historical fact of the Virgin-birth is a cardinal doctrine of the faith is to use language which no Synod of Bishops, so far as I am aware, has ever ventured to use. It is to confuse the Incarnation with the special mode of the

Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury', in which he urged that it was utterly alien to the whole spirit of the English Church to close the doors of inquiry by the hand of authority, and how disastrous would be its results.

II

It was, however, the breaking out afresh of the Ritual controversy, the so-called 'Crisis in the Church', which aroused the greatest public attention, and made the largest demands upon the Archbishop in this first year of office. There had been a pause, due in part to the South African War. But early in 1903, a new movement began in the House of Commons for the 'further legislation' which, in its Resolution of May 10, 1899, the House had said would be required 'if the efforts of the Archbishops and Bishops to secure the obedience of the Clergy are not speedily effectual'. The debates on the Education Bill in the previous year had revealed a considerable distrust of the Clergy, especially in several rural districts, and over a hundred Unionist M.P.s, who were loyal supporters of the Church, asked the two Archbishops to receive them at Lambeth. The Archbishops agreed. Two rival Bills were at the time before the House of Commons. One was the Liverpool Bill, promoted by the Protestant Party, which aimed at taking things out of the Bishops' hands by the abolition of the Bishop's Veto on ecclesiastical prosecutions. The other was fathered by Mr. C. A. Cripps[1] and was designed to strengthen the Bishops by giving them real power in dealing with disobedient clergy by means of a Bishop's monition with legal force, leading in certain circumstances to the voidance of the benefice in case of flagrant disobedience.

The deputation, over a hundred strong, led by Sir John Dorington, waited on the two Archbishops on March 11. It was the Primate's first public function as occupant of Lambeth

Incarnation in a way for which Christian theology offers no precedent But I let the point of phraseology pass for it is the act of reassertion by authority of that which is questioned by criticism which I deprecate.... It is quite another thing that some of the theologians amongst [the Bishops] should take natural opportunities of presenting the argument in a way that may reach doubtful minds. Some of them have done so already. But can any one believe that, to offer a single example, the signature of the Bishop of Worcester to a joint episcopal declaration on this matter could effect anything at all for perplexed enquirers in comparison with the writings of Charles Gore?'

[1] Subsequently Lord Parmoor.

Palace. After the introductory speeches, the Archbishop of Canterbury made what was generally regarded as a significant pronouncement. He received the complaints and the appeal with marked courtesy, though not without a word to show that the laity sometimes increased the clergy's difficulties, and he spoke very sympathetically of those country parishes where the wishes of the congregation and parishioners were entirely disregarded by a new incumbent. He pointed out that he had hardly been Archbishop a month, and therefore must not be expected to frame a policy at once. He had (he said) neither seen nor heard from all the Bishops on the subject; and he gave it as his view 'that the cases of flagrant and defiant illegality and disobedience' were very few, and confined almost wholly to the dioceses of London, Chichester, and Exeter. There were, he agreed, in some churches usages of an extreme kind which had prevailed for many years: and though they could not always be stopped on the sudden, arrangements for dealing with them in some way, and restraining them, could be made, and had been made, by the Bishops concerned. 'But', he said, and this was the heart of the pronouncement:

> But, Gentlemen, there is another class There are a few men defiant of episcopal authority and really reckless of the true Church of England's spirit. You have seen or heard or read about the case of St. Michael's, Shoreditch. You have heard about the Churches at Plymouth and Devonport where things are going on of a like kind. I say to you deliberately to-day that in my view of such cases, tolerance has reached, and even passed its limits. The sands have run out. Stern and drastic action is in my judgement quite essential. . . It may have been right to give time, after our endeavours began, a few years ago, for further consideration and further appeals to those men, and to make further endeavours by quiet means to bring about the result; but that time is amply past. The initial response must of course in any such case rest with the several diocesan Bishops; but, speaking for myself, so far as in me lies, I assure you, using my words with a full sense of responsibility, I desire and intend that we should now act, and act sternly.

It was a strong statement, and it was made, as *The Times* said next morning, by one 'who knows quite well that history will deal with his tenure of the Primacy in the light of what he said yesterday and of what he may do in fulfilment of what he said'. It was

also well received, and though it was expected that the High Church Party would have a great deal to say in reply, in fact it said very little. On the following day the House of Commons listened to a fiery speech from Sir William Harcourt and, in spite of Mr. Balfour's conciliatory appeal, gave a second reading to the Liverpool Bill. There was much correspondence in the Press; many letters passed to and from the Archbishop at Lambeth. At one moment Mr. Balfour was himself contemplating a letter for publication on the Crisis which was submitted in draft to the Archbishop, who made a few pencilled annotations of no great moment, but added:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* J. J. SANDARS, ESQ.

10th April, 1903.

. . . What occurs to me is the question whether the *argument* of the letter is important enough to justify the publication of it as the Prime Minister's view of the situation. It is of course conclusive so far as it goes, and the exposure of the absurdity of the contention put forward by Austin Taylor and Co. is complete and is expressed with characteristic clearness.

But I a little crave for something more of a constructive sort.

The draft got no further. Legislation continued to be talked about both in the House of Commons—where Mr. Cripps's Bill also got a second reading and then died—and in Convocation and the House of Laymen. Indeed there were rumours that the Archbishop himself intended to introduce a Bill in the House of Lords:

SIR JOHN DORINGTON *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

30 Queen Anne's Gate,
St. James's Park, S.W.
8th June, 1903.

I congratulate you on having secured the assent of Convocation to the principles of Mr. Cripps' Bill, and so far you are now on sound ground.

May I express a hope that you will find it possible before the close of the Parliamentary Session to bring forward and lay before the public, by the introduction of a Bill in the House of Lords, the measures which you would desire to see pass. In view of the activity of the so-called Liverpool party, and of the uneasiness which prevails generally, it is I think most important that we

should have direct and positive guidance from the Heads of the Church as to the disciplinary measures which they would approve of. For want of this guidance so very many are driven to accept the objectionable methods of Church Discipline Bill No. 1, and to vote for it in Parliament, and another six months of inaction will certainly increase the difficulty. It also must I think be recognised that it is only the Government who can pass such a measure, and that it would be a great assistance to them if the approved measure had been before the country in an authoritative manner for some time previously.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* SIR JOHN DORINGTON

9th June, 1903.

Many thanks for your important letter. I think I quite appreciate the view you take, and on the whole I am in agreement with what I understand to be your contention. But I own that I foresee great difficulty with regard to the putting forth by the Episcopate of Mr. Cripps' Bill in anything like its present form. My own main difficulty is not a dislike to the Bill itself, but a feeling that we should certainly be misapprehended if we put out that Bill with the apparent expectation that if enacted it would enable us to get rid forthwith of our existing difficulties. Of course I know that the promoters of the Bill would not make so foolish a claim with reference to it, but outside people would certainly think such to be our anticipation I tried to make this plain in a speech in Convocation reported in the *Guardian* of May 20th, page 730, and I would ask you kindly to refer to that debate. It begins on page 727 of the *Guardian* and is resumed on page 729. What we did in Convocation was to appoint a Committee to consider the whole subject and to report forthwith. That Committee—a very weighty one—has held at least two meetings and is drafting a report upon the subject. If this report when it appears seems to show us how we could wisely legislate on the lines of Mr. Cripps' Bill, I shall be quite ready to take the necessary steps, if I have the concurrence of the leading men among my Episcopal colleagues. But until that Committee has reported I am not in a position to say anything more than that we are most anxiously considering the whole questions involved. This is no mere form of words; it is the plain truth.

The matter was indeed in the Archbishop's view a much more complicated affair than appeared on the surface, and the debates in Convocation, to which he referred his correspondent, made it clear that not only was a reform of Church Courts

required, and a strengthening of the authority of the Bishops, but also a more effective system of self-government in which the laity of the Church should take their part with the Bishops and the clergy.

Discussion continued for a while during the summer. A deputation of High Churchmen of the Moderate school, headed by Mr. H. Russell Wakefield, presented a Declaration of Loyalty, signed by four thousand clergy, to the Archbishop in Lambeth Library in July. Then the fever abated for a time, and the next move was made in the following year by the Crown. But, as the Archbishop had hinted, there was another aspect of the whole question to be considered, the responsibility of the laity in the government of the Church. The same summer saw an important stage in the process of setting up a National Church Council for the Church of England. The proposal had been under discussion intermittently for some years. One part of the proposal consisted of obtaining powers for the reform of Convocation. But the principal purpose was to secure a representative council consisting of bishops, clergy and laity, of the two provinces. The proposal had been discussed in the Northern and Southern Convocations separately, and in the two Houses of Laymen. It had been decided to hold a joint meeting of the members of the Convocations sitting in Committee, and of the Houses of Laymen, in July 1903, to take a definite decision. A good deal of spade work had to be done, and the Bishop of Salisbury[1] was to the fore in the plans that had to be made. The meeting was duly held; the business was complicated; and there was a large body of people not accustomed to meeting together for the Chairman to handle. There were sharp differences of opinion, e.g. as to whether the basis of the lay franchise should be Holy Communion, Confirmation, or Baptism; and whether women should be admitted. And there was a mass of amendments. Patience and leadership were both required in the Chair, if good feeling was to be preserved and clear resolutions adopted.

The joint meeting resolved:

(1) That it is desirable to make provision for the calling together of a representative Council consisting of clergy and laity of the Provinces of Canterbury and York.

(2) That the question of obtaining legal constitution and authority

[1] Dr. John Wordsworth.

for such a Council be reserved for consideration until after the Council has, upon a voluntary basis, come into working order.

(3) That such steps shall be taken as may prove to be necessary for the reform of the two Convocations, and for their sitting together, from time to time, as one body.

It also resolved that the Council should consist of three Houses—Bishops, Clergy, and Laity. the existing Houses of Laymen forming the Lay House for the present; and, as to the franchise:

(6) That the initial franchise of lay electors shall be exercised in each ecclesiastical parish or district by those persons of the male sex (possessing such householding or other vestry qualification in the parish or district as may be defined by the committee to be hereafter appointed) who declare themselves in writing, at the time of voting, to be lay members of the Church of England, and of no other religious communion, and are not legally and actually excluded from Communion, and by such other persons residing in the parish or district as are lay communicants of the Church of England, of the male sex, and of full age.

Thus decisions were taken and agreement was reached. The position and prestige of the new Primate were confirmed. And at the end of the sitting all present rose to their feet and loudly cheered the man who, said *The Times*,[1] 'with much judgment had removed obstacles out of the way of definite resolution, and even in the intervals between the debates, was still guiding events and reconciling antipathies.' It is interesting to read the following letter rejoicing in a decision different from that which led to a very sorrowful letter from the same Dr. Gore[2] fifteen or sixteen years later:

The BISHOP OF WORCESTER *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

July 11, 1903.

Confidential

May I, with the impression fresh upon me, express my very profound gratitude and admiration for all you have done for me and for the Church in a very few short months and more particularly this week? I only venture to do this, because I fear I am of the nature of a σκολοψ τῇ σαρκί only too often to you. And I can't promise to amend. This is not to be answered. But I thought you would let me say that if I distress you, it is a great distress to me.

[1] *The Times*, July 13, 1903.

[2] See p 970.

III

Ecclesiastical questions of another kind were coming up in England in connexion with a possible revolt from Rome of a number of laity and clergy, at a time when there was a considerable ferment among Roman Catholics, not only in this country. It seemed natural that such a body of discontented Romans should apply to the Old Catholics in Switzerland or Holland, who had broken away from Rome on the issue of Papal Infallibility in 1870. The organization, headed by a Father O'Halloran, was said to number 150 Roman Catholic priests who were revolting against Cardinal Vaughan.

The BISHOP OF SALISBURY *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Salisbury. 19th March, 1903.

The following is a translation of part of a letter I have just received from the Old Catholic Bishop at Berne, my friend Bishop Herzog. What answer shall I give him?

'The priest Richard O'Halloran, at St Joseph's and St. Peter's, Mattock Lane, Ealing, desires that an Old Catholic Bishop should come to England in order to confirm about 50 candidates according to the Roman Catholic rite.

'I should be inclined to recommend to my fellow-Bishops to assent to this request. Of course I should not conceive of the act as a practical denial of the legitimacy of the Church of England and her organs, but to place it on the same level as the episcopal actions performed by Bishop Wilkinson on the continent, and that sometimes in congregations, which, as in Holland, no longer understand English. If the assistance asked is not given, O'Halloran and his congregation will shortly have to submit to Cardinal Vaughan; if given it may *perhaps* strengthen the so-called "Revolt from Rome" movement.'

He then goes on to mention the blame he had to bear for consecrating Bishop Koslowski in U.S.A. and does not wish to incur it again. He wishes to know whether I have strong feeling on the matter. If so, he implies, he will go no further.

You probably know much more than I do of O'Halloran. Herzog would be the best man for such an act if you desired anyone to perform it, as he is a true friend.

I hope to see you in the House of Lords.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF SALISBURY

Lambeth Palace, S.E.
30th March, 1903.

I have been considering carefully the very important question Bishop Herzog has raised about his possibly coming to England to confirm in the congregations or congregation of recalcitrant Romans. Obviously the utmost caution is necessary before we commit ourselves to sanctioning anything of the kind. Personally I should not regard it as an intrusion on the part of an Old Catholic Bishop were he to come to England and there confirm *in my diocese* Roman Catholics who were genuinely and intelligently desirous of his ministrations and who wished for the Roman rite. But probably other Bishops would take a different view, and would say that any Englishman who, ceasing to be under Cardinal Vaughan, desires still to be a member of the Church Catholic, must become a member of the Church of England and be confirmed according to our rite. In any case I think Bishop Herzog should tell us more fully what is his own view. He must not leave us to decide the matter for him; nor, I imagine, does he wish us to do so. I was quite unaware that Bishop Wilkinson confirmed Dutchmen in Holland, and I find that the Bishop of London was equally unaware of it. I have spoken to both the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Rochester on the matter. Neither of them has any very clear advice to give.

After hearing from you I looked up and read the articles in the *Fortnightly Review* and *Contemporary*, and I also wrote to Arthur Galton, from whom I have an interesting reply. In the first of his articles (*Fortnightly* for 1902, p. 426, etc.) he describes the attitude of the recalcitrants towards the Church of England, and it all seems to leave the matter in a very complicated and hazy condition. I am sure that great caution is necessary. I want to be convinced that Father O'Halloran is not simply a wild Irishman who has evoked personal enthusiasm from his congregation and friends who are prepared to follow him anywhither. I do not at all say that such is the fact, but I want to be convinced of the contrary. I have asked Galton to come and see me about it when he is in London. Big issues may turn on what we do, and big principles are at stake, so I am sure that we ought to be cautious. Any further information that you can send me will be very acceptable.

The Archbishop made a few further inquiries, the result of which fully justified his cautious reply: and further proof of the

need of caution will be found a few years later in the curious sequel in which Father O'Halloran was concerned with a certain Bishop Mathew.[1]

IV

In the throng of business of all kinds pressing upon the Archbishop, a pleasant interlude is found in the dinner given him by a number of his friends on April 24, 1903, at the Athenaeum Club. Canon Scott Holland, writing in the *Commonwealth* when Bishop Davidson's appointment to Canterbury was announced, said:

> Bishop Davidson's point of danger is not the Court. He has survived its perils with a singular simplicity Rather it is to be sought at the Athenaeum. There dwell the sirens who are apt to beguile and bewitch him. They have ceased to be mermaids with harps and have adopted the disguise of elderly and excellent gentlemen of reputation, who lead you aside into corners and, in impressive whispers, inform you what will not do and what the intelligent British public will not stand. The Bishop has a deep veneration for the judgement and the wisdom of important laity of this type. Yet the Athenaeum is not the shrine of infallibility. Its elderly common sense has no prophetic *afflatus*.

The Club, it was quite true, was one of Davidson's favourite haunts. He was elected in 1890 and remained a member till his death. He made constant use of it, not merely for its library or for business purposes. As a fellow member during many years says:

> Intercourse with his fellow men, especially with those who were themselves leaders in Church and State, in literature, science and art, was eagerly sought by him both as a source of strength and knowledge and as an opportunity of influence, and such intercourse he found in ample measure at the Athenaeum. He soon became, and remained throughout, one of the best known and most esteemed members of the Club. He identified himself with its interests, served when elected on the Committee of Management, and from 1914 till his death was one of its three Trustees. As Trustee he became *ex-officio* member of the Committee, and, in spite of his innumerable engagements, often attended its meetings, particularly on days when there were to be elections under Rule II 'of persons of distinguished eminence in science, literature, or the arts, or for public services'.

[1] See *infra*, p. 1018.

When Canon Scott Holland's criticism was published—to continue the story:

> Some of the Archbishop-designate's lay friends in the Club took it as a challenge; and determined to show by entertaining him at dinner how highly they appreciated his frequent presence among them. As the available room in the Athenaeum could only seat about a couple of dozen, there was a difficulty in selecting the hosts from among so many who would wish to do him honour. The guest, on being sounded, would not go further than to hint that perhaps, on such an occasion, his 'brethren' would hardly be in place. Accordingly there were no bishops present at the dinner on 24th April 1903; and the only two hosts in Holy Orders were men who held positions necessarily in close touch with lay opinion, the Dean of Westminster, Dr. Armitage Robinson, and the Master of the Temple, Canon Ainger.
>
> The then Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour, was in the Chair, with the guest of the evening on his right. The American Ambassador, Mr. Choate, was there among the hosts; so were Lord Roberts, then Commander-in-Chief; the Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. Gully; and the President of the Royal Academy, Sir Edward Poynter. Four statesmen, two Liberal, two Conservative, attended —Mr. Asquith, Lord Goschen, Lord Knutsford (Sir Henry Holland), and Mr. John Morley, the latter, with Mr. Birrell, representing literature as well. For the law came the Lord Chief Justice (Lord Alverstone), the Master of the Rolls (Sir Richard Henn Collins), and Lord Robertson (Lord of Appeal). Oxford and Cambridge were well represented by Sir William Anson and Sir Richard Jebb. Science had an exponent in Lord Avebury, the principal Trustee of the Club; and the party was completed by Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Sir Henry Craik, Sir Charles Dalrymple, and the then Editor of *The Times*, Mr. G. E. Buckle. One of the hosts, a man of caustic wit, after looking round the big circular dinner-table, said to his neighbour, 'I suppose we here are the kind of folk whom the historian of the future will describe as *alors célèbres*'. At least they were a brilliant representation of the Club at the time; and the Archbishop, in replying to the toast of his health proposed by Mr. Balfour, showed how deeply he felt the compliment, and how highly he valued his intimate association with the Athenaeum.

A month later we see both the pressure on his time, and his attitude to friends of another kind, from a different angle. At the end of May he received a letter from a revered Nonconformist,

Dr. R. F. Horton. He, referring to Davidson's well-known sympathy for those outside the Church of England, sent him an address just given by himself as Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in the City Temple, and containing incidentally criticisms of 'the appalling mockery of the *congé d'élire*', speaking of the Church of England as 'a branch of the Civil Service', and of the mechanical transmission of ministerial powers:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* REV. R. F. HORTON, D.D.

Lambeth Palace, S.E., 9 June '03.

I owe you many apologies for my delay in thanking you for an exceedingly kind letter, received I fear more than a fortnight ago, and for sending me a copy of your stirring and helpful address on 'Congregationalism and the Catholic Church'. My excuse—the old one—must be simply the overwhelming pressure of daily work. I have been a busy man all my life, but I have never known such terrible pressure as now. Work as one will, the arrears accumulate, and the very letters one would most desire to write remain unwritten.

You certainly do me no injustice in believing it to be my very earnest desire, GOD helping me, to do something to heal our sore divisions—and it would indeed be to me a source of thankfulness to look forward to additional opportunities, were you ready to afford them, of working side by side with those who like yourself, while not belonging to our Communion, have at heart the simple desire to forward in Christ's Name and by the Holy Spirit's help, the bettering of the world and the advance, here in England, of the Living Kingdom of Our Lord.

With very much that you say in your address I am—perhaps I need scarcely say so—in fullest agreement. I find myself wondering, as I read, what it is that you suppose men like myself to hold when you refer to us as you do. But I may somehow be misunderstanding your meaning and intent, and I at least can rejoice wholeheartedly—nor do I ever lose a suitable opportunity of saying so—in the fact of greater unities, which weld us together at the core whatever the surface 'differentia' on one side or the other.

You will not expect that it should be otherwise than painful to me to find that a brother minister of Christ whom I so sincerely respect, and from whose words I have many a time learned so much, should use respecting the Church of England some of the expressions you do, expressions which I would rather cut my right

hand off than use of Congregationalism. But one learns as life goes on, and one's working years draw perhaps near to their close, not to take offence at even the hardest words of a fellow soldier of Christ when he is saying out what he feels to be true and to need saying.

As examples of what I mean, I wonder what prayers you are alluding to in the last line of p. 14, or what you exactly mean by 'mechanically' on page 9 line 19, which would not be applicable to e.g. Acts 8/17 or 2 Tim. 1/6.

I did not however intend when I began this letter to *criticise* your Address but to thank you for it, and to ask you for the help of your prayers in face of the big responsibilities laid upon me—to which you refer so kindly in your letter.

The REV. R. F. HORTON, D.D., *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

June 10, 1903.

Your noble and gracious letter touches me to the quick. Believe me, I would not have sent the Address if I had realised that it contained anything which could pain you, or that it was to add a feather weight to your overwhelming burdens. And yet I am glad it went, for it has elicited a letter which comes as a beautiful revelation of Christian character and spirit, and will make me love one whom before I honoured.

And it seems to me that you have forgiven the unintentional wound I inflicted. Perhaps even you are glad to know, however painful it may be, exactly how things strike Nonconformists. I was not expressing an opinion peculiar to myself. These thousands of Nonconformists in the country have suffered, and still suffer, the drawbacks of separation from the Church, simply because they think Christ's Church too Divine an institution to be subjected to a Parliament, or to a Premier, who may not be Christian at all. Certainly we do not feel any animosity to Churchmen or to the Church when we protest against this, which seems to us a degradation of the great ideal.

And with regard to the laying on of hands, we both believe in it and practise it; but we dread the imputation of spiritual powers, which may not be there, simply to the performance of an external act; and we believe that the fearful corruption of Eastern Orthodoxy and of Western Catholicism was due to that very error, which finds its first expression in the idea of such a transmission of orders. —But, O my Lord Archbishop, how I groan under the alienation and separation which lead us to misunderstand and to wound one

another—when we are called by His name. Would that I could through your Grace say to the whole Church of England how innocent I was of the intention to grieve.—And may I, not only have the joy of praying for you, but ask very humbly for an occasional remembrance in your prayers?

With respectful and affectionate gratitude for your letter.

This was the time, too, when there was a strong wave of feeling in Nonconformist circles against what was considered to be the unfair placing of Church Schools 'on the rates' by the Education Act of the previous year. And the agitation and the passive resistance were such as to cause great anxiety in various ways: but, though conferences were suggested, and ideas ventilated, it was by no means easy to see how the situation could be relieved. The following letter to the Bishop of Southwark (Dr. Yeatman Biggs) gives a hint of the difficulties. It was written after a talk with Dr. R. F. Horton:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF SOUTHWARK

Old Palace, Canterbury,
20 August 1903.

Horton's visit comes to little except perhaps a certain unlikelihood of his being so violent against us as some of his friends are. We had abundant talk. He is against the Passive Resisters but says nobody among Nonconformist Ministers agrees with him therein! It came out again and again in our talk how grossly ignorant these Nonconformists are of the real work of Elementary schools.

He is a fearsome Anti-Roman—and alleges that the fears of our passive resisters are mainly based on the expectation (which he shares) that Rome is going to nobble the Education of the Young in England! I was not so greatly impressed by his 'evidences' of this as he expected. On the whole I trust our talk may have done some good. But he had really no very workable proposals to make.

The Archbishop was also consulted about the proposed *Life* of Queen Victoria, and it is interesting to recall in such a connexion the old association of Dr. Davidson's former service of his Sovereign and his old chief, Archbishop Benson. A certain historian was very eager to write it, but it was Arthur Benson who, to his own great surprise, was actually invited to undertake the task. The Archbishop appears as intermediary both to inform the rejected candidate, and to encourage the other on whom the

choice had fallen. In the correspondence of the former with the Archbishop there is an interesting précis of a conversation between him (Mr. D.) and the King which shows one side of the question:

'*Précis of Conversation* with the King on the subject of Queen Victoria's *Life* at Buckingham Palace, July 10, 1903.

After the King's permission had been asked to refer to the subject of Queen Victoria's *Life*, the conversation proceeded.

Mr. D. I have had the advantage of speaking on the subject with a very trusted counsellor of Your Majesty, who also had the entire confidence of the late Queen—the Archbishop of Canterbury.

King. There is no one of whose judgment I have a higher opinion. What did the Archbishop say?

Mr. D. The Archbishop spoke with great reserve. He was reluctant to express an opinion on a matter which, he said, might be deemed not to belong to his province.

King. I know very well that the Archbishop never likes to interfere, but whatever he says has great weight with me and I should like to hear it.

Mr. D. The Primate merely said that it seemed that the time had arrived when it was feasible and even expedient (I do not attempt to quote His Grace's words) to write the *Life* of Queen Victoria down to the death of the Prince Consort. Every one who till then had taken part in public affairs having disappeared no susceptibilities could be hurt etc. etc.

As to the Archbishop's opinion of my capability of writing the *Life* I have no right to say anything.

The King seemed to attach the highest value to the Archbishop's words.

I further said to the King that (1) I was prepared to give up practically my whole life to the task (2) that, possessed of ample means, I could afford to work slowly and thoroughly. (3) that it would be of great advantage that the work should be begun under the King's personal supervision: and (4) that the *Life* down to 1861 would occupy all my life, so there would be no need to trouble about recent years.

The King ended this part of the conversation by saying "Your proposal is of the greatest interest and is one which I will most carefully consider".'

The following letter from Arthur Benson is an indication of the other side:

A. C. BENSON, ESQ., *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Private. Godolphin House, Eton College, Windsor.
July 6, 1903.

I went over and saw Esher yesterday, and he made me the offer of which you know; and today I have accepted it and have definitely resigned my mastership at Christmas. I have no real hesitation about it, because I have a very deepseated belief in the guidance of Providence. The offer is wholly unexpected, it comes exactly at the moment when I wanted it, and it is exactly the kind of work I desire. At the same time I quite understand the responsibility and difficulty of it; and I can only do my best.

Another point about it is that it is sufficiently important to justify my taking the step of leaving my work here, the giving up of which might have seemed to those who don't know the conditions a piece of whimsical indolence.

I have again, as I have often had cause to do before, to express my gratitude to you for all your *endless* kindness—because I recognise your hand in this—it only adds one more kindness to the debt of gratitude I and mine owe you, which can never be repaid, but is not therefore unmarked or unappreciated.

Will you let the matter remain confidential for a few days? I don't want it to be known here just in this busy time. And please do not answer this.

There was another connexion with the Benson family of a different kind. Archbishop Benson's youngest son, Robert Hugh Benson, after much deliberation, was on the verge of joining the Church of Rome. The Archbishop saw him at Horsted Keynes, his mother's house:

MRS. BENSON *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

July 29th, 1903.

It is impossible for me (to) thank you as I feel for this last outcome of your love and kindness—and you see I know what it is to ask an Archbishop to give time and thought to one's own special heart's problem—and you have added to it this letter telling me of all—and I *know* under what stress and strain all this has been so lovingly given. Your letter has been everything to me. Hugh has told me his side—it is all one—and he is as grateful to you as I am. I scarcely hope the end can be averted—but I see you have made him *think*, and troubled the waters of his mind.

Hugh was received on September 10. 'He will *not* be re-baptized,'

wrote his mother, 'conditionally or unconditionally. They accept my statement as to his complete baptism.'

This is the Archbishop's letter to Hugh on receiving the news from him:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* REV. R. H. BENSON

Tomatin, Invernesshire. 16 Sep: 1903.

I thank you for writing to me, and it is a genuine satisfaction to me to feel that you have no sense of having been unfairly or unsympathetically treated by those of us to whom you have opened your heart during these momentous (and, to us, inexpressibly sad and anxious) weeks. When I was last at Tremans I purposely refrained from initiating any talk upon the subject, feeling sure, after all our previous conversations, that you would yourself return to the matter if you had felt that there was anything still lacking as to elucidation of possible misunderstandings.

Be very sure that I shall not cease to remember you constantly in my prayers, as you ask me so to do. It would be affectation on my part to pretend that the step you have taken is not a sorrow to us all, and a special grief to those who owe so much as I and many others do to your dear Father.

I retain however the opinion I expressed to you, that it would have been wrong on your part to have allowed reverence for his memory to force you into what would have been a dishonest act or series of acts on your part, your convictions being what they now are. I am quite sure that when the choice lies between a non-natural use of words upon which so much depends and a change of faith—it is an honest man's duty to make the change rather than practise what to me at least seems to be a course of deliberate evasion or deceit.

I should have felt just the same had the alternative before you been the avowal of deliberate disbelief in the doctrines and formularies of the Christian Faith.

Terribly, perilously, false as the doctrines you have embraced seem to me to be, I greatly prefer avowal to concealment on the part of the Anglican Priest who has come to believe them to be true. It is of course possible, though I can hardly expect you to think so at present, that you may come hereafter, as others in like case have, to regard your present step as having been altogether a mistaken one. But, whether or no that should ever come about, you may be certain that I, for one, shall not fail to pray for you, and to welcome every such friendly relation towards us as you are allowed to retain.

You speak most truly of the wonderful power of sympathy and confidence which your Mother has shown in these trying weeks—or months—or even years. It is not the only gift in which she is almost unique. I fear that in some respects it makes the *pain* to her even greater. But upon that I need not dwell, for you know all that I would say.

I rejoice to hear that you have at least been spared what I am bound in honesty to call, when it is practised, the profanity of re-baptism. I have however some cases of it which I can hardly characterise in tolerable words.

For the rest, come what may, your place in our hearts is and will be a warm one—and if ever, in the changes and chances of life with its unexpected developments and disillusionments, the day should come when you feel that counsel or help or guidance from me could be of use to you, you know that to serve your father's son, nay to serve *you* whom I love so well, would be the keenest and most valued privilege and satisfaction.

The Rev. R. H. Benson *to the* Archbishop of Canterbury

Talacre, Prestatyn R.S.O., Flintshire.
Sept. 20, 1903.

I must send a line to thank you most sincerely for your kind letter.

More and more it seems to me, as you say in your letter, that the final convictions I had come to made it impossible to remain where I was. Of course I hope and believe most fervently that I shall always retain them. But if ever I am in trouble, I shall most certainly avail myself of your help and counsel. No one could have been kinder or more sympathetic than you have been to me in every way: and I am most deeply grateful to you for that; and again too for the assurance of your prayers.

As the last letters show, the Archbishop and Mrs. Davidson spent the first of many holidays from Lambeth in Scotland. They took a manse at Tomatin, the Archbishop arriving on September 1, having stayed in town to take Lord Salisbury's funeral at Hatfield. At Tomatin and elsewhere he had opportunities, which he loved, for keeping in close touch with the political crisis—learning, for example, through Lord Balfour of Burleigh of the inner history of the Cabinet difficulties over tariff reform, including Chamberlain's resignation.

Much of the autumn was spent in Kent, with the Old Palace, Canterbury, as head-quarters. And here the question of further

help in the diocese came up. Bishop Walsh, who had been appointed Bishop of Dover by Archbishop Temple, continued to act as Bishop Suffragan to the new Archbishop. It had, however, very soon become plain that if both the diocesan and the general work of the Church were to be adequately done, a second Suffragan must be appointed. The main difficulty was finance. The Bishop of Dover received £600 a year from the Archbishop's private purse in addition to the income of his Canonry, and the private purse had to supply the whole cost of the regular staff of Chaplains and Secretaries as well as pay for all correspondence, travelling, hospitality, repairs, maintenance, at Lambeth and Canterbury. In the end, however, the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury agreed to place the city living of All Hallows', Lombard Street, at the Archbishop's disposal, and the Archbishop nominated Canon Pereira for the living, and secured the approval of the Crown for his appointment as first Bishop of Croydon [1]

This autumn also saw the silver wedding of Randall Davidson and Edith Tait. By a remarkable coincidence, the silver weddings of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York both took place on the same day, November 12, 1903; though Archbishop Maclagan's wife was his second wife and he himself had been born in 1826 and so was twenty-two years older than his brother Primate. At Lambeth the celebrations took place in the very chapel where Randall Davidson and Edith Tait had been married by Archbishop Tait, with a whole host of friends of old days about them. Not the least welcome members of the family gathering were the orphan girls from the Tait Home at Broadstairs, founded by Mrs. Davidson's mother in memory of her own five young children who were so suddenly taken by scarlet fever in the Deanery of Carlisle in 1856. Many friends subscribed to a magnificent silver wedding present, which took the form of three beautiful marble steps[2] of white (for sincerity), black (for contrition), and porphyry (for love), leading to the Altar before which the wedding had been performed.

[1] Consecrated January 25, 1904.

[2] The steps to Purgatory in Dante These were dedicated on March 22, 1905.

CHAPTER XXII

THE NEAR EAST

I had come, as it were, to the end of this wheel-going Europe, and now my eyes would see the splendour and havoc of the East. A. W. KINGLAKE, *Eothen*, ch. 1.

I

IN this chapter will be found the first of the many occasions during the next twenty-five years in which the Archbishop came into contact with the Near East. Among the early correspondence from abroad with which he had to deal were letters from the Eastern Churches with which he was destined to have so much to do throughout his rule. A telegram was received in London, January 19, 1903, from the Patriarch of Constantinople:

The PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Inasmuch as the good pleasure of All Holy God has elevated your wise Right Reverence to the great dignity of the Archbishopric of Canterbury, we gladly address to your Lordship brotherly congratulations. May the Lord give your Lordship grace and strengthening for the good of the English Church and people.

The Patriarch JOACHIM.

The telegram was acknowledged, and the following letter, drafted by the Bishop of Salisbury,[1] who was the Archbishop's constant adviser in all dealings with Eastern and foreign Churches, was sent in reply by the Archbishop on the day of his enthronement.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE

12th Feb 1903.

To His Holiness Joachim III, Archbishop of Constantinople, new Rome, and Oecumenical Patriarch, Randall Thomas by divine Providence Archbishop of Canterbury Primate of all England and Metropolitan, grace and peace be multiplied from God our Father and our Lord Jesus Christ in the power of the Holy Spirit.

[1] Dr. John Wordsworth.

Most reverend Patriarch and beloved Brother in Christ, you have heard that God has been pleased to take away from our head our beloved brother and Primate, Frederick Temple, and you have already expressed your sympathy for us in this bereavement, for which we most heartily thank you, as he was not only a friend to all of us, but a noble example in life and character. You have also been good enough to send to ourselves personally by telegram your brotherly greetings on the occasion of our nomination to the See of Canterbury, to which we have most cordially replied in the same manner. We have now the honour to give official information to yourself and the members of your Synod, that our elevation to this high office, of which we feel ourselves most unworthy, is complete. The election on the part of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, to whom this right of old time belongs, took place on Tuesday the 27th day of January. This election was solemnly confirmed by the Archbishop of York and by seven Bishops of our own Province of Canterbury on Friday the 6th day of February Our enthronement as Archbishop has taken place this very day on which we write, in the Metropolitical Church of Christ in Canterbury, this Thursday the 12th day of February, A.D. 1903.

We are deeply conscious of the difficulties and dangers which attend the office and charge to which the Providence of God has called us, and we humbly and heartily desire the prayers of your Holiness and those of your fellow-bishops as well as those of the whole flock of Christ throughout the important provinces committed to your care, that we may be supported and enlightened by the Divine Grace in this weighty office and charge.

It will be our constant care, beloved brother in Christ, to maintain and promote those friendly relations between the Church of England and the Orthodox Eastern Church, which have long existed, and which were especially dear to our predecessors. We shall endeavour to act in the spirit of the Lambeth Conference of 1897, the resolutions of which on this subject (which we append to this letter) are probably well-known already to your Holiness. They were the foundation of a very friendly correspondence between our late Archbishop and your predecessor, which our Archbishop would gladly have continued if he had not been overwhelmed with work at home too great for his strength.

It was our duty on three occasions (1878, 1888 and 1897) to act as one of the secretaries of the Lambeth Conferences, and we can therefore speak from long experience of the entire goodwill of our brethren in all quarters of the globe to the Orthodox Eastern Church in all its branches.

We have often heard with pleasure from our brethren the Bishop of Gibraltar and the Bishop in Jerusalem of the cordial welcome everywhere given to them by prelates of your Holiness' communion, and of the details of intercourse with them and other members of your body which have been, we believe, from time to time beneficial to both parties.

We earnestly trust that this intercourse may be extended, and we shall be happy to consider any proposals which your Holiness may at any time think fit to make on the subject.

We commit this letter to our trusty and well-beloved Chaplain the Venerable Mark Swabey, who will deliver it to your Holiness with our profound respect.

Given at the Old Palace in Canterbury this 12th day of February in the year of Our Lord 1903.

Your Holiness' affectionate Brother in Christ

RANDALL (Seal) CANTUAR:

The letter was transmitted to the Patriarch through the Rev. Mark Swabey, Chaplain to the Crimean Memorial Church, who reported the great satisfaction with which it had been received, and also the annoyance of the Russians at the exchange of courtesies, who thought, without the remotest justification, 'that politics must be behind any religious movement'.

The following reply was sent by the Patriarch and read in Canterbury Convocation in May:

The PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Most reverend Randall Thomas, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of All England, most dearly beloved by us in Christ our God, grace be to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. It gave us heartfelt joy to receive from the hands of the reverend priest Mark Swabey the highly esteemed letter which contained the happy news of your Grace's election to the most eminent hierarchical dignity of Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England and Metropolitan, and of your confirmation and enthronement, by the Providence of God and in accordance with ancient practice; and likewise the holy Synod of the most reverend Metropolitans which was about us was delighted with the official reading of your letters, which took place during their session, and with the enrolment of them in our Acts. It afforded us great satisfaction not only to observe the delicate kindness with which you issued your letter, describing these

auspicious events, on the very day of your enthronement, but also the revelation of your Christian heart full of evangelical love and of desire for the advancement of the friendly relations already happily existing between our Churches, and for action in reference to the promotion of a more general programme, in consonance with the resolutions of a conference of Bishops, of which you were pleased to subjoin a copy written in Greek. It, therefore, makes us happy to reply that we rejoice with you from the centre of our soul, and pray God, from the bottom of our heart, that He may strengthen and confirm you by His all-invigorating help in the holy, exalted, and anxious office to which He has called you, as your qualifications and your previous distinguished services deserve: and next, we give you due thanks for the expression of your good will towards the Great Church of Christ which is with us here in Constantinople, and towards all the other sister autocephalous Orthodox holy Churches of God, and for your admirable desire for friendly intercommunion (ἐπικοινωνία) with them. We assure your Grace that these kind and benevolent expressions find a deep and hearty echo on our part, inasmuch as they agree both with the spirit of our own Orthodox Church, and with our own private inmost desire to co-operate as far as we can with the Divinely given command. For from the earliest times our Church prays and supplicates in every one of its solemn services for the union of all the Churches: wherefore we saw with pleasure that this prayer, so pleasing to God, was described in the resolutions of the Lambeth Conference as the duty of every Christian of the Anglican Church. This holy purpose formed a favourite subject of our own meditation during the first period of our patriarchate twenty-three years ago, and now, when, having been called to this office a second time, we have given our assiduous attention to the subject, we have invited the brotherly judgement of all the Orthodox Churches, as on other ecclesiastical questions so particularly on this—namely, whether they think it opportune to consider how we may prepare a platform for mutual friendly approach on the part of the different Christian Churches (πεδίον ὁμαλὸν φιλικῆς ἀμοιβαίας προσπελάσεως τῶν διαφόρων χριστιανικῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν). For this cause, since we concur in the same holy Evangelical desire, we readily welcome and highly value the continuance and further development of the friendly relation and intercommunion (ἐπικοινωνία) between the hierarchy of the two Churches, from which we may truly expect mutual advantage, and we shall ever show ourselves zealous in this work For 'Love is the fulfilling of the law', as the heaven-mounting Paul says, and 'Love edifieth'. In conclusion, praying that your Grace may enjoy unbroken

health for a long period of years for the fulfilment of the high ministry committed to you we again salute your Grace with love unfeigned in Christ Jesus our Lord.

In the year 1903, March 11th.

With all respect and affection to your Grace,

Most sincerely yours in Christ Jesus,

✠ JOACHIM of Constantinople.

Messages of congratulation also came from the Churches in Syria, but indirectly; the Greek Orthodox Bishop of Beirut informing the Ven. H. C. Frere, Archdeacon in Syria, that he wished to telegraph his congratulations, but feared that if he did so a notice of the telegram might appear in the newspapers, as telegrams passed through the Turkish officials, which was dangerous.

The Archdeacon, in transmitting the message, also referred to the 'jealousy of the Russian political agents' and their efforts to destroy the national character of this branch of the Orthodox Church. The Archbishop in expressing his thanks thought it therefore well to add:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* ARCHDEACON FRERE

21 February 1903.

It is I hope abundantly clear that our object in thus acting is *wholly religious and in no sense whatever political.* I have no other aim than the promotion of mutual goodwill among members of the Church of Christ.

It was, the Archbishop always found, extraordinarily difficult to make the Eastern Churches understand that the Archbishop of Canterbury was not a great potentate in the political world, with all sorts of political and even military sanctions behind him. And time after time he had to repeat that the sole object of any dealings he had with the officers of the Orthodox Communions and their followers was purely religious. Throughout his life he was scrupulously careful to avoid any appearance of political action of any kind. When he responded to appeals for help or the exercise of his influence, it was a response to cries for succour from a threatened or distressed people, and for sympathy and comfort in time of danger and tribulation. And the first of many such appeals was addressed to him in his first year of office.

II

In the summer of 1903 an urgent appeal was made to the Archbishop on behalf of the Christians who were enduring terrible suffering and massacre at the hands of the Turkish army in Macedonia. He received letters from the chaplains at Smyrna, from London editors, from leaders of the Christian Social Union, and others, full of entreaty or reproach, begging him to 'rouse the conscience of England to our responsibilities in the Near East'. The Archbishop replied guardedly, disclaiming an intimate knowledge of the intricate and perplexing question, though anxious at the same time to avoid any charge of lack of sympathy. It was, he perceived, clearly a matter on which fuller information as to all the circumstances involved was desirable. He naturally therefore wrote to the Prime Minister, from his holiday rest in a Scottish manse:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR

(for a week)—Tomatin, Invernesshire.
17 Sept. 1903.

Private.

I am, as you can well understand, bombarded at present by letters, and appeals of all sorts urging me to come forward and take a lead, on behalf of the Church of England, in some action, or protest, or memorial (their name is legion) on behalf of the Macedonian Christians.

In such emergencies as the present I always shrink from taking such a line as may be likely to hamper the Executive Government upon whom the responsibility rests, and who are, I am persuaded, quite as likely at this moment as any of us clergy can be to be alive to the *horribleness* of what is going on—while their knowledge of details and of possibilities is of course incomparably greater. On the other hand I can't help recalling an occasion, several years ago, when Lord Salisbury expressed to Archbishop Benson a wish that he (as Archbishop) had taken part in a particular meeting or memorial (I THINK it was on behalf of the Armenians), from which the Archbishop had merely abstained because he thought it might hamper rather than help the Government.

With this recollection in mind I cannot help sending you this note, just to say how intensely I share the consternation with

which every reasonable man must regard the condition of matters in Macedonia, and to assure you that if you would regard it as any way *helpful* that I should come forward by letter or speech to give expression to such sentiments I am more than ready to do so.

For example, if some great public Meeting were to be held (and I gather that there will be such) would it, or would it not, be a good thing that I should attend it and speak? Or is there any other way in which I could—in the name of our Church—do aught to strengthen your hands in dealing with the awful problems of these unhappy regions?

Mr. Balfour telegraphed in reply, from Balmoral, Sept. 21, 1903:

Am thinking of writing elaborate letter for publication Would you like it to be addressed to yourself? I'm so pressed with other matters that I fear it may be a day or two before I send it off but will try and despatch it by post.

The Archbishop telegraphed his approval, and followed it up by a letter in which he said:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR

21st September, 1903.

Whatever it says, the fact of its being addressed to me will show that it is recognised that the Church of England as such has a sort of 'status' in the matter and responsibility, though an undefined one, as the *religious* mouthpiece of England, when any utterance is desirable.

Mr. Balfour's letter dealt at length with the difficulties of the situation, both external and internal, as well as expressing sympathy with 'the feelings of horror and of indignation which the present position of affairs in South Eastern Europe must excite in the heart of every humane man'. It then proceeded:

The RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Balmoral, September 24th, 1903.

It is with a problem thus unique in its character and difficulty that Europe has to deal. I cannot think that any man of sober judgment can doubt that the best hope of dealing with it lies in the continued co-operation of Austria and Russia, strengthened by the support and aided by the advice of the other signatories to the Treaty of Berlin.

They possess, if only in virtue of their geographical position, an incomparable influence over the antagonistic forces by which the Balkan Peninsula is rent. No other nation, or group of nations, can do the work as well. No other nation, or group of nations, could do it at all, if Austria and Russia were suspicious or hostile. From this it follows that our best hope at present of ameliorating the condition of Macedonia, as well as of avoiding any international complications, is to support the two Powers. We are obviously not precluded by this support from offering suggestions. We have offered them, and shall continue to offer them, when fitting opportunity presents itself. But it would be folly to forget that there are occasions, and this is one of them, when two Powers are stronger for executive purposes than three, when, indeed, every addition to numbers carries with it a corresponding diminution of efficiency.

These then are the principles by which the Government is directing its policy in the Near East. I do not doubt that they are in accordance with the interests of this country: but they obtain an even higher sanction from the fact that in obedience to them is at present to be found the best hope of improving the condition of Macedonia and the surest security for European peace

The Archbishop sent a message to a public meeting held the following day, gave his support to the Macedonian Relief Fund, and took other opportunities of expressing his sympathy with the sufferers But his sense of the dangers of any rash step recoiling on the sufferers themselves prevented him from taking any further marked public action and, as the following letter to the Bishop of Stepney (Dr. Lang) shows, he was unwilling to agree to any central service in St. Paul's Cathedral for the focusing of Christian sympathy and prayer:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF STEPNEY

6th October, 1903.

The question of a Special Intercessory Service at St. Paul's about Macedonia is not an easy one. You will have noticed to-day that in some respects the position is technically improved, and that the peril now seems to lie rather in the probability of war than in the continuance of massacres and outrages. But this may be only on paper. I am myself convinced that Balfour is as keen about the matter as we are, and I do not think it would be fair to him were we to seem to say that we are caring and he is callous. The request made to a congregation to pray is a very different thing

from a special service in St. Paul's with an address every word of which would be criticised, and rightly criticised, by those who know the details in a way I certainly do not. . . . Personally I am not inclined to believe that a great service at St. Paul's could be appropriately held just now, but I am quite willing to be converted to another view, and I am ready, if you like, to ask the Government what they think. . . .

CHAPTER XXIII

CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL BUSINESS

Went through Lambeth Palace ... The palace is noble and has rooms both for civil and ecclesiastical business. *Diary of Frans Burman* (1702).

I

As far back as 1883 Archbishop Benson had written in his diary, after the second reading of the Bill for legalizing marriage with the Deceased Wife's Sister, in the House of Lords, 'This is the first real dissilience of the Law of England and the Law of the Church.'[1] The marriage laws had not in fact been altered, either in that or in any similar direction, for the past twenty years, but efforts were continually being made and Dr. Davidson foresaw that change sooner or later was inevitable, and wished to be prepared. Accordingly, in November 1903, we find him, after consultation with the Archbishop of York, Sir Lewis Dibdin, and others, writing thus to the Prime Minister:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR

4th November, 1903.

More than once in recent years a suggestion has been mooted in general terms to the effect that it might be well if a Royal Commission were appointed to consider some of our Marriage Law problems, especially in those directions in which there is opposition, or apparent opposition, between the law of the State and the rules or customs which a large body of Churchmen believe, whether rightly or wrongly, to be obligatory upon them as laws of the Church. The difficulty exists already, and it is likely to be accentuated rather than diminished as time goes on. I have had the opportunity of talking, not only to most of our Bishops, but also to other men conversant with these matters, notably with Sir Francis Jeune, and there is a large, though not an absolute, consensus of opinion in favour of our now asking that a Royal Commission may be appointed to consider the subject.

It may be said that there is very little information available on such a subject which is not already in our possession; but I think this is a misapprehension. I believe that both from America and from the Colonies,—or, rather, from those who are able to speak

[1] *Life of Archbishop Benson*, ii. 12

with authority about Marriage Laws and usages in those regions, —a great many facts might be obtained which would be valuable to us. Personally I cannot help thinking that out of a Royal Commission might issue recommendations (not upon these fundamental principles, but upon the mode of their operation) which would reduce very greatly the risk of harmful conflict between Church and State. There was of course a Royal Commission in 1868, but its terms of reference were very wide, and it practically broke down over an impossible endeavour to harmonise the Marriage Laws of England, Scotland, and Ireland. I would suggest—though this of course is a matter for you rather than for me—that such a Commission, if appointed, should deal only with England, and I venture with all diffidence, and merely for the elucidation of my meaning, to suggest terms of reference which would seem to be not inappropriate. I think there are some among those desirous of changes in our existing Marriage Laws who would like to see such changes brought about with the minimum of friction and difficulty; and those of us who deprecate such changes, while fearing that they may be inevitable, would agree in desiring that they should come into operation, if come they must, as peaceably as possible.

I am well aware that the course I suggest has dangers of its own, and that a Royal Commission might conceivably make recommendations or express opinions which would inflame the minds of certain controversialists, but I think the probable gain preponderates over the possible harm, and I now write with the entire approval of much the larger number of my episcopal brethren to ask you to consider the question of the appointment of such a Commission. I am ready to ask for it in a more formal way if you so desire. I could do so in the House of Lords next Session, if you think that course more expedient, but I should not wish to make the request publicly if it was to be refused, and personally I should be inclined to think that it would be better, if the Commission be appointed, that it should have a quieter origin than the birth-throes of a Parliamentary debate. About this however you are better able to judge than I

Suggested Terms of Reference

To consider the laws regulating the solemnization and registration of marriages in England, and the validity in England of marriages wherever contracted, and to advise as to the amendment and consolidation of the said laws.

The letter was acknowledged and considered by the Cabinet:

J. J. SANDARS, ESQ., *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Confidential. 11 Dec. 1903.

I think you know that Mr. Balfour mentioned to his colleagues your proposal for a Royal Commission on the Marriage Laws.

Mr. Balfour now tells me that some of them were anxious to be informed to what questions the labours of a Commission, if one were appointed, would be directed: that is, they would be glad to know what are the questions of controversy with which the Commission should, in your judgment, deal.

Would you, at your convenience, let me have a line which I can give to Mr. Balfour as your answer to his inquiry?

I have had a good deal of talk with Porter about Church Legislation; and Thring has got the Rochester or rather Southwark-Birmingham Bill into a very modest compass.

I quite agree with you that, unless Roffen waives priority and is prepared to take all risks, his Bill has a claim to precedence, in my view absolutely binding on the Government.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* J. J. SANDARS, ESQ.

16th Dec. 1903.

I enclose herewith the Memorandum for which you asked, showing the kind of matters which are at present causing us trouble and seem to call for the help or elucidation which a Royal Commission might give. The Memorandum is purposely brief and does not attempt to cover the ground, but it shows the kind of ways in which difficulties occur. I honestly think it is becoming almost intolerable that Bishops should be called upon to advise the Clergy to do things which they (the Bishops), not less than the unhappy Parish Priests, believe to be contrary to Christian law. I say 'Christian law' because it is not a fussy or fanciful introduction of Church law or Canon law as contrasted with the laws of England, but fundamental principles, such for example as this: that prayers to Christ and Christian benedictions are more than unsuitable when ministerially pronounced at a very solemn moment over those who ask to be united in Christian wedlock while avowedly non-Christians.

Memorandum

The following are some of the questions with regard to Marriage Law, which might, it is conceived, be elucidated by consideration at the hands of a Royal Commission.

(1) The marriage of divorced persons. The law gives the innocent party as complete a right of claiming to be married in

his parish Church by the incumbent or his substitute as if he had not been previously married. The law gives the guilty party a right to the use of the parish church, if he can obtain the services of a clergyman, and a right to have his banns proclaimed in the parish church. But Church law has always absolutely prohibited the marriage of the guilty party and has strongly discouraged (though it has not always decisively prohibited) the marriage of the innocent party. In consequence of the deep-seated repugnance of most of the clergy to having anything to do with these marriages, it is very frequently impracticable, notwithstanding the law, for divorced persons to be married in church.

(2) The Marriage Service in the Prayer Book is based on the assumption that the parties are Christians. The Marriage Acts and secular Law recognize no distinction between Christian and non-Christian (e.g. Jews or Mahomedans).[1] Christians and non-Christians appear to have an equal right to avail themselves of the ecclesiastical machinery of Banns and Solemnization of Marriage in Church. This point creates frequent and growing friction.

(3) The difficulties created by the Deceased Wife's Sister question are well known. The anomalies are already embarrassing. For example in one part of the Diocese of Winchester—Jersey—such marriages are valid, but in the rest of the Diocese, say, in the Isle of Wight, such unions are not marriages at all. With the increasing communications between the Colonies (where, speaking generally, marriages with D.W.S. are legal) and the mother country the anomaly is growing more acute.

(4) There are several important questions of a slighter and more technical character which seem to need consideration.

(*a*) The area within which a person must reside in order to be married at a particular church.

(*b*) The nature and extent of 'residence' for this purpose.

(*c*) The variation of fees in different parishes The absence of satisfactory methods of defining or altering them.

J. J. SANDARS, ESQ., *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Private. 10, Downing Street, Whitehall, S.W.
29th Jan. 1904.

I read your letter to Mr. Balfour.

He desires me to say with reference to your inquiry about the

[1] This is a more practical question than might be supposed. The Indian Bishops complain of the number of cases in which Indians, either Mahomedan or Hindoo, have, while in London (as law students or otherwise), married Christian women, and questions of a grave sort arise on their return to India. [R.T.D]

proposed Royal Commission on the Marriage Laws that there has been such pressure of business at the recent Cabinet meetings that he has not, as yet, been able to take the decision of his colleagues upon the question of the Commission.

As soon as the opportunity can be found he will bring the matter forward for determination.

The details you furnished were duly circulated to the Cabinet.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* J. J. SANDARS, ESQ.

30th Jan. 1904.

I thank you for your letter about the possible Royal Commission on the Marriage Laws. I can easily realise how heavy the pressure has been and how things of this sort might be crowded out. You will remember however the importance which was attached by you, and I think by Mr. Balfour, to the appointment of such Commission, if it be appointed, taking place before notices are given in either House as to the introduction of Bills, because if the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill is standing upon the notice paper when the Commission is appointed, people will say, not unnaturally, that the Commission is simply proposed in order to shelve that question. This would be quite untrue in fact but most plausible in theory. My difficulties in dealing with questions of the Marriage of Jews and the like do not diminish as the months pass.

A curious incident occurred in March with regard to the custody of the volume containing the Marriage and Baptismal Register of the Royal Family. It had been in Davidson's keeping as Clerk of the Closet and then handed by him to the Librarian of the House of Lords (Dr. S. A Strong). The Archbishop in 1904 wished to take steps for its custody in a more suitable place, and inquired of Mr. Edmund Gosse (Dr. Strong's successor) with a view to its transfer. Mr. Gosse, after making a personal inspection of every safe and cupboard in the Library without finding any trace, found, to his inexpressible relief, that it was in Dr. Strong's house!

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* SIR H. MAXWELL LYTE

Lambeth Palace, S.E.
14th March, 1904.

You may perhaps remember my speaking to you (about a year ago) with reference to the volume containing the Marriage and Baptismal Registers of the Royal Family from the middle of the 18th to the middle of the 19th Century. It is obviously a record

of the highest national importance, including, as it does, the official Marriage register of Geo iii, of the Duke of Kent, and of Queen Victoria, and it might consequently become in a technical sense the 'Court of Appeal' with regard to the legitimacy of the present Royal Family.

It *was* for a time in my custody, most unsuitably, when I was Clerk of the Closet, and the King directed me some time ago to discuss with the Lord Chancellor, and indeed to *settle* with him in what custody a volume so important should be placed. It was for the moment entrusted to the Library of the House of Lords, where it now is.

The Lord Chancellor and I are of opinion that its proper resting place is the Public Record Office, and as I know that this will meet with the approval of the King, I write to ask you to procure the volume from Mr. Gosse, the Librarian of the House of Lords, and kindly to intimate to me that you have received it and that you accept responsibility for its custody.

The Register was accordingly transferred by Mr. Gosse and accepted by Sir H. Maxwell Lyte on March 23, 1904, and, at his suggestion, a note as to what had been done was placed in the Register in current use.

II

The spring of this year was, as we shall see in subsequent chapters, much occupied with the revival of the Ritual controversy, and, to a less extent, with the beginnings of the ominous controversy on the subject of Chinese Labour. But there were also a good many other claims on Davidson's attention—and we must not forget that the agitation in the Church and in the country with regard to ritual, as well as the attacks on the Archbishop for adopting what was most cruelly described as the office of 'chaplain to the Chinese compounds', made a rather stormy background for due attention to the ordinary archiepiscopal duties, as well as to receiving new burdens. It will suffice to set out a few of the more interesting issues which it fell to his lot to handle.

In August there occurred the famous decision in the House of Lords by which the United Free Church of Scotland was judged to have no title to the property of the original Free Church, which thus passed in a sensational way to the continuing minority known as the 'Wee Frees'. A few weeks before the judgement,

Dr. Rainy, the Moderator of the Free Church, spent the evening at Lambeth. The case naturally formed the theme of conversation between the Archbishop and his fellow Scot. A day or two later Dr. Rainy followed up the talk with a letter (June 30, 1904) which began: 'You referred kindly to our "case" on Tuesday, and asked "what we could do".' Dr. Rainy answered the question by speaking of the strength of feeling in Scotland, and the precarious character of any recourse to legislation: but at the back of Dr. Davidson's mind was the question whether he, adding to his own office of Primate of All England the birthright of a Scot, and an astonishing knowledge of all the intricate history of the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843, might not himself 'do' something that might be of use. It was in this sense, after the delivery of the House of Lords judgements, that the Archbishop wrote to Dr. Rainy:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* REV. DR. RAINY

8th August, 1904.

I thank you very cordially for your kindness in sending me the memorandum on this great and troublous case. I was present, as perhaps you know, to hear the judgements given, and have followed with unfailing interest all that I have seen since then in the way of utterance on either side. I have got the newly published volume containing the full records.

I am anxious to tell you how thankful I should myself be if it should prove possible for me in any way to be of service at this juncture It occurs to me as not impossible that some advantage might accrue if a few of us in England who are anxious for the religious well-being of Scotland, and for keeping the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, could intervene in any way, privately or otherwise. But I am at a loss to know how this is to be done. Should anything occur to you I should be most grateful if you would let me know. Unfortunately I sail for America on the 19th. Presumably however there is no great hurry. I am hoping to see Mr. Haldane and to talk the matter over with him.

That God may bring good out of what looks at present like evil, inasmuch as it runs contrary to a desire for greater unity and harmony, is my earnest prayer.

Correspondence followed, and interviews with Lord Balfour of Burleigh, the Prime Minister, and others—as a result of which it was agreed that he should write an identical letter to the

Moderators of the United Free Church and of the Free Church. This action (he privately informed the editor of *The Times*) 'has the entire approval of the Prime Minister, the Secretary for Scotland, Sir Robert Finlay, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Haldane and Lord Balfour of Burleigh'—a doughty team of collaborators.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* REV. DR. RAINY

12th August, 1904.

At the risk of seeming to be intrusive, I am impelled to write to you in connection with the Ecclesiastical difficulties which have arisen in Scotland. In common with hundreds of others who stand quite outside the area of the controversy I have from the first taken a very deep interest in it; and, although I am of course not competent to form an independent opinion upon the legal questions involved, I feel sure that you will allow me to give expression, from a religious standpoint alone, to the anxiety and distress with which we regard the possibility that what has recently happened may render more difficult the maintenance and growth of any endeavour 'to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace'. The possibility of a satisfactory solution of existing difficulties largely depends, I suppose, upon the attitude of mind with which the problem is approached. It occurs to me as just possible that when the time comes for the representatives of the two parties to discuss in detail the practical steps which should be taken, it might be of advantage if they could rely upon the presence and aid of one or more friends who, while themselves unaffected by the questions at issue, do heartily care, on religious grounds, to promote a solution which shall be honourable to both parties and conducive to the deepest and best interests of Scottish life If, when the time for necessary action draws near, it were to be found that I, as a Scotchman and an independent student of these particular questions, could render any service whatever, pray regard me as being gladly and even gratefully ready to co-operate.

I am further able to say that I have ascertained that one or two of the most competent and clear-headed of our public men would be happy to add their assistance if it were felt to be desirable.

I of course realise that the suggestion which I have offered may, for more reasons than one, be unacceptable or unnecessary. If you tell me so, I shall perfectly understand. I am only anxious to make it clear that there are men, outside the circle which is directly affected, who at such a juncture would regard it as a sacred privilege were they able to be of service. In any case we

can and will unite with you in earnest prayer to Almighty God that through all difficulties and perplexities He may point for us the way to a surer knowledge of His Will, and to the advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

I am myself leaving England on Friday next, to spend some weeks in the United States and in Canada. I ought therefore to mention that if you should think it well, before I return home, to say anything in reply to this letter, such communication would be forwarded to me without delay.

I am writing to the Rev. Murdo Macqueen in similar terms.

The letter was acknowledged at once in a warm personal letter by Dr. Rainy, and the following formal reply was sent a few days later:

The REV. DR. RAINY *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

17th August, 1904.

I have today had the opportunity of consulting the Advisory Committee of our Church and am now able to reply formally to your Grace's letter.

We thank you very sincerely for the interest you have been led to take in the difficulties existing here, and for your willingness to spend time and trouble in the effort to remove them. We are grateful for the concern shown by members of other Churches, and we deeply feel that aid given by men like your Grace occupying a high place in general esteem, and I may add, known to be concerned simply for the welfare of our common country, may prove to be of the highest value.

For the present we can only report to you the actual state of affairs.

On the 3rd August our Law Agents addressed to the Agents of the Free Church a request to be informed, with a view to interim arrangements, what course their clients proposed to take during the next few months in regard to the property allotted to them by the decision of the House of Lords, and the suggestion was added that a Conference might take place.

On 10th August the Free Church Committee of the Assembly agreed to resolutions embodying their views of the conditions on which a *modus vivendi* might take place, say till June next, and it was intimated that a Conference might take place 'on these lines'.

On 12th August we replied that, while still desirous of Conference, we were unable to accept as preliminaries, the conditions proposed.

On 13th August we received a letter from Messrs. Simpson and Marwick, Agents for the Free Church, commenting on our reply and offering explanations which seemed to them fitted to remove

our difficulties. But they wrote, as they said, only 'on our own responsibility', and we are still awaiting the authoritative answer from their clients whom they have promised to consult.

Meanwhile we add one remark. An arrangement of an interim kind would be of some value. But its main importance would lie in its leading in due time to a permanent settlement of questions of property. This point was not raised in our letter of August 3rd, for it would have been neither becoming nor expedient to ask for a decision on so grave a matter when the judgment in favour of the Free Church was only two days old. Whether the idea can be entertained by the Free Church, we are at present necessarily ignorant But it has been so extensively canvassed by the press that we may allude to it thus far: if it comes to be practically discussed with a view to Parliamentary action, then will be the stage at which the aid of disinterested men of parliamentary influence and commanding general confidence, will be most important.

The Moderator of the Free Church also acknowledged the letter—but with less pleasure—nor did negotiations, of any official kind, arise from the Archbishop's good offices.

III

In May, June, and July a good deal of attention was paid in Convocation and outside to proposals to make certain changes with regard to the use of the Athanasian Creed in the services of the Church. In the course of an important debate in Convocation on May 5, Dr. Davidson recalled the fact that he had ever since his ordination advocated a change 'by voice and vote'—and he contrasted the comparative quiet of the present discussion with the outcry against Archbishop Tait's 'humiliating avowal' in the famous Convocation debate of 1872, that 'not a soul in the room' or in the Church of England takes the damnatory clauses[1] 'in their plain and literal sense'.[2] He added:

> My own firm, humble, and deliberate acceptance of every part of the Christian Creed, my resolve to adhere to it and to maintain

[1] The two opening clauses and the last clause of the Athanasian Creed (*Quicunque Vult*)—referred to as the damnatory or minatory clauses—are as follows.

Whosoever will be saved before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholick Faith.

Which Faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled. without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

This is the Catholick Faith· which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.

[2] *Life of Archbishop Tait*, II. 142

it does not prevent me from eagerly desiring to relieve from the obligation of reciting the *Quicunque Vult* those who are necessarily unable, for lack of historical or theological knowledge, to estimate, as we do, its historic value and its true significance. I desire, as Archbishop Tait desired, to see the whole document retained in our Prayer-book as it has been retained by the Irish Church.

There was, however, a considerable division of opinion in the Upper House, and the following Resolution was only carried by 9 votes to 8 (May 5, 1904):

That this House is resolved to maintain unimpaired the Catholic Faith in the Holy Trinity and in the Incarnation, as contained in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds and in the *Quicunque Vult*, and regards the faith thus presented both in statements of doctrine and in statements of fact as the necessary basis on which the teaching of the Church reposes; but, at the same time, believing that the present manner of reciting the *Quicunque Vult* in public worship is open to serious objection, especially on the ground of the phraseology of the minatory clauses, this House respectfully requests His Grace the President to appoint a Committee to consider in what way the present use of the *Quicunque Vult* may be modified, the document itself being retained in the formularies of the Church as an authoritative statement of the Church's faith.

Rival deputations commending rival interests waited on the Archbishop at the end of May and again in July. The Upper House considered the matter in committee again in July, and adopted an important Resolution on the minatory clauses to which His Grace called the special attention of those who suggested that the Bishops were in July receding from the position of May (July 6, 1904):

That this House, while it recognises, as taught in Holy Scriptures, the truth, often overlooked, that every man is responsible before God for the faith which he holds, and while it believes that this Scriptural truth is what the minatory clauses of the *Quicunque Vult* were primarily intended to express, acknowledges nevertheless that in their *prima facie* meaning and in the mind of many who hear them those clauses convey a more unqualified statement than Scripture warrants, and one which is not consonant with the language of the greatest teachers of the Church.

Nevertheless, after weighing all the facts—including the wide divergence of opinion in the Church, as well as among the Bishops—it decided that 'no definite proposal for a change in the use of

the *Quicunque Vult* should be made' until the deliberate opinion of the Church had been 'more clearly ascertained'.

IV

Public questions of other kinds also called for Davidson's attention during this summer. His caution in responding to the requests of enthusiastic reformers, of every kind, is illustrated by a correspondence with Mr. Broomhall, the well-known leader of the campaign against the opium traffic. In the previous October Mr. Broomhall had asked the Archbishop to sign a letter to the Press calling attention to the grave question of the opium trade, and urging 'that a trade so unjust and dishonourable should no longer be carried on in the name of our country'.

The Archbishop had replied:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* B. BROOMHALL, ESQ.

24th October 1903.

I thank you for your letter. I am afraid I am not one of those who can appropriately sign the letter which you propose to issue. Such study as I have been able to give to the subject (and I have certainly read a great deal) has not convinced me that the Royal Commission which recently gave so much time and attention to the matter was either ill-informed or unfair. I have no wish personally to promote the continuance of a trade which is undoubtedly productive of much evil, though apparently, in the opinion of many wise observers, it is also productive of a great deal that is wholesome and good. The unsparing language however which is used in opposition to it has never commended itself to me, and while I should watch with sympathy and interest any endeavours to deal wisely with what I fully admit are difficulties of a very serious kind, I could not myself, without a deeper and more prolonged study of the question in all its bearings than is possible for me in the midst of my other work, give my name to the particular Association which you represent.

The writer of the letter had kept silence at the time for the reason given in the following letter:

B. BROOMHALL, ESQ., *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

2, Pyrland Road, London, N.

Aug. 12, 1904.

Many months ago I invited Your Grace to unite with others in signing a letter to British Editors on the Opium Question. You

could not see your way to do this, but sent me a very courteous letter—which I should at once have gratefully acknowledged—but for the expression of views in the letter that surprised and troubled me not a little. I wished to write after deliberate thought and not on the spur of the moment, and so deferred writing. As often happens, the thing not done at once is unduly delayed.

If I could have felt at liberty to make public what Your Grace had said, it would have done much to stimulate the movement for the suppression of the opium traffic, but I felt this undesirable. It would have fixed upon Your Grace, and upon the high position you hold, a measure of odium that would not have been removed for many years; and throughout the civilised world it would have been regarded as nothing less than scandalous that the official head of a large section of the Christian Church had referred with implied approval to the opinion of those who considered the opium trade as 'productive of a great deal that is wholesome and good'.

I showed Your Grace's letter to one of my sons who had lived in China for a number of years, and had travelled in eight of its Provinces. After reading the letter he exclaimed with much emphasis—'Incredible, Incredible; it's heartbreaking'.

I put aside at the time a book which I purposed sending to Your Grace—'The Real Chinese Question'. I now send it. It has been out of print for some time, but the copyright has been obtained, and very soon a revised edition of 10,000 copies will be published. There are some inaccuracies in the book, which will not appear in the new edition, but they do not affect the general argument of the writer, whose book, some who are well acquainted with China consider extremely valuable.

Along with this I beg to send some other papers on the Opium question which will repay the attention of Your Grace, for upon this exceedingly important question—affecting the welfare of hundreds of millions—it is much to be desired that Your Grace should be well-informed, and judging from your letter I must—with all respect—say, that is at present far from being the case.

I will not trouble you with a long letter—but in view of the near future when more will be heard upon this question, I would respectfully and earnestly beg Your Grace's careful attention to the whole matter.

And now—leaving this opium question—may I ask you to excuse me doing a rather unusual thing. It is—in all good will—asking Your Grace to accept several little publications I send herewith. Even the horizon of an Archbishop has its limitations, and perchance these little books—each with an excellence of its own—might not come in your way. They are—'Yet Another Day'—

'Marching Orders'—'The People's Day', one of the ablest things ever written on the subject, and this I believe Lord Stanley admitted at the time, and the newly issued 'Methodist Hymn Book'. This, as showing the Hymns used and sung by between three and four millions of people, is not without interest.

I trust that in the early Autumn I may be able to send Your Grace a copy of the new edition of the Honourable Chester Holcombe's book—with supplementary matter.

The Archbishop's reply is characteristic in its modesty and its caution:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* B. BROOMHALL, ESQ.

Private. 13th August 1904.

I thank you cordially for your kindness in sending me your packet of books. I am taking the smallest of them 'Yet Another Day' in my pocket on a railway journey to-day, so I am making a good start in their perusal.

Your letter on the Opium Question will of course receive my best consideration. But I am afraid that, notwithstanding what you say, I am not at this moment prepared to regard the thoughtful, high-principled, and careful men who devoted months of study to the whole matter before embodying their opinions in the Blue Book, as being either hopelessly wrong-headed or utterly ignorant. I fully admit the immense difficulty of the subject, and I feel as strongly as anyone how appalling are the evils which an indulgence in Opium may, and does, produce. I shall at all times be ready to do my very best to understand the question properly in all its bearings so far as this is practicable consistently with my other duties, which, as you know, are onerous and anxious.

When you deprecate as terrible or incredible my expression to the effect that there are modes of using Opium which are beneficial, you, I think, are missing the point of what I desired to say. Surely it cannot be denied that there is a use of the drug which is beneficial as well as a use which is noxious and bad.

There was also the Licensing Bill, then before Parliament. The opening days of August were devoted to its consideration by the House of Lords. The character of the Bill, to one who, like Randall Davidson, had fought for so long for a very different measure, was a great disappointment. His principal aim was to secure a time-limit for the compensation of displaced licence-holders—but in the vital amendment, which he moved after a

long debate, he was defeated by the Government, 52 votes being cast for him and 126 against. No wonder that F. C. G. should devote a cartoon to the subject in the *Westminster Gazette*: depicting Mr. Bung the Brewer (labelled Licensing Bill) jauntily going up the road towards the House of Lords and finding the two Archbishops with pained expressions stopping the way (Aug. 3, 1904):

A Rejected Overture.

MR. BUNG: Good-day, my lords; I'm looking to you for your usual kind consideration.

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: Go away, go away. You've been much too familiar for a long time. I'm going to vote against you this time.

In the debate on the Third Reading, when the Bill was passed, the Archbishop once more expressed his keen disappointment—and not for the first or last time spoke of the difficulties in which he found himself in such a matter, standing between the fire of the Conservative Government on one side, and the advanced wing of the temperance reformers on the other.

