

Re-armed" he pointed to an urgent task - this was in 1950 - which was the prevention of any conniving at a continuation of German militarism. "It is not dead : it will take a generation to get it out of the blood. Until then it is dangerous policy to encourage a revival of militarism in a people who have proved themselves more aggressive and vastly more efficient than Russia or any other European people". (4) In the same year Hunter referred to an over-riding political issue by quoting Archbishop C.F. Garbett, his much-esteemed metropolitan, 'Our party politics are the games of children playing on the sands compared with the...necessity of finding some agreement by which this ghastly threat to the human race (sc. the hydrogen bomb) can be removed.' This can only be done, Hunter commented, "by an effective, realistic attempt once again to reach agreement with Russia". (5) He did not venture on any political theorising as to how agreement might be forthcoming. He could console himself with the thought that this was the politician's task into which sphere the layman should not enter.

Ten years later in the House of Lords Hunter spoke cogently in the debate on Disarmament and indicated underlying human factors which politicians ought to keep in mind. He supported the Archbishop of York (A.M.Ramsey) who had intervened earlier to say that "the right moral demand is...for disarmament by agreement" (6) and had listened to Viscount Alexander of Hillsborough's patriotic statement "I will never submit to my country being put into the unilateral position of being the only main Power that provides

no defence for the rights of its citizens". (7) Hunter's contribution was wisely perceptive and took the form, in fact, of a commentary on what Archbishop Ramsey had said. "One ought not to ease one's conscience by making some weapons more immoral than other, but to keep the peace now and to go on keeping it"; in democratic countries people should be told the truth : "the balance of terror is different from the balance of power; it can be more easily unbalanced by bad men". A defence mentality he continued "can so readily breed a fear mentality which can become aggressive - who will strike first ?" (8) Hunter's pragmatism always pointed to objectives which were of value for the immediate future and which, if realised, could become stepping stones to greater achievement.

A succession of articles poured from Hunter's pen on proposals coming from central and local government. Their contents were indicative of the Christian humanism which motivated his concern for the welfare of people. In April 1946 he drew his readers attention to the National Health Service Bill which had recently been presented to Parliament. Recent surveys had revealed that, countrywise, "hospital and specialist services were unevenly distributed; there was little coordination and sometimes overlapping of facilities which were often exiguous and occasionally inefficient". It was significant he went on to say that both the boards of voluntary hospitals and also the local authorities had done little to inform the public of the contents of the surveys.

As chairman of the Sheffield Hospital Council, Hunter regretted "the passing of the contributory schemes inevitable though it be; they have maintained the voluntary hospitals successfully...It was essential that pride of place should be given to gifted physicians and surgeons rather than to administrators;...they should be brought fully into consultations in the Central Committee, the Regional Boards and the governing bodies of the teaching hospitals and local management committees". Reorganisation there had to be; let it be done in stages. The National Health Service Bill, like its predecessor in 1944, the Education Bill, is seeking to do everything at once. (9)

Hunter continued his consideration of the scheme in the House of Lords. (10) He welcomed the Bill; it ought not to be opposed even though "a comprehensive service means an end to the autonomy of voluntary hospitals. So long as the doctors and nurses give good service the hospitals will have the good will of the people". (11) Hunter could see the danger of the new service becoming hamstrung through the growth of bureaucratic administration; he was fearful, not without cause as union power was to develop in the hospitals, that the professional staffs would be impeded in their work. This may well have been one reason for the inadequate, as he believed, recognition of their excellence in the voluntary system which "might be more clearly articulated by the Minister".

Hunter's speech contained statements of fact; of commendation; of hoped for action. Of fact : "a poor man's chances of recovery from serious illness depends (sc. at that moment) where he lives". Of commendation : that in "another place the Bill had been amended to allow hospital boards sufficient freedom to do good without too much freedom to do nothing"; that the proposed services should be statutory - and free. Of hoped for action : statutory and voluntary services should be integrated; we should seek to preserve the very large voluntary funds for use "along special lines of health service" rather than allowing them to be absorbed into the large kitty-bag. Cooperation between the Church and the medical profession in the treatment of mental breakdown and nervous disorders was desirable; the causes were often "disintegrated personalities and purposeless lives". The Churches ought to be allowed to preserve and indeed own hospitals and homes on a religious basis and to form various communities of nursing sisters.

Hunter's writing and speaking was based on knowledge arising out of experience and supported by a close study of the Bill. His last word was prophetic : "Beware of destroying initiative and flexibility by administrative regulations; the latter is jam to the totalitarian".

Closely following upon his general welcome of the concept of national health provision, and in a sense arising out of it, was

Hunter's advocacy of voluntary service for the benefit of the community. Its roots lay in his Tyneside experience. (12) The Church has, he wrote in 1949, "an intimate concern for voluntary action. The voluntary services of the country have a range and variety which is unique in Europe". Drawing on history he went on to say that in the nineteenth century the voluntary societies provided the bridge between feudalism (13) and a more egalitarian society by peaceful evolution; the fruit and principal impetus came from the Christian faith and its concept of duty to neighbour. (11) The preservation of this practical attitude was an important matter : the Welfare State has "come to stay" but once again he underlined the dangers ahead : "the natural tendency is towards totalitarian bureaucracy; voluntary service is the most effective corrective". (15) Such agencies, like the universities, should be grant-aided and without state control.

Speaking in the Lords in June 1949 Hunter had stressed the need for grants channelled through the statutory services to be given to voluntary organisations with the particular object of "maintaining at a high level their administration and in seeing that their personnel are well-equipped". (16) He reinforced this demand by reminding the House that in social service "the Christian Church...has probably been the good cause by which all these other good causes have been fed in the past". (17) The Church at large - irrespective of particular allegiances - had reason to be grateful to Hunter for his reminders of the value to the nation of England's Christian heritage. (18)

With an irregular regularity the Bishop's Letter and from 1948 the Sheffield Diocesan Review contained articles by Hunter on matters of local interest and importance. In 1944 in an article on town planning he asked : "is it vain to plead with the local authorities to plan a neighbourhood unit for families of varying incomes and avocations ? Of such there was a conspicuous lack in Sheffield. (19) The clutter of narrow streets in Sheffield's east-end pointed to the need for road improvements which would provide "easy and ample planning for men and materials to industry". (20) Hunter went on to include the necessity for smoke abatement and also noise abatement caused by city traffic which a different texture of road surface would provide.

Hunter's knowledge of the problems resulting from overcrowded houses is shown in an article of February 1950 in which he wrote of "this growing social evil leading to unhappiness, broken marriages, mental and neural illness and crime; politicians are far too complacent and much too ready with excuses. There can be a will to overcome the bickering between councils and speculative builders; we ask for more and better housing". (21) Two years later, and not escaping the charge of inconsistency, Hunter was criticising the Sheffield Housing Committee for planning to sacrifice green belt reservations for "immediate requirements". Food production is a priority - "we cannot afford to swallow up agricultural land". (22) He followed this up by criticising the Town Clerk for his statement that it was a matter of "views for the few or houses for the many". (23) A longer and broader view should be taken, Hunter said. Had this happened in the past in

Sheffield, the city would not be short of land now. No other country, Hunter insisted, "is so spendthrift of farm land as we continue to be or so indulgent of housing authorities who prefer to spread outwards rather than to build upwards (24)...the housing shortage in Sheffield...cannot be met without the use of steel. It is ...intolerable that a city that makes steel should be forbidden by Whitehall to use steel to solve its own housing problems". Hunter was in fact pleading for a balanced view - more housing by an "all-out effort" but not necessarily at the cost of destroying agricultural land or the city's green belt. (25)

Hansard reveals that Hunter moved consideration of the debate on the Well-being of the Family (May 1953). (26) His arguments were based upon an initial statement that "we care about the family but we do not think about the family...Today, its values are being undermined, its privacy has largely gone by reason of the provision of so many state agencies with powers to deal with families and it has to cope with the parson about baptisms and weddings". He set out six propositions with suggestive ameliorative action. For the nation's sake families should be larger; the incidence of taxation and the modest scale of family allowances led to smaller families : the principle of equal pay for equal work should apply : i.e. a woman's work in the home should be treated as "equal work"; industrial pressures were inimical to family life : industry should place emphasis on the family even at the expense of economic efficiency; married women at work : (27) after three years a mother could go out to work provided

that the child could go to a nursery school; emphasis needs to be laid on the family as a unit : in social work today there is need for the equivalent of a wise general practitioner; voluntary bodies will always do constructive work in liaison with statutory bodies : the Church has a work to do in this matter; care of old people : there are fewer young people about to care for more old folk - institutions are not the best answer - the way that a family or a society cares for its old folk is a very good test of its moral and spiritual temper.

Hunter's speech received careful attention and was received by the House in the person of Lord Pakenham with this encomium, "I believe I am expressing the sentiments of the whole House when I describe the speech of the Right Reverend Prelate as far-reaching, elevated and impressive in every way". Their Lordships so agreed.

On a second occasion Hunter was the mover of debate. It was in 1959 on The Plight of Stateless Persons and Refugees. Their plight, Hunter said, "is a crime against humanity. The homeless man is not a ghost but a reality...It is a situation which it is all too easy to accept fatalistically, and this in spite of the heroic patience of refugees and the care and compassion and generosity of people all over the world". (28) In Europe there were 160,000 unsettled refugees; in Hong Kong two out of every three in the population were refugees; there were Arab refugees in Palestine : they have large families and nearly every one is to

blame. British government policy "has been less striking than some countries...in spite of the fact of the importance of the refugee problem in the field of foreign policy".

In his summing up at the end of the debate Hunter took the Government, in effect, to task : "Our Government needs to set its face against the inhuman political point of view - which has developed its own dynamic - which is getting worse not only in totalitarian states but in the new nationalities". He was to add to the ongoing debate in 1960. (29) Government support "ought to include more generous treatment for refugees some of whom, a minority, might be an economic liability...In the world-wide picture the United Nations must develop a more powerful dynamism... the refugee problem is a political problem, caused by political upheavals and political enmities in various parts of the world".

The range of Hunter's Sheffield articles reveals both his wide reach and the acuteness of his observations. On the general election of 1950 : "Churchmen would do well to encourage and might arrange fair debate between the protagonists". (30) In 1953 on the death of Stalin: whose "only failure" he commented "has been his inability to stamp our in his lifetime the Christian Church in Russia". (31) The coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in the same year drew from him the hope that the ceremony "become in all its rich symbolism the dedication of resolve of the people of

the Commonwealth...and release sources of moral and spiritual power of which a secular society is sorely in need". (32)

In the mid-fifties the problems afflicting industry in Britain led to the publication of articles warning of the dangers which would result from a projected railway strike : not the least of which was that such a strike might be settled "without sufficient regard for the consumer". (33) Railway reorganisation as proposed by the Transport Commission had one major defect; "it was twenty or thirty years overdue...for our stations by European and American standards are unspeakable". (34) The responsibility

which both employers and trade unions had for conditions of work within industry always moved Hunter to sober judgement. Mothers

in Jobs was one such to which reference has already been made. Demand for their services is strong in the West Riding and employers "have a moral duty about conditions of work". (35)

Hunter's dislike of gambling lent force to an article on Premium Bonds: (36) "it is regrettable that H.M. Government should support this method...without prior discussion with Parliament". The international crisis in the Middle East in 1956 which resulted in the closure of the Suez Canal merited two articles. "The doctrine of absolute national sovereignty no longer makes sense...It seems to me that an artificial waterway...must be managed, controlled and owned by an international body". (37) As to British involvement, "it is unfortunate that the Government should give the impression that it is thinking of going to war without submitting the dispute to the United Nations". (38)

Hunter contrasted weighty speeches in Parliament by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Geoffrey Fisher), by the President of the Court of International Justice (Lord McNair) and the Lord Chancellor (Lord Kilmuir) with those of the Prime Minister (Sir Anthony Eden) and Lord Salisbury which, initially, expressed an out-moded form of toughness. In so doing he revealed his reservations about the approach to the crisis by Government. Hunter's unease is given factual support by Gordon Brook-Shepherd who, as foreign correspondent, had done "two stints in Cairo in 1953 and 1954 at the political centre of the Middle East". As Foreign Secretary Eden had disliked Nassar; dislike had developed into an obsession about him; his feelings "were a strange and lethal combination of contempt and fear". This, says Brook-Shepherd, had taken shape only six months before the Anglo-French landings at Suez "blurring out all that calm logic and patience for which he had been so rightly famous for so many years as an international diplomat". (39)

The effect of Hunter's articles in the Bishop's Letter and the Diocesan Review was to bring to the attention of the diocese - and further afield- matters of moment in the life of Church and Nation, countrywide and locally. His readers were activated to assess the situations themselves and to come to morally motivated conclusions. In this exercise the range of Hunter's views and comments provided an example to be copied in order to come to reasoned conclusions. Though parishes were encouraged and expected to order copies for the instruction and enlightenment of

members of the congregation, it was a fact of experience that their perusal was limited to a minority of parishioners in the diocese as a whole.