In September, the Archbishop intervened in a parliamentary election in Kent on a point of some delicacy. On the death of Mr. James Lowther, an out-and-out protectionist who had represented Thanet in the House of Commons for sixteen years, Mr. Harry Marks, an orthodox Jew, a strong tariff reformer and very rich, was nominated by the local Conservatives as his successor. *The Times* issued a protest dealing with his past financial career and showing him to be in its opinion an unfit Conservative candidate for the Thanet Division. The Archbishop wrote early in the controversy to the Vicar of Margate, who asked for counsel —and in September, during the actual election, gave leave for the publication of his letter (in *The Times*, Sept. 24, 1904):

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* REV. C. J. M. SHAW

Old Palace, Canterbury.
23 May, 1904.

In reply to your request for counsel, I do not think that I ought to say more than that in my judgement it is of quite primary importance that we should secure as our representatives in Parliament men whose personal character stands high, and is recognised as standing high.

Of the detailed facts in this particular case I know nothing personally, and I must not be understood to be expressing my opinion about them. If I had to express such an opinion it would be essential that I should first master for myself all the particulars, and I have had no means of doing so.

But I am firmly persuaded that, if our public life is to be maintained at its high level, and our public men are to justify the confidence we have been accustomed to place in them, voters must see to it that no political or partisan enthusiasm—however keenly they may feel on the questions of the hour—leads them to record their votes for men whom they do not trust or respect.

Unless we adhere unswervingly to this principle, there will be a lowering of the tone and integrity of our public life, and no temporary victory at the polls, for one political party or the other, could compensate for such a national disaster.

In spite, however, of this strong pressure, and of the absence of any letter from the Prime Minister, and the division in Conservative ranks, Mr. Marks was returned.

A curious correspondence took place towards the end of the year about Prayers for the Dead. It appeared that a Ryde incumbent, a member of the English Church Union, said publicly that the Archbishop, in the course of a four hours' conversation with him, admitted in private that he himself said prayers for the dead with the late Queen. The statement was widely reproduced, and the Archbishop received letters from newspaper editors and protests from Protestant organizations. The Archbishop inquired of the speaker, who amplified the statement, even quoting the words alleged to have been used thus: 'I say prayers for the dead: I say them before the Queen at Windsor'—phraseology which, as the Archbishop said in reply, 'is entirely alien to any that I should have used'. To his old friend Canon Benham, who had asked what had been meant, the Archbishop wrote a letter, intended for publication, stating the actual facts on which the statement had been based, and his own views:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* REV. CANON BENHAM

16th Dec. 1904.

I have too long delayed my reply to your letter of November 9th, calling my attention to the published report of a speech made at Liverpool, in which the speaker was said to have stated that

the present Archbishop of Canterbury, when Bishop of Winchester, had, in a private conversation with him upon the subject of Prayers for the Dead, told him that he had himself said prayers for the departed with the late Queen. I have received a large number of letters upon the subject, and I have been in communication with the clergyman whose speech was thus reported.

I think it would be in every way inappropriate, and even wrong, were I to make public any statement with regard to so sacred and private a matter as this. It is impossible that I could ever have discussed it, confidentially or otherwise, with the clergyman in question. What I think may have happened is, that in an official but private conversation with him upon certain questions with which I had to deal as Bishop, some allusion was made to a particular anthem which had been sung at the private memorial service held in the Royal Mausoleum at Windsor, particulars of which were officially published at the time. This is all that I have to say upon that particular point.

Upon the general question of Prayers for the Dead, I am constantly surprised to find how little appreciation there is of the distinction which has so long existed in the Church of England between the use of such prayers in the private devotion of a worshipper whose personal belief encourages him to use them, and the insertion of such prayers in the public Services of the Church —Services in which all, whatever the differences of individual opinion, ought to be able to take part. The Church of England has of course never declared that Prayer for the Dead is contrary to sound doctrine, but prayers distinctively offered for the dead as such have been deliberately excluded from our public and authorised Services. Contrast, for example, Bishop Andrewes' volume of private devotions with the Offices which he prepared for public use in the Consecration of Churchyards.

CHAPTER XXIV

VISIT TO CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES, 1904

Religion stands a-tiptoe in our land,
Waiting to pass to the American strand!
GEORGE HERBERT.

On Friday, August 19, 1904, the Archbishop and Mrs. Davidson sailed from Liverpool in the White Star liner *Celtic* for New York. It was the first time in English history that an Archbishop of Canterbury had set foot on the American Continent, and the event aroused the greatest interest. The visit was in answer to an invitation to attend the triennial General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, in Boston. The Bishop of Rhode Island (Thomas March Clark), as Presiding Bishop of the House of Bishops, conveyed the request to the Archbishop personally by William Lawrence, Bishop of Massachusetts, an old friend who had stayed at Farnham Castle in 1897.

The BISHOP OF RHODE ISLAND *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

20 May, 1903.

It would be a great gratification to us all if you could come over to that Convention. We have gladly received from time to time English Bishops, especially Bishop Selwyn. The coming of the Archbishop, however, would do much towards bringing into closer and more sympathetic relations the two branches of the Anglican Communion.... As one who was present at the first Lambeth Conference and enjoyed the hospitality of Archbishop Sumner,[1] I am glad, not only officially but also personally, to invite to this country one who is so worthy to succeed Sumner, Tait, Benson and Temple.

There was also a further link in the fact, mentioned by the Presiding Bishop, that 'when the Convention was last held in Boston in 1877 we had a message of sympathy from Archbishop Tait presented by his son, Craufurd Tait'.

[1] Archbishop Longley presided over the first Lambeth Conference, 1867. Archbishop Sumner died 1862

Bishop Lawrence had various talks with the Archbishop at Lambeth in the summer of 1903. He found him keenly interested, and eager to take such an opportunity of learning about conditions in the New World at first hand. But it was only a few months since he had become Archbishop, and he was a very busy man. Nothing was settled till the following spring, when Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan clinched the proposal. He first saw Mrs. Davidson —so Mr. Morgan told Bishop Lawrence on his return from England:

> Upon inquiry I found that what Mrs. Davidson should think wise or possible the Archbishop would accede to. so I saw her first and got her support: then when the Archbishop pleaded pressure of work, engagements, reporters and other difficulties, I said 'You and Mrs. Davidson and your party will be my guests from Lambeth Gate and back: and no reporter will speak to you and no-one trouble you except by my permission'.

This is the description of the decisive interview on June 10, 1904, which the Archbishop afterwards dictated:

> Nothing could exceed his kindness, and he laid emphasis in superlative terms upon the advantage to the Nation as well as to the Church which would accrue from such a visit. He says: 'Ask whom you like on either side of the Atlantic, who knows the condition of affairs, and he will tell you that no single act which could be taken by England would do more at this moment to cement friendship than a visit by the Archbishop in the way now suggested.' Of the gain to the Church he spoke equally strongly, and obviously he really cares about the matter from that point of view....
>
> After our talk, in which he showed extraordinary kindness and real earnestness of desire and purpose, he took me aside to say: 'In this matter I am representing the Church in America, and our wish is that in making this visit you should be from first to last our guest. Please therefore understand that we are responsible for all expenses of whatever kind from the time you leave Euston Square till you get back there.' He had further said that in America he would arrange for special railway facilities, so that we could go in our own car wherever and whenever we liked, and keep it throughout all the time, living in it as much or as little as we pleased while visiting any place.

Mr. Pierpont Morgan was as good as his word, and everything was arranged as he had promised. The Archbishop and Mrs. Davidson with two chaplains (the Rev. J. H. J. Ellison and the

Rev. H. Holden) were away from England altogether just over two months. The Archbishop was himself anxious to visit the Canadian Church before doing anything of an official character in the United States, and the Canadian Bishops were very much alive to this point. Accordingly, on arriving at New York the whole party hastened in Mr. Pierpont Morgan's private train to Quebec where the Archbishop was to preach on Sunday August 28, at the Bishop of Quebec's earnest invitation, at the centenary service of the first Anglican cathedral ever built in an English colony. From Quebec they went on to Montreal and Toronto —the guests of the Archbishop and the Bishop. Archbishop Davidson preached, gave addresses, received a degree at Toronto, took part in many official functions, garden parties, and also (not least important) got the opportunity of many private talks. At Montreal, replying to addresses of welcome from the diocese, he first gave expression to one thought in particular which was with him throughout the journey, 'The world as the field of our Church's active life is so much bigger than we used to think it of old'; and he contrasted the limited nature of the day's work of an Archbishop of Canterbury a hundred, or two hundred, or three hundred years ago, with the different atmosphere of to-day. Bundles of correspondence had been preserved at Lambeth— and the Archbishop had examined them before crossing the ocean —belonging to Laud, Wake, Manners-Sutton, and others of three successive centuries:

> Speaking generally, the work, the anxieties, the responsibilities, belong to England—home England—alone. Now dip into the corresponding bundles of Lambeth correspondence at any time you like during the last twenty years, and you find the whole business, or, rather, the whole atmosphere, different—Canada, Australia, South Africa, India, in daily—literally daily—touch with Lambeth. And then, superadded to this, all the problems and ramifications of Missionary work far beyond the boundaries of even the Empire itself. One feels at once the necessity for something of the nature of a central pivot—a pivot which takes tangible shape as a man, an Archbishop, round whom the work may spin, and who, if he be nothing more, furnishes at the least (and this perforce) a point of common touch, common information, common life. I am not speaking even indirectly of any question about jurisdiction, however shadowy. I am speaking about a pivot, not a pope.

They left Toronto on September 6, and saw the Falls of Niagara before crossing the Boundary. They had many friends in the States, all anxious to entertain them; but they had very special ties with Bishop Potter of New York (who welcomed them at Cooperstown), Bishop Doane of Albany, and Bishop Lawrence of Massachusetts. They went first to stay at Bishop Doane's cottage on North-East Harbour, Mount Desert Island, where the Archbishop preached his first sermon in the United States. As the guests of Bishop Lawrence at Bar Harbour, also on Mount Desert Island (where he celebrated for the first time)—to quote his host's words:[1]

> they had the freedom of the island. Dinners and receptions there were, of course; but they were so easy and natural that they seemed to belong in the house and hills. As they arrived, I said, 'A rest, a drive, a walk, or what?' 'Oh, a walk', was their answer. 'Mr. Morgan has carried us everywhere, and we have not felt the American soil.' As we were coming back across the golf links, I remember Ellison, who was playing, pointing up the Gorge to the mountains, and shouting to the Archbishop, Scotsman as he was, 'Scotland, Scotland.'

After spending a comparatively peaceful fortnight at Mount Desert, the Archbishop and his party went on to Washington. They arrived on September 23, after a narrow escape from a railway accident, which might have had most tragic results:

> (From Mrs. Davidson's diary.)
>
> 23 Friday. *At 7 a.m. our engine ran into the other engine on the line!* Amy thrown down. Marvellous escape of everybody. Engineer on the other line a little cut. Train drew up on Bridge. Inspector's engine took us on. View—*Cemetery* just after we started.—Albany 2–3. Cathedral. Little prayer of thanksgiving.

The next day the Archbishop and Mrs. Davidson dined at the White House with President Theodore Roosevelt. On Sunday, September 25, the Archbishop celebrated at St. John's Church, and gave a 'Salutation' at a great service on behalf of Christian Unity at Mount St. Alban, the site of the future cathedral, to a congregation of 35,000. There was a rather longer stay at New York. Here he met all sorts and conditions of men—from the President of Columbia University, Dr. N. M. Butler, Bishop Potter, and

[1] *Memories of a Happy Life*, Lawrence, pp. 201–2.

the Mayor, to the inhabitants of the slums. It was characteristic of him that he should use every opportunity that came his way for adding to his store of information; and there are special packets of letters in the American Visit files devoted to such questions as immigration and divorce; while it is clear that he made special inquiry into the educational and licensing systems, with their possible bearing on the contemporary controversies in England. He was much interested in the housing of working people; and, in driving through the country, if he saw a labourer's house being built, usually all of wood but the chimney, he and Ellison would jump out, go all over the house, up the ladder, and see everything. He had a long talk with Booker Washington, the well-known negro leader in New York, about religious instruction in public schools—especially in the Southern States—and many other matters, including lynching. Wherever he went, he impressed people by his interest, his courtesy, and his simplicity. One rather amusing incident may be quoted in illustration of this, and of the unfamiliar look of the apron and gaiters of an English Bishop on American soil. The Archbishop accepted an invitation to speak to a public meeting, organized by the Annual Convention of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, in Philadelphia on September 30. A week or two afterwards a young member of the Brotherhood who had been present reported on the meeting with enthusiasm to a friend living on the Prairies, who subsequently wrote to the Archbishop as follows:

(Oct. 23, 1904.)

> Recently a young Yankee has been temporarily employed in the Harvest here and has attended Church. In conversation with him our converse naturally turned to your Grace's most interesting visit to the States. 'Yes', he said, 'the Archbishop attended the Convention of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, and'—here the speaker evidently thought your Grace had acted with graceful unconventionality—'*he was dressed in Scotch clothes!*' I looked incredulous, so he produced a Chicago paper with the well-known photograph of your Grace in the company of Bishop Potter, which needless to say has no trace of kilts!

The last week of the Archbishop's visit to the States was devoted to the sittings of the General Convention in Boston, attendance at which was the real occasion of his coming. The whole party were the guests of Bishop Lawrence in Commonwealth

Avenue. Here, of course, he came as a distinguished visitor, with no jurisdiction in or over the American Episcopal Church, however much he might be the senior Bishop (by virtue of his see) of the Anglican Communion. Bishop Lawrence writes:[1]

> The Church in the United States is an independent national Church, and the Presiding Bishop is its Metropolitan, as the Archbishop is the Primate of the Church of England. Hence in this country the Archbishop took the secondary place, and his crozier, which at the request of rectors he had used at Bar Harbor and other parish churches, lay throughout these days in its long, coffin-like box on the floor of our hall.

The Archbishop followed the proceedings with the keenest interest—and with a particular regard to the method of Church government as well as debate. The two opening days are annotated in his pocket-book as follows:

October 5. Wednesday.
11. Service of Convention.
1.30. Lunch. (Lawrence's and Bishops)
3.30. Convention. *Address* both Houses.
Dine Morgan 7 30.
Reception.

October 6. Thursday.
12. Reception in LH
2.30. Missionary meeting, women Short speech
7. Dine Peabody's.
9. Reception in Evening at Bishop's House

He was officially received by both Houses, the House of Bishops (90) and the House of Deputies (consisting of both priests and lay representatives sitting together). In his reply to the Official Address of Welcome on Thursday, October 6, he recalled the visit of Craufurd Tait to Boston twenty-seven years ago, bearing Archbishop Tait's invitation to the second Lambeth Conference, and his own link with the American episcopate through the action of Benjamin Whipple, Bishop of Minnesota, who came straight from Egypt to England on purpose to be among the consecrators of Randall Davidson as Bishop of Rochester on April 25, 1891. But it was his attitude to the discussions themselves as a listener that was most significant of the man. Thus he

[1] *Memories*, &c., pp. 202, 203.

noted on a half-sheet of paper (and mark his sense of the rapidity with which important decisions were taken):

The Chair { considers / requests / is of opinion } etc.

The point of order { is / is not } well taken.

Time-limit in Committee (10 minutes)

Use of hammer.

Rapidity of possible changes—

30 Sept. New York Convention [suadente Rainsford] passes [without previous notice] a Resolution against retaining the Deaconess age limit and in favour of asking General Convention to do it.

Oct. 10. House of Bishops in General Convention agrees after a few minutes' debate.

12. House of Deputies (20 minutes' discussion) agrees.

Most characteristic of all is the following description by Bishop Lawrence (in a letter to the writer):

> I am very sure that the Archbishop whose habit, as you will know, was to mix duty and pleasure, came here especially to study our American educational methods and our General Convention's. No pleasure would draw him away from the latter. I recall the second day, before he had been introduced to the House of Deputies but had been to the House of Bishops: he asked me to take him to a point where he could see the House of Deputies organized and at work: I took him up into a small room gallery from which he could get a partial view and hear what was said: on returning an hour later I found him lying on a couch flat on his stomach with his head so turned that he could hear and see all that was possible.

While the Archbishop was at Boston, Bishop Lawrence, who was Chairman of the House of Bishops, felt that the citizens of Boston should also have an opportuntiy of meeting him in Faneuil Hall, known as the Cradle of Liberty, where the pre-Revolutionary speeches had been made:

Hence a Citizens' Committee, with Henry Higginson[1] as Chair-

[1] Major Higginson, leading citizen of Boston, carried the scar of a sabre-cut still on his cheek, given in the Civil War. Richard Olney was Secretary of State

man, arranged for a noonday reception at Faneuil Hall at which Mr. Olney and President Eliot spoke. As we two walked over Beacon Hill down to the Hall, I said, 'I have no idea what will be the response to the call for this meeting; there may be only fifty there: there may be a crowd.' The situation at the main door answered the question. We had to get in by the back platform door, and found the Hall, with the floor cleared of chairs, packed with men; and what is always interesting at a Faneuil Hall meeting, a sprinkling of butchers in their white smocks.

President Eliot in his address referred to the fact that the Puritans had fled from England to escape Archbishop Laud, and hinted at the hospitality of the sons of the Puritans in welcoming one of Laud's successors.[1]

To which the Archbishop responded.

I am, as you have been reminded, the first Archbishop of Canterbury (they have lasted for 1,300 years, these predecessors of mine) —the first Archbishop of Canterbury who has crossed the ocean. But I am not the first Archbishop of Canterbury for whom or in connection with whom such a voyage was in contemplation. There is a pathetic record known to some here, the diary which was written in the Tower by Archbishop Laud, the very man whose rigid government, whose autocratic rule had led to the coming hither of the people who were to found New England. Archbishop Laud, writing in the Tower before his trial, records in his diary how, upon one sad morning, there came to him a dreadful rumour, a rumour about which he writes in terms which I should hesitate to repeat here The rumour was this: That there was a plan being propagated, a plot, as he calls it, to give him the worst of all penalties that he could conceive—deportation to New England. He writes about the prospect with a dread which, I am bound to say, was not unnatural. For I am afraid that if that voyage had been, indeed, carried out, whatever might have been the consequences on either side in other ways—and it would be difficult for the most ingenious conjectural historian to imagine what they might have been—this at least is certain, that the welcome he would have received would not have corresponded closely to that which has been given to his successor after 250 years have come and gone.... President Eliot, with characteristic eloquence and point, has reminded us that among the mighty strides of progress which the world has seen made on your Atlantic

in Cleveland's Cabinet and with the President was responsible for the Venezuela affair, which nearly led to war between the United States and Britain. President Eliot was President of Harvard University.

[1] *Memories*, pp. 204–5

shore, not the least has been the object lesson given in these regions as to the true meaning and the true principles of the widest and the most universal religious toleration. That principle is now so universally accepted among ourselves that it seems almost incredible that all our forefathers, practically without exception, would have regarded it as a position untenable, almost unthinkable, by an honest Christian man. To-day we have, I am thankful to say, a constant stream of visitors from this side of the Atlantic who come to see the historic home in which it is my privilege to dwell, and as they stand in Lambeth Palace Chapel, the place which is identified with the last of the struggles, the pathetic struggles of the old man Laud before he was led forth to his death, I think I may say that no visitors look upon those historical associations, those mementoes of a day that is gone, with more tenderness and sympathy, with a truer understanding of what the relation is of this present to the old past, than do the descendants of the very men whom the rigid autocratic rule of Laud and his friends and colleagues had caused in the first instance to cross the sea. . . .

Bishop Lawrence's account then continues[1]:

Dock Square was so crowded with citizens wishing to meet the Archbishop that a line was formed after the meeting whereby they were able to enter and circle around the Hall, bowing to the Archbishop standing on the front of the stage.

In Sanders Theatre[2] he spoke to a mass meeting of students; in Park Street Church to the ministers of Boston; and on other occasions. The Art Museum was opened for a great reception to him and Mrs. Davidson. They received the members of the Convention and their friends one beautiful afternoon at our Cambridge home, between the Theological School and the Longfellow House, both of which were open to guests: seventeen hundred and fifty persons by actual count passing through my study in two hours were received by Archbishop and Mrs. Davidson.

Such a description reveals a crowded week, and still omits a sermon in Trinity Church (Phillips Brooks's church), Boston ('*no* procession')—an address to non-episcopal ministers—special missionary meetings—a committee on China and a visit to Harvard University on Friday evening ('short addresses by 3 Bishops and Archbishops').

The General Convention itself lasted three weeks, but the Archbishop and Mrs. Davidson left after a week, on October 13,

[1] *Memories*, p. 205.

[2] In Harvard University.

for New York. Before their departure, the House of Bishops gave the Archbishop a piece of plate as a memento of the visit, noting the most catholic hospitality of Lambeth Palace, with the following Resolution:

THE GENERAL CONVENTION

House of Bishops

To His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The House of Bishops, recognizing the value and helpfulness of your Grace's presence with them during this session of the General Convention, and with a keen realization of the added satisfaction which your own most gracious personality has given to its official character, asks the privilege of offering this piece of silver, which they hope will find place on the table of most catholic hospitality in the Guard Room of Lambeth Palace with the request that it may be counted as a personal gift to your Grace and Mrs. Davidson.

October 12 A.D. 1904 WM. CROSWELL DOANE, Bishop of Albany.
HENRY C. POTTER, Bishop of New York.
WILLIAM LAWRENCE, Bishop of Massachusetts and Chairman of the House of Bishops.

Committee of the House of Bishops.

Bishop Lawrence made the following entry in his Diary after the departure of his guests:

Thurs Oct. 13, 1904. The Archbishop, Mrs. Davidson, Ellison and Holden went off from Back Bay Station in Mr. Morgan's special train at five minutes of ten. Took them to station and saw them off with great regret. Hereford to breakfast. We have had two delightful visits from them. No easier, more thoughtful or delightful guests. The strain has been heavy because of reporters, people, callers etc., but they have made things as easy as possible for Julia and myself who have been in our Boston house entertaining them while the children have been at Cambridge. Mrs. Davidson is charming, a perfect lady, informal, bright and excellent company: Ellison alert, bright and keen: Holden also excellent: even Amy the maid was much liked by all. The Archbishop, as simple, natural, frank and easy as possible: we laughed and scolded at their good nature with everyone, bores and all. He is full of tact, good sense, a persistent worker, and insistent on getting all information that will help in his work. He met every situation here

in a way to gratify all: he has left with the people the idea of an Archbishop who is democratic, a worker and deeply in earnest. He cannot express deep sentiments easily, but makes one feel that he feels deeply. As I bid good bye on the train, he simply said, 'My dear good friend, I cannot tell you what you have all done for me.' His coming has done much to knit the Churches and the Nation. He had the eye of Boston, the convention and the press on him.

We have all enjoyed their visit immensely and can never hope to see them in the same intimate way again.

That evening the Archbishop was entertained to dinner by the Pilgrims in New York. At the breakfast in Boston the Archbishop, who confessed to a dislike of a rough voyage and probable seasickness, had been annoyed by the expressions of satisfaction and pleasure in the stormy seas by the Bishop of Hereford (Dr. Percival) who was to sail that day on the *Cymric*. On the next day, October 14, the Archbishop sailed for England.

It was a stormy voyage, and just as it drew to its close the Archbishop sent the following letter of heartfelt thanks to the host who had given them so noble a welcome:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* BISHOP LAWRENCE

S S. *Cedric*, Saturday, October 22, 1904.

We are nearing Liverpool. (We ought to be there in three hours or so), and knowing what a scurry of big and urgent work awaits me the moment I set foot in England I take advantage of this opportunity to send you a single line of affectionate gratitude. In good sooth it is beyond my power to confess to you our sense of what we owe not only to your unfailing kindness, thoughtfulness and judgment, but to the thoroughness and foresight with which you made every possible arrangement for what had to be done. And yet all these are more or less superficial things, or comparatively superficial. What really made the difference, and all the difference between what our visit to Boston was and what it might have been, was the *spirit* which you, and you pre-eminently, had thrown into it all; understanding exactly the manner as well as the matter of what should be said and done.

And further, you and Mrs. Lawrence probably do not realize what was to us the restfulness, the confidence, and the peace inspired by all the bright and happy atmosphere of your home. It is a big thing in our lives to have established so real and enduring a friendship with you all. Come soon, a big party of you, to

Lambeth to get it cemented afresh. How eagerly I shall await news of your convention doings. *The Churchman* will give it to us in due course. I am so exceedingly glad that you are the chairman on whom so much turns.

Please give our affectionate greetings to Mrs. Lawrence and the maidens big and little, whom we have come to regard as members of our family circle. And again thank you *all* for making our visit what you and yours more than anybody else did make it, a permanent memory of happiness and interest. I must stop. We have had rough experiences, very, in the Atlantic, but are well and happy. God bless you all.

We hear the *Cymric* had a fearsome time on the ocean, and Hereford must have had his powers tested

CHAPTER XXV

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE

Sir Andrew opening the book, found it to be a collection of acts of Parliament. There was in particular the Act of Uniformity, with some passages in it marked by Sir Roger's own hand. ADDISON, *Death of Sir Roger.*

Laud . . . made a disastrous mistake in trying to use force, and especially the force of royal authority, to secure discipline in the Church. But that mistake was in that age almost universal, and in England we have only seen it vanish during the last twenty years. LEIGHTON PULLAN (*Bampton Lectures*, 1922).

I

EARLY in February 1904, there was a revival of the Ritual Question. Correspondence passed between the Archbishop and several of the Bishops; and a strong move was made in certain quarters for the appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons (or possibly of both Houses) to inquire into ecclesiastical disorders. To many Churchmen such a proposal would seem an ominous invasion of spiritual territory by the State, and it was certainly fraught with peril. The Archbishop sought the advice of the Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Paget), on whom he was leaning more and more for counsel in just this field:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF OXFORD

Private. 23rd Feb. 1904.

I am afraid there is going to be trouble in Parliament on the Ritual question, and I learn unofficially (Balfour is still absent, so I cannot see him) that the Government may very likely be forced by its own supporters to consent to the appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons to consider the subject of clerical lawlessness. Probably this may be ostensibly based on one of the Discipline Bills. It will be a matter of very careful consideration to what extent we as Bishops ought to be willing to make any statement to such a Committee. Obviously some people would resent it extremely, but personally I think we should find ourselves unable fairly to refuse to make some general statement—say through my own mouth—reserving carefully the right to refuse to answer questions which are inappropriate when coming from

such a source. I do not think we could successfully argue against the right of the House of Commons, so long as we have an Established Church, to ascertain for itself what goes on within that Church as regards the public services carried on by men who are maintained by authority of Parliament in a position of privilege. In the meantime I want to be adequately armed with knowledge as to what is actually being done in the direction of repressing excesses. It seems pretty clear that the attack is going to be levied against myself personally, and I must therefore have the facts clearly set out in my own mind, even though I make no statement to the public respecting them. I am in communication with the Bishops of London and Rochester and Exeter, and I should greatly like to have your view, and also to have any statement which you can make, either privately for my own eye only, or in a form available for wider use by me, as to specific things which have been abandoned in response to your direction, or any other overt acts of loyalty which can be noted as indisputable facts in the direction of the amendment of excesses. I am prepared to maintain publicly as well as privately that the spirit of loyalty is on the increase among advanced men, and for our own deliberations this fact is most important, for I regard the growth of a loyal spirit as far more valuable than the mere pruning of the excesses of eccentric men. But the Prime Minister, whom I am to see as soon as ever he returns to London, will certainly say that any general statement or opinion of that kind is comparatively worthless unless it can be supported by the sort of specific facts which could if necessary be adduced in Parliament.

I regard the situation as serious, and I really want your counsel and help. What can you do for me or tell me, either as regards the Church at large or more particularly in your own Diocese? Will the facts about Headington help us?

The Bishop's answer was given with clarity and conviction:

The BISHOP OF OXFORD *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

25th Feb. 1904.

I think that I shall best tell my thanks for the trust shown me and the chance given me by your Grace's letter to-day, if I answer it quite freely.

(i) With regard to the propriety of Bishops making any statement to a Committee of the House of Commons on Clerical lawlessness.

It seems to me that Parliament has the right your Grace speaks

of,—the right to ascertain for itself what is going on in the public Services of the Established Church. Whether that right belongs equally to a Committee of One House, I do not at all know. But even if it does so belong, it does not seem to me to involve any right to ascertain *through* us what the Clergy are doing: and it would be disastrous to their spirit of loyalty and our claim of Fatherhood if we could be charged with recognising in any way any such right.

I know that your Grace would be most anxious and careful to restrict any statements made by us or in our names within such limits as to leave unviolated our personal and spiritual relation to the Clergy for whom we are responsible. But not only would such limits be hard to define and maintain under the stress of unsympathetic or hostile questioning: there would also be, almost certainly, an impression of concealment or evasion when we tried to maintain them: we should probably make the Committee as angry as the Clergy.

The Services of the Church are public. and a Committee could, without seeking information from us, form, if it would, a just judgement of what is going on:—of the vast amount of loyal, hard work, as well as of the rare instances of extravagance or neglect. If such a judgement were to lead Parliament to say to us or to the Clergy,—'You are not serving faithfully the Church which we are maintaining in a position of privilege: and your unfaithfulness is altering the character of the Church';—then we should have to make our answer publicly when any measure, (for Discipline or for Disestablishment,) based on this judgement, was brought forward. It would be a perilous time: but we should go into it uncompromised: I think we should find more support than is generally expected: and I believe we might do well. . . .

On February 29, the Archbishop had an interview with the Prime Minister, of which he made a full memorandum:

Then we came to the Ritual question generally. He [Mr. Balfour] had not seen, or at all events had not studied Bowen's pamphlet, but he knew of its existence and of the effect it was producing. He asked me to give him my view of the situation as it stands. I did so pretty fully, pointing out, with his entire agreement, how much more important it is to secure loyalty on a large scale among the great body of advanced men than to prune the excesses of the eccentrics. He thought the attack would be directed largely against me, as having failed to carry out any policy of restraining excesses. I told him exactly what I believed to be the case as regards the dioceses in which extreme things are commonest. He

thinks it will be almost impossible for the Government to refuse a Select Committee on the general subject of Clerical Lawlessness. His own followers are more keen in that direction than the Opposition, and undoubtedly Parliamentary Elections in the North will be influenced, and have already been influenced, by the Protestant vote. He believed without doubt that if a motion in favour of a Select Committee were made in the House, the Government would be powerless to resist it, and the only thing which prevents this is the present lack of a day for the discussion. This may be remedied by any one of the weekly ballots, and he thought on the whole it would be wiser that the Government should itself consent, in answer to a question now several times repeated, to appoint a Select Committee. I called his attention to the difficulty Bishops and Clergy would find in giving evidence before a Parliamentary Committee about matters affecting the private relationship of Bishops and Clergy. He said that no Bishop who is in the House of Lords should be compelled to give evidence unless he liked, but that he was strongly of opinion that Parliament was entitled to satisfy itself, in whatever way it thought best, as to the facts of what is happening in a Church established by law. I said that in the main I agreed with this, but that I saw grave difficulties in restraining clerical indignation against the kind of proceedings and questionings which a Select Committee might produce. He replied that this must rest largely with the Chairman, and that if a Committee were appointed they would take great pains to select suitable members from the Conservative side, though they would have no influence as to who were the members selected by the Opposition. We discussed the relative advantages of a Select Committee and a Royal Commission. On the whole he was in favour of a Select Committee, but I think he could be pressed to appoint a Royal Commission instead if we thought it well. I said the difference did not seem to me to be very material. He took kindly to my suggestion that if a Committee must be appointed it had better be a Committee of both Houses and not of the House of Commons only. He thought this would be perfectly possible, and indeed, after discussion, he distinctly preferred it. We discussed possible members—(?) Selborne, (?) Salisbury, (?) Chief Justice, (?) Lord Lindley, (?) Lord Goschen. He showed me a question which was to be asked in the House next day, and after a good deal of talk we agreed that he should reply requesting the questioner to let the answer be postponed for a week, during which time, as he told me, he would consult the Cabinet, and he hoped I would consult two or three trusted friends and communicate again with him by the end of the week.

The Archbishop next saw half a dozen trusted friends, both lay and episcopal.

Memorandum as to interviews held between Monday, Feb. 29th and Friday, March 4th, upon the question of a Parliamentary Committee or Royal Commission on Ritual matters.

My interview with Balfour on Feb. 29th is fully recorded. Next day (Tuesday, March 1st) I saw Balfour again both alone and with the Bishop of Rochester. Roffen pointed out to him very strongly the arguments in favour of a Royal Commission rather than a Parliamentary Committee, but entirely agreed that the Parliamentary Committee, if formed at all, must be a Joint Committee of Lords and Commons. Balfour told us that the Cabinet had met that day and that he had sketched the situation, and that they were to consider it again, but were, generally speaking, in favour of a Joint Committee. The Royal Commission suggestion had not, I think, been before the Cabinet at all.

On Wednesday, March 2nd, I called on Lyttelton about Chinese Labour, and spoke to him also on this question. He had not greatly considered it, but was *prima facie* in favour of a Royal Commission rather than a Parliamentary Committee, but wished so far as possible to work with Balfour in whatever way he (Balfour) thought best.

A little later I saw the Lord Chancellor[1] after the hearing of a Privy Council Appeal. I sketched the situation to him briefly. He was against any Parliamentary enquiry at all, on the ground that it was an interference with the authority of the Courts: if people were dissatisfied the Law Courts were open; not till these had failed ought Parliament to be invoked.

The same evening I saw the Bishop of Oxford. He was vehement against a Parliamentary Committee in any shape or form. He went so far as to say that he would not himself co-operate, either by answering questions or by attending as a witness, if such a Committee were appointed, and that he would not feel himself able to conceal his sympathy with the Clergy, who he thought would unanimously repudiate it and hold aloof.

Late that night I saw the Bishop of Ripon. He was not personally averse to any kind of enquiry that might be desired, but was perfectly clear as to the feelings of the Clergy on the subject and the impossibility of getting them to understand the rights, or rather the duties, of Parliament in such a matter. He therefore, while willing to acquiesce in a Joint Committee, thought it full of danger and would greatly prefer a Royal Commission.

[1] The Earl of Halsbury.

On Thursday morning, March 3rd, I had a long talk with the Bishop of London. The subject was wholly new to him, but he obviously sympathised with Oxford's views, though he rather desired an enquiry of some sort, thinking that High Churchmen would come out of it with flying colours.

In the afternoon I saw Salisbury, Selborne, and Hugh Cecil successively in my room at the House of Lords, and found them all to be in agreement as to the peril of a Parliamentary Committee in face of the opinions which they admitted the Clergy would certainly entertain. Salisbury shared these opinions. Hugh Cecil did not, though he understood them well. He believed enquiry would do almost unmixed good, and scouted the fears about actual misbehaviour on the part of Welshmen or others. His objection therefore was because of what others would feel, and not because of what he felt. Selborne had had no notion that the Clergy would draw such a distinction between a Parliamentary Committee and a Royal Commission, but, after what I told him, he was strongly against a Parliamentary Committee. He was also against a Royal Commission if it could be avoided. He believed enquiry must inevitably do harm, partly because it would raise questions some of which are at present quiet, and partly because it would prove such divergence to exist in fundamental opinions that the arguments in favour of Establishment would be weakened.

While I was talking with Salisbury, Balfour came in excitedly, full of disquiet at a memorandum or letter from Roffen [Dr. E. S. Talbot, Bishop of Rochester] which he had received: [Balfour said]

'It is now clear to me that all the Clergy, of whatever school, are equally stupid. I had thought the range of stupidity more limited. I cannot appoint a Royal Commission: it would not satisfy the House of Commons. They would vote against me if I urged it.' (And then, turning to Salisbury) 'You are to dine with Roffen to-night. Mind you don't commit yourself, for I do not see how I can give way.'

Then he took Salisbury off to interview the publicans, a deputation of whom were waiting for him.

I then saw the Lord Chancellor again, and told him what I had gathered as to the opinion which would be entertained by the Clergy. I added that I did not think Balfour appreciated the difference in their view between a Royal Commission and a Parliamentary Committee. The Chancellor answered,

'I not only understand their feeling, but I entirely share it. On consideration I think a Parliamentary Committee would be intolerable.'

The Archbishop wrote to the Prime Minister as follows:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR

4th March, 1904.

I promised to let you know by the end of the present week as to the outcome of such communication as I could have with a few ecclesiastical advisers and friends. I wrote fully to the Archbishop of York, but I have not heard from him. I have seen (quite privately) the Bishops of London, Oxford, Ripon, and, of course, Rochester. I am to see the Bishop of Worcester to-night: he comes to London for a few hours on purpose. I have also seen several leading clergy to whom I could speak confidentially and who are free from fancifulness and are in a position to form a sound opinion.

I confess myself surprised to find how marked and even vehement is the contrast drawn between a Parliamentary Select Committee (even if it be a Joint Committee) and a Royal Commission. What is said is roughly this. (I am not adopting the arguments, but reporting them as eminently entitled to attention.)

'We regard Parliament as acting not only within its rights but properly and usefully in a great many Church matters so long as the Church remains established, and we recognise the abstract *right* of Parliament to satisfy itself in any way that seems to it good about facts connected with the Established Church. But the position is obviously a delicate one, and anything that accentuates the fact that Parliament contains many anti-Churchmen (as well as non-Churchmen and non-Christians) is liable to cause friction. We are ready, for the National good, to put up with the difficulty where it is inevitable—e.g. in obtaining Parliamentary sanction for new Bishoprics, or in exercising control over changes in the existing law. But the strain might become intolerable and preponderate over the National gain of Establishment if Parliament were to exercise its undisputed rights to the full extent that it logically can; and we think there would be grave danger of such overstrain if a Parliamentary Committee—containing non-Churchmen, and even anti-Churchmen, perhaps an Irish Roman Catholic and a Welsh enthusiast—were to cross-examine Bishops and Clergy on matters which concern the most sacred doctrines and usages of the Church. It is, after all, on sacramental questions that the ritual difficulties ultimately turn; and even if such a Committee were to abstain in fact from this misuse of its investigatory power, the fact of its appointment through Parliamentary whips,

and not by the Ministers of the Crown as representing the Royal supremacy, would create an intense prejudice against it on the part of the Clergy generally, who would urge that if such detailed cross-examination and discussion by such persons be an inevitable part of Establishment, Establishment is and ought to be imperilled.'

Observe, please, that I am trying to represent the view of the clergy generally, so far as I can estimate it, rather than expressing my own opinion. But it cannot I think be questioned that such view is both tenable and in the main true. You will know from my talks with you how I should myself personally qualify it.

I do not find that similar apprehensions would be likely to be created by a Royal Commission. Such Commission, even if it contained non-Churchmen (rather a difficult point—the Ritual Commission of 1867 and the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission of 1881 consisted of Churchmen only) would not contain Roman Catholics or virulent anti-Churchmen The Royal Supremacy is exercised by a Royal Commission much more truly, or at all events much more obviously, than by a Parliamentary Committee, and, difficult as it would doubtless be to select the Commissioners, and impossible as it would be to so select them as to satisfy everybody, it would not I think be impossible to select such a body as would carry out a fair and adequate enquiry in a way which ought to satisfy the House of Commons as well as the public generally. I do not pretend to say that the appointment of a Royal Commission would be welcomed, or to deny that it is fraught with grave possibilities of peril and even disaster. But you assure me, and I frankly accept the assurance, that enquiry of some sort is inevitable.

It would be presumptuous of me to attempt to judge of the House of Commons difficulties which you have described. No one is more keenly conscious than I both of the reality of these difficulties and of your own desire to do what is in the large sense for the best interests of the Church and the Country. But I should not be acting fairly to you were I not to represent to you the strength of the feeling which would undoubtedly be evoked in the Church if the course were followed which you foreshadowed in our recent conversations. For myself, I am anxious to help you in every way and to reduce to a minimum the undoubted difficulties of the position. I wish I could carry a larger share of your burden.

The Prime Minister agreed, and on March 8 announced to the House of Commons that he would appoint not a Select Committee but a Royal Commission.

II

The composition of the Royal Commission involved a good deal of trouble, a large share of which fell upon Mr. J. J. Sandars, who took infinite pains. In the end, after one or two disappointments, it was announced on April 20, 1904. It was composed of fourteen members, with Sir Michael Hicks Beach, late Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the Chair; and was overwhelmingly lay. There is a note in the Archbishop's memoranda, on Downing Street paper, in which their ecclesiastical colours are pencilled in red crayon by a layman's hand against each of the first ten names finally selected—Archbishop of Canterbury (general), Bishop of Oxford (High), Sir F. H. Jeune (Low), Sir L. Dibdin (Low), Dr. Gibson (High), Mr. Drury (Low), J. G. Talbot (High), Sir John Kennaway (Low), Sir Samuel Hoare (Low), Mr. G. Harwood (Low), Mr. George Prothero (Broad). In addition to Hicks Beach (who described himself as of opposite views to the Bishop of Oxford) the following three complete the number—the Marquess of Northampton, Sir Edward Clarke, and (on the death of Sir Francis Jeune, Lord St. Helier) Lord Alverstone, Lord Chief Justice of England. The Commission was undoubtedly strong, and it took immense pains. Its reference was as follows:

> To inquire into the alleged prevalence of breaches or neglect of the Law relating to the conduct of Divine Service in the Church of England and to the ornaments and fittings of Churches; and to consider the existing powers and procedure applicable to such irregularities and to make such recommendations as may be deemed requisite for dealing with the aforesaid matters.

The first of 118 meetings was held in the Church House, Westminster, May 4, 1904. Its inquiry lasted two years, and in its course received an immense amount of evidence from the different parties in the Church, as well as from scholars and experts. The Archbishop sat throughout on the Chairman's right, and the old Lord Northampton on his left, the Archbishop taking an active part in the examination of the witnesses.

The space at our disposal will only allow us to refer to the evidence given before the Commission by the Archbishop himself—with a brief reference to certain important points which emerged from that tendered by one or two other of the 164

witnesses. The Archbishop's evidence, on February 2 and 3, 1905, was a masterly review of the history of the modern ritualist movement in three periods: (1) 1840–66, (2) 1866–92, (3) 1892–1905. That it should be historical was characteristic of Davidson; and that it should be prepared with the aid of most laborious research, and of many willing helpers at Lambeth, the British Museum, and elsewhere, was equally to be expected. He had, of course, had special opportunities, partly through his work as biographer of Archbishop Tait, of amassing the information. And beyond doubt he had every justification for his claim that the evidence he gave was not 'accessible in a consecutive or coherent form in any existing book or series of published documents'.

He began by emphasizing the fact that 'from the days at least of Queen Elizabeth to our own, notwithstanding very definite rubrics and stern Acts of Uniformity and searching Episcopal injunctions... wide varieties [prevailed] in the mode of conducting Divine service', and added: 'I put it that there has never, I think, been any period in the Church of England, when what is called uniformity had not to be interpreted by a very wide elasticity.' He then gave some etymological details (carefully garnered by Mr. G. K. Fortescue of the British Museum), showing that the word 'ritualist' was not known in English till the reign of Queen Anne, the first dictionary to mention it being the *General English Dictionary* of John Kersey in 1708, thus: 'Ritualist—one that stickles for rituals or ceremonies in religious worship.' His knowledge of the Tractarian writers was displayed by substantial quotations from the writings especially of John Keble and Dr. Pusey. He always had a special reverence for John Keble, in relation to modern ritual developments which in Davidson's judgement, and evidence, formed no part of 'the original Tractarian movement'. And he pointed out here, as often on other occasions, how Keble 'never himself adopted vestments or other ritual usages of the kind. He continued to deprecate the practice of non-communicating attendance, and he strongly disapproved of any insistence upon a rule of fasting reception. On the other hand, he was, on large principles, in favour of all that gave increased dignity to, and implied a deeper reverence for, the Holy Communion.'[1]

[1] Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, Minutes of Evidence, 12852.

In dealing with the first of the three modern periods, 1840–66, the Archbishop began by giving some striking illustrations from Newman, Pusey, and Keble of the underlying truth in Dean Stanley's frequent declaration 'that the real author of the Oxford Movement was Sir Walter Scott'—Davidson's own favourite novelist. He traced the growth of the use of vestments, introduced in St. George's-in-the-East in 1858, though apparently used in St. Thomas's, Oxford, in the forties—and a few other practices, such as the eastward position. But more particularly he dwelt on the attitude of the Bishops to the new ritual practices as discouraging rather than denouncing as illegal; and upon the stimulus given to ritual usages by the judgement in favour of High Churchmen pronounced by the Privy Council in the case of the first lawsuit, *Westerton* v. *Liddell*, 1857, authorizing the cross on the screen, and the cross behind the Holy Table, the use of the credence table, and coloured frontals. He ended his survey of the first period by quoting a remarkable passage from a charge of Bishop Thirlwall of St. David's, in October 1866, to show the rapidity of the advance between 1854 and 1866:

> . . . this ritual movement has by no means reached its term. It is still in the full vigour of its early years. It appears to be advancing both extensively, in the work of proselytism, and intensively, in doctrinal innovation, not always distinctly enunciated but clearly intimated. Its partizans seem to vie with one another in the introduction of more and more startling novelties, both of theory and practice. The adoration of the consecrated wafer, reserved for that purpose, which is one of the most characteristic Roman rites, and a legitimate consequence of the Romish Eucharistic doctrine, is contemplated, if it has not been already adopted, in some of our churches, and the Romish festival of the *Corpus Christi* instituted for the more conspicuous exercise of that adoration has, it appears, actually begun to be observed by clergymen of our church. Already public honours are paid to the Virgin Mary, and language applied to her which can only be considered as marking the first stage of a development to which no limit short of the full Romish worship can be probably assigned.[1]

The second period, 1866–92, was a period of increasing strife. Organization of church parties for contentious purposes was now for the first time fairly complete. The English Church Union (High Church) had been founded in 1860, and the

[1] Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, Minutes of Evidence, 12885.

Church Association (Low Church) came five years later. The Archbishop, in tracing the course of the contentions, gave a very full account of such non-official action as deputations, meetings, opinion of counsel, as well as the official action taken in Convocation by Letters of Business, the appointment of the Ritual Commission, and agitation in Parliament, notably by Lord Shaftesbury. It was, however, the action of the Courts which produced crisis after crisis—and the results of the various judgements indicate alike the growth of ritualism and the strength of the agitators. In the *Martin* v. *Mackonochie* case, 1867–8, 'elevation, genuflection, altar candles, incense . . . the ceremonial mixing of the chalice' were all declared illegal, the latter two by the Court of Arches, the three former, on appeal, by the Privy Council. This decision in a court of law (said the Archbishop) was 'a very marked set back' to the ritualistic side. But more momentous was the case of *Hebbert* v. *Purchas* (1869–71). The decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, here also on appeal, declaring the eastward position and the vestments also illegal, created consternation. The protests were expressed in various ways. But the Archbishop noted, as more important than protests:

> It is from that time that we have to date the main growth of the objection alleged against the qualifications or authority of the Judicial Committee as the Court of Appeal.[1]

Three years later followed 'the stormiest year of all, 1874, the year of the so-called Public Worship Regulation Act'. This Act dealt with ritual questions, and, to put the matter very summarily, (1) added a new Court to those already in existence, by the creation of a new lay Ecclesiastical Judge; (2) directed that a monition should take the place of a penalty in the first instance, followed by suspension or deprivation in case of contumacy and, when there was contempt of court, allowing the possibility (quite unintended by those who framed the Act) of imprisonment; and (3) allowed the Bishop at his discretion to veto any prosecution. The Act was denounced by the Clergy in Convocation and outside, some antagonists going so far as to describe it as the introduction of Seven and twenty Star Chambers into the Church of England! The first case under the Act was the *Ridsdale* case, in which on appeal the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council,

[1] *Report*, Minutes of Evidence, 12918.

May 1877, condemned vestments as illegal, but legalized the eastward position. The Archbishop went on to deal with the imprisonment of four clergy who, between 1878 and 1881, were thrown into prison, as being 'never contemplated' when Parliament passed the Public Worship Regulation Act—and he added:

> It is impossible in my judgment to exaggerate the importance of those imprisonments. I believe that they did more than any single thing that has occurred in the ritual controversy to change public opinion upon the whole question of litigation of this sort; it may have been changed for good or evil, but that the change was largely due to those imprisonments I personally have no doubt.[1]

The Archbishop then went on to describe the move made by Archbishop Tait, at the end of his primacy, to secure a reform of ecclesiastical courts—leading up to the Royal Commission of 1881–3. He ended the survey of this second period by describing the *Bishop of Lincoln's* case,[2] and the judgement of Archbishop Benson, confirmed by the Privy Council in 1892—an epoch-making judgement in the Archbishop's Court, already described earlier in this book. It declared, in Dr. Davidson's words, 'that the chalice, if not ceremonially mixed, may be used with wine and water; that the Eastward position is legal throughout the service; that the *Agnus Dei* may, like other hymns, be sung; that the ablutions, as lying outside the service, and being a mode of complying with the rubric, are not illegal or wrong; that two lights are legal if the lighting of them is not made a ceremony; and that the signing of the Cross in Absolution and Benediction is illegal and must not be done.'[3]

The Archbishop then turned to the third period (1892–1905), and said that during these years there had been 'no great ritual incident, with possibly two exceptions', but 'a consolidation' of High Churchmen in certain directions, which he described as (1) 'a more solid and deliberate disallowance or distrust of the Privy Council as the ultimate court in ritual matters', and (2) the basing of the ritual advance 'on principle rather than on the usages, sometimes eccentric, of individuals'. He added two other points, of which (3) is of special importance:

> I personally attach great importance to the growth and consolidation in recent years of the opinion respecting the obligatory

[1] *Report*, Minutes of Evidence, 12943.
[2] See ch. vi *supra*.
[3] *Report*, Minutes of Evidence, 12944.

character of what is called the rule of fasting reception of Holy Communion. . . . It is undoubtedly, I think, due to the growth of that opinion, that many of the difficulties connected both with Reservation and with high Celebrations without communicants, are really to be ascribed.[1]

The last point (4), to which the Archbishop called attention as illustrating the consolidation of High Churchmen, was the introduction of special services, 'in many cases most undesirable', without authority. And he gave as an instance the service of the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday in 1898 in a London church, which Mr. Kensit interrupted, adding that 'the excitement within the Church generally, about unauthorized and inadmissible Services dates largely, I think, from that incident'. The Archbishop then gave a full account of the Lambeth Hearings by the two Archbishops on Incense, Processional Lights (1899), and Reservation (1900)—a step in which he himself, as he said, had some responsibility, for, he said:

I believe I am right in saying that the matter began by a private letter from Archbishop Temple to myself, in December, 1898, in which he stated that this idea had occurred to him, and asked my advice about it. I recognised what seemed to me the wisdom of his suggestion, and respectfully urged him to go forward with the plan.[2]

He noted that the Opinion given on each occasion had been against the legality of these practices.

The Archbishop concluded his evidence by referring to certain matters of special importance. One dealt with the growth and character of the distrust of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as the Court of Appeal. With regard to the Privy Council, Davidson expressed his own regret that legislation had not been introduced to give effect to the Recommendation of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts for a new final court. Of outstanding interest, however, is the summary of the peculiar difficulties of Bishops throughout the three periods. Dr. Davidson said that the answer to the question why the Bishops did not initiate prosecutions against offenders themselves was simply this:

that after the incidents of the imprisonments which took place between the years 1876 and 1881, public opinion went right round upon the subject of the legal prosecution of ritualists.[3]

[1] *Report*, Minutes of Evidence, 12947. [2] Ibid., 12951. [3] Ibid., 12961.

And he gave abundant references from the *Record* and elsewhere to prove his point. With regard to the similar question—why the Bishops did not deal with the whole matter on wise legislative lines in Parliament and in Convocation—he stated:

> The simple answer is: Lord Shaftesbury. He was in my opinion one of the greatest and best of modern Englishmen. . . . But none the less it is true to say that what he did, with the best possible intention, contributed as a matter of fact to increase the difficulties, just as the riots in quite a different way had increased the difficulties ten years before. . . . When he endeavoured year after year to get a short and Summary Act, which should say 'All vestments are illegal except' so and so, carried through Parliament without consulting Convocation and whether the Bishops liked it or not . . . he hampered the administrative authorities in their endeavour to deal with the matter at that particular juncture.[1]

It was again a similar vehement antagonism which had a similar result in the latest period surveyed:

> Twenty years later in the last stage of our experience, when, in a position of extraordinary complexity and difficulty, Bishop Creighton and others, including to some extent Archbishop Temple himself, were trying to deal with these subjects, the incursion of Mr. Kensit and the letters of Sir William Harcourt rendered practically impossible the kind of line that the Bishops were trying to take.[2]

In the following week (February 10, 1905) the Archbishop appeared as witness again, and the whole of one day was occupied with a statement of his own personal experience as a diocesan Bishop, especially in the diocese of Winchester, in dealing with ritual difficulties. Here he went over ground already covered in an earlier part of this work, going into the case of Father Dolling, his own Charge of 1899 (at considerable length), and other matters. Incidentally he also called special attention to the terms of the new Declaration of Assent enacted by Parliament in the Clerical Subscription Act of 1865, in which the final words are: 'In public prayer and administration of the Sacraments I will use the form in the said Book [Book of Common Prayer] prescribed and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority.' And it is worth noting a point on which the Archbishop was accustomed to lay some stress, about the intro-

[1] *Report*, Minutes of Evidence, 12962. [2] Ibid, 12962.

duction for the first time in 1865 of the words 'except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority'. He said that, in the debates on the subject:

> The reason given for its insertion was chiefly to protect a clergyman in the case of a Service ordered by the Privy Council; such, for example, as was ordered at that time in connexion with the cattle plague. But that the words as they stand now, part of the Act of Parliament, are capable of giving to the Episcopate some larger authority than existed before, seems to me hardly to admit of a doubt.[1]

The Archbishop gave evidence on one further occasion, July 13, 1905, on the special point of the composition and possible powers of a Representative Church Council, and the steps being taken to secure a reform of Convocation.

Seventeen English diocesan Bishops, besides the Archbishop of Canterbury, gave their evidence—so that the Commission had every opportunity for hearing a first-hand account of the administrators' difficulties, as well as of the services of which complaint had been made. The fullness and variety of the evidence did not make the drafting of the Report an easier task. Sir Michael Hicks Beach had only consented to take the chair on the condition that he should not be draftsman; and the work fell to the able hands of Sir Lewis Dibdin. When the first draft was completed, Sir Lewis gave it to the Archbishop and the Bishop of Oxford. It was, of course, altered very considerably at the discussions of the Commission: as the author prophesied at the start, 'They'll knock this about a good deal, I'm afraid.' But its principles and structure remained unimpaired. What the Bishop of Oxford said, in reply to Sir Lewis's complaint, was true enough: 'If you've ever tried to skin a hare you'll find it is uncommonly difficult to get the backbone out of it.' The Bishop of Oxford had a very great deal to do with the phrasing of the Report, and the Archbishop himself depended upon him very much for the wording as for other things. At times the Bishop's scholarly style seemed involved to the laymen—and on one occasion the Chairman asked what a particular sentence meant. When he was told, he said with some heat, 'Then, why the devil can't they express it properly?' The unparliamentary remark shocked the old

[1] Ibid., 13230.

evangelical peer, Lord Northampton, on the Chairman's left hand, profoundly. He became red, and looked much upset. The Archbishop cocked his head and looked up to the cornice, as he often would on embarrassing occasions; and the incident passed. The Report[1] was a masterly statement of the actual legal situation —of the contemporary breaches and neglect of the law—emphasizing the omission to fulfil Prayer Book requirements as well as the breaches of special gravity and significance, the principal of which it enumerated as follows:

Practices of special gravity and significance

The interpolation of the prayers and ceremonies belonging to the Canon of the Mass.
The use of the words 'Behold the Lamb of God', accompanied by the exhibition of a consecrated wafer or bread.
Reservation of the Sacrament under conditions which lead to its adoration.
Mass of the Prae-sanctified.
Corpus Christi processions with the Sacrament.
Benediction with the Sacrament.
Celebration of the Holy Eucharist with the intent that there shall be no communicant except the celebrant
Hymns, prayers, and devotions involving invocation of or confession to the Blessed Virgin Mary or the Saints.
The observance of the festivals of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of the Sacred Heart.
The veneration of images and roods.[2]

There was a historical survey, which dealt with the causes of failures to check irregularities, amongst which it was noted that:

> The inclination, characteristic of the temper of the sixteenth century, to ignore all varieties of feeling and opinion existing among men of the same generation, and to make no provision for changes of feeling and opinion as one age succeeded another, is one far-reaching cause of irregularity. . . . It has proved impracticable to obtain complete obedience to the Acts of Uniformity in one particular direction, partly because it is not now, and never has been, demanded in other directions.

The Report also went fully into the question of a reform of the

[1] *Signed* June 21, 1906, Cd. 3040, 1906. [2] *Report*, § 397.

Ecclesiastical Courts. Of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the Report observed:

> Bishops and others have been naturally slow to appeal to a court the jurisdiction of which was so widely challenged; clergymen have claimed the liberty, and even asserted the duty, of disobedience to the decisions of a tribunal the authority of which they repudiate; and judgements of the Judicial Committee, though at least the reasoned statements of very eminent judges, are treated as valueless because they are Privy Council judgements. A Court dealing with matters of conscience and religion must, above all others, rest on moral authority if its judgements are to be effective. As thousands of clergy, with strong lay support, refuse to recognise the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee, its judgements cannot practically be enforced.[1]

The 'two main Conclusions' to which the Commission was led were as follows:

> First, the law of public worship in the Church of England is too narrow for the religious life of the present generation. It needlessly condemns much which a great section of Church people, including many of her most devoted members, value; and modern thought and feeling are characterised by a care for ceremonial, a sense of dignity in worship, and an appreciation of the continuity of the Church, which were not similarly felt at the time when the law took its present shape. In an age which has witnessed an extraordinary revival of spiritual life and activity, the Church has had to work under regulations fitted for a different condition of things, without that power of self-adjustment which is inherent in the conception of a living Church, and is, as a matter of fact, possessed by the Established Church of Scotland... With an adequate power of self-adjustment, we might reasonably expect that revision of the strict letter of the law would be undertaken with such due regard for the living mind of the Church as would secure the obedience of many, now dissatisfied, who desire to be loyal, and would justify the Church as a whole in insisting on the obedience of all.[2]
>
> Secondly, the machinery for discipline has broken down. The means of enforcing the law in the Ecclesiastical Courts, even in matters which touch the Church's faith and teaching, are defective and in some respects unsuitable. . . .[3]

The Report added:

> It is important that the law should be reformed, that it should admit of reasonable elasticity, and that the means of enforcing it

[1] Ibid., § 363. [2] Ibid., § 399. [3] Ibid., § 400.

should be improved; but above all it is necessary that it should be obeyed.[1]

While the Report was, in the main, the work of Sir Lewis Dibdin, the principal Recommendations were of Dr. Davidson's shaping. They were ten. The first asked that certain specific practices (those named above as practices of special gravity and significance) 'should be promptly made to cease by the exercise of the authority belonging to the Bishops and, if necessary, by proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts'. The second—which was the fundamental Recommendation, and for which a very special responsibility rested with Archbishop Davidson—was that which set on foot the whole legislative process of Prayer Book Revision. It ran as follows:

2. Letters of Business should be issued to the Convocations with instructions: (*a*) to consider the preparation of a new rubric regulating the ornaments (that is to say, the vesture) of the ministers of the Church, at the times of their ministrations, with a view to its enactment by Parliament; and (*b*) to frame, with a view to their enactment by Parliament, such modifications in the existing law relating to the conduct of Divine Service and to the ornaments and fittings of churches as may tend to secure the greater elasticity which a reasonable recognition of the comprehensiveness of the Church of England and of its present needs seems to demand.

It would be most desirable for the early dealing with these important subjects that the Convocations should sit together, and we assume that they would take counsel with the Houses of Laymen.

The third Recommendation was also of considerable importance, though in the practical consideration of the series as a whole it would appear to have received too little attention:

3. In regard to the sanction to be given for the use of additional and special services, collects and hymns, the law should be so amended as to give wider scope for the exercise of a regulative authority.

This authority should be exercised within prescribed limits by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces acting together for the sanction and regulation of additional and special services and collects in accordance with the teaching of the Holy Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer, and for the forbidding of the use of hymns or anthems not in accordance with such teaching.

[1] Ibid., § 401.

The administrative discretion of individual Bishops within the several dioceses should be used in conformity with such sanction and regulation.

Other Recommendations proposed new Ecclesiastical Courts and a new Court of Final Appeal, as proposed by the Royal Commission of 1883, with the following difference:

5. . . . Where, in an appeal before the Final Court which involves charges of heresy or breach of ritual, any question touching the doctrine or use of the Church of England shall be in controversy, which question is not in the opinion of the Court governed by the plain language of documents having the force of Acts of Parliament, and involves the doctrine or use of the Church of England proper to be applied to the facts found by the Court, such question shall be referred to an assembly of the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, who shall be entitled to call in such advice as they may think fit; and the opinion of the majority of such assembly of the Archbishops and Bishops with regard to any question so submitted to them shall be binding on the Court for the purposes of the said appeal.

The remaining Recommendations included the repeal of the Public Worship Regulation Act, the abolition of the Bishops' veto (subject to safeguards), and certain other disciplinary and administrative measures. It must also be noted that the Commission declared that 'those of our recommendations which will require legislation are framed as a complete scheme and must be considered mutually dependent'.

The Report was unanimous; even Sir Edward Clarke, who had been an uncertain quantity, appending his signature. On the last day the Chairman broke down with emotion, and brought the proceedings to an end by asking the Archbishop to give thanks to God, which he did with the following extempore prayer:

Almighty God, Who art the Author of Peace and Lover of Concord, we thank Thee that Thou hast given us health and strength for the task committed to us, and grace to work together in mutual trust, desiring to know Thy Truth, and to do justly. We pray Thee to pardon all that Thou hast seen to be amiss in us and in our work; and to grant that by Thy Blessing the outcome of our labours may be used for the welfare of Thy Church: that those who bear Thy Name may, without strife or discord, simply seek to advance in this land the purpose of Thy Love towards all men: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

CHAPTER XXVI

CHINESE LABOUR, 1904–6

We sail a changeful sea through halcyon days and storm
And when the ship laboureth, our stedfast purpose
Trembles like as the compass in a binnacle.
Our stability is but balance, and wisdom lies
In masterful administration of the unforeseen.

ROBERT BRIDGES, *Testament of Beauty.*

THIS chapter, like the last, though largely concerned with the second year of the Primacy, will take us a little farther forward, for the sake of completeness, before it is finished.

In the early part of 1904, the Archbishop became involved in a controversy which stirred public opinion all over the country and had far-reaching results. After the South African War the gold-mines in the Transvaal were greatly crippled for want of labour. Various expedients had been tried and had failed. In the end the choice lay between the introduction of unskilled White labour to take the place of the Kaffir, and the importation of Asiatics. Opinion in the Transvaal decided in favour of the latter, and in February 1904, with the backing of Lord Milner, the Governor-General, the Ordinance allowing the importation of Chinese under special conditions was finally passed.

The agitation against the whole plan of Chinese labour had already commenced in England. Letters appeared in *The Times* from Major J. E. B. Seely[1] and the Bishop of Worcester,[2] denouncing the unnatural and demoralizing conditions under which (it was said) the Chinese labourers were to be confined in large compounds. The Government was pressed on many sides to refuse its sanction to the Ordinance. An important debate took place in the House of Lords on February 11 and 12, at the instance of Lord Portsmouth and the Marquis of Ripon, who were opposed to the Government. The Archbishop spoke at the end of the first day. He had already made close inquiries of his own, and had had interviews and correspondence with those who had been out in South Africa. He began characteristically by emphasizing the complexity of the subject. Whatever might be said about the urgency of the problem, no one who had studied

[1] Now Lord Mottistone. [2] Dr. Gore.

the Blue Books could fail to realize the immense difficulty which surrounded it. He said he was not dealing with the economic or political aspects but simply with the moral aspect—a matter which had received little attention but 'lies at the root of the question before us'. He referred to the moral question which had arisen in connexion with the introduction of Chinese labour from 1852 to 1858 in the West Indies, Trinidad, British Guiana, and Mauritius, and the care taken with regard to the regulations. He did not think that the same careful consideration had been given on the present occasion, and he asked for more information, especially with regard to the possibility of wives and families accompanying or following the labourers:

> We want to know not necessarily in detail but in the roughest outline what the conditions are. We want to be assured that this system of indentured immigration will not be introducing a poison of a terrible kind into the community where the Chinese may be settled. If it is said that this poison cannot be introduced because of the restraints put upon the immigrants and that the evil cannot become rampant because the Chinamen will be deprived of all liberty of action or locomotion or intercourse with other people, such a line of defence strikes one as in itself difficult to justify. At all events it is certainly a form of administration a little difficult to reconcile with the liberties and freedom which should exist in a British Colony.

The speech made a deep impression, and Lord Carrington on the following day said, 'I think the whole of Christendom must thank him for having made the speech which he delivered last night'. But his words were received with very much less favour by the friends of the Government. He was still new to the office of Primate, and his critics commented on his assumption of the role of 'political *censor morum* when both prudence and fact should advise silence'. And his next intervention gave colour to the charge not only of imprudence but of trimming, 'not the trimming that Lord Halifax illustrated, the philosopher's repugnance to the violence of extremes, but the timid, hair-splitting type of trimming'.[1]

Three weeks later a further debate took place in the House of Lords on the question of how it was proposed to regulate the introduction of the wives and families of Chinese immigrants in

[1] *Memoirs* of Sir Almeric Fitzroy, i. 206.

the Transvaal. The Archbishop had, in the interval, pursued his inquiries, and was to some extent reassured by what he learned, notably perhaps by the receipt of a cable from Archdeacon Furse from Johannesburg (16 February), saying that he was 'personally fully convinced after discussion that Government and importers [were] entirely alive to moral and social dangers of non-importation of women'. The Archbishop was not (as Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, the Colonial Secretary, had suggested in the House of Commons) 'fully satisfied' with the assurances that he had received, but his natural honesty led him to admit that *if the proposed immigration was to take place at all* it did not seem to be clear what more the Government could have done on the moral question and all it involved. It was, however, the conclusion of this speech (on March 4, 1904) which provided his critics and the enemies of Chinese labour with the weapon which they were swift to use:

> I feel [he said] that if indeed the necessity be real it is one of the most regrettable necessities that has ever arisen in the history of our Colonial Government—that it should be found necessary under the British flag and under Christian civilisation to arrange for the importation of labour where conditions are laid down that the labourers imported shall not be permitted to utilise any exceptional powers they may have, or fulfil the desire to rise above the conditions of the merest drudges, doing the lowest kind of work whatever their qualifications for some higher kind of labour may be . . . Certainly, if it be a necessity, it is one which I personally feel to be of a very lamentable kind and one which is not without its elements of humiliation.

It was the Archbishop's fate on not a few occasions in his life to disappoint those who were hot on one side or other of the debate. He sought to be fair, and even though it caused serious misunderstanding and 'almost despair' on the part of Lord Carrington and others, who had acclaimed his former speech, he would not say less or more than he felt was warranted by the evidence. He certainly exposed himself to the reproach that he had gone back on his former condemnation. On March 12, 1904, the Government sanctioned the Ordinance.

A fresh debate took place in the House of Lords a few days later, March 21, 1904, and the Archbishop made a third speech, perhaps a little more favourable to Chinese labour, but expressing

his own belief that had he been living in the Transvaal he would probably have been found in the small minority which objected to the introduction of Chinese labour. He spoke in strong disapproval of those who used lightly the word 'slavery'. He said he was still not easy as to the working of the safeguards about the moral question, but he admitted that when confronted with the fact that other men as high-minded and public-spirited as they could be, with the overwhelming advantage of detailed local knowledge, had found it impossible to do other than this, then in the end, with no small anxiety of heart, he could but leave the responsibility with those into whose hands the Government had entrusted it.

The first Chinese immigrants arrived in the Transvaal in June 1904. By the end of the year there were two thousand, and thousands more poured in during the first six months of 1905. The system was soon put to the test. A sharp attack was made on the Government by Lord Coleridge on May 16, 1905. He gave pointed expression to what was undoubtedly a growing feeling of anxiety as to the whole compound method, including the non-importation of women and the restrictions on the liberty of the Chinese. He made a particular appeal to the Archbishop to say whether official reports did not in fact show that the system had led to immorality. The Archbishop made a full speech in which he expressed himself satisfied with the information which he had been able to acquire from trustworthy sources as to the material comfort and voluntary enlistment of the Chinese. But he expressed his disquiet with regard to the moral conditions, and pressed again for fuller information thereon.

There is a good deal of correspondence in the files of these months, and especially in the latter part of 1905, which shows that the Archbishop's anxiety did not diminish, though he was most unwilling to embarrass those with whom the real responsibility, as well as, he would say, the fullest knowledge, lay; especially when they were men of the undoubted integrity and public spirit of Alfred Lyttelton, Lord Milner, and Lord Selborne, who went out to South Africa in February 1905 as Lord Milner's successor. But he was, as always, instinctively repelled by rhetoric, and by those who sought to make emotional or political capital out of a situation which seemed to him as a practical man beset with difficulties.

The correspondence and the newspapers and cartoons of the day also show that the Archbishop's attitude exposed him to a great deal of unfriendly criticism and attack. To many like Major Seely his attitude seemed 'half-hearted and disappointing'. The phrase 'regrettable necessity' proved a fatal phrase, and, torn from its context, was constantly brought up against him. To one of those who reproached him he replied thus:

9th October 1905.

I fear it is in vain for me to reiterate the facts of my attitude when the question of Chinese labour was before Parliament. It is absurdly and often maliciously travestied so as to make me appear to have said the very contrary to what I really did say, as anyone will ascertain who cares to read in their entirety the speeches which I made in the matter. My efforts have been consistently continued from the first to ensure if possible such arrangements as shall prevent the mischiefs which are apt to accompany indentured labour in all parts of our Empire. . . . You are of course aware how deliberately this particular controversy has been stimulated for political purposes and that the genuine and wholesome enthusiasm of working men and others for what is right and free and pure have been utilised for mere partisan ends.

There is no doubt that the Archbishop believed that he could help the cause he cared for most, that of religion and humanity, by the policy which he pursued, far better than by mere denunciation. Certainly his attitude was appreciated by the responsible authorities themselves, not the less because, as is shown by the following letter in answer to a question about desertions, the authorities understood the difficulties, and were perplexed to know where to find an alternative scheme:

The Rt. Hon. Alfred Lyttelton *to the* Archbishop of Canterbury

Private. Colonial Office. October 29, 1905.

I arrived late yesterday. I am sincerely sorry not to have been able to write before. But the enclosed despatch which I will send in strict confidence for your personal use to-morrow will I think shew you into what an impossible position anyone must be led who advocates the veto of the Chinese Ordinances and is not prepared to embark on a crusade against all indentured labour throughout the empire. The subject does not become easier and

two years' constant worry has not made the burdens of life very easy to carry. But I am consoled when I think of the extraordinary difficulties of any other course of action—above all the loss of life among the tropical natives which would I believe ensue if they replaced the tougher Chinese and which at least has been in part averted.

In December 1905 the Unionist Government resigned. A general election took place in January 1906, and there can be no doubt that Chinese labour as well as the tariff question played a vital part in the landslide which brought the Liberals (377) a clear majority of 84 over Unionists (157), Labour (53), and Irish (83).

In the autumn of 1906, sinister reports were heard with regard to most of the Chinese compounds. An official inquiry revealed a situation justifying all but the gloomiest warnings as to the perils of the compound system. The Archbishop of Canterbury called attention to the subject on November 15 in the House of Lords. He said:

I hope at last we are in a position to get some trustworthy information upon a matter so grave, not merely in its direct and immediate effect upon the surroundings in which the mischief takes place, but also in its possible indirect effects upon other populations than those of the Chinamen, a very terrible effect which would tarnish the honour and good name not only of England but of her Colonies.

Lord Coleridge, in following, regretted that he and his friends had not been openly supported by the Archbishop in the controversy waged against the Ordinance for the last two years, and that the Archbishop had not spoken out in bold, clear, and unqualified terms of denunciation in regard to this traffic. He said, and, it must be confessed, not without justification:

I believe that such is the recognised weight which the most reverend Primate deservedly holds in the councils of the country that if he had spoken the right word and spoken it in time the Chinese would never have been imported and these evils would never have arisen.

Lord Elgin, for the Government, whilst declaring that the grossest charges had not been substantiated, thought that the official report 'does in my judgment strengthen the view that the permanent adoption of this system is not possible,

and perhaps we are justified in calling upon the most reverend Primate and those who think with him to join us in that declaration'.

These revelations, following upon the strong opposition now developing both in South Africa and England, settled the fate of Chinese labour. The system was doomed. In June 1907, General Botha as Prime Minister told the Transvaal Assembly that the Labour Ordinance would not be re-enacted, and that the Chinese would be sent home at the expiry of their contracts.

CHAPTER XXVII

FOREIGN, SOCIAL, AND CHURCH QUESTIONS

To sequester out of the world into *Atlantick* and *Eutopian* politics, which never can be drawn into use, will not mend our condition; but to ordain wisely as in this world of evil, in the midst whereof God hath placed us unavoidably. MILTON, *Areopagitica*.