Bishop Hunter was introduced to the House of Lords on 27 September 1944. Between that date and 21 March 1962 he spoke in the House at some length on twenty five occasions; in addition there were his interventions in debate in order to make a point, to ask for information or to seek for clarification of what a previous speaker had said. His speeches generally dealt with matters of national or social concern and with problems affecting all sorts of people. There were his speeches on the care of children (40) and of the elderly; (41) on German prisoners of war and detainees (42) and the provision and speedy shipping of gifts of food and clothing to starving families in Germany and Austria. (43) Betting, (44) broadcasting and television (45) stirred Hunter to speech and in his last two years in the Lords he spoke on a favourite subject - the training of young people for work in industry (46) and finally on disarmament (47) and the defence of the realm. (48) His last words in the House were spoken in this debate : "I should like to think that those who speak for such influences in our country's life for which the Church stands, would feel that - in pressing for a policy which in the end would give reasonable security for civilisation in this nuclear age, through disarmament - they were doing something which would conform to the principles of Christian faith and which could be

guided by the wisdom of God". (49)

An examination of the reports of six important debates in which Hunter took a considerable part reveals that on four occasions one other bishop spoke, and with one exception briefly; in two debates no bishops other than Hunter spoke. There is no instance of Hunter being controverted which is a tribute to his marshalling of the facts as well as to the views to which he gave expression. The mind of the Lords was not collectively anti-Christian and Hunter was able to gain attention by the non-denominational but specifically Christian statements he made. That he was an effective force is clear. He had the feel of parliamentary debate in the Lords and the capacity as well as the will to devote time - no easy matter for a diocesan as busy as he was - to the study of documents as also for much background reading. Though his speeches were "rather dull in manner...they commanded great interest and respect because he spoke with knowledge, sometimes as much knowledge as anyone in the House".⁽⁵⁰⁾ "A bishop has responsibilities towards national life" Hunter has written (51) and as Bishop of Sheffield in the Lords he brought to the attention of the House unflinchingly the challenges to right action which lie in the beliefs and practices of the Church.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

A BISHOP IN EUROPE

i.

Although Hunter had benefited from his early visits to the continent of Europe, (1) they had been of an ephemeral nature. It was entirely due to his ecclesiastical appointments that he came to have a wide knowledge of the countries of Scandinavia and of post-war Germany. His preferment to a canonry at Newcastle in 1922 involved him in a close relationship with G.E. Newsom, the vicar of St. Nicholas' Cathedral and the ancient parish church of the city. (2) Newsom in 1928 had played a prominent part, under the leadership of Bishop A.C. Headlam, in the initial planning which resulted in the emergence of the Anglo-Scandinavian Theological Conferences. (3) It was at Newsom's suggestion that Hunter became a participant in the first conference of 1929. (4) This was held at Selwyn College, Cambridge where Canon Newsom was Master. Hunter's name, as the junior in age, is placed last in the list of English churchmen. (5) He continued to attend the conferences up to and including that of 1963 (6) - with the exceptions of 1931 (he was recovering from illness) and 1938 and 1939. (7) In 1947 he was elected chairman.

Accompanied by his wife, Hunter first visited Scandinavia in 1933; in fact Sweden. This was typical of him : to gain a first-hand knowledge of place and people was always important; another reason was probably his inability to attend the Conference in Sweden in 1931. Beyond this, there was doubtless a certain attrait : Christianity had been brought to Scandinavia from England; Hunter hazarded the opinion that the source of the conversions was "as likely as not by Christians belonging to the Scandinavian diaspora"; (8) again, "we share ancestry in common as many of our place names show". (9) There was to be as time went by and further visits were made the impact of the scenery which recalled the Scottish Highlands and the hills of Northumberland.

This Swedish visit made Hunter appreciative of the nation's dedication to high ideals; "on the crest of a wave" was his conclusion. (10) "Architecture, craftsmanship were reaching the end of a creative period. In housing and town-planning similarly. The country was being well governed and its industries and social and educational services were developing rapidly". (11) Inevitably Hunter was in touch with the Swedish Church. This was opportune and a token of the growing relationship between the Church of England and the Lutheran Church of Sweden. (12) The Hunters were the guests of the Archbishop of Uppsala who was "a singularly charming and friendly host but also very obviously a deeply sincere man of God". (13) "He is anxious that the contacts between the Swedish Church and our own should be strengthened" Hunter wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury

(Cosmo Gordon Lang); "he is distressed at the state of affairs in the German Church and has no sympathy with the politically-minded German Christians". (14)

Hunter's discerning eye picked out for commendation the 'Ersta' foundation, all the buildings of which, in 1933, commanded "a superb view of the city of Stockholm and its waterways". Ersta comprised a hospital for men, women and children, where deaconesses received their nursing training; (15) a hospice for visitors, and a large home for retired deaconesses. "It is unlike anything we have in Britain". (16)

The elevated position of many churches struck Hunter forcibly. From Ersta, the tower of Engelbrekt Kyrka caught the eye : the church "rises from a rock...as though it were a piece of it, springing from rough-hewn granite piers; inside the high-soaring parabolic arches are breathtaking". (17) Hunter was impressed and intrigued by his experience of a Swedish "High Mass". (18) He noted the vesture of the celebrants - albs and chasubles - and the "uninterrupted dignity of the service". "It is a curious experience" he wrote, "to be taking part in an act of worship of which one cannot understand one word. The disability seems to sharpen one's awareness of the presence or absence of 'atmosphere' ". (19)