THROUGHOUT his long life, as a Churchman intimately concerned with public affairs, it was Dr. Davidson's destiny to watch the development of Russian history from various angles. At the beginning of 1905, he was called upon to express his mind about Russia at war, and Russia threatened with revolution; and before the year ended it was his lot to address words of appeal to the Russian Church, begging that its influence might be powerfully used against a terrible persecution of the Jews.

I

On January 1, the fall of Port Arthur before the military and naval forces of Japan, marked a new stage in the tragic Russo-Japanese war of which the reactions were to be so far-reaching. At once the Archbishop wrote to the Prime Minister to see if any way could be found to bring the conflict to an end by mediation:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* RIGHT HON. A. J. BALFOUR

Old Palace, Canterbury.
3 Jan. 1905.

I venture to write to you with reference to the new position created by the surrender of Port Arthur. I am not a diplomatist and my knowledge about what is happening and about its possible consequences is no greater than that of other observers living outside the circle of special information. But I am naturally the recipient and the mouth-piece of a large body of opinion—the opinion of thousands of thoughtful and religious men, Churchmen and Nonconformists—the intensity of whose feeling of horror evoked by the carnage of this war it is impossible to exaggerate. I am quite certain that I express the opinion of an unlimited number of such persons when I say that they would hail with profound satisfaction any action which might be taken by the

responsible Executive of our Country, to promote at this juncture some plan or offer of mediation, should such be possible. Those who know the international facts in a way that I of course do not may have reason to believe that such action on the part of England would at this moment be harmful or inexpedient. I recognise so fully the responsibility and the difficulty of situations such as this that I am prepared to bow to the deliberate judgment of yourself and your colleagues, well knowing that your anxious desire to bring this fearful war to an end is as keen as that of any of us.

But I should not be doing justice to those whose representations and appeals to me have been, as I think you know, both frequent and urgent, or to my own sentiments and anxieties did I not at this moment assure you that to the best of my belief the whole country would be with you or behind you if you found it possible to let England now take some overt step in the direction of bringing about the restoration of peace. Details are entirely beyond my province. But that the English people, irrespective of political party or religious creed, would welcome some such action I have no doubt whatever.

But the time was not yet. Attempts at intervention, wrote the Prime Minister in reply on January 6, were:

likely to be not only useless but worse than useless, unless and until the combatants are willing to take advantage of it. Of such a willingness we have not received from either party the faintest suggestion up to the present moment. Indeed, the only communication which has so far reached His Majesty's Government on the subject is a warning from the Government of Russia that no intervention by a neutral Power would be tolerated by them.

Later in the same month a revolutionary movement began, and January 22 was known as 'Bloody Sunday' in St. Petersburg. Although the Archbishop took no action then, the reasons which he gave for taking none are significant not only of his attitude on the point at issue but also of the volume of his work. An indignant correspondent who set himself 'the task of securing as fast as one might united prayer throughout Great Britain and America', in view of the crisis, had rushed to Lambeth and there, he thought, been received with little sympathy by a resident chaplain. This is the Archbishop's letter:

Windsor Castle.

Private. 24 Jan. 1905.

I have today received your letter and I should like to thank you myself for having written to me frankly about your recent inter-

view with my Chaplain at Lambeth. I must not perhaps expect you quite to appreciate the impossibility of the Archbishop—if he is to do his work properly—giving immediate interviews to those who may unexpectedly call upon him with reference even to very important matters. I have known the Lambeth work now for some 28 years and I am very certain that if it is to be rightly done the Archbishop must arrange beforehand as to those whom he is to see personally in the busy round of each day's work. I write to you about it because I appreciate with keen sympathy and fellowship your desire that when it is possible we should make our prayers more keen and united in regard to the world's life and the life of nations. You may be assured how steadily and constantly I have tried to keep in touch with those at home and abroad who can best inform me on events such as those now occurring in the distracted Russian Empire, and how gladly I have taken and do take opportunity from time to time of stimulating such united prayer as you suggest. But it is another thing to say that the Archbishop should be ready at a moment's notice to put forth a request or direction (to be telegraphed as you suggest throughout the world that very hour) when he knows how liable such directions or requests are to be misinterpreted and twisted (in countries unlike our own) into a political manifesto which may do harm instead of good and hamper those who have the responsibility of delicate and anxious diplomatic representations. Day by day in these anxious times am I trying by the help of GOD, for whose guidance I pray, to do and say both privately and publicly what may be helpful and right. But you probably do not at all realise how requests pour in every week that the Archbishop will direct public and general prayer for some great cause or perplexity, and how these things are distorted into political and partisan channels. In the last few weeks I have been bombarded as usual with such requests—say in connection with the Japanese War, or Macedonia, or Armenia, or Chinese Labour, or Welsh Education, or the Revival Movement, or many more. Hence my caution as to issuing fresh requests—suddenly and without consultation—at a delicate and critical juncture—in addition or supplement to the requests and directions which I have already given. You will probably not realise the difficulties, but they are there all the same. I should prefer to say nothing about your insinuation that I was simply careless, and that you were put off with trivial excuses. You even suggest that because a gong sounded while you were in the house I must have been at luncheon!! and therefore did not see you!! As a matter of fact I was not. I had been at work on all kinds of important matters for many hours (8.30–1.30) and from 2.–4.30

I had another series of big duties, many of them with reference to the very sort of questions on which you supposed me to be careless, and at 4.30 I had to leave London. When you called therefore I was obliged to follow my rule and to ask Mr. Holden to see you and talk over the matter, whatever it might be. It seems to offend you that he did so, but I am always anxious that no one should leave the house without receiving all possible courtesy.

I have written all this on receiving your letter because I share so fully your eager desire that in such matters we all of us should join more than we do in constant prayer to Him who heareth prayer, and because you seem to have so strangely misunderstood my way of looking at these momentous questions.

I need hardly point out to you that this letter is altogether private. No one but myself has seen it.

P.S. I did not understand that you expected, after what had passed, to receive a letter from me. But if you did expect one I am sorry it was not sent.

In November a new calamity descended on the Russian Empire in a terrible onslaught upon the Jews. Immediately we find the Archbishop in communication with the Chief Rabbi, expressing his profound sympathy; and by telegram and letter also with the Metropolitan Anthony of St. Petersburg, whom he knew personally, having met him when he visited England. The letters were published at the time:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* METROPOLITAN OF ST. PETERSBURG

Lambeth Palace, S.E. 10th November, 1905.

Moved to the deepest distress in common with all who at this time have before them the accounts of what is happening in Russia, I have today sent to Your Holiness a telegram to express our eager hope that while the beneficent reforms, now happily inaugurated, are being carried into effect, there may, by the mercy of GOD, be no further scenes of so fearful a kind as those which must be causing to Your Holiness, and to thoughtful Christian men in Russia, the same sorrow as they have brought to us all.

The whole English Church would be eager, in the Name of our blessed Lord and Saviour to participate in such endeavour as Christian men can properly make to render for ever impossible hereafter in any part of the world the horrors which have lately occurred.

I do not doubt that Your Holiness, whose knowledge of England

and of English thought is so highly appreciated by us all, will realise my motive in thus writing to you an assurance of our desire to co-operate in any such task.

It is as Christians that we long for common endeavour against the unChristian spirit wherever it may be found or whoever be its victims. We pray GOD that the great Church in which Your Holiness holds so exalted a position may be guided by GOD the Holy Spirit, in days of difficulty, to stand firm on behalf of the suffering and the oppressed, and to promote in every way what is Christ-like and pure and true.

The Metropolitan replied within a week, thanking the Anglican Church for its prayers and sympathy, and adding:

The METROPOLITAN OF ST. PETERSBURG *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

14th November 1905.

Your Christian sympathy with the sorrows of our Fatherland has filled my heart with deep gratitude to you. We hope in the Lord that by His grace the State reforms which have now been inspired and begun will bring into our common life the spirit of peace and love; and we believe that by the power of the Holy Ghost and the prayers of the Church the Christian brotherly love in the hearts of our countrymen will be strengthened.

The Russian Church mourns over her children, in whom civil strife has darkened the commandment of Christ regarding love and goodwill towards our neighbours, whoever they may be, whether our fellow-believers or Hebrews of another religion, all violence against whom it has always condemned, and condemns with unalterable steadfastness, as opposed to law, piety, and the duties of civil life.

In his letter to the Chief Rabbi (Dr. Adler)—published in the press—the Archbishop said:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* CHIEF RABBI

November 13, 1905.

We had hoped that iniquities of this particular kind were now becoming impossible in any Christian lands, although I suppose that the records of former centuries show no country to have been free from the stain of such cruelty; and that recollection ought in my judgement to temper our indignation with humility. I am persuaded that we may now rely upon Christian earnestness and fellowship in different lands to protect Christendom from the recurrence of a like disgrace. But we cannot omit, while looking

prayerfully to the future, to put on record also our abhorrence of the blind and cruel spirit which has led excited mobs to such acts of outrage, and our profound sympathy with the sufferers and victims, whatever their nationality or their creed.

The Chief Rabbi replied:

The CHIEF RABBI *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

22 Finsbury Square, London.
November 14th, 1905.

I beg to thank your Grace sincerely for your favour of the 13th inst. It greatly adds to the kindness you have already shown us in these dark days of stress and sorrow. This championship of true religion and humanity cannot fail to produce a deep impression throughout the civilized world.

Utterances such as these will, I hope, prevent a recurrence of the tragedy we all deplore, and hasten the realization of our hopes for the day when everywhere equal rights and equal justice will be dealt to all God's children as a common heritage of humanity without distinction of race and creed.[1]

II

Church questions at home were also, throughout this year, very much to the fore, and a background to the whole was provided by the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, the regular sittings of which, week in and week out, aroused an interest and an anxiety both tense and widespread. In February a strong deputation visited Lambeth Palace, headed by Dr. Wace, Dean of Canterbury, one of the staunchest of Protestants, who yet believed that peace could be won in the Church if every one would agree to the following principle:

> That nothing can be accepted as truly Catholic which cannot claim the general assent and observance of the Christian Church before the end of the 6th Century.

The Archbishop, in replying, noted that the Dean was supported by scholars and clergy of all the great schools of thought in the Church of England (amongst them Professor W. Sanday and the Rev. T. A. Lacey)[2]; and, assuring them of his warm sympathy,

[1] *The Jewish World* for November 17, 1905, comments thus: 'The action of Dr. Randall Davidson at this crisis has shown that he knows his duty to the teachings of the great Church of which he is head. All the same, the spontaneous step was his own, prompted by the heart, and will not be forgotten by the Jewish people.'

[2] Dr. Wace, Evangelical, Dr. Sanday, Liberal, Mr. Lacey, Anglo-Catholic.

advised them to set their case in a deliberate way before the Royal Commission itself. He added, with special reference to the Royal Commission, in a characteristic spirit, of the office he himself held:

> It is at all times necessary for one who occupies the position to which in the providence of God I have been called, to be on his guard, and not to speak, on occasions such as this, incautiously or inconsiderately. But at present, at this moment, that responsibility rests upon me in an even exceptional degree.

But even though he did not commit himself on this or similar occasions, the Archbishop gave the impression of complete accessibility, and as *The Times* remarked, when commenting on the frequent pilgrimages to Lambeth Palace in these early days of the Primacy, the chief reason for these constant deputations was that 'people have confidence in Dr. Davidson's judgement and experience'.

There was a good deal of correspondence during these months about Church constitutional questions, such as the character of the Representative Church Council, and the basis of the franchise for lay electors, but progress was slow. On July 14, a debate took place in the House of Lords on the Convocation Bill, introduced afresh by the Archbishop. It was designed to declare the law as to the power of the Convocations to reform their Lower Houses, and to enable them on occasion to hold joint sittings. But to Dr. Davidson's surprise as well as chagrin, the debate was adjourned, and the Bill was eventually allowed to perish. The discussions on the Athanasian Creed, in and outside Convocation, were continued from the previous year. In February the Archbishop explained to the Upper House the steps he had taken to discover the opinions of other Provinces of the Anglican Communion, and gave ample evidence of the strength of opinion both for and against any change. But a final judgement was, by consent, deferred until after the Lambeth Conference of 1908.

III

On May 9, the Archbishop made an important speech in the House of Lords, calling attention to the treatment of the aborigines in Western Australia. It was one of many speeches made during his Primacy on behalf of native races. It was, as usual, based on a very careful inquiry, and with chapter and verse,

quoted from official documents; and also, as usual, expressed in a courteous and unsensational way, but with most damaging facts. Employment was usually given to the native (he said) in order to secure control rather than for the sake of the work. There were no wages, and there were usually no indentures. The speech was lengthy and impressive. The Archbishop fully recognized that Australia was a self-governing Colony in which the British Government had no direct right to intervene; but he felt justified in pressing the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, for the sake of the credit of the whole empire, to take steps to reassure public opinion. Lord Tennyson, who had been Governor-General of Australia, followed the Archbishop in the debate, and the attached letter shows something of the impression the Archbishop's speech had made:

LORD TENNYSON *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

May 10, 1905.

. . . I would have thanked you in my few words last night—but I thought that it would appear patronizing in me. But I do thank you most sincerely for your most able, clear and above all kindly statement. It was as good as it could be. . . .

Unemployment assumed serious proportions this year, and in June a march of 450 unemployed workmen from Leicester to London was led by a Leicester incumbent, the Rev. F. Lewis Donaldson. A letter was sent to the Archbishop by Mr. Donaldson asking very respectfully that his Grace would receive a small deputation from these men at Lambeth, and adding: 'They feel keenly the immense importance of the Church sealing their cause as in itself sacred and noble, viz. their appeal to England for work.'

The Archbishop, who had an instinctive dislike of propaganda and sensation, and was, besides, intensely practical, did not see what good he could do by receiving a deputation, and did not at all wish Lambeth to be made the scene of a great demonstration. He replied as follows:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* REV. F. L. DONALDSON

Lambeth Palace. June 8, 1905.

I have today received your letter of yesterday. I yield to no one in my appreciation of the difficulties of present industrial condi-

tions in many parts of England, and I have from early days done my best to understand the practical questions which have from time to time arisen. But such study as I am able to give to these questions tends to deepen my sense of their difficulty, and of the danger which is incurred by attempting rough and ready solutions of far reaching and complicated economic problems. Few things would give me more satisfaction than to be able so to devote myself to a deeper study of economics as to learn how to co-operate more adequately in promoting the amendment of present hardships where such exist. But a man who, like myself, has to work for 16 or 17 hours a day in discharging his own more immediate responsibilities cannot hope to be able to give to these studies so much time as many others can.

I need hardly tell you how deeply I sympathise with those whom you represent in their present lack of employment. But I am bound to say that I fail at present to see what good I could hope to effect by receiving such a Deputation as you suggest, and I cannot help fearing that I might really do harm by raising hopes and expectations which I should have no power whatever of satisfying. If what is desired is merely that I should be in possession of a statement of facts respecting the scarcity of employment in certain midland towns, I honestly believe that I should master those facts better were I to study them in writing than I should by listening to an oral statement. You think that I might, by receiving such a Deputation, shew that the Church (I quote your words) 'seals the cause as in itself sacred and noble'. I have no wish to throw any doubt upon what you describe as the sacredness and nobility of the cause. But in the ceaseless stress of other duties I must admit that I have not at present given to the details of this particular controversy such study as would justify me in making myself responsible for thus endorsing the representation of those who are coming to London to plead their cause, nor dare I hope to be able speedily to master the intricacies of the problem.

It is honestly because I am afraid of causing misunderstanding, and probably of even harming the cause I am invited to help, that I feel compelled to ask that anything which you want me to consider should be put before me in writing rather than by word of mouth.

It pains me even to seem to be unsympathetic. Nothing could be further from the facts. But it would be cowardly on my part were I, for fear of seeming unsympathetic, to do what might prejudice the very cause which you have taken in hand.

It is of interest to note that the letter was drafted during a

sitting of the Royal Commission, and was shown in draft to the Chairman, Lord St. Aldwyn,[1] who passed the following note to the Archbishop after reading it:

Most excellent. Don't alter a word. A.

The REV. F. L. DONALDSON *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Lodgings of the Unemployed. London, 11 June 1905.

We thank you very much indeed for your expressions of sympathy for the men. But I think your Grace somewhat misinterpreted the purport of our request that you should receive a small deputation.

We had no right to expect, and did not expect, that the Archbishop could go into any 'details of controversy'. But we thought that, after their pilgrimage to London, the privilege of a few of the men meeting your Grace in person should be asked for; and that if a few words of sympathy with their want of work, and therefore of food, could have been given them by your Grace in person, it would have done much to comfort them, and, through them, thousands of others in their condition throughout England. Also, we thought it would have done much to disabuse their minds of the idea, widely prevalent amongst them, that the tragedy and pathos of their condition is neither apprehended by the English Church, nor regarded by the Church as a matter with which she is most deeply concerned.

The correspondence was published, and caused a good deal of comment, which varied with the standpoint of the critics; for the pilgrimage of the unemployed had itself aroused considerable public attention. To one of his critics—and he never objected to criticism—the Archbishop expounded the reasons for his refusal—and his words at least show that he was not afraid of doing the unpopular thing:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* REV. C. L. ROBINSON

Private. 15th June 1905.

I thank you for writing to me frankly about what you feel respecting my reply to Mr. Donaldson's request. I think if you realised how constantly such action as I take is liable to be misrepresented, and consider too how probable it was that such misrepresentation would take place in this particular case, you would see that I have perhaps acted less unwisely than you think. What

[1] Formerly Sir Michael Hicks Beach.

would have been stated briefly would have been that the men had marched to London, that they had there been received by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had blessed their endeavour, and, in short, given his full *imprimatur* to the particular mode they had adopted for bringing pressure to bear upon the public mind. Personally I am exceedingly doubtful whether a sensational march of this kind, however well intended and however admirable the conduct of the men, is calculated to advance their cause. Some of those who have alike the widest experience of and the deepest sympathy for the working men in the present industrial difficulties have told me emphatically how harmful they think a march of this kind is in its ultimate results. It would have been very easy, and obviously most popular, had I said 'come to see me, and I will at least give you all the encouragement that I can'. But, considering the manner in which this would have been reported, the ultimate result might have been exactly the contrary of what we wish. I am quite aware that I have taken the less popular and sensational attitude, but I have from my earliest days in Holy Orders been so keen and eager a sympathiser with working men and their endeavours that my action ought not to be misunderstood by people who care to look into the facts. I was one of those who organised and carried on the meetings of clergy in favour of trades unionism and the like more than 25 years ago when such movements were unpopular. I have not departed from the feelings which I then entertained, but perhaps the truest kindness sometimes is to brave a little unpopularity rather than to do a misleading act.

Of still greater interest, perhaps, is the Archbishop's reply to Canon Henson, who wrote a long letter to protest against the action of certain Church leaders who were agitating in connexion with the Government's Bill for helping the unemployed:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* CANON H. HENSLEY HENSON

3rd August, 1905.

I thank you exceedingly for your very clear and most interesting letter upon the public correspondence which has taken place about the present Bill for relieving the unemployed. With much of what you say I entirely agree. I see most clearly the dangers which underlie a good deal of what is constantly being said on these matters by Christian leaders. The one point which I desired to emphasize was this: That a Bishop ought not, because he is a Bishop, to be debarred from the right which any public-spirited Christian man has of ventilating in the Press his opinions on such

a question as this. If the Bishop were in any way to seem to be using the Press for directing his clergy *ex cathedra* as to what they ought to say upon a matter of this kind, I should object to it most determinedly, unless the issue were one totally different from what is now before the public. But I cannot find in the letters of the Bishops of Southwark or of Stepney, to which you seemed to be specially alluding, anything of the sort. They seem to me to write exactly as they might write if they were not Bishops, and I confess that I am surprised that you should find a difficulty in distinguishing between what a man writes as Bishop and what he writes as an individual whose position gives him means of knowledge. Were consecrations to the Episcopate to deprive a man thenceforward of the right to speak out in the Press upon such subjects, it would be a most serious matter. I had not in my mind, when you spoke to me, the Bishop of Birmingham's letter, nor have I it now before me, so that I cannot check by reference to the text what you have said about it. Any attempt on the part of Bishops of our Church to tune the pulpits in the way that is undoubtedly done by Roman Catholic Bishops in some parts of the world, I should strongly object to. I confess that personally I have not seen any widespread evidence of a tendency on the part of the clergy of the Church to deal from the pulpit with matters of political controversy. Of course it is occasionally done, but the peril of doing it is, I think, great. Can anyone fairly say that anything occurs ordinarily in our churches which corresponds with the use made of Nonconformist Chapels in this respect? On the other hand you would not, I think, desire to dissociate our Christian teaching from our social life in such a manner as to make a preacher shun the application of Christian principles to the larger social issues which the community has to deal with.

IV

Two events of different character concerning the Diocese and the Cathedral Church of Canterbury took place this summer, and may be briefly recorded. On the constitution of the new Diocese of Southwark, by the Southwark and Birmingham Bishoprics Act, 1904, the parent bishopric of Rochester was left with a much diminished area. The question arose whether some rearrangement might not therefore be made in the boundaries of the two Kent dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester. In that part of West Kent belonging to Canterbury, there was a very strong desire on the part of many to remain where they were. The Dean

and Chapter of Canterbury, the Bishops of Dover and Croydon, and the Archdeacon of Maidstone were all opposed to any substantial alteration. The Archbishop was therefore placed in a difficult position.

Here are two letters of successive years to the Bishop of Rochester (Dr. Talbot) dealing with different aspects of the situation:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF ROCHESTER

17th. August 1904.

As to the new Bishopric I should like to contribute £1000 please. But as I am at present deeply in debt for the money I required on 'coming in' I can't pay it all down this year. I think I can promise to pay it all without fail on or before Oct. 1. 1905.

I should like to give a bigger sum. But I can't see my way at present. It may and will be said that as I am giving up part of the Diocese I ought to contribute permanently a part of the income. But I dare not try for this. [It would I suppose need, by the way, another Act of Parliament!]

The truth is that, so far as I can see, the cost of being Archbishop will *increase* as the years go on and more and more require paid helpers and staff. The cost of Lambeth and its life is huger than I had dreamed of, *much* more than in Archbishop Tait's days.

Of course, I who do so little purely *Diocesan* work, don't really save any money at all (except in donations) by getting rid of the Dartford Deaneries. So please don't think me very shabby. If I am in a position to give better help at a later stage, I *will*.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF ROCHESTER

3rd May 1905.

I find myself at Canterbury in the midst of a storm on the subject of the division of the Diocese. The Chapter, which has hitherto remained silent as you know, regards itself as having been treated with scant courtesy, as its members think they ought to have been given an opportunity of formal utterance before an endeavour was made 'to change the whole character of the Diocese by taking away what is now its only wealthy portion'. In old days East Kent was prosperous: extraordinary tithe made the clergy rich, the land was well let, and the squires were practically all resident. Now there are very few of the squires resident, the clergy are as poor as the farmers, or poorer, and many of the places are unlet. The members of the Chapter do not urge that this is conclusive against the change, but they think they ought to have had a say at an

earlier date, and I am inclined to believe that they are right. They are now memorialising the Ecclesiastical Commission. I am of course personally abused by both parties. *Your* people all think that I ought to have *urged* the handing over of these Deaneries; and the Canterbury people feel that I have deserted them in their difficulties. But that is not the point. There is of course still a strong feeling about the prayer to which I called your attention. I have pointed out that you were asking others to join with you in praying for what you believed to be the right decision; but I own that I cannot well answer when I am asked whether they might appropriately have had prayers in the Cathedral the other way. I hope to see Dibdin to-night in London. Have you any correspondence with Archbishop Temple which refers to the four Deaneries which are in dispute? They contend here that he repeatedly said that he would never consent to part with them, and I think it not improbable that he may have said so, though I never heard him mention the subject. The obvious feeling at the Canterbury end of the county is: If Archbishop Temple had been alive we should never have been thus treated—for they are taking it for granted that the decision is going against them. Perhaps you may know more than I do how the matter now stands.

Addressing the Canterbury Diocesan Conference at Lambeth, June 26, 1905, he said:

> When Parliament decided last year that the whole question of the Diocesan boundary line between the Kentish dioceses was to be settled by the Church itself and not by Parliament, I was immediately face to face with a perplexity of the gravest kind . . . I had and have every possible bias in favour of keeping in Canterbury Diocese the region into which I was myself ordained, in which a great number of my own nearest friends are working, and which has in recent years been the source in no inconsiderable measure of the supply of our diocesan funds. To pretend to be impartial about it would be absurd . . . I resolved to stand aside and to let the boundary line be settled by a Committee of men accustomed to such duties—seven men perhaps as capable of dealing with it as any men in England—three Bishops and four laymen.

The result was that the Committee recommended that the six Rural Deaneries of East and West Dartford, North and South Malling, Shoreham, and Tonbridge should be transferred from Canterbury to Rochester, and this was done.

The Archbishop always took a deep interest in everything that concerned the cathedral at Canterbury. On the south side of the

choir stands the tomb of John de Stratford. He was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1333 to 1348, and Davidson's own immediate predecessor in moving from Winchester to Canterbury. For 'strange to say, no subsequent Bishop of Winchester became Archbishop, although the Pilgrims' Way from Winchester to Canterbury lay open'. The monument, with its splendid canopy, was one of the glories of the Cathedral, but had been somewhat mutilated. By good fortune a considerable number of loose parts belonging to the canopy had survived and lay in a heap together, hidden away. The Archbishop proposed that he should restore the tomb in a conservative way, and his proposal was accepted by the Dean and Chapter, with the result that before another year was out the work was happily done. Many years later, the following Latin inscription was placed on a small tablet to record the good deed and its reason:

Sexcentis annis confracta est tumba Johannis;
Tandem Randallus sic reparavit opus,
Venta prius sedes, nunc Christi copulat aedes,
In caelo praesul regnet uterque simul.

V

The summer holidays were spent, as usual, in Scotland. There had been a political crisis at the end of July, when Mr. Balfour had been defeated on a secondary Irish question. Davidson stayed on two successive nights at Whittingehame with Mr. Balfour and at Dalmeny with Lord Rosebery. With each he had long talks, and of each a full note was taken at the time.

Whittingehame.
Sunday night, 1st October, 1905.

Long talks yesterday and to-day with A. J. B. He was most frank both about reasons for *not* resigning when defeated in Summer... and about intentions now. He wants to have opportunity of resigning very soon after Parliament meets—preferably on defeat on some minor (not major) point in the debate on Address. Thus he would hope to be out of office by end of February. Absolutely clear of course for resignation rather than dissolution. No real doubt about Liberal victory at the polls. *How* great a victory 'nobody can guess'. He thinks his resignation may be hereafter looked back to in history as the end of the present Parliamentary and Constitutional position and that the advent of a Labour Party in force to House of Commons may split the whole into groups

with infinite peril of log rolling and even corruption. He expanded all this most interestingly. But notwithstanding this he thinks it good for country that Liberals should now come into office and have the sobering and steadying influence of responsibility, and be compelled to 'possess their souls' and find out what their real position towards public questions actually is.

As regards Church questions, he is very pessimistic. Sees no real hope of anything except chaos: thinks the facts disclosed before the Royal Commission will be an incentive to actively aggressive anti-Church tirades and pledges, and is therefore most anxious that we should if possible delay the publication of Report until after the general election. He is indignant at the pledges which are now being exacted against any kind of delegation on Church questions. This is the worst and most indefensible sort of Erastianism. He is of course himself in favour of some system of delegation.

I discussed the perplexities surrounding our preparation of a Report which shall avoid giving cause for inflammatory speeches and probable schism of one kind or another. He entirely approves and agrees with my personal plans and hopes as to form of Report —i.e. (1) a definite expression of wish that Convocation and Parliament should legislate for new courts especially Court of Appeal, (on the lines of, but more Churchy than, the Report of 1883)— and (2) Request to the Crown for Letters of Business authorising Convocation to redraft the Rubrics relating to Holy Communion.

He is intensely indignant against those who are now proclaiming that if *any*body is allowed to wear vestments *they* will themselves secede

He approves of my plan for a personal appeal *from myself* to Churchmen at large, in favour of a free hand to Convocation to deal with Ornaments Rubric In the meantime he would personally be in favour of my Convocations Bill, and is angry with the lawyers for making difficulties about it.

He is clear that the Liberals, if in office, will do nothing legislatively on Church questions, and they by no means want to bring Disestablishment to the front otherwise than *gradually*.

Hence he thinks there would be *time* for our action in Convocation about Courts and Rubrics, provided we can get the initial sanctions.

Dalmeny House, Edinburgh. 2 Oct. 1905.

Private. 7 p.m.

Have just come in from a two hours walk and talk with Rosebery. What a strange contrast to A. J. Balfour, with whom I was walking

yesterday. The self-consciousness and self-thought and lack of simplicity which characterise Rosebery even when at his best, make him a very different man to deal with. We ranged in talk over all sorts of subjects, personal, historical, political and religious.

On the political situation he is decidedly of opinion that Balfour will not resign or dissolve until the *expiration* of next session. 'Is he not likely to be beaten on the Address?' 'No, certainly not, unless he makes a strong effort so to be, and that he won't make, for he loves being in power. Of course he will resign, not dissolve. He is perfectly right in so deciding. I should do the same were I in his place. He will be tremendously beaten. The Liberals will have a majority over Tories and Irish combined. The Japanese treaty, which is absolutely right and indeed was inevitable, will strengthen the Tories a little but won't really go far. The pity, for Balfour's own reputation, is that he did not resign when his Government had its schism two years ago. He could have done it then with dignity and propriety and might quite possibly have carried the country with him and come back to power, or at all events he would have been again in power by this time.'

I said that surely a dissolution *then* might have meant a great strength for Chamberlain and protection. He thought there was something in that but not very much. He then went on to discuss different resignations and dissolutions and their respective circumstances and environment, and, returning to the Japanese Treaty, he expanded on the present importance of Foreign politics. 'Never so important as they are today—when the resentment which some nations and peoples must feel against the detriment which this treaty will bring to them, is bound to make itself felt and heard. The average British citizen is not alive to these questions, but they are the biggest for all that.'. . . We discussed in connexion with the King, the question of the Spanish marriage. He wholly agrees with me as to its inexpediency and unpopularity. . . .

We passed on, *inter alia multissima*, to discuss the lack of 'serious' men like Gladstone and Peel in political life. 'Why is it that W. E G. did not leave a school of such?' Morley, he agreed has some of the 'serious' characteristics, though of his own peculiar sort. Rosebery assures me that Morley has still a most fervent admiration for Chamberlain—indeed 'idolises' him, and he pointed out a curious fact that, in Gladstone's *Life*, Morley wholly omits to notice the 'shameful conduct' of Chamberlain when in 1885 he took advantage of W. E. G.'s absence from England to propound his unauthorised programme, thus angering Gladstone and sowing the discord which led to their schism.

The foreign situation was increasing in importance. The Anglo-French Entente of 1904 had led to an estrangement with Germany. The Archbishop was invited by an Anglo-German Conciliation Committee to sign an address to the people of both nations protesting with emphasis against the mere thought of any conflict (of which the danger was acknowledged) between Great Britain and Germany, and urging co-operation in friendship for their common interests and the peace of the world. The Archbishop wrote at once to Lord Lansdowne for his advice. He, as Foreign Secretary, did not think that such signature could do any harm, but was doubtful of its good. The Archbishop accordingly replied as follows:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* FRANCIS W. FOX, ESQ.

Private. 28th October 1905.

I have carefully considered your letter and the draft address which you enclose. I should not have the smallest objection to append my name to such an address, for I agree with every word of it. But I think that for the Archbishop of Canterbury to append his name might lead to a misunderstanding which we should all deprecate. In the first place it might give colour to the quite untrue supposition that there are at present strained relations between the Governments of the two countries. Such to the best of my belief is in no sense whatever true. Certain German newspapers are at strife with certain English newspapers, and each has doubtless a following. But the Governments are absolutely at one, and the very notion of any contemplated aggression on our part is absurd.

Further, there are mischievous people who might twist an address of this kind into something which could weaken the strength of our entente with France. Such a conclusion or inference would be absurd, but it is none the less possible.

On the whole therefore I think I had better not give my name. . . .

For the present, therefore, the question of Anglo-German friendship was allowed to rest. A few years later other possibilities were to be explored, and the Archbishop was to give a lead, so far as the Churches were concerned, of a more encouraging character.

VI

Two important instances of the Archbishop's keen interest in education may be set down, belonging to this year and the opening months of 1906. The first was an interview with Dr. John R. Mott, Secretary of the World's Student Federation. He was taken to see the Archbishop by the Rev. Tissington Tatlow on the introduction of Bishop Montgomery. He was a graduate of Yale, and had travelled much over the world addressing students in all sorts of universities and colleges. His addresses were partly evangelistic, partly missionary, and, perhaps most of all, sought to promote a manly, useful Christian life. Personally, he was a remarkable combination of intellectual, practical, and spiritual power. The subject then upon his mind, and upon which he wished to see the Archbishop, was the paucity of candidates for the Ministry—a subject of which the Archbishop was himself thinking a good deal. He wished to address himself very particularly to the claims of the Christian Ministry upon university students. The Archbishop saw him on February 4, 1905, and, writing afterwards to the Chairman of a new Committee which he had appointed with regard to the Ministry, described the occasion as an important and exceedingly interesting interview with a remarkable man, who 'seems to move about over the entire surface of the globe advocating the cause of Christian Union and the enlistment of officers for the Ministry. He is in touch with all denominations, from the Greeks and Roumanians to the Baptists and Methodists of to-day. He has a striking personality, and I was greatly interested in all that he had to say.' From that time on, Dr. Mott kept in close touch with the Archbishop and was always a welcome visitor to Lambeth Palace. The Archbishop's own interest in the work of the Student Christian Movement steadily increased.

The development of a scheme for the training and testing of women teachers of theology was also set forward this year. There had been a rapid advance in the education of women in the end of the last, and the opening years of the present, century. It had come to be expected of those who wished to teach in schools and colleges that they should equip themselves for their work by definite training, and possess an adequate knowledge of their subjects. But there was one exception.

> It was too commonly assumed [writes Miss G. M. Bevan] both in Church work and in schools that for the teaching of Divinity, the most vital and the most difficult of all subjects of instruction, little or no preparation need be required of the women to whom it was committed. So the question came to be asked: Could not the Church give more careful consideration to the work of teachers of Divinity, according it definite recognition as a most important department of Church service, a work of great and sacred responsibility, and one demanding the best gifts of spirit, of mind, and of heart which women could offer? Could not some provision be made by which those who felt called to this service might, after careful preparation and testing, be given a recognized place in the organization of the Church, and be duly accredited as Church teachers by receiving a direct commission and authorization from the one set in the highest office in the Church? Were there not many women who would then come forward gladly to offer their powers, their knowledge and their devotion to this ministry of teaching?

To form such a body of well-qualified and accredited teachers of theology was the purpose of the Archbishop's Licence to teach Theology, which thus came into being. And, as a preparation for the office of a teacher of Theology, the training and the examination for the Lambeth Diploma were instituted. The idea originated with Margaret Benson, daughter of Archbishop Benson, and her friend Miss G. M. Bevan. It was clear that a high standard of scholarship must be required if a Licence to teach Theology were to be issued. The Archbishop was able to secure the help of Dr. W. E. Collins, Bishop of Gibraltar, who threw himself into the task of providing a scheme of training, and became the first Director of Studies. Side by side with him were Bishop Chase of Ely and Bishop Chavasse of Liverpool, and there was a committee of women to assist. The purpose of the scheme, as stated by Bishop Collins with the Archbishop's approval, was 'the providing of a body of competent and well-instructed women as teachers of Theology having a Diploma from the Archbishop'. The candidates had to satisfy a threefold test of (*a*) systematic study; (*b*) proficiency, including knowledge of New Testament Greek on a standard approximating to that of the Honours School of Theology at a university; and (*c*) teaching capacity. The study was to be done under direction. For the Diploma, academic knowledge was required. The Archbishop's Licence to teach

Theology was given to those who did teaching work and had teaching ability.

On October 11, 1906, the first five women received the diploma from the Archbishop in Lambeth Palace Chapel, and six months later the same five received his 'Licence and Authority to teach sacred Theology'. These services were the first of a series of annual services conducted by the Archbishop in that Chapel.[1]

[1] By April 1935, 170 women had received the Diploma, of whom 153 were living; and of these 115 were licensed teachers, of whom 11 had died and 5 had surrendered their Licence, as no longer teaching divinity. Some were working in England and some abroad.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE NEW PARLIAMENT. A CHAPTER OF CHANGES

> Patience, hard thing! the hard thing but to pray,
> But bid for, Patience is! Patience who asks
> Wants war, wants wounds; weary his times, his tasks;
> To do without, take tosses, and obey.
>
> GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS (*Poem 46*).

ON December 4, 1905, Mr. Balfour resigned the office of Prime Minister as the result of the crisis in the Unionist party over Tariff Reform. The King invited Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman to form a new administration. When, a week later, the names of those composing the Liberal Cabinet were announced, the Archbishop found that nearly every one of the members was a personal friend—so large was his acquaintance with the leaders of public life, whatever their politics.

He wrote thus to the Prime Minister:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* RT. HON. SIR HENRY CAMPBELL BANNERMAN

Old Palace, Canterbury.
11th December, 1905.

I venture, even in the midst of all your overwhelming work this week, to intrude upon you with a few lines of warm good wishes, and (if the word be not inappropriate in so high a matter) of congratulation upon your accession to the greatest office open to a subject of the Crown. I think you will not object to my saying that I do from my heart pray God to give you strength, courage and wisdom for its tremendous responsibilities.

It has been my high privilege to be on terms of confidential friendship with your *four* immediate predecessors in that office, and with the two younger of them my intimacy has been close and real, although upon a good many public questions I differ pretty widely from the opinions of either.

Should the new Prime Minister allow me to stand in a friendly personal relation to himself I shall appreciate it on every ground,

and occasions may possibly arise when the maintenance of the confidential intercourse which it has for more than 20 years been my privilege to hold with Downing Street would on public grounds have its advantages. Whether this be so or not, I hope you will let me assure you of my absolute readiness at any moment to place at your disposal, should you desire it, such information as I may be able to furnish upon any of the Ecclesiastical matters, either personal or general, which of necessity claim so frequently the attention of the Prime Minister.

It is I hope needless for me to add that I shall perfectly understand it if for any reason you would prefer to rely wholly upon others for such information with regard to Ecclesiastical facts or folk as you may from time to time require.

My sole anxiety is to make it clear to you from the outset of what will I hope be a great and memorable Premiership, that I am at your service to the best of my power, if and only if, such service be at any time desired.

The Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman *to the* Archbishop of Canterbury

29 Belgrave Square, S.W.
13th December, 1905.

Private.

I cannot fully express to you the pleasure with which I received your very kind letter, and the comfort and satisfaction which I derive from its contents.

I hardly realize yet the position in which I find myself, and it is at least in no spirit of pride and self-confidence that I contemplate undertaking its vast duties.

I assure you that nothing would at once please and assist me more than if you were good enough to continue in my case the friendly and confidential relations which existed between you and my predecessors. I am accustomed to treat those about me with perfect frankness, and I believe in a straight course being the best and safest. I am sure you will find no difficulty with me, whether we differ on individual points or entirely agree.

This applies to every public question: and as to the Ecclesiastical matters, in which I have so heavy a responsibility, your advice would greatly ease the burden, and would be in fact indispensable.

I am therefore extremely indebted to you for your promise of assistance, and will gladly avail myself of it.

I

The general election took place in the following month, after an exciting contest. Fierce words were spoken in the heat of battle. In Canterbury itself, while the Archbishop was in residence, very bitter things were said by Nonconformist ministers about the Anglican Church, about priestcraft and Church schools, as well as slavery, militarism, and tariffs. On the other side a well-known paper even spoke of the general regret amongst Churchmen that the Archbishop of Canterbury had not felt it his duty to issue a spirited letter to his followers on the subject of Disestablishment.

The Liberals were returned with a sensational majority.[1] The striking feature of the new Parliament was the presence of a large body of 157 English Nonconformists, the largest number in any House of Commons since the time of Oliver Cromwell.

Three principal matters with which the new Government was obliged to deal were Chinese labour, Education, and the Welsh Church, which all in different ways involved the Archbishop. Each has its place in this book; but it is interesting to note the tentative way in which the disestablishment of the Welsh Church was mooted at the start:

Most Private and Confidential. Memorandum of a conversation on Feb. 21st, 1906, with the Bishop of St. Asaph.[2]

Mr. Lloyd George had been in private communication with the Bishop, and had asked him whether if the Government were to introduce a very mild and kindly Welsh Disestablishment Bill the Welsh Church would modify its opposition and practically allow the matter to go forward even if outwardly opposing. Mr. Lloyd George promised at a later date to show the Bishop in black and white what he would himself suggest, but, roughly, it amounted to something like an arrangement that the Church should retain everything—buildings, houses, glebes, etc.—but not the tithes. These terms are of course very much more favourable than Mr. Asquith's former Bill, and the Bishop believes that Lloyd George would rather like to get Disestablishment carried with a minimum of friction.

The Archbishop talked the matter over fully with the Bishop

[1] Liberals 377, Labour 53, Nationalists 83, Total 513; Opposition, Conservatives and Unionists, 157.

[2] Dr. A. G. Edwards.

of St. Asaph, and urged great caution. 'I warned the Bishop against leaving Lloyd George in a position which could enable him to say that the Bishop had been "negotiating" with him the subject.'

Next day the Archbishop and the Bishop saw Mr. Lloyd George in the Bishops' Robing Room in the House of Lords.

> Mr. Lloyd George told us that he had been discussing with the Prime Minister, who approved of the suggestion, a plan of now appointing a Royal Commission of (say) six persons, besides a Chairman, to consider the origin, the history, the character, and the value of the provision for spiritual needs in Wales, showing what has been done or is now being done in each parish, both by the Church and by Nonconformists. And he wanted to know whether we as Churchmen would make difficulties as to co-operating in such enquiry, or whether we would be ready to suggest names of persons who might in our judgment be appropriate members of such a Commission. I replied that my view always is that it is wrong to conceal from responsible authorities facts material to the public consideration of big questions, and that I could not prima facie see any reason why we should make any difficulties about, or show any unfriendliness to, such an enquiry. Further, that I thought it lay within the province of responsible Governments to make enquiries into existing facts in such way as they think best. But I added that I should like to see the Reference to such a Commission before expressing even a preliminary opinion about it. . . .
>
> The Bishop and I took the greatest care not to commit ourselves in any way to any co-operation or anything else: we could neither judge about it nor act about it until we knew more definitely what the Reference and plan were to be.

A fortnight later the Cabinet met to appoint a Royal Commission, Mr. Lloyd George telling the Archbishop that he hoped that a Bill of a moderate kind might be the outcome.

II

In the spring of 1906, a great stir was caused by the marriage of the young Princess Victoria Eugenie, the only daughter of Princess Beatrice of Battenburg, to Alphonso XIII, King of Spain. The Princess was only eighteen years old when, in the previous summer, she first met her future husband, himself but a year older. But she was a member of the Church of England

and he a Roman Catholic brought up in the Spanish Court and under influences of the most ultra-montane kind. The idea of such a marriage, with the change of faith which it involved, would have been unwelcome in the country at most times; but it was particularly difficult to accept at a moment when there was such hot debate between Nonconformists and Anglicans on religious allegiance in connexion with the schools.

In a matter so closely affecting the religion of Englishmen, the Archbishop of Canterbury was bound to be particularly concerned; and not less when he himself stood on such friendly terms with the Royal Family and with the mother of the intended Queen, herself the daughter of Queen Victoria. He played a striking part in the whole proceedings, both by appeal and protest in the highest quarters. The character of his intervention has never been revealed to the public, and he had, therefore, to suffer the harsh censure of innumerable Churchmen for his supposed acquiescence and cowardice. It is not even yet possible to break the silence which he so characteristically imposed upon himself. But when the full story of the betrothal, the baptism, or rebaptism, and the marriage, can be told, it will be very clear that Archbishop Davidson displayed to the full the same qualities of courage and courtesy in relation to an issue so closely affecting the Royal Family as he was accustomed to bring to the negotiation of delicate and important issues, and had already exercised in the past with regard to Queen Victoria herself.

III

In a year marked in a painful degree by religious controversy, it is worthy of notice that the Archbishop, more than once, took occasion to promote co-operation with Free Church ministers. This was especially the case with regard to Sunday observance.

In March Dr. Scott Lidgett, President of the Free Church Council, wrote expressing his pleasure at the Archbishop's desire that Free Churchmen and Anglicans should unite in this movement. The Archbishop replied:

The Archbishop of Canterbury *to the* Rev. J. Scott Lidgett

10th March, 1906.

I am most grateful to you for your kind letter. It is to me a source of genuine satisfaction that you should be thus ready to

co-operate with us in the endeavour to secure a more true and wise use of the Lord's Day, and I pray God that our joint efforts may be fruitful of good, not only in the matter of Sunday Observance but in affording evidence of the possibility and the advantage of all such co-operation when it can be undertaken without sacrifice of any fundamental or distinctive principle. To me personally it has always seemed that that area is a very wide one and I have been sorely disappointed (as I think you know) during the last three years by the ill success which has attended some of the efforts which I tried to make. I therefore welcome the more cordially the assurance which you have given me. It is just what I should have hoped for from yourself.

A great conference on Sunday observance was accordingly held two months later in the Caxton Hall, and proved a notable evidence of Christian co-operation. The Archbishop of Canterbury presided, with Dr. Scott Lidgett on his left and the Duke of Norfolk, the leading Roman Catholic layman in England, on his right. Anglican Bishops sat side by side with the Roman Catholic Prelate who represented Archbishop Bourne, and with Free Church leaders. The Archbishop of Canterbury himself said, in opening, that he doubted whether either he or any of his predecessors for a thousand years had ever taken part in a public meeting more remarkable in its component elements.

IV

One further incident deserves recording—as it gave the Archbishop an opportunity for emphasizing the sacrosanct character of the private and informal Bishops' Meetings held three times a year at Lambeth for mutual counsel.

A new hymn book, the *English Hymnal*, had been issued by high musical and literary authorities belonging to the Anglo-Catholic school.[1] Unfortunately certain of the hymns included appeared to embody teaching about the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Saints which was not consistent with the formularies of the Church of England.

The Archbishop in his *Diocesan Gazette* expressed 'the strong

[1] The names of those concerned in the original production of the *English Hymnal* in 1906 are: W. J. Birkbeck, A. Hanbury-Tracy, W. H. H. Jervois, T. A. Lacey, D. C. Lathbury, Arthur Reynolds, Athelstan Riley, Percy Dearmer (general editor), and R. Vaughan Williams (musical editor).

wish that it should not be adopted in any Church in the diocese' —a recommendation which brought an emphatic protest from the editors of the hymnal. The whole matter had been talked over confidentially and informally at a Bishops' Meeting; and the Bishop of Durham, in writing on the subject to *The Times*, referred to this in a manner which gave the Bishops' Meetings both a much more public and a much more formal character than the Archbishop approved. Hence this letter:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF DURHAM[1]

10th November, 1906.

We are, as you know, in the thick of difficulties respecting the English Hymnal. I have received a formal protest from the compilers of the Hymnal, and the Bishop of London has received a formal request from one of them that he may be prosecuted for heresy. All this is, I think, very foolish: None of us has charged the compilers with heresy or anything like it. We have simply recommended that the book they have compiled be not introduced into our churches. But the very essence of this has been that our action has been individual and not collective, and I am now a good deal perplexed and distressed at receiving from different quarters copies of a letter which you have written to your clergy in which you refer to the Bishops' Meeting, or at least to what you describe as 'their unanimous conviction.' And, again, you say 'I feel, *as my Episcopal brethren all feel*, that the Hymnal' etc.

We have always, as you know, regarded our meetings as in the strictest possible sense confidential, and, even if it were not so, no resolution whatever on the subject was arrived at at our recent meeting: we merely had a general conversation and then left each Bishop to act individually as he thought best. Most of us have written to our Dioceses, or to the individual clergy therein, but, except for your letter, there has, so far as I am aware, been no reference whatever to collective action or even to the fact that we had thus privately discussed the matter. I am perplexed now what to say if questions are asked me upon what you have written. I think my answer had better be that whatever you have said about the conviction of the Bishops generally can only be an impression on your part, as there has been no collective utterance or decision of the Bishops in the matter. Of course it might be possible for you to write something to the same effect. But this on other grounds might be very undesirable, as it might appear as though you had

[1] Dr. Handley Moule.

been told by other Bishops that they disagreed with your view about the Hymnal, and I do not imagine that you have heard of any such disagreement except in so far as it came out in our recent very private discussion. What troubles me most is the precedent thus set as regards a Bishops' Meeting. If it came to be thought by individual Bishops that because in our private conversation at Lambeth a general view had been expressed on some matter, each Bishop was therefore 'entitled to say' that the Bishops 'are unanimous in the conviction' etc , the whole character of our meetings would be changed, and I have been trying almost *ad nauseam* to reiterate the necessity of our observing as absolutely confidential everything that passes within these walls on such occasions. I write in some distress about it, because no less than five different Bishops have now approached me with reference to your letter and the embarrassing position in which they are placed thereby. I had hoped that we were on the highway to getting the objectionable Hymns withdrawn from the compilation, but I greatly fear that this will throw us back. If you do think of writing anything further on the subject (which I do not at all recommend) I have no doubt you will very kindly let me know beforehand what you are going to say.

I am sorry to trouble you just now when, as I learn, you are not very well, but I hope the illness is not such as to lay you aside in any way.

The Bishop, with his unfailing courtesy, agreed, and wrote a further, and guarded, explanatory letter to *The Times*. A revised edition of the *English Hymnal* was shortly published, omitting the phrases to which exception had been taken. But though both the revised and the original editions were on sale, it is the original edition which has prevailed.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE EDUCATION CONTROVERSY, 1906–1908

These Mistakes are to be lamented, tho' not easily cured, being suitable enough to the corrupted Nature of Mankind; but 'tis hard, that Men will not only invent ill Names, but they will wrest and misinterpret good ones; so afraid some are even of a reconciling sound, that they raise another noise to keep it from being heard, lest it should set up and encourage a dangerous sort of Men, who prefer Peace and Agreement, before Violence and Confusion. MARQUESS OF HALIFAX, *The Character of a Trimmer.*

IT is difficult, after the passage of a whole generation, with all the changes that have taken place in men's temper and attitude, to appreciate the violence of the agitation on the schools question in the decade before the War. The old battle-cries sound strange to-day, as well as harsh; and those who have most to do with education now look at the problem of religion in education with different eyes; while those who are thinking what the aims of education should be in modern life, will also see the whole issue in a different perspective. But while the battle raged it was both prolonged and fierce, and tested the character of the combatants on both sides in all sorts of ways. And this must explain the need for this particular chapter on a subject which has a larger array of boxes and files with more memoranda of interviews and correspondence, than any other single subject (save the Prayer Book) during the whole of the Archbishop's life. There is also the fact, not altogether to be ignored, that from the political point of view the failure of the crucial measures of Mr. Birrell was the first step in the great conflict, under a Liberal Government, between the House of Commons and the House of Lords, in which the Archbishop also played his part.

I

We propose to begin our narrative with a sketch of the issue at stake, and also of the man who faced it, drawn by one who first came to know the Archbishop in the troublesome days of 1906—through this very schools' question—and gave him more help than anybody else in tackling the problem. The artist is Sir Michael Sadler, a great educationalist who, at the time of

which we write, had just been appointed Professor of the History and Administration of Education in Victoria University, Manchester. The confidence which the Archbishop placed in his judgement may be seen from the note he wrote to him on Christmas Eve 1906, just at the end of the most bitter stage in the conflict:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* M. E. SADLER, ESQ.

I will not try to say what I feel as to the service which you have rendered to Church and Realm by your constant quiet presentation to us of the larger issues at stake, and by the guidance you have, with such extraordinary kindness, rendered to myself. I have, in my varied responsibilities for many years past, had such help from friends and counsellors and staff as makes me often blush for shame, but never have I experienced this support and guidance more helpfully than during the last two months at your hand. To say that I am 'grateful' is to fall quite short of what I feel.

I cannot but believe that words and thoughts of yours, spoken and written at this time, may prove hereafter to be fruitful a thousandfold. Not often, even in *your* life, have the expert knowledge and the mature thought had so full and varied an opportunity of service to the cause of Christian Education.

Sir Michael Sadler's sketch (prepared for this biography) is as follows:

Thory Gardiner it must have been who had spoken about me to the Archbishop in 1906. This led His Grace to ask me to Lambeth, where he admitted me to the privilege of intimate consultation. At that time, as those who followed these matters will remember, controversy about Church schools and training colleges was becoming acute. The issue at stake was the part which the modern State—the Liberal State, as the Fascists call it—should allow schools with a denominational tradition and allegiance to play in what is called the national system of education—a phrase which often veils a bleak view of education and confuses the administrative framework of school organization with the varied and subtle harmonies of our national life.

The French Revolution tried to stamp the State as secular. Some of its philosophers scorned Christianity as a superstition. Others, less thoroughgoing in scepticism, but with influence in French politics, deemed the Roman Catholic Church reactionary and the

implacable foe of the Revolution. They tried therefore to clip its wings in the sphere of education. But even in France the extremists failed to get the whole of their way. In England also we have thought about the same problems and have taken action in regard to them. But French thought only seeps into England and becomes mixed with other streams of opinion. Thus with us the outcome has been a turbid though fertilising flood in which different doctrines (Jeremy Bentham's, Robert Owen's, John Stuart Mill's, John Henry Newman's, F. D. Maurice's, Dean Church's, H. G. Wells', Bertrand Russell's, and D. H. Lawrence's) are blended in a solution not easy to analyse.

Every now and again, however, the issue becomes sharp and clear, even in England which instinctively shrinks from precise definitions when compelled to handle a problem so nervous as that of national education. Thus in 1906 one heard a revolutionary note in the roar of cheers which went up from the crowded Government benches in the House of Commons when Mr. Birrell rose to speak. But the cardinal points at issue were soon blanketed. It could not be otherwise, because neither side in the controversy was homogeneous. Eager agnostics and pious nonconformists got out of step within the Liberal ranks. And, in the Opposition, backwoodsmen, who imagined the Church of England to be still the unique organ of the national will in faith and morals, went into the lobby with colleagues who pinned their educational policy to the principle of parental rights and were prepared to cut away as dead wood the Anglican predominance in hundreds of village schools. Amid treacherous currents the Archbishop proved himself a wise and cautious pilot. No chemist could analyse a broth with more scrupulous exactitude than His Grace employed in disentangling the factors which were knotted together in the English educational problem. He was determined not to be deceived by presuppositions, however dearly cherished, or to accept without firm use of the probe generalisations which were part of the worn currency of debate. But he never leapt to a conclusion until he had made sure of his ground. He never allowed himself to speak without first measuring his words and judging their public repercussions. Heavy strain on his strength and temper never broke his self-command. He had inexhaustible patience; a bridle on his tongue; courage and a noble tact in withholding assent to views which he thought exaggerated, impracticable or delusively logical. Through the dense brushwood which impeded his progress he saw shining the light towards which his course was set. But he had no formula to cover all he hoped to save or win. He moved forward with a firm hold on realities and with

an unflinching faith in the truth which was to him the way of life. With the caution of the Scot, he had the Englishman's awareness of the complexity of human affairs—a complexity which often forbids a scientifically honest mind to accept in theology or in politics some clear-cut and logically immaculate conclusion.

II

It was a foregone conclusion that a Liberal Government would put the amendment of the Education Act, 1902, in the very forefront of its programme. Ever since that Act had received the Royal Assent, it had been the target for violent attack, and the special ground of that attack had been that the denominational elementary schools which were 'non-provided' (i.e. not provided by the local authority) were placed upon the rates. The secular curriculum within these schools was just the same as that within the schools owned by the State. But in schools 'provided' by the local authority, the religious instruction (where given) was bound to be undenominational; in 'non-provided' schools, it was definite and distinctive, in accordance with the Trust deeds. In 'provided' schools again, the appointment of the teachers was in the hands of the local education authority. In 'non-provided' schools it rested with the managers of the particular school, a majority of whom were appointed by the denomination to which the school belonged. There were therefore two kinds of control and two kinds of public elementary school—a system generally known as 'the dual system': and it was this division of authority over the schools, all maintained by public funds, that aroused the active indignation and the passive resistance of Nonconformists.

The new President of the Board of Education was Mr. Augustine Birrell, K.C., Honorary Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and a distinguished writer. He was fifty-five years old, the son of a Nonconformist minister of Liverpool. He had already shown a considerable interest in the problems of elementary education—and he was known to be both a convinced Nonconformist himself and, while demanding complete popular control for all State-supported schools, including the appointment of teachers, to be in favour of attempting a reasonable compromise with regard to religious instruction. In fact he so declared himself in his own election campaign at Bristol when, speaking

personally, he stated his desire to be that of the great majority of the parents of children who went to public elementary schools—'that children should be taught the simple elementary religious truths of the Fatherhood of God, the responsibilities of man, and a future State: while children whose parents desired definite religious teaching should receive it, not indeed as part of the public school curriculum, but nevertheless on school premises, if need be, though out of school hours' (*The Times*, January 3, 1906). There were, however, others, like the famous Baptist leader, Dr. John Clifford, very powerfully represented among the Liberal majority in the House of Commons, who added to their demand for (1) genuine popular control of all State-supported schools, and (2) the abolition of sectarian tests for all teachers in such schools, a further point which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman described as (3) 'no statutory foothold for sectarian privilege in the State school system'—and were prepared to press that third point to the limit.

The Archbishop of Canterbury knew Mr. Birrell, and on his appointment as President of the Board of Education had immediately sent him a letter expressing his satisfaction:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* RIGHT HON. AUGUSTINE BIRRELL.

Lambeth Palace, S.E.
Private 15th December, 1905.

Though I know what your influx of letters must at present be, I give myself the pleasure of sending you a single line, to express the satisfaction which I, in common with the vast number of friends of Education, feel in your accession to one of the most difficult and at the same time one of the most interesting of the recently vacated posts.

From the first I hoped that it might be so, for I feel that in you the country has a man who is able to take a large and reasonable view of a difficult situation—and although I cannot expect that you and I should be in full agreement at the present juncture, I have no fears at all that the cause for which I mainly care (the efficiency of secular teaching combined with genuine and thorough grounding in scriptural knowledge and the broad elements of the Christian religion) will suffer unfairly at your hands.

I am also sure that you are one of those who realise what have been the continuous sacrifices made by generations of poor men,

especially clergy, to whom these principles are sacredly dear, and that you are not likely to disregard historic facts when dealing with contemporary perplexities. You have given us good assurances of all this and therefore, in addition to all personal considerations, I rejoice that it is to you that the perplexing task has been assigned.

I am not, of course, so foolish or so unfair as to want to elicit from you at present a single syllable on these controversial questions. Nothing could be more unreasonable; only I want you to know that I, for one, can look forward with genuine hopefulness to your accomplishment of a task of supremest delicacy and difficulty. From my heart I wish you God speed in the attempt.

Can there, one asks oneself, be any adequate reason why 'men of goodwill' approaching the problem from different sides, should not be able, without sacrifice of principle on either side, to co-operate in attaining what is, I am certain, your own desire, a reasonable as well as a peaceful solution of existing perplexities, and an ending of existing strifes.

The RIGHT HON. AUGUSTINE BIRRELL *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

70 Elm Park Road, Chelsea, S.W.
17th December, 1905.

Private. Sunday.

It was very kind of you to write to me as you have done. I cordially concur in all you say. Were we alone in the world without Parents, Children, Ratepayers, Clergy or Ministers of Religion, we could frame in a few minutes an ideal system of Education—and even as it is, and with a world full of disagreeable things—there is not much real difference between us. But I'm only a very new and humble Minister—not of Religion but of the Crown, and hardly know yet what power or influence I may possess, or what capacity either, I might add. Saturated though I am with the traditions, the noble traditions, of English religious Nonconformity —I have yet read enough in other directions to recognise the force and permanence of the Church Tradition. In an Age like ours we need all the things Spiritual we can muster without scanning them too closely. I hope from the bottom of my heart a settlement may be arrived at which will leave small room for bitterness, but it is a job.

During the general election the Archbishop had carefully refrained from contentious language on the subject of schools; and when the result was announced he publicly expressed his belief

in a letter to the Secretary of the National Society (February 2, 1906) that the Government, 'as distinguished from some of its more vociferous supporters', desired to act with fairness all round. He added:

> I may be over sanguine, but I cannot believe that the problem of reconciling the results of the recent election with the maintenance of the principles for which Churchmen have contended, is really insoluble. Certainly every power which I possess is at the service of those who take such a task fairly and considerately in hand.

The Archbishop's mild attitude was not, however, popular with those in Lancashire and elsewhere, who (as some of them proclaimed) were looking to the Primate 'for a battle cry which will rally all our forces in defence of our principles', and vainly pressed him to support a deputation of agitated churchmen to Whitehall before the proposals of the Government were made known. He took care, however, to convey both to the Prime Minister and to Mr. Birrell the authoritative unanimous statement of the Church's views made by the Upper House of Canterbury Convocation on February 22, that 'no scheme of national education can be established with justice, or accepted as permanent, unless full recognition is given to the right of parents to obtain for their children, so far as is possible, instruction in their own faith; that such instruction must, if it is to serve its purpose, be given within school hours, and that it is a moral necessity that all religious instruction should be given by those who can give it with genuine belief'.

A month later (on March 20) the Archbishop saw Mr. Birrell and Lord Crewe by appointment in the House of Lords, and was told the outline of the Bill which was to be considered by the Cabinet on the following day. It was significant of the attitude of Mr. Birrell, as contrasted with that of the hot and strong Radicals, that this outline actually contained a provision for possible denominational teaching as an addition to undenominational or 'syllabus' teaching, in the ordinary provided (i.e. not the transferred) schools. The Archbishop's note on this point is as follows:

> In Provided Schools the normal teaching shall be as under the present law, the L.E.A. being allowed to arrange for anything

between pure secularism and e.g. the London School Board Syllabus. But the L.E.A. shall have power, if it likes, to allow denominational facilities, paid for by the denomination, on two days in the week.

This provision, however, was rejected by the Cabinet on the following day and was never heard of again. The Archbishop was at once informed by Lord Crewe, and expressed his keen disappointment. During the next few days he had many interviews with Campbell-Bannerman, Asquith, Birrell, and others, and wrote a drastic criticism of the main proposal of the Bill which made a considerable stir in the Cabinet. And he notes this, after a conversation with Mr. R. L. Morant, the Permanent Secretary of the Board of Education (April 4, 1906):

Some of the members [of the Cabinet] are indignant at the line the majority has taken, and Asquith for one wished the whole matter to be reconsidered *ab initio* but was over-ruled. The matter is not to go before the Cabinet again, and Birrell is cross and despondent, saying that the Bill will be thrown out in the Lords. . . . I told him that I had no wish to make Conservative capital, but that I regarded the attitude of the Government as disastrous in the public interest.

III

On April 9, Mr. Birrell introduced the Education Bill to the House of Commons. He had an immense and an excited audience. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York sat over the clock in the Peers' Gallery. 'Were they' (a newspaper asked) 'the Apollyons straddled across his path' to whom Mr. Birrell later referred? Archbishop Bourne was in the Distinguished Strangers' Gallery, and Dr. Clifford sat behind, 'like some alert schoolmaster who had come to listen, fearful perhaps that *his* teaching might have been ignored'. Mr. Birrell's speech was marked by wit and lucidity, and secured him a great personal success. But the Bill, for the very reasons which made it so welcome to Dr. Clifford and his friends, became at once the centre of the strongest opposition on the part of Churchmen.

Put very briefly, its main provisions were as follows:

A. As regards control:

(1) From January 1, 1908, no schools would be recognized as public elementary schools except those provided by the L.E.A.

(2) The L.E.A. may arrange to take over such existing voluntary schools as it approves for public elementary education by agreement with the Managers, and may obtain schemes for compulsory transfer in certain circumstances.

B. As regards teachers:
   (1) All teachers are to be appointed by the L.E.A.
   (2) No teacher employed in a public elementary school shall be required as part of his duties as teacher to give any religious instruction.

C. As regards religious instruction:
   (1) Undenominational teaching may be given in all schools by members of the existing staff, who may or may not be qualified to give it, at the discretion of the L.E.A.
   (2) Denominational teaching may be given on two days a week in transferred schools if this is made a condition of the transfer, but not by regular members of the teaching staff.
   (3) Extended facilities for denominational teaching may be given in transferred voluntary schools in Urban areas with a population of over five thousand under certain conditions if the parents of at least four-fifths of the children attending the school desire it. In the case of these 'Four-fifths Schools' the regular teachers are allowed to give this denominational teaching, but not at the expense of the Authority.

The Archbishop the next day (April 10), in a public letter to the Secretary of the National Society, denounced the Bill as in principle unjust, and referred with special emphasis to the compulsory silencing of thousands of trained, qualified, and devoted teachers in Church schools so far as Church teaching was concerned if such a Bill became law. On the following day the Bishops met and declared their opposition as a body.

The question, however, which the Archbishop had to face was the method by which the opposition to the Bill should be directed. There were some, both among the Conservative party (a very small minority in the House of Commons) and among the leaders of the Church, who wished to adopt the most firm and uncompromising tactics and kill the Bill altogether. And during the rest of April and the summer months a violent agitation was conducted on these lines. Fierce things were said, and the controversy raged in a spirit which was little in keeping either with the interests of the children or the cause of religion.

The most outspoken champion of the 'No Surrender' policy

was the Bishop of Manchester, Dr. Knox, once his Grace's tutor at Oxford and a man of remarkable force and vocabulary. He at once issued a manifesto denouncing the Bill in unmeasured terms —'it imposes religious tyranny . . . it is nothing but a very thinly-veiled Bill for secularism in the schools . . . it is a Bill of pure robbery and confiscation . . . your tea, your sugar, your tobacco, your beer and your incomes are to be taxed that the children of the Church may be robbed of their Church education and that your schools, built by your own free contributions, may be made useless for your own requirements!' In addition he took steps to organize a Churchmen's demonstration, which was to travel by thirty-two special trains from Manchester to London, on Thursday in Whitsun week, against Mr. Birrell's Bill. When, however, it was suggested that room might be made for such a united demonstration in the Lambeth grounds, the Archbishop demurred:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF MANCHESTER

24th April, 1906.

Personally I doubt whether that mode of demonstration is the most effective, but I am old-fashioned in such things and may quite possibly be wrong. We could not have a camp at Lambeth.

It will be understood that under such vehement leadership on the part of Bishop Knox, to say nothing of the vigorous cannonade in the opposite direction on Dr. Clifford's side, in the press and on the platform, the position of the Archbishop with his conciliatory temper was by no means easy.

In May the Bill occupied the Upper House of Canterbury Convocation for three days, mostly in Committee. The Archbishop made a long speech reporting the general attitude, and no public debate took place upon it. He reiterated his desire to be conciliatory, but said that the Bill was such that Churchmen had no other course but to oppose it. Still, he deliberately left open the question whether the Bill should be opposed altogether or amended. And Campbell-Bannerman, in acknowledging the copy of the Resolution adopted, said (May 7, 1906):

Perhaps you will allow me to say that I recognize fully the temperate and reasonable, although firm and decided, tone in which this statement of view treats this difficult and important question, and you may be sure that it will receive careful consideration.

The Bill took its normal course in the House of Commons to the accompaniment of protests and demonstrations and letters of all sorts outside. From April to the end of July there were fourteen hundred meetings all over the country, sometimes thirty or forty a day, against the Bill, and petitions were signed in the same period by more than three-quarters of a million people.

In the meantime the Archbishop had many interviews with members of the Government and others. Thus, on May 25, he saw Mr. Birrell:

> He asked me whether I attached great importance to Catechism teaching as such, and I told him I felt it to be of the very first-grade of importance if Biblical teaching was to be helpfully and pointedly applied to the rules of daily life. He seemed to attach importance to what I said on the subject. He went on to say 'I do not suppose you can have a revolution based on the question of whether or not the teachers are allowed to give denominational instruction—I mean it is not the kind of subject about which you could pull down Park railings or have mobs in the streets'. I said that it probably was not, but that it raised very big questions indeed, and that personally I attach to it supreme importance. I think he had hardly realised the feeling about teachers in country parishes being silenced. I did my best to set it before him.

The following is an interesting note of a later talk with Viscount Goschen (June 25):

> Goschen emphatically supported my view that the House of Lords, speaking roughly, is never anti-Church but always anti-clerical, and that leadership by the clergy is the last thing they will like. For this reason he (Goschen) is very anxious that I should speak immediately after the Government in the debate, for he thinks that I shall not be likely to irritate by a too clerical attitude, whereas many of the Bishops would, he thought, set the Peers against the Episcopal view at the outset, and this would do real harm.

On August 1, the Education Bill came up for second reading in the House of Lords, and was expounded in a careful and moderate speech by Lord Crewe. He was followed by the Archbishop, in a full House, with some twenty Bishops supporting him, Mr. Birrell and Mr. Asquith standing on the steps of the Throne, and Dr. Clifford eagerly watching from the Gallery. The Archbishop delivered a vigorous speech which made a great impression at the

time. 'Nothing better has been done from *any* of our benches for many a long year', wrote Lord Lansdowne to him that same night. But it is sufficient, at this distance from the battle, to call attention simply to a few outstanding points. The speech was historical, expository, and critical. The Archbishop agreed that the Nation had declared in favour of popular control and against 'tests'—but he urged that the control given in the Bill was very one-sided, and that at least a teacher ought to show that he was duly qualified for the work he had to undertake—including the work of religious instruction. He submitted the main object of the Bill to a devastating criticism:

> What does the Bill do? It takes 14,000 existing schools, with their trusts, and demolishes, not the mere wording of the trusts, but the very essence and pith of them. The characteristics that make a denominational school different from others are abolished, and the school is handed over to a local authority, which may, if it likes, refuse to take it; or, if it does take it, may practically secularise it save for some two hours in the week, and may appoint teachers who are unwilling to give, or untrained to give, religious teaching; and if religious teaching is given, and the teachers are willing to give it, no child need go to school until the religious lesson is over. . . . We are told that local authorities will not on any large scale destroy or even impair the system of religious teaching, but are we quite sure that that can be counted upon everywhere? Of course, no man will allege it of England as a whole. I am quite prepared to say that local authorities in the main will try to act fairly, and I would trust them generally, but the Bill binds them in one direction to allow no denominational teaching, and leaves them free in another to go as far in the secular direction as they like.

He then added:

> If I am right, if it is really possible that these things can come about, surely it is childish to tell us, 'Yes, they can do all that if they like; but Mr. Birrell hopes they won't.' Does the security come to anything else?

He concluded by expressing his desire not to throw out but to amend the Bill where amendment was vital. And he named the following six points which involved 'changes which are pretty far-reaching':

(1) Religious teaching in all schools, subject to a conscience clause.

(2) Religious teaching to be given by teachers who mean what they say.
(3) Definite religious teaching for children whose parents desire it, subject to reasonable limitations by the L.E.A.
(4) Teachers to be allowed to continue to give definite religious teaching.
(5) The principle underlying the 'Four-fifths Schools', i.e. existing denominational schools in large urban areas with other schools in the area, to be enlarged.
(6) Some voice for those who have directly to do with the school in the appointment of the teacher.

The second reading was carried on August 3, and the House shortly after adjourned, the Archbishop going off to Courmayeur, where he took his ease on the Italian slopes of Mont Blanc. From Courmayeur he went to Scotland. He stayed at Belmont with Campbell-Bannerman, and at Whittingehame with Balfour, to talk about the Bill. He was disappointed with both, and was 'amazed' by the former's 'real ignorance of the question'.

IV

The debate was resumed in the House of Lords on October 25. In Committee, the number and the character of the amendments produced by the Archbishop and the Bishops on the one hand, and Lord Lansdowne and the Conservatives on the other, coupled with the weakness of the Government Bench, soon revealed that a crisis of an acute kind would have to be faced. The House of Commons, and the Liberals and Nonconformists in the country, were angered by what they deemed the wrecking character of the amendments which, while nominally accepting the principles of public control and no tests for teachers, imposed so many restrictions on their application as to make them (so it was claimed) practically unrecognizable to their authors. And the anti-Church feeling, whether widespread or not, was certainly vociferous and bitter. As the Committee stage proceeded the situation worsened. To add to the difficulties, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Loreburn, was ill, and the whole brunt of the defence fell on a single Liberal peer, Lord Crewe, who was practically unsupported and had very little independent authority himself.



Westminster Gazette, Nov 7, 1907

SUAVITER IN MODO

The Archbishop Dilly-dilly-dear *do please* come and be reconstituted!