The Conference of 1947 was held at Liselund in Denmark. (20) Hunter had received an invitation from Archbishop Aleksii Lehtonen

to visit Finland. "We would very much like to see an Anglican Bishop here before the next Lambeth Conference". (21)... "We find it very important... that there would be in the British Episcopate a person able from his own experience to tell the Church his personal impressions concerning the post-war Church situation in Finland". (22) Hunter went from Liselund to Turku-Abo in Finland after the Conference. He found Lehtonen "a finely sensitive man" who had been prematurely aged - he died in 1949 aged 56 - by the war with Russia and Finland's crushing defeat followed by the harsh reparation terms". (23) Hunter, in spite of his often "curt and taciturn manner" (24) was a good listener and to him the Archbishop spoke of "his hopes and fears for the Church and people and his desire to renew links with our English Church". (25) One of the effects of the war years had been to emphasise the comparative isolation of Scandinavia and the Scandinavian Churches from the Church in England and the world-wide Anglican Communion.

Hunter's visit to Turku-Abo was made doubly memorable first - and very personally - by Lehtonen's request that the two might say together the offices of Mattins and Evensong (the Book of Common Prayer order) and, one supposes at Hunter's suggestion, the night office of Compline; (26) secondly, by his preaching at Solemn Vespers in Turku-Abo Cathedral. His sermon included a question put to him by an industrialist in England : "Will the Christian Church be able to renew faith and morals in Europe ?" (27)

On the evidence of his visit Hunter was convinced that "the Church of Finland is well-rooted in the country's life. Its worship is marked by a strong simple piety; its liturgical uses are rather rough-hewn by our standards". (28)

Hunter was in Finland again in 1952 for the eighth Anglo-Scandinavian Conference. (29) Before this began he went by invitation of Bishop Fjellbu to Trondheim, Norway. To a lover of Northumbria, Hunter said, Norway "is the nearest and most familiar of the Scandinavian countries". By reason of its geography, he discovered, it is not a country where "either a central government or a central church organisation easily maintain themselves". (30) On the Sunday - 24th. August - of his week-end visit Hunter preached in Trondheim Cathedral, the Cathedral of the North. He necessarily required an interpreter and for this purpose had been asked to send his sermon in advance so that it could be translated - by the Bishop. Keeping in mind that Norsemen were "individualistic, self-reliant, brave, resourceful people" (31) Hunter reminded his hearers, obliquely as was often his way, of the inherited source of their national character; severely tested it has been in the cause of national preservation and of peace, but "the peace of God is a vital power; it is the spring of creative action". Hunter then proceeded to warn : industrial society has been "little guided by Christian principles, had been careless about justice, had given no thought to the spirituality of physical work"; to evaluate in a sentence : "Christian faith and life are rooted in the Divine

Being"; to make clear the need : that the Church should be "a body of men and women, learning from the Bible their calling to be a People of God". (32)

This was a sermon designed to increase faith and to give substance to hope in the context of a nation's life -its recent trials, its planning for the future; the task of the Church. It was providential that there was a translator of the moral stature of Fjellbu (33) not only to guarantee audibility but to add a note of dynamism to the thought-provoking contents of the sermon.

Of the general situation which had developed in Norway and the other Scandinavian countries Hunter was well aware. From the middle years of the nineteenth century in increasing velocity had come industrialisation and urbanisation; and as a consequence the emergence of the new business class and the socialistically motivated industrial workers. This new society was not to be found within the national Churches. More regard it as a duty of the state to be neutral in religion; and as a pluralist society developed social changes emphasised the communal aspect and, paradoxically, regarded religious conviction and practice as a private affair : a matter of personal choice.

Hunter presided at two further Conferences in Scandinavia : at Bastad in Sweden in 1957 and at Oslo, Norway in 1961. For the Danes he had a special regard; (34) He remarked on their common ground with England politically and culturally. (35) Christian-wise he affirmed a similar congruity. Though the Danish Church

was not in communion with the Church of England (36) there was, in its worship, a prominent place for the Sacraments and the Eucharist was the normal Sunday morning service. Hunter was struck by the high standard of education of the clergy and their people. The provision in the rural areas of Folk High Schools where the winter courses were well attended (37) provoked Hunter's severe comment on the situation in England where the task in the post-war years was to make Christianity intelligent "to people who never think seriously about anything and are exposed to the emotional pressures of the mass-media communication". (38)

There was a measure of truth in Hunter's strictures but it has to be balanced against the fact that - had Hunter been close to the inhabitants of streets and roads in the towns and villages of England - a similar situation existed in the pre-war years whilst post-war there were to be found notable instances which disproved his omnibus condemnation. There was, and is, a "man in the street" culture which is an amalgam of mild folk religion, of belief in human common sense and fair play, of partisanship in politics and a concern for the material prospects of a couple's children. It is largely discovered in its full range outside the ranks of practising churchpeople. (39)

The Scandinavian countries and their peoples had an appeal for Hunter which is not found in his descriptions of his German visits. The attraction is deeper and closer. "There has been" - with the peoples of Scandinavia - "coming and going, give and take

all down the centuries". (40) Church history also pointed to a similarity when at the Reformation "the break with the medieval Church was less violent and sharp...Moreover, the Lutheran Churches...are established, national churches like the Church of England. Their roots, like ours, are deep in the history of their several lands". (41) This had resulted in a similar sense of obligation and purpose : to pastoral care and pastoral opportunity in ministry; to a climate of thought which encouraged and in certain ways demanded the interpenetration of the spiritual and the secular in life - "at its worst erastian and at its best Biblical and wholesome". (42)

Differences there are. The Church of England, in spite of the fact that final legislative authority rests with the Crown in Parliament, (43) has an independence of the state which is not the case in Scandinavia. In contradistinction there have been in recent years "some incidents on the part of the state to tighten its hold on the Church and to make use of its power in the internal affairs of the Church....If large groups of our people (in Scandinavia) through religious dissension and secularisation were to become estranged from the Church, their influence on the governing of the Church might prove fatal". (44) Unlike the Lutheran Churches, in the Church of England clergy stipends and the maintenance of church buildings are the responsibility of the church; its convocations, synods and parochial church councils do not have a state representation; there is no such person as the Minister for Church Affairs. Nomination to

bishoprics and deaneries remains the prerogative of the Crown which prerogative is exercised by the Prime Minister; (45), but increasingly since the Enabling Act of 1920 there has been a disinclination to devote Parliamentary time to Church business. (46) After the Synodical Government Measure became law in 1969, General Synod Measures, unless they are exceptionally trivial, are given a hearing by the Ecclesiastical Committee of both Houses; witnesses from the General Synod are present and a decision is made as to whether or not the Measure is expedient. A motion is then moved in each House. There has not been a case of rejection of a General Synod Measure which has been fully discussed. (47)