On November 16, the Archbishop had a private talk with John Morley. He pressed the extraordinary unfairness of the position:

> We were trying in the House of Lords, or at all events I was trying, to suggest in the Bill amendments which should be reasonable and consistent with the large principles on which I believed the country to have expressed itself. They were in no sense, so far as I was concerned, wrecking amendments But our position is one almost of helplessness as regards commending what we say to the men on whom real responsibility rests. I pointed out that there are five members of the Cabinet in the House of Lords, and that four of these take absolutely no part, and, as far as I am aware, know nothing as to the details of the Bill. Three of them (Elgin, Tweedmouth, and Carrington) have never opened their lips on the subject; Lord Ripon has only spoken as a sort of figure-head, without pretending to take any lift of the matter; and everything has rested on the shoulders of Crewe, who quite obviously has had no authority given him to speak or act in a responsible or independent manner. The result is that what we say might as well be spoken to the wind.

He spent the week-end (Nov. 17–19) at Windsor, where he had a long talk with Campbell-Bannerman:

> He [Campbell-Bannerman] began by saying: 'This is a very bad business. Nothing can, so far as I see, be done with your House of Lords work. I should not be able, even if I tried, to restrain my people at all from making sharp work of what you have been doing.'

The Archbishop repudiated this interpretation and explained:

(1) Our difficulty in having no hearers there whose position is responsible or whose ultimate judgement matters.
(2) The way in which we are driven to amend every Clause separately by knowing nothing about what will happen to our other amendments.
(3) The character of our amendments themselves.

But the Prime Minister—whom he saw again later on the same day about the possibility of a conference—was depressed and unhappy, and the Archbishop concluded:

> I left him with the impression on my mind that he is terribly in the hands of the more popular force among his followers and that he greatly underrates its anti-Church character.

The next days were full of anxiety. Morley himself told the Archbishop that he had been bombarded by men who said that this was an opportunity for the House of Commons to assert its position, which had been lowered under the Balfour *régime*. 'Let the House of Lords understand that England is governed by the House of Commons, and never was a better chance than now, by doing this.'

Three important conferences took place at Lansdowne's house, November 23, 26, and 27, attended by Conservative leaders and also by the Archbishop, to consider amendments on Report. Some of the more extreme points it was agreed to give up, but 'from the first it became apparent that there is a good deal of difference of opinion as to the comparative harmfulness of (1) the rejection or death of the Bill, and (2) the continuance of the existing strife'. Balfour was the leader of those who thought that any compromise on important points was undesirable.

Throughout the conferences the Archbishop (who was in favour of a settlement if it could be obtained without sacrifice of fundamental principles) was very unwell, and only got out of bed to attend them and then return to his bed. On Sunday night, November 25, the King sent the following letter to the Prime Minister:

KING EDWARD VII *to the* RT. HON. SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN

Buckingham Palace. Nov 25, 1906

In view of the serious state of affairs which would arise were a conflict to take place between the House of Lords and the House of Commons on the amendments passed by the former House on the Education Bill, the King feels certain that Sir H C. Bannerman will agree with him in thinking it most important that there should, if possible, be a compromise in respect of these amendments.

The King would therefore ask Sir Henry to consider whether it would not be highly desirable that Sir Henry should discuss the matter with the Archbishop of Canterbury in the hope that some *modus vivendi*, on the line of mutual concessions, could be found to avoid the threatened collision between the two Houses.

For the King thinks it would be deplorable from a constitutional as well as from every point of view, were such a conflict to occur.

The King would wish to call Sir Henry's attention to pages 7 to 43 in the second volume of Archbishop Tait's *Life*, when a contest

was on the eve of taking place between the two Houses on the Irish Church question in 1869.

The King proposes to send a copy of this letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The interview accordingly took place next day at Lambeth, and Campbell-Bannerman saw the Archbishop in bed:

> He had really nothing to say, and did not appear to me to be more familiar with the Bill than he was when I talked to him at Windsor. In some respects he had forgotten what I then tried to teach him as to what his Bill contained. He showed no kind of wish of his own for an uncompromising or anti-Church school attitude, but simply kept referring again to his own majority and the need of satisfying it. Pleasant as he was I felt this to be rather humiliating at such a juncture on the part of the Prime Minister of the country. When I suggested particular points—e g. the right of the teacher to teach, and the need of discovering the qualifications of a religious teacher, and the necessity that the ballot among parents should be genuine, and that absentees shall not be reckoned against us, he at once personally acquiesced, but kept saying 'These are points on which my people are very hot'.

It is interesting to note the reference to Archbishop Tait's intervention at the time of the disestablishment of the Irish Church in 1869,[1] but the two matters, as the Archbishop pointed out, were very different, for the question at issue in the Irish Church was one of finance, and the problem here was one of deep religious convictions. Campbell-Bannerman's report to the King indicates the nature of the difference:

The Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman *to* King Edward VII

10 Downing St. 27th Nov. 1906.

. . . The Archbishop shewed, as usual, the most fair and conciliatory spirit. Practically, the principal point on which His Grace insisted as all-important was that the ordinary teacher should not be prevented from giving, if he were willing to do so, the special and distinctive religious teaching

Your Majesty's Government, on the other part, think that this would be inadmissible, in its full extent, because it would leave the voluntary denominational schools practically as they now are in this respect, with all their powers and privileges, notwithstanding

[1] See *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol ii, ch. xix.

their being nominally under the control of the local authority, who would pay rent to the Church for the schools. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman gathers that with the Archbishop this is the main point of difference.

During the next critical days the Archbishop was bedridden with gastric influenza. Interviews, however, were possible, as well as correspondence. On December 3, the last day of the Report stage, he wrote a letter to Lord Lansdowne, of which the main part is as follows:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE

3rd December, 1906.

I have of course no means of gauging independently what is likely to happen to the Bill, but I have absolute knowledge as to the fact that there is a strong section in the Cabinet genuinely anxious to make some real concessions to us with a view to passing the Measure Upon the whole, after weighing pros and cons with every care, I am I think quite definitely convinced that it would on the highest public grounds be better that the Bill should pass, if we can by our amendments secure in some reasonable form.

(*a*) Religious education in all schools within school hours, with full protection of conscience;
(*b*) A reasonable expectation that our schools will (where fit) be taken over by the L E.A.;
(*c*) The reasonable use of teachers (if the teacher and the denomination desire it) for 'facilities' children under Clause 3;
(*d*) Practicable and effective conditions for retaining as 'extended facilities' schools the existing denominational schools in areas where the children have access to an alternative school of a non-denominational type.

All these things are not only compatible with Clause 1 as introduced, but were (except the use of the teacher) implicitly declared by the Government in many speeches to be what they wished to see; and the liberty to the teacher is essential to making ordinary facilities a reality on a large scale. In making these demands, therefore, we stand on exceedingly strong ground, and no subsequent breakdown on these points could be ascribed to 'wrecking' action on our part.

We are also in our amendments demanding two things which the Government has never in any way assented to I allude to (1) the opportunity for denominational teaching in Council Schools, and

(2) the acquisition of extended facilities even where there is no alternative *school*. Both of these demands can, I think, be reasonably justified in the abstract. The *principle* of general facilities has been defended by Birrell himself, and in the limited degree and form in which we ask for it we have a strong case. . . . But it is distinctly a different sort of demand from those which are really within the four corners of the Government Bill and are a mere strengthening of its weak and unreal provisions.

About the other demand I feel more hesitation and difficulty than I did at first. We ask that extended facilities schools, or 'atmosphere' schools, may be claimed and secured in single school areas if satisfactory provision is somehow forthcoming for the minority This sounds at first sight fair, and I think I have myself supported the idea before it had been worked out in black and white. I do not remember whether in our conference at Lansdowne House last week the actual words were before us, and if they were I was not physically fit to weigh them and their consequences But I have tried to weigh them now to the best of a sick man's power, and my conclusion is that we could not, if we pass the proposed amendment, deny that we are 'turning the Bill round' and transforming into the *rule* or *norm* of many rural areas what was always and avowedly put forward by the Government as an exceptional provision to meet particular cases

This letter alarmed the Conservatives, and Lord Salisbury came to express the fears which he and others felt, and, though referring in terms to an indiscreet remark of the Bishop of Wakefield's to Morant, he gave vent to 'a characteristic outburst as to how he wished the Bishops would leave politics to politicians'.

More conversations followed. Lord Crewe again saw the Archbishop, still in bed at Lambeth, on December 5. It became clear that the position narrowed itself down to the crucial difficulty of the teacher being free to give denominational instruction, as to which Lord Crewe made certain suggestions which were also communicated to Lansdowne.

V

Meantime Birrell made a bellicose speech in the House of Commons on a motion to reject the Lords' amendments *en bloc* on December 10. This called forth a strong protest from the Archbishop to the Prime Minister:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* RT. HON. SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN

December 11, 1906.

I need not tell you how keenly, in the light of my recent conversations with you, I have this morning read Birrell's speech of yesterday. I confess to a keen feeling of depression as to the prospects of such a solution as you and I agree in desiring in the interests of peace. Although Birrell foreshadows the possible acceptance by the Government of important amendments, the general tone of his utterance was, as I think you must feel, of a sort to make it extraordinarily difficult for the House of Lords to propose them There is throughout the speech, whether intentionally or not, a sort of demand that the House of Lords shall come almost apologetically, or hat in hand, to ask the Government to listen to its proposals, and that it shall begin by practically withdrawing what is now suggested and substituting something quite different in its place.

But he got little comfort from the reply:

The RT. HON. SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

10 Downing Street 11 Dec. 06.

The course we have taken has good authority behind it, and is I firmly believe the only course which would not have extinguished or at least gravely endangered the chance of peaceful solution. As to the language used and the tone employed, it was not one whit overstrained when the general effect of all that has been done in the House of Lords is considered. You cannot expect people to be quite mealy mouthed in the circumstances . . .

The House of Commons resolved to disagree with the Lords' amendments, after an excited debate, by 306 to 104 votes, on December 11 An important conference took place at Lansdowne House the next day, this being the first time since November 27 that the Archbishop had been able to leave the Palace. It revealed a strong difference of opinion between those who wanted the Bill to go through with reasonable amendments, and those who wanted a conflict. The Archbishop was with the former. But as Lord St Aldwyn said to him, 'our real difficulty lies in the fact that the leader of the Party does not want a peaceable solution'; and Mr. Balfour was supported by the Duke of Norfolk.

An interview took place on December 14 between the Archbishop and Mr. Birrell and Lord Crewe:

> They made no secret of the fact that they had both of them been averse to the action of the House of Commons in sending to the House of Lords the general *en bloc* resolution. Birrell said he had fully contemplated and desired the discussion of the amendments seriatim, and evidently he did not think there would have been any impossibility in doing this. They both admitted that the House of Lords had received a rebuff or insult which no such body could be expected to accept tamely.

The Archbishop, however, was getting into very difficult waters by holding any discussions at all. Lord Crewe had hardly left the Palace when the National Society telephoned to say that they were sitting in Committee and were 'trembling at the news circulated by the *Standard* to the effect that I had seen the Prime Minister and was arranging with him a compromise'

On December 17, Lord Lansdowne moved a Resolution in the House of Lords protesting against the rejection *en bloc* by the Commons as an innovation in constitutional procedure, and invited the Government to state their attitude in detail. Lord Crewe, after defending the Government's action by precedents, intimated that the assistant teacher (not the head teacher) might be permitted to give denominational teaching in the large Clause 3 schools, and that further provision might be made against capricious refusal by a local education authority to take over the schools, and that a four-fifths majority would not be insisted upon for Class 4 schools.

On December 18, by the King's wish, the Archbishop was present at a private meeting at Crewe House of Mr. Balfour, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord Cawdor, with Lord Crewe, Mr. Birrell, and Mr. Asquith, at which the proposed amendments were explained. But though accommodation seemed possible on other points, the position of the teacher remained the crucial issue. The Conservative leaders had a conference in Mr. Balfour's room, and insisted that all teachers in all transferred schools ought to be allowed to volunteer their services. When the meeting was resumed in the evening, Mr. Birrell said, in reply to the Archbishop, that, whatever minor modifications the Government might accept, it could not abandon the absolute right of the local education authority to refuse leave to all teachers if they

so desired. And it was this absolute supremacy of the local education authority in a matter so vital which it was impossible to concede.

The breach was complete, and though the Archbishop made another attempt to find a way across, in a conversation with Lord Crewe at Lambeth next morning, the fate of the Bill was clear. In the House of Lords, on December 19, Lord Lansdowne moved that the Lords 'do insist upon their amendments'. Lord Crewe charged the House with choosing war rather than peace, and said that the Government must refuse responsibility for the consequences which must rest upon the shoulders of the 'noble Lords opposite and the Right Reverend Bench who have chosen to wreck the Bill'. The Archbishop followed, and expressed his intense feeling of disappointment. He had done his best, but he acknowledged that, unless the Government could meet them on the question of the teachers, it was better that the Bill should disappear. Lord Lansdowne's motion was carried by 132 votes to 52, the Archbishop voting with the majority. The last scene took place in the House of Commons when Campbell-Bannerman, amidst a tumult of cheering from his followers, justified the attitude of the Government, and declared it to be intolerable that the House of Lords, while one Party in the State was in power, should be its willing servant, and when that Party had received unmistakable and emphatic condemnation by the country, should be able itself to neutralize and thwart and distort the policy which the electors had shown they approved. He added, in language ominous for the future, that the resources of the House of Commons were not exhausted, and that 'a way must be found, a way will be found, by which the will of the people, expressed through their elected representatives in this House, will be made to prevail'.[1]

V

During the next two years further efforts were made to secure a settlement of the schools question; and the failure of the last effort—Mr. Runciman's Bill—was a peculiar disappointment to the Archbishop.

In February 1908, Mr. McKenna, who had succeeded Mr.

[1] *Life of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman*, J. A Spender, II. 311–12.

Birrell as President of the Board of Education, introduced a Bill which was designed to deal comprehensively with the school question generally, though on different lines from Mr. Birrell. It would, like that Bill, only recognize one type of elementary school, that provided by the local education authority, but voluntary schools could continue as such, receiving Parliamentary grants by a system of contracting out. In particular it introduced the system of contracting out of the national system for denominational schools which would receive not rate aid but Parliamentary grants; with the proviso, however, that no denominational school in single school parishes would be allowed to contract out. It was read a second time in May 1908.

In between the first and second readings of the McKenna Bill, however, an interesting intervention was made in the House of Lords by the Bishop of St. Asaph[1], with the marked encouragement of Mr. Lloyd George and others. He drafted a Bill, with an eye to incorporating as much of Mr. McKenna's Bill as was applicable, and at the same time made a quite new departure. It involved:

(1) the transfer of all schools to the local education authority;
(2) undenominational religious teaching in all schools at the expense of the local education authority;
(3) facilities for denominational teaching in all schools during school hours on three days a week to children whose parents desire it;
(4) complete freedom for the teachers to give either undenominational or denominational religious teaching.

The Government, it appeared from private conversations between the Archbishop and Asquith and others, were sympathetic, but cautious, and doubtful of persuading the rank and file of their followers. The Conservatives, interpreted by Mr. Balfour, were much more critical of the Bill, which seemed to be a move by the Church, and therefore seemed likely to lead to concessions from the Church rather than to the Church, and made no provision for Roman Catholics. On the other hand, both the Government and the rank and file of the opposition were anxious for a settlement of such a perplexing controversy. Church opinion was not particularly sympathetic, though some of the

[1] Dr Edwards.

Bishops (not, however, the Bishops of Birmingham[1] or Manchester) were in favour of a second reading.

When the Bishop of St. Asaph moved the second reading on March 30, the Archbishop made a strong plea for a settlement of the education controversy and expressed himself as sympathetic with the general idea of the Bill, though he pointed out that it did not cover all cases

On the motion of Lord Lansdowne the debate was subsequently adjourned, to give an opportunity for conference, if desired, between the promoters and the Government.

On April 5, Campbell-Bannerman resigned the Premiership, and died before the end of the month.

This involved various important political changes. Mr. Asquith became Prime Minister, and Mr. Walter Runciman succeeded Mr. McKenna as President of the Board of Education.

With the advent of Mr. Runciman a new and vigorous attempt was begun to secure a real and lasting settlement of the question. The files at Lambeth are crowded with letters and notes of interviews from May onwards between the Archbishop and the new President and many others. At the first interview, while making certain proposals of a kind more favourable to voluntary schools, Mr. Runciman made it clear that Mr. McKenna's Bill must be taken as a basis of any settlement.

During the summer the discussions continued in private and were resumed in the autumn. As an example of the amount of time and thought expended on the subject, it may suffice to note that between October 15 and December 3 there are ninety typewritten quarto pages, reporting interviews between the Archbishop and members of the Government and others, with regard to the Bill, quite apart from boxes of correspondence of all sorts and conditions, and dossiers of the critical letters to and from Mr. Runciman and the Prime Minister and other protagonists.

All the time the Archbishop kept in touch with the Bishops of London,[2] Southwark,[3] Stepney,[4] and St. Asaph—and got much detailed assistance from Sir Michael Sadler. He also saw others who were less favourable to such a settlement. Once at least he 'kept the Bishop of Stepney and Sadler for an interview with the stiff men whom I had summoned by telegraph—Salisbury, Robert Cecil, Athelstan Riley, Brooke of Kennington'. Nor did

[1] Dr Gore [2] Dr. Ingram. [3] Dr. Talbot. [4] Dr Lang.

he neglect to inform Lansdowne and the Conservative leaders in the House of Lords. But all through he deprecated haste. As he wrote in a private memorandum on October 19:

> It will take a little time to get people to examine the plan fairly, not in a spirit of mere criticism, but with an honest desire to effect an agreement. Extreme hurry will render negotiations impossible and hope of a settlement will disappear.

VII

The main elements of the proposals put forward by Mr. Runciman after their prolonged discussion were as follows:

(1) All schools receiving rate aid to be under the control and management of the local education authority.

(2) Voluntary schools in single school parishes to be transferred to the local education authority subject to an obligation on the part of the authority to give facilities for denominational instruction to those children whose parents require it on two mornings in the week, such instruction to be paid for from other than public funds.

(3) Voluntary schools in other than single area parishes may be transferred and the obligation to give facilities for denominational teaching in such schools on two mornings in the week shall be similarly imposed.

(4) Voluntary schools in other than single school parishes may contract out and will receive not rate aid but the Parliamentary grant, so being given a reasonable chance of existence, leaving, however, a substantial burden to be borne by the denomination.

(5) The local education authority shall provide Cowper-Temple instruction in all of their schools for any children whose parents demand it.

(6) Assistant teachers may volunteer to give denominational instruction subject to the consent of the local education authority, but the local education authority shall not refuse consent except on the ground that they themselves simultaneously require the teachers' services. A right of appeal is allowed to the Board of Education.

(7) The owners of transferred voluntary schools may transfer the buildings absolutely or loan them to the local education authority.

While these proposals from the Archbishop's point of view went a considerable distance and in particular contained the

satisfactory provision which obliged the local education authority to provide Cowper-Temple instruction in all schools and to give facilities for denominational instruction in transferred voluntary schools, the Archbishop, and still more his advisers, wished to go further. He asked especially for:

(*a*) Statutory facilities for denominational instruction in Council schools.
(*b*) Leave to head teachers to give denominational instruction.
(*c*) Power to build new contract-out denominational schools, and
(*d*) Parents' committees for religious instruction.

Some impression of the difficulties with which he had to contend is given by the following account of the Standing Committee of the National Society on November 4:

> Rather trying meeting of National Society Standing Committee. I stated in outline what had passed, and told them plainly that I was prepared to agree to a settlement if the lines I had laid down could be genuinely followed. Speeches of mingled remonstrance, indignation, and despair were made by Hugh Cecil, Canon Cleworth, the Dean of Canterbury (who was specially wrathful), and John Talbot (sad rather than wrathful). The Bishop of Southwark spoke admirably on my side, though confining himself rightly to general terms. Brooke was less hostile than might have been expected, and indeed went a long way towards actually supporting me. Athelstan Riley did not speak. Salisbury was not wholly Cecilian, or at least not so uncompromising as Hugh.

Mr. Runciman's difficulties were not dissimilar, for when the Archbishop told him of the National Society's Meeting:

> He said it was quite as bad on the other side, and that Dr. Clifford is at present almost tearfully complaining of the position in which he finds himself, of being bombarded as a weak-kneed Moderate.

By the middle of November, after many comings and goings, interviews and conferences, including a long conference with a deputation from the National Union of Teachers, which strongly objected to contracting out, and made it clear that they would officially discourage volunteering for denominational teaching, a provisional agreement seemed to have been reached between the Archbishop and the Government. And so the

Archbishop informed Mr. Asquith on November 17; asking (among other things) for a clear statement as to the liberty of the head teacher in a transferred school to give denominational teaching; and adding at the end of his letter:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* RT. HON. H. H. ASQUITH

17 Nov. 1908.

In expressing assent to the provisions as they stand, I must of course reserve the right, which I presume you would also claim, to reconsider such assent in the event of amendments being carried which affect the general structure and balance of the measure. And, lastly, I must again ask that it be clearly understood that the assent which I am able to give to the Government's proposals expresses, not the claim which the Church of England is in my judgment reasonably entitled to make, but the sacrifice in which I can, speaking for myself, recommend my fellow Churchmen to acquiesce in the interests of religious and educational peace.

Mr. Asquith replied asking for a little more precision with regard to the Archbishop's demands as affecting head teachers.

On the same evening, November 18, the Archbishop was at the Bishop's house, Kennington, consulting with the Bishop of Southwark.

By a most unfortunate accident he had a very bad fall, which caused him great pain and forced him to lie up for some days. He was carried from Kennington to Lambeth. The crucial letter, replying to the Government, was written for him by the Bishop of Southwark.

The BISHOP OF SOUTHWARK *to the* RT. HON. W. RUNCIMAN

18th November, 1908.
Bishop's House, Kennington Park, S.E.

The Archbishop has had a nasty fall here, and injured his leg badly, causing him great pain.

He had just spoken to me about the last communication to him from Mr. Asquith.

He wishes me to say that, if you are able to allow the following points, that is to say:—

(i) The power of building new contracting-out schools;
(ii) The right of the existing Head Teacher in transferred Voluntary Schools to give denominational instruction during the

full tenure, however long, of his existing Headmastership; and, further, to give it for a period of five years from now in any Headmastership in any transferred Voluntary School to which he may be moved; and

(iii) If you will give a clause permitting Local Education Authorities to form Committees of Advice in the way that has been suggested for matters connected with the religious teaching—

he will not himself press further for the right of the future Head Teacher, though on this point he cannot answer for others.

I hope this letter will meet the needs of the moment. It is written in circumstances of great difficulty, and not as he would have written it; that is only because I can simply put the points nakedly.

It has his authority.

The Rt. Hon. W. Runciman *to the* Bishop of Southwark

19th November, 1908.

15 Great College Street, Westminster.

In reply to your letter of yesterday, I am authorized to say that, for the sake of securing a balanced settlement, we acquiesce in:—

(i) The power to provide from private sources a new 'contracted-out' school where the money is forthcoming and a sufficient number of parents desire it.

(ii) The right of the existing Head Teacher to volunteer as described in your letter, and with a five years' time limit.

(iii) And we raise no objection to the Local Education Authorities setting up religious instruction Committees similar to those set up by the old London School Board and other School Boards for the purpose of agreeing on Syllabuses, etc But as I often stated, it must be clearly understood that we could not concur in any arrangement which might lead to the employment of direct or indirect tests on the teachers.

We are greatly obliged to you and the Archbishop of Canterbury for your kindness in disposing of these outstanding points to-day. I hope to present the Bill, embodying the agreement arrived at, when the House meets to-morrow.

The same day, November 19, the Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons that a Concordat had been reached on the schools question; that the McKenna Bill would be withdrawn, and a new Bill, embodying the Concordat, would be introduced with the general approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the leading Nonconformists, who had both promised that so far

as their authority and influence go they would *ex animo* acquiesce in the settlement embodied in the Bill and give it their support.

A sudden difficulty, however, arose on the financial side. On November 20, for the first time, the money proposals embodied in the Bill were shown to the Archbishop. At once he saw that they were unsatisfactory. Mr. Runciman had assured him and the Bishop of Stepney, who was in close touch with the Archbishop all through, that 'Money can be discussed immediately we have the other two matters out of the way—and we can be generous'. The Archbishop felt obliged to write at once to the Prime Minister about the terms offered both for contracting out and for transfer.

In a letter sent simultaneously to Mr Runciman he said, writing from his bed:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* RT. HON. W. RUNCIMAN

Private. November 21, 1908.

You probably scarcely realise how vehement has been the criticism of my action in having abstained from insisting upon seeing the proposed figures before allowing my assent to the settlement plan to be quoted In answer to such protest I have said, not once but a dozen times, that I had your assurance that we need not worry about the financial part of it provided the rest was satisfactorily settled, that you saw your way to devising a plan which would be generous and that, though you could not then tell me what it was, I had implicit trust in what you had said. That trust I still retain and do not believe now that, if it can be shown that the plan in the Bill would mean a general impossibility of contracting out (except perhaps in well-to-do neighbourhoods), you would wish to hold to it as it stands. I ought not perhaps to shrink from telling you that I have been laughed at by more than one friend for this confidence—'a simple Simon negotiating with people who are not simple Simons at all'—and so forth. I have simply reiterated, that, foolish or not, I had complete confidence in what you had said.

A conference of experts was arranged. The Archbishop was supplied with the proposed figures for a number of schools which might contract out, and there was a full discussion between his representatives and the representives of the Board.

In the meantime opposition to the Concordat had been

growing from another quarter. The Bishop of Manchester wrote an Open Letter to the Bishops of England denouncing it. The *School Guardian*, the organ of the National Society, declared that acceptance of the Bill by the Church would be a 'colossal surrender'. Mr. Athelstan Riley and other lay members had signed a petition to the Archbishop asking for a meeting of the Representative Church Council, and in accordance with their request a special meeting of that Council was summoned for December 3rd.

At the Representative Church Council meeting it was clear that feelings ran high. The Archbishop compressed the realities of the situation in a pertinent paragraph:

> Do all those who speak so vehemently, and with such obvious truth, about the value of our Church Schools realise what has been the transfer taking place in recent years? Some 550 Church of England Schools closed in the last three years, with accommodation for more than 160,000 children, while in the same three years there has been an increase of 1,056 Council Schools with accommodation for 478,000 children. What about the Church's care for those children? Such transfer of children will, for obvious reasons, be greatly accelerated in the next few years And at such a moment we are offered the opportunity—an opportunity which may never recur—of securing by law that in every elementary school in the country—present and future—the right to give denominational teaching shall have a permanent place.

The forces against him were too strong. Sir Alfred Cripps, Lord Halifax, the Bishops of Manchester and Birmingham, and the Dean of Canterbury all spoke against the Bill. And when Sir Alfred Cripps's resolution was put, refusing to accept the terms of compromise embodied in the Education Bill, the cleavage between the Bishops and the rest of the Representative Church Council was painfully apparent. The House of Bishops alone of the three Houses had a majority against Cripps and for the Bill, the total voting being as follows:

	Ayes	*Noes*
Bishops . .	3	18
Clergy . . .	73	35
Laity . .	113	46

The attitude of the Representative Church Council altered the

whole situation. The Prime Minister on December 7 announced in the House of Commons that the Bill was withdrawn, as it could no longer be called an agreed measure. He paid a warm tribute 'first and foremost' to the patient, considerate, and indomitable efforts of Mr. Runciman, and added:

> A like tribute is due and ought to be paid to the great Archbishop, who, in the face of obstacles and difficulties which would have daunted any man of less courage, has shown himself worthy of the title of Pastor Pastorum Ecclesiae

He thanked also the leaders of the Free Churches who, for the sake of a national settlement, had shown themselves ready to lay aside cherished ideas. And he concluded with the admission that, after a public life now prolonged for many years and spent for the most part in acute and uncompromising controversy, with a fair share both of the smiles and of the frowns of fortune:

> I am not ashamed to confess that I have never experienced a more heavy and thorough disappointment I say again I do not regret the attempt that has been made, and I would far rather have made that attempt, so far as my part is concerned, than for fear of failure not to have made the attempt at all.

The Archbishop and Mr. Runciman, as the leaders in conciliation, were drawn close to one another, as many letters reveal: and there was a real body of opinion expressed by men of all sections, creeds, and parties, in favour of agreement. The Bill failed, and to the Archbishop then and for many years to come it remained one of the grievous disappointments of his life. But the courage with which he discharged his task and faced the failure were an example to all. The chapter shall end with the testimony of Mr. Alfred Lyttleton, who had been associated with the Archbishop on the Conservative side, and wrote to him immediately after the withdrawal of the Bill:

The Rt. Hon. A. Lyttleton *to the* Archbishop of Canterbury

7th December, 1908.
16 Great College Street, Westminster.

I secured the publication of the correspondence to-day as you will have seen, and feel a satisfaction to have even that small

connection with labours so distinguished alike in spirit and mind. Whatever happens—and I do not in the least despair, your splendid courage and persistency have permanently and irrevocably moved this controversy out of the trough of bitterness into which it had sunk We have almost all got too close to regard each other again as real foes. This indeed is noble work.

CHAPTER XXX

THE ARCHBISHOP, PARLIAMENT, AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS, 1906–1908

Sir Adam was unlucky in his topicks, for he suggested a doubt of the propriety of Bishops having seats in the House of Lords *Johnson* 'How so, Sir? Who is more proper for having the dignity of a peer, than a Bishop, provided a Bishop be what he ought to be, and if improper Bishops be made, that is not the fault of the Bishops, but of those who make them.' BOSWELL's *Life of Dr. Johnson* (1772).

In the first bitterness of disappointment at the rejection of his Bill, Mr. Birrell had attacked the Bishops—and by implication the Archbishop—for their general attitude to social questions. His speech, and the Archbishop's reply, provide a fitting opportunity for calling attention to the Archbishop's own interest in social reform, and certain legislative measures in which he took an active part at this time. The charge was one which the Archbishop felt keenly; and of his own work in Winchester days regarding such so-called secular subjects something has already been said.

I

At a complimentary dinner, following the failure of the Education Bill, at the National Liberal Club on February 18, 1907, Mr. Birrell went out of his way to attack the Bishops. He said that he had no wish to bear grudges in politics, and went on:

> I can even contemplate the action of the Bishops with forbearance I own freely that I have never been a great admirer of the action of these prelates in times past. I cannot remember a single great cause they ever advocated. I cannot recall a single victory they ever won; hardly a word they ever said in the cause of humanity.

He quoted Sir Samuel Romilly's Diary as comment on the past, and declared that, in acting as they had with regard to the Education Bill, the Bishops only added to their already black list.

Such an attack wounded the Archbishop deeply. He had taken his cue from his father-in-law, Tait, and he had always been at pains to show an active interest in humane causes, taking

special care to represent the Church on this side in a conspicuous way in the House of Lords. He at once wrote to Birrell:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* RT. HON. AUGUSTINE BIRRELL

Lambeth Palace, S.E.
20th February, 1907.

In *The Times* of yesterday I read a speech of yours which, if it be correctly reported, contains and elaborates one of the gravest indictments which could be brought against a body of public men in a Christian country.

England is well accustomed to read, and adequately to appraise, the facile and wholesale denunciations of Bishops which are characteristic features of a certain kind of irresponsible oratory It is a different thing altogether when a Cabinet Minister of the first rank, not in the heat of debate but in a deliberate speech, formulates against those who, as you truly say, ought to make it their endeavour to represent some of the Christian ideals of a Christian nation, the grave charge that in their public action they have systematically and continuously disregarded the better aspirations, convictions and feelings of the people at large

I am not concerned to deal with your reference—possibly fair, possibly unfair—to what was said or left unsaid by Peers and Bishops in the days of Sir Samuel Romilly He died I think in 1818. But I am closely concerned with the responsible action or inaction of the Bishops of to-day. When a statesman, whose work has required from him a special familiarity with contemporary facts, tells the world that, in what he calls the cause of humanity, the Bishops have usually kept silence in Parliament, I feel the charge to be one which I personally regard as of the utmost possible gravity.

This however is no personal matter. I sit in the House of Lords in a public capacity, and on reading your words I asked myself what correspondence they have with my recollection of the work which we have there tried to do Will you pardon the appearance of egotism if, taking myself as a specimen, I mention some of the subjects with which one Bishop out of many has endeavoured, however inadequately, to deal by voice and vote.

I have been for twelve years a member of the House of Lords. Looking back along those years, and omitting all reference to ecclesiastical and educational debates, I recall the following as among the matters in the discussion of which I have been allowed to bear a somewhat responsible part. In 1896–7 I had the privilege of taking a labouring oar, both in the House and in the Select Committee, in framing the Infant Life Protection Act, and of

supporting the Workmen's Compensation Bill of the latter year. In 1898 a great deal of my time was occupied with the details of what became, with my cordial support, the Prisons Act of that year. In 1899 I advocated the Prevention of Corruption Bill as cordially as I did in 1905 and 1906, when, in an altered shape, it became law; and I spent much time in promoting, both outside and inside the House, the unpretentious but useful Bill for compelling the provision of seats for shop assistants. In 1900 and 1901 the Bill for promoting the earlier closing of shops was under discussion both in the House and in the Select Committee, of which I was a member, and every Bishop present voted for the measure. We continued to advocate it during the subsequent years. In 1900 it fell to me to introduce, in favour of a reform of the liquor licensing laws, a resolution which gave rise to a memorable debate, all the Bishops present voting with me in the minority (42 to 45). In 1901 I introduced three separate Bills in furtherance of temperance reform, and two of these were virtually incorporated in the Act of 1902, after debates in which I had to bear a special burden of the responsibility Similarly, in the discussions on the Government Bill of 1904 all the Bishops present supported my motion (unhappily defeated) in favour of a time limit to the compensation clause. In 1905 I introduced a Bill to regulate the hours of closing of public-houses. It was lost by six votes only, all the Bishops present voting in the minority

In addition to these problems of Temperance legislation, I remember the importance attached during those years to the discussions, in which I was able to take part, on the Factory and Workshop Acts Amendment Bill, on the Youthful Offenders Bill, on the Employment of Children Bill, on the Outdoor Relief and Friendly Societies Bill, and especially on the very important subjects dealt with in the Midwives Bill and in the Street Betting Bill, and in the successive Bills and Committees on the difficult question of Sunday trading

With respect to our responsibilities in matters outside the British Isles, it has fallen to me to initiate discussions in the House of Lords on the West African liquor traffic and on the treatment of the aborigines of Western Australia, and to take part in the debates on the administration of the Congo, on the treatment of the Jews in Russia, on the disorders in Macedonia, and on the introduction of Chinese labour into South Africa On the last-named subject I was, I believe, the first to call attention to the moral dangers attending the importation, dangers which I thought, and still think, to be even graver than the other perils to which attention has been more prominently directed.

On the various Bills which have been introduced during the last decade for removing from those outside the Church of England any remaining vestige of disability or disadvantage, I have felt it to be a privilege to support by voice and vote such measures as the Nonconformist Marriages Bill of 1898, the Burial Grounds Bill of 1900, and the Public Meetings Facilities Bill of 1905 and 1906.

I enumerate these measures (and the list could be easily prolonged) not as taking credit in the smallest degree for such share as I have borne in the discussion of them It seems to me to be a simple and obvious part of a Bishop's duty My sole wish is to show that the Bishops have not, as a matter of fact, kept silence in the way your speech seems to suggest. I have perforce referred to my personal action because I can speak of it with fullest knowledge "The fact of my residing in or near London, and of my occupying latterly a central position, has led to my being often the spokesman of my brother Bishops But my experience is merely a specimen of the experience of many, and in almost all the matters to which I have alluded the Bishops have acted throughout in fullest concord with one another.

The letter was published and caused some stir; and that the Archbishop himself attached importance to the record it contained is shown by the fact that he reprinted it as an appendix to his charge on 'The Call and Character of the Church of England'.

Mr. Birrell repeated his attack in a different form during the Disestablishment Debate in the House of Commons. But for the reason given below, he did not pursue the controversy in the Press:

The RT. HON. A. BIRRELL *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

21st February, 1907.

I'm sorry you think my history all wrong. I can't pretend to be impartial but I cannot remember any historian of our Social or Political progress whose estimate of the work done by the Bishops in the House of Lords differs materially from mine. Nor am I disposed to admit that 100 years is a long time in the History of the Church. Everybody has improved *a little* during the last fifteen years, and the Bishops as might be expected have improved with them. I was thinking of Pioneers—of Unpopular Causes, Unjust Wars, Contagious Diseases Acts and things of that kind. I own I trace Episcopal shortcomings to

(1) Mode of *Election.*

(2) Supposed obligation to support the Throne—the Crest of the State.

But it is not for me to argue with you, and I am sick of controversy and very much overworked

But though Mr. Birrell did not write to the Press, a good deal was written by others about 'Episcopal Politicians'. And when the Archbishop, in debate on the reform of the House of Lords, strongly asserted the non-party character of the Bench of Bishops and its concern for social legislation, harsh things continued to be said, the harsher, we may be certain, by reason of the still recent educational controversy.

II

That an Archbishop should be cautious, he certainly would not deny. And Archbishop Davidson's caution is illustrated by a letter on the subject of Old Age Pensions, to a correspondent who had contrasted Nonconformist fervour with the non-committal attitude of the Bishops

His reply shows his distrust of the general and the vague, and his reluctance to commit himself in advance to things which did not seem to him at the moment to be really practical.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* REV. M. V. O. BRIDGEMAN

16th February, 1907.

I thank you for your further letter. The distinction you draw between the readiness of some of our Nonconformist friends to give their names to general schemes of amelioration, and the supposed unreadiness of Bishops to do the like, does I think mark a contrast of attitude in these matters. Speaking for myself at least I can say that I prefer to rest under the imputation of callousness, trying though it be, to vaguely and unprofitably giving my name to mere abstract suggestions for reform before these have been reduced to prosaic black and white and adopted or recommended by competent public men. It happens every day with regard to such things as Armenian outrages, Macedonian strife, treatment of Native Races, and other kindred things. I go so far as to say that to give our names readily to schemes which are not formulated, and which we are not competent ourselves to formulate, is a sort of selfishness, as it gains us some cheap credit with the unthinking, while it really does little or nothing to advance the good cause.

Where practical efforts can be made, I am most keen to make them. You may remember that I took upon me the responsibility of introducing in the House of Lords the question of the West African Liquor Trade, and, again the question of the treatment of Australian Natives, and in each case I think the result was advantageous. These are mere specimens: they could easily be multiplied. On a matter like Old Age Pensions I have been frequently—indeed almost continuously—in communication with responsible people, and have failed to find any scheme which is put forward in a manner rendering it practicable for me definitely to endorse it. To endorse the abstract principle is to my mind almost a mockery: it is like signing a paper to say that we want everybody to be prosperous, or that we want nobody to be overworked, or the like. You may remember my published communications on this subject of Old Age Pensions 18 months ago. In case you have forgotten it (which is improbable as you are studying the subject) I enclose a copy of a letter of mine which was widely circulated at that time. Please return it to me.

Mr. Asquith's speech a few days ago seems to hold out hopes of a definite scheme ere long, but it may turn out to be like many of its predecessors and to be rather a demonstration of goodwill than a practical endeavour to mend things. I hope to speak to him fully upon the subject within the next few days. He knows how much I am interested in it.

I trouble you with all this because your letters seem to show that you hardly realise the position I take in these matters

This very caution, however, with regard to issues which were not yet practical politics, gave great additional weight to the utterances the Archbishop deliberately made on other large questions of public and international morality. An excellent instance of this is afforded by his action with regard to the Congo Free State. Charges of a grave character were being made both in England and in Belgium against an administration for which the Belgian King Leopold I was responsible.

On July 3, 1906, Lord Reay raised the question in the House of Lords and referred to a particularly searching report by a British Consul, Mr Roger Casement, in 1904.[1] The Archbishop, who joined in the debate, expressed his bewilderment and distress at the revelations. He said:

Wise men always shrink from being ready to lend themselves too

[1] Africa, No 1, 1904 Cd. 1933.

readily to some obvious popular outcry about something which may be only imperfectly understood. . . . Cautious as we ought to be not to join too readily in an outcry which may often prove to be exaggerated or baseless, we ought on the other hand to be cautious lest we too readily put down to fanaticism or prejudice the protests which we sometimes treat too lightly because we think the facts alleged are too bad to be true.

In May 1907, he returned to the charge, when Convocation, on the motion of the Bishop of Southwark, passed a strong protest against the administration of the Congo Free State. The Archbishop said:

> On the whole, the relation of England to Africa during the last century had been not only practically, but deliberately and of set purpose, a beneficent and hopeful one Now, however, during the last decade or more we seemed to have drifted into something which would rival, if it did not exceed, the horror of the old slave-trade, and, if the members of the House were to be silent with regard to what was taking place, they would be false to obligations which were strong for every member of a Christian State, but were strongest of all for those on whom rested the responsibility, the privilege, and the trust of Church government. . . . If this wrong went on, they must go on trying to say what was to be said on the subject until the wrong was righted

On July 29, when Lord Monkswell made a strong attack in the House of Lords on the Congo scandal, the Archbishop gave expression to the public horror at the continuing of the cruelties to the natives—for the sake of obtaining the utmost amount of indiarubber (*Red Rubber*, Mr. E D Morel called it) through their labour. He described the atrocities as 'the natural and inevitable outcome of a system which is fundamentally bad', and urged 'that it ought to be possible now in some practical and real sense to take some steps forward in regard to this terrible matter'. The whole speech was one which the radical *Daily Chronicle* itself admitted, July 30, 1907, 'did something to justify the presence of Bishops in the Legislature'. And Sir Charles Dilke (no mean judge) described it as 'a marvellous performance, nothing said which should not have been said, everything said which required saying; the speech of a great statesman'.[1]

[1] Gwynn and Tuckwell, *Life of Sir Charles Dilke*, II. 549–50.

III

This summer the Archbishop's interest was again invoked with regard to the Bulgarian atrocities in Macedonia, about which he received a letter from the Patriarch of Constantinople, through the Archimandrite Pagonis, whom he saw in his room at the House of Lords, June 27, 1907:

> I told him to thank the Patriarch for his message, and to say that I am always anxious to do anything in my power to promote the peace of any region in which troubles exist, but that I have no official status whatever which entitles me to intervene in matters of political difference even when the differences are of an ecclesiastical rather than of a political sort. I pressed upon him more than once the necessity of his making this clear to the Patriarch, while thanking him for having made a communication to me. I told the Archimandrite that I am to take part in a Deputation to the Foreign Office on Tuesday, July 9th, with reference to Macedonia, but that my voice there should be raised simply to the effect that the people of England would be thankful to know that the Government is doing its best to assist in bringing misrule and misgovernment to an end, and that I must not be supposed to be taking any side in the controversy.

Nevertheless, when, on July 9, he led a deputation to Sir Edward Grey at the Foreign Office, he pressed strongly for Government intervention, though in no way underrating the enormous difficulties of the conflict between Greek and Bulgarian:

> I do want to press this point, that the greatest evil, in my judgement, of all would be, that we should know the evils that are going on, and that we should be content to do nothing Nothing—absolutely nothing—is more likely to sap the moral sense of our own people than that we should be aware of ghastly deeds taking place, that we should be able in some degree to diminish them, and that for one reason or another we should not be doing so.

It was an instance of the Archbishop being, in such matters, very often rather better than his word to the particular petitioners for his aid.

The second Hague Peace Conference was held in Holland from June to October 1907. Mr. W. T. Stead and others tried to secure the Archbishop's signature to a Joint Manifesto by the leaders of the Christian Church, and also his support for a Con-

ference, representing various religions of the world, in Paris, to demonstrate the practical unity of all religious faiths in the cause of peace. The conference did not in fact come off, but in any case the Archbishop had grave doubts as to whether that was the right way of setting about. The contrast between his point of view and that of Mr. Stead is succinctly stated in part of a note which the Archbishop took of a conversation between them, March 20, 1907:

> He [Mr. Stead] referred to the Lambeth Conference Report and Resolutions, and said they were excellent; but so was the XIII Chapter of 1 Corinthians, and that the one was as far off from practical politics as the other I told him that for that very reason it was the kind of document the Church could appropriately put forth provided it would follow up its principles in practical action when opportunity offered, but that such practical action must be guided by what statesmen declare to be possible for the nation's life, and the Church as represented by the clergy cannot take the place which ought to be occupied by statesmen.

The Archbishop added that he did not feel inclined to sign an Appeal from the Churches for Peace, which contained the following paragraph:

> We approach the Conference with this earnest appeal, because we believe that the depth and prevalence of the movement against war, with all its accompanying calamities and miseries, is very imperfectly realised or understood by many of those who live and act in the more immediate circles of sovereigns, statesmen and diplomatists.

The Archbishop's own experience (he pointed out) was different; for he found 'the people who surround statesmen and diplomats' in fact to be 'the strongest and most outspoken of my friends', and (getting back on Mr Stead) he was quite sure that the danger of war arises 'far more from newspapers' than from diplomatists.

In Convocation, again, he emphatically asserted the responsibility of the Press, and the duty of thoughtfulness and deliberation at times of popular excitement. And in a careful speech on the relation of the Church to the Hague Conference, while urging the 'systematic and recognized adoption of arbitration', he said, with some emphasis, that it was for the Church to inculcate large

principles—but not to take the place of statesmen as regards their practical working out (April 30, 1901):

> To say, for example, that we, or the Church as such, summoned together either in mighty masses of men or in little coteries of students or theologians, ought to express an opinion as to what the size or number of our ships should be, or what sort of ships ought to be multiplied and what ought not; or how many Army corps we ought to maintain, or what—for the world's good and for the promotion of peace—ought to be enjoined as the period or interval between the inception or declaration of war and the beginning of hostilities—all that seems to me to be literally harmful on our part to attempt, because we at once discredit what we are doing within our own province by the evidence which we give of our desire to go outside that province and deal with what we do not adequately understand.

Such opinions disappointed the organizers of movements, and many others, but they were the result of mature deliberation; and no one who heard him could doubt the Archbishop's own fundamental conviction as to the duty and the possibility of preserving the peace of the world.

There were many other matters of social and international interest which engaged the Archbishop's attention during these years—in and out of Parliament. And we note, for example, that among the subjects not already mentioned, on which he made speeches in the House of Lords in 1906–7, were: Colonial Marriages Bill; Compounding for Rates; Elections (Meeting in School rooms) Bill; Inspection of Laundries, Prevention of Corruption Bill; Outrages on Jews in Russia; Shops, Restriction on Sunday Trading; Services rendered by Lord Milner in South Africa; Factory and Workshops Bill; House of Lords Reform; Housing of Working Classes; Licensing Bill; Merchant Vessels and First Aid; Liquor Traffic in Nigeria; Women and County and Borough Councils; Small Holdings and Allotments Bill; Street Traffic in London; Training Colleges.

IV

There was one important measure before Parliament in 1907, which raised ecclesiastical as well as social issues, and therefore had a double claim on the Archbishop's attention. It was the Bill ultimately passed as the Deceased Wife's Sister's Marriage

Act 1907. We propose, therefore, to devote most of the remainder of this chapter to a more particular treatment of that measure.

A Bill to allow the marriage of a man with his deceased wife's sister had been before Parliament on many occasions in the last half-century. Such a marriage was directly inconsistent with the Table of prohibited degrees drawn up by Archbishop Parker and set forth by authority in 1563, commonly printed at the end of the Book of Common Prayer.

This Table was based on very definite rules with regard to consanguinity and affinity, among them being the rules:

(1) that as husband and wife are one flesh he who is related to the one by consanguinity, is related to the other by affinity in the same degree, and further

(2) that consanguinity and affinity alike bar marriage to the third degree collaterally but no further.

Thus—in the first degree—a father cannot marry his daughter (consanguinity) or his stepdaughter (affinity); in the second degree, a brother cannot marry his sister (consanguinity) or his sister-in-law (affinity); in the third degree, an uncle cannot marry his niece (consanguinity) or his wife's niece (affinity). All such marriages were unlawful according to the law of the Church expressed in the 99th Canon of the Canons of 1604, which ran as follows:

NONE TO MARRY WITHIN THE DEGREES PROHIBITED

> No person shall marry within the degrees prohibited by the laws of God and expressed in a table set forth by authority in the year of Our Lord God 1563. And all marriages so made and contracted shall be adjudged incestuous and unlawful and consequently shall be dissolved as void from the beginning, and the parties so married shall by course of law be separated. And the aforesaid table shall be in every church publicly set up and fixed at the charge of the parish

They were also unlawful by Statute Law. A change of the Statute Law was now being sought, but no such change can be made by Parliament without repercussions on the law or authority of the Church. Previous measures had been repeatedly rejected in Parliament, though one such measure had been read a second time (1883), and one (1896) passed in the House of Lords to be defeated in the Commons. The House of Commons in 1907

carried the second reading of this new Bill by 263 votes to 34. In August it was made a Government measure, and as such it was passed. On its introduction to the Lords, August 20, the Archbishop of Canterbury made a strong speech against it, based both on social and on religious grounds. He dwelt on the coherent and consistent character of the table of affinity as it stood. He declared: 'If you wrench a stone from the carefully built and balanced structure it will be vain to expect that it can continue to stand as now it stands.'

Many Bishops spoke to the same effect, but the second reading was carried by 111 votes to 79. In committee Davidson endeavoured to secure an amendment which would leave the clergy of the Church of England outside the Bill altogether.

In this he failed, but Lord Tweedmouth on behalf of the Government said he would agree to an amendment making it absolutely optional for a clergyman either to celebrate such a marriage himself or not, and either to permit, or to refuse, the use of his church for these marriages. This, it must be noted, was a very marked advance on the provisions of the Divorce Law of 1857, according to which a clergyman, while free to refuse to celebrate the marriage of a 'guilty' party in a divorce suit, may be required to lend his church for such celebration; and may also be required himself to solemnize the marriage of the 'innocent' party

When the Bill was finally passed in the Lords, August 26, the Archbishop emphasized the extreme difficulty and delicacy of the position, and declared:

> For the first time in the history of the Church of England, has the law of the State been brought on one specific point into direct open, overt contrast with, and contradiction of, the specific and divine law laid down in the authoritative regulations of the national church.

This was a strong statement, when we remember the passing of the Divorce Act exactly 50 years before; but although the divorce issue would seem, in the judgement of many, far graver than the issue of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, the Archbishop would certainly maintain not only that the sense of cleavage was much keener in 1907 than it had been in 1857, but that the words he used on this occasion, carefully scrutinized, were in fact just.

All through the debate in Parliament churchmen conducted a considerable agitation against the Bill, and the Archbishop received and wrote a great many letters. No formal action, however, was taken by Convocation as a result of the Act. It was nevertheless urged that guidance of some kind should be given as to the position both of the clergy in officiating at such marriages and of lay persons who might contract them. The Archbishop decided to supply this guidance in the form of a *Letter to the Diocese of Canterbury* (October 1907). In this *Letter* he gave a very careful statement of the origin and basis of the English marriage law, with quotations and references set out with characteristic thoroughness. And, on this basis, he led up to the practical question of the position of the clergy in regard to the new Act. He pointed out that the marriage of a man with his deceased wife's sister:

> 'expressly forbidden hitherto both by Statute Law and by Canon, is now by Statute Law made permissible as a civil contract. On the other hand the Canon which has been judicially declared to bind the Clergy remains unrepealed'

Parliament had left a clear discretion to the clergy. Therefore the Archbishop gave this as his advice:

> Personally I believe that they will act wisely and rightly in saying that such marriages, when they take place, ought to take place elsewhere than in Church.

He added that it could not be fairly argued that the taking of such a line involved any real hardship on those who wished to contract a marriage which was 'at the least, "ecclesiastically irregular"'. And he considered that, if the opposite course were generally taken, it would open the door to very grave difficulties. But the 'advice' was.

> advice only, and not a formal direction or injunction. The law has given a discretion to the incumbent. If, after carefully weighing the whole circumstances, he decides that he ought to perform the marriage, or to allow it to take place in the church whereof he is the responsible minister, I shall in no way regard him as disloyal or disrespectful, because of the decision to which he has come.

Another point, however, had to be considered:

> Many who so marry will claim the ordinary privileges and ministrations of the Church. Are these to be withheld?

The Lower House of the Canterbury Convocation, when discussing the Bill, while still before the House of Commons, had passed a resolution in the most formal manner asking 'that the Bill should include a proviso that nothing contained in the Act [after the Bill should become law] shall . . . subject a clergyman to penalties for refusing the privileges of church membership to persons who contract these unions'. The Archbishop, however, while quoting the section in the Act, with a creditable desire to respect conscientious scruples of every sort, said categorically:

> I have no hesitation in saying that from men and women who are otherwise entitled to receive these privileges, they ought not in my judgment to be withheld on the mere ground of such a marriage

He added, with regard to Holy Communion:

> If justification were to be pleaded for such refusal of Holy Communion it must presumably be based upon the Rubric which allows or enjoins the exclusion of 'an open and notorious evil liver'. It is in my judgment impossible rightly to apply these words on account of their marriage to a man and wife who have contracted as a civil contract a marriage expressly sanctioned by English law. Marriage after all is in the view of the Church itself initially and fundamentally a civil contract. We may, and most of us will, disapprove of what such persons have done. We may, and probably most of us will, discourage these marriages in every reasonable way. But this is a very different thing from imposing upon persons who have contracted such a marriage the gravest censure which we can legally lay upon an evil-doer.

The Archbishop did not deal with the question whether the Canon should be altered, nor with the desirability of giving dispensations in proper cases, nor did he treat of the sacramental side of Christian marriage. He took the view that persons who had availed themselves of the Act could not properly be comprehended under the 26th and 27th Canons which deal with grounds of refusal of Communion, and exclude 'common and notorious depravers of the Book of Common Prayer'.[1]

[1] Compare the Report of the Committee on Marriage Problems of the Lambeth Conference, 1908, which said 'We are of opinion that marriage with a deceased wife's sister, where permitted by the law of the land, and at the same time prohibited by the Canons of the Church, is to be regarded not as a non-marital union, but as a marriage ecclesiastically irregular while not constituting the parties "open and notorious evil livers" ' (*Report of the Lambeth Conference*, 1908, p. 143)

The same principle he also applied to Christian burial. It could not, he maintained, be seriously contended by responsible men that on account of such a marriage the refusal of the rites of the Church would be right or even possible.

V

The meaning of the proviso in the Act, and incidentally the advice contained in the Archbishop's letter, was very soon to be tested in the diocese of Norwich.

Mr. A. N. Banister, a parishioner of Eaton and a frequent communicant in Eaton parish church, had married his deceased wife's sister in Canada. His marriage, lawful in Canada, was rendered valid as a civil contract in England by the 'Deceased Wife's Sister's Marriage Act' which came into operation, with retrospective effect, August 28, 1907.

Returning to Eaton, he reported his marriage to his vicar, Canon Thompson (who had previously warned him against contracting such a marriage). Mr. Banister asked Canon Thompson whether he adhered to his intention of refusing to give him Communion. Canon Thompson replied that, acting on his Bishop's instructions, he must refuse. Proceedings were taken by Mr. and Mrs. Banister against Canon Thompson, and the case was heard by Letters of Request from the Bishop of Norwich in the Court of Arches by Sir Lewis Dibdin. It was argued on behalf of Canon Thompson that:

> By reason of the affinity existing between them, such affinity being open and notorious, and of their open and notorious cohabitation as husband and wife, they were and are open and notorious evil livers, so that the congregation were and are thereby offended within the meaning of the Rubric prefixed to the Order of Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion in the Book of Common Prayer.

It was maintained therefore that Canon Thompson was fully protected by the following proviso in Clause I of the Deceased Wife's Sister's Marriage Act:

> Provided always that no clergyman in Holy Orders of the Church of England shall be liable to any suit, penalty, or censure, whether Civil or Ecclesiastical, for anything done or omitted to be done by him in the performance of the duties of his office to

which suit, penalty, or censure he would not have been liable if this Act had not been passed.

Sir Lewis Dibdin delivered judgement, July 23, 1908, and found that the defendant was not entitled to repel Mr. and Mrs. Banister from Holy Communion on the ground that they were notorious and open evil livers. He said:

> Taking the fullest account of the limiting words of the statute and putting at its highest the divergence which the Act may have created between the action of the State and the rule of the Church of England, I find it impossible to say that these persons, lawfully married according to the law of the land, can by any reasonable use of language be so described merely because they are living together as man and wife.

He also held that the proviso in Clause I:

> must be interpreted so as to restrict it to matters concerning the solemnization of marriage between a man and his deceased wife's sister, and to those only, and that consequently it did not protect the defendant.

Appeal lies from the Court of Arches to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Canon Thompson, however, preferred not to appeal to the Judicial Committee. Instead he turned to the King's Bench and sought a 'prohibition' of the Court of Arches. The construing of Acts of Parliament is a matter for the King's judges; and the object of the 'prohibition' was to prevent the Ecclesiastical Court from exceeding its jurisdiction, and from giving an erroneous interpretation to the proviso in the recent statute. Canon Thompson, however, went farther; and invited the King's Bench and its Court of Appeal to deal with the whole question of the interpretation and scope of the rubric in the Office of Holy Communion. In the result the Divisional Court by a majority, and the Court of Appeal unanimously, refused to grant a writ of prohibition. The Archbishop, in a public letter to Professor W. R. Inge (February 4, 1910) after the judgement, regretted the 'innovation' introduced by Canon Thompson in going to the King's Bench on the scope of the rubric in the Office of Holy Communion, which he described as an 'endeavour to make the secular court, to all intents and purposes a tribunal of appeal from the ecclesiastical court'. Two years later, on June 20, 1912, the House of Lords unanimously upheld the decision of the Court of

Appeal, thereby affirming the jurisdiction of the Court of Arches, and concurring generally in the Dean's judgement in the case, besides authoritatively construing the proviso in Clause I of the Deceased Wife's Sister's Marriage Act.[1]

A NOTE ON PRAYERS IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS

It may be of interest to insert as a note to this chapter a letter concerning a little-known duty of the spiritual peers. It describes how the present practice of a *Rota* among the twenty-four Bishops who, in addition to the two Archbishops, have seats in the House of Lords began, and the Archbishop's own share in the plan The letter is written to Lady Laura Ridding, wife of Bishop Ridding of Southwell, and daughter of the first Earl of Selborne (the Lord Chancellor):

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* LADY LAURA RIDDING

24th October, 1907.

I well remember the occasion to which you refer when your Bishop made a proposal in the Bishops' Meeting respecting the reading of Prayers in the House of Lords. I was not yet a Bishop but I was acting as Secretary to the Meeting. This I did ever since 1877. Difficulty had for some time been felt as to the junior Bishop giving up so much time to House of Lords work, and, as a matter of fact, I used to arrange for his relief by other Bishops voluntarily taking his place. What your Bishop proposed was that the Bishops should altogether cease to read Prayers and that a Chaplain should be appointed for the House of Lords as for the House of Commons. He said that he had broached this to Lord Selborne (at that time Chancellor) who was in general agreement. Most of the Bishops greatly disliked the proposal and thought that to abandon the immemorial custom of a Bishop's reading Prayers as a member of the House would be to pave the way for their leaving the House altogether. Archbishop Benson was very strong about this: so were Bishop Magee and Bishop Temple. Thereupon your Bishop said that it was simply impossible for him to be responsible for a whole Session's Prayers even with such help as I have referred to, as he must by so doing neglect his Diocese. Bishop Temple[2] then offered, to the surprise of everybody, to take your Bishop's place and to read regularly throughout the Session when he could get help. This was felt to be an impossible plan, and, after much discussion, it was decided that for the next

[1] See *Convocation of Canterbury Report*, No 471, *Marriage Laws*, 1912.

[2] Then Bishop of London.

Session the experiment should be made of the Bishops dividing the work between them. I undertook the management of this and it was carried through and grew into the present plan. This was in the Autumn of 1884 or the Spring of 1885.

I do not think we have any means of knowing when the Bishops began to read Prayers. I remember the matter being enquired into some time ago, and no one was then able to discover the origin. When Parliament meets I will gladly talk it over with some of the Officers of the House who know its work best, but I do not think much new light will be thrown upon the subject. If anything I have said does not correspond with your recollection I will gladly look into it to the best of my power, but I do not think that I am wrong in the details, and I am certainly not wrong in the general facts.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE. THE CHURCH OVERSEAS

Our Sea captain is likewise ambitious to perfect what the other began. He counts it a disgrace, seeing all mankind is one family, sundry countries but several rooms, that we who dwell in the parlour (so he counts Europe) should not know the outlodgings of the same house, and the world be scarce acquainted with itself before it be dissolved from itself at the day of judgement. He daily sees and duly considers God's wonders in the deep.

THOMAS FULLER, *The Holy State*

THE holding of the Fifth Lambeth Conference in July 1908, and of the Pan-Anglican Congress immediately before it, provides an opportunity for observing the very close relationship between Randall Davidson, as Archbishop of Canterbury, and the various portions of the Anglican Communion.

We have already remarked on the steady development of the connexion between the see of St. Augustine and all other branches of the Anglican Church overseas. It would be difficult to exaggerate the difference which Archbishop Davidson's tenure of the Primacy made, not only because it was a long tenure but also because of the extraordinary personal knowledge he already possessed of the Provinces and Dioceses overseas, the deep interest he took in all their problems, and the eagerness with which he welcomed news and personal visits from the Bishops themselves. As we shall see, it was necessary for the Archbishop of Canterbury to be scrupulously careful not to claim even the appearance of authority over other Provinces or self-governing Churches. The secret of his remarkable influence is found in his personality, his straightforwardness and simplicity, and his obvious desire to know and to help. To give anything like a full record of his dealings with the overseas Bishops would require a separate volume, which would indeed be rich in interest. But it may be well, nevertheless, at this stage in the Primacy to bring together, almost haphazard, a few illustrations of the kind of problems on which he was consulted.

I

We will take first one or two instances of the Archbishop's relation to the Churches in the Dominions. The very difficult question of the precise meaning of the 'Legal Nexus' between the Anglican Church in Australia and the Church of England has been the subject of discussion for a great number of years and is still unsettled, largely because of a strong difference of opinion between the Diocese of Sydney and the rest of Australia. It was natural that recourse should be had to Archbishop Davidson very early in the proceedings. The Archbishop of Sydney (Saumarez Smith) therefore sought an interview with him on behalf of a Select Committee of the General Synod of the Church of England in Australia and Tasmania. He put a whole series of questions, some relating to the doctrinal formularies, e.g. the use of the Athanasian Creed, others relating to the Nexus. We set out here the question and the reply on the legal Nexus, in the form of a memorandum by the Archbishop of Sydney, embodying the substance of the Archbishop of Canterbury's replies in a form approved by the latter:

Memorandum, 2 June 1906

The Archbishop of Sydney's Question:

Legal Nexus (obligatory relations between the Home Church and the Church of England in Australia).

(i) Can we be furnished with an opinion from your legal advisers on the subject?

(ii) How far is the 'autonomy' of the Church in the Colonies an ideal to be sought for? What amount of 'centralization' in England is desirable? *Aliter*, what should be 'the range and nature of our independent legislation' in our Synods?

(iii) Exercise of *jus liturgicum* by Bishops. Modification of rules for Divine Service necessary, as regards abbreviation and elasticity, in some Colonial conditions.

(iv) Confirmation of Adults not brought up in Church of England. Any regard to be paid to 'Roman' confirmation?

The Archbishop of Canterbury's Reply:

(i) The Archbishop does not think that the lawyers would commit themselves to any *formal* opinion about the 'legal nexus'. A request emanating from the Committee appointed by

the G.S. [General Synod] asking legal experts to advise concerning Constitutions, etc., might be entertained.

(ii) Some 'centralization' in England for decision of important points, and for prevention of too wide divergence in liturgical and ritual custom is desirable. The Archbishop of Canterbury himself could not, and should not, be sole Referee. But some development of the 'Committee of Reference' principle might be agreed upon by the next Lambeth Conference. 'Autonomy' in the Colonial Church is an ideal to be gradually worked out, but there should be some check on too hasty or too wide divergence from the Mother Church.

(iii) The Archbishop agrees that the two principles must have due weight, yet precaution should be taken against vagaries of an individual Bishop, and no important change should be made without reference to the body of the Bishops in the Province. The forthcoming Report of the Royal Commission will throw some further light on the subject.

(iv) The Archbishop does not himself in ordinary circumstances require that those temporarily resident in England, who belong, say, to the Established Church of Scotland, or to the Lutheran Communion in Germany or Switzerland, and who have there been communicants, should offer themselves for Confirmation as absolutely necessary before admission to Holy Communion, but he strongly advises those who desire definitely to join themselves to the Church of England to be confirmed.

The Archbishop, personally, is not in favour of 're-confirming' those who have been confirmed in the Roman Church, but he admits that as Confirmation in the Church of England occupies a somewhat different status from that in the Church of Rome, Bishops may possibly be justified in allowing applicants who have joined the Church of England to be confirmed with our Service if they themselves desire it [1]

The inner meaning of this movement for independence, and an illustration of the dangers of an aggressive or nationalist assertion,

[1] Archbishop Davidson's own view (from a note of 1911) appears to have been similar to that of Archbishop Benson in answer to a question as to those who had 'received the Greek Chrism at their baptism': 'I have advised him to regard them as confirmed, but to have a service with them of "Admission to Holy Communion" and to give them his blessing, distinctly informing them that this is not confirmation' (*Life of Archbishop Benson*, II. 224)

are put in a letter of a more personal character to the Archbishop of Brisbane (Dr. Donaldson), who had written in advance of the interview, just recorded, on the same general theme.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF BRISBANE

Private and Confidential. 28th November, 1905.

I think I fully appreciate the importance and the bigness, and possibly the urgency, of the question of nomenclature—as regards especially your Antipodean relation to the Mother Church at home The problem is perhaps less simple than it looks, for it is impossible to deny that an emphatic and in some mouths aggressive assertion of independence of the home Church and its name may tend to weaken somewhat the *home* sense of responsibility for helping (with men if not with money) a Church which some will say is eagerly claiming to set aside the old nomenclature and so to weaken the old nexus.

But though that feeling of almost irritation on the part of the Mother Church cannot be ignored, and may produce results which we should deplore (e.g. in a greater reluctance of men to go to Australia) I think it is not really based on a wise or wide or far-seeing view of the nature and prospects of the Anglican Communion as a whole. I will not conceal from you that some things are at present making me uncomfortable as I look *forward*. For example, the Primate of New Zealand seems to be moving towards an even active and vociferous repudiation of any nexus with the home Church except the most shadowy. And if (as seems not to be unlikely) he now acts in a way directly contrary to all home advice and conventional rule and relies upon his Primatial position as enabling him even to defy his own Bishops, and to *denounce* Lambeth, and London, and S.P.G., we have no check or hold whatever upon him.

It need only be added that Archbishop Davidson, though desirous of strengthening the fellowship of the different Churches in the Anglican Communion as self-governing Churches in communion with one another, was utterly opposed to anything in the nature of a Patriarch with powers of government over provinces outside his own. It is of interest, in the light of the reference in the above letter to the attitude of the Bishop of Dunedin (Dr. Nevill), Primate of New Zealand, to quote the Archbishop's express disclaimer of any papal authority, such as Bishop Nevill had supposed to have been asserted on behalf of the see of Canterbury:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF DUNEDIN, N.Z.

Private. 17th December, 1907.

You are reported as giving some details about an incident in the Lambeth Conference of 1878, with reference specially to the question which you believe to have been then discussed as to a possible Patriarchate of an official sort in the See of Canterbury. I am in full accord with the views you express as to the unwisdom of our taking any step whatever which could result in Papalizing the Anglican Church. History affords us abundant reasons to the contrary.[1]

II

Another kind of question which not seldom came Dr. Davidson's way was the linguistic problem. An interesting example is found in the difficulty which arose as to the proper translation of 'Jesus Christ' into Swahili, for use in those parts of East Africa where Swahili was spoken. The translation customary hitherto had been 'Isa Masiya', but Bishop Hine of Zanzibar wished the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to print another version, namely 'Yesu Kristo', and the question was referred to the Archbishop, who has the duty of approving all translations made for the S.P.C.K. The Bishop of Zanzibar wrote to the Archbishop explaining that the alteration had already been made locally ten years before:

The BISHOP OF ZANZIBAR *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

12th December, 1905.

We made the alteration some ten years ago (i) because the word 'Isa' is a common name in use among Mohammedans here in Zanzibar. One often hears of 'Isa bin Abdallah' or 'Isa bin Mohammad'—and we felt that the Sacred Name ought not to be one in popular use among the followers of an alien religion. In the Mombasa diocese for the same reason they have changed 'Isa' into 'Yesu', though 'Isa' is still used in Uganda. (ii) 'Kristo' was

[1] The Report of the Committee of the Lambeth Conference, 1908, on Organization within the Anglican Communion, contains the following paragraph. 'Your Committee record their conviction that no supremacy of the See of Canterbury over Primatial or Metropolitan Sees outside England is either practicable or desirable. In stating this your Committee do not forget the peculiar circumstances which determine the relation of the Metropolitan See of India to the See of Canterbury. The Committee further bear witness to the universal recognition in the Anglican Communion of the ancient precedence of the See of Canterbury.'

substituted at the same time for Masiha because I found it was the form used by *all* the different Christian Missions in East and Central Africa with the single exception of C.M S. Thus Kristo (or Kristu) is used by the various Roman Missions here in Zanzibar and on the adjacent mainland whether in British or German or Portuguese East Africa and Central Africa. It is used also by the different Nonconformist Missions, the Scotch Presbyterians in Central Africa at Blantyre and Baudawi and Koudoi: also by the Dutch Reformed Mission in Nyasaland—by the Lutheran Missions in German East Africa—by the Moravians near Tanganyika—by the Friends in Pemba—and I believe by all Missions 'of all denominations' except C.M S. in Mombasa and Uganda.

The only objection to the form *Kristo* is that the adult African has a difficulty in pronouncing the 'Kr' sound at the beginning of a word: but this applies only to the older generation. The younger ones, boys and girls in schools and colleges, can be taught to say it quite well.

The form 'Masiha' was apparently invented by Bishop Steare (C M S generally *now* writes Masihi, except in Uganda)· and the rather awkward words 'Wa Masihiya', 'Ki Masihiya' were coined by Bishop Steare to represent 'Christians' and 'Christianity' respectively.

We (U M.C.A) dropped all these forms years ago and it would be a serious matter now to restore them again It is C M S. (who have their own publication N.T. etc) who are the only adherents of the older forms.

The Archbishop, feeling, as he told the S.P C.K , that 'the matter seems to me to be one of the most important that can come before us, in view of the hope we entertain that 100 years hence there may be flourishing native churches throughout East Africa', wrote thus to the Bishop of Zanzibar

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF ZANZIBAR

19th January, 1906.

I thank you cordially for the trouble you have taken in writing to me so fully upon the linguistic question, and indeed it is a matter of vital importance My sole wish of course is to further what is best in the general interests of the Church Catholic, but I confess to feeling some anxiety at present lest we drift into an established usage of accepting a variety of names for our Blessed Lord in the different Missions of Eastern Africa I am hoping within the next few days to see some of those who are interested

in the several Missions and Societies—S.P.G., U.M.C.A., C.M.S., S.P.C.K., and Bible Society—and it would appear to me that it may be wise to have a conference upon the whole question. You will remember that some twenty-five years ago Missionary work in China was greatly hindered by the variety then existing as to the word used for God in the various Missions, and it was always said that, if the matter had been properly attended to a hundred years before, the complications which ensued might have been avoided. I presume that the rule requiring the Archbishop of Canterbury to approve the translations paid for by S.P.C.K. carries with it some measure of responsibility, and that the Archbishop is not intended simply to endorse the requests which reach him. But I should be grieved indeed were I to do anything which hindered your work. I wonder whether any co-operation was attempted, or any central sanction obtained, when the different Societies and Missions adopted different words a generation ago. I hope to communicate with you further upon the subject before long and you may rely upon my earnest desire to meet your wishes if possible.

In due course, after consultation between representatives of the different Missionary Societies, S P C.K., the Bible Society, the Church Missionary Society, the Universities Mission to Central Africa, and the S.P.G. (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts), a conference was held at Lambeth attended by the Bishops of Uganda and Zanzibar, Bishop Montgomery, and others. The following resolution was passed, July 2, 1906:

That this Committee make the following recommendations to the Archbishop of Canterbury:

(i) That the S P.C.K. should proceed with the printing of the Swahili Prayer Book, retaining the form Yesu Christo but adding a note to the effect that this is the same as Isa Masyah.

(ii) That the Bishop of Uganda should approach the Roman Missions in Uganda with a view to the adoption of the form Yesu Christo by both Roman and Anglican Missions in that area.

(iii) That the Lambeth Conference should be asked to consider the question of the translation of Our Lord's Name into languages which are subject to Semitic or Mahommedan influence.

Resolution passed by a Committee meeting at Lambeth on July 2nd under the Chairmanship of Bishop Montgomery.

Members of Committee.

Bishop Montgomery.
Bishop of Uganda.
Bishop of Zanzibar.
The Rev. E. McClure.
" J Sharp.
" D Craven.
" G R. Blackledge.
" Rafaelle Scott (of Scotch Presbyterian Mission at Blantyre).

On October 15 the Bishop of Uganda (Dr. Tucker) wrote to the Archbishop as follows:

The BISHOP OF UGANDA *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

15th October, 1906.