This typical English compromise lacks the logic of the Scandinavian (and Lutheran) exercise of authority in the Church. There results from this Bible derived erastianism in Scandinavia an attachment to the established Church which inclines the vast majority of citizens to retain membership. "The majority" even "of free church members and agnostics remain within the established Church, feeling more or less loyal to it". (48) This unity of assent, Hunter commented, has been lost unfortunately in England; he added cryptically "genuine agnosticism is nearer to faith than gnosticism". (49) By this Hunter meant that Church membership should be open-ended - "the Gospels...are more sympathetic to a faith that admits uncertainty" - and in any case, "the doubter is still open to conviction, is a searcher after truth; he is to be preferred to the unthinking churchman of orthodox stance (50) who, complacently, "accepts a systematic and complete

theology expressed in the thought-forms of yesterday".

Development in the Scandinavian countries, Hunter discerned, had been along the road of democratic revolution, but in the post-war years this beneficent change could detract from national and corporate values. "A society suddenly plunged into affluence, whose view of life is a materialistic humanism may be sunk by the weight of its prosperity and materialism". (51) Here the churches which are alert to their responsibility in national life can render a unique service. Fortunately, Hunter said, "there seems to be emerging a strong and wise movement to convert 'passive membership' into active responsibility" which, if successful "many more laymen will gain a deeper realisation of their membership of the Body of Christ". For the good of Church and State the traditional partnership needed to be maintained, at times in tension, at times with a degree of disengagement, and always from the grass roots. (52)

As we have seen there was an element of contingency in Hunter's association with the Reformed Churches on the Continent. The pre-1939 years provided an opportunity for him to enter as one of a representative group into dialogue with the Churches of Scandinavia., That they were national Churches was important to him; that they were lesser known Churches invited bridge building; that they were Lutheran Churches posed the question - requiring an answer - about the possibility of inter-church cooperation and perhaps inter-communion. Had not Archbishop Cranmer studied

Luther's theological position and included Lutheran touches in his liturgy of 1549 ? (53) More than this, there was a growing sense of the "great Church" (in England, William Temple inspired) and a growing sense of the iniquity of division.

The impetus, realistically met on the Anglican side, came from Scandinavia in the persons of Archbishop Södeblom and, more deeply than directly, from Bishop Aulen whose theological writings were becoming increasingly known and valued in England.

(54) The Church in Scandinavia was emerging from its relative isolation and seeking the renewal of associations long ago formed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The theological discussions at the Conferences were informative and exploratory, and at the same time an exercise in theological exposition, Lutheran and Anglican. This was valuable even if practical results were scarce - true ecumenism requires great patience. The academic stature of the participants alone presaged a mutual growth in understanding and appreciation which provided a store house for the future.

Advance there was. In 1920 the Lambeth Conference recognised the orders of the Church of Sweden; in 1954 the Convocation of Canterbury passed resolutions making possible the reception of Holy Communion in the Church of England by members of the Lutheran Churches of Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Norway and Iceland. (55)

Anglican bishops have taken part in the consecration of bishops in the Churches of Sweden and Finland on a number of occasions.

In what way was Hunter an enabler of reciprocity? Not, let it be said, by any ecclesiastical tour de force; he was not a revolutionary, and in any case in episcopal Churches unauthorised action is unproductive of constructive results. His contribution was not eye-catching; rather it was quietly heart-warming. Hunter's sense of the Church could not fail to impress at a time when Scandinavian Christians were reaching out with various degrees of intensity to a conception of the Church as essentially the Body of Christ. Being himself unloquacious, he listened in a companionable way to his episcopal hosts: there was no triumphalism, only brotherly feeling and brotherly concern; when invited to preach, he gave a penetrating exposition of the truths of Christ and of their application to the life of the Church in the late forties and fifties: and in such a way as, perhaps, to surprise his hearers when they realised the appositeness of what he had to say to the needs of the Church in Finland and Norway. Hunter's sermon at Trondheim also included a reference to "the enemy" which Christians world-wide had to fight: sheer secularism - godlessness which shuts man up with himself. This secularism is common both to Russia and America, and in our European democracies also, in spite of our Christian tradition, it is an uprooting influence...there are even nominal members of our churches who

have capitulated to this enemy, maybe without being aware of their apostasy". (56)

Hunter's love of liturgy, and of churches redolent of God's gifts revealed in architecture, combined to give him that sense of locus in which God's presence is recognised and communion with him realised. This he found and responded to in Scandinavia.

A comparison of the Scandinavian with the German visits made by Hunter reveals one clearly discernible and distinguishing feature. Of Germany, his manuscript papers relate the story of his dealings with and appreciation of people, one by one, with particular reference to men of the stature of Bishop Dibelius and Pastor Niemöller. (57) Hunter saw them as Christians, in Lutheran theology, empowered through the confidence-developing effects of "justifying faith" (58) for the life-forsaking task of opposing the falsity of Nazi philosophy; enduring to the end. There is nothing about the worship of the German Evangelical Church; Hunter's only reference to a church building was to the Marienkirche of Berlin, roofless and devoid of atmosphere. The devastation of the blanket bombing of the German towns left little to see. In Scandinavia the scene changes; his memories are of inspired architecture and of national Churches and of Church leaders because they were the epitomes of the nation. In a deeper sense, Hunter bled in spirit for Germany and the Germans. She had lost for a while her soul; her sons and daughters were demonically

subdued and distracted from their God-intended courses in life; a core of Germans had been the agents of inhuman brutality. A response to this situation for a Christian was to suffer with those who suffered and to advance by every possible means the physical and spiritual well-being of the destitute. It was to this end that Hunter was a force behind and in practical matters the supporter of Christian Reconstruction in Europe and the promoter of its successor Inter-Church Aid. (59)

ii.