At the Conference of Bishops from East Africa held at Lambeth in June last I was asked to approach the Roman Missions in Uganda with a view to their adoption of Yesu Kristo instead of Isa Masiya as the name of Our Lord.

Your Grace will be glad to hear that both Missions are willing to adopt our suggestion. This will remove my chief difficulty with regard to the matter, and will lead, I do not doubt, to the general use throughout East Africa of the Greek in place of the Semitic form.

The Archbishop's careful consideration thus brought about a singular unity on a point of vital importance for the future of Missions in East Africa. Bishop Hine of Zanzibar, who had been responsible for the change, in sending the writer a packet of the Archbishop's letters to himself for the purpose of this biography (including some quoted above), makes the following comment (June 15, 1931) on the Archbishop's extraordinary personal trouble with all his correspondence, quite apart from that of an official character.

What struck me as so wonderful about him was the trouble he took to answer letters (in earlier years always in his own handwriting) and often long ones—in answer to matters I brought before him. He was good enough to say he found my letters 'interesting' and that he gave up Sunday afternoons to replying himself to letters which were of a personal rather than an official nature.

III

Besides his constant communications with Bishops and Missionary leaders Overseas, the Archbishop also took care to use any opportunities afforded for knowledge and help of any character through the presence of Governors or High Commissioners in England on leave, especially where questions of education arose. Among the most interesting of such interviews was one with Lord Cromer about the educational problems in Egypt. Before seeing him, he had asked for and received a full account from the missionary point of view from the Rev. Douglas Thornton, one of the very best missionaries of his day; who had written to the Archbishop, on July 5, 1906:

> If Lord Cromer still refuses to give a *right of entry* to Christian teachers for Christian pupils in primary schools, it would be possible, would it not, to press strongly the justice of giving grants-in-aid to both Moslem and Christian primary and secondary schools, ready to come under government inspection in secular education, even where some foreign language (like English) is taught? Hitherto such grants have only been offered in purely vernacular schools.

Lord Cromer called at Lambeth on July 13, and here is the Archbishop's memorandum of what happened.

> He gave me a most interesting account of the educational problems in Egypt and of the need of careful and delicate steering if difficulties on the religious question are to be avoided. He thinks Gairdner and Thornton excellent fellows, but that they a little exaggerate the effectiveness of their own work and are not always very discreet. He fully agrees with them that as a matter of simple fairness the Bible might be taught to Christian children, Copts or others, in Government Schools alongside of the teaching of the Koran to Mohammedans. But, though perfectly reasonable and logically fair, this would be unworkable in practice. He said in effect 'If I were to introduce that plan, I should need 10,000 more troops in Egypt. It would be the way to raise a religious war. The children would begin by throwing the slates at one another's heads, and it would spread to outside rioting. If we had good buildings with class rooms so that the children could be separated in different rooms for their teaching, it might possibly be managed, though it would not be easy even then; but, as it is, with our big single-room schools, it is absolutely out of the question.' He does not

greatly believe in the possibility of converting Mohammedans to Christianity; nor, I think, though he did not say so, does he greatly believe in its usefulness in the present state of Egypt. But he is wholly friendly to Missionary work in the impartial way, and gave me an interesting account of his having had an interview in his own house with the son of a Syrian Sheik whom (?) Thornton had converted to Christianity, and whose father, a Moslem, was furious He got the father and the son, together with the Missionaries and a leading Mohammedan layman, all to his house. He then closeted the father and the son together, the son being 22 years old and able to judge for himself, and when they had had their private interview he asked the son in the presence of all these people, including the father, what he wished to do, and he replied that he wished to be a Christian and to go to England with Mr. Thornton. Whereupon Cromer took down in writing the statement that he did this of his own free will, that he (Cromer) had in no kind of way advocated it or expressed approval or disapproval; and the father, though he lamented the change, was perfectly satisfied and agreed that all had been absolutely fair. . . .

He spoke with warmth of the good work being done by the missionaries to the heathen south of the Soudan C M S is much to be commended for what they are doing there But he laughed greatly at Bishop Blyth's eager anxiety as to how the converts there were to be confirmed He said that when men and women have been running about for centuries without a stitch of clothing, the question of their confirmation can quite well be postponed until they have learned more elementary things

Lord Cromer's view was perhaps natural in a somewhat Olympian statesman resident in an Eastern land, but was hardly likely to appeal to a missionary of the Christian faith.

Many other illustrations could be given of Davidson's knowledge and interest, as well as of the trust placed in his judgement by the most different kinds of people But enough has been said to give an impression, at least, of the richness of his experience and his wisdom, and to explain why so many roads led from so many provinces to Lambeth.

IV

The two great Anglican gatherings in the summer of 1908 to which we have already referred were the Pan-Anglican Congress and the Lambeth Conference. The first, held in June, was a congress attended by representatives, clerical and lay, from

different parts of the Anglican Communion all over the world. It was an unofficial assembly intended to stir the imagination of the Anglican Communion, and to give the rank and file a new sense of unity, besides leading to fresh offers of service by clergy at home to the Church Overseas. The idea was due to Bishop Montgomery, the Secretary of the S.P.G , and had been set out by him in a sermon in St. Paul's Cathedral in 1902. The organization of the plan, which took five years to complete, was entrusted to the Central Board of Missions and a full-time Secretary, Rev. A. B. Mynors. A list of subjects was sent out to all Anglican Bishops and, when their answers had been received, the results were tabulated and forwarded to them for their final opinion. Preliminary papers on the topics selected were prepared in advance by leading scholars, and were also sent round the world. During the eight days in which the Congress took place, it was calculated that each day 17,000 people attended the different meetings in the different sections in the Albert Hall, the Church House, and other halls in London. A large Thank-offering Fund was raised and spent on Overseas work. The Pan-Anglican Congress was an immense achievement and kindled the enthusiasm of Churchmen all over the world. It was educational in character, the meetings were held in public, papers were read and discussion followed, but no resolutions were passed expressing any judgement of the Congress on the topic handled. The Archbishop presided over some of the meetings, and received the representatives at Lambeth Palace: but the strain was very great, and he was clear that it would never again be right for two such vast efforts as the Pan-Anglican Congress and the Lambeth Conference to be held so close together.

The Lambeth Conference itself followed the Pan-Anglican Congress. It was the regular decennial Conference of Anglican Bishops meeting in private for common counsel, and was presided over from first to last by the Archbishop of Canterbury. No account is ever issued of the speeches and debates, but the Resolution, Encyclical letters, and Reports of the Committees were published at the time, and are accessible in the official Report.[1] It is therefore unnecessary to give space to its proceedings here. It was attended by 242 Anglican Bishops from all parts of the world, and dealt with a large and varied agenda. Resolutions were

[1] *Report of the Lambeth Conference*, 1908. S P C.K

passed on definitive subjects, after they had been considered by special committees of the Conference, which sat for a fortnight in between the weeks opening the session of the full Conference (July 6 to July 11) and the closing session (July 27 to August 5). The following table of the Reports of the Committees indicates the subjects discussed:

(i) The Faith and Modern Thought.
(ii) Supply and Training of Clergy.
(iii) Religious Education.
(iv) Foreign Missions.
(v) The Book of Common Prayer.
(vi) Administration of Holy Communion.
(vii) Ministries of Healing.
(viii) Marriage Problems.
(ix) Moral Witness of the Church.
(x) Organization in the Anglican Communion.
(xi) Reunion and Intercommunion.

The Encyclical letter was prepared by the Archbishop himself with assistance especially from the Bishops of Oxford (Paget), Salisbury (Wordsworth), and Bombay (Palmer). The manuscript has been preserved, in which the piecing together of the various hands is shown in a most interesting way. The leading idea of the Encyclical was 'service', and round this the general findings of the Conference were effectively grouped. There were one or two additional subjects upon which single resolutions were adopted.

A word may be added about one or two unrecorded aspects of the Conference—and especially the hospitality of Lambeth Palace, and the Chairmanship of the Archbishop. All through the summer a succession of Overseas Bishops and their wives spent two nights each at the Palace in groups of six to twelve. This gave every one of the visiting Bishops a feeling of friendship and a sense of home. Mrs. Davidson was a most generous hostess at all times; and in welcoming Bishops from overseas she excelled. 'It is a wonderful experience to stay at Lambeth,' wrote a Bishop's daughter to Mrs. Davidson afterwards, 'and I think you make it home for all those who are with you.' Moreover, the Archbishop himself used the opportunity which the visits gave him to add to his knowledge of each Bishop's problems. And he often gave the impression of knowing more about a

particular diocese and its needs and difficulties than the Bishop himself. In addition to this, the Archbishop was accustomed to gather groups of Bishops from China, Japan, or East Africa respectively for special occasions, during the weeks of the Conference in order to talk to them, and to hear them talk to one another, about the problems and possibilities of their particular part of the world.

As the Chairman of the Conference, the Archbishop used to say that the interest and responsibility of Chairmanship were enhanced by the fact that he knew himself to be presiding over professional Presidents. Every one of the Bishops attending was accustomed in his own territory to be sitting in the Chair. But Archbishop Davidson was, it was generally agreed, a masterly Chairman. Some thought him at times too patient, and one of the American Bishops was heard to 'guess' that 'that Archbishop of yours has taken a return ticket on the line of least resistance'!

At the end of the Conference the closing speech was made by the Bishop of Albany (W. C. Doane), who spoke 'not as an American Bishop but as the Bishop oldest but one in consecration and longest in attendance at these Lambeth Conferences'. This was the tribute he paid to the Chairman:

> There is nobody here in this Conference who has not been more or less occupied with the duties of presiding over public bodies; there is nobody here, I am sure, who does not realise how often that position is a difficult one, and there is none of us who has not been presided over again and again by presidents whose chief function seems to have been to prolong and to hinder the progress of business. In this instance we have a man who, in my judgment, combines a sort of concentrated extract and essence of archiepiscopal qualities: the shrewd and statesmanlike political insight of Archbishop Tait, the gracious and courteous considerateness of Archbishop Benson, and the strength and power of Archbishop Temple. I want to bear my witness to the fact that he has been over and over again in this Conference what I believe the chemical people call the solvent: that some words coming from him, often after the beginnings of such mild differences and divisions as have appeared from time to time among us, have reduced all the elements into one single and perfect condition of harmony and unity. I have been constantly convinced for many a day that the second of those beautiful prayers which I believe his Grace prepared for us has been abundantly answered by Almighty God,

in that He has given us the grace and guidance of His Holy Spirit in what we have conferred about; but above all I am perfectly clear that that petition in the Litany that we have said here every morning, namely that God would give the special gifts of wisdom and counsel to him who was called upon to preside over this Conference, has been richly and abundantly and fully granted and permitted

So, my dear Archbishop, if you will let me, as one who has loved you for many years, one who feels that he expresses simply in his old age a feeling of infinite confidence in you in the position that you occupy officially as *primus inter pares*—personally, I believe, in the admiration and affection of all your brethren as *supremus supra pares*,—I desire merely to say that no words of mine, and I think no words of ours, can be sufficiently warm and strong to express what, under God, we owe to you for the happy conclusions to which this Conference has come.

V

The missionary interest of the Archbishop found another illustration in a wider field, which yet has a link with the Lambeth Conference of 1908. In July of that year, at the very time the Lambeth Conference was meeting, the Archbishop was invited to give his support to a great World Missionary Conference to be held in Edinburgh in 1910. The purpose of the World Conference was officially defined as 'research and conference regarding missionary work and problems'. It was to be attended by representatives of the missionary societies of the principal Protestant Churches throughout the world. And it had been formally decided that 'no resolution shall be allowed to be presented at all which involves questions of doctrine or church policy with regard to which the Churches or Societies taking part in the Conference differ among themselves'. There was, however, some nervousness in Anglican circles when the Missionary Societies of the Church of England were invited to co-operate. In the Committee on Foreign Missions of the Lambeth Conference, under the chairmanship of the Bishop of St. Albans (Jacob), the question of co-operation between Anglican and non-Anglican missions caused much discussion. In its Report printed as an appendix to the official Report of the Lambeth Conference[1] (together with the Reports of the other Committees)

[1] *The Six Lambeth Conferences, 1867–1920*, pp 380–1, and p. 331.

the Committee emphasized the importance of 'a grateful recognition of the real unity, despite all divisions, of the Christian Society in the face of all other (non-Christian) religions'; and side by side with 'a frank recognition of denominational differences in matters of importance', the Committee expressed the desire that there should be 'an understanding between Christian bodies engaged in evangelising the non-Christian world'. The Lambeth Conference as a whole, however, expressed the general attitude of the Anglican episcopate in more guarded terms, laying special stress on the duty of prayer for Reunion:

> 58. This Conference reaffirms the resolution of the Conference of 1897 that 'Every opportunity should be taken to emphasise the Divine purpose of visible unity amongst Christians as a fact of revelation'. It desires further to affirm that in all partial projects of reunion and inter-communion the final attainment of the divine purpose should be kept in view as our object; and that care should be taken to do what will advance the reunion of the whole of Christendom, and to abstain from doing anything that will retard or prevent it
>
> 59. The Conference recognises with thankfulness the manifold signs of the increase of the desire for unity among all Christian bodies; and, with a deep sense of the call to follow the manifest guiding of the Holy Spirit, solemnly urges the duty of special intercession for the unity of the Church, in accordance with our Lord's own prayer.

Six months later, in December 1908, the S.P.G. Standing Committee declined an invitation to be officially represented, in spite of the friendly attitude of its secretary, Bishop Montgomery. The opposition of the more rigid churchmen was therefore somewhat pronounced What line would the Archbishop take? On July 5, 1909, he received a deputation consisting of Mr. J. R. Mott, Mr. J. H. Oldham, Mr. Tissington Tatlow, and Prebendary Fox (Secretary of the C M.S.), together with (but not as a member of the deputation) Bishop Montgomery (Secretary of the S.P.G.). The Archbishop was formally invited to address the opening meeting on June 14, 1910. He expressed his interest —but indicated his difficulties:

> I pointed out to them the difficulties of my position: how my going thither might compromise some people who are quite willing to keep silence, although they disapprove of the joint action, but

who would not keep silence if they thought that by the Archbishop's presence the whole Church was committed. I told them that I must think the whole matter over and take counsel with those who can advise me best.

Eight months passed, and a letter to Mr. Oldham showed that he was still uncertain. But in the end, two months before the Conference took place, he decided to go. He gave an admirable address at the first public meeting of the Conference, attended by some 1,200 delegates from all over the world, in the Assembly Hall at Edinburgh on June 14, 1910—emphasizing the central place which missionary work should hold in the Church of Christ. He spoke of his own experience:

> It is perhaps not presumptuous to say that probably to the desk of no other man in the British Isles does there flow in weekly, daily, almost hourly, so varied a stream of communications about the Church's activities and problems, its mistakes and its failures, and its victories, as flows in steady volume from the whole circumference of the earth to my room, not, of course, as to a place of authority or governance—pray understand that—but as to a central pivot or exchange And happily it is not letters only that flow in; it is also men and women

He told of the immense opportunity which such a Conference must reveal:

> We meet, as has been well said, for the most serious attempt which the Church has yet made to look steadily at the whole fact of the non-Christian world, and to understand its meaning and its challenge. We look at it from standpoints not by any means the same, geographical, racial, or denominational. No one of us bates a jot of the distinctive convictions which he deliberately holds. Therein lies in part the value of the several contributions which will be made to our debates. But we are absolutely one in our allegiance to our living Lord.

And it was with deep religious conviction that he closed, as he began:

> Be quite sure—it is my single thought tonight that the place of missions in the life of the Church must be the central place and none other.

Thus the Archbishop had given a conspicuous witness not only

to his convictions on the central place of missions in the life of the Church; but to the whole scope of Christianity in the mission field.

VI

This chapter shall end with an account of the launching of the Archbishops' Western Canada Fund in the same year as the World Missionary Conference. It was the largest missionary effort with which Archbishop Davidson was personally and directly associated. It had its origin in the rapid development of Western Canada, with its immense resources, at the beginning of the twentieth century. There had been a great inrush of settlers from the British Isles, from the Continent of Europe, and from the United States of America, and in a comparatively few years Western Canada had become a great and swiftly growing nation. The Church of England in Canada and other religious bodies had made valiant efforts to provide for the spiritual interests of this vast influx of immigrants. But the task was beyond the powers of the Canadian Churches and the various agencies in England and Scotland which had endeavoured to support them. Much greater help from outside Canada was urgently required. As the Archbishop of Rupertsland[1] wrote:

> It is to supplement the efforts of the Canadian Church, and to fill up what is lacking in its power to help at this crisis in the history of the Canadian West, that I desire to see the Church in the Mother Land make a supreme endeavour just now.

The Church in Eastern Canada, with the exception of the diocese of Algoma, no longer needed or asked for assistance from England: indeed, it gave large help to the Church in the West. Again, British Columbia, beyond the Rocky Mountains, had already received substantial aid from agencies in England, although the inrush of settlers into that territory had not as yet been so overwhelming as it had become in the Prairie Provinces. It was, then, for the Prairie Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta that the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, after forming an influential Council to support them, on February 26, 1910, issued an earnest appeal. And the object of their appeal was to ask the Home Church to do its utmost to supply the Canadian Church with workers, and the means to support them, and

[1] Dr. S P. Matheson.

to help to establish churches and schools, and other agencies for spiritual work, among the settlers. In making this appeal they counted upon the active co-operation of the societies in England (S.P.C.K., S.P.G., the Colonial and Continental Church Society, the Qu'Appelle Association, the Algoma Association, the Navvy Mission, etc.) which had already done much to support the Canadian Church in the past. There was at first some idea of merging these older efforts in the Archbishops' Fund; but it was ultimately decided that the new appeal should be made independently.

Within a few months the two Archbishops were able to report that the amount received in answer to their appeal was approaching £35,000; that the Rev. W. G. Boyd (Archbishop Davidson's Resident Chaplain), with eight other clergymen and several laymen, had gone to Canada and had established themselves at Edmonton as a missionary centre; and that the Rev. Douglas Ellison, formerly head of the Railway Mission in South Africa, had undertaken to organize work on the Canadian railways. The Fund was strongly supported by the Governor-General of Canada, Earl Grey, an old friend of the Archbishop ever since their time together at Harrow. In due course three centres were founded in the then dioceses of Edmonton, Qu'Appelle, and Calgary.

The Fund (with Canon T. G. Beal as Secretary) lasted ten years, in the midst of which came the War, resulting in a sad shortage of clergy. As time went on other difficulties appeared. But by 1920, when the Fund was closed, the sum of £180,000 had been raised, 138 workers had been sent out, seventy churches had been built and missions established, and 168 sites for churches had been bought. And from start to close the personal sympathy and attention of Archbishop Davidson never failed.



R T D DOCTOR OF DIVINITY,
ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY
(1906)

CHAPTER XXXII

INTERLUDE

The proposition which I have now endeavoured to illustrate was, at a subsequent period of his life, the opinion of Johnson himself He said to Sir Joshua Reynolds, 'If a man does not make new acquaintance as he advances through life, he will soon find himself left alone. A man, Sir, should keep his friendship *in constant repair*.' BOSWELL, *Life of Dr. Johnson* (1755)

I

IT is one of the penalties of such an office as that of Archbishop of Canterbury that public business tends to be so exacting as to leave all too little space for the happiness of intimate friendships. Yet Archbishop Davidson, in spite of all the pressure upon him, never let the personal element go: and never failed to reveal a deep human interest in all his dealings with other people, old or young. An acquaintance which began over political business very frequently grew into a firm friendship, quite independent of politics. We have seen that his intimacy with Mr. Balfour began with meetings about the Education Act of 1902; and we have seen also that his relations with Mr. Runciman were strengthened into a fine mutual trust through all the changes and chances of the Education Bill in 1908 Nor did a sharp difference of opinion over great public issues weaken the personal intimacy or confidence which bound him in other matters to such formidable ecclesiastical critics as Lord Halifax and Sir Alfred Cripps. The latter, indeed, had felt bound to offer resignation of his post as Vicar-General just because of his difference with Davidson over the educational issue in 1908: and an admirable instance of the Archbishop's largeness of mind and of his trust in his counsellors is seen in the reply which he sent dissuading him from such a course:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* SIR ALFRED CRIPPS

Lambeth Palace, S.E. 25th November, 1908.

My dear Vicar General,

Pray do not take this grave step without our having a talk. I do think you misunderstand my position and attitude in this matter.

I have the gravest conceivable responsibility at a critical juncture in our history, and I *must* be guided by the dictates of conscience as in the sight of God. But I want to have the help and counsel, however widely you and others differ from me, of friends and advisers, or even 'protesters' like yourself, and it would, I honestly think, be a serious disaster were difference of opinion upon a great question of Educational policy to lead to the severance of ties of an official kind, wherewith that question—momentous as it is—has nothing to do.

So pray let us talk it over, and *then* if you decide that you must resign, I of course will not try to press you unfairly. But surely the time has not yet come at any rate?

Whatever happens I am not going to let our *friendship* be broken—so far as I am concerned—and I honestly think you may suppose my position to be a different one from what it is.

The talk followed, and, after the failure of the Bill, the offer of resignation was withdrawn.

In a similar spirit of generous friendship about the same time he wrote to congratulate his doughty antagonist, Dr Clifford, on the completion of a pastorate of fifty years at the Westbourne Chapel: and the letters of both may be placed side by side to their mutual credit

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* REV. DR. CLIFFORD

Old Palace, Canterbury.
17th October, 1908.

I see that during the last ten days your friends—the circle is, I know, a wide one—have been most appropriately commemorating your pastoral jubilee.

I should like to be allowed to add, for myself, a word of fraternal greeting to a Christian teacher who has for so many years fought with strenuousness and perseverance on behalf of purity and temperance and moral earnestness and many another principle which should be dear to the followers of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ

There are big and important matters upon which you and I profoundly differ—there are some, wherein you regard me, I believe, as in a high degree mischievous and wrong-headed, both in policy and action. But you will at least let me assure you of my respectful and sympathetic appreciation of such effort as you have continuously devoted, for half a century of London life, to the furtherance of civic righteousness and Christian citizenship and

progress. After all, the things wherein we differ bulk very small in comparison with those wherein, in our Master's service, we are at one.

The REV. DR. CLIFFORD *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Westbourne Park Chapel, Porchester Road,
London, W.
20. 10. 1908.

I am deeply indebted to Your Grace for your most kind and fraternal letter, so full of cordial appreciation and good wishes. It is most welcome; and with all my heart I completely reciprocate the fine Christian feeling it expresses.

We stand at different angles of the Christian life, but there are large breadths of Christian thought and faith and work in which we are agreed. Our judgements on some matters that go down to the very roots of the life and well-being of the nation and of the Christian Church differ; but we are one in whole-hearted allegiance to the Lord Jesus Christ as our Saviour and Master, in desire for the triumph of the Redeemer's Kingdom, in the honesty with which we have reached our conclusions and in the sincerity with which we defend them; and these are the things of supreme importance.

For all your kind congratulations on my fifty years pastorate in this City I offer my heartiest thanks.

A more personal ministry was that which the Archbishop gave to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in the weeks before his death.[1] Many a day, as Campbell-Bannerman lay conscious that the end was approaching, Randall Davidson would walk to the house and sit by his bedside and speak to him, and listen as well. He often used to remark on the frankness with which Campbell-Bannerman, during these days, criticized his own colleagues; and the Archbishop's own comfort and ministry as a brother Scot and a Christian minister, did much to lighten and cheer his last weeks. The following letter, written by Mr. Vaughan Nash[2] just after Campbell-Bannerman's death, is a testimony to this:

VAUGHAN NASH, ESQ., *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

10 Downing Street, Whitehall, S.W.
22nd April, 1908.

Mrs. Campbell does not feel equal to writing to-day, and she has asked me to thank you for your kind telegram and for all your

[1] *Life of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman*, J. A. Spender, ii. 385–6
[2] Private Secretary to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman

affectionate and helpful ministrations, which did so much to brighten Sir Henry's last days. I cannot tell you how much difference your visits made to him.

The end was rather unexpected—quite painless and no distress. He had been unconscious for some time.

The first part of the funeral service will be at Westminster Abbey on Monday, and the burial will be at Meigle the following day.

The Archbishop was one of the pall-bearers at the first part of the funeral in Westminster Abbey.

Another instance of deep personal consideration, side by side with a sense of high public duty, was found this same year in his tender co-operation with Mrs. Maclagan in persuading the old Archbishop of York to resign. It was not easy, for the Archbishop of York did not at first perceive the necessity of departure. There was no precedent for such resignation of either the Northern or the Southern Primacy; and it was strange that Archbishop Davidson should join in the making of such precedent, first, in 1908, for Dr. Maclagan, and then, in 1928, in his own case. Mrs. Maclagan by herself was not sure of bringing her husband to the point, and turned to Randall Davidson both for practical help and for comfort. No letter of Archbishop Davidson's own has been preserved, but his power and his wisdom may both be seen in the following letter:

MRS. MACLAGAN *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Bishopthorpe, York.
2nd October, 1908.

Very Private.

I trust your holiday has been a real success, and that you will come back as a giant refreshed

Important events have marched quickly since we returned here, and my dear husband has now quite made up his mind to resign. Moreover he has entirely forgotten all our attempts to persuade him to this decision, and, as far as I can judge, I think he believes he is acting entirely on his own initiative. He will do nothing till he has seen you, and I need hardly tell you how patient and gentle you must be with him. . . . His mental powers are very much weaker than they were in London, and my children and I feel the great importance of getting the question settled as soon as possible. He talks of resigning on the 1st January. I expect it will take a

long time to arrange the legal business—pension, etc., as there are no precedents to guide us. . . .

Forgive this long, rambling letter, you have brought it on yourself by your more than brotherly kindness to a sorrowful woman.

My dear love to Edith.

The Archbishop of York duly came to Lambeth, and signed his deed of resignation. As the Archbishop and Mrs. Maclagan left the house, Mrs. Davidson was heard to remark: 'I hope that when our time comes we shall go with such dignity.'

As a pendant, however, to these illustrations of the Archbishop's constant readiness to help those in positions of great responsibility in Church or State, in these human ways, we may add a story of Sir Thomas Barlow's which shows a readiness just as great to help all sorts of people.

When in the zenith of their powers and activities the Archbishop and Mrs. Davidson made themselves accessible to all sorts and conditions of men out of all reasonable bounds, 'beyond all common sense'. That at least was Sir Thomas's view, and so he gave the Archbishop a little homily. He said: 'You know you are not only Archbishop of Canterbury but have got a very prominent place in the government of the country. However much you are bored by it you are bound to be consulted in vastly important matters. There are only twenty-four hours in the day. If you are so ready to help Tom, Dick and Harry in their small matters it will be physically impossible for you to attend to the weightier matters of the law.' The Archbishop simply replied: 'Well, I can only tell you that such help as I could give to Tom, Dick, and Harry, as you call them, has helped me to give counsel in the weightier matters of the law.' In telling this story to the writer, Sir Thomas described the Archbishop's answer as 'the very finest thing I ever heard him say'.[1]

II

We have already shown more than once how keen was the Archbishop's enjoyment of a holiday. One of the best he ever had was this year at Courmayeur, after the toils of the Lambeth Conference and before the educational trials of the autumn. A

[1] Sir Thomas, in telling the same story to another friend, added, 'And I said to myself, "He's right T. B, be quiet!"'

picture of him taken at the time, with the Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Paget) and others, shows him enjoying his ease. Here is a letter in reply to one from Mrs. Creighton, the widow of Bishop Mandell Creighton, describing both his pleasure and his reflections:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* MRS. CREIGHTON

Alagna September 10, 1908.

You know, I think, all the places we have been seeing We came out via Martigny and Aosta to Courmayeur, stayed there a fortnight. Then by Châtillon and Issogne to Gressoney. Stayed there a week Then over the Col d'Olen to this quiet village Again and again in long walks of glorious sunshine and fresh air I have thought about your 'feel' as to mountains. I think on the whole I agree with you as to our love of them growing keener as one grows old. At all events it is a different sort of love. But my own caring for mountains always depends greatly on the conditions. A big blaring Hotel full of English (even when they are of the best sort) takes away from the mountains half their charm. We have been lucky enough to have no English at all in these inns—save here and there a climber—and our walks have been in keeping with the quiet rests of the long evenings. The Bishop of Oxford has been with us all through—until today when he has gone off for England—and we have the hotel to ourselves. Tomorrow we hope the Bishop of Southwark will bring Winny to join us and leave her to go with us to Varallo and then to the lakes—getting back to Lambeth we hope by Oct. 1. with all the prospect of a big busy bustling striving session before Christmas

What a year it has been. I don't need to tell you how keenly I, of all men, have longed to have had your husband with us in the talkings and doings which have filled our hours People no doubt must be saying that all our Conferences don't issue in very much that is practical, but I think they mistake the real gist and intent and working-gain of the Conferences. To me the good that has come from the intercourse with the far-off workers has been immeasurable—both spiritually and in other widening ways How we can make it all fruitful is a different and I think a most puzzling problem. I shall ask for your help in trying to solve it. You are one of the very few who seem to me to combine the power of vision with the power of action in our present-day Church life. Scores of helpful folk have one or the other—but I find it hard to make the visions of the thinkers bear fruit in the actions of the others.

Surely there ought to be, in some way or other, a large quiet practical new start, with a fuller knowledge of what ought to be our purpose—and a wider application of experience from many lands.

My fear is that we on whom so much responsibility must rest for central work will get plunged forthwith into the cauldron of Parliamentary strife—Education—Licensing—and so on—and miss the bigger opportunity until the chance of using it has gone by. Please help us to keep clear of that If this time of glorious rest and sunshine and fresh air has not fitted us (I mean Edith and me) better for what lies ahead—we must be wretches indeed.

God bless and keep you dear friend. You—(with all that you think and say) *matter* to me more than most people!

The Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Francis Paget), looking back at Christmas on their happiness together, wrote the following verses:

Christmas Day, 1908. With grateful and affectionate obedience.

F O., Cuddesdon,
Wheatley, S.O., Oxon.

But, is there really such a place
Within this realm of time and space?
And can it really ever be
That I shall go to Innisfree?

And shall I never hear again,
In weariness that's worse than pain,
The Minutes of last Meeting read,
The 'few words'—sad and countless—said?

And is the air quite clear and still?
Have they no Education Bill?
Do points of order never rise?
Are there no Rubrics to revise?

Does Convocation never sit?
(Does no one feel the need of it?)
And have they there no R.C C.
No E.C.U., no Q.A B.?

Your Grace, let's go! our places book,
Our luggage register with Cook.
Arise, let's go!—just you and me,—
With just two more,—to Innisfree!

III

Randall Davidson and Mrs. Davidson often took their own nieces or the daughters of old friends to enjoy their holidays with them. One of the members of the party in 1908 was Miss L. C. (Winnie) Talbot, daughter of the Bishop of Southwark, then in the twenties

She has written the following note of her friendship, which began when she first met him at Farnham in 1898, as a girl of sixteen:

I rode once with him in London and had tea with him afterwards, and put milk by mistake into the teapot, and hoped and prayed he wouldn't find out I remember so well the rather nervous moment of setting out over Lambeth Bridge, on a rather fresh horse, and the feeling of elation at going with him.

It was during a formidable visit to Whittingehame that I made friends with him I was alone there—September or October, 1906, when I was 24—and in that terrifying milieu I drew to him and he fathered me I don't remember being frightened of him. I remember walking up and down the lawn with him discussing whether or not we ought to go to kirk in Scotland, and being rather shocked at his saying that as Archbishop he wouldn't go for fear of giving offence, but obviously not with any strong principle about *not* going! Later in the afternoon we said Evensong together in his room, and afterwards he began to ask me searching questions about my Bible reading. I remember trying to hedge behind some copying or something I had done for Mr. Holland, through which flimsy screen he pierced at once. It was from that time that I felt the great tie with him, which has lasted ever since for 24 years Up till the time I went to South Africa in 1921, I stayed often at Lambeth, and went abroad with the Davidsons three times, to Alagna, Varallo, Varese, Menaggio, to Generoso Lanza d'Intelor, Simplon, Milan.

Across those years there are many memories grave and gay. We had many jokes abroad, and I finally and for ever lost all shyness of him as he knelt in his shirt-sleeves on my box to make it shut. He was an affairé traveller—he could never conceive how Father fitted in plans abroad and at home. He liked having plenty of time and to know exactly what was happening and where he was going. I can well see his anxious face at the booking-office at some small Italian station. On the other hand he was very equable. I remember a maddening Customs Official at Isella or Domo,

throwing the contents of a suitcase on the platform, and though we raged, the Archbishop only raised his eyebrows in patient and ironic submission. I don't think in all my knowledge of him I ever saw him *cross*. He enjoyed the times to the full and was a delightful companion. He was amused at my pleasure at doing things *de luxe* compared to our own economical ways of travelling. We had delightful readings aloud. I remember best Lindsay's *History of the Reformation*, which occasioned many an argument. In those days I was more of a rigid Tractarian! I remember well outside the Hotel at Menaggio his taking me gravely aside and saying that he should like to show me the spiritual aspect of Mattins! We also read Macaulay's *History*; especially the trial of the Seven Bishops. He was shocked at my abyssmal ignorance. I remember also he asked me what the National Debt was, and when I had to cry ignorance—'You old donkey, don't you know *that?*' He was a delightful expounder of things and never minded explaining anything, and didn't make you feel a fool. I used abroad to help him with his letters and had a glimpse of his wonderful thoroughness and method. We had a great 'travailing' over his Church Congress sermon in 1911, reading it over and re-writing. He always wanted to know how his writings struck someone else . . .

Lambeth has played so much part all through. I know the feel of the weight of the big front door, and the steps up, and the long passage. It seemed an empty place when he wasn't there. I can see his figure emerging out of his room or the study, often affairé with some impending function or appointment, or moments of warm welcome either in drawing-room or passage. . . I know the feel so well of knocking at his door and hearing his rather loud 'Come in' and the sight of him writing at his table, saying—'Come in, my child.' He had a way of sitting with his leg somehow tucked under him in his leather chair . . There was a wonderful sense of strength in his touch, and in his firm, strong, gentle hand. I can feel it on my shoulder, or stretching out to grasp my hand, or in blessing on my head. And as host at his own table he had a characteristic way of stretching out his hand to beckon one to sit next him. Meals could sometimes be rather shy occasions, if he was cumbered or in a silent mood, and somehow asking him to pass the butter made me shy! He didn't like general talk much. He was too discreet for it! and the meals were sometimes heavy. I used to welcome the pushing back of his chair and withdrawing to the fireplace, or a little talk along the big corridor. . .

He had a beautiful quiet voice. I can hear him calling, 'Lavinia Caroline'—a foolish joke of his. But also I loved his reading the Bible in Chapel and his reading of the prayers, a particular

inflection of 'through Jesus Christ our Lord'. He read aloud very well.

There was a rare magnanimity about him, and he had to a greater degree than anyone I have known the quality of patience. This was shown towards others' actions with which he didn't agree. But it came out mostly in regard to the many wearisome little checks of ill-health and malaise which were so constantly his. He fell down our badly lighted front steps at Kennington and broke a tendon in his thigh. He had come to discuss some point in the Education crisis—was it in 1907 or 1908? The doctor was amazed at his courage. While in great pain he drafted a letter to the Prime Minister. He called himself 'Little Johnnie Head in Air' when I saw him next day.

This quality of a strong patience was what helped to give him that rock-like quality of friendship and help and counsel. That, and his horror of exaggeration and excess, and also the wonderful way he gave one the whole of his attention, as if you were the one person and problem in the world He wrote to me in his own hand when he did write,—'I like to write to my friends in my own hand'.

I wish I had penetrated more into his own religion so far as might be, but I do know his was that deep, simple, pious godliness, depending on Prayer and devout reception of the Sacrament. One could not quite call him a Sacramentalist in the sense one would, say, Bishop Gore, for instance. . . And his whole life was shot through by prayer. I remember a cousin of ours being amazed at his telling her he remembered her in his prayers, and he often told me he prayed for me every day. I suppose his religion was eminently sane and strong and sensible and unmystical. 'Godliness' is the word which seemed to apply to him rather than 'holiness'. I remembered his saying that if he had had Bishop Awdry's[1] beauty of face he could have done anything with the Church of England!

[1] William Awdry, Bishop of Southampton, 1895–6, Bishop of Osaka, 1896–8; Bishop of South Tokyo, 1898–1908.

CHAPTER XXXIII

FOREIGN AFFAIRS. THE PEOPLE'S BUDGET

'Lydgate has lots of ideas, quite new, about ventilation and that sort of thing', resumed Mr Brooke, after he had handed out Lady Chettam, and had returned to be civil to a group of Middlemarchers. 'Hang it, do you think that is quite sound?'—upsetting the old treatment, which has made Englishmen what they are?' said Mr Standish. GEORGE ELIOT, *Middlemarch*

AN increasing amount of the Archbishop's correspondence during these years came from abroad. Some of the letters were appeals for help to relieve material distress. Others were addressed to him with the hardly disguised hope that he might use some supposed political influence with the British Government to secure redress for an oppressed or suffering nation.

I

In each case care had to be exercised to prevent extravagant hopes or groundless expectations. Thus, when in February 1909, a Deputation of Armenians wished to wait upon him publicly, to solicit his aid in obtaining help for the sufferers from famine in Cilicia, he felt obliged to point out the danger of a misapprehension with regard to his powers.

The ARCHBISHOP'S PRIVATE SECRETARY *to* PROFESSOR HAGOPIAN

Private. 27th February, 1909.

If you or other gentlemen who know the details of this appalling distress like to wait upon the Archbishop in order that he may understand the circumstances, he will be willing to arrange to receive them, but it would he thinks be most misleading were he to receive a Deputation publicly, as it would probably raise hopes the realisation of which would be entirely outside his powers. You probably know how wide is the misapprehension prevailing in Eastern Europe and in Western Asia as regards the powers of the Archbishop in such matters. Letters constantly reach Lambeth showing that the writers imagine that the Archbishop is a sort of philanthropic centre whose word is law with the generous and

who can elicit subscriptions for all and every purpose. Such a misapprehension would be encouraged were a Deputation of the kind you suggest to be received in a way that would become publicly known. It will be obvious to you, and to others who know London and the facts of English life, that it is from such persons as the Lord Mayor of London that an appeal to the sympathies of the public more properly emanates. Further, the Archbishop has during the last six months had several other requests similar to that which you transmit. He has been asked to put himself at the head of an organization for raising funds for the suffering Jacobite Christians in Eastern Turkey, and also for the Nestorian Christians in Western Persia, all of whom are suffering, as your countrymen are, from the results of severe famine. The Archbishop thinks you will understand the difficulty, and will let me know for His Grace's information whether you, with the other gentlemen named, would desire to see him privately, or whether you think that a written communication which can be made public would be more desirable.

In this instance he saw the Deputation privately, and wrote a letter which was used to obtain help, though the results of the Appeal were less satisfactory than he had hoped.

An Appeal of a different kind was made by the Archbishop of Belgrade, Metropolitan of Serbia (Dimitri), whose country had been shocked by the abrupt annexation of the Slav provinces of Herzgovinia and Bosnia by the Austrian-Hungarian Empire in October 1908:

The ARCHBISHOP OF BELGRADE *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

2nd January, 1909.

A fatal blow has been struck at the Serbian race and its unity by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzgovinia, and the whole Serbian nation has been deeply stirred by it, especially the independent States, Serbia and Montenegro. Following the advice of powerful friends the Serbian peoples were tranquillized, feeling convinced that the Powers will take their cause into their hands. But it appears that their steps in this direction will remain without any result and the Serbian peoples have again to face a desperate look out for.which there seems no help but to trust in God and in their own strength. In consequence of this I venture to write to your Grace and lay the grievances of my Flock before you in these difficult times and to ask your brotherly assistance and consolation.

After dwelling on the injuries of the Serbian people who have been 'stirred to the very bottom of their hearts' and also to 'the two most terrible powers directed against the Serbian fatherland, "the police and the executioner" on the one hand, and "dark Jesuitism" on the other', the Serbian Archbishop ended his letter thus:

> I beg to request Your Grace to be good enough to communicate the misfortune of my Flock to your people, to whom may God grant to continue to live in peace and spiritual satisfaction, and to call upon them that they might, in the spirit of mutual Christian love, unite their prayers with ours to Our Saviour The Lord Jesus Christ, to help the Serbian nation in this difficult hour of trial and to avert from them the fatal blow which threatens them.
>
> I on my part will not cease to offer hearty prayers to God for the mighty and noble English nation, whose sympathies are giving us strength not to succumb but to trust in the eternal justice of God, which upholds and can save the feeble

The Archbishop's answer was as follows:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF BELGRADE

30th January, 1909

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Grace's letter of December 20th (January 2nd) and to thank you for the assurance you give of the prayers which you are offering on behalf of our Church and Nation

With regard to the anxieties and fears to which Your Grace refers, it is my duty to point out that the Bishops of the Church of England abstain carefully from intervention in the anxious and difficult political questions which press at present upon the people of Eastern Europe, feeling that their knowledge of the problems is not sufficient to justify them in expressing opinions upon the subject. I can, however, assure Your Grace of our continuous prayers that to those troubled regions, and especially to the Christian populations therein, our Heavenly Father may in His own good time vouchsafe the blessings of peace. We pray too that all things which tend to disturbance and discord may, by the working of His Divine Providence, be steadily brought to an end, so that His Church in all lands may be permitted to work for the advancement of His Kingdom among men and for the promotion of whatsoever things are just and pure and lovely and of good report.

II

During February and March the Archbishop's influence was also being solicited at home in connexion with the Navy Scare and the talk of a war with Germany. The Mayor of Canterbury invited him to attend a meeting at the Canterbury Guild Hall, which had been called in order to pass a Resolution 'that the present superiority of the Navy should be maintained'. This invitation he refused. He received an appeal of a different kind from the President of the Free Church Council:

The REV. J SCOTT LIDGETT *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

21st March 1909.
Bermondsey Settlement, S.E

It has been suggested to me that in the present excited state of public feeling with the talk of an 'inevitable war' between this country and Germany, it might be possible and would be well for the two Archbishops and the Heads of the other Churches in this country to issue a message to the nation It would naturally avoid the material and party issues, but state the importance of maintaining the peace-loving spirit, seeking harmonious relations with the whole world, and endeavouring to facilitate a speedy arrangement as to armaments.

It seems to me that the suggestion is a good one. We should discharge our responsibility and it might be of practical service if a declaration were carefully worded May I ask Your Grace whether you think so, and if so, whether you would undertake the preparation of such a document, which should be signed by the Scottish Moderators as well as by the others I have named.

The following was his answer:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* REV J. SCOTT LIDGETT

Private. 23rd March, 1909.

I thank you cordially for a very interesting and important letter received this morning. I think you and I are probably in full agreement as to what we want at present to impress upon the public mind, but I am afraid I cannot think that we could effectively or usefully put out at this particular moment such a manifesto as you refer to. If such a document is to have the character of a public pronouncement no amount of precaution on our part, or of protestation that we are not acting politically, would prevent the

utterance from being twisted into a political declaration. On the other hand I think we ought as individuals holding responsible positions to be speaking strongly as to the need of such an attitude of mind as you describe. I shall certainly take opportunities of doing this myself, and I have no doubt that you can do it also. After a little time, when the feverishness of to-day has calmed, we may perhaps find means of speaking together in some weighty way on the lines you advocate; but to do it at this moment would in my judgement be a blunder. The 'plain man' would say, 'This tall talk or pious injunction is all very well, but do you mean that we are to have new Dreadnoughts or not?' That is the point at the moment. How am I as a rank-and-file Member of Parliament or a common-place citizen to vote?" Of course such a comment on a joint utterance of ours would be quite unfair, but I think it would be inevitable, and therefore I think we should act wisely in not at this moment putting ourselves in that position I have just been speaking to the Bishop of Southwark on the subject of your letter, and he entirely agrees with me, while he shares my sense of the obligation resting upon us to try individually in our own circles to do everything we possibly can to inculcate an attitude of mind more consistent with the principles which should actuate a Christian nation.

III

A step towards international friendship was taken this year through the visit of leaders of different Churches in England to Germany in return for a similar visit of German Ministers the previous year, in which the Archbishop had shown his interest.

He wrote as follows to the Bishop of Ripon (Dr. Boyd Carpenter):

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF RIPON

12th April, 1909.

I write this letter with reference to the endeavour which is being made to get together an adequately representative body of leading Churchmen to go to Germany in response to the visit of the German Pastors to England last year. I learn that there is some chance that you may be able to go, and I write to say how very earnestly I hope that this is true. Nobody would be so acceptable to Germany, and nobody would do so well what is wanted. I know that some other Bishops are trying to arrange matters so as if possible to go, but I do not feel sure of their succeeding. Hereford and Welldon are I believe secured. The Dean of Westminster is

trying to manage it, and London and Southwark would both like to go, but their difficulties seem immense, owing to the rush of engagements at that time including the great Church Pageant at Fulham, which needs the Bishop of London's presence. I merely write because I feel so strongly that it would be disastrous were it to appear as if the Nonconformists were anxious for friendliness with Germany, while we Churchmen were only anxious to build more Dreadnoughts. Such a notion is ludicrous, but it would probably not be easy for Germans to understand the difficulties of English Bishops in getting away from England during the Summer, even for a few days, and misrepresentations might arise. So, if you can make it practicable to go, you will, I am sure, be doing a service both to Nation and Church, and to the cause of International Peace as well. Only of course you must do nothing that is wrong as regards your own health

The Bishop of Ripon was unable to go. But four English Diocesan Bishops and a number of Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Nonconformist representatives, both clerical and lay, went out, together with several Members of Parliament. They were cordially welcomed. The German Emperor himself received them at Potsdam, and expressed the hope that the visit would tend to promote good feeling between two great kindred nations. A provisional Committee was formed to promote the good cause led by three M P.s, Mr. J. Allen Baker, Mr. W. H. Dickinson, and Mr. J. E. Ellis This also had the support of the Archbishop, though he pointed out that a good cause may itself be injured by those who 'do protest too much'.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* J. E. ELLIS, ESQ.

24th June, 1909.

I thank you cordially for a very interesting letter giving me your impression of the value of the recent visit paid to Germany by English representatives of Christian teaching and thought who received so warm a welcome. I have had the advantage of hearing also from other friends who were privileged to be of the party. Their general view as to the outcome corresponds pretty closely with your own, and there cannot I think be any real doubt as to the value of such intercourse in general or of this visit in particular. It is in this kind of way, I believe, that public opinion, or rather public sentiment, on both sides will be best elicited, consolidated, and made effective. Personally I do not think it well that we should keep on reiterating mere statements that we are friendly

with one another. Of course we are; and the reiteration may even suggest the very thing that we deny. I am also in full accord with your view that our common action for strengthening the basis of friendliness and good-will gains by being quiet and unemotional. It is harmed when it loses itself in shouting. What we want is a simple deliberate recognition of common interests, common aims, and unifying forces and facts, and this is just what has I believe been helpfully furthered by the recent visit. I feel very thankful about it all.

IV

Meantime a new crisis was rapidly developing in Parliament. And it was a crisis so serious that its issue affected the whole future relations of the two Houses to each other. Mr. Lloyd George had introduced his Budget, known as the People's Budget, on April 29. It introduced a tax on land, proposed super-taxation, higher death duties, and new taxes on licence holders. It was hailed by the Liberals as the first democratic Budget. It was denounced by Lord Lansdowne at a meeting of Unionists as 'a monument of reckless and improvident finance'.

It soon became clear that, while its course through the Commons was secure, it was bound to arouse the deepest hostility in the Lords. And here a very interesting question arose as to the attitude which the Bishops ought to adopt in a conflict of an acute character between the two Houses. Were they to vote for the Bill, on the ground that it was a finance Bill, for which on constitutional grounds the House of Commons must be held responsible, or on the ground that it was a great measure of Social Reform? Were they to vote against it, as a Bill full of dangers? Or were they to stand aside on the ground that the issue had, in fact, become an issue between the two chief political parties?

We have already seen that Archbishop Davidson was accustomed to take an active and also an independent part in the discussion of large public questions in the House of Lords. Thus on July 20, 1908, he took an unpopular line on the Old Age Pension Bill—when he urged that the time for action had arrived and that the question of the cost was one for the House of Commons. This Bill was passed. Again in the Autumn session of the same year he had vigorously supported the Government's Licensing Bill in the House of Lords, to the displeasure of the Unionist Opposition. Indeed Balfour, who never disguised his

dislike of episcopal excursions into these fields, said once in the House of Commons, amidst laughter and cheers, 'There is no use in quoting Bishops to me on a question of this kind!' The Archbishop was also one of the minority when the Licensing Bill was rejected for a second reading on November 27, 1908, in the House of Lords to the great indignation of the Commons. Once more, in September 1909, he made a long and careful speech on the Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law. The subject had not become controversial so far as Parliament was concerned. But since the two Reports—Majority and Minority—had been published at the beginning of the year, neither of the two political parties had shown any particular disposition to treat the question of Poor Law Reform with the seriousness it demanded. The Archbishop made what Lord Crewe described as a very clear and masterly statement, to a somewhat unsympathetic audience. He showed a thoroughness and a zeal which gave evidence of an intense interest in the details of social conditions and an unmistakable sense of the 'need of action in a matter vitally affecting the credit and the well-being of a Christian country'. The Lords were unsympathetic because they were at that very moment oppressed with the Budget.

V

The Budget was the Government's Budget. Would the Archbishop oppose the Government, or would he oppose the majority in the House of Lords? From the first the Archbishop's own inclination was to abstain from voting, if the issue could be kept within strictly financial limits. But from the first he also feared the possibility of a transformation into a constitutional crisis. The following is the reply which he sent to an inquiry from the Bishop of Wakefield (Dr. Eden):

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF WAKEFIELD

Private. 16th September, 1909.

Personally I have no present intention of speaking on the Finance Bill. But if there is a serious and really formidable endeavour to throw the Bill out, the discussion may easily get shifted from financial to constitutional lines, and in that case I might feel forced to say a word. I understand from you that Crewe definitely

wants you to support the Finance Bill *as such*. That is of course another question. I am very far from saying or thinking that Bishops ought necessarily to abstain from such speech. In old days —say 50 years ago—they constantly intervened in partisan political debate of that kind. It has been less common recently, and I have myself endeavoured to keep clear of that sort of controversy, where no moral question seems to be directly and obviously involved. But that is a matter of personal behaviour rather than of principle, and I should be very sorry to seem to urge silence upon any of our body if they have psalm or prophecy to utter, and think it really expedient to say their say. Hereford has I think done so more than once, but your intervention would be regarded as more important.

All through the next few weeks the Archbishop was in constant attendance at the House of Lords, and the recipient of a great many confidences. The elder Unionist statesmen, like Cromer and St. Aldwyn, however much they shook their heads over the merits of the Budget, disliked the idea of rejection, with all that it involved. The younger members of the same party had no such qualms about throwing it out. The Archbishop saw both, and made it clear to Lord Lansdowne, the Leader of the Unionist Opposition (on October 26, 1909), that he thought rejection would be a tactical blunder, not only because he believed that the Budget was popular (barring the Landlord classes and the keen Tariff Reformers), but also because he was afraid of the constitutional issue being raised if the Budget were thrown out. Lord Lansdowne disagreed, favouring rejection on the grounds of the dignity of the House of Lords. He did not think that 'the Radicals could effectively mix up the Budget question and the House of Lords Question. They would have to be brought before the constituencies separately.'

The Archbishop's view was not popular with the Unionists. Mr. Balfour's private secretary (J. J. Sandars) saw him next day (October 27) and pointed out how much the Unionist leaders:

were impressed by the danger that, if such a Bill as this were allowed to go through, similar tactics might hereafter be employed for advancing political objects independently of their financial bearing. He instanced (doubtless for my benefit) the possibility, for example, of disestablishing the Church of England by putting into what purposed to be a mere Money Bill a clause saying that the endowments of the Church should be taxed say 50 per cent.

of their value. I thought this argument was a little polished up for my special digestion, and I told him that of course it was very familiar to me, but that none the less I felt on the whole unshaken.

Everthing now pointed to a definite partisan fight: and in this the Archbishop refused to be involved. He and most of the Bishops decided on a course of abstention, but he made it clear to Bishops asking his advice that he hoped 'that every Bishop would as a matter of course preserve his absolute independence of action and take the line which seems to him right'.

VI

The Bill came before the House of Lords on November 23. The line which the Archbishop had dreaded was followed.

It was a partisan fight. Between November 23 and November 30, amongst a large number of other speakers, the new Archbishop of York (Dr. Lang), in a maiden speech, and the Bishop of Birmingham (Dr. Gore) supported the Bill, while the Bishop of Bristol (Dr. Browne) opposed it.

The majority of the Bishops, however, after consideration, resolved to stand on one side.

The Archbishop of Canterbury spoke on November 24 and stated the decision to which he and the majority of the Bishops had come. He had taken great pains in clearing his mind, and his speech, instead of being delivered, as was his custom, from very full notes, was written out in his own hand complete. It was quite short. He said that he did not propose to enter into the merits of the controversy either in its financial or its constitutional aspects. He believed that the Bishops had peculiar opportunities for knowing about and handling the moral, religious, educational, and social questions with which the House had constantly to deal. Such questions:

> range from Poor Law Reform and Prison Reform to University or Ecclesiastical Reform, from sweating and overcrowding at home to the treatment of Aborigines in Australia or West Africa and elsewhere. While in such matters as Temperance or Education it goes without saying that the Bishops are expected to be the mouthpiece of many thousands of people outside.

Then he added:

> I am satisfied as to the usefulness of that function, but I believe that its usefulness is enhanced, and that the weight attached to

what is said from these Benches is augmented by the fact that, speaking generally, the Bishops have, in recent years at least, held themselves free from the ties of what is ordinarily known as party allegiance.

I am very far from denying that questions of a distinctly political character may arise and do arise, in the treatment of which all the Bishops may rightly and consistently take full part—and I think it would be affectation to pretend that we are not, as citizens, quite as well qualified as the average Members of this House to form and express opinions on those questions. But I believe that, ordinarily speaking at any rate, the Bishops act wisely in—as I have said—sitting loose to party ties.

In the present instance it was abundantly clear that the division was to have a strictly party character, a fact which he personally much regretted. Therefore, in his judgement and in that of the majority of the Bishops, this was one of the occasions in which they were right in standing aside, though individual Bishops might quite rightly use their individual liberty.

The direct issue [he said] is the question whether or not the money which is required for the expenditure—the increasing expenditure of the country—can or cannot be rightly raised in a particular way without a further appeal to the constituents The other grave issues—which are not obscurely involved—are indirect issues or consequences after all. . . It is not because I and those who think with me are indifferent to the great social questions which are astir in England in connection with the life of the poor that we are taking the line we do take. I have tried to shew that what we are doing, we are doing deliberately, in the genuine belief that—by adhering to an independent standpoint—we increase our power of contributing usefully to the solution of some of the greatest, deepest, and most urgent problems which Parliament has continuously to consider and to decide.

In the division the Archbishop of Canterbury and the majority of Bishops abstained from voting. The Bill was defeated by 350 votes to 75.

On December 2, Mr. Asquith carried a Resolution in the House of Commons 'that the action of the House of Lords in refusing to pass into Law the financial provision made by the House for the Services of the year is a breach of the Constitution and an usurpation of the rights of the Commons'.

On December 3, Parliament was dissolved.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS, 1910

From the Reform Act the function of the House of Lords has been altered in English history. Before that Act it was, if not a directing Chamber, at least a Chamber of Directors . Since the Reform Act the House of Lords has become a revising and suspending House It can alter Bills, it can reject Bills on which the House of Commons is not yet thoroughly in earnest—upon which the nation is not yet determined Their veto is a sort of hypothetical veto They say, We reject your Bill for this once, or these twice, or even these thrice, but if you keep on sending it up, at last we won't reject it. The House has ceased to be one of latent directors, and has become one of temporary rejectors and palpable alterers BAGEHOT, *The English Constitution*, ch. IV.

IN the crisis of the Finance Bill in the House of Lords, the Archbishop had deliberately asserted his independence and the independence of the Bishops as a Bench from party conflicts. By refusing to take sides he had indeed laid himself open to criticism from many, both Unionists and Radicals; though the confidence of more thoughtful statesmen was not shaken by his abstention from the division

I

The path of moderation is not easy. It has special difficulties when party spirit is running high. And when that party spirit found an additional outlet in the stirring up of religious animosities, in the throes of a General Election, the Archbishop's heart might well be sore Thus he wrote as follows, on reading the report of an inflammatory speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd George himself, to a great rally of Free Churchmen in the Queen's Hall on December 16, 1909:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* REV. J. SCOTT LIDGETT

Private 18th December, 1909.

My heart is very sore and I feel constrained to write to you about it. You and I have prayed and spoken and worked together for peace at home for justice, and Christianity of spirit abroad, and I have learned to look on you as a trusted friend. You probably know my position in the present controversy. I am in no sense acting or feeling with the Tory and Tariff Reforms party or policy.

I opposed privately to the utmost of my power the line of action which I found was going to be taken. But I am so certain of the detriment which ensues to the cause of spiritual religion when the ministers of religion don this partisan armour and rush into the political fray, that I with most of the Bishops deliberately took no part in the House of Lords battle. I did this after full consultation with—*inter alios*—men like the Lord Chancellor—John Morley and others.

But now! Here is a foremost Member of the Government gathering round him a great cohort of Ministers of Religion *as such* accompanied by their lay friends—again there in *their religious capacity*, and he delivers an oration appealing to every passion that can be inflamed by the recollection of past controversy and to every prejudice which can be utilised to excite hatred, every malice and all uncharitableness, and this in the name of religion, and under the auspices of ministers of Christ, and then those ministers of Christ speak in gratitude and support, and the party organs peal out triumphant paeans over a 'noble speech' and so on.

And alongside of this, I am being asked in connection with the great Edinburgh Missionary Conference of next year to invite the co-operation of yourself and others in again calling for joint prayer for the drawing together of Christian folk, and for the healing of our divisions, and I long—as I always have longed and striven—to move on those lines. Dare I do it now? Shall I be repulsed by those whom (e g yourself) I should be eager to invite to join with us in such prayer? I had hoped that Whitsuntide might again see us on our knees together in the name of the Prince of Peace, and in honest prayer that God the Holy Spirit would draw us into one. I don't want to make a mockery of such prayers, and I feel rebuffed as to any such plan.

Of course I am not in the smallest degree criticising or objecting to any vigorous political speeches, even on the part of ministers of religion, if they deem that to be right—though I hope to be able to restrain *our own* people, those who must be sorely tempted to reply to such utterances—those whom I have a right to counsel or help—from doing anything of the sort.

But what does really upset all one's highest plans and hopes and endeavours and aspirations, is to find this spirit of sheer unmitigated scornful *hatred* encouraged, inflamed and proclaimed as that which Nonconformists should adopt.

I can't believe that those who listened to the oration I speak of can have felt that what was said corresponded to the prayers they came to offer or betokened the spirit in which they want a grave

responsibility to be discharged. Come what may, you may rely upon my doing all that in me lies, God helping me, to encourage the opposite spirit and to strive to hinder the upgrowth of those hateful passions which are now being fostered as an asset in the party fight. Such fostering seems to me to be in the most literal sense the work of the Devil. Yet I see no single word of the vigorous protest from those quarters where I should have thought we might have really counted on it Hence my heart's sadness and bewilderment, and a wondering sense of whether I shall simply be upsetting my friends among the ministers of Nonconformist Churches by inviting them to pray with us at Whitsuntide for the grace of God to draw us really together in connection with our spiritual work at home and abroad.

I know you will pardon me for this private letter, and will give me your fraternal counsel—a counsel which I have found so valuable before now not once or twice.

P.S. Of course, I am profoundly and thankfully aware that the widest differences of political opinion or of lines of social policy are compatible with absolute unity in prayer and purpose upon things spiritual What I am referring to is in no way the political differences (between yourself and myself these would be slight) but the spirit which is being proclaimed and fostered and utilised—the spirit of *what*?

The Rev. J. Scott Lidgett *to the* Archbishop of Canterbury

Private. 19th December, 1909

Your letter reached me last night and I hasten to reply to it in all frankness and sincerity: with cordial thanks to you for having written, and especially in such terms of friendship and confidence to me personally.

Perhaps I may be allowed to invert the order of your letter and to deal with the most important and practical part first

I most earnestly trust that you will not turn aside for a moment from your intention to invite us all to prayer next Whitsuntide. There is not the slightest possibility of such an invitation being received less warmly than, I know, it will be given. The World Missionary Conference will be of unique importance and its success ought to react upon all the relations between the Reformed Churches throughout the world. Free Churchmen will rejoice to take part—not only in the Conference, but in all the Spiritual preparation for it. Moreover, should a period of intense political controversy be before the Nation, it becomes all the more necessary that, on all sides, we should show our power, by God's help, to

transcend our lower differences by means of our spiritual agreements. There will be the less difficulty about this because controversy will be almost entirely *political*, dealing with the powers of the House of Lords. *Ecclesiastical* differences will not be in the forefront, so that strong feeling on both sides will, I should suppose, be concentrated largely outside the sphere where denominational divergences spring up.

Let me next speak of the general position of Free Churchmen at the coming Election. Speaking broadly—and leaving out the question whether we have been right or wrong—our course is marked out for us by our past action Had the Education question been settled and the Licensing Bill passed our position would have been very different It is true that if the Constitutional question had arisen under such conditions, Free Churchmen would have been greatly exercised in mind Our history, our principles and our needs make us extremely tenacious of the privileges of the House of Commons It is this that is making 'the quiet men' as they are called—like Jowett, Munro Gibson and a host more that I could name—rally at the present time as they have never done before. It is fashionable in some quarters to suppose that inertia or desire for Tariff Reform will make the country indifferent to a Constitutional encroachment, only thinly disguised, by the House of Lords. Those who argue like this forget that the spirit of the Revolution of 1688 still lives in the Nonconformists and will drive them to equivalent action in 1910, that is to say to apply their old principles and ideals to the new situation. However, had the Constitutional question stood alone, I think it would have been left to ordinary political action. But there is the Educational difficulty which, we recognise, would have been settled so far as your lead and influence are concerned Then there was the contemptuous rejection of the Licensing Bill. I own that that is the determining motive of my own action. I have regarded the action of the House of Lords as 'the unpardonable sin' so far as that institution is concerned. I should not have said so had an attempt been made to reach a settlement, even though it had failed. But the way in which the subject was treated constituted to my mind a scandal that must not be repeated if those who desire to prevent it can succeed. These two Causes have brought the Free Churchmen into action, and have freed them to include the position of the House of Lords in their resolutions. . . . But I must conclude by saying, once more, that the general effect of the Meeting was not to sow discord between Churches, but to strengthen the determination to remove a hindrance to justice and progress. The belief being there, I think the action necessarily follows.

In conclusion, I feel very deeply the risks to which the present situation and prospects expose Churches. I would that warning voices had checked the House of Lords before it was too late, and especially in their past dealing with such subjects as the Licensing Bill. But the struggle has to come. Speaking for multitudes of Free Churchmen, I can truly say that we shall pray and work for righteousness and goodwill, appreciating our friends of the Established Church even when we differ from them. We shall realise the difficulties of their position, as I hope they will those of ours. Above all, we will seek for compensations for differences in wider agreements.

I pray your Grace therefore not to be distressed and not to turn aside from the path you have hitherto taken with such advantage to us all, and to great ends we all hold sacred.

II

Another letter, received through Lord Salisbury, shows another side of the difficulties with which the Archbishop's road was strewn. In his New Year's letter to the Diocese, the Archbishop had naturally spoken of the perplexities and anxieties of a General Election; and of the need of calm and of a sense of grave personal responsibility.

He deliberately refrained from dealing with controversial issues. He asked for prayer:

> a prayer, for 'unity, peace and concord' among the Nations and for what shall tend thereto; a prayer for the relief of human loneliness and suffering and for the rightful sharing of our burdens; a prayer for the stability and balance of the best and sanest forces in our public life; a prayer for the security and adequacy of our provision for due ministry of word and sacrament throughout the land; a prayer for truer unity and harmony among Christian men; a prayer for whatsoever shall safeguard and deepen the purity of home-life and the sanctity of the marriage bond, a prayer for the better upbringing of our little children in the faith and fear of God.

Sir Alfred Cripps, the Archbishop's Vicar-General and a Conservative candidate, on January 8, 1910, wrote a strong letter of protest to Lord Salisbury, as Chairman of the House of Laymen. The very silence of the Archbishop on controversial issues seemed to him as good as supporting the Liberal party. In his judge-

ment the Archbishop ought to have declared himself in the most vigorous terms against Disestablishment and the Destruction of Church Schools, two of the planks in the Liberal programme.

Lord Salisbury sent the letter on with a covering note to the Archbishop, adding:

> Of course I am in no way responsible for what Sir Alfred says in the enclosure but I can hardly treat an official communication of this character in any other way than by sending it to you.

The Archbishop replied as follows:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* MARQUESS OF SALISBURY

12th January, 1910.

I have received your letter enclosing Sir Alfred Cripps'. I return it herewith.

I am exceedingly sorry that he should feel as he does about my own action, or, as he thinks, my own harmful inaction, at the present juncture. He is so good a friend that I should always value and respect his criticism, however vigorously he expresses it. He says he would rather have Disestablishment than 'political Prelates', but I cannot help thinking that his real objection is that the Prelates he censures are not political enough. My conscience certainly does not accuse me of having (to use his word) 'betrayed' him and others. I do deliberately think that we should make a grave tactical blunder were we at this moment to throw our strength into an appeal against Welsh Disestablishment. Important as that issue is, it is surely not the really dominant issue throughout Great Britain in this Election. Were we now to fire our last cartridge, or even to beat our loudest drum upon that subject, we should, I venture to believe, come to regret it a little while hence when those efforts may be more immediately needed and when we ought to be able to make them with an effectiveness due in part to the greater freshness of the fray. It is certainly new to me to find myself supposed to be lukewarm on the subject of Disestablishment. Surely I have spoken on this subject with no uncertain voice at Swansea last October as well as many times before. If he or you or anyone desires to quote my words there is no lack of material

With regard to the Schools Question, I can better understand Sir Alfred's fears or reproaches. I have never concealed my opinion that the line of mere insistence on the maintenance of our Denominational Schools as they are was a short-sighted policy,

and upon that point I fancy that you and I are fairly in agreement, although we should not see eye to eye as to the amount of possible concession which might in the last resort be expedient. Sir Alfred may very possibly find that some of his supporters share my opinions as to the wisest mode of really securing definite religious teaching for the largest number of Church children in Elementary Schools; but here again my conscience gives me no pricks as to any lukewarmness about the cause we have at heart. It is a mere question as to the wisest mode of securing what we all desire.

On the general question of the attitude of Bishops at a time like this, I honestly believe that we best serve the interests both of Church and Nation by abstaining from identifying ourselves vociferously with one side or other in an acute political conflict wherein Church questions occupy really a subordinate place.

My behaviour at this moment may be right or wrong (it must always be a matter of opinion), but I find it difficult to feel that it is properly described as the behaviour of a 'political Prelate'.

I have read your letter in to-day's *Times* with interest and admiration It puts the point admirably, and I think with perfect fairness, and with a courtesy which some of our public men might emulate with advantage.

The result of the General Election was indecisive. The Liberals (274) had lost, and the Unionists (272) had gained, about 100 seats each. Thus the Liberals depended for a working majority on the Irish and Labour votes.

The crucial issue with which the new Cabinet had to deal was the power of the House of Lords And the King's Speech referred to proposals to be laid before both Houses:

> With all convenient speed to define the relations between the Houses of Parliament so as to secure the undivided authority of the House of Commons over Finance and its predominance in Legislation.

Even as early as February 28, ominous references were made in the Commons to the possibility of the Prime Minister asking the Crown to create 500 peers, if all other means failed to restrict the veto of the Lords on legislation, with a view to securing the predominance of the deliberate will of the Commons within the lifetime of a single Parliament. There were debates during March in the House of Lords, when Lord Rosebery moved three Resolutions for the reform and reconstitution of the Second Chamber; and these were supported by the Archbishop.

By April 14 the three Veto Resolutions had all been adopted by the House of Commons. They had the object respectively of (1) disabling the Lords from rejecting a Money Bill, (2) securing that any other public Bill, which had passed the Commons in three successive sessions and had three times been rejected by the Lords in a period of not less than two years, should become Law without the consent of the Lords, on the Royal Assent being declared; (3) limiting the duration of Parliament to five years. And besides this, Mr. Asquith as Prime Minister declared that, if the Lords rejected this policy, the Government intended to advise the Crown as to the steps necessary if that policy were to receive statutory effect. He said:

> What the precise terms of that advice will be, it will, of course, not be right for me to say now, but if we do not find ourselves in a position to ensure that statutory effect will be given to that policy in this Parliament, we shall then either resign our offices or recommend the dissolution of Parliament. Let me add this: that in no case will we recommend Dissolution except under such conditions as will secure that in the new Parliament the judgement of the people as expressed at the elections will be carried into law. (House of Commons, 14th April, 1910.)

The allusion as to the steps which will have to be taken 'included not only the use of the Royal Prerogative, but the possibility of a Referendum'.[1] The statement was denounced by Mr. Balfour, and there was great excitement in the House.

All through these weeks the Archbishop had been following the course of events with the keenest interest. The King was abroad during most of March and April at Biarritz, but he was due to return before the end of May. His Majesty himself thought that the Government's policy was 'the destruction of the House of Lords';[2] and the question of the use of the Royal prerogative was beset with difficulties. What was the King to do? Various views have been expressed as to the policy which King Edward would in fact have decided to adopt had he lived to make the decision. Asquith's biographer clearly states that in his opinion the King, after an election had taken place definitely on that policy 'must necessarily have led Asquith to suppose that . . . he would accept the result and if need be exercise the Royal prerogative to give effect to it'.[3] It will be observed that the words 'must necessarily',

[1] *Life of Lord Oxford*, 1 279. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., pp. 279–80.

strong as they are, allow for the existence, at least in theory, of an alternative course or alternative courses. It was to the problem of such an alternative course that the Archbishop, as a matter of deep personal interest, gave his attention during these days. Other leading public men were similarly canvassing possibilities and expressing various views. The problem which had to be faced presented itself thus to the Archbishop's mind. Suppose that Parliament were dissolved, and the Prime Minister came to the King and demanded the creation of 400 Peers in order to secure the passing of the Government Bill, the situation would be one of an unprecedented character. In a memorandum which he has left of his own views on the matter, written in his own hand at this very time, the Archbishop states clearly that he was not prepared to agree that 'schemes of this absolutely novel and, in the quiet sense, revolutionary character ought to be acquiesced in by the King on the mere ground that the Prime Minister proposing them has, for the moment, a small or even a large Parliamentary majority'. Indeed, he clearly thought that some means ought to be found, and could be found, for enabling the King to show the country that, while of course willing to give effect to the decided and deliberate opinion of the electors, he required that it should be clear that the country realized the bigness of the contemplated change and decisively and deliberately sent a genuine majority of members to enact it. And with a view to this, or at least as a possible method of assuring himself as to the real wishes of the public on so drastic a step, the Archbishop turned over in his own mind 'the possibility, and very likely the expediency, of the King taking the public into his confidence as regards the exercise of his own responsibility'. The Memorandum, thus simply written at the time for the clearing of his own mind, adds:

> If it be said, and said with perfect truth, that for the King to make public some statement of his own position at so critical a moment is unconstitutional and unprecedented, the explanation is obvious, that no such occasion has ever before arisen. If the King is asked, by creating 400 peers, to take a wholly unconstitutional and unexampled step, he must be allowed to speak also in an unprecedented statement.
>
> 'The King has been advised to create peers with a view to reversing the present balance of party in the House of Lords.

> The King is ready to act in accordance with the expressed wish of his people. But as the course he is advised to follow, whether it be desirable or not, would be contrary to all precedent, he feels justified in asking in an exceptional way for the opinion of the country respecting it.'
>
> Of course such words would have to be most carefully weighed. Perhaps they might even be submitted to the leaders of the two political parties for criticism. But they could be so drafted as to be absolutely free from political partisanship. Very likely no occasion requiring their use may arise, but I am clear that the possibility of the King so acting ought not—at so unique a juncture—to be lightly dismissed.

On Monday, April 25, he discussed with Lord Rosebery the possibility of the King thus speaking to the country.

> I drove with Rosebery from Grillions' dinner to Lambeth and had a good deal of talk both at dinner and afterwards. He is full of the King saying what he has to say *himself*.

Mr. Balfour was also impressed with the Archbishop's idea, and thought that, though its preparation would require care, a satisfactory document could be framed setting out the King's view, and that, if successfully framed, it would add much lustre to the position of the Sovereign. The Archbishop had many conversations with public men of different points of view, and a good deal was said for the plan of a Referendum, of which Mr. J. St. Loe Strachey, the editor of *The Spectator*, was a strong advocate.

Nothing, however, had been as yet settled as to the actual procedure which the Government should adopt. It appeared that Asquith would rely on the precedents of 1832, when Lord Grey secured the passing of the Reform Bill by obtaining the reluctant consent of William IV to create a sufficient number of Peers, after the King had first refused to do so, and Lord Grey had resigned. But the future was still obscure when the King returned to Buckingham Palace on April 26. On Tuesday, May 2, he was taken ill, and by Friday, May 6, he was dead.

CHAPTER XXXV

DEATH OF KING EDWARD

'The deaths of Kings travel so much faster than any post, that I cannot expect to tell you news, when I say your old master is dead' HORACE WALPOLE *to* SIR HORACE MANN, *Oct 28, 1760*

ON Friday morning, May 6, the Archbishop read in the press the news of the King's illness. By some accident he had missed the newspaper bulletin of the previous evening. He hastened immediately to Buckingham Palace, where Lord Knollys, whom he found in keen distress, welcomed him most warmly. The doctors were at that moment in consultation, and a bulletin was drawn up showing the serious character of the illness. The Archbishop spent the morning at the Palace. The King, though very ill, insisted on being up and dressed, and, though the doctors did their best to prevent him seeing anybody outside the family and the household, they could not succeed entirely.

The Archbishop had two long interviews with the Prince of Wales during the morning, and 'was struck by his self-possessed dignity, along with the extremest affection and anxiety about the King'. He went back to Lambeth for luncheon and important business, and returned to Buckingham Palace in the afternoon, and stayed there for several hours, sitting in Lord Knollys' room:

> I again saw the Prince of Wales, as matters grew graver and graver and had some quiet and, I hope, helpful talk both with him and with poor Knollys, whose grief was most touching.

At 7.30 the Archbishop left the Palace, to preside over a great meeting to promote legislation on the Poor Law Report. He returned immediately after making his speech and found the situation as dark as possible:

> For more than an hour I remained there, saying what I could at intervals, and finally, as the breath grew weaker and the end was evidently come, I said the Commendatory Prayer, and a few moments afterwards he simply ceased to breathe. I have seldom or never seen a quieter passing of the river.

It was now just before midnight. The memorandum continues:

> The family remained alone for a few minutes, then the Prince of Wales, now King, came out, and I was the first person to greet him as Sovereign. This was exactly what had happened with his father at the bedroom door at Osborne when Queen Victoria died.

The Archbishop's memorandum goes on to give a very full account of all that followed with regard to preparations for the funeral, the meeting of the Privy Council, his own sermon in the Abbey on Sunday, May 8, the alterations in the Prayer Book, a special service in the King's bedroom at Buckingham Palace, the Lying-in-State at Westminster Hall, the Service in St. George's Chapel. A few extracts may be given:

> A summons had reached me to attend the Privy Council at 4 p.m. for the formal declarations etc. of the new King . . .
>
> I was one of three or four who had officially to go and fetch the King from another room and usher him into the Council He read his speech with a simplicity and dignity and earnestness which impressed everybody I was very much struck too by the tact and graciousness with which he acted in receiving the Oath of Allegiance from the Privy Councillors. All the older men, and some of those who had special links with him, he treated with marked respect and some symptom of peculiar regard, and yet all was quiet and perfectly dignified. I saw him for a moment after the Council, when he spoke about the help, such as it was, that I had given him as to the speech While the proceedings went on, after the King had left—e g signing the roll etc., I had some talk with leading men about my wish (which turned out afterwards to be historically accurate) that Queen Alexandra should in official designations and in the Prayer Book, etc be called Queen Mother and not Queen Dowager. Balfour, Halsbury, Loreburn, and many more cordially approved; the only person who objected was Rosebery, but it was so settled He also wanted the Queen to be called Queen May, not Queen Mary, but no-one agreed with him. . . .
>
> Much other work had accumulated in these days, and my hands were full. I had a long sitting to Sargent[1] for my picture, on Wednesday the 11th, which was a relief from the stress. . . .
>
> At 7 o'clock on that day, Wednesday May 11th, I went by request to Buckingham Palace to hold a little service over the

[1] Portrait by J S. Sargent, R.A., now at Lambeth Palace

dead King. Queen Alexandra specially wished for it, and before the service she went with me to the room. . . .

On Tuesday the 17th the transfer from Buckingham Palace to Westminster Hall was admirably carried out, and the whole proceedings were, by universal consent, regarded as dignified, simple, devotional and impressive. The Dean of Westminster read the lesson, and I took the rest of the service and gave the address, and the Abbey choir sang the hymn from the steps at the end of the Hall Unfortunately their voices were quite overpowered by the strong band standing behind them, and the Houses of Parliament did not as we had hoped take up the hymn. Hertslet carried my primatial cross, and stood below the rostrum . . .

There is nothing special to recount about the service in St. George's Chapel. . . .

The service was conducted entirely from the Sacrarium, the two Archbishops, the Bishop of Winchester, and the Dean of Windsor standing in front of the altar I thought it best however, and this ought to be noted in view of some future occasion, to go down to the head, or rather foot, of the grave in order to pronounce the actual sentences of committal

In the Castle, after the well-managed luncheon arrangements, I had interviews with the King, the German Emperor, President Roosevelt, the Queen of Norway, and some others, and also a few words with Queen Mary.

The Archbishop's address, in Westminster Hall, one of the most difficult ordeals of the kind he ever had to face, in the presence both of the Royal mourners and the two Houses of Parliament, was as follows:

Brothers, the Sovereign whom his Empire and the World delighted to honour is suddenly taken from our head, and perhaps we find it difficult to fix in our thoughts the significance of these memorable days, the lesson of this scene for us and for the multitudes who will throng to look upon it. Here in the great Hall of English history we stand in the presence of Death. But Death is, to us Christians, swallowed up in a larger Life. Our common sorrow reminds us of our common hope. Rise from sorrow to thanksgiving and prayer. We give thanks. We thank God for a Ruler devoted to the service of his people, we thank God for the peace and prosperity which have marked King Edward's reign, we thank God for teaching us still to see His hand in the story of our Nation's well-being And we pray: we pray God that as we are united by this great sorrow we may be united for the tasks

which lie before us, for the fight against all that is unworthy of our calling—as the Christian inheritors of a great Empire—the fight against selfishness and impurity and greed, the fight against the spirit that is callous or profane. Let us pledge ourselves afresh from this solemn hour to a deliberate and unswerving effort, as Christian folk, to set forward what is true and just, what is lovely and of good report, in the daily life, both public and private, of a people to whom much is given and of whom much will be required.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE ACCESSION OF KING GEORGE

In a limited Monarchy, Prerogative and Liberty are as jealous of one another as any two neighbouring States can be of their respective Incroachments.

MARQUESS OF HALIFAX, *Political Thoughts and Reflections.*

WHEN Parliament met on June 8, it met under totally new conditions. The political crisis was perforce postponed. There was a general desire to avoid embarrassing the new King, and there was even reason to believe[1] that the new King himself had let it be known that he welcomed conversations between representatives of the two parties with a view to a compromise. In the event a Constitutional Conference of four Liberals and four Unionists was summoned by agreement between the leaders of both sides, and held its first meeting on June 17.

While the Conference lasted a truce was observed. There was, however, one matter, unconnected with the crisis yet of considerable constitutional importance, which demanded a settlement. This was the question of the Declaration required to be made by every Sovereign on succeeding to the throne 'on the day of the meeting of the first Parliament after his accession or at his coronation' Its history is curious. It came into existence in 1678 when the country was in a fever after the Popish Plot. It had then to be made by all members of both Houses of Parliament and by sworn servants of the Sovereign, and the Act embodying it is described as an Act 'for the more effectual preserving the King's person and Government by disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament'. It was not, however, extended to the Crown until 1689, after the accession of William and Mary, by the 'Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crowne' (commonly known as the Declaration of Rights);[2] and this was due to the fact, recited in the Preamble to the Statute, that 'the late King James II by the assistance of diverse evil counsellors, judges and minis-

[1] *Annual Register*, 1910, p 130

[2] 1 Will. and Mar , c. 2, s. 2, 1689.

ters did endeavour . . . to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion and laws and liberties of the Kingdom'.

The Declaration ran as follows:

> I, A. B., do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare that I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any Transubstantiation of the Elements of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever; and that the Invocation or Adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous. And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration and every part thereof in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly understood by *English Protestants*, without any Evasion, Equivocation, or mental Reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose by the Pope, or any other authority or person whatsoever, or without any hope of any such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever, or without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration or any part thereof, although the Pope or any other person or persons or power whatsoever should dispense with or annul the same or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.

No candid person would deny, as the Prime Minister said, that circumstances had been totally changed since 1689. The Declaration was gravely resented by Roman Catholics. The King himself, when Prince of Wales, had been anxious for its amendment, and had discussed the matter informally both with Ministers and with the Archbishop. From time to time the question had been raised in the House of Lords. It had been mentioned soon after the accession of King Edward, but had then been dropped The Archbishop had himself been approached on the subject by some Roman Catholic Peers. There was, however, a difficulty, for the very idea of mitigating the anti-Roman character of the Declaration was exceedingly objectionable to many staunch Protestants. Thus a considerable literature had sprung up opposing the change. Moreover, there was the further difficulty that while many of a more tolerant frame of mind might object to the harsh terms of the existing Declaration there

was no guarantee that they would be united in an alternative form. As the Archbishop had written to Lord Crewe:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* MARQUESS OF CREWE

Confidential. 25th May 1908.

The difficulty consists in finding the right form of words, which must be, so far as possible, inoffensive to the Roman Catholic body, and yet must be strong enough to be *indisputably* effective. I say 'indisputably' because, as you will remember, the question of 'effectiveness' was vehemently disputed in the former discussions. My fear is that some of those (belonging to no fanatical section) who were dissatisfied before will be even less easy to satisfy now, arguing, as they certainly will, that the Spanish Marriage has shown their apprehensions to possess a more solid basis than their opponents used to admit.

The form agreed also had to satisfy both Anglicans and Nonconformists. After various attempts—following the efforts of earlier years—a new form was proposed by the Prime Minister to Parliament on June 28, 1910, as follows:

I (*George*) do solemnly and sincerely in the presence of God profess, testify, and declare that I am a faithful member of the Protestant Reformed Church by law established in England, and that I will, according to the true intent of the enactments which secure the Protestant succession to the Throne of my Realm, uphold and maintain the said enactments to the best of my powers according to law.

But this form at once aroused objections on behalf of the Church of England. The Archbishop told the Prime Minister that the term 'Protestant Reformed Church by law established in England' would be greatly resented. He stated his objections in an interview and left a Memorandum, making one or two alternative suggestions; and afterwards wrote the following letter:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* RT. HON. H. H. ASQUITH

9th July, 1910.

I have been thinking over the question you unexpectedly asked me in our interview this morning—viz—'How would those whom I represented view such an expression as 'Protestant Reformed Church of England'? It would so far be to the good that it brings

in the words 'Church of England'—a familiar and unambiguous legal designation. But do we not by prefacing these epithets qualify the familiar term in a misleading way? There was—I rather think there still is—a body calling itself 'The Reformed Church of England', and I am not quite sure whether there is not also a body calling itself 'The Protestant Church of England'. These epithets therefore, as qualifying or limiting the term 'Church of England', might in that place be really misleading, and I certainly should not regard such a term as 'Protestant Reformed Church of England' as one which I could advocate. On the other hand, if the term 'Church of England' is used minus these qualifying epithets, it involves no ambiguity, and the words 'established by law' might I think be omitted without disadvantage if their omission, as you indicated, gives satisfaction to a large section of your supporters. I take no kind of exception to the words 'Protestant and Reformed' in their proper places, but the *onus probandi* surely rests upon those who want the term 'Protestant Reformed Church by law established in England' instead of the simpler and quite unambiguous words 'Church of England', and the words 'Protestant and Reformed' are introduced quite simply and effectively two lines lower down in the Memorandum I left with you.

In my Memorandum and in this letter, I have put before you, as in duty bound, a view which will I know be taken by a vast number of Churchmen of a reasonable and moderate sort, and there for the moment I must leave it. No one realises more clearly than I the difficulties which surround you in dealing with this matter wherein a movement in any direction brings you up against a wall of opposition.

In describing the situation to the Bishop of Southwark, the Archbishop said on the same day:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF SOUTHWARK

9th July, 1910.

I did not find him very amenable. He was in a condition of extreme irritation against the ecclesiastical mind generally, including in the field of his scorn his Nonconformist supporters quite as much as the Church of England or the Roman Catholics. He says it is like the quibbles of the schoolmen, and I scarcely think that I succeeded in persuading him as to the difference which we, I think, see very clearly.

The *impasse* continued. But the Archbishop did his best to find

a way out, and, after consulting a number of Bishops, wrote a further letter to the Prime Minister.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* RT. HON. H. H. ASQUITH

27th July, 1910.

I am in bed with influenza, but am mending fast and hope to be about again, without peril to myself or others, in a very few days. Had I been well, I should have asked leave to see you this morning about the present phase of the Royal Declaration controversy.

I gather that in some quarters it is supposed that those who, as Bishops or otherwise, claim to speak for the Church of England are all bent upon securing that the King shall in his Declaration proclaim himself a member of the Church of England To the best of my belief this is far from being the fact. Doubtless some Churchmen would attach great importance to the King's so declaring himself, but I think that the wiser and weightier men are satisfied with the terms used in the Act of Settlement What we do object to is some new designation or attempted definition of the Church of England—e g. 'The Protestant Reformed Church by law established in England', or other similar terms. Such circumlocutory designation of the National Church raises (needlessly as it seems to me) controversial questions both historical and practical. The first of the possible alternative forms suggested in the Memorandum which I left with you on July 9th could be simplified without, as I think, any serious detriment by omitting the phrase 'and that I am a faithful member of the same'. And the words would then run—

> I do solemnly and sincerely in the presence of God profess, testify, and declare that I am not a Roman Catholic, and that I join in communion with the Church of England as by law established And I will uphold and maintain the Protestant reformed religion established by law, and the Protestant succession to the Throne of this Realm according to the true intent of the enactments which secure the same

But I am prepared to go further, and, so far as I can at present see, and subject to anything which may unexpectedly arise in debate, I should be quite ready to agree to the words which, as I gather, commend themselves in Nonconformist circles, viz.—

> I . . . declare that I am a faithful Protestant, and that I will, according to the true intent of the enactments which secure the Protestant succession to the Throne of my Realm, uphold and

maintain the said enactments to the best of my powers according to law.

It is obvious that such a form of Declaration avoids most of the difficulties surrounding other forms, and uses the word 'Protestant' in its true and effective sense. Though I am not in a position to speak authoritatively on behalf of the Bishops or others, I cannot help hoping that the adoption of that simpler form might meet with very general acceptance, and in what I am here saying I have the concurrence of the Archbishop of York, who is here to-day and who has seen and approved of this letter.

The Prime Minister replied:

The RT. HON H. H. ASQUITH *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

27th July, 1910.

I am very much obliged to you for your letter of to-day.

I at once accepted—gladly and with gratitude—the second of your suggestions, which I am pleased to learn has the assent of the Archbishop of York.

I gather, from the course of the debate this evening, that this form of Declaration is generally acknowledged in all quarters—by Anglicans, Scottish Presbyterians, and English Nonconformists—as the best solution of the problem.

So I think the way is now clear to a final settlement of this troublesome matter.

I hope that you are making real progress, and that you may be able to say a word in the House of Lords next week.

The Bill with the new Declaration was brought before Parliament, passed the House of Commons without difficulty, was supported in the House of Lords by the Archbishop in a speech on August 1, received the Royal Assent on August 3, and the Prime Minister wrote to the Archbishop expressing his satisfaction that the Bill had got safely to port, adding, 'I renew my expressions of gratitude for your help'.

Between June and November, the Constitutional Conference proceeded in the utmost secrecy, though it is clear from a private inquiry by Mr Lloyd George of the Bishop of St. Asaph, and through him of the Archbishop, that it was dealing not only with the Constitutional question but with political controversies of other kinds, amongst them Welsh Disestablishment.

But on November 10, the Conference broke down. The situation was most serious. And when, two days later, the Archbishop

had a talk with John Morley just before the regular meeting of British Museum Trustees:

> Morley spoke very gravely of the whole situation, and said, 'I think we must face the fact that we are entering upon a revolutionary period. I do not mean guillotines, but revolution can be carried on without that.' I thought him sad and rather depressed, but this was in part due to the trouble which, as he told me, he felt in passing from the busy scene of work and responsibility at the India Office to a room, solemn and silent, at the Privy Council, where nothing happens and there is no work to do He said that Lord Wolverhampton had always prided himself on having no arrears in that office. Morley added, 'There may easily be no arrears, because nothing comes in'.

After the meeting the Archbishop walked home with Esher, to whom Morley also had been talking:

> Esher agreed with me in deep sympathy for the difficulties of the King's position. His father's opinion would have been so weighty that the Government could hardly have disregarded it without greatly losing popularity in the country by so doing if it came out that they were going against the King's wishes. (This Morley had frankly admitted in conversation with me)

A few days later the Prime Minister announced that Parliament would be dissolved.

The Dissolution took place on November 28, and was followed by an energetic campaign in the country.

By December 20, a new Parliament was returned. There was, however, very little alteration in the strength of the rival parties; and the Liberals depended, as before, for a working majority on the Irish and Labour votes. No one could doubt that the future was perilous. At the end of the year, the Archbishop wrote in his annual message to the Diocese:

> Twice within the twelve months a new Parliament has come into life. New questions, or new aspects of old questions, political, social, imperial, racial, industrial, mechanical, are to the fore. The issues of these changes and chances may be vaster than we know. The more need that, as the new year opens, we should find ourselves again and again upon our knees. Ask Him Who is the same and Whose years shall not fail to inspire and strengthen our common life, and to shew us as a people, as a Church, as households and citizens whose interests which must be manifold can

yet be one, how to use aright the unborn days of the year of Our Lord 1911. 'The year of our Lord.' The words are no mere index of the lapse of time. They remind us of a living fact, a living Captain and King.

If ever in the unfolding of our people's life it was at once a duty and a possibility for thoughtful men and women, as individuals and not mere partisans, to face our larger problems, secular and sacred, with deliberateness and hope, that time is now.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE PARLIAMENT ACT

To state the matter shortly, the Sovereign has, under a constitutional monarchy such as ours, three rights—the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, the right to warn And a King of great sense and sagacity would want no others. He would find that his having no others would enable him to use these with singular effect. He would say to his minister: 'The responsibility of these measures is upon you. Whatever you think best must be done Whatever you think best shall have my full and effectual support *But* you will observe that for this reason and that reason what you propose to do is bad, for this reason and that reason what you do not propose is better I do not oppose, it is my duty not to oppose, but observe that I *warn*' Supposing the King to be right, and to have what Kings often have, the gift of effectual expression, he could not help moving his minister He might not always turn his course, but he would always trouble his mind

BAGEHOT, *The English Constitution*, ch. III.

THE preliminaries to the passing of the Parliament Act, 1911, as well as that Act itself, will continue to interest students of the English Constitution for many years to come. Some of the politicians who played a prominent part in the proceedings have given their version of the events in their own words; and the attitude of others is described in their biographies. The historian of the future will take account of them all, and of whatever subsequent material later memoirs may disclose. It is safe to say that in any account written from a distance, allowance must also be made for the attitude of Archbishop Davidson as revealed in his various notes and records of the passing events on different critical days, written at the very time.

Something has already been said of a possible alternative course which had presented itself to the Archbishop's mind in the last few days of King Edward's reign. He was the least likely person to imagine that the Sovereign could act in any way which might be justly described as unconstitutional. But he held, and held strongly, that the situation with which King George was faced was without a precedent of any adequate kind in the history of the British Constitution, and that if the King were to be asked by the Prime Minister of the day to take the really unexampled step of creating 400 peers, he must be allowed also to speak in an unprecedented way to the public. In the Archbishop's journal already described, there are various memoranda made

at different times during the first seven months of 1911; but the main idea—that the Sovereign should speak himself to the people—comes out plainly in all; and it is set out most fully and plainly in a memorandum written by the Archbishop as a review of the actual situation at the opening of the New Year. The memorandum is dated January 11, 1911. It runs as follows:

All sorts of people are ventilating their opinions, whether sapient or the reverse, about the Constitutional problem which confronts us. I think that this is well, for it is one of the occasions upon which ventilation is useful, both in making the public realize the difficulties of the situation and in emphasizing to the responsible leaders on either side the need of caution and patience.

But in none of the articles and letters that I have seen has adequate importance been attached to a point which seems to me to be both practical and urgent.

In coming to that conclusion, I take as a basis a few facts which will hardly be challenged by reasonable men on either side.

(1) The confirmation in December of the verdict given in January in favour of the present Government strengthens materially their claim to possess the confidence and to be executing the wishes of the majority of the people at large

(2) In estimating the nature of, and the weight belonging to, the Parliamentary majority in favour of the proposed change in the Constitution, the Nationalist members must not be counted *simpliciter* or *sans phrase* as members of the Government majority. Their spokesmen have repeatedly avowed their absolute indifference to the well-being of the British Constitution, or even their contempt for it. They swell the actual majority in favour of curtailing the powers of the House of Lords, not because they are in a large sense in favour of an amended Constitution, but merely because they want Home Rule. Home Rule once granted, they might, so far as we have evidence, vote either way about such Constitutional changes This greatly reduces the majority which can claim to be deliberately of opinion that, for the common good of the whole country, the proposed change ought to be made.

(3) The Minority which has voted at the polls against the Government and its proposals is so large, that it may be called almost half the Nation. Taking into account the uncontested Seats, there is a question whether it is not an actual majority of the voters in England itself Anyhow, it is so large as to make it unreasonable and even intolerable to merely ignore or despise its opinion upon the gravest proposal in Constitutional change which has come before Parliament since the Revolution. To effect such

a change by the sheer numerical strength of a heterogeneous majority would be to ensure mischievous and even disastrous consequences for the Country when the time for reaction comes.

(4) These facts render it pre-eminently desirable that every effort should be made to secure some degree of consent before Constitutional changes so important to the whole Country are decided upon . . .

It is clear that the Minority has shown no spirit of obstinate objection to changes in the existing Constitution. On one great department of the controversy (the intervention of the House of Lords in matters of Finance) the disputed point has been already ceded by the Minority, and the area of controversy is thus materially narrowed. The Minority, by its very readiness to make modifications, has increased its claim to reasonable consideration and share in the deliberations which will lead to the fashioning of the ultimate conclusion.

It is in these circumstances that we arrive at a stage in the controversy when the Prime Minister, in accordance with the pledges he has given, may possibly endeavour, before initiating a great Parliamentary debate, to secure from the Sovereign a promise that such debating in the House of Commons shall not be in vain; that there shall be no 'ploughing of the sands'; that a prolonged discussion shall not result in the contemptuous rejection by the House of Lords of the Parliament Bill which may be carried through the Commons.

The question must obviously be considered, what kind of undertaking, if any, ought the King to be willing to give to the Prime Minister in response to such a request.

And it is with reference to that point that people seem to me to overlook a fundamentally important consideration It is this. There is all the difference in the world between (1) a promise or quasi-promise given by the King now, before the actual Bill has even been debated, far less amended, in either House of Parliament, and (2) such promise or undertaking of co-operation, given by the King hereafter, when the specific point of difference has come formally before the Sovereign and his advisers in black and white.

Such stage would have been reached if the House of Commons had passed its Bill and sent it to the Lords, and the Lords had amended it and sent it back, and the Commons had dealt with the Lords' amendments. Then, and not till then, would the actual stile be reached. Then, and not till then, does the question practically arise how to cross the stile. People talk and write as if the King were bound now to declare what he may ultimately deem it

to be right to do, if it appears that the deliberate and ascertained will of the Nation is going to be flouted or disregarded by the Lords.

How can it possibly be the King's duty to make such declaration or promise now, while all is necessarily hypothetical?

I regard His Majesty as being more than entitled—as being almost bound—to refuse to give any such declaration whatever at the present stage, and this on the simple and intelligible ground that the actual crisis has not yet practically arisen and is not even, with any certainty, within sight.

It may be said that if the King were now to decline to give to the Prime Minister the guarantees for which he may ask, His Majesty's refusal might be met by the resignation of the Government.

I can hardly conceive it to be possible that such a course could be taken if the words used by the King in conveying his refusal are carefully chosen, and are put in such shape as to be capable of being quoted should necessity require it

As will be seen from the last sentences, the memorandum at this point almost takes the form of a soliloquy.

The Archbishop was of course perfectly clear from the start that if in the end the request were made for the creation of 400 peers, after the opinion of the country had been fully ascertained, it would be impossible to resist it. But what he regarded as really vital was that, when the time came, some State paper should be available, and if need be produced, describing the actual situation at a particular date and 'the actual point at which the divergence between the two Houses seemed to the Government to be so important as to call for an act on the part of the Crown, which is not only without precedent in the history of England but tramples upon constitutional usage, if not upon the Constitution itself'.

We have set out the Archbishop's views fully, as we believe that they have a considerable intrinsic interest, even though, for reasons which will appear, it was already too late to give effect to such a proposal. And attention may be drawn to the strong sense of constitutional form which the Archbishop showed, even while emphasizing the value of a personal appeal on the part of the Sovereign in the unprecedented conditions with which the country was faced. But it has to be recognized that, like everybody else at the time, the Archbishop was entirely in the dark as

to what had already occurred between the King and the Government, and the Archbishop's views as to the desirability of personal action on the part of the King within the limits of the Constitution, no less than the views of Mr. Strachey and others as to the desirability of a Referendum, had therefore by then been put outside the range of practical politics. The very situation which the Archbishop had been most anxious to see avoided had already been faced, and the pledge in advance, to which he was so strenuously opposed, had already been given. The facts are as follows.

Mr. Asquith saw the King at Sandringham, November 11, 1910, and:

> pointed out that this would be [the] second time in the course of twelve months that the question of the relations between the two Houses had been submitted to the electorate. It was necessary, therefore, that in the event of the Government obtaining an adequate majority in the New House of Commons, the matter should be put in train for final settlement This could only be brought about (if the Lords were not ready to give way) by the willingness of the Crown to exercise its prerogative to give effect to the will of the nation [1]

On November 15, the Cabinet adopted a memorandum advising an immediate dissolution, and adding:

> H M. Ministers cannot, however, take the responsibility of advising a dissolution, unless they may understand that in the event of the policy of the Government being approved by an adequate majority in the new House of Commons, H M. will be ready to exercise his constitutional powers (which may involve the prerogative of creating Peers) if needed, to secure that effect shall be given to the decision of the country [2]

On November 16, Mr. Asquith with Lord Crewe saw the King at Buckingham Palace, and, after discussion, so Mr. Asquith informed the House of Commons later on (August 7, 1911):

> His Majesty, after careful consideration of all the circumstances past and present, and after discussing the matter in all its bearings with myself and with my noble friend and colleague, Lord Crewe, felt that he had no alternative but to assent to the advice of the Cabinet.[3]

[1] *Life of Lord Oxford and Asquith*, J A. Spender and Cyril Asquith, 1 296.
[2] Ibid., p. 297. [3] Ibid , p. 298.

Lord Oxford's biographer remarks that the words just quoted from Mr. Asquith's speech of August 7, describing the King's assent, were 'carefully chosen'. To the Archbishop, however, at the time they were uttered, they seemed lamentably insufficient. But even in the story as Mr. Spender tells it, a careful reader can detect signs that the King's consent had not by any means been easily given. The biographer allows that the presence of Lord Crewe at the audience with the King was criticized at the time (though in his view unjustly) as unusual. He quotes a letter from Mr. Asquith which, while praising the King, permits some echo of the arguing to be heard; and he acknowledges that 'there were moments when the result seemed in doubt'.[1] Still more important was the admission of Lord Crewe in the House of Lords, although conveyed, as the Archbishop described it at the time, in rather halting phrases. Lord Crewe acknowledged the 'natural and ... legitimate reluctance' with which His Majesty faced the contingency and entertained the suggestion, and his words also suggest, if they do not actually say, that Mr. Asquith and Lord Crewe threatened the resignation of the Government if their advice were not taken, with the result of an immediate dissolution and the consequent mixing up of the Crown in a most unfortunate political controversy.[2]

To the end of his life the Archbishop maintained, and, as his papers amply show, had good reason for maintaining, that undue pressure had been brought to bear on the King in order to gain his assent. He was only newly come to the throne. He had not had time to master all the material to which his father had access, nor was he prepared for Ministers coming to their Sovereign, asking for an immediate answer, and announcing the course which they would take if they failed to get their way. And one particular point the Archbishop always regarded as the key to the situation. The precise request made *viva voce* by Mr. Asquith to the King, with the consequences of refusal on the King's part,

[1] Ibid., p 297 'I have never seen the King to better advantage', Asquith wrote the same evening, 'he argued well and showed no obstinacy.'

[2] Lord Crewe in the House of Lords, August 8, 1911 'His Majesty, however, naturally entertained the feeling—a feeling which we entirely shared—that if we resigned our offices, having as we had a large majority in the House of Commons, the only result could be an immediate dissolution in which it would practically be impossible, however anxious we naturally should be, to keep the Crown out of the controversy The mixing up of the Crown in a controversy such as that was naturally most distasteful to its illustrious wearer ...'

should have been put in writing, and time allowed for an answer also to be given in writing. It is true that a Memorandum had been sent to the King on the previous day, but the interview with Mr. Asquith ranged far beyond the Memorandum. Had that precaution been taken, and Mr. Asquith been asked that the Government's request should be put into writing in detail, the Government would, in the Archbishop's view, have been nonplussed, for Mr. Asquith would not have dared to put on paper what he had said by word of mouth.

A further element in the whole transaction, which the Archbishop regarded as unjust, was the pledge of secrecy imposed upon the Crown in the Cabinet Memorandum of November 15, 1910.

> 'H M will doubtless agree that it would be inadvisable in the interests of the State that any communication of the intentions of the Crown should be made public unless and until the actual occasion should arise.'[1]

The fact of this assent having been given had, however, been kept entirely secret until July 18, 1911, when Mr. Lloyd George met Mr. Balfour and Lord Lansdowne and stated that a pledge to create peers had been obtained from the King as far back as November.[2] Thus the Archbishop made the following note of part of a conversation between himself and Lord Lansdowne on June 20, 1911:

> [Lansdowne] rather pressed me as to whether I knew anything about what had passed between the King and the Government about the creation of Peers, and whether I knew what the King would do .. Lansdowne said 'Suppose he were instead to send for Balfour, and Balfour were to be willing to form a Government'. I replied that I .. personally should do everything in my power to prevent such shaping of events as would result in a General Election which could be represented as King and Peers *versus* People of England I thought this would be disastrous in many ways and certainly ineffectual. The so-called popular cause would inevitably win, and the Monarchy would have suffered irremediably in popular estimation when such defeat took place. I regarded it as gambling in the most dangerous manner, with the

[1] *Life of Lord Oxford and Asquith*, J. A Spender and Cyril Asquith, i. 297.

[2] *Lord Lansdowne A Biography*, Lord Newton, p. 417. See also Memorandum of Lord Lansdowne's interview with Lord Knollys, July 19 (ibid , p. 418).

King as stakes. We discussed this somewhat fully, and I pressed my view, and Lansdowne evidently attached importance to what I said. He gave me no hint as to whether Balfour himself would like to take office in such conditions.

On July 20 Mr. Asquith wrote to Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Balfour informing them that the King had agreed to exercise his prerogative to secure the passing into law of the Parliament Bill. Five days later the Archbishop reports another conversation with Lord Lansdowne on July 25:

[Lansdowne] spoke frankly of the difficulties of the situation, and especially of the wrong which, as he thinks, was done when the King was virtually coerced into making the promise that he did make. He draws the widest possible distinction between such a promise being given now (this he thinks inevitable and even right constitutionally) and its having been given seven months ago.

We turn now to the Archbishop's action in the House of Lords. Twice he publicly appealed, in vain, for negotiation and mutual concession. The first time was in the debates of May 24; the second time on July 20. As July drew to a close, the question arose as to the line which he and the Bishops would take about voting. He was himself at this stage (the end of July) in favour of abstaining. On August 1, Lord Crewe and Lord Salisbury each independently approached the Archbishop with the same question. Lord Crewe (for the Government) said, 'We are now calculating numbers What will the Bishops do?'—but he did not urge the Archbishop at all. Lord Salisbury brought the following letter in his hand, and pressed its assertions and questions with much vigour:

The MARQUESS OF SALISBURY *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Private. 1st August, 1911.

Selborne tells me that he hears that the large majority of the Bishops are going to vote *for* the Government when the Parliament Bill returns to the House of Lords. We have both been much shocked and we hope it is not true. I need not say I do not suggest that the Bishops should as a body vote *against* the Government. They are men of peace who ought to be far removed from Party conflict, and there can be no doubt that apart from strong convictions in particular cases they might be expected to take no part.

But to vote *for* the Government!! Please reflect what this means. It means to become responsible in a measure for the Parliament Bill which is designed to destroy the Establishment in Wales. It means bitterly to offend the most fighting elements in the Unionist Party—in Parliament but far more outside. What will be the good next year attempting to spread abroad the bitter cry of the Church in Wales, when staunch worker after staunch worker will say 'But the Bishops voted against Lord Halsbury and in favour of the Parliament Bill'. And for what reason should the Bishops vote against us? To save the House of Lords from being swamped? There is evidently no danger of it. To restore discipline in the Unionist Party? They have nothing to do with this. To avoid the creation of a batch of unconstitutional peers? The breach of the constitution, the straining of the prerogative, has already been committed. What is the good of pretending? The House of Lords is to be coerced by the creation of peers. That is certain. Nothing can alter it. It is true the actual creation can be avoided. But that is only ordinary British dislike of the truth. The essential fact is unalterable I am afraid.

Depend upon it, to offend men like . . . and the electoral strength they possess, to estrange some of the best Conservatives in the Country, is a heavy price to pay for helping to pass the Parliament Bill. And if the result is to conceal from the people the identity between a threat and its performance where both are equally successful there will be an added evil of great magnitude Please consider these points.

The Archbishop adds (of the same day, August 1):

Later in the afternoon, after some of the other interviews described below, I spoke to Salisbury and asked him what had led him or Selborne to suppose that the Bishops generally were going to vote with the Government He replied that they had been given to understand that the Bishops had met and decided to do this as a body. I told him that the story was baseless, that nothing of the kind had happened, and that while I thought it not impossible that some Bishops might so vote, I was not definitely aware of any except the three who had promised to support the Government. I further pressed upon him that I absolutely declined to be in any sense a whip in this matter or to bring pressure, direct or indirect, to bear upon the Bishops. Each one of them is quite as well able as I to judge of a political matter of this sort. I reiterated this in the hope that he would repeat it to his friends He professed himself quite satisfied, but adhered to all the strong things he had

said in his letter. He was himself of opinion that if any Peers were created it would be the merest handful.

On my saying that I thought he was mistaken, and that if they created any they might have to create hundreds, he replied sharply, 'No, the King has definitely said that he will only consent to create as many as are actually required.'

I replied, 'Yes, but how many may be required who can say, if those who have now promised abstention are turned into supporters of yours by the fact that some Peers are created'.

He replied airily, 'Oh, that comes to nothing. there are some people who try to make your flesh creep '

I said that I thought those gentlemen were not found on one side only.

The whole of the same afternoon (August 1) was one of successive political discussions 'wholly unsought by me; every interview being asked for by others and not on my own initiative'.

In the censure debate in the House of Commons on August 7, Asquith announced categorically and bluntly that the King had consented to the creation of peers as might be necessary to secure the passing of the Bill.

The next few days were crowded and anxious. Till almost the very end the Archbishop was uncertain whether to vote or not. It seemed that most of the Bishops would abstain, two or three only being decidedly for, or decidedly against, the Bill. But let the conclusion of the final debate on August 10 be told in the Archbishop's own words (August 13):

In the afternoon we were more anxious, as it became clear that Halsbury and Co were going to muster in fuller strength than had been supposed, and that—to say the least—the division would be very close, and every vote might count. When Norfolk and Halifax before dinner on Thursday announced their adhesion to Halsbury's group, matters became even more serious, as it was thought that they would influence a good many.

Rosebery came to me in the House about 7 o'clock and discussed the situation He did not think he could himself vote—'It would be crucifixion to do so'—but he implied a courteous hope that I might see my way to voting. I told him that I thought *not*, but could not say decidedly

I came back to a quick dinner at Lambeth in the garden, and (after dismissing Ernest and Co. to Aix) returned to the House of Lords at 9 o'clock with Edith (whose quiet counsel was a real help) and on getting there found everybody very gloomy in expectation

of a Halsbury victory. . . . I . . . ascertained . . . that the very grave and deliberate announcement read out by Morley in the afternoon as to the King's assent to the creation of an ample number of Peers (see its wording in the papers) had been drafted . . . by the King's desire, in order to meet the Selborne-Salisbury fable that the King would certainly *not* create more than a few Peers. It was therefore now evident that the Bill would in any case be certainly carried, and that the question was merely whether it should be carried *at once* by the vote given to-night, or carried a few weeks or months hence by the addition of, say, 500 Peers. . . .

That being so, I was now inclining to vote. . . . Seeing Sir William Anson in the crowd of Privy Councillors packed on the steps of the Throne, I got hold of him and found him very helpful, sagacious, constitutional, well-informed. He made little of the threats which were pouring in as to the harm which it would do to the Church were Bishops' votes to defeat Halsbury and Co. He was quietly and clearly in favour of my voting.

Finally, after ten minutes quiet in my room, I decided that it would on the whole be right to vote, and I at once had an opportunity of saying so in the House Rosebery was not in the House when I spoke, so when he came in just afterwards I sent him a note telling him what I had done. My few words had, I believe, a marked effect on the House, but of course made the Halsburians angrier than ever.

After Rosebery had intervened and in vigorous terms promised to vote, Curzon made a good speech of a grave sort, followed by a wonderfully brisk 'last ditch' speech from Halsbury, and a strangely violent anti-Rosebery utterance (of no special point) from Selborne. Then came the division. The scene has been abundantly described in the papers The thing which separated it off as regards 'excitement' from any other similar occasion within our memory was the absolute uncertainty as to the issue, an uncertainty which lasted far on into the actual taking of the division My number was I think 67, and when I got to my place those about me believed that Halsbury had won. By that time I felt no sort of doubt that I had decided and acted rightly. Probably if I could have known beforehand that the majority would be as large as it was, I might have abstained, but *no one* expected that, and if I had held my peace and abstained, it would quite possibly have gone otherwise than it did. At all events a good many men—Loreburn, Lytton, St. Asaph, Cadogan, etc.—thought so. Cadogan told me that my action and words had brought him into the Government Lobby instead of *the other*

Lobby (!) and Kinnaird implied that he would have abstained but for my 'lead'.

I went home satisfied at having had a share in averting a veritable calamity to the Nation.

In the division, there voted for the Government 131, against 114. It was a narrow majority indeed. Of the Bishops the two Archbishops and eleven Bishops voted with the majority and two against.[1] The influence exercised by the Archbishop's speech was freely acknowledged.

Let us hear the two leaders. Lord Lansdowne told Archbishop Davidson on August 16 that in his judgement Lord Morley's announcement had made the whole situation far more alarming, that he appreciated the courage the Archbishop had shown, and added: 'I consider that he, Morley, was saved by the action of those who voted like yourself, and I think you ought to know this.'

Lord Morley's own testimony is even stronger. In his published account of the debate he writes as follows:

> The speeches that followed [Morley's] though some were made by leading men, went in the strain of altercation, hot or cold rather than serious contribution The one most reassuring for Ministers of them all took no more than three or four minutes. It fell from the Primate,—the head of the hierarchy who have their seats in the House not by descent and birth, nor by election from Scotland or Ireland, nor by political or secular service, a man of broad mind, sagacious temper, steady and careful judgment, good knowledge of the workable strength of rival sections. While those who were for conciliation and those who resisted smote one another the Archbishop recalled both to the gravity of the issue. He admitted the course of the debate had made him change his mind. And what was it in the course of the debate that had produced an effect so rare? It was the callousness—he had almost said levity—with which some noble Lords seemed to contemplate the creation of 500 new peers; a course of action that would make this House, and indeed the country, the laughing stock of the British Dominions beyond the sea, and of those foreign countries whose constitutional life and progress had been largely modelled on our own. Nothing could have been either more true or more apt [2]

[1] Bishops for. Canterbury, York, Bath and Wells, Birmingham, Carlisle, Chester, Hereford, Lichfield, Ripon, St. Asaph, Southwell, Wakefield, Winchester. Bishops against: Bangor, Worcester

[2] *Recollections, Viscount Morley*, II 353-4.

But the Archbishop's speech and action had caused great indignation amongst the Halsburians inside the House and their admirers outside. Letters of abuse came pouring in. He was called a trimmer, a traitor, a stifler of his conscience, a politician, and an ally of revolutionary radicals. And he was told by many furious correspondents that after such conduct it was impossible for them to continue to seek for the maintenance of the establishment! To one of these who expressed his distress in more moderate terms, the Archbishop thought it right to send a reply for publication. As it was his own explanation of the grounds on which he thought it his duty to record his vote, we quote the central paragraphs:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to a* CHICHESTER CHURCHMAN

Lambeth Palace, S E. August 18th, 1911.

The question which had to be then decided was not whether the Parliament Bill should pass, but whether it should pass immediately or pass a few weeks hence, after the House had been flooded with new Peers for the purpose.

To be more exact: The motion on which we voted was that the Lords 'do not insist upon their amendment'. In the course of the debate the Government made a definite announcement that they had the King's assent to the creation of whatever number of Peers might be necessary to pass the Parliament Bill. This would probably have been from 450 to 500 Had the motion that the Lords 'do not insist' been lost, these Peers would forthwith have been created. About this fact there is no question whatever. I had hoped, as a Bishop, to be able to abstain from voting on the subject, but it became clear that the issue was going to turn upon a very few votes, and that it was only by voting against insistence that we could prevent the influx of a swamping majority of Peers, prepared to pass speedily the threatened legislation affecting Ireland and Wales before the country had time to understand the proposals better, and possibly to reject them. By not insisting on the amendment we prevented the creation of these Peers, and therefore interposed a period of delay before such proposals could become law.

I had hoped that this was obvious to most people. But clearly a great number of good men misunderstood it; hence, I imagine, letters such as yours. I explained my position to the House in a single sentence, but most people do not read carefully any full report of the debates. You, for example, are of opinion that the

vote which we gave will promote speedy Disestablishment. I believe the exact contrary to be true. No one feels more strongly than I the mischief which Disestablishment would bring to the country, especially to the poor, and it was this, among other reasons, which led me quite deliberately to act as I did. It is worth while to make some sacrifice to prevent an ignominious 'ending' of the oldest legislative Chamber in the world by a process which would be ludicrous if it were not, as it would be, a national disaster—a process, too, which would have hastened and not retarded the mischiefs which you agree with me in desiring to avert.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

GENERAL WORK AND CHURCH QUESTIONS
1911–1912

Though I have a dull head yet I see, partly by myself and partly by others, how the game goeth *The* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* LORD BURGHLEY, *Feb. 18, 1574–5* (*Correspondence of Archbishop Parker*).

THE claims of the Parliament crisis in the summer of 1911 were so absorbing in their character that the Coronation of King George and Queen Mary finds a much smaller place in the Archbishop's papers than it would have received in any ordinary year. Indeed it is surprising that, so far as we can trace, the Archbishop never made any record of the day or its happenings; though allusions to the opportunities for talks on the crisis, in connexion with the arrangements, are sprinkled through the very full memoranda quoted in the last chapter. But those who were nearest to him at the time knew how much it weighed on his mind; and how anxious he was that its solemnity and significance should be recognized by all. Great pains were taken in the framing of the service. One interesting point was raised by the suggestion that the Archbishop of York should crown the Queen, following the Archbishop of Canterbury's crowning of the King. The suggestion was disallowed; though the Archbishop of York was invited to preach the sermon.

A problem outside the Abbey service itself was caused by the Bishop of Hereford's[1] invitation to Nonconformists to join with members of the Church of England at Holy Communion in Hereford Cathedral on the occasion of the Coronation. This led to indignant protests from many Churchmen, including a strong letter from Lord Halifax and the Council of the English Church Union to the Archbishop himself. The letter followed upon a discussion in the Upper House of Convocation, where both the Archbishop and the Bishop of Winchester[2] had criticized Dr. Percival's action.

[1] Dr. Percival

[2] Dr. Talbot.

The BISHOP OF HEREFORD *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Private. The Palace, Hereford.
13th May, 1911.

I have just observed that Lord Halifax is attacking me through a protest addressed to you, and he and his aggressive and insolent faction will no doubt do their worst. My purpose has been to take no notice of the attacks of sacerdotalists and mediaevalists; but I think perhaps I ought to inform you before you reply to him that I may possibly have to defend myself by some public utterance, though I think it most likely that I shall rest content with the manifold expressions of approval and support I have received from Church people of all sorts except the High Sacerdotal party. These expressions have been beyond anything I could have anticipated; and I feel sorry you joined Winchester in expressing disapproval.

This, I confess, disappointed me, as I had expected you to reply to his attack as Archbishop Tait replied to his predecessors, or at least to have given a neutral utterance, as there was to be no discussion by the House. Your siding with him seemed in fact to give his attack a weight it did not deserve on its merits.

Please do not trouble to acknowledge this I merely wished you to have it before you write to Lord Halifax

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF HEREFORD

Private. 15th May, 1911.

I am not surprised to learn that you are receiving such letters as you describe: that was to be reckoned as a certainty. But you would be utterly mistaken in the facts if you supposed that these letters cover the ground save for the opinions of those whom you describe as 'sacerdotalists and mediaevalists'. One friend after another of most moderate opinions who has been working hard for bringing about a better spirit of unity has spoken to me almost in despair as to the result which must ensue from the matter having been, so to speak, crystallised and forced into formal shape at this moment by what you have felt it to be right to do. I have throughout tried to show that those who attack you are often unfair and are forgetful of a good deal of Church history. I tried to do this in the speech in Convocation which you condemn. My whole endeavour so long as I have had to do with public affairs has been in the direction of promoting the sort of unity and fellowship which you and I alike desire to further. But, as was said to me yesterday by a prominent man, a member of the Edinburgh Con-

ference Continuation Committee, and not at all a High Churchman, 'you can in no way destroy the *spirit* of unity so effectively as by trying to crystallise it *in action* at times of difficulty'. This in one form or another has been said to me from every side. The men with whom I have worked in the endeavour to draw, say, Presbyterians and Anglicans nearer together feel that what has now happened will probably throw our endeavours back for years. Of course I am perfectly familiar with the fact that men like, say, Bishop Cosin, might perhaps have acted just as you have acted, and that their action was in those days useful and helpful. But the conditions of our day are different, and if we are really to promote the unity of those who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, we must bear in mind the position and the difficulties not only of those who belong to the liberal side in theology, but of those who do not. . . . You mention Archbishop Tait, and there I am upon familiar ground. This question came up again and again while I was working with him. He never swerved from the position that while we may rightly throw the responsibility for seeking to communicate in our Church upon the individual Presbyterian or Nonconformist who desires to communicate, it would defeat our end absolutely were we to issue formal invitations to Nonconformists as such to come. I have written many letters for him to that effect, and what I said in Convocation was exactly upon the lines which he throughout followed. . . . Surely in common fairness we must admit that there is a very wide difference between our letting it quietly be known that we have no desire to repel any good Christian man and that the responsibility rests mainly with the individual communicant, and on the other hand a formal Episcopal utterance specifically inviting to Communion those who, according to strict technicality, are not qualified to communicate. Perhaps this distinction does not seem to you to be a real one, but it certainly seems to be real to a great many whose opinions in most matters you would I think respect.

I

After the Coronation on June 22, the King and Queen proposed to hold a grand Durbar at Delhi by way of personally celebrating the great solemnity in the King Emperor's Indian Dominions. There is some interesting correspondence between the Archbishop and Lord Stamfordham, following representations made to the Archbishop by the Bishop of Lahore[1] and others, on the

[1] Dr. Lefroy.

religious side of the celebrations, and the Archbishop urged with success that a great State service with the King present should be held in the open air at Delhi under the direction of the Metropolitan of India,[1] in addition to the regular services in Cathedral or camp which the King had proposed to attend. It is also of interest to note that the Archbishop's office and his personal devotion to the King were recognized this year by his inclusion among the four 'Counsellors of State' appointed to transact the necessary business of the Crown in the King's absence. The others were Prince Arthur of Connaught, the Lord Chancellor (Loreburn), and the Lord President of the Council (Morley). They held office from November 11 to the end of January, when the King returned to England.

II

A religious question of another kind is illustrated by an account of an interview with Mrs. Besant, President of the Theosophical Society. She had written to the Archbishop to say it was her earnest desire to 'subserve Christianity'.

In the course of a discussion between them on the differences which marked off Theosophy from Christianity, the Archbishop wrote down the following words in her presence as representing the Theosophical position, and Mrs Besant agreed that they were in her judgement 'absolutely accurate':

28th June, 1911.

The Christian Church speaks of Christ as the second Person of the Trinity We should say that Christ is only so in the same way as many others are and have been The Christian says: God was incarnate in Jesus Christ. We say Yes, but in all men the human spirit is an incarnation of the Divine, though supremely so in Christ. Only the Christ Incarnation was not unique in history. there have been many others besides.

They then spoke of the Atonement, and Mrs Besant at once admitted that the Theosophical view was entirely different from what was known as the orthodox Church doctrine:

Having expanded all this we returned to the point with which she started, 'What is the attitude of Church authorities towards

[1] Dr. Copleston.

clergy who join the Theosophical Society?' I pointed out to her the difference between the position of clergy who are accredited as teachers and guides on the strength of their adherence to certain specific doctrines, and the position of other Christian folk who are not so accredited. The difference appeared never to have struck her, and to my surprise she said, 'If you put it like that I do not wonder at the difficulty you find'. She went on to admit that a full member of her Society like—e g. Mr. Scott-Moncrieff, whom she frequently named, would necessarily hold that there was nothing unique in the Incarnation of Christ, although He was a supreme teacher, that the whole doctrine of the Atonement must be re-set as meaning nothing more than a closer union between God and man as shown in Christ, and so on And when I said, 'Do you think I could rightly accredit as a Christian teacher to whom—e.g. Christian parents may send their children, a man who can only say the Creed with such expansion or modification as that?' she replied, 'Well, now you put it so, I do not think you could.' Yet, so far as I understand, she came here in order to get me to say that there was nothing in the position she inculcates inconsistent with the holding of the Christian faith even by a teacher thereof.

III

The tercentenary of the Authorized Version of the Bible was celebrated in 1911, when the Archbishop and Mr Asquith spoke at a great commemorative meeting organized by the Bible Society in the Albert Hall. This caused some interesting questions to be put to the Archbishop. The first concerned the copyright of the Bible. The Archbishop was approached by the Home Secretary, Mr. Winston Churchill, for advice as to whether a request of the Bible Society to be allowed to print the Authorized Version might be granted by the Crown: the privilege being at present restricted in England and Wales to the King's Printers and the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge. The Archbishop was at first inclined to favour 'free trade in Bibles', and doubted whether the existing restictions were quite consonant with the spirit of our time. But on going into the matter with great care, and hearing all that was to be said upon the subject by the King's Printers and by the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge, he came to the conclusion expressed in the following letter to the Home Secretary:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* RT. HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL

1st August, 1912.

On the whole I am clearly of opinion that no adequate case has been made out for any change in the existing rules. The Bible Society does not in my judgement show that there is any real grievance as things now stand, and the Syndics of the University Presses have presented the case both of themselves and of the King's Printers with a backing of cogent argument which it would be difficult to upset. Certainly if a change were to be made it could not be made without adequate notice to those who have, on the strength of the existing rules, invested very large sums of money for carrying out a system of printing and publishing which seems to me to be conducive beyond all doubt to the public interest and advantage.

I do not think it would be possible to restrict to the British and Foreign Bible Society the privilege of such printing if it be extended beyond the present limits, and I could if necessary support from independent knowledge the contention of the Syndics of the University Presses as to the confusion and mischief which might arise if existing restrictions were altogether broken down.

Mr. Churchill agreed with this advice and the application was refused.

Other questions referred to the desirability of a fresh revision of the New Testament. A Memorial presented in May 1911 by a number of scholars and public men of great distinction, including Arthur Balfour, A. C. Bradley, Robert Bridges, H. C. Beeching, Lord Curzon, Dr. Inge, M. R. James, Andrew Lang, Walter Raleigh, Henry Jackson, and the Professors of English Literature of most of the Universities (though, curiously, very few Biblical scholars), asked for an emendation of the Authorized Version in those places, and in those places only, where its meaning was misleading or obscure. The Memorialists were critical of the Revised Version of the New Testament, but satisfied with that of the Old. The Archbishop, however, in replying, said that from the point of view of scholarship the time was not, in his judgement, opportune, and that it would be better to wait a few years. He suggested that in the meanwhile a number of scholars might be privately invited to undertake an experimental work voluntarily, and that, if they were successful on such a task as

the Epistle to the Hebrews, a new enterprise might be launched by authority. The reply disappointed the deputation, though it was entirely endorsed by public opinion outside.

IV

A more serious, and far more agitating, question with which the Archbishop had to contend was that involved in the Bill to disestablish the Welsh Church, introduced in April 1912. The Prime Minister's action carried with it the practical certainty that, under the Parliament Act, it would in time receive the Royal Assent, despite its rejection by the Lords. During the whole of the long agitation which had led up to the Bill, as well as during the proceedings in Parliament, the Archbishop had been in the closest touch with the Bishops of the four Welsh dioceses which it was proposed to sunder from the Province of Canterbury. And be it remembered that all four Bishops were Welsh patriots, and two at least very eloquent patriots, with a gift of fervid oratory, namely St. Asaph (Edwards) and St. David's (Owen). They were not likely, therefore, to undervalue the special genius of the Welsh nation, or to discourage what in their judgement might serve to make the Welsh Church more and more the Church of the Welsh people. Nor did they forget that Christianity had flourished in Wales before it had flourished in Canterbury, and that their Welsh dioceses had a more ancient title than any diocese in England. But, while perfectly well able to take care of the Welsh Church and Welsh interests, they valued with an equal affection the very old connexion between their four dioceses and the rest of the dioceses of England and Wales. Their relationship to the Province of Canterbury was a living relationship and their share in the councils of the Convocation of Canterbury of a vital character. Their violent sundering from those councils and that life they therefore indignantly resented. It was natural for them to look for leadership and help to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the head of the Province and the President of the Convocation. It was also natural for the Archbishop to give all the help in his power; since the body over which he ruled was to receive a grievous wound; and an attack on any portion of the Church which looked to him as Primate seemed to him to be an attack on the whole. Nor was this the only or the chief reason

why he felt bound to lend his strength to the champion defenders of the Church in Wales. He was well aware of the material disadvantages which would be bound to come to the temporalities of the Church through the disendowment But grievous as that loss might be, a more important principle still than disendowment was at stake. He was a profound and convinced believer in the whole principle of establishment. The national recognition of religion was to him of inestimable importance. And above all incidental features of establishment he put the existence of the parochial system:

> We have at present [he said, in his Charge[1]], such a rule, supported by both Church and State—a rule which requires the continuous residence and the personal service of a duly appointed and qualified officer who has a recognised status and a defined authority in matters ecclesiastical within an accurately prescribed area, surrounded on every side by other areas prescribed with equal accuracy, each of them served by a religious officer with status and responsibilities corresponding to his own.
>
> Let anyone familiar with our common English life in any thickly populated area of, say, half a dozen parishes, contrast the position held therein by a devoted and capable Nonconformist minister with the position held by the *personae* or 'parsons' of the National Church in those parishes, and he will begin perhaps to realise what the change would mean when the legal obligations and local responsibilities with which we are familiar had ceased. The ministers of all the various denominations, the Church of England being one of them, would then have a status identical in character, each of them ministering to his own congregation or adherents, with no responsibility resting upon one of them more than upon another to care for those who lie outside all 'congregations'. Probably every parish priest here to-day could point to many such people who, with little profession of caring for religion, and certainly no membership in any congregation, make constant and almost automatic claims upon the man whom immemorial usage, as well as technical rule, has taught everyone, whatever his belief or non-belief, to regard and to use as the parish 'minister'—the accredited servant, that is, of all the people.

What, we may ask, was the reason why the Prime Minister should desire this disestablishment of the Welsh Church? It was in the main because it was now, he maintained, the Church of a minority It was not in fact the national Church, and therefore

[1] *Character and Call of the Church of England*, p 93 f (February 1912).

ought not to be given the privileges over other churches which a national Church might claim. The Royal Commission[1] had conclusively shown that its adherents were less numerous than those of the Nonconforming churches, and a great sense of injury was burning in the hearts of the Welsh people. Nor could it be denied that 31 of 34 Welsh M.P.s had been returned, in each of the two General Elections since 1909, with the very definite expectation that they would work for the disestablishment of the Church.

The provisions of the Bill,[2] as introduced in the Commons in April 1912, may be briefly outlined. After the passing of the Act, the four Welsh dioceses[3] would cease to be dioceses of the Province of Canterbury; the ecclesiastical corporations in them (sole or otherwise) would be dissolved, and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction abolished. The organization, however, was to be kept in being, as the subject of an implied contract between its members, and power was given to hold synods for the future government of the Church.

All the cathedrals and parish churches, ecclesiastical residences and closed burial grounds, together with the income from endowments which should pass to the disendowed Church, were to be vested in three Welsh Commissioners with instructions to transfer the whole property to a Representative Body, which was to be constituted by the Church itself.

The income to be left to the Church was calculated in the following way.[4] The Church's income from endowments in 1910 was £268,558 The date which should determine the difference between the ancient endowments and the endowments specifically intended for the Church was fixed as 1662, this being the date of the Book of Common Prayer, and of the founding of

[1] The Warrant setting up the Royal Commission was dated May 1, 1907 Its Report was dated November 1, 1910.

[2] A previous Bill had been introduced in the Commons in 1909

[3] Actually seven dioceses were affected by the Bill One whole Deanery of St Asaph, viz. Oswestry, was not disestablished

[4] Mr. Frank Morgan, Secretary of the Representative Body of the Church in Wales, states in a letter to the writer (June 5, 1935) that at the time when the Royal Commission was appointed the date for the division between ancient and modern was 1703, and, taking that date, the Memorandum of Archdeacon Evans and Lord Hugh Cecil, attached to the Report of the Commission, put the amount of endowments at £116,287, and the total at £215,507. But by the time the Commission reported, the endowments had risen to £268,558

Nonconformity. The ancient endowments, it was argued, might properly be regarded as national property, and amounted to more than half the total. This sum was to be alienated for the University of Wales and the County Councils. Life interests were, however, to be preserved and commuted.

On the eve of the introduction of the Bill, the Archbishop of Canterbury addressed a meeting of 10,000 Churchmen at Carnarvon, on April 22, 1912. He declared that he had come officially to Carnarvon in order to show the support given by the English Church to their Welsh brethren. On April 30 there was a vigorous debate in Convocation when the Archbishop and Bishops (the Bishops of Oxford,[1] Hereford,[2] and Lincoln[3] dissenting) called upon Churchmen and Churchwomen and other Christian people to offer the most strenuous opposition.

The second reading of the Bill was carried in May in spite of violent attacks in and out of the House, and had passed through its various stages in the House of Commons by February 1913. In the Lords the Bill was thrown out, a second reading being refused on February 13, after three days' debate, by 252 votes to 51. The Archbishop made a long speech, stating the facts and the history. He took care to emphasize the point that disestablishment would not touch the spiritual life of the Church, though it would cripple its work

A new session began in March. The Welsh Church Bill had passed a second time through the House of Commons by the beginning of July 1913. Once again it came to the Lords, and again, after two days' debate, the second reading was refused (July 22) by 243 votes to 48.

Demonstrations continued in the country, and the Archbishop made a strong speech against the Bill in a meeting in the Albert Hall on November 20. In April 1914, the Bill was re-introduced into the House of Commons, and passed the Commons a third time on May 19.

Two new points were now taken up—or at least pressed with new vigour. It was urged that Parliament was acting in a harsh and violent way against Convocation by the forcible separation of the four Welsh dioceses from the Canterbury Synod. It was also urged that a great deal of Nonconformist feeling had lately been aroused against the Bill. Accordingly, on June 25 the

[1] Dr Gore [2] Dr Percival [3] Dr E. L. Hicks.

Government agreed to appoint a Select Committee before the second reading was again taken in the House of Lords in order to inquire (1) whether the constitution of the Convocations of the Church of England had ever been altered by Act of Parliament without the assent and against the protest of the Convocations, and (2) whether the memorials attributed to Welsh Nonconformists against disendowment represented a real and increasing objection to it among them.

The War broke out before the Committee could report. And, though not without a vigorous protest from the Archbishop, the Welsh Church Act was 'duly passed under the provisions of the Parliament Act 1911'.

A Suspensory Act was carried at the same time, postponing the operation of the Act for twelve months, or to a further date not later than the termination of the War, to be fixed by order in Council The rest of the story will be told in a subsequent chapter.

V

The account of an Act of disestablishment may be followed by an illustration of the grave difficulties under which the Church of England laboured as an Established Church in securing even moderate administrative reforms before the passing of the Enabling Act of 1919. It had been agreed, the money had been found, and all the necessary steps had been taken so far as the Church could go, to create three new dioceses, Sheffield, Chelmsford, and St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich; thus giving considerable relief to the three large dioceses from which they were to be carved. But, on the Bill being introduced into the House of Commons, it was met with obstruction. The Prime Minister, on January 14, 1913, wrote to the Archbishop pointing out the strength of the obstruction and regretting that he saw no chance of the Bill getting through. To everybody's surprise, including the Archbishop's, the Bill was suddenly passed in August. The Archbishop, hearing the good news, wrote at once to Lord Hugh Cecil:

The Archbishop of Canterbury *to the* Rt. Hon Lord Hugh Cecil

16th August, 1913.

One line I must send you from the Alps to express the supreme satisfaction with which I learn—though without any particulars—

of the passage of the three Bishoprics' Bill. It is a huge cause of thankfulness, not least because of what it may mean as regards the life of the Bishop of St. Albans[1]—on whom we lean so much.

I wonder how it came about. Was it a *coup* of yours in the *absence* of our obstinate friends? Or was it a Parliamentary *deal*? Or what is the explanation? One word of explication (addressed to Lambeth) would be very acceptable.

We are revelling in Alpine sunlight on the ridge 'twixt Switzerland and Italy—an old and favourite haunt of ours.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Hugh Cecil *to the* Archbishop of Canterbury

19th August, 1913.

The passage of the Bishoprics Bill resulted, like other great events, from the concatenation of circumstances. My nephew, Wolmer, on the Friday before the Prorogation, suggested that we might oppose, and so prevent the passage of, a number of Nonconformist Charity Bills unless we got the Bishoprics Bill through. At first I thought this would hardly work, but, when he pressed his plan, it seemed to me that it would be worth trying Accordingly we revived the Bishoprics Bill, which was dropped, and put it down again for Monday; and I spoke to the Prime Minister and asked his assistance. He said he would be delighted to do what he could if we could square the opposition to the Bill. This seemed possible because the Nonconformist opponents might be bought off by allowing their Charity Bills to pass, and the Liverpool opponents, I hoped, would all be away. Monday and Tuesday were spent in animated negotiations between Wolmer and myself on one side and the Government Whip, Illingworth, and some of the Ministerial opponents of the Bill on the other In the end the Bill was starred, and, after much hesitation, its Second Reading was taken at the end of the Tuesday sitting on Wednesday morning. We had gained this concession by promising to let through no fewer than sixteen Charity Bills, of which fourteen related to Nonconformist Charities.

The opposition of Colonel Challoner to the Second Reading greatly alarmed Illingworth and imperilled the Bill; and on Wednesday afternoon we were still very anxious. But we got my brother Robert and the Bishop of Oxford to see the Prime Minister, who supported us admirably, as indeed he had done all through. Finally, the Bill passed easily through Committee, the Liverpool people not turning up, and the rest of the opposition

[1] Dr Jacob (the diocese of Chelmsford being taken out of the diocese of St Albans).

being either bought off or overawed by Asquith's influence. By dinner time on Wednesday the Bill had been read a third time.

So you see that the passage of the Bill resulted partly from a Parliamentary deal, partly from the good-will of the Prime Minister, partly from the absence of the Liverpool Members and of some strong Radical opponents who were abroad. Asquith thought that we had been unwise in leaving the matter till the last moment. That we did so was an accident; but the cunningest calculation would not have led us to any other course because, if we had not had all the advantage of surprise, the Protestant drum would have been beaten and the opposition to the Bill brought together again. What we did was the best possible way of carrying the Bill, although the suddenness of it was an accident; for we did not think of attempting to pass the Bill till the Friday afternoon and it was read a third time the following Wednesday by dinner time We were a good deal pressed to accept the Bishopric of Sheffield alone, but we thought, first, that the Chelmsford case was the strongest and most urgent, and, secondly, that if there was to be a scandal, it would answer to us better that the scandal should be a big one, as more likely to lead us to a general Enabling Bill. We also resisted a suggestion that the Places of Worship Enfranchisement Bill should be passed in consideration of the passage of this Bill. We kept that to barter against a general Enabling Bill.

This, I think, answers Your Grace's question. Credit is chiefly due to Wolmer for the bold plan which ultimately succeeded and to the Prime Minister for his invaluable help.

The secrecy required to achieve success showed, perhaps even more than any failure would have done, the grave disadvantages with which the promoters of Church legislation had to contend.

CHAPTER XXXIX

PRAYER BOOK REVISION BEFORE THE WAR, 1906–1914

Matter grows under our hands Let no man say, 'Come, I'll write a *duodecimo*'
LAURENCE STERNE, *Tristram Shandy*, vol v, ch. xvi

IN one form or another, the problem of the Prayer Book stayed with the Archbishop from the beginning to the end of his Primacy. The first three years (1903–6) form the opening act of the drama—for, following the stormy Prologue in Temple's rule, they set out the demand for a solution of the ritual difficulties as they existed at that time—beginning with a public agitation and a deputation to Lambeth (1903), and continuing with the labours of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline (1904–6). The second act is occupied with the initiation of the revision of the Prayer Book through Convocation in the eight years leading up to the War (1906–14) The War—with its revelation of new needs, outdistancing the old—provides the stage for the third act. The fourth act is the long process of legislation through the Church Assembly, with its waxing intensity. The fifth act takes place in the House of Commons. It may be well in a few pages, before the crisis of the War, to give a summary account of the procedure between the publication of the unanimous Report of the Royal Commission in 1906, and August 1914.

It would be far too long a story to describe the various stages even of the progress to and in Convocation. But certain outstanding facts and features must be brought out. In the first place the procedure by Letters of Business had itself to be commended both to the Government of the day and also to the Church at large. The Prime Minister in 1906, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, when approached by the Archbishop, replied:

The RT. HON. SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

4 August, 1906.

His Majesty's Government have fully considered your Grace's suggestion that Letters of Business should be issued to the Convoca-

tions as recommended in the report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline. Custom undoubtedly warrants the grant of Letters in such cases in order that Convocation may be free to deliberate and express its opinion

But His Majesty's Government believe that very far-reaching consequences may follow, and they do not think it would be right to set on foot a proceeding which may lead to such serious issues in the Church of England, except upon the initiative of the Church itself acting through its recognized authorities

If therefore either your Grace and the Archbishop of York think fit to submit a request to the Crown for Letters of Business, or the Convocations present a petition to the same effect, I shall advise His Majesty to issue Letters.

The two Archbishops accordingly wrote:

The ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY AND YORK[1] *to the* RT. HON. SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN

Lambeth Palace, S E. 7 August 1906

It will be within your knowledge that the recently presented Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline contained, among other recommendations, the following:

'We recommend that—

'Letters of Business should be issued to the Convocations with instructions—(a) to consider the preparation of a new rubric regulating the ornaments (that is to say, the vesture) of the ministers of the Church at the times of their ministrations, with a view to its enactment by Parliament, and (b) to frame, with a view to their enactment by Parliament, such modifications in the existing law relating to the conduct of Divine Service and to the ornaments and fittings of churches as may tend to secure the greater elasticity which a reasonable recognition of the comprehensiveness of the Church of England and of its present needs seems to demand.'

We think that in all the circumstances it is desirable in the interests of the Church of England, that this recommendation should be adopted, and accordingly we venture, as those on whom central responsibility rests in Church affairs, to express our hope that you may see your way to advise His Majesty the King to direct that Letters of Business be issued.

[1] Dr. Maclagan.

The RT. HON. SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

10, Downing Street, Whitehall, S.W.
August 18th, 1906.

I have received the letter of yourself and the Archbishop of York of the 7th instant, requesting me to move His Majesty to grant Letters of Business to the Convocations in accordance with the recommendation of the Royal Commission. In view of this request it will be my duty to lay the matter before the King in time for the meeting of Convocation. Your Grace will of course understand that though I have thought myself bound to comply in such a matter with the request of the two Archbishops, His Majesty's Government must hold themselves entirely free to judge for themselves the course that they ought to adopt both in regard to the Royal Commissioners' proposals for legislation and in other respects, whatever view may be taken by the Convocations.

The following is the Letter of Business to the Convocation of Canterbury, under the Royal Sign Manual, issued from the Home Office, November 10, 1906.

EDWARD R. and I.

Edward the Seventh, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, To Our Right Trusty and Right Entirely Beloved Councillor, Randall Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, Knight Grand Cross of Our Royal Victorian Order, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, to the Right Reverend the Bishops, the Very Reverend the Deans, the Venerable the Archdeacons, and to the Reverend the Proctors representing the Cathedral and Collegiate Chapters and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury,

Greeting!

Whereas Our Commissioners appointed to inquire into the alleged prevalence of breaches or neglect of the law relating to the conduct of Divine Service in the Church of England have submitted to Us their report:

And whereas We deem it expedient that certain recommendations of Our said Commissioners should be by you discussed.

Our Will and Pleasure therefore is, and We do hereby authorize you, the said Randall Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, President of the said Convocation, and the Bishops of your said Province, and the Deans of the Cathedral Churches and also the

Archdeacons, and the Proctors representing the Chapters and Colleges and the whole Clergy of every Diocese of your said Province, that you do debate, consider, consult, and agree upon the following points, matters, and things contained in the recommendations of the said Report, *videlicet*, the desirability and the form and contents of a new Rubric regulating the ornaments (that is to say the vesture) of the Ministers of the Church at the times of their ministrations, and also of any modifications of the existing law relating to the conduct of Divine Service and to the ornaments and fittings of Churches; and, after mature debate, consideration, consultations, and agreement that you do present to Us a Report or Reports thereon in writing

Given at Our Court at Sandringham, the tenth day of November, 1906, in the Sixth year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

H. J GLADSTONE.

Letter of Business authorizing the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury to discuss and report upon certain recommendations contained in the Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline.

In commending the procedure to the Church, the Archbishop of Canterbury, first in a letter of June 1906 to the Members of Convocation and of the House of Laymen, said.

I realise as clearly as any man the great difficulties and dangers which will attend our course after the Letters of Business have been issued I can enter into the thoughts of those who on that ground will be ready to censure the above recommendation as rash and ill-advised But every student of history knows how often the courageous line of action has proved to be the most prudent; and when it is also the most obviously straightforward, the probability that it ought to be chosen is raised almost to certainty. What I venture with some confidence to ask is, that I may, as President of our Convocation, be supported on all sides in the endeavour which must now be made to bring to an end a situation which, for those at least who are in the front rank of administrative responsibility, has become well-nigh intolerable. It has become abundantly clear that to secure the exact observance, in the twentieth century, of detailed rubrics drawn up in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is neither possible nor, from any point of view, desirable. Rules clear in principle and yet elastic in detail we do absolutely require, if the Church, in its manifold activities, is to be abreast of modern needs and yet loyal to ancient order.

> Are we always to shrink back affrighted from the task of trying to decide what, in such matters as our rubrics deal with, the living Church of England desires?

In his address to the Full Synod on November 13, 1906, he repeated this appeal. Two things in particular are significant. It is significant that in 1906 (and for some years later) it is the question of vestments, the Ornaments Rubric, which is the predominant issue; the question, namely, whether the chasuble and the other Eucharistic vestments are or are not lawful—whether they were or were not in use '*in this Church of England by the authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth*'—and whether in any case they may be lawfully used now. The Archbishop said (November 13, 1906):

> In the forefront of the direction or request which has been given to us stands that much-enduring document, the Ornaments Rubric—that document which is unlike, as I imagine, any other document in history, appealed to on either side in the controversy as conclusive, but appealed to with interpretations attached which on the two sides are diametrically opposite. I doubt whether the same number of words in English or in any other tongue have ever stood in quite the same relation as these words stand to a great controversy or to a great epoch in Church life. There would, to my mind, be something almost verging on the absurd in the position of that document were it not that the matter is so intensely grave and momentous to our common life. My own belief, quite unswerving, after abundant thought and abundant prayer—my own personal belief—is that we ought to go forward and deal with, I do not say that document necessarily, but with the controversies in which that document holds so prominent a place—that we ought to go forward and to deal with it now in our Convocations.