"It all began with German prisoners of war". A large camp had been built at Lodge Moor on the western outskirts of Sheffield. The commandant was firm in discipline (there were many Nazis in the camp) but at the same time increasingly anxious that a term should be put to their imprisonment. (60) Hunter too was concerned for their welfare : the morale among the men was low and there was increasing bitterness. He developed a rapport with the commandant which bore fruit : it was discovered that there were eighteen architects in the camp and facilities were given for them in groups of four to draw up plans and specifications for a church-cum-community centre for the the parish of St. Alban's Sheffield which had been put out for competition. On Christmas Eve, Hunter arranged a carol service in the cathedral for the camp at which Dr. Otto Dibelius, Bishop of Berlin preached. (61) It was a memorable occasion.

Early in 1947 Hunter spoke in the House of Lords and drew the attention of the House to the situation in the Lodge Moor camp and supported no doubt by information which he had received from Dibelius. The use of the prisoners for out-of-camp work gave the impression that they were being regarded as a kind of forced labour. Priority of repatriation was needed for married men; some had been separated from their wives for seven years. Professional men were desperately needed in Germany for the rebuilding programme. (62) Pastors in the camps had been conscripted as combatant officers; their ministry to prisoners had been diligent, but they were "played out". Perhaps, Hunter suggested, volunteers from Germany might be sought to allow them to return home. Some prisoners might well wish to remain in England if this were allowed. "Let them know the meaning of liberty in England which would be one step in laying the foundations for a peaceful Europe". (63) Hunter's speech was widely reported in Germany and, in fact, repatriation was set in motion gradually and a measure of freedom was allowed to prisoners to meet civilians. (64)

In October 1946 an invitation had been given to the Churches in Britain by the British Control Commission to send nine church leaders to Germany for a fortnight in order to see the condition of the country and its people for themselves and to meet German church leaders. (65) On the back of a letter Hunter - who was one of the nine - scribbled "unimaginable destruction". Government

had collapsed; there were desperate food shortages and the carnage was dreadful. (66) And all this, Hunter was to write, "in a highly organised state; a society disrupted by Nazi tyranny was like a sick man : the task confronting the occupying powers was without precedent. Our assignment (sc. as church leaders) was to help the German churches to recover their morale and revive their ministry". (67)

Hunter was impressed by the quality of the Britons serving in the Zone. General Brian Robertson and those close to him "were Christian humanists giving of their ability to bring order out of chaos (though) handicapped by lack of understanding at Westminster and by disagreements between the occupying powers". (68) In time their dedication was realised and appreciated by the Germans, Hunter concluded. "The men at the top were serving the Germans well (sc. over several years) in the renewal of their country's health and life and were thereby doing our country much honour". (69)

Of the German churchmen Hunter had mixed feelings. In general he found them - with the exception of their leaders of the calibre of Lilje, Dibelius, Krumacher and Niemoller - "still stunned, full of self-pity, halted by lack of equipment and buildings"; (70) they only wanted, Niemoller said, "restoration - to pre-Nazi status - not reformation". (71) Hunter's comment went to the heart of the problem : "they seemed to have no perception that the Nazi regime was from one angle an indictment of the Church's failure to care for people". (72) Overcome, as they were, by their own situation, they "did not give a thought for the German refugees who were beginning to pour in from the East". (73)

There was criticism of the Allies. Herr Hugo Stinnes, a Ruhr magnate whom Hunter was deputed to meet whilst he was under house arrest, inveighed against the Nuremberg trials : they "made men who were scoundrels heroes in the eyes of the people. You should have left them to us. We would not have been lenient; we are a cruel people". (74)

In the Marienkirche, the cathedral of the Evangelical Church in Berlin and in the Russian sector, the delegates attended a service which had been planned as an important occasion. The church was cold, dark and roofless. Hunter was greatly moved to find himself placed between Niemoller and Probst Gruber, both of whom had spent years in concentration camps. The climatic cold was equalled by the chill which marked the proceedings. Bishop G.K.A. Bell, for whom the German churchmen showed "an affectionate reverence", (75) without warning "launched into an attack on the occupying powers and their handling of denazification"; even those who shared his views thought the occasion ill-chosen. The Russian archbishop who was to have given the first address did not turn up; another address was indiscreet and too long. In the vestry after the service Probst Gruber hysterically denounced the occupation powers root and branch. (76) Berlin was a devastated city, materially, physically, morally; its inhabitants had undergone brutality and looting at the hands of the Russian soldiers and finally the rape of their women folk. This was a

nemesis that would never be forgotten. Bishop Dibelius was haunted by the memory to the end of his life.

Back in England Hunter, without delay, made known to the diocese the plight of German citizens, particularly in the cities and towns. "It is just not too late to stave off catastrophe and prevent a situation which might postpone for years the recovery of Europe;...many who were most strongly anti-Nazi were losing confidence in allied performance". (77) He returned to the problem again a month later. "The Germans have done much evil..but they are a people beaten to the ground and at our mercy. If we wish to build for peace and turn young Germans from the evil ways of their fathers, then let it be mercy and not selfishness or revenge that dictates our actions". (78)

There was an immediate response to Hunter's appeal for practical help. Gifts of foodstuffs, of footwear and of clothing were collected as a Christmas present between December 2nd and 13th. The bishop had asked for half a ton; in fact the immediate response from Sheffield came to three-quarters of a ton which was flown by the RAF to Schleswig-Holstein in time for Christmas. A further air-lift of almost ten tons came in response to one letter by the bishop to the Sheffield Telegraph. (79) That the gifts were valued and most necessary was shown in the acknowledgements which Hunter received from two regional commissioners. (80) In addition the diocese of Sheffield fulfilled its allocation to the

Reconstruction in Europe Fund. This was £4,900.

On the invitation of the Control Commission Hunter went to Germany in 1950. The general situation was greatly improved. Hunger was a thing of the past; men and women were at work again "with a sense of purpose which promised well for the future; and denazification was complete". Not every problem had been solved : there was a shortage of housing for manual workers and refugees were streaming in from the East. Mistakes had been made, not least in the dismantling of factories which ought to have been retained and in production on economic grounds. (81)

By 1953, when Hunter returned again, this time by invitation of the British Foreign Office, the Germans were running their own country. (82) "The metaphor of illness had ceased to apply ...and the mental climate had changed from ill-health to confidence and vitality." Two examples of this advance were given by Hunter. There was Die Brücke - the Bridge - which took the form of a centre in all the big towns of the Western Zone. Each centre contained a first-rate lending and reference library; a reading room, rooms for classes and a hall. All this in contrast to East Germany where life was incredibly difficult and sombre. In the East the Church was facing difficulty and poverty with quiet courage. Many young people were being deprived of school and college because of loyalty to the Church; there were pastors who had been imprisoned without trial. (83)

The second venture was in the field of refugee service. In Westphalia a new town - Espelkamp - had been built to provide homes and work for refugees. Already, in 1953, the population was 6,000 of whom 2,200 were fully employed. The town clergymen and the teachers were very much the leaders of the community. (84) Both these creations had an obvious and immediate appeal for Hunter. He noted that the Minister and Permanent Secretary of the Ministry for refugees was confident that refugees would be absorbed into the expanding economy and that the inevitable personal troubles would be smoothed out. (85)

It is of significance that the Hunter method was the same in Germany as in England. There is no evidence that he had any knowledge or rapport with individual Germans as such. His inability to speak the language was in any case a disadvantage. He recognised and gave himself to the task of providing for the needs of people : the homeless, the refugees, the prisoners, young people; and by seeking out the leading figures in Church, in Control Commission, in Industry, in the Westminster Parliament engaged their interest and action. This facet of Hunter's influence has to be set alongside his ineffectiveness in personal relationships with men and women outside his orbit.

After 1953, in the changed circumstances of German self-government, Hunter's visits to Germany were to continue and multiply, but necessarily they were to be Church-orientated.

This came about in part as a result of the winding up of Christian Reconstruction in Europe (86) and the World Council of Churches' creation of Inter-Church Aid and Refugee Service (finally Christian Aid); in the service of the British Council of Churches section Hunter was to be a joint chairman until 1967. (87) By 1953 the Religious Affairs Branch of the Control Commission had been closed down. This left a vacuum which boded ill for the Church in Germany. Hunter was alerted and under his guidance a plan was conceived for the purpose of maintaining liaison between the British and German Churches. The core of the plan was to have, on a continuous basis for three years, two representatives of the British Churches in Germany; their task consisted of fostering as wide a relationship between German and British Christians as possible and particularly to arrange exchange visits of clergy, ordinands and laity. A British/German Consultative Committee was set up to advise and to support the project. The scheme had the support of Sir Brian Robertson, now the British High Commissioner; the necessary finance was provided by Sir Brian from a source at his disposal. (88) The final plans were made by Hunter and Bishop Lilje; on the German side it had the approval of Bishop Dibelius who, since 1949, had been the presiding bishop of the Evangelische Kirche of Germany. (89)

On a visit by Hunter in 1955, he was the guest of the British Ambassador and stayed at the Embassy in Bonn. He was present at a meeting of the British/German Consultative Committee which was held at the E.K.D. Academy in the Ruhr. (90) Two years later

Hunter was in Berlin. (91) The purpose of the visit was to see as much of Berlin as possible and, at the same time as joint-chairman of Inter-Church Aid to assess the needs and appreciate the difficulties of the Church in Berlin. "The Berlin work of the Churches" he wrote in a historical MS "was being restricted by the DDR government and also by propaganda. We admired the courage and resolution of pastors and other church workers, but it was disappointing to find at a conference we had with them that they had not advanced from a nineteenth century style of philanthropy and paternalism; there was no sociology to set against an aggressive communism". (92)

Bishop Dibelius was "uneasy about our visit". (93) He was close to a head-on collision with the government and was alarmed lest a projected meeting between the British party with DDR Ministers should involve the EKD in persecution. The situation was complicated by the fact that Dibelius was restricted in his movements and was forbidden to enter the eastern part of his diocese. (94) Fortunately his fears were groundless. The extent of the fraternisation was limited to a visit to the rebuilt Stadt Opera House. (95) None the less, the prospect was alarming : no rebuilding of churches was allowed and the clergy were poverty-stricken. (96)

This visit of 1957 brought to an end the informal ministry of reconciliation between British and German Churches. Hunter had been "fortuitously" engaged in it for eleven years. It was

no longer needed. (97) Through these years he had been both a creative and an enabling force. His Kingdom of God-directed theology with its pragmatic outreach had made him a contributory force in the revival of Christian life in Germany.

The inference is that Dibelius had spoken to Hunter about his anxiety for the welfare of the non-Roman Churches in Europe; there was lack of contact and no discussion of policy. (98) He believed that there should be a meeting-point and was spurred on by the unsatisfactory features of the Prague Peace Conference which had attracted much patronage from the Russian government. In addition there had been a "rather Leftish get together" (99) which had had one meeting and was considering a permanent organisation. Both the EKD and the British Council of Churches agreed with Dibelius that a permanent structure of meetings was necessary.

Dibelius invited the heads of the non-Roman Churches - in Holland, France, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia as well as the German and British Churches - to send representatives to a meeting at his home in Berlin. In January 1958 the meeting took place. The British Council of Churches sent two representatives; the Archbishop of Canterbury (Geoffrey Fisher) was represented by Hunter. As a result of decisions taken at the meeting, the Conference of European Churches came into existence. It met for

the first time at Nyborg in Denmark in 1959. (100) A second conference was planned for October 1960 and from that time biennial meetings were under way. Hunter presided at the 1962 conference. "I had to give a push towards realism, but with no success. There was some protestantism blowing around that thought that piety and politics could not meet; the Orthodox thought that they should not but made an exception for voicing Russian peace propaganda". (101)

As late as 1967 Hunter referred to his attendance at a Conference of European Churches in south-east Austria. He had used the opportunity, as an added bonus, to make a carefully noted appraisal of the post-Vatican II arrangements for worship in the Roman Catholic churches in Austria. He was greatly impressed. Churches were beautifully restored; congregations were large, communicants many. There were homely congregations singing freely, the Liturgy in the vernacular, congregations were devout and in some churches the priest celebrated at a simple Table. (102)

Hunter, from his childhood, had been Europe conscious. He continued through the long years of his life to be European minded. (103) And he adorned in his own penetrating and puckish way the Christian scene from which, in more primitive times, the British and English Church had had its origin.

iii.