The Ornaments Rubric was fated to pass into the background of the discussion before many years had passed. Not so the other significant point on which the Archbishop dwelt, the relation to Parliament:

> The moment this question is raised people are apt to say, 'Have you forgotten that in the long run any change of rubric or other document which has statutory force would require Parliamentary sanction?' Does anybody forget that for an hour who thinks about these subjects? It is the very crux of our difficulties. But we have to remember this—as far as I am aware, no responsible people in

public life want that the rubrical details of the Book of Common Prayer shall be discussed in Parliament. Certainly no political party desires that that should take place, and I doubt whether any ecclesiastical party, even the smallest, entertains that desire to-day. And, therefore, the thought should be borne in mind, when we are considering whether that perfectly plain and obvious difficulty across the path of our action is really a fatal bar or no. The task before us ultimately will be how to find a mode of securing the Parliamentary sanction which will be necessary if, and only if, the change of any rubric is recommended—how to secure that without involving discussions which would be quite obviously and manifestly unsuited to Parliament if they necessitated discussions there upon the details either of worship or of doctrine. Personally, I do not believe a solution of that problem to be impossible which should retain the full privileges alike of the National Church, and of what our Bidding Prayer calls the 'great Council of the nation assembled in Parliament'.

Convocation, on the Archbishop's advice, decided to prepare a full Reply to the Royal Letter of Business. But the Reply was bound to take time—not least on account of the large amount of hesitation and lukewarmness, as well as opposition for different reasons, among Church people generally A certain amount of interest was taken in the proposal to modify the rule which required the *Quicunque Vult* to be recited on the great festivals of the Church. But quite clearly, the chief matter of public interest was the use of vestments In 1908 a most valuable Historical Report (120 pages) on Ornaments (No. 416) was presented to the Upper House of Convocation by a subcommittee of five Bishops, of whom Bishop John Wordsworth was the leader. Bishop Wordsworth's words, accounting for the passion[1] which the controversy aroused, are worth quoting. Speaking in the Upper House on February 5, 1908, he said:

I have come to the conclusion that it is because our countrymen have largely mistaken irrational instincts for religious inspirations. Extreme partisans on one side shrink from a ritualist as they would from a snake, or dismiss him contemptuously as possessed by the idle vanity of a peacock. Those on the other side

[1] In a Protest organized by the Church Association in 1906, signed by 118,624 lay members of the Church of England, against the legalization of mass vestments, it was stated that they were worn by 'upwards of 2,300 clergy of the Church of England'. The total number of clergy in the Church of England is about 25,000.

regard Puritans as 'wild boars out of the wood', bent on rooting up all that is decent and beautiful.

The Report, which brought forward a great deal of evidence in favour of the legality of vestments, even though it contained no recommendation as to present policy, called forth a shower of memorials and protests. The Upper House declared its own attitude three years later in the following Resolution (July 7, 1911):

> That this House, holding that in the present circumstances of the Church of England it is not desirable (1) that any alteration should be made in the terms of the Ornaments Rubric, and (2) that either of the two existing usages as regards the vesture of the minister at the Holy Communion (other than the use of the cope as ordered by Canon 24) should in all cases be excluded from the public worship of the Church—declares its opinion that, by whatsoever process may be hereafter recommended by this House, provision shall be made to authorize, under specified conditions and with due safeguards, a diversity of use. And it is hereby explicitly declared that by this Resolution no sanction is intended to be given to any doctrine other than what is set forth in the Prayer Book and Articles of the Church of England.

With regard to the remainder of the Prayer Book, the policy at this time was to do as little as possible—not least on account of the misconceptions and suspicions of which the Archbishop was fully conscious, as he told the Upper House in November 1910, when he said:

> No thoughtful man can fail to think that such changes as are made in the Rubrics should be reduced sternly to the smallest possible dimensions

The procedure, it must be remembered, was liable to be cumbersome and complicated; because, as the Archbishop made plain from the beginning, each of the two Houses in Canterbury Convocation, and each of the two Houses in York Convocation were dealing with the same matters—in 'independent deliberation with occasional conference'.[1] and the Archbishop had also promised that the outcome of Convocation's deliberations was 'sooner or later to be communicated to the House of Laymen'.[2] In 1911, the provisional result of the Upper House's work in

[1] Letter to Prolocutor, May 4, 1909 [2] Ibid.

Committee was a quite slight leaflet, dealing with what then seemed necessary (No. 427; 19 pp.). There was a bare allowance of Reservation for 'the sick person' only. But there was no change of importance in the Order of Holy Communion. The Archbishop, writing this year to a correspondent, said:

> Yes, I am keen about Prayer Book Revision *now*. In my own belief the changes likely to be adopted are for the most part quite uncontroversial, but there are two or three which will be subjects of keen debate.

Between 1911 and 1914, the movement in favour of revision had grown, and much work was done in both Houses of Convocation, with some assistance from an advisory committee of liturgical scholars, appointed July 1912. A larger Report, No. 481 (40 pp.),[1] embodied the results of the Upper House's work—but it was still comparatively small; and, while including provision for Reservation for 'the sick person', it still made no change of any importance connected with the Prayer of Consecration in Holy Communion The increase in the number of Recommendations was simply due to an increasing demand for enrichment The work of Prayer Book revision had begun (said the Bishop of Bristol,[2] February 18, 1914, in reporting the results of six years' labour) with two main desires:

> First, that there should be a minimum of change, and next, that there should be no change that in any sort of way could honestly be said to touch doctrine at all. As time went on, the question of enrichment came up, and that had grown to very considerable dimensions Whether it had grown to overburdening dimensions, would be a matter for careful consideration.

In April 1914, at the Archbishop's suggestion, a joint committee of both Houses of Canterbury Convocation was appointed to harmonize their material, with a view also to agreement, if possible, with York. A Committee of the Upper House was appointed to consider procedure by canon, 'the necessary Parliamentary sanction being subsequently sought'.

Thus, in the summer of 1914, it seemed that the main part of the Reply to the Royal Letters of Business had been completed.

[1] February 1914 [2] Dr G F. Browne.

CHAPTER XL

MARCHES AND COUNTERMARCHES

'Tis a church militant week with me, full of marches and counter marches
LAURENCE STERNE (Letter to J Hall-Stevenson, 1764)

IN the years which immediately preceded the outbreak of the Great War, there were many signs of impending calamity, both at home and abroad. The Archbishop himself, though very well aware of the state of crisis at home, did not believe in the likelihood of a great conflict in Europe. And his desire for peace and for friendly relations with Germany in particular is shown in a whole series of communications with the Church leaders in Germany.

I

In February 1911, occurred a notable visit to England of representatives of the German Churches Committee for fostering friendly relations between Great Britain and Germany. Professor Harnack of Berlin, the famous New Testament scholar, came with Dr Spiecker. They visited Buckingham Palace on Sunday (February 5) with the Archbishop, and attended Divine Service in the private Chapel, the King and Queen both being present. And afterwards they were presented by the Archbishop to Their Majesties. On the following day, February 6, the day of the opening of Parliament, the Archbishop presided at a meeting held in the Queen's Hall, for the purpose of forming the British section of the 'Associated Council of the Churches of the British and German Empires for fostering friendly relations'.

Both the Archbishop and Dr. Harnack declared that their nations wished for peace And both spoke of the danger which came from *provocateurs* and similar 'noxious creatures' which had the power of causing irritation and inflammation in the body politic, and traded on ignorance. The Archbishop spoke of their Association of British and German Churches:

> They wanted each of the two great nations to have at its centre a solid corps of men and women thus vivified [by the power of the Holy Spirit, and the spirit of Christian brotherhood], and they

believed that in that way they would bring about what would make the bare possibility of war, or the spirit and tone which gave rise to war, first unlikely, then difficult, ultimately quite impossible.[1]

Dr. Harnack on his side described the Association as 'A Regiment of Peace'; and, referring to the ideal of human brotherhood proclaimed by Christ, added.

> We dare not cast forth this ideal from the realm of politics, we are bound to recognise its validity even there. We ought not to act as if our Christianity bound us only in the home and in the Church, whilst elsewhere its authority failed, as if the sword of the barbarian maintained a lawful place among us[2]

At the moment, in spite of the *provocateurs* on either side, there was apparent quiet But a few weeks after the meeting, a fresh crisis in Morocco led to a French occupation of the Moroccan capital Fez The German Government resented this action, and suddenly, on July 1, sent a gunboat to Agadir, on the western coast of Morocco, to protect German subjects in that disorderly country. This in turn alarmed British statesmen, and Mr Lloyd George made a speech in the Mansion House, with the full authority of the Government, which was immediately taken as a grave warning to German aims England was at once attacked as the real enemy of Germany. German pastors and professors, who had been in the forefront of the movement for friendship between the Churches of the two countries, feared a violent set-back.

Letters were received by various members of the British Council of the Churches for fostering friendly relations between the two peoples, definitely expressing the writers' belief that the British fleet had twice in recent months been ready to throw itself upon Germany The Archbishop took up the matter with the Prime Minister The whole idea of a raid in the autumn was incredible to him But he wished to be able to deny such a charge in the most authoritative fashion·

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* RT HON. H. H. ASQUITH

5th January, 1912

I have been seeing the letters written by Ministers of Religion and others in Germany who have been strong friends of England, and I am rather aghast to find how deeply rooted among these friendly folk is the belief that England contemplated last Summer

[1] *The Times*, February 7, 1911. [2] *Christian World*, February 9, 1911.

a raid upon Germany without notice, and had actually made preparations for it. I have again and again said that I am persuaded not only that this is untrue, but that it has no foundation. Such assurances seem to be in vain. People think I am merely ignorant.

The RT. HON H. H. ASQUITH *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Private. 8th January, 1912.

Many thanks for your letter of the 5th, which I showed to Sir Edward Grey this morning.

We both think that nothing good could result from any declaration prior to the German elections, which begin at the end of this week Any such declaration would be sure to be misunderstood and distorted, and exploited for party purposes

But there is no reason why you should not know, and let it be known to all whom it may concern, that the story that last summer—or at any time—this country contemplated a raid upon Germany, is a ridiculous fiction. It is totally without any kind of foundation in fact.

The movements and operations of our Fleet this summer and autumn were perfectly normal, which (*between you and me*) is more than could be said of the German Fleet.

I return your enclosures.

The Archbishop at once wrote a letter to Mr Allen Baker, the Chairman of the British Executive Committee, for communication to Dr Spiecker, the Chairman of the German Executive Committee. He also wrote as follows to Dr. Harnack:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* PROFESSOR ADOLF HARNACK

11th January, 1912.

I believe I am right in thinking that you have been asked to write a short article for the English Magazine *The Peacemaker*, an organ which is devoted to the cause of promoting International Peace, and especially at present of furthering good-will and close friendship between Germany and England I have no personal connexion with *The Peacemaker*, and I only heard incidentally of this request having been made to you. But when I remember the weight which was rightly attached to your notable speech last your, and when I bear in mind the weight of influence which you exercise, not in Germany only but among thoughtful and

educated people in England, I cannot but feel that any word from Your Excellency at this juncture would be of even more than usual service to the cause which we have at heart. It is to me a matter of deep distress to learn that there are at this moment in Germany many people, hitherto quite friendly to England, who have been led to attach credence to the story, absolutely without foundation, that there was last Autumn a design entertained in England to make some kind of naval attack or raid upon Germany. I am able to say with absolute knowledge that such story has no foundation whatever, and yet I imagine that the circulation of this fable has had an influence prejudicial to the cause of friendliness between the two countries. If Your Excellency should find it to be possible to send either to *The Peacemaker*, or to some other journal, any assurance of your own maintenance of the noble friendliness towards England to which you have given expression, I believe that the advantage might be great; but of course Your Excellency will judge whether or not this is a step which you can rightly and appropriately take.

With the assurance of my profound respect and with grateful recollections of Your Excellency's visit last year to England

PROFESSOR ADOLF HARNACK *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

14th January, 1912.

I express my hearty thanks for the friendly lines which you have addressed to me So far as I remember I have not yet received any invitation to write an article for the Magazine *The Peacemaker*. It would be difficult for me *at present* to write any such article, for the English Government has not denied the assertion that last Autumn it was nearly on the point of suddenly surprising us with war. To me personally, it is of the highest value that Your Grace writes that this assertion is absolutely without foundation, but I am unfortunately not in the position to convince my fellow-countrymen of this, so long as the English Government is silent, or at least so long as it does not prove to Germany that it cherishes friendly dispositions. I have never doubted that Your Grace and all the distinguished men who of late years have promoted friendly relations between England and Germany, stand true to the dispositions of Peace, and I can also on my side give the assurance that I hold firmly to them, but it does not stand in my power, nor in the power of my Fatherland, to disperse the gloomy cloud which has come to us across the Channel, and even if there were, as Your Grace asserts, no cloud, yet at least it was a shadow, which it lies with England alone, not with us to disperse. Until then, we who

are the friends of Peace in Germany, must impose upon ourselves a certain reserve—not in our dispositions, nor in our activity in favour of Peace in our own Country—but certainly in our external relations.

I remember gratefully and gladly my visit to England.

P.S. N.B.

I beg Your Grace to consider whether a publication of our correspondence would be in the interests of the matter, and whether it would be most appropriately done through Your Grace or through myself.

The Archbishop replied, after consulting Sir Edward Grey at the Foreign Office:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* PROFESSOR ADOLF HARNACK

24th January, 1912.

I must apologise for my delay in thanking you for your very important letter which I received a few days ago. I have considered most carefully all that Your Excellency has said, and I have also had further opportunity of communication with those who are, in this great matter, entitled to speak with absolute knowledge and authority. In the postscript of your letter you refer to the question of the possible publication of our correspondence. I am sure you will allow me to tell you frankly that, in view of what you have said in your letter, it seems to me that its publication would certainly not have any beneficial influence on the public opinion of the two countries. In any case I had not regarded my correspondence with you as being other than a private communication passing between one friend of peace and another Your letter leads me to fear that you still attach some credence to the entirely false reports which appear to have gained, I know not how, some currency to the effect that England had unfriendly intentions towards Germany. These reports are really unjust to us, for I have placed myself in a position to be again able to assure you from absolute personal knowledge that it has, during recent events, been the firm intention of England not to be the first to break the peace, and not to encourage any one else to do so.

So far as I understand the matter, the anxiety which was felt by the public in England, (although a great many of us did not share it) was on account of their doubt as to the ultimate intention of the German Government. My own belief that there was no ground for alarm on that score may now, I hope, be corroborated by what you have said in your letter to me, a letter which clearly

implies that there has been no unfriendly intent whatever on the part of Germany.

I need not again assure Your Excellency how thankful I shall feel if in any way you and I are able quietly to co-operate by the help of God, in establishing upon an impregnable basis those relations of perfect amity and mutual respect which ought always to subsist between our two countries, and which England, I assure you, desires to strengthen in every reasonable way.

PROFESSOR ADOLF HARNACK *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

29th January 1912.

I thank you sincerely for your friendly letter of Jan. 24. I have brought to the knowledge of a good number of people the communication of Your Grace that the wide-spread opinion in Germany that England intended to attack us in the Summer is 'absolutely without foundation', and I promise myself a good effect from this.

I must for the rest observe that the opinion did not arise in Germany, but came to us from England, and became current with us because it was not denied for a long time. The opinion has played *no* role in our elections so far as I can definitely assure myself.

I have, at the wish of English and German friends, written a short article upon the state of feeling in Germany. This I could not and ought not to represent as other than it is. The article will appear in a few days and immediately be translated into English.

Just as the sentiments of Your Grace and our English friends in regard to peace have not altered, so may you be sure that we also wish nothing more earnestly than that we may soon be able to say:—

'*Nubicula fuit; transiit.*'

I hope definitely that it will come to that, and I see in the work for the brightening up of our relations an important pledge for it, and one for which we may be thankful.

The situation was greatly eased. And it was therefore an indication of a better atmosphere when Lord Haldane went on an embassy to Berlin in the hope of clearing up political misunderstandings.[1] Mr. Asquith made a reassuring declaration in the House of Commons on February 14; and the German Chancellor, Bethmann von Hollweg, made a similar statement in the Reichstag on February 15.

On March 25, the first Annual Meeting of the British Council of

the Associated Churches for fostering friendly relations between the British and German peoples was held in London. It was reported that there were already 7,000 members in Britain and the Colonies. The Archbishop made a long speech strongly emphasizing the spiritual links between Germany and England, and the overwhelming mass of British public opinion in favour of friendship, and he also said:

> When people talk lightly of inevitable war, they are creating the mischief which they profess to deplore. It is a notion absolutely untrue. We believe the thing to be morally impossible in view of our home responsibilities both in England and Germany. We are representative for the inculcation of that right spirit of dealing with those who in national life as in private life are our neighbours and our friends. Then we feel it to be impossible in view of our world-wide responsibilities to other peoples.

Dr. Spiecker and Dr. Adolf Deissmann also spoke. The latter dwelt on the importance of each of the two nations being strong, and of the Committee's task being that of destroying the tares of mistrust which were constantly springing up among the wheat of British and German hopes.

In the following year the Archbishop had himself hoped to visit Berlin to congratulate the German Emperor upon the completion of twenty-five years of his reign But illness of a rather serious kind prevented his going, and Bishop Boyd Carpenter took his place. He wrote to Dr. Dryander, the Kaiser's senior Court Chaplain:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* DR. DRYANDER

11 June 1913.

> It is a matter of profound disappointment to me that I am in consequence of recent illness unable to have the privilege of being one of the Deputation which is next week to have the honour of presenting congratulations to His Majesty the Emperor...
>
> The occasion gives a noteworthy opportunity of expressing our sense of the great service which His Majesty has rendered to the cause of International Peace At this moment everything is happily tending to a truer understanding of the essential brotherhood of Germany and Great Britain.

II

A large part of 1912 was marked by great industrial unrest. In the early spring there was a coal strike of unprecedented

magnitude. In the summer another great strike took place in the Transport Trade, and in December there was a strike on the North Eastern Railway. Many were the appeals made to Lambeth that the Archbishops should intervene. But however great an Archbishop's sympathy may be, or however strong his wish to help, the problem of helping with effect is less simply solved than the eager petitioners usually understand; while these eager petitioners sometimes think that they have taken effective action themselves by their appeals to him!

Archbishop Davidson's general attitude of goodwill and desire to help, coupled with a consciousness of the limitations which lack of peculiar expert authority imposed, is set forth at the end of a speech which he made in Convocation on February 17, 1912 on a resolution about the coal strike:

> Therefore I, with all my heart, support what has been proposed, and I will put it to the House as something which it is particularly suitable that we should join in. When each one of your Lordships was consecrated to the Episcopate, one of the questions asked of you was 'Will you maintain and set forth, as much as shall lie in you, quietness, peace, and love among all men?' That is one of the duties laid in our Ordinal on every Bishop at the moment of his consecration. The particular thought that was in the minds of those who compiled the Ordinal and used those words was probably not that which is specially in our minds at this moment. They were speaking rather of peace and love among those whose quarrels we have some special power of helping to reconcile. I imagine that the personal power of Bishops to intervene, after the fashion in which our great Prophet-Bishop, Dr. Westcott, intervened years ago, has a little passed out of our hands and hardly exists to-day; but I know that every one of us would be anxious to do anything in his power. That it would be useful, I need not say. I believe that I am right in thinking that those who can judge best, feel that the attempt at personal intervention must be left in the hands of experts, although a noble example has been set by the late Bishop of Durham. The Government has now practically taken the matter in hand with high expert knowledge, and entrusted it to men with particular power to deal with it. I think that for us to intervene at this moment would probably be an anachronism, but none the less we wish to show that we agree about this matter with our whole heart. This Resolution will show our interest, and we bid our people fall to prayer to get help in the very best possible way.

In a burning social question of another kind the Archbishop did intervene, with considerable vigour. This was the nefarious White Slave Traffic; and the occasion was the introduction of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. He made this attack both in public meetings and in Parliament. It was not often that he expressed himself with passion, but he never found it 'easy to keep cool' in face of 'the nefarious and well-established trade of the Procurer and the Procuress'. It is another aspect of him perhaps than that with which those who only knew him on the outside were familiar that finds vent in the words:

> And then the other objection; you must not increase the punishment—above all you must never use the lash—lest you degrade either the criminal or the man who flogs. Degrade whom? Degrade the villain who has sunk to the cowardly devilry of battening on the craftily-contrived ruin of innocent girls? I defy you, do what you will, to degrade that man. Will you degrade the man who wields the lash? A most unwelcome duty—but who would not honourably fulfil it if thereby he helps, as he will, to render less likely the ruin of one innocent girl? (Nov. 12th, 1912.)

Many of those, however, who welcomed his efforts to save innocent girls from such terrible exploitation, found him far too cool and rational in the movement to give women the vote. He was greatly disturbed by the violent courses and indignant language of the advocates of Women's Suffrage. One of the most prominent of these was Dr. Ethel Smyth, the well-known composer, a connexion of his by marriage. Here is a portion of the correspondence which took place.

DR. ETHEL SMYTH *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

[Undated. June 1913?]

With reference to the regrets recently expressed by Your Grace at the Church Congress that the women's movement should have become practically a struggle for the vote, may I point out that there is no reason for believing that the serious and gifted women who all the world over are heading in the same direction are by nature less capable and desirous than Your Grace of taking the wider views you advocate.

If these women have abandoned special fields of activity, such as municipal, rescue, missionary and other work in order to concentrate upon the vote, I submit it is because their woman's experience, as opposed to the theories of your Grace and other

men about women, has shewn them that attempts to better woman's lot are worse than futile as long as we are without the direct leverage on Governments which the vote alone provides.

The effect of generalities being to paralyse action, I fancy Your Grace's exhortation will win more applause among politicians than among women.

There is one subject to which it is impossible not to refer, the death of Miss Davison.[1] I understand that last year Your Grace was privately approached with a request to invite prayer in our Churches for guidance on the woman's question, as was done in the case of the industrial unrest; that the request was refused; and that the result of that refusal has been the formation of the Church Protest Committee.

It comes then to this; that after persistently ignoring for years, from motives it is impossible to regard as spiritual, the greatest moral revolution the world has ever seen, the Church actually refused to women, who are her mainstay, what was conceded to outsiders, such as nonconformist and socialist voters, and foreigners, such as the revolutionary Chinese Government![2]

These things being so, is it surprising that one of our members has herself gone to plead our Cause before the Great Judge, and that we women bring to-day the grave charge, not only against the Government but against the Church, of responsibility for the tragic situation in which women find themselves, and more particularly for the death of Emily Wilding Davison?

I am forwarding copies of the above to several newspapers who probably will not print it; in that case it will appear in the weekly column to be started (owing to the rigid suppression of similar communications) in one of the Suffrage papers, entitled: 'Letters refused by the Daily Press.'

The Archbishop of Canterbury *to* Dr. Ethel Smyth

21st June, 1913.

Stress of work during this week, while I am only slowly regaining strength after illness, has delayed my reply to an important letter which I received from you a few days ago.

It would not, I imagine, be of any practical use were I to try to discuss with you by letter the question upon which you have so

[1] Miss Davison threw herself under the King's horse at the Derby and was killed

[2] In April 1913, the Archbishop in Convocation had asked for the prayers of the Church for the Chinese Government on April 27, in response to an appeal for a day of prayer for the nation addressed by that Government to the Christian Churches in China, 'for the National Assembly now in session, for the newly established Government, for the President yet to be elected, for the constitution of the Republic'.

clearly made up your mind, namely the right manner of handling this large subject, and of meeting the difficulties which attend its settlement. It is a genuine help to me that those who feel strongly and even vehemently in the matter should write to me, as so many on either side do, without any reserve.

There is however one point in your letter—a simple matter of fact—about which I ought not to let you remain, as now, under a misapprehension

It is a total mistake to imagine that I, or other Bishops, have, as you put it, 'refused' to enjoin or encourage the prayers of the Church that guidance may be given for the solution of these difficulties. On the contrary I and, to the best of my belief, all the other Bishops have reiterated again and again with all the weight at our command, a request that such prayers may be offered by all Christian people who think about the well-being of our Nation. I myself took opportunity at the opening of this year to urge upon all whom my words could reach, the duty of such prayer upon what I described as 'the huge and far-reaching question of the right share of Christian womanhood in the duties and responsibilities of the community'. I called attention to 'the sacred character of the question' and urged that it should be made the subject of constant and steady prayer.

That is merely one instance of what we have been saying and urging throughout the controversy. I have before me, for example, at this moment, the formal and authoritative direction of the Bishop of one of our most important Dioceses, issued a few weeks ago. He directs that, in the usual parochial intercessions, there should be incorporated a prayer 'that whatever should be given to women of fuller life, of greater honour, of worthier treatment by men, may be granted to the faith and prayer of Thy people' and that 'the hearts of men and women, especially of those who bear the Name of Christ, may be turned from the ways of violence and lawlessness'.

These quotations—and they could be indefinitely multiplied—will, I hope, show you that, as a simple matter of fact, you have been entirely mistaken as to the attitude and utterances of the Bishops, and that instead of refusing requests that prayer should be offered, we have everywhere inculcated it.

The comparison or contrast which you draw between what was done during the days or weeks of an acute industrial dispute, in directing at that particular time the use of a specific collect or prayer for the success of those who were endeavouring to effect a settlement satisfactory to both groups of disputants, and the different procedure followed in the case of this long-standing,

complicated, and in the main 'political' controversy, is surely due to a forgetfulness of the contrast between the conditions of that controversy and the conditions of this.

I need not, I think, say more, except to assure you that nothing was further from my thought than to draw, as you suggest, a comparison between the weight belonging to other people's opinions, and the weight belonging to my own. We must in each case say what we believe to be true and right, as God shall show us how, in answer to our earnest prayers.

DR. ETHEL SMYTH *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

17th October, 1913.

I have been asked to let you know what perhaps you guess, that the interruption of the Church Services is to be a policy.

At this moment the Government of this country is deliberately trying to kill Annie Kenney (who is said to be dying, and will nevertheless be dragged back to prison) and to either kill or render insane other women, some of whom are absolutely blameless—and known to be so.

With all my heart I hope that the faithless, cowardly ministers of Christ, who let these things be done without protest, will reap their reward.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* DR. ETHEL SMYTH

18th October, 1913.

I have received your letter of yesterday in which you tell me that what you describe as 'the interruption of the Church Services' is now to be 'a policy'.

I have, I think, done my best to understand and adequately to appreciate the meaning and intent of what is now going on. Nothing would be gained, I know, by my trying to discuss with you what is right or what is wrong in the arrangements made by those who, as administrators of existing law, are responsible for preventing, so far as they can do so, both crime and suicide.

But I should like to say to you that I simply cannot understand at all how thoughtful, intelligent, and in some cases I suppose religious-minded women can think that they will either do good to the community or advance the cause of what they believe to be right by going to Church in order to interrupt by disorder the prayers which are there being offered to God.

In the early part of 1914 fresh efforts were made by the leaders of the Women's Suffrage Movement to secure the Archbishop's

support. Deputations visited Lambeth Palace from time to time, with a view, so their leaders said, to ascertain his mind about the forcible feeding of women in prison. Mrs. Pankhurst on one occasion sent a message asking him to visit her on her coming out of Holloway Prison. He expressed his readiness to pay the visit in the following letter:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* MRS. PANKHURST

Private. 17th March, 1914.

I have received an intimation, but not from yourself, that you are seriously ill and that you desire to see me. You will, I am sure, realise that with every desire to be helpful to those who are in sickness and trouble, it is impossible for me, in view of my other work, to pay such visits on any extensive scale. I should, however, be exceedingly sorry to refuse as a clergyman to see anyone who in sickness or trouble desired on special grounds to speak to me on personal and private matters. If, therefore, you tell me yourself that such is your wish, and that it is on personal and spiritual matters that you desire to speak to me, I will do my best to arrange privately to pay a visit to you at the earliest possible date. I must ask, however, that, if I pay such a visit, it should be clearly understood that it is on these private matters and not on public questions that you wish to speak to me; and further that the visit should be altogether private, and that to the best of your power you will prevent any notice as to this visit appearing in the Public Press. Such notice might lead to the misunderstanding that I had called to see you in relation to public or controversial matters.

Her reply was as follows:

MRS. PANKHURST *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

18th March, 1914.

I do not wish to see you on personal and private matters.

I desire to have an interview with you so that I may try to make you realise the serious responsibility of the Church towards women at the present time.

Perhaps Your Grace may remember that some time ago we discussed the militant movement for the enfranchisement of women. I came away from that interview profoundly saddened by Your Grace's failure to understand the great need for the reform, and the gravity of the situation.

Since then, in common with many other women, I have been subjected to treatment by the Government that has brought me

several times to the point of death. At such times one loses sight of worldly considerations, and many things become clear that ordinarily are hidden or obscure.

I come out of prison again feeling I have a message and a warning to give to those who, by their position, should be the spiritual guides of the nation. Your Grace should be the chief of these.

We have both of us grave responsibility in this matter; you as head of the Church, which has duties towards women; I as one whom many women accept as their representative in the Woman's Movement

I again ask you to see me and hear what I have to say.

P.S. Since you wish it, your visit would be kept strictly private.

The Archbishop replied that he would make an appointment for a private talk. But the talk never came off, as Mrs. Pankhurst suddenly left London to take part in a Bye-Election in East Fife. In informing the Archbishop of her departure, she wrote (March 31, 1914):

MRS. PANKHURST *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

As long as I have life I shall call upon women to refuse to obey, and men to vote against, a Government which, while professing the principles of representative Government, refuses to apply them to women, and coerces, imprisons and tortures those women who revolt against the oppression of their sex

Again I regret that you have failed to realise how urgent and important was my request that you should see me. An opportunity for the Church to help women to obtain justice has been lost.

Another incident concerned a certain Miss Annie Kenney, introduced by an acquaintance of the Archbishop, who had been put in prison as a militant suffragette and then been released. She called at Lambeth in a taxi at 9.30 a.m. on May 22. She was with a friend who sent in her card, with Miss Kenney's name in the corner, and then left her. The Archbishop found her sitting on the top of the stairs when he came out from breakfast. He listened to what she had to say, and told her that he must make quite clear his complete disapproval of militant methods both as wrong in themselves, and as injurious to a cause which he himself believed in. Miss Kenney then announced her intention of staying at Lambeth till the Bill was passed. She said this might be a

matter of months, but need only be a matter of weeks, if the Archbishop and others would do their duty.

She stayed on through the morning, was given her meals, and sat in a room reading the papers. An Inspector of Police called in the afternoon, as the news had got abroad. Detectives were posted outside the different gates, and sent in a note to the Archbishop, saying that he and the household were placing themselves in a very difficult position by harbouring a woman who was wanted by the police.

Miss Kenney still refused to go, and the police came in about 6 o'clock on their own responsibility. Miss Kenney, after a little expostulation, went away quietly with them.

The Archbishop received a great many letters after this incident. In reply he used to tell his correspondents, after pointing out the misrepresentations to which he was subject, that it was foolish to suppose that any personal action on his part could bring about the great legislative change they desired. To one of these critics he said (June 27, 1914):

> I have for years taken keen interest in the whole subject and I know intimately some of those who have been foremost in the controversy. I have voted in favour of women's suffrage on the only occasion when I had an opportunity of doing so. I have been again and again in personal communication with the authorities, political and administrative. To pass to what is more sacred, and specially concerns the Church, I have continually published my directions or requests that prayer should be offered to Almighty God for wisdom and guidance in the matter, and have dwelt again and again in published sermons and speeches upon the need and duty of a larger view than that which is sometimes taken of a question which has proved to be so difficult and complex both in legislation and administration
>
> These efforts I shall not relax, but it would be misleading if I did not add that while I am still not unhopeful of the conversion of English public opinion to the side of those who believe that a reasonable extension of the suffrage to women would be for the common good, the difficulty of bringing about the change is being steadily increased by the fact of these outrages taking place, by their strange condonation by some supporters of the movement, who do not themselves advocate them, and by the misrepresentations which are published as to the action of the prison authorities.

There were, of course, many (including one or two Bishops)

who desired a more aggressive action. It was even suggested by the Bishop of London that a Deputation of Bishops should go to the Home Office. But, with his customary shrewdness, the Archbishop pointed out that such a deputation must not only call attention to the gravity of the subject but suggest a positive line:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF LONDON

17th June, 1914.

I return these interesting letters. By all means take a Deputation of Bishops to the Home Office if you have something to say. You will feel I imagine that there is no use in taking them there to tell the Home Secretary that the matter is very grave: you must have a constructive policy, and I presume that you have this as you think the Deputation worth while. I am myself in the thick of the general question, as these ladies do not leave me alone, but I do not find myself equipped with suggestions so definite that I could myself ask the Home Office to consider them. I rejoice that others see a way more clearly.

CHAPTER XLI

CLERICAL ORTHODOXY

'I tell you frankly that the Review . . . will be conducted on Oxford principles.'
'Orthodox principles, I suppose you mean, sir?'
'I do, sir, I am no linguist, but I believe the words are synonymous.'

GEORGE BORROW, *Lavengro*, ch. xxx.

ONE of the most anxious questions with which the Church had to deal at the beginning of the present century, was the question of modern criticism and the Creeds. For the Roman Catholic Church, Pope Pius X in 1907 issued his Encyclical *Pascendi* and his decree *Lamentabili*, condemning in the most uncompromising terms what was popularly called Modernism. Not a few Roman Catholic priests came under the ban and suffered severely, especially after the new oath against the errors of Modernism had been imposed by an order of the Pope on all candidates for Holy Orders, confessors, parish priests, canons, and other ecclesiastics.

In this country, where a similar anxiety existed, there were many who wished the Bishops to give the same relentless reply as the Pope of Rome, and to mete out the same treatment to the troubles disturbing men's minds in the Church of England. The moment for decision arrived in the spring of 1914, a few months before the European War began. On the nature of that decision, and on the lead given by the Archbishop of Canterbury, very much was to depend.

For some three years before the crucial discussion took place in the Upper House of Canterbury Convocation, powerful efforts had been made to secure a Declaration by the Bishops on Clerical Orthodoxy. The leader of that movement, so far as the Bishops were concerned, was Charles Gore, Bishop of Birmingham, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, whom we have already seen as the head of that *Lux Mundi* group which had caused Canon Liddon such pain twenty years before. He was a man who desired the Church to say in terms of unmistakable clarity exactly what it held on the whole question of modern criticism, and to denounce those clergy who held what he conceived to be wrong views with regard to the miracles of the New Testament, and especially the

Virgin Birth and the Resurrection of Christ. It was with him that the Archbishop had in some way or other to solve the question at issue.

The decision taken in 1914 was led up to by stages. In 1911 a book was published by J. M. Thompson, Fellow and Dean of Divinity at Magdalen College, Oxford, called *The Miracles of the New Testament.* This book was an examination of the miracles in considerable detail, which came to very radical and negative conclusions. It caused a considerable stir. The Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Talbot) who was Visitor and had episcopal jurisdiction in the College, withdrew Mr. Thompson's licence, though not without protests from many who took Mr. Thompson's side. Bishop Gore at once informed the Archbishop that he desired to bring the whole subject up before Convocation at the beginning of July; and accordingly drafted Resolutions of a most clear-cut character, with a preamble beginning:

> That in view of the fact that ordained ministers of the Church of England in recent years have published works, in which the actual occurrence of the miraculous events recorded in the Creeds —Our Lord's birth of a virgin mother and His resurrection on the third day from the dead—is either brought into doubt or positively denied. . . .

The Archbishop at once called for the help of the Bishops of Winchester and Ely (Dr. Chase), who agreed that precipitous action would be most unwise. The Bishop of Ely in particular protested against such a statement as that contained in the preamble, and stated that such books as Dr. Gore had in mind had been few and far between. Dr. Gore, in a generous letter, agreed to content himself with a private discussion when Convocation met, instead of a public debate.

Dr. Paget, Bishop of Oxford, died in August 1911, and was succeeded by Dr. Gore The matter rested for a while, but at the end of 1912 Bishop Gore returned to the charge. Two new books of a disturbing character had appeared. One was *Foundations*, a book of essays edited by Canon Streeter, with a contribution by the editor on the Historic Christ. The other was Canon Henson's *The Creed in the Pulpit.* Dr. Gore wrote to the Archbishop, asking for leave to discuss the whole subject at the private meeting of Bishops in January 1913, with special reference to these two books. The Archbishop agreed. But some Bishops certainly ob-

jected in private, and told the Archbishop their views. Thus Bishop Jayne of Chester complained:

The BISHOP OF CHESTER *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

19th December, 1912.

Are Bishops' meetings to become largely gatherings at which the Bishop of Oxford delivers constant, copious and highly impassioned, if not minatory, allocutions to his brethren? This may be a hygienic safety-valve for him, but he has, I think, done something to change the atmosphere of the meetings. I raise these points with very genuine admiration for his many high qualities, and not without a readiness to be convinced that his *modus operandi* is valuable, if it does not become dominant. I am bound to say that, *at first sight*, his latest subject for discussion opens up a vista of awkward possibilities of other subjects.

The private meeting was held, but was profoundly unsatisfactory to Bishop Gore, if we may judge from the correspondence. He talked of resignation, but with the knowledge that he was not at all well; and as he 'again reached a good conscience about resignation' he decided to postpone the whole question for some months. The Archbishop's reply came from his heart:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF OXFORD

25th February, 1913.

Private.

You and your anxieties have been seldom outside the range of my thoughts and prayers in these last weeks. I have re-read, and tried to weigh aright as in the sight of God, a good many things which seem to bear on the vital questions which we have been discussing. I am not going to try to argue afresh for what seems to me the right line for us Bishops to take. I feel (*most* honestly) that there is something which verges on impertinence in my bandying argument with you, whose theology, in the strict sense, is so incomparably deeper than mine is—upon the definitely theological side of the question. But when one comes to the practical thought of what your resignation would be taken, just now, to mean (however unreasonably or exaggeratedly),—I feel that I am better justified in giving expression to a strong judgement. If it were to bring about a great schism in the Church, with a big lurch or exodus Romeward—and a yet bigger movement into a *crystallised* Harnackism, I should feel that nothing but real necessity could

have justified it, and that those of your friends who 'kept silence even from good words' had not been the truest friends to you or to the Church. Of course I am the last man who would try to press you to a placid acquiescence in what you feel to be vitally wrong. But the resignation of your See would, whatever you might say, be *taken* to mean very much more than this—a sense of the Anglican position as now interpreted having become untenable—a sort of move to 'Littlemore' with a consequent unsettlement (and not a wholesome kind of unsettlement) of quantities of our best Clergy. Therefore I am absolutely sure that such a step, if it is ever to come, ought not to come without much more ample thought, i.e. not just at present, and I do on my knees thank God that you have decided at all events to do nothing during the next few months. It would be to me a very real gain to secure an opportunity, some day before very long, of a quiet unhurried talk with you. I can say honestly that I never think over a talk with you without finding cause to thank God for something which you have taught or are teaching me; even when, as often happens, I cannot follow with you quite completely. You have been and are 'a succourer of many and of myself also'.

A year later the storm burst in full force Bishop Frank Weston of Zanzibar had written his famous letter to the Bishop of St. Albans, in which he raised the whole question of what it is for which the Ecclesia Anglicana stands; and called attention in forcible terms to the disorders (as he judged them) of a Church which allowed inter-communion with Nonconformists at Kikuyu in East Africa, and tolerated Canon Streeter's views on the Incarnation. Controversy flared up. The Bishop of London was formally approached by a number of his clergy, mainly of the Anglo-Catholic school, who addressed a Memorial to Convocation asking their spiritual fathers (*inter alia*) 'to repudiate the claim of some clergy to reject the miracles of Our Lord's birth of a Virgin and the actual resurrection of His body from the tomb, because we believe that these truths lie at the very centre of the faith, and that the statements of the Bible and the Creeds with regard to them are perfectly plain and unambiguous.'

The Bishop of London presented the Memorial to Convocation on February 17, 1914, and announced, with the Archbishop's agreement, that he would move a resolution on the whole subject at the next group of sessions. The announcement had been preceded by private discussion, and a good deal of further conversa-

tion took place between the Archbishop and Gore. Thus the Archbishop noted at the time:

> On Tuesday night, 17th February, 1914, I had some grave talk with Gore about Church affairs. I spoke of the possibility that I am myself growing to be out of touch with the strongest advances in the Church, or rather that these are growing to be out of touch with me. And I said that I should not remain at the helm if I found myself trying to steer a course clearly contrary to the best Church of England feeling and spirit. We talked about it gravely, and he said little. Next morning, Wednesday, the 18th, he talked to me very earnestly of his own accord—'I have been thinking over what you said, and I want to make my opinion clear to you. I know that I differ from you in many things. But I am profoundly convinced, with a certainty that is unshakable, that the very greatest disaster that could at this time befall the Church would be the loss of you from Lambeth I have said this times without number to people who differ widely from you and perhaps from me. I am more and more sure of it, and I am bound to tell you so with all the gravity and earnestness that I can. There lives on earth no other man at present who could possibly do what you are doing for the Church of England. I say this very deliberately, and I think you ought to know it.'
>
> He was moved a good deal, and obviously was tremendously in earnest. I have thought it well to set this down in view of questions and perplexities which seem to lie ahead for a good many of us.

At the end of March, a Resolution drafted by Gore, for the Bishop of London to move, was forwarded by the latter to the Archbishop His Grace was in Bath, where Mrs. Davidson was recovering from a long and troublesome illness. The resolution ran as follows:

> That 'in view of tendencies widely shown in the writings of the present day', this House, following the resolution of the Lambeth Conference of 1908, 'hereby places on record its conviction that the historical facts stated in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds', and in particular our Lord's birth of a Virgin Mother and His resurrection on the third day from the dead, 'are essential parts of the faith of the Church'.
>
> And further, inasmuch as the claim has been widely made that these Creeds can legitimately be recited by Clergymen in their public ministry when they have themselves deliberately ceased to believe that our Lord was in fact born of a Virgin or did (in the sense of the New Testament) rise again the third day from the

dead, and inasmuch as the public opinion of the Church has been repeatedly challenged to allow this claim, we feel it to be our duty solemnly to affirm that we can give no countenance to what we cannot but regard as seriously contrary to that sincerity of profession which is specially necessary for the Christian Ministry.

On receiving the draft Resolution, the Archbishop replied to the Bishop of London that he could not possibly support the issue by the Bishops of any declaration in those terms:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF LONDON

31st March, 1914.

I have of course known for a long time that the Bishop of Oxford was in favour of the issue of some declaration, whatever its cost, but I did not know that you agreed with him on the point. Anything that Gore says is entitled to far more than ordinary respect, and my deep personal affection for him and regard for his opinions make me always anxious to support him when I can. But, so far as I can at present see, I could not, even at your and his request, join in the issue of a declaration the outcome of which would, I honestly believe, be that we should render intolerable the position of quite a large group of our best and most thoughtful clergy, not because they themselves differ from you or me in their beliefs, but because they could not stand the issue of a new and authoritative declaration which, unless it be a mere truism, is intended to have the effect of pronouncing loyal churchmanship to be incompatible with a readiness to allow any 'reserve' or 'suspended judgment' as to the manner of receiving and holding certain credal clauses which the impugned men willingly, habitually and reverently use.

And he added:

To myself, if it really comes to this, it will be a matter so grave that I hardly like to contemplate what it might mean Have you considered how you could practically *act* on it, if it were adopted by the House? I earnestly trust that you will let me have some talk with you about it, before you make this matter public, though I am sure you are not acting lightly.

The Bishop of London replied:

The BISHOP OF LONDON *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

April 3, 1914.

I need not say how appalled I was at the prospect you opened out before me yesterday. To lose *you* would be 'unthinkable' but

do strengthen up all that you conscientiously can the declaration you are framing. I am very much afraid of losing Gore—the next greatest calamity to losing you. . . .

But surely it does not pass the wit of man to say what is *strong* enough without hurting the good people you mentioned. Will you send me also the Charge in which you declared your own personal belief. That will be a great help to me in dealing with others.

Meantime there was a warfare of pamphlets in which Drs. Gore, Gwatkin, Bethune-Baker, Strong, Sanday, Streeter, and others took part. The most trenchant was by Gore, and the central paragraph in his Open Letter[1] follows:

I believe these narratives to be really true and trustworthy. But that is not now the question. The question is, Is it consistent with the sincerity which ought to attach to public office, and especially to public office in the Christian Church, that a man should pledge himself to the constant recitation of these creeds, as an officer of the society which so strenuously holds them, if he personally does not believe that these miraculous events occurred, if he believes that our Lord was born as other men, or that His dead body did in fact 'see corruption'. . . .

Now our Church has been, over a considerable period of years, publicly and repeatedly challenged by some very distinguished men to allow the recitation of the creeds by those who do not believe the miraculous events, and who in their books give their reasons for dissenting in mind from what they must affirm with their lips. The challenge has been so steadily and repeatedly made, without any formal expression of the Church's dissent, that we are as near as possible to official complicity. Under these circumstances I feel certain that, unless without delay, we as the Church, through our Bishops declare that we cannot regard as tolerable the proposed licence, we must be regarded as corporately committed to allow what we refuse explicitly to disown.

On the other side we may quote Dr. Sanday:[2]

I would make bold to claim that our critical English scholars of the left wing, including especially those named by the Bishop of Oxford, are not less deserving of the respect and gratitude of their countrymen. There is nothing wanton about them, nothing supercilious, nothing cynical; they obey their conscience, and go where their conscience leads them; they are evidently, all of them,

[1] *The Basis of Anglican Fellowship*, C. Gore, pp. 13, 14.

[2] *Bishop Gore's Challenge to Criticism*, W. Sanday, pp. 30–1.

genuinely religious men and good Christians. I would say of all but one (so far as I know) of those who have written on these subjects that they show an anxious desire to conserve all that can be rightly conserved of the old beliefs. And so much at least I would claim for myself.

If it is said that what I have written is Modernism, I would reply that I believe—I emphatically and hopefully believe—that a sound and right Modernism is really possible; that the Saviour of mankind extends His arms towards the cultivated modern man just as much as He does towards the simple believer. I believe that the cultivated modern man may enter the Church of Christ with his head erect—with some change of language due to differences of times, but all of the nature of re-interpretation of old truths, and without any real equivocation at his heart. I believe that he can afford to say what he really thinks—provided only that his fellow Christians of more traditional types are willing to greet him with the sympathetic intelligence which he deserves, and do not turn towards him the cold shoulder of suspicion and denunciation.

Less than a month now remained before the meeting of Convocation. The Archbishop bent his whole strength to secure a Declaration which he could himself *ex animo* accept. Of those whose help he sought, the Bishop of Ely gave the greatest service. Bishop Chase was a scholar himself, had been President of Queens' College, Cambridge, and was an authority on New Testament criticism, besides being a man of great wisdom and prudence; and had recently published a valuable essay on *The Gospels in the Light of Historical Research*. He at once demurred to the draft proposed by the Bishop of London and Bishop Gore, and prepared a reply to the Memorial of a more positive character (April 6, 1914):

Inasmuch as there is reason to believe that the minds of many members of the Church of England are perplexed and disquieted at the present time in regard to questions of Faith and of Order, this House feels it to be its duty to put forth the following Resolutions:

This House desires to adopt the words of the Second Resolution of the Lambeth Conference in 1908 and, 'in view of tendencies widely shown in the writings of the present day, hereby' to place 'on record its conviction that the historical facts stated in the Creeds are an essential part of the Faith of the Church'.

And further this House, while ready to accept the well established results of Biblical criticism, solemnly affirms that in its

judgement the denial of any of 'the historical facts stated in the Creeds' is not compatible with that sincerity of profession which it holds to be necessary in the Ministers of the Word and Sacraments.

The BISHOP OF OXFORD *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Private. 7th April, 1914.

You will get, perhaps have already received, an 'open letter' of mine. I don't feel sure how much you will disapprove of it. But, as you will see, if you are good enough to read it, it involves certain consequences. Especially that I must put down on the *Agenda* paper for the next Convocation this resolution. (I shall be sending it up on Thursday or to-morrow.)

'That inasmuch as the claim has been widely made that the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds can legitimately be recited by clergymen in their public ministry when they have themselves deliberately ceased to believe that our Lord was in fact born of a virgin or did (in the sense of the New Testament) rise again the third day from the dead, and inasmuch as the public opinion of the church has been repeatedly challenged to allow this claim, we feel it to be our duty as bishops solemnly to affirm that we can give no countenance to what we cannot but regard as seriously contrary to that sincerity of profession which is specially necessary for the Christian ministry.'

I *hope* the Bishop of London will make this (or the like) one of *his* resolutions, and if so, of course, mine must be withdrawn. But otherwise (and no declaration of *our own belief merely* would satisfy me), I must press this declaration to a public discussion, and I should feel that a refusal to repudiate the 'Liberal' claim—being really the same thing as conniving at it—carried with it for me the last consequences.

I think I had better tell you this quite simply. But I do not want to say anything of this kind about consequences to the public.

But I do mean to press this particular matter to a public discussion or public vote.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF OXFORD

Private. 9th April, 1914.

I have received your two letters and the copies most thoughtfully sent of your pamphlet, which, like the letters, I have read with earnest care. I note too that you have sent to Lee, for the Convocation *Agenda*, the Resolution whereof you have given me a copy. Now, I cannot help thinking from the letters, sent to me by the Bishop of London, from Ely and Winton as well as from

his (London's) letters that we shall find ourselves less widely sundered than you suppose? *Ely*, on the lines of his recent preface, which you commend in your pamphlet, has drafted a Resolution (perhaps you have seen it) which goes very far with you as pronouncing the denial of credal statements to be incompatible with the sincerity we must require. How far we could all sign what he has written I am not at present sure, but its phraseology relieves me of some of the difficulty I feel about your own wording, and I can't help thinking that, with a little care, we might arrive at a statement which could be accepted by us all. The Bishop of London agreed with my suggestion that, for the Agenda paper which is published before we meet, it would suffice that he should say,

'The Bishop of London to call attention to the recent Memorial presented etc , and to move a Resolution.'

The Resolution itself, which he means to propose, would be printed and circulated privately for the *Bishops* to consider before the Convocation meets—but we want to avoid if possible the circulation to the outside public of rival Resolutions, for them to discuss in any inflammatory way before Convocation meets, and therefore before they have heard your own weighty words with which you would accompany the actual *moving*. Surely the notice, as given by London, will suffice *beforehand* for the public, and would deprive you of no right or advantage as to the wording you prefer. For I can quite definitely promise you that you shall have opportunity, in public debate, of moving the exact words you yourself like best—and there would therefore be no difficulty in everybody knowing exactly what you want us to accept and say.

I earnestly trust you will regard this as adequate, for I think you will share my apprehensions as to the mischief of an outside discussion of rival Resolutions prior to the speeches of the Bishops who explain and expound them Pray tell me that the process I have suggested commends itself to you; or, if it seems to deprive you of any rightful opportunity, tell me how it does so and I will do my utmost to prevent it. Personally I should like a fuller reference to the weighty and well hammered-out words we used in the Encyclical of the Lambeth Conference, and I have drafted something to that effect. But I am not very determinedly bent on this, if the Bishops prefer other wording which I could conscientiously accept.

You a little misunderstand me about 'Ministering discipline'. I quite realise that you don't invite us to enter upon *prosecutions*. But all sorts of questions about Licence &c. may arise wherein each case has to be judged on its own merits, and I fear greatly what we might do in hampering ourselves by using words difficult

of interpretation and practice in particular cases. But all this we can discuss privately, before the public debate—and in that public debate, I promise you, that, so far as I can ensure it, you shall be absolutely unhampered.

May God the Holy Spirit guide us to a right judgment both as to what to say and *how* to say it.

The next few days produced various alternative drafts from the Archbishop himself and the Bishop of Winchester. The Archbishop's own draft was long, and full of quotations from the Lambeth Conference of 1908, and contained nothing corresponding to the vital paragraph quoted in Gore's letter. Gore felt bound to insist that some of those whose views he condemned 'are in no tentative position. They have all come *not to believe* that certain alleged events occurred.' He added, April 12, 1914:

The BISHOP OF OXFORD *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

I can't tell you how I feel for you if not with you. But I feel no doubt that it will not be you who will be found on May 2nd in an impossible position. I feel a troubled sinking at the heart. but no quivering of conscience.

In a letter to the Bishop of London, Gore showed how deeply he was distressed by the possibility of resignation of which the Archbishop had spoken:

April 11, 1914.

I would naturally do anything my ultimate conscience would allow to avoid such a catastrophe But I am sure no mere declaration of *our belief* will suffice. It is *their challenge* we have to meet.

Meanwhile the Bishop of Ely drafted his proposal. But how far was the Bishop of Ely prepared to include in his draft 'the substantial repudiation of an intolerable claim'?

The following letter from the Bishop of Ely to Gore brings out very clearly the difference between actual denial and suspension of belief:

The BISHOP OF ELY *to the* BISHOP OF OXFORD

15th April, 1914.

The words 'the denial of any of the historical facts stated in the Creeds' were very deliberate. It seems to me—and I can hardly say how strongly I feel it—that the position at the present time is a very complex one and a very delicate one. We Bishops have many kinds of persons to consider in any declaration we put forward. We must allow that e g. the Virgin Birth is not a matter

so clear and beyond question as it used to be to our Fathers and our Grandfathers with their old view of the Bible. I am sure that there are many men who do not deny and do not expect that they will ever deny—certainly are as far as possible from wishing to deny—who are perplexed and wait for the Spirit of God to teach them. There are an infinite number of stages between belief and disbelief, and apparent disbelief at the moment is very often temporary and passes away. Some of us—certainly I myself—have in past days gone through experiences of this kind when we have been overdone or disappointed or out of health bodily or spiritual. Then the light of God's countenance has again been manifested; and the difficulty has passed away. This is much more likely to be the case now than when we were younger men. Now, at times like that a rough challenge from authority may well make a scrupulous man *decide* on the negative side, as he never would otherwise have done. I greatly fear that a resolution of the kind you, I think, would desire might do infinite harm among those—specially younger men—for whom we all have a tender regard. Hence *I* could not touch in the Resolution what is subjective—the subtle inner processes of belief. If we condemn, let us condemn denial—disbelief which is so assured that it expresses itself. That, as I understand matters, saves us from what you fear—our silently acquiescing in the challenge put forth by some.

I have written with great frankness. I know that you will regard this letter as in confidence.

On April 17, Gore went to Bath to see the Archbishop. They were together over two hours. In the end agreement was reached, and a resolution satisfactory to both was achieved. Writing to the Archbishop that evening Gore said, 'I feel as if what we did to-day we did really under the leading of the Holy Spirit.'

The following is the form of the Resolutions as finally proposed by the Bishop of London in Convocation, April 29, 1914:

> Inasmuch as there is reason to believe that the minds of many Members of the Church of England are perplexed and disquieted at the present time in regard to certain questions of Faith and of Church Order, the Bishops of the Upper House of the Province of Canterbury feel it to be their duty to put forth the following Resolutions:
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> 1. We call attention to the Resolution which was passed in this House on May 10, 1905, as follows:
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> 'That this House is resolved to maintain unimpaired the Catholic Faith in the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation as

contained in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, and in the *Quicunque Vult*, and regards the Faith there presented, both in statements of doctrine and in statements of fact, as the necessary basis on which the teaching of the Church reposes.'

We further desire to direct attention afresh to the following Resolution, which was unanimously agreed to by the Bishops of the Anglican Communion attending the Lambeth Conference of 1908:

'This Conference, in view of tendencies widely shown in the writings of the present day, hereby places on record its conviction that the historical facts stated in the Creeds are an essential part of the Faith of the Church.'

2. These Resolutions we desire solemnly to re-affirm, and in accordance therewith to express our deliberate judgement that the denial of any of the historical facts stated in the Creeds goes beyond the limits of legitimate interpretation, and gravely imperils that sincerity of profession which is plainly incumbent on the ministers of the Word and Sacraments. At the same time, recognising that our generation is called to face new problems raised by historical criticism, we are anxious not to lay unnecessary burdens upon consciences, nor unduly to limit freedom of thought and inquiry, whether among clergy or among laity. We desire, therefore, to lay stress on the need of considerateness in dealing with that which is tentative and provisional in the thought and work of earnest and reverent students.

Before the actual debate began, petitions were presented to the House from a very large number of persons, including 45,000 Evangelicals, a number of Members of Parliament, and Clergy and Communicants from various Dioceses. On the other side were petitions from the Council of the Churchmen's Union, a large number of University Professors and others, headed by the Dean of St. Paul's.[1] The central paragraph in the last petition is as follows:

While asserting without reserve our belief in the Incarnation and Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, we submit that a wide liberty of belief should be allowed with regard to the mode and attendant circumstances of both.

We believe that real study, thought, and discussion will be discouraged if clergymen, who, in matters not affecting the essential truth of Christianity, arrive at conclusions which are opposed to traditional or momentarily dominant opinions, are to

[1] Dr. W. R. Inge.

be removed from their offices or denounced as dishonest for retaining them. We venture to recall to your lordships the dictum of Archbishop Temple, 'If the conclusions are prescribed, the study is precluded'

The debate which followed was on a high level, and lasted two days. Gore expressed his own thankfulness for 'the solemn and measured' Resolution. He did not pretend that every word in it was such as he would have wished it to be, but he thought that it did precisely hit the point, and that what it said was satisfactory, serious, and sufficient. He accepted, the more he thought about it, the word 'denial'. He appreciated the note of tenderness with all trials of doubt, all tentative positions: and agreed that they were rightly tolerant until a man reached the stage of denial. And if unhappily men finally made up their minds that they must deny, and not affirm, the occurrence of the miracles, then they could no longer legitimately recite the Creeds as Ministers of the Church.

The Archbishop summed up the discussion on April 30. He referred to the variety of the memorials, and his own instinctive distrust of episcopal declarations, but he agreed that a general answer was called for, and this 'though not with a very glad mind' he was prepared to give, in the form proposed by the Bishop of London. He continued:

> Some of you know how great have been my own difficulties in regard to shaping the sentences which may effect what we want to effect without doing what I think mischievous and harmful. Its original form or forms suggested in the wording of the memorials or otherwise did not commend themselves to me. I did not wish to speak of those who had in their own hearts, which God alone can read, 'come to disbelieve' in this or that Nor again did I wish to single out and specify particular clauses in the Creed Our words ought, I thought, to be not less grave, but to be more general, and I desire, here and now, to make it quite clear what, as I understand it, we are doing, and what we are not doing, when we pass this Resolution. We do not, as I understand our words, say to students or seekers after truth, as such, 'Stop; that path is barred, that conclusion is forbidden; you must not go there.'
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> If we did, we should be open to the taunt conveyed in the phrase which has been quoted more than once as used by Dr. Temple in his Rugby days, 'If the conclusions are prescribed, the study is precluded'. So much attention has been called to that phrase

that I should just like to remind you that it occurs almost incidentally in the course of a long letter written by Dr. Temple in the days of his Rugby Headmastership. When the time came, about thirty years afterwards, for the biography of Archbishop Tait to be published, I went to Dr. Temple and asked him what he would like me to do about that correspondence. Characteristically he said, 'I see you must for the story's sake publish some of it; you had better publish it all.' I replied that it seemed to me that there were many things in the letters on either side that might, without the slightest detriment to the narrative, be omitted. 'No,' he said, 'you had better publish it all. I was a young man, and I said things I would not say now; but I was mightily angry.' One loved him for saying it; it was splendid; but it would be a simple blunder of fact were we to take the phrase as a deliberate Episcopal dictum governing our action in such a matter as this.

If we were by this Resolution saying to students as students, 'We prescribe conclusions beyond which you must not go', I should agree that it would be a mockery to tell them to study, and then to arrest them in such a manner. I do not say anything of the kind. Rather I would say to every honest student of these matters, 'Follow the truth; do your utmost to find it, and let it be your guide, whithersoever it may lead you' Such study, fearless and free, is the strength of the Church's progress. We owe much at all periods of our Church's life to the fearless student and thinker and teacher. Therefore I should say to every conscientious student, as student, 'Do not let your study be hampered by a single thought about what the consequences of this or that conclusion may be to you or to others. If it is true, go forward for that truth, go forward bravely. Even if it should come about (though why should it?) that you find yourself led far from the beaten path, the path you used to tread, the path that your friends tread still, do not imagine that therefore God has deserted you If you can still call yourself and feel yourself a Christian, thank God for that. Come and be nourished by the Sacrament of His love, if you can honestly take it and hold yourself in any real sense a Christian.' My lords, I find it hard to conceive of any case in which I should, on the mere ground of his opinions, refuse Communion to an honest man, an honest student as such, if he called himself a Christian and asked for the Sacramental gift, whatever I thought about the opinions he had formed. Therefore never let it be said that we are checking or hindering the search for truth. It is not so. Our whole attitude as guides and teachers would, in my opinion, be set wrong and put out of its course if we were to take the line of discouraging among students and scholars an honest and fearless search for truth.

He then emphasized the responsibility of the teacher, and the distinction between accredited Clergy, and students and inquirers:

> Our Church of England spirit has, for centuries, been a spirit of comprehension. She has asserted large principles of liberty. Men have braved the fires of Smithfield in face of authority which would bid them make their reason blind and simply obey. The Reformation, with its fresh air, sunlight, and freedom, is not for nothing in Church history. Therefore I, for one, would beware of taking any step which, to a reasonable observer, could even seem to be stopping freedom of inquiry and hampering freedom of thought If I considered that our Resolution did that, I would vote against it with all the strength in my power. But does our Resolution do anything of the kind? It does nothing of the sort Those whom we warn here are 'the ministers of the Word and Sacraments'. We do not warn them in their capacity as students and inquirers, but as accredited clergy, who are entitled, on the strength of the authority given by the Bishops, to stand up as the Church's chosen spokesmen and teachers, and what we say to them is clearly different from what we should say to the mere student and inquirer who had no such trust and no such responsibility. Here are the words. 'We express our deliberate judgement that a denial of any of the historical facts stated in the Creeds goes beyond the limits of legitimate interpretation, and gravely imperils that sincerity of profession which is plainly incumbent on the ministers of the Word and Sacraments.' In speaking of 'sincerity of profession' we are not referring merely to a man's assent to the prescribed formula, but rather to the whole setting of his ministerial work, and the presentment of the Creeds to the people. When a child is brought to be baptized, the minister is called upon to ask the godparents clause by clause to go over the Creed, and to ask them whether they steadfastly believe it. For such ministering it is surely essential on his part that he should believe it himself and boldly stand by it. But even towards men who do hold that trust and responsibility, who are among the clergy and who are students of these subjects, we desire with earnestness beyond words to show to them throughout their investigations and inquiries a considerateness, a respect, a patience, a hopefulness, and an encouragement to the utmost of our power. We are bound to do so on the ground of our fatherly relation to those whom we want to help and stimulate as fellow-students, and whose difficulties we are eager to smooth, and whose path we want to guide aright where we may. We value with them the love of

truth, and the liberty of thought; we value the close friendship which links them and us. Some of us have our own ample personal experience of such difficulties, and therefore we should extend a sympathetic and considerate hand to them. To such men we are not inquisitorial. The Resolution does not say 'If you feel that at present you do not steadfastly believe this or that'. The man's present position may be anxious, unhappy, hesitating, and for that very reason temporary. What do we say to a man who distinctly maintains, 'I recognise that the Faith of the Church of which I am a minister rests on a great basis of historic as well as doctrinal statement, and part of that historic statement I deny'? To him we deliberately say, 'Hold; consider your position as an accredited spokesman claiming the Church's authority to teach.'

He ended with a reference to the petition presented by the Bishop of Southwark[1] on behalf of certain University Professors of Theology and others:

We may be making a mistake in any set declaration for which we vote, but we do it with the humble thought that if, trusting to the guidance of God the Holy Spirit, we do our best, we shall receive such aid from on high as to secure that we shall not be doing harm, but good, in the long run I do not wish to be too dogmatic about it, but I do not myself see anything in the actual wording of what is obviously the weightiest of the memorials that were presented to us, that to which the Bishop of Southwark yesterday called attention, which is necessarily inconsistent with what we are now declaring. Put the two documents, the Petition and our Resolution, side by side, dismissing all thought of who are the men who are supporting either of them, and I confess that I find nothing in the two that is radically or essentially inconsistent. They ask for reasonable liberty, and we propose that they shall have that liberty, but there are limits to that liberty, and we have tried in some measure to define it. Our words are carefully drawn. I can accept them. They are grave; they are honest; and in my heart I believe they are true.

An amendment by the Bishop of Hereford, deprecating the issue of any fresh declaration at the present time, having been defeated, the Bishop of London's Resolutions were carried *nem con.*

Certain words in the Archbishop's speech, particularly his reference to the petition presented by the Bishop of Southwark,

[1] Dr. Burge.

had made Gore uneasy, and he both spoke and wrote to the Archbishop about it. The following letters passed:

The BISHOP OF OXFORD *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

House of Lords. April 30, '14.

Private.

May I put on paper as shortly as possible the drift of what I said just now in the motor?

I understood that we had agreed upon a form of words which substantially said *no* to a specific claim of Rashdall and his friends: viz. that a man might (deliberately and finally) deny that our Lord was born of a virgin or that he rose again from the grave in his body, and still remain an acting clergyman, reciting the Creeds. I thought we had agreed to mention 'any of the historical facts in the Creeds' without further specification, and to emphasize *denial* and not any less decided or emphatic state of mind. I thought the compromise lay in those two points But granted these I thought our declaration was intended to say *no* to a specific proposal. I cannot therefore accept as fair your statement (as I understood it) that we are not by our declaration rejecting the petition of the Liberal Council *if we have regard to its known meaning.* And such a statement if made public would be *disastrous.* If we have not done this we have done nothing. At the last analysis it is precisely that only that was in question. Of course you can say 'We have not, *as far as their words* go, rejected their petition?' But that I think is quite unreal. Precisely what we have done is to say no to their petition as it is meant. If we are not understood to have done this, the whole weary matter will begin again. I did feel your speech as it was spoken seemed to imperil what I hope and trust has been the real gain

Forgive me.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF OXFORD

Lambeth Palace 1 May, 1914.

I am most grateful to you for your letter, following upon our talk in the car yesterday.

I am often a clumsy speaker, and I must have been even exceptionally clumsy yesterday if I so spoke as to leave any doubt as to the position I had reached, after my conversation with you at Bath, viz: that we ought in present circumstances formally to declare that a man who denies 'any of the historical facts stated in the Creeds' is, if he continues to minister, violating the conditions which are incumbent upon such ministry.

I will endeavour, in correcting the proofs of my speech, to secure that this is made absolutely clear and indisputable.

Further I will be on the watch for any clumsy or ill-considered word which could lead to the impression that I either share (or condone in ministers) certain opinions said to be entertained and published by some of those who signed the petition read by the Bishop of Southwark.

All I meant to say is that the *ipsissima verba* of that petition and the *ipsissima verba* of our Resolution are not incompatible with one another, when taken as they stand, (quite apart from the known personal opinions of those who have supported either document).

I hope this will show you that I am in no way whatever departing from, or whittling down, the undertaking I gave you at Bath, as to my attitude.

The BISHOP OF OXFORD *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Cuddesdon, Wheatley, Oxon. May 2, '14.

Thank you indeed for your very kind and satisfying letter. I have ventured to send it to London in confidence.

On the opposite side came a letter from Dr. Sanday whom the Archbishop had seen, and with whom he had also been in correspondence about his own pamphlet in answer to Bishop Gore. He wrote:

The REV. DR. W. SANDAY *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Christ Church, Oxford, May 10, 1914.

My first duty is to thank your Grace very sincerely for your kindness in sending me your Charge, which I am extremely glad to possess. If I may be allowed to say so, I read with the greatest interest your Grace's speech on the Resolutions. Nothing could be weightier or more really judicial.

CHAPTER XLII

KIKUYU, 1913–1914

A Church of England man hath a true veneration for the scheme established among us of ecclesiastic government, and though he will not determine whether Episcopacy be of divine right, he is sure it is most agreeable to primitive institution, fittest of all others for preserving order and purity; and under its present regulations best calculated for our civil State

SWIFT, *The Sentiments of a Church of England Man.*

ON August 9, 1913, there appeared in *The Scotsman* a vivid report of a Missionary gathering in the heart of British East Africa at Kikuyu. It was written by an eyewitness, the Rev. Norman Maclean, a Presbyterian minister on a visit to the Missions of his Church in that area. He described it as 'The most wonderful gathering I ever saw'; for in it were represented all the 'Protestant Missions in the Protectorate'. The Church of Scotland was there, the Africa Inland Mission (American), the Friends, the United Methodists, the Lutherans, the Seventh Day Adventists, all these were present. Most surprising of all, here was the Church of England, represented by the Bishop of Mombasa (Peel) and the Bishop of Uganda (Willis), from two neighbouring Anglican dioceses, with a body of Anglican clergy. Some sixty missionaries of different Societies were present and Bishop Willis was in the Chair.

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The business before the meeting was the consideration of a Scheme of Federation between the different missionary bodies working in British East Africa. No difficulty confronting Christian Missions in Africa is greater than that which is created by the riven and divided state of Christendom in their battle with Heathenism. Here was an attempt, among the leaders of a number of Missionary Societies, to take a step towards uniting by agreement upon a common basis, leading on to an African Church, and the effective presentation of the Christian faith to the Africans.

The proposed Scheme of Federation, as Mr. Maclean reported it, had as its basis:

1. The loyal acceptance of the Holy Scriptures as the supreme rule of faith and practice; of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds as a general expression of fundamental Christian belief; and, in particular, belief in the absolute authority of Holy Scripture as the Word of God; in the Deity of Jesus Christ; and in the atoning death of Our Lord as the ground of our forgiveness.

2. Recognition of common membership between the societies in the federation.

3. Regular administration of the two sacraments by outward signs.

4. A common form of Church organization.

Mr. Maclean added: 'The Missions in British East Africa have solved the problem of how to coalesce Episcopacy and Presbyterianism.' And his report ended with the account of a service of Holy Communion held on the evening of the closing day, in the Scottish Church. Bishop Peel had celebrated in the form from the Anglican Prayer Book, a Presbyterian had preached the sermon, and all the Mission delegates, except the Friends, had received the Sacrament from the Bishop's hands.

The report aroused much interest in Church circles at home

It should be added, so as to make the outline of the Scheme of Federation quite clear, (*a*) that each Society joining the Federation was to be autonomous within its own sphere, and each was bound to respect the others' spheres, (*b*) that recognized church members of the different Societies would be allowed to communicate in the churches of other Societies when residing temporarily in other districts; (*c*) that recognized ministers of each Society would be welcomed to preach in other federated churches; (*d*) that a common or public worship should be used with sufficient frequency to enable the members of all the churches to become familiar with a common order. The suggested common organization was that of parishes or small subdistricts, with Parochial Church Councils, leading on to District Church Councils, and a Representative Church Council linking them together. Members of the Parochial and District Church Councils would be members only of the Church occupying the district for which that Council is responsible. Further, it was the aim of the proposed Federation to keep steadily in view the ultimate ideal, the United Native Church.

The two Anglican dioceses concerned were closely connected

with the Church Missionary Society, and were of the evangelical school. Of the Bishops, Bishop Peel was the senior by some years, Bishop Willis being only in the early forties.

There was, however, another Anglican Bishop on the borders of Mombasa, besides Bishop Willis. The third Bishop, who felt himself very nearly affected by the action of his brethren, was Frank Weston, Bishop of Zanzibar in German East Africa. He was forty-three, had gone to Zanzibar in 1898, and had been consecrated as bishop ten years later. He was a brilliant speaker and teacher, the author of a striking study of the Incarnation which had won Dr. Sanday's praise, and was passionately devoted to the Africans. He was also an Anglo-Catholic—the Diocese of Zanzibar being supported by the Universities Mission to Central Africa.

On August 5, 1913, four days before the article had been printed in *The Scotsman*, the Bishop of Zanzibar wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom, since there was no province of East Africa, he owed canonical obedience. He stated that, on his return from the mainland, he had found his staff much upset by the reports of the recent action of the two Bishops 'in federating the Protestant Sects with their Churches'. He said that he would wait for a copy of the document of federation, but, if he found it confirmed the reports, 'There is no shadow of doubt that this Diocese will refuse communion with the dioceses of Mombasa and Uganda.'

This letter, acknowledged by the Archbishop on September 6th, was followed by a more formidable pronouncement. The Bishop of Zanzibar wrote on September 30:

The BISHOP OF ZANZIBAR *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

30 September 1913.

I feel intensely my position; your junior in years, in rank, your inferior in every way by many degrees; and yet speaking boldly to you! You must forgive me! And *please* don't think I am affected by the climate, as Winchester thinks and says of me!

I believe in Episcopacy, not in the Papacy of Rome, or in any system that ignores the equal *responsibility* of every Bishop for the witness that his Communion gives to the world.

Therefore, after a day of prayer with my local staff, I am risking my place in the respect of all the Bishops at home by acting in

what may seem a most aggressive way. God will judge, Who knows our hearts.

I am the nearest Bishop to Mombasa and Uganda, and I tell you, my leader and Father in God, that the remedy which alone will touch the disease is a public admission on their part that they have not faithfully emphasized:

(1) The Athanasian Creed
(2) Confirmation
(3) Absolution
(4) Infant Baptism
(5) Holy Communion as different from Communion administered in Protestant Bodies
(6) The broad difference between Church Doctrine and that of the Protestant Bodies, so that it is impossible
  (*a*) to communicate at one another's Altars
  (*b*) to preach in one another's pulpits
  (*c*) to prepare men of all these bodies with Church candidates either for Baptism or Ordination

and (7) the need of Episcopacy in the Church.

So that unless they will so 'recant', I must most humbly and respectfully urge my plea for a 'Synodical' Court, or, so far as I see to-day, resign my See on the ground that heresy has been condoned in the sight of the Missionary Churches in East Africa, who do not see things as we Englishmen see them.

I am at your feet in shame at seeming to interfere; yet I am a Bishop, and must answer to my Master. Please try to understand me.

And I am in sore distress, and my staff in real danger, and my people also.

Hence my prayer for as little delay as possible.

Will you of your kindness to me communicate with my representatives at home? They can give you all my mind and will send to me by cable messages from your Grace.

They are W. B. Trevelyan, of Liddon House, and R. E. Giraud, of Munster Square, and H E. Simpson, Warden of the House of Charity, 1 Greek Street, Soho He it is whom Your Grace should send to: he will call the others. I hope to come home immediately after Christmas—unless Your Grace *needs* me before. This will suit the diocese best; it will probably fit in with the general movement of the case.

I beg Your Grace's forbearance and forgiveness if I have erred in phrase or tone. The situation is intolerable: and I am more than usually human!

Accompanying this, was an indictment of the two Bishops, framed in the most official style, setting out the charges, including the charge that, on the closing day of the Conference Holy Communion was celebrated in a Presbyterian Church by the Bishop of Mombasa, 'the sacrament being given to many members of Protestant Bodies whose very existence is hostile to Christ's Holy Church.'

The indictment continued:

> Therefore We, Frank, by Divine Permission Lord Bishop of Zanzibar and East Africa, do by these presents accuse and charge the Right Reverend Father in God William, Lord Bishop of Mombasa, and the Right Reverend Father in God John Jameson, Lord Bishop of Uganda, with the grievous faults of propagating heresy and committing schism:
>
> And We do hereby most humbly implore Your Grace to obtain from them for publication in East Africa and Zanzibar a complete and categorical recantation of the errors which they have taught in word and action:
>
> Or failing that We do hereby request Your Grace to appoint us a day and place in which, conformably with Catholic precedent, We may appear before You and not less than twelve of Your Grace's comprovincial Bishops sitting with Your Grace as Judges of this cause, and to permit us there and then to meet the aforesaid Lord Bishop of Mombasa and Lord Bishop of Uganda, and in open Assembly to allow us to make and sustain our charges and accusations against them.

From this indictment by the Bishop of Zanzibar, a public controversy on an astonishing scale started in the English Press, and continued for a long while throughout the Churches. To some, the scheme of Kikuyu seemed a magnificent move forward to Christian reunion. To others, it appeared to be 'a certain step to the disruption of the Anglican Communion'.

'I doubt', wrote Bishop Gore to *The Times*, 29 December, 1913, 'if the cohesion of the Church of England was ever more seriously threatened than it is now.' It is well to note that both to Gore and to Weston this modernizing of the ministry, and looseness of view about the Church, was part of a wider modernist movement which seemed to threaten the foundations of the Faith.

II

The Archbishop of Canterbury was very well aware of the dangers to cohesion which the controversy and its settlement involved. But he was not disposed to be unduly alarmed. He replied as follows:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* BISHOP OF ZANZIBAR

22nd October, 1913.

I have received your very important letter of September 30th, together with the formal enclosure therein of the same date duly signed and sealed. It has reached me at a moment of special pressure, and in any case you will realise that so grave a matter requires quiet consideration with regard to the manner of dealing with it, as well as with regard to the merits of the questions raised. To the best of my belief there exists no precedent which would give clear guidance on procedure such as you suggest, but you will not understand me to mean that for that reason no such action could possibly be taken or a proper tribunal constituted to handle it. I will give quiet consideration to the matter next week. I imagine that in any circumstances there would rest with me some initial responsibility as to whether or not the suit (if that word may be used) which you desire to promote should or should not go forward—responsibility, I mean, corresponding to what is known in England as the Bishop's power of veto. I shall therefore have to consider preliminarily what are the indisputable facts of the matter apart from the question of the character attaching to what was done. It may, for example, turn out that the action of the two Bishops was not what you suppose it to have been. I find that Bishop Willis is expected in England almost immediately. This may enable me, without going into the merits of the case, to ascertain elementary facts about which I am at present in some uncertainty.

Should it appear to me to be necessary that you should come to England at an early date, I shall not scruple to tell you so. Matters of this kind are too important to be treated otherwise than with the utmost exactitude and care.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Simpson, with whom you ask me to communicate.

In a later letter (29 October) Weston told the Archbishop that Bishop Willis was staying with him in Zanzibar; and that he had explained certain points which would make it necessary for

Weston to amend his original appeal. But he said that he could not be satisfied that Episcopacy had been taught in the Kikuyu Conference as the vital foundation of the Church, or that the sacramental system had been given its right place; and he added that, as to Nonconformist celebrations of the Communion, 'We are bound to declare them null and void except as spiritual communion.' 'The Bishop is quite delightful, but, believe me, it is no use our going on side by side on the present lines. . . . He is sure all is well because he thinks it well.'

On receiving this letter (November 18), the Archbishop telegraphed to Bishop Weston to come home immediately for a Conference. Meantime Bishop Willis had written from Uganda on September 22 to tell the Archbishop that he also was coming home, in accordance with his Grace's advice. He reached London at the end of November and at once saw the Archbishop at Canterbury. After seeing him, Dr. Davidson told the Archbishop of York: 'The thing dwindles greatly as regards what is open to criticism when the facts are fairly told, apart from the question of the joint communion services held in the Presbyterian Church. The actual conference was wholly and avowedly subject to having all its resolutions submitted to the authorities in England.' And Bishop Willis wrote to Mrs. Davidson that he would never forget the Archbishop's kindness and sympathy. Bishop Willis also published a full statement of the facts with the text of the Scheme, in which he made it clear that 'no church and no society stands committed: the whole Scheme is still *sub judice*'. In a subsequent interview Bishop Willis agreed 'that the charges made against the Kikuyu Conference are two, more or less distinct, (1) based on the character of the scheme, (2) based on the character of the United Communion Service at the close of the Conference, which, it is agreed by Bishop Willis, was of a very exceptional character'. Bishop Willis, however, demurred when it was suggested that he should pledge himself in advance, never under *any* circumstances to invite members of non-Episcopal churches to attend an Anglican celebration of the Holy Communion.

Bishop Weston reached London on February 6, 1914, and saw the Archbishop the following day. The Bishop asked very definitely for a formal handling of the charge, and expressed his own strong view, which he reiterated several times, that the case ought

to be tried, and by the Bishops of the Province; not that he claimed with certainty to be one of those Bishops, but because the Archbishop of Canterbury was his Metropolitan, and as such could not try a case except with his comprovincial Bishops.

The Archbishop's memorandum of the interview ends:

> I could not help thinking, however, that he is really open to wiser opinions than those he has in the isolation of Zanzibar[1] given utterance to. He said, for example, that he had been a good deal puzzled by finding, as he now found, that Bishop Hine had given Communion to Non-Episcopal Missionaries, and again he said that Gore's opinions on *Kenosis* were to his mind as bad as the things said in *Foundations*, and yet Gore was his friend and guide in all these matters of Modernism He was delightfully loyal, friendly, and frank, and I was much touched by his whole attitude and behaviour.

On February 9, the Archbishop published a full statement in which, after giving a narrative of the events, he announced his decision as to procedure He refused to allow a trial of the Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda for heresy and schism, as the facts before him afforded no grounds for such proceedings; but he held that inquiry was essential, and proposed to summon the Consultative Body of the Lambeth Conference, an elected body of fourteen Bishops from different Provinces of the Anglican Communion. The Consultative Body would meet in July, and the Archbishop added:

> I shall submit my questions in the following form, and I shall be prepared to accompany my own statement by any written or printed communication which may, for that purpose, be placed in my hands by any of the three Bishops concerned:
>
> 1. In June 1913 a Conference of Missionaries working in British East Africa was held at Kikuyu, and the Resolutions of the Conference embodied a 'Proposed Scheme of Federation of Missionary Societies' with a view to ultimate Union of the Native Churches. The Bishop of Uganda, as Chairman of the Conference, has explained in a published Pamphlet that 'nothing has as yet been settled'. 'From the first', he says, 'it has been clearly understood that none of the signatories (of the proposed Scheme) claimed any power to decide. The utmost that has been done has been to submit to the authorities concerned what have seemed to the Missionaries in Conference to be feasible

[1] Bishop Weston had published *Ecclesia Anglicana. For what does she stand?* dated Zanzibar, 11 October 1913, dealing with Dr. Streeter's theology in *Foundations* as well as Kikuyu.

proposals in the direction of united action. No Church and no Society stands committed: the whole Scheme is still *sub judice*.' In accordance with this, the Bishop has formally submitted to me, as his Metropolitan, the draft Scheme. Some of its administrative provisions relate specially to the work of Missionary Societies as such, and have a technical character, necessitating their careful consideration by the authorities of the different Missionary Societies to which the signatories belong, as well as by others.

I desire to obtain the advice of the Consultative Body upon a larger question, namely: Do the provisions of the proposed Scheme contravene any principles of Church Order, the observance of which is obligatory upon the Bishops, the Clergy, and the layworkers of the Church of England at home and abroad? If so, in what particulars?

2. At the close of the Conference, the Bishop of Mombasa, assisted by the Bishop of Uganda, celebrated the Holy Communion according to the Order prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer. The Service was attended by a large number of the Missionaries who had taken part in the Conference, and many of those who communicated were not members of the Church of England and had not been episcopally confirmed. All, however, had taken as the basis of possible federation 'the loyal acceptance of the Holy Scriptures as our supreme rule of Faith and practice, and of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds as a general expression of fundamental Christian belief.'

I desire to ask whether, due consideration being given to precedent and to all the circumstances of the case, the action of the Bishops who arranged and conducted the admittedly abnormal Service in question was, in the opinion of the Consultative Body, consistent or inconsistent with principles accepted by the Church of England.

Bishop Weston, in a long public reply, dissented from the Archbishop's answer, expressing his dissatisfaction with the Consultative Body, as a 'prejudiced commission of enquiry', and his regret at the Archbishop's ruling that he could not hear the Bishop of Zanzibar's appeal, as Metropolitan acting judicially with his comprovincial Bishops. After some further public correspondence on points of detail, the more satisfactory process of private conversation was resumed. And Dr. Weston was clearly a much more reasonable man in private than his letters alone would reveal. The talks, lasting sometimes for hours, covered various subjects. It became clear that, while opposed

to the scheme, there was a good deal that might be accepted cordially by him and his friends. He promised, therefore, to draw up his own proposals for co-operation between Missionary Societies. It would be difficult to find a greater contrast than that between the mental methods of the two men. The Archbishop pressed hard upon the facts, while Bishop Weston spoke as impulse led him.

The Archbishop noted, after a talk on February 25 of nearly three hours:

> What struck me repeatedly in the conversation was that he does not think out his problems before coming to his conclusions. Several times, after he had been emphatic in saying that something or other was impossible to accept, he was ready, when I had pointed out the difficulties of the situation, to say, 'Perhaps I am wrong: I think after all I could consent to that', and so on. This was disappointing in a man who has had such opportunity during recent months of quietly thinking over everything.

A little later, after some very careful negotiations (for Weston could not see how hurt a brother Bishop might be by the charge of heresy and schism still not withdrawn) the Archbishop arranged for a talk between the two Bishops in his presence at Lambeth. It was a very private and friendly affair, after the first soothing words of the Archbishop; and it was concerned mostly with Bishop Weston's proposals for co-operation, which Bishop Willis urged should be published. Then the two Bishops were left alone to have tea together. After the talk Bishop Willis wrote as follows to the Archbishop:

> *The* BISHOP OF UGANDA *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
>
> *Private.* 18th March, 1914.
>
> I write to thank you for arranging in spite of myself the interview this afternoon with Zanzibar. If it has done nothing else, it has served to renew the personal link between us, which, in a matter like this, is of supreme importance. We knelt down in prayer together, and parted, as we had parted at Zanzibar, on the best terms. Such a coming together will not have been in vain.

III

Bishop Willis returned to his diocese for a month, and Bishop Peel of Mombasa came next upon the scene. The Archbishop found him, to his surprise, quite as liberal-minded as the Bishop

of Uganda. Amongst other things, Bishop Peel was able to refute some of the specific personal charges which had been made against him by the Bishop of Zanzibar, regarding his attitude to the Zanzibar clergy and communicants.

After the last public letter of Bishop Weston to the Archbishop, popular interest a little subsided, pending the meeting of the Consultative Body in July, though a very large correspondence continued to pour in on the Archbishop and each of the three Bishops. The Archbishop characteristically mobilized his forces, getting information and counsel from all manner of sources, the Metropolitans of other Provinces, Missionary Bishops, English diocesans as different as Jayne and Gore, and from scholars. An especially valuable piece of work was done by Dr. A. J. Mason, in the shape of an elaborate Catena of extracts from the ancient and the English Fathers on Episcopacy.[1]

The Bishop of Zanzibar, and the Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda, also prepared their respective cases. These subsequently appeared in print. It will assist the understanding of the issues, if we attempt briefly to state their points of view.

The approach of the two sides to the matter at stake was as different as could be. The very titles tell their tale. Bishop Willis's title is *Steps towards Re-union*; Bishop Weston's is *The Case against Kikuyu, a Study in Vital Principles.*

Bishops Willis and Peel offered a careful well-documented account of the whole proceedings, their history from 1908 to 1913, their relation to the resolutions of the Lambeth Conferences from 1888 onwards, and the peculiar difficulties of a policy of mere isolation. The writing was deliberate, solid, and even dull.

Bishop Weston was only concerned with ultimate questions, went to the root of churchmanship, and asked the meaning of the Church of England and the Church of Africa. His writing was that of a man on fire, brilliant, passionate, swift, very moving.

The Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda pointed out that the Lambeth Conference had for many years recommended Conferences with other Churches, preparing the way for reunion or relations shaping towards it. They took four points known as the Lambeth Quadrilateral, which, in the opinion of the Lambeth Conference, supplied a basis for reunion (*a*) the Holy Scriptures, (*b*) the Apostles' and Nicene Creed, (*c*) the Sacraments of Baptism

[1] *The Church of England and Episcopacy*, A. J. Mason, 1914.

and Holy Communion, (*d*) the historic Episcopate. They urged that the Kikuyu proposals were a serious attempt to solve an actual and urgent problem; and further that the Societies proposing to federate accepted all the first three points of the Lambeth Quadrilateral. With regard to Episcopacy, they pointed out that it was not rejected nor was its power curtailed, though they admitted that it was not specifically mentioned. They claimed further that, with regard to Inter-communion between the federated Societies, Anglican precedents justified the attendance of Nonconformists at Anglican celebrations. With regard to the attendance of Anglicans at a non-Episcopal communion, when no church of their own was available, they argued that, when the Lambeth Conference Committee of 1908 had carefully refused to 'pronounce negatively upon the value in God's sight of the ministry in other communions', they, as Bishops, could not forbid their converts to communicate in non-Episcopal churches, as that would in effect be to pronounce positively against the validity of the non-Episcopal ministry.

The Bishop of Zanzibar, in his *Case against Kikuyu* followed a very different course. He presented a theological treatise, clearly and logically written. He studied vital principles, and he did not attempt to examine the scheme, as it stood, point by point. For him the omission of the Episcopate from the Kikuyu proposals was not simply a failure to accept just one condition out of the four of the Lambeth Quadrilateral, but the contravention of 'the fundamental principle of Church order, which is, that every Christian depends for his full membership in the Catholic Church of Christ upon his loyal fellowship in faith and worship with his own local Bishop'. As he wrote in the Preface:

> We must then concentrate our power upon winning from all Christians, catholic and non-catholic, an acknowledgment that in the local Bishop is the Christ-given centre of union here on earth, and in the universal College of Bishops is the permanent bond of union between all members of the Church, of every nation and tongue, on earth and beyond the veil.

The Anglican Bishops were (he claimed) the English section of the Universal College of Bishops, and 'a Bishop sent from England to Africa goes out, not as a Bishop of the English Church, but simply as a Catholic Bishop, who owes his consecration to the universal Episcopate represented to him by prelates of the

Church in England'. The underlying principle of the Kikuyu Conference, on the other hand, was that of 'practical equality of all religious bodies and their ministries'. He maintained that non-Episcopal churches could not be 'branches of the Catholic Church' (as the Archbishop himself had implied in his formal answer); for though the members of these churches, as individuals, are by baptism members of the Kingdom, they have omitted to enlist themselves under the authority of the Bishops, who hold the King's Commission; and so lack the *corporate* relation to the Kingdom which can justify the term 'part or branch'.

IV

The Consultative Body met at Lambeth at the end of July. The following were present: the Archbishops of York, Armagh, the West Indies, Rupertsland, and the Bishop of Brechin; the Bishops of Winchester, Exeter, and Gibraltar, Bishops Copleston, Wallis, and Ryle. They had prolonged interviews both with the Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda, and with the Bishop of Zanzibar; who had seen one another's statements before meeting the Consultative Body. The Archbishop of Canterbury was present at the interviews and during the preliminary investigations, but he was not present during the preparation of the reply, the Archbishop of York then taking his place. The anxiety of their deliberations was deepened by the greater crisis of the outbreak of the European War. The meeting lasted from July 27 to July 31, 1914.

On the final day, the Prime Minister warned the country of the imminence of a catastrophe of which it was impossible to measure either the dimensions or the effects. The Consultative Body parted. They had come to an unanimous agreement, and made their report in writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

On August 4, War was declared. The Archbishop was at once plunged into the very different work and thoughts which that involved. The Bishops of Uganda and Zanzibar made haste to get back to their African flocks. What could they say when they arrived, about the problems which had brought them home? The Archbishop was clear that he could not publish the Consultative Body's reply, except simultaneously with his own reply.

But this would take time, for his words needed most careful weighing and deliberation, for which the outbreak of War could give no space.

He had a last talk with the Bishop of Zanzibar on August 26th. The Bishop pointed out how difficult it would be if he reached his Diocese and had to tell the people that he knew no more than they did of what the Archbishop was likely to say. The Archbishop accordingly promised to write him 'a confidential letter *for himself only*, giving such general indication of the position I must take up in my published letter as would enable him to form at the least some opinion as to what his course may have to be':

> We then discussed a little his own position. I said that I did not want to ask unfair questions, but that if he liked to tell me what he felt he should be bound to do if I were to say something which seemed to him wholly wrong, it would interest me to hear it. He said, 'If you do that, there are only three alternatives before me. One is to join the Church of Rome. I do not think I could ever do it. I am anti-Roman to the core as regards the Papacy, and if I were driven for lack of any other port of refuge to become a Roman, I should not seek Ordination but live as a layman. I cannot think that will ever come. The second would be to make myself unpleasant, to point out that the excellent gentlemen (i.e. of the Consultative Body) had spoken with no authority, and to sever communion with the two neighbouring Dioceses, and put you in a constant difficulty by insisting upon knowing whether or not you were in communion with me if I was not in communion with them. I think I could make things unpleasant for a long time. But I do not want to do it at all.' I asked whether he might take the same attitude towards the Lambeth Conference as he spoke of possibly taking towards the Consultative Body. He said he thought it was possible, but he had not considered that point. We expanded on this a little, and he was clever and humorous, but I thought quite unconvincing and rather unthoughtful. His third course would be to retire into lay communion in our own Church, lamenting the behaviour of the ecclesiastical authorities and ceasing to be one of them. He then sketched another position that he might take, although he had at first said there were only three. He thought he might form a little alliance with a few men like the Bishops of Oxford (if he could get him), Corea, and a few others, who might in the Lambeth Conference protest against the action of the others, and make a clique of their own. He thought

the second of these four courses would be for us, or for me, the most difficult, because he would have considerable support.

All was very pleasant and friendly, though he was speaking with his usual uncompromisingness. He ended by saying that, if I could say that the Federation was wrong and that the admission of unconfirmed folk to Communion must in those Dioceses be against the 'rule', even if it were allowed by dispensation, and further that the Open Communion at Kikuyu had been—I do not think he used the term but he meant—'scandalous', the controversy would be at an end so far as he is concerned until at least the Lambeth Conference time, when some of the points would presumably have to be considered.

The next day the Archbishop had a similar last talk with the Bishop of Uganda, who was also very anxious not to arrive in his Diocese in complete darkness. The Archbishop promised in the same way to send him a strictly confidential letter for himself:

> I told him that the Consultative Body had given unanimous advice, and that that ought to show him that he ought not to be in a state of trepidation that something terrible was likely to happen.

The private letters were sent, as promised, being timed to reach each Bishop just on the eve of sailing. The Bishop of Uganda sailed first, and the letter to him with a covering personal note is dated 2nd September. The Archbishop felt obliged to tell him '(1) that the scheme in its present shape is not one I could rightly sanction as it stands, and (2) that with regard to the joint communion service you will not be surprised if I am bound to call attention to principles which you did not to the best of my belief intend in any permanent or far-reaching way to contravene'.

The Bishop of Uganda, in a letter on September 5, expressed his disappointment, though confessing that his knowledge must be imperfect until a full answer was made; and adding a hint of how keenly he had felt being placarded as a heretic and schismatic, and his regret, therefore, that no more had been said by the Archbishop to relieve his mind on that point.

To the Bishop of Zanzibar the Archbishop wrote on September 14 to a similar effect and with a similar covering note. The Bishop replied:

The BISHOP OF ZANZIBAR *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

15th September, 1914.

I thank you very much for your kind letter which accompanies your official communication. The outlook in East Africa is certainly not encouraging. But the rumour that all our staff has been removed and interned I do not accept, and in any case I should not allow it to be 'accepted' officially by the Mission. I have begged the office not to let it become public, for I think it untrue. At least, I hope so!

I do not propose to offer any remarks upon your official communication. It is enough that I acknowledge its receipt with sincere thanks for your Grace's courtesy.

V

The Archbishop had to wait some months, with all the War's pressing duties, before he could find time for quietness of thought to publish his own answer to the question raised by the Kikuyu Conference. But he issued it at Easter 1915. It may be summarized as follows:

The Answer begins with a careful account of the problems before him, and points out that the Kikuyu problem was not peculiar to East Africa; it was the problem of the growing Native Church, which ought not to 'be hampered in its young life by schisms and divergences whose origin and meaning are due to what may almost be called the accidental happenings of English or Scottish life—political, social, and ecclesiastical—150 or 250 years ago'.

After quoting the recommendations of the Lambeth Conferences from 1888 to 1908, he then passed to the two questions.

1. THE SCHEME OF FEDERATION.

His opinion is given thus:

The details of the Scheme of Federation may be fairly open to criticism or even to repudiation. Not so, by members of the Lambeth Conferences, the principle which actuated its promoters.

With regard to the details:

It is in the working out of details, and not in the main idea of co-operation, that difficulties and differences present themselves. They turn partly on the question whether the Church of England, in addition to the emphasis she deliberately sets upon our Episcopal system, has laid down a rule which marks all non-Episcopalians as *extra Ecclesiam*. The threefold ministry comes down to

us from Apostolic times, and we reverently maintain it as an essential element in our own historic system, and as a part of our Church's witness to 'the laws of ecclesiastical polity'. We believe it to be the right method of Church government, a method which no new generation in the Church of England would be at liberty to get rid of, or to treat as indifferent. We believe further that the proper method of Ordination is by duly consecrated Bishops, as those who, in the words of the Article, 'have publick authority given to them in the Congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's Vineyard'. But to maintain that witness with all steadfastness is not the same thing as to place of necessity *extra Ecclesiam* every system and every body of men who follow a different use, however careful, strict and orderly their plan. The words and acts of many leading High Churchmen in Caroline days, as well as the carefully chosen sentences and, it may perhaps be added, the significant silences in some of our formularies, throw a grave *onus probandi* upon those who contend for the rigid and uncompromising maintenance of the absolutely exclusive rule. On the other hand, the difficulty of showing that such a rule has ever been explicitly laid down, by no means involves an approbation *en bloc* of the Federation Scheme drawn up at Kikuyu, and the Consultative Body has pointed out with perfect clearness three items of special difficulty which arise under that Scheme:

(1) The admission to our pulpits of men who have not been episcopally ordained;
(2) The admission to Holy Communion of Christians who have not been episcopally confirmed; and
(3) The sanction directly or by implication given to members of our Church to receive the Holy Communion at the hands of Ministers not episcopally ordained.

Then, after expressing his view that Federation, while falling short of corporate reunion, was something more than co-operation, he indicated that the whole question of a 'formal and quasi-constitutional Federation in British East Africa of different denominations whereof our Church is one, requires, as it seems to me, a sanction which must be more than local. The matter is exactly one of those which the Lambeth Conference of Bishops can appropriately discuss.'

With regard to the three points of difficulty:

(1) the admission to our pulpits of men who have not been episcopally ordained:

I see no reason to restrict the freedom of a Bishop in the Mission

Field as to those whom he may invite to address his people, or as to the sanction which may be given to a Priest or Deacon of his Diocese to address in their own buildings, on due invitation given, Christians who belong to other denominations No fundamental principle seems to me to be involved. It is a matter of local, and primarily of Diocesan, administration.

(2) The admission to Holy Communion of Christians who have not been episcopally confirmed:

Looking carefully at present-day facts and conditions, I have no hesitation in saying that in my opinion a Diocesan Bishop acts rightly in sanctioning, when circumstances seem to call for it, the admission to Holy Communion of a devout Christian man to whom the ministrations of his own Church are for the time inaccessible, and who, as a baptised person, desires to avail himself of the opportunity of communicating at one of our Altars.

(3) The sanction directly or by implication given to members of our Church to receive the Holy Communion at the hands of ministers not episcopally ordained:

To imagine that the occasional admission of non-episcopallans who in special circumstances seek the Holy Communion at our hands carries or implies a corresponding readiness to bid the members of our Church, when temporarily isolated, seek the Holy Communion at the hands of any Christian Minister though not Episcopally ordained, who may be within reach, to whatsoever denomination or system he belongs, is gravely to misapprehend the position and to run the risk of creating serious confusion.... If such a principle were once laid down it would be impossible to limit its operation to British East Africa... It is a satisfaction to me to point out that the question is at present of an academic rather than a practical kind, for it became apparent in our personal communications with the Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda that they are so conscious of the difficulties and perplexities which might arise that they have no wish or intention to give that advice to African Christians belonging to their Dioceses.

2. THE HOLDING OF THE JOINT COMMUNION SERVICE.

The Archbishop noted that this was a single spontaneous act of devotion on the part of a group of keen Christian Missionaries in a vast heathen country. There was no question of inaugurating a new policy or initiating a new plan of inter-communion. It was also:

far from being the first time that, in the Mission Fields of Africa

or of the Far East, non-Episcopal Missionaries have participated in such a Service, when the celebrant was a Missionary Bishop or a leading Presbyter of our own Church, and in commenting upon the action of the Bishops and Clergy at Kikuyu it is unfair to forget that fact.

At the same time, as the stir of the controversy which had arisen had proved, there was the danger that a Joint Communion Service of the kind described 'admittedly abnormal, admittedly irregular' might be acclaimed as a 'demonstration'.

I need hardly add that the question of such open Communion on special occasions is of course entirely independent of the question which I have discussed earlier as to the exercise of temporary or occasional 'hospitality' towards individuals deprived for a time of the ministrations of their own Church, be they French Protestants in the seventeenth century or Scotch Presbyterians in the twentieth. To mix the two questions is only to confuse matters. I believe that we shall act rightly, and that the wisest and strongest Missionaries believe that we shall act rightly, in abstaining at present from such Services as the closing Service held at Kikuyu, now that in a world of quick tidings and of ample talk they are shown to be open to the kind of misunderstandings which have arisen.

Such was the Archbishop's opinion or answer to the two questions. It was longer than the answer of the Central Consultative Body, which was a clear, concise statement to the same general effect, though with the definition which greater brevity exacted.[1] It was in a way less official, and more personal and pastoral in character, and the Archbishop deliberately refrained from giving it any other title than *Kikuyu. The Archbishop of Canterbury.*

The statement pleased neither side, and was blamed both by the friends of Zanzibar and by the friends of Uganda, for what it said or did not say. But the Archbishop was not perturbed, and held that this mixture of abuse was far more satisfactory than if he had been praised by one party, and been by the other denounced.

[1] Of the Consultative Body's reply on the Joint Communion Service it was wittily said at the time, 'The Commission comes to the conclusion that the Service at Kikuyu was eminently pleasing to God, and must on no account be repeated.'

[Bath]

Lambeth Palace S E

Nov 20 1914

My dear Arthur

In the stress of letters [written] by normal aids I have at Bath, I missed to thank you for the Even birthday letter & the welcome gift. I have read it with unflagging interest & know a little more about Fear than I did!

God be with you

Yours affly

Randall Cantuar:

Facsimile of a letter to Arthur Christopher Benson written by Randall Davidson a few days after his 66th birthday

CHAPTER XLIII

A LOOK BACK: 1903–1914

Though with a strong dash of the sanguine, without which, indeed, there can be no great projector in any walk of life, Archibald Constable was one of the most sagacious persons that ever followed his profession. LOCKHART, *Life of Scott*, ch. xviii.

IN this chapter we propose to make a pause in order to take stock of the manner of man the Archbishop was at this time of his life, and of his relation to his friends. The moment is apt for more reasons than one.

I

By the beginning of 1914 Randall Davidson had been Archbishop of Canterbury for eleven years. He was sixty-five years old, and the great dividing line of the War was only six months distant.

During the time of his Archbishopric, he had kept in good health on the whole. He still suffered from the results of the old shooting accident at Harrow, one of which was a serious rupture and another a liability to attacks of lumbago, partly caused by the damage to the muscles of the hips. The terrible first illness and its two successors, which afflicted him at Rochester, left their traces behind, and sometimes took the form of bad attacks of pain of a gastric character, but the fresh air of Farnham had made him a stronger man altogether. He was also liable to attacks of influenza, and in April 1913 he lay in the study for some weeks, as a consequence of a chill involving other troubles which had to be carefully guarded against till the end of his life. But he was a model patient. Sir Thomas Barlow, who was a model doctor, has told the writer that he never had to do with anybody more rational, loyal, intelligent, and willing to obey. The Archbishop, Sir Thomas said, liked to know everything, and never cherished up any symptom privately, and thus the doctor was able to allow his patient liberties. He had the reward of his sanity. None of his attacks of illness was brought on by himself.

> I cannot [said Sir Thomas] use language strong enough to describe his satisfactoriness. He was not only loyal but grateful, and the nurses would do any mortal thing for him. The lessons of his illness have a real spiritual value. His was a very fine life.

What enormous things could be done if people would only have patience, and learn to cut their coat according to their cloth and wait till the storm goes by!

It is only right to add that the Archbishop owed a very great deal also to the strong common sense of Mrs. Davidson, who knew exactly when to put him to bed and keep him there, as a precautionary measure, thus securing rest of body and mind, but a rest in which he never allowed himself (as he put it) to 'waste his time'. So his illnesses, formidable handicaps though they were during the whole of his life, were nevertheless means of recuperation in all sorts of ways, and, treated as he treated them, strengthened his character and prolonged his life.

II

We may also note that the Archbishop won an unusual affection from those with whom he had to do, as we have often seen already. It was not only that he knew the men of influence, but he became their close and valued friend. Up to the time of the War he had known six Prime Ministers, and with four of these—Rosebery, Balfour, Campbell-Bannerman, and Asquith—he was intimate; and there were many other statesmen and men engaged in public life, with whom he established really close relations. In a memorandum of 1913 about his friendships he writes:

> This kind of wide intimacy has certainly not been equalled in regard to any of the Archbishops during the last 70 or 80 years Archbishops Tait and Benson were both of them members of Grillions, but they did not use those opportunities nearly so often as I have used them The thing sounds a small one, but experience has taught me that it is not slight in the occasions it offers I doubt if I should have known Grey, or Sir John Simon, or Cromer, or a good many others so well as I do, had it not been for those dinners. It means a good deal in my judgement for the Church's good that the man who holds the Archbishop's position should have this kind of natural and friendly access to the men to whom is given the responsibility for the nation's affairs It places, not the Archbishop only, but the Church, in quite a different relation to public life in its religious and secular aspects. I do not mean to imply that I have used these continuous opportunities with adequate wisdom or effectiveness, but it cannot fail to have done a great deal for the bridging of difficulties.

Such personal relations with Cabinet Ministers, and others, also revealed a certain quality in the actual method of his working. He had what may be called a hidden personal influence. It was not until much later in his life that he became in any way a popular figure. He had not the popular gift, nor, skilful and persuasive as he was, would he have ever been acclaimed as a great orator. His influence was of an extraordinarily individual quality, difficult to analyse, but certainly including in a happy composition goodness, simplicity, wisdom, and a deep interest in other people and the world. Again, it was the intimate entering into the other man's point of view, and the identification of himself with the other's interests at that particular moment, that won him the affection and confidence of many an ecclesiastical and educational opponent. It might almost have been said that his closest friendships were with those with whom he in opinion disagreed, not least Charles Gore 'The Archbishop is a broad gauge man, I love him', was the verdict of Dr. J R Mott, the American missionary leader, very early in his acquaintance in 1910

III

Similarly, in the actual government of the Church, his methods were largely personal and, so to speak, private, as he trusted in human contacts and the help of proved counsellors rather than in any formal organization like a Curia It is interesting to read what he says about the desirability of a Curia—such as was much more in accordance with Archbishop Benson's desires—in his Charge on *The Character and Call of the Church of England*, given at his second Visitation of the Diocese of Canterbury in February 1912

> To anyone who sets himself to consider what the Cathedral and See of Canterbury now connote, popularly as well as officially, as the historic centre of a great constitutional system, the enquiry naturally suggests itself Should there not, for dealing with these larger matters, be a group of officially appointed men, call it by what name you will—Council, Curia, Cabinet, Board, Committee—who might jointly bear the burden, and, speaking with collective voice, increase immensely the weight of what is said, and ensure for it a hearing to which no one man's voice, in a system such as ours, can possibly be entitled? The answer lies in the facts of the case. Such Council or Curia, if formed, would necessarily

be an official body for doing official work. But then no technically official position, bearing relation to the whole Anglican Communion, belongs of right to, or is to-day claimed by, the Archbishop of Canterbury. To speak of it as his by right, or to claim for him any authoritative voice, beyond the quite limited range of the fifty-seven dioceses subject to his metropolitical jurisdiction, would be a new departure of the gravest and, in my judgement, of the most perilous kind. Nay, even to define in any formal manner a relation, other than such as I have described as subsisting between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops or Dioceses of other Provinces, would be to twist and tangle, and perhaps to break, a bond of fellowship which has grown stronger with our Church's growth, and which is real and practical and useful just because it is informal and undefined. And the moment you bring into being a body of men who are to share, as of right, the daily responsibilities of what I have called a 'pivotship', which has come into existence, so to speak, 'of itself', and by no fiat or ordinance, the whole position is immediately changed by the necessity of definition and of rules, and 'the mutual society help and comfort' become ready to vanish away. I say nothing of the practical difficulty which would beset the actual formation or selection of such a Council or Curia, which must outlast, presumably, the tenure of the individual Archbishop under whom or by whom it was created. Nothing again need I say of the problem how to secure the retention by its members, as their years advance, of the alertness and promptitude or the range of knowledge which led to their nomination at the outset. Difficulties of that sort, grave as they would be, need not prove insuperable if, on general grounds, the plan were found to be a right one. I say nothing again of the warnings which are furnished, in this particular field, by even a little knowledge of modern Roman history.* It is unnecessary to dwell upon these points because the reason which I have already given is for my purpose adequate and indeed conclusive.[1]

Chief among these personal counsellors were Bishop John Wordsworth, Bishop Francis Paget, Bishop Edward Talbot, and, to an ever-increasing extent, the Archbishop of York, Dr. Lang. Bishop Wordsworth was a man of extraordinary learning, with 'stores of solid knowledge, marvellously ready at call, and given out ungrudgingly in his unselfish service to the Church of God',[2] though he was, critics used to say, constantly expecting that two

* In support of this, to which there is ample independent testimony, see e g. *Pan-Anglican Congress Report*, 1908, vol. VII, p 220

[1] *Character and Call of the Church of England*, pp. 8–10. [2] Ibid. p. 12.

and two would make five. Francis Paget, Bishop of Oxford, was a scholar and theologian, but especially 'the quiet, wise counsellor and Christian friend to whom, in periods of closest intercourse at home and abroad, one never turned in vain for inspiration or guidance; and whose grace of literary touch gave a peculiar dignity, if one may use the phrase, to the ready and tender flow of personal sympathy on which his friends had come so confidently to rely'.[1] Both Bishop Wordsworth and Bishop Paget died in 1911. Bishop Talbot, first at Southwark and then at Winchester, was one of the Archbishop's staunchest supporters. He had a gift of deep understanding, and a great sense of fairness, and was a valuable interpreter of the Tractarian point of view. Archbishop Lang, who had gone from Stepney to York in 1909, was a tower of strength, and the unity in counsel and constant contact between the two Archbishops was something new in the relations of the two Primates. It was characteristic of Archbishop Davidson that immediately Dr. Lang (some fifteen years his junior) was appointed to York, he should invite him to make Lambeth his London home, in order to get his counsel and aid. The Archbishop of York thus always made Lambeth his headquarters whenever he came to London, and had two rooms of his own in the Palace. Chief of all Randall Davidson's friends was Lord Stamfordham, with whom he had been intimate from Windsor days. Hardly a week passed without a talk or talks between these two, and it was a Sunday treat to both of them when Stamfordham walked over to Lambeth Palace in the afternoon for a quiet talk between lunch and tea.

We must not forget, when speaking of the personal side of the Archbishop's life-work, how much it was helped by the home quality of Lambeth and the sense that here was the centre of a family rather than of an ecclesiastic organization, with Mrs. Davidson always in the midst welcoming, entertaining, recreating. Here is a letter from Bishop Francis Paget to his son Bernard written from Lambeth Palace:

The BISHOP OF OXFORD *to* BERNARD PAGET

February 2, 1911.

This week's letter comes, you see, from the busiest and kindest of homes. . . . I never come here without feeling afresh the height

[1] Ibid., p. 13.

of the example which the Archbishop and Mrs. Davidson set us. There is so much hard and heavy work always in hand. And yet it never be-glooms life, or hinders them from entering into all that is pleasant and humorous, and all the cares and joys of other people's lives. They really are gallant workers, and true, generous friends.

A similar tribute to the quality of the life at Lambeth is paid by Sir Michael Sadler, whose particular and intimate acquaintance with the Archbishop at the time of the Education controversy (1906–8) we have already noted:

> The days were filled with his labours. However late he had to work, he rarely missed the service in Chapel early in the morning. Letters, great numbers of them written with his own hand, were promptly sent in reply to every kind of correspondent. 'In his busy and weighty employment', like Izaac Walton's honoured friend, Dr. Robert Sanderson, Archbishop Davidson 'practised obligingness to all men of what degree so ever' His insight into the true value of a man's service was regardless of social standing. In hospitality, in generous private gifts, he was cordial, simple, spontaneous. He was never shaken out of composure, cheerfulness, and courteous consideration for others by fatigue, indisposition, or the pressure of public affairs.
>
> Others, who knew him far longer and far better than I, will say more fitly from what deep source he drew the strength which made him so wise, so resilient, so much beloved But no one who has had the almost inestimable privilege of living, even for a short time, with the Archbishop and Mrs. Davidson at Lambeth, can think of either without thinking of the two together and of the calm which fell upon them and us through the services in Chapel.

IV

In tackling the hard and heavy work which had to be done at Lambeth, the Archbishop had also a great gift for getting the best out of the members of his staff. He was such a gallant worker himself that Chaplains and secretaries delighted in their labours under him. They knew that he trusted them and they quickly responded. Most faithful of all, and longest in his service, was Arthur Sheppard, whom he had engaged at first as a half-time private secretary at Windsor in 1889, as a young man of twenty-seven, and had taken with him first to Rochester, then to Farnham,

and last to Lambeth. He was with the Archbishop altogether for thirty-four years, 1889 to 1923. No man was more careful or devoted, and the Archbishop's confidence in his ability and loyalty was unceasing. To his two Chaplains, one for Diocesan work, the other for the more general departments, the Archbishop also gave his complete trust. Remembering his own apprenticeship with Tait, he enjoyed training them and explaining the various problems, and discovering how far they had taken in the points at issue. And at times, especially in driving about the Diocese, or on rare occasions when he took a Chaplain away on a brief holiday at Christmas, he would tell him of men he had known, and of the difficulties in Church and State with which he had had to deal. Like Tait, he had an invariable wish for a second pair of eyes or ears in judging an important letter, or the text of an important message or speech. Like Tait too, he would go right through the baskets of letters which the Chaplain brought up, and insist on taking them as they came, down to the last σπλάγχνα, as he called them.

V

Perhaps there is another point which ought to be mentioned as a very considerable assistance to the Archbishop in the discharge of his duties. Circumstances undoubtedly led him to know more about the previous half-century of the Church's life than any other living man. Not merely had he already enjoyed thirty years of daily acquaintance with Lambeth and its life, but he had had to master the preceding history, beginning in the fifties, when writing the *Life of Archbishop Tait*. It is certain that nobody prior to Randall Davidson had attempted any such coherent, consecutive, and detailed story of central Church affairs during a very eventful time. He used to say how invaluable he found this knowledge in estimating aright the origins and meanings of contemporary movements in the Church.

Again, an immense amount of work was, as we have already seen, connected with the Church overseas.

> As soon as he came to Lambeth [wrote Bishop Montgomery] he instituted the Thursday Celebration in the Chapel on purpose for Bishops. He told me always to be present, and to see that any Bishop from abroad who was in London should be warmly in-

vited. And such Bishop should sit next to him at breakfast. The result was that the Bishop became an intimate friend of his, and was asked to correspond with Lambeth as often as he wished. So his correspondence grew as the years passed.

He took the greatest pains over his correspondence with Bishops abroad, and gave them always the very best help that he could. He was not only accessible to the Secretaries of the great Missionary Societies, but called for their aid, and the aid of any others able to give the special help needed for the special problem, so that he might give the best and most fully-informed advice that he could. To his more personal letters he devoted many a Sunday afternoon. For other letters dealing with official problems, he would often set apart a particular day or morning from time to time. The variety and range of his correspondence is indicated in the following note, which appears in the files of 1912, entitled 'A Day's Work':

Notes of the subjects upon which the Archbishop wrote important letters on August 5, 1912.

To Archbishop Donaldson of Brisbane on the whole question of the Australian Church and its connexion with the Church of England.

To Bishop King of Madagascar, discussing the problem of French government in Madagascar in its relation to Missions and to Christianity generally.

To Bishop Price of Fuhkien, China, with regard to the suggestion that the Church in Ireland might nominate and support a Bishop in China.

To the Bishop of Madras upon the suggested re-arrangement of Dioceses and Provinces in India, and the bearing of this upon Disestablishment in India, the Archbishop's advice having been definitely asked.

To Bishop Cecil [Boutflower] of South Tokyo on the proposed new Theological College in Japan, and upon the question of Church Unity among Missionaries in the Japanese Empire.

To Dr. J. R. Mott, in New York, giving him formal letters of introduction to Bishops in the Far East, and discussing the value of the Student Christian Federation Movement and the Missionary Continuation Committee.

To the Bishop of Lahore about the idea of a great Cathedral in Delhi as the new Capital, and the problem of how far it would be possible to enlist the King's support.

To the Bishop of Gibraltar upon the relation the Bishop bears

to Continental Chaplaincies under Societies, and the respective rights of each party.

To Archdeacon Moule of China on Missionary methods of work, and on the form which the Appeal for Missions should take.

These were in addition to a large number of other subjects such as the Divorce question (Mr. Gamble of Sloane Street); Irvingism and its position in relation to the Church of England (a Mr. Royle Shore); the Duke of Connaught (about Army patronage and nominations); St. Katharine's Hospital in Regent's Park and its re-arrangement; Deceased Wife's Sister question and his Pastoral (Bishop of Worcester). All these were in one morning.

No matter how busy he was, the Archbishop took great trouble with his sermons. They were always thoughtful and well planned, like all his public utterances; but he sometimes became depressed and wondered how far anything had got home. The following is an exchange of letters after a sermon preached at the Church Congress at Swansea in 1909:

MRS. CREIGHTON *to the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Hampton Court Palace, 10 October 1909.

May I just say that I have read your Congress sermon and liked it very much and altogether agreed with it. Do you remember that I wrote to you about Mr. Figgis' sermons, and one on 'Other-worldliness' which had specially struck me and set me thinking? In a way it raised in the crude way natural to a younger man the same thoughts as your much saner and riper sermon. We try and do without the vision sometimes, and at other times we are half ashamed of owning that we have it, and instead of trying to lift others to see it, go down and meet them in their grey world.

I have had an interesting though hard week, all day at the missionary commission, planning out our report, and am now left with a bit of it to write. Our chairman is a very able and agreeable man, not an American but a Scotch Presbyterian who has been 14 years in America and is head of Hartford College. He managed us all with great skill and delicacy, and we were all in consequence most obedient and amenable.

I hope you are less burdened. Since I came back from the peace of the country, it has seemed to me that all the people I have met are burdened and I feel there must be something wrong about it. It is the vision that will help these too, will it not?

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to* MRS. CREIGHTON

Lambeth, 12 October 1909.

Your letter about the Swansea sermon is a very real cheer to me. I sometimes think that nobody cares a rap what I say about anything in heaven or earth, and though that may be the fault of what is said or of the manner of saying it, it is not the less disheartening I am going to read to-night Mr Figgis' sermon on Other-worldliness to which you have sent me

I believe—and especially from what you say—that this Edinburgh Conference may be the beginning of a new era for our Foreign Missions The wretched drawback is that just as we are beginning to understand better how to spend Missionary money, the sources of supply seem to be drying up, or at the best to be stagnant God bless you, my dear Friend.

VI

Readers of this book may have been surprised at the large amount of space given to the political interests of the Archbishop, especially in relation to the various episodes in the crisis between the two Houses of Parliament. These were a prominent part of the life of England during the years preceding the War. But it is to be observed that, during the next fifteen years of the Archbishopric, political crises as such take a much smaller place in the general picture. This is partly because the House of Lords was now deprived of a great part of its powers. But it was partly also due to the increasing opportunities, of which the Archbishop made increasing use, for giving a strong Christian witness in larger questions still, concerning Europe and the world. It was also partly due to the growing needs of the Church, and the claims which the government of the Church, and its problems, made upon his time, and the opportunities for setting forward the life and work of the Church which the next fifteen years were to yield in abundant measure.

It may perhaps be well to end this chapter with another quotation from the Charge[1] describing his view of the distinctive character of the Church of England:

> I am not referring now to the fundamentals of the Faith, the great truths common to Christianity throughout the world, but only to those traits which when taken together (and that is essential) give

[1] *Character and Call of the Church of England*, pp. 46–7.

its distinctive character to our Anglican Communion. I am attempting no technical definitions or demarcations. That, so far as it is done at all, has been done for us in accepted formularies. But, expressing the matter in common non-technical phraseology, I should myself describe our distinctive characteristics somewhat as follows. We lay emphasis upon the historic continuity of the Church's corporate and organic life We stand accordingly for a sacramental, governmental, ministerial, and even ritual system which, with adaptation to local requirements, has come down to us from Apostolic days. We stand for the unfettered study of Holy Scripture and for its circulation in the vernacular tongue, whatever it be. We stand for the liberty of private judgement in the interpretation of Holy Scripture and in matters of faith, combined, as regards our own members, with the definiteness of such actual *credenda* as are set forth in our Formularies. We stand for the right of National Churches to a wide elasticity and variety in system, in ritual and in worship, combined with a general loyalty to the principles and usages which have come down from the past, and especially from the first six centuries. And lastly we stand for the principle of plainness, openness and simplicity in all formularies, usages and services, so that every word of each may, so far as possible, be understanded and followed by even the unlearned among our people.

It was to guard and establish this Church that his labour was to be more and more applied, in difficult days, for the rest of his primacy.

CHAPTER XLIV

THE IRISH CRISIS: 1914

BOSWELL. 'Pray, Mr. Dilly, how does Dr. Leland's "History of Ireland" sell?'
JOHNSON (bursting forth with a generous indignation). 'The Irish are in a most unnatural state, for we see there the minority prevailing over the majority. There is no instance, even in the ten persecutions, of such severity as that which the protestants of Ireland have exercised against the Catholicks. Did we tell them we have conquered them, it would be above board. to punish them by confiscation and other penalties, as rebels, was monstrous injustice. King William was not their lawful sovereign he had not been acknowledged by the Parliament of Ireland, when they appeared in arms against him' BOSWELL, *Life of Dr. Johnson* (1773).

IN the long history of Lambeth Palace there is no record of any visit by a reigning King and Queen together, until King George and Queen Mary went to dinner with the Archbishop of Canterbury and Mrs. Randall Davidson on February 23, 1914. The party consisted of thirty persons altogether, including the Lansdownes, the Loreburns, the Archbishop of Brisbane[1] from Australia, the Bishop of Yukon from Canada, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, the Editor of *The Times*,[2] Charles Booth, Sidney Colvin, and Mrs. Benson, who had in her husband's Primacy welcomed the Royal guests at Lambeth, when Duke and Duchess of York. The Archbishop showed the King and Queen over the Palace after dinner, and the evening ended with a short service in the Chapel.

We note the event rather for the interest of the actual visit than for any special incident of the evening. This visit of the King to Lambeth took place when the public mind was absorbed with the Irish question, and there was an unsuspected fitness in its happening at that time.

No man could hold the office of Archbishop of Canterbury, least of all Randall Davidson, and fail to feel a grave anxiety at the course of events in Ireland. Throughout the previous months he had taken care to inform himself as completely as he could of the difficulties and the dangers. The memoranda which he has left show that in the autumn of 1913 he was in touch with various people at the centre, and also with Lord Rosebery, about

[1] Dr. Donaldson, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.
[2] Mr. Geoffrey Robinson (later Dawson).

political eventualities. He was gravely disturbed by the formation of the Ulster Provisional Government. He was also well aware of the course suggested by leading Unionists of petitioning the King before the Royal Assent to the Home Rule Bill, with a view to obtaining Dissolution; and he undoubtedly held, apart from any such drastic policy as this, that the passing of the Parliament Act had so altered the Constitution, as to place a greater responsibility upon the Sovereign than he could have exercised while the House of Lords retained a veto on the legislation of the Commons.

On January 21, 1914, on his way to a Privy Council at Windsor, to authorize the scheme for the three new Sees,[1] he had a long talk with Lord Morley.

> Morley asked specially for some quiet talk, and I had a good deal both on the journey and in the Castle. He is terribly distraught about the situation, and seemed to me in rather a pitiably helpless condition. He feels intensely for the King, dreads Civil War beyond words, does not see how to avert it, and thinks (though he puts it guardedly) that the King has a stronger position than the Prime Minister and others have admitted, inasmuch as there is only one House of Parliament at present, and the King's responsibility is therefore increased He did not see, he said, any answer to the contention made on behalf of the King by some of his friends, though not by the King himself, that His Majesty has to take up personal responsibilities because so much turns on his individual action. Morley put it quite bluntly: If the King dismisses us by insisting on a Dissolution, he may be acting unwisely, but he is certainly not exceeding his legal rights or, what is arguable, his right course. The public will hold him responsible if there is Civil War. 'He is the one man who (they will say) could have stopped it. He did not so act Civil War came. The King must bear the responsibility for it.' If, on the other hand, he does order a Dissolution, it is indisputable that he will be regarded as taking sides, and will discredit himself in the eyes of those who think he is siding against them. Even if the Unionists win, the other side will bitterly resent the supposed throwing of the King's weight into the scale against them. I suggested in addition that, if this was true in England, it would be more true still in the Colonies, where the people, largely owing to ignorance of the facts, are blindly Home Rulers, and their now strong trust in the King might be

[1] The new Bishoprics of Sheffield, Chelmsford, and St Edmundsbury and Ipswich. See pp 644–6.

upset if they thought he had become a partisan on the other side. So, too, would the working classes, with whom he is at present popular, who are not keen politicians always, and who would be taught by orators to think the King was acting one-sidedly. When I pressed Morley for anything constructive as to what the King, in his judgment, ought to do, he was pitiably devoid of suggestions. He was to dine that night privately with Asquith, Grey, and Haldane to talk over the situation. He had a talk to the King after the Privy Council, and the King (as His Majesty subsequently told me) gave him a peremptory message for Asquith, to say that he adhered to every word that he had said about his primary duty being to prevent Civil War, whatever the consequences to his own reputation or the reputation of the Government.

The situation grew more anxious in the next few weeks. On March 3, a National Appeal was published, with such signatories as Lords Roberts, Milner, Halifax, Balfour of Burleigh, Professor A. V. Dicey, Rudyard Kipling, and (of all men) the Dean of Canterbury (Dr. Wace), demanding Dissolution and declaring that if the Home Rule Bill were passed without being submitted to the country, the signatories would hold themselves justified in taking any steps or supporting any action that might be effective to prevent its being put into operation, including the preventing of the use of the armed forces of the Crown to coerce Ulster. The same evening Mr. Bonar Law came, at his own request, to see the Archbishop. He had a long talk about the whole Irish question and also the King's position:

Then we turned to the Irish question. He said he would be quite frank with me and tell me how things stand. It would be strictly confidential, but he added a reserve that it need not be secret from. . . . He then developed his statement as follows. These are not his words, but the outcome of long talk.

There will be no settlement about Ulster When I [i e. Bonar Law] first saw Asquith some months ago I told him: There are only two possibilities of peace—(1) a General Election or Referendum; (2) the exclusion of Ulster. At the next interview he told me that he had decided to submit to the Cabinet a definite proposal for the Exclusion of Ulster. Then came his public speech (? Ladybank) wherein he withdrew from the exclusion policy. Since then he has shifted backwards and forwards, and I am certain that he has found Redmond implacable and that he (Asquith) is therefore helpless; for Redmond, actively disliking both Exclusion and a General Election, finds that the second would be the less intoler-

able to him, for he would retain his own position in Ireland, whereas if he consented to Exclusion he would be kicked out of leadership by his own people. Devlin would feel this even more strongly, as his strength lies among the Roman Catholics of Belfast, and if Belfast were excluded Devlin would be nowhere. Therefore the Irishmen will decline the Exclusion policy and the only alternative will be to coerce Ulster or to have a General Election. Asquith cannot in the last resort adopt the Civil War policy, and will therefore be forced to a General Election or a Referendum. He will resist and proclaim it to be impossible, but he will give way in the end. This will be ensured by the evidence, which will now be forthcoming, that England is waking up to the reality of the Civil War peril, and the Government will have to admit it and give way. The expected Irish debate for to-night, Tuesday March 3rd, will not come off, for Asquith, in answer to a question from me, will tell us that he is going to make his statement of policy next Monday, and I shall therefore ask my friends to have no discussion to-day. Next Monday I expect Asquith to offer the 'Home Rule within Home Rule' plan for Ulster—not Exclusion in the larger sense, but internal Home Rule subject to a Dublin Parliament. This we shall not accept. I shall on that day declare plainly that we offer the Government peace on one of two lines and those only —(*a*) a General Election or Referendum; (*b*) complete Exclusion of Ulster. To that we shall stand firm. But I shall go on to say that if a General Election or Referendum shows a majority for Home Rule we shall accept the verdict and shall not avail ourselves of the Parliament Act delay, but agree, immediately on the meeting of Parliament, to the Home Rule policy which the people by that time have endorsed. I have not yet got Lansdowne's promise to agree to this, but I have no doubt about securing it. We could make a plausible case for starting the Parliament Act process again and thus postponing things for three years. But we shall not do so: we think the more honest, simple and straightforward policy is to accept the verdict of the Nation forthwith, and we should promise to do so. I believe that Asquith will find himself forced to acquiesce, and that there will be either a General Election or a Referendum quite soon.

All this came out by degrees in conversation. I think I have summarised it correctly.

Then we had some talk about the King's position. I asked simply for information and as one knowing nothing. He did not ask me how much or how little I knew. He thinks Asquith has placed the King in an intolerable position, not from evil intent, but from the exigencies of his own policy. 'Supposing things to

go forward without an Election, the King must either sign the Bill or refuse. It is difficult to say which would be the more disastrous position for him. Asquith will say to him 'You may safely sign it, for as soon as it is signed there will be a General Election and therefore no need for bloodshed'. But this is most untrue. The moment the Bill is passed, there will be fighting long before a General Election takes place, and the King will be held responsible for this and will incur the hatred of Ulster. If, on the other hand, he refuses to sign, the cry of Liberals, led by the voices of demagogues, both in England and Ireland, will be unbounded. I hope, however, that it will never come to this, for I think the General Election far more probable. Indeed there is another possibility. Some Ulstermen urge that the moment the Home Rule Bill passes the House of Commons, before it reaches the Lords, the Provisional Government in Ulster should be set up. This will force the Government's hands. The procedure will be that the Ulster Police will be told 'We have no need of you. Go away. You are private citizens. We will police ourselves.' No Government can tolerate this, and fighting must begin forthwith. Thus the King's position might be saved, for the Bill would not yet have come to him for signature. But it would mean Civil War. . . .

Then we passed to another branch of the question. I asked him what he thought about the suggestion now current, that the King ought to insist upon a Dissolution He replied that on the whole he thought it not impossible that the position might arise when this would be the King's duty, but he was not clear about the form which such insistence should take, or the exact stage at which it would be most appropriate. I said it had occurred to me as conceivable that the King might send the Government a formal Memorandum to the effect that a Dissolution ought in his judgment to take place immediately; and that he hoped the Government would, owing to the gravity of the situation, agree with him. He had as King no wish either way about Home Rule, but he had a strong wish to do what his people honestly desired, and he felt it essential that this should be ascertained. Such Memorandum would not have the form of an Ultimatum, but it could be so worded as to throw upon the Government the onus of resigning, and avoid the slightest appearance of dismissing them. It might be sent to them as a help upon which they might fall back, by stating to the country that they were only so acting by desire of the King. But in that case the King ought to insist that his actual Memorandum should be made public and not merely alluded to. Would this in B.L's judgment be unconstitutional as making a statement independent of Ministers? He replied that it would be,

he thought, unusual, but in no sense wrong. It would be unusual because the situation is unusual, and a strong man must take an unusual step when something unprecedented happens. He instanced the Speaker in the early days of obstruction taking the high hand and stopping the debate. Such act had no authority, but was justified by public opinion. B. Law added that of course if such a Memorandum were sent, and Asquith declined to use it after he had been told that he was entitled to use it, and also declined to resign, the King would be justified in taking a firmer course and insisting on its being made public, and it would be impossible for Asquith in that case to avoid resignation. If he had resigned without using it, it would be open to his successors in office to use it afterwards, so as to show what were the real conditions in which the Government had resigned. Of course if Asquith preferred to dissolve Parliament without using the Memorandum, no harm would be done, for the result would have been attained. What he would not be entitled to do would be to resign with the belief that the Memorandum would never be made public.

The Archbishop kept in touch with all that went forward during the next few critical days. On March 9 the Prime Minister announced the concessions which the Government were then preparing to make to Ulster. The same day the Archbishop wrote the following letter to *The Times*:

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *to the* EDITOR *of the Times*

Lambeth Palace, March 9.

Now and then in a nation's story there comes a crisis hour. Great issues turn upon whether it is used or missed. It passes quickly, and there is no sounder test of greatness in the leadership of men than the power to know the time and to 'redeem' it.

When this year began we prayed that, by the help of God, our statesmen might have that vision, and that among the men and women of the land a resolute public spirit might replace what seemed to be a pervading apathy. Has the hour come to-night in which to look for an answer to that prayer? Have not statesmen, in this afternoon's debate, trod ground the very treading of which makes possible a solution of what seemed insoluble?

It depends upon what they learn to be the force behind them making for peace, not strife. It is an hour for steady thought, for broad resolve, for expectant prayer.

The scene then shifted to Ulster. A grave crisis occurred at the

Curragh, and a conflict seemed imminent between the Army and the Government. The wildest rumours were abroad in London on March 21 and 22, and on Sunday, March 22, the Prime Minister authorized a statement that it was untrue that the Government contemplated instituting a General Enquiry into the intentions of Army Officers if asked to take up arms against Ulster.

The Archbishop returned from Bath (where Mrs. Davidson was recovering from an illness) late on the Saturday night, March 21:

> I had been at Bath on Saturday, and only got back to London quite late that night. So I had heard nothing of the details about Army resignations, etc., until this (Sunday) morning when G. Robinson (editor[1]) rang up to ask for an interview. This was after early service which I had celebrated in the Parish Church. Robinson came at 11 o. and gave me all the facts he knew about resignation and political suggestions—regarding the matter as intensely grave and urgent. With the Army question I did not feel that I could deal in any way, but I came to the conclusion that with respect to the political deadlock I ought to attempt something more than I had yet done.

After arranging for the Bishop of Croydon to take a confirmation for him that afternoon in Croydon Parish Church, he had successive interviews with Bonar Law and Asquith.

After a talk with Bonar Law at his house for nearly an hour, in which he found him in not a very sanguine mood and busy with a draft letter to the Prime Minister, the Archbishop went on to Asquith at Downing Street:

> I said that I had come in case I could in any practical form be of service at a moment of crisis. The man in the street, whom I might be taken to represent, regards the position as complex and does not follow the arguments and interchanged challenges of recent debates. He sees or thinks he sees that both sides have during the last fortnight been drawn more closely together, but the present exact points of outstanding difference seemed to him small and not very clear. Is there nothing which I as a non-partisan intermediary can do to elucidate things or to diminish the remaining differences?

Asquith heard the Archbishop out, and after a long conversation went on to say what was the direction in which he thought a

[1] Editor of *The Times*.

via salutis, or, as he preferred to call it, a *via solvendi* might be found.

He could not answer for his colleagues, far less for his party, for *at present* he didn't think he could get them to go so far by any persuasion—but, speaking for himself personally, he would be prepared to agree to either of two possible compromises.

(*a*) Let the proposed plebiscite take place as suggested by Government in all the nine counties, with a proviso that those who stand out shall have a second plebiscite at the expiration of [*x*] years. (Nothing sacrosanct about the *number* of years.)

(*b*) Have no plebiscite now, but let the Bill definitely exclude six counties, i.e. the Protestant four—plus Tyrone and Fermanagh and let those counties have a plebiscite at the end of [*x*] years, and abide by it.

To either of these proposals *if suggested by the opposition* he would personally be prepared to agree, so far as he himself is concerned —but he said this suggestion was not only 'without prejudice', but without any certainty that he could get his people, or the Irish, to agree to it. He was doubtful, or more than doubtful, about some of his own colleagues. But at all events it would receive *his own* favourable consideration.

I asked whether I might state to Mr Bonar Law what he had said. He answered yes, he thought it might be useful if I did, provided I made it quite clear that he was making no 'firm offer' to that effect, and making no *promise* that he would accept it. But he thought it to be the line upon which a solution might perhaps be reached.

With this in his hand, the Archbishop went to Bonar Law, who went over the ground carefully, and expressed himself as in full agreement with Asquith as to the real *via solvendi*. He thought Asquith's move through the Archbishop of great importance, and the Archbishop took down the following Memorandum in Bonar Law's presence with his authority to tell Asquith the result:

Bonar Law agrees that the second of the two alternatives named by Asquith (see Memorandum) is the only possible line of solution. [It would require to be accompanied by, or] include some such modification in the details of the Bill (e.g. Post Office and Customs and perhaps judiciary) as would make it possible to fit it in with some definite scheme of devolution. [But he did not anticipate difficulty with Asquith over this.]

If the Prime Minister would ask for a further [private] conversation or Conference with a view to making *that* his proposal and taking the risks involved, Bonar Law would on his part take the risks involved for himself in accepting it.

'He recognises that before proposing this *publicly* the Prime Minister has a right to ask Bonar Law to shew him that if it is publicly made he can secure the acquiescence of the Unionists party in such a plan.'*

Those are (with the exception of what is in square brackets) Bonar Law's own words, and he strongly encouraged me to put the suggestion in that form, before Asquith. I promised to do so.

On Monday evening the Archbishop was sent for by the King and reported what had passed. On Tuesday, March 24, he again saw Mr. Asquith, and was struck by his testimony to Mr. Bonar Law's straightforwardness. He still thought it afforded a basis for discussion between them and expressed his gratitude to the Archbishop for his help. The same afternoon the Archbishop saw Mr. Bonar Law and told him Mr. Asquith's views.

The next few days the Archbishop listened to the debates in the House of Commons. He also saw other important people, and there was a great deal of comment in the Radical Press as to how it was that the Archbishop came to be mixed up in these political affairs.

On Friday evening, March 27, the Archbishop met Asquith in the Athenaeum and asked him if he (Davidson) was *functus officio* 'He answered, "for the moment, yes, but I am very far from saying that there is no *officium* for you still, and it may arise in a few days. I am very grateful to you for what you have done. Your work has been very far from fruitless and we may want more of it." I do not say that these are his precise phrases, but this was the substance.'

The general anxiety was deepened by the news that Sir Edward Carson had landed 35,000 rifles in Ulster on April 25. An Amending Bill was introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Crewe on June 23, offering exclusion for six years to any Ulster county that expressed its desire through a poll. This was five days before the murder of Archduke Ferdinand at Sarajevo. The Archbishop was still in close touch with events and had a long talk with the Speaker on June 27, who told him of his own vain attempt to get Carson and Redmond to meet in his presence

without impossible preliminary conditions. He also had an interview on June 29 with twelve M.P.s who had asked to see him and begged him to secure a Conference between Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Asquith. This led to interviews with Lord Lansdowne on June 30, and Mr. Asquith later the same day. Neither, however, thought there would be any gain in a Conference at the moment. Mr. Asquith said, as recorded in Archbishop Davidson's memorandum:

> 'The real issue is not between us at all, but between Redmond and Carson. They are the two who matter. If anyone could suggest a reasonable and far-seeing policy as to the area of exclusion the thing could be settled without any difficulty at all. It entirely turns upon this single question of the area The time-limit I do not set any store by. We can easily allow another plebiscite at the end of any period, but the area question at the moment seems to present insuperable difficulties. Nobody either in England or Ireland actually wants the Exclusion policy, but we have reached a point where it is the only solution to avoid strife. It is quite easy to say what Counties *must* be excluded, but, the moment that is said, we get into the area of the remaining Counties whose exclusion is either difficult or (in two cases) practically impossible Keep your mind to the thought that this Area question is the only thing that matters. All the rest is "leather and prunella".'

The Archbishop saw Lord Morley and a few others during the first part of July and spoke in the House of Lords on the Amending Bill on July 8, when he urged that the dividing line for the Area to be excluded should be chosen geographically, and not as distinguishing Protestants from Catholics. His notes show that he was fully abreast of affairs—the summoning of the Buckingham Palace Conference by the King (at Mr. Asquith's suggestion as the only way of getting Irishmen to attend); the King's speech drafted under the King's personal direction, but approved by Asquith with its appeal for generous compromise, and the warning sentence:

> To-day the cry of Civil War is on the lips of the most responsible and soberminded of my people.

His notes add:

> Stamfordham further told me how friendly the Conference had been, and how ready the men were to interchange talk with one another. He had not himself been present in the Room during

the Conference but had been there when they met and had himself had talk with several. He had been agreeably impressed by Craig, whom he did not before know.

But though the opening of the Conference was friendly, it collapsed on July 24, no agreement being possible on the Area for exclusion from the Home Rule Bill. But by the end of the following week, everything gave way to a new crisis of a graver kind, and all men's minds were turned to the issues of Peace and War in Europe.

APPENDIX I

PRINCIPAL DATES

1848 Randall Thomas Davidson born in Edinburgh (April 7).
1857 The family moved to Muirhouse.
1862 Entered Harrow.
1866 Serious shooting accident (August).
1867 Entered Trinity College, Oxford. (First Lambeth Conference.)
1868 Dr. Tait appointed Archbishop of Canterbury.
1871 B.A Third Class Law and Modern History.
1872 Italian Tour. Commenced training for ordination at the Temple.
1872–3 First visit to Palestine.
1874 Ordained Deacon (March 1). Curacy at Dartford.
1875 Ordained Priest (February 21).
1876 Second visit to Palestine.
1877 Went to Lambeth Palace as Resident Chaplain to Archbishop Tait.
1878 Second Lambeth Conference.
1878 Married Edith Tait (November 12).
1882 Death of Archbishop Tait (December 3).
1882 First interview with Queen Victoria (December 9)
1883 Dr. Benson appointed Archbishop of Canterbury.
1883 Installed Dean of Windsor (June 25).
1888 Third Lambeth Conference.
1888–90 Trial of Bishop of Lincoln (Edward King).
1889 Publication of *Lux Mundi* (*editor* Charles Gore).
1891 Consecrated Bishop of Rochester (April 25). Serious illness (May 6) Publication of *Life of Archbishop Tait* (R. T. D. and W Benham).
1894 Viscount Halifax and Abbé Portal: first attempt at rapprochement with Rome.
1895 Appointed Bishop of Winchester. Resignation of Rev. R. R. Dolling.
1896 *History of the Lambeth Conferences, 1867, 1878, 1888* published.
1896 Death of Archbishop Benson (October 11) Dr. Temple appointed Archbishop of Canterbury.
1897 Fourth Lambeth Conference
1898–1900 Ritual Controversy. Sir William Harcourt's Letters.
1899 Charge to Diocese of Winchester.
1899–1902 South African War.

1900 Archbishop Temple's Decision on Reservation (Lambeth Hearing).
1901 Death of Queen Victoria (January 22). Accession of King Edward VII. Dr. Winnington Ingram appointed Bishop of London.
1902 Canon Charles Gore consecrated Bishop of Worcester. Education Act. Death of Archbishop Temple (December 23).
1903 Appointed Archbishop of Canterbury (confirmed February 6).
1904 Visit to Canada and U.S.A. *The Christian Opportunity* (Addresses and Sermons) published.
1904–6 Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline.
1906 Royal Letters of Business issued to Convocations (Prayer Book Revision).
1906 Mr. Birrell's Education Bill Rejection by House of Lords.
1907 Deceased Wife's Sister's Marriage Act.
1908 Fifth Lambeth Conference.
1908 Mr. Runciman's Education Bill withdrawn.
1909 Dr. Lang became Archbishop of York.
1909 Mr. Lloyd George's Budget rejected by House of Lords.
1910 Death of King Edward VII (May 6).
1911 King George V crowned (June 22).
1911 *Captains and Comrades in the Faith* (Addresses and Sermons) published.
1911 Parliament Act.
1912 Charge to the Diocese of Canterbury. *The Character and Call of the Church of England.*
1912 Publication of *Foundations* (*editor* B. H. Streeter).
1913 Conference at Kikuyu, East Africa.
1914 Canterbury Convocation. Resolution on Clerical Orthodoxy (April).
1914 European War commenced (August 4)
1916 National Mission of Repentance and Hope
1916 Canterbury Convocation Resolution on Reprisals (February).
1916 Archbishop's visit to the Front (May).
1917 Canterbury Convocation. Resolution on Reservation (February).
1917 Russian Revolution
1918 Dr. Henson consecrated Bishop of Hereford.
1918 European War ceased (November 11).
1919 Archbishop's second visit to the Front (January).
1919 *The Testing of a Nation* (Addresses and Sermons) published.
1919 National Assembly of the Church of England (Powers) Act.
1920 Convocations' Answers to Royal Letters of Business completed.

1920 Appointment of Committee of the Church Assembly to report on the Answers.
1920 Disestablishment of the Welsh Church took effect.
1920 Mr. H.A.L Fisher's Proposals (Elementary Schools) published.
1920 Lord Buckmaster's Matrimonial Causes Bill carried in House of Lords (June).
1920 Sixth Lambeth Conference.
1921 Irish Settlement
1921 The Malines Conversations began under presidency of Cardinal Mercier.
1922 Oecumenical Patriarch, Meletios, enthroned at Constantinople.
1922 Russian Patriarch Tikhon arrested. Archbishop's Protest to Lenin.
1922 Archbishop preached at Geneva before the opening of Third Assembly of League of Nations.
1922 Appointment of Archbishops Doctrinal Commission.
1923 Treaty of Lausanne.
1923 Duke of Devonshire's White Paper on Indians in Kenya.
1925 House of Bishops commenced Revision Stage of Prayer Book Assembly Measure (October).
1926 Death of Cardinal Mercier
1926 General Strike (May 3–12).
1927 Prayer Book Measure approved by Church Assembly (July 6).
Prayer Book Measure approved by House of Lords (December 14)
Prayer Book Measure rejected by House of Commons (December 15)
1928 Prayer Book Measure (amended) approved by Church Assembly (April 27).
Prayer Book Measure (amended) rejected by House of Commons (June 14)
Received Freedom of City of London (October 22).
Resignation (November 12)
1929 Addressed first Reunited General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (October 3).
1930 Death (May 25).

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