Late in his ministry Bishop Hunter came to know Brother Roger Schutz, the founder of the Taizé Community. His first visit was made in 1959 when, with three companions, he stayed as a guest for a week-end, the first Anglican bishop to do so. The effect upon Hunter was immediate and inspiring. "Not for many years" he wrote on his return to Sheffield "have I enjoyed so encouraging and refreshing a spiritual experience". (104) The little village "climbs the southern slope of a steepish hill and the apricot-coloured stones of the houses and the eleventh century Cluniac church glowed in the afternoon sun. It was getting dusk at the time of the evening office". (105) To write in this fashion was a sign of the feeling of rapport which gave this first short visit a special significance for Hunter. It was a case of love at first sight. (106)

In 1940 Roger Schutz, Swiss by birth, became conscious of the need within Protestantism for some form of traditional monasticism. (107) He bought a house at Taizé, near Cluny and Vézelay in south-east France (108) and began with several companions to live a common life based on the precepts of the monastic discipline. Between 1940 and 1942 the tiny brotherhood sheltered Jews and refugees who had fled the German advance into France, but with the occupation of the south-east they moved to Geneva. By 1944 it was possible to return to Taizé and in 1949 the first seven members of the community took solemn vows. From the beginning

postulants had come from various Christian denominations, Evangelical, Anglican, Roman Catholic. A community Rule was adopted in 1952. This was similar in content to the general pattern of the religious orders. There was one exception : the brothers dressed as laymen except in church, when a white hooded habit was to be worn. (109)

The attraction for Hunter was the integrated routine of the brethren in which a disciplined and mature community life issued in "the attractive beauty of its distinctive ways of worship", (110) the whole circle of the common life being completed by an active and planned programme of work. This included the running of a guest house, a retreat house, a printing press, the management of a large-scale milk producing cooperative and a cooperative farm. The overarching objective however was and continues to be a dedication to Christian unity; this brings to Taizé large numbers, particularly of young, people. All share for shorter or longer spells in the life of the community and when gathered together for worship fill the large Church of the Reconciliation. This was built between the years 1960 to 1962 by teams of young volunteers from the German Reconciliation Movement. (111)

Prior Roger says of Hunter "as soon as I came to know him I was struck by his ecumenical openness, the goodness of his heart, his gift of intuition" which because "he strove not to be imprisoned in one particular tendency" (112) led him to be "deeply interested

in finding new forms of expression for the contemporary Church. In his ministry he was very attentive to the working world; he shared with me his concern in this respect and was anxious for a life of prayer to be lived in the midst of working people". (113)

It is a just observation to say that Leslie Hunter and Roger Schutz "would not have chosen each other" - the latter so gallant and romantic and emotional, the other so reserved and realistic. (114) Behind Hunter's reserve however - and the observation needs to be tempered by this thought - there lurked a closely guarded emotional urge which accounts for his never-forgotten debt to two equally diverse people : his father and Baron Friedrich von Hugel; (115) and Roger Schutz resembled the latter. Taizé, for Hunter, was an expression of his ideal for corporate Christian living because it faced "realistically the contemplative and the active life - prayer, worship and contemplation on the one hand and on the other living in the world and meeting its demands and responsibilities, social, political and economic". (116) This linked up in Hunter's mind with the problem which lapsing from the practice of the Christian faith presented to him as a diocesan bishop. It is due, he believed, to the lack of a "compelling experience of the power of God" and of the "spiritual vitality of a company of committed Christians saying their prayers and breaking bread". (117)

In his pragmatic way of seizing an opportunity Hunter prevailed upon Brother Roger to visit Sheffield in 1960. (118) This short stay resulted in the Prior's acceptance of an invitation from Hunter to send a small group from Taizé who would live and exercise a mission in the east-end of Sheffield. This collaboration ended in 1962 on Hunter's resignation as bishop of the diocese.

The direct impact of Taizé in the Sheffield diocese was inevitably small; indirectly it led to an increasing number of people who visited and were influenced by the integrated common life and purpose of the community. For Hunter this new love in his life had, it may be surmised, an ongoing satisfaction. In Taizé he rejoiced to see outside England an example of a corporate ecumenical project, not committee planned, but the fruit of personal and inward inspiration - the God-calling of Roger Schutz. More than that is conjecture, but it is at least likely that to Hunter himself there came - he was seventy years old - a deeper happiness and contentment which helped to prepare him for the last stages of his life. It is certainly true that in retirement, and still working, there was a gentleness and patience which made it a joy to visit him. This in turn was subjected to the tensions which marked the onset of physical and mental deterioration and caused undeserved pain, perhaps unrecognised by Hunter, to his ailing wife. (119) His vigil at her death-bed was in any case his penance and satisfaction.

Hunter testified to owing another, indirect, debt to France. This centred on Emmanuel Suhard, Cardinal Archbishop of Paris (died 1952). Suhard was the creator of the Mission de Paris and of the worker-priest movement. He was haunted by the antagonism to the Church shown by many in France, particularly among the working classes; its roots were in the nineteenth century when, Hunter said, "liberalism was secular in temper and the Republic anti-clerical in practice"...For those who were to align themselves with the workers "it was hardly possible to be neutral". (120) Here was a situation not of apathy as in England but of a workers' culture which drew its inspiration from the secular radicals of the French Revolution and from marxist indoctrination. Hunter in Sheffield with his mind bent on devising means of penetrating the industrial scene was alert to Suhard's pioneer work. In his Cardinal Suhard of Paris (121) he traced the formation of the bishop's life from birth to ordination ; he picked out for special emphasis the Cardinal's planned attack on post-Christian paganism in Paris. His plan was to bring into being an équipe, a team, of priests dedicated to mission, priests who by vocation and training could be fitted for the task of living in the world of the workers, living and working as the workers lived and worked, and at one and the same time bringing to them by example and gradually by word the relevance of the Christian faith to their lives. These priests of tomorrow, Suhard said, "will have a work of initiation, alert and responsive to people in new situations so that the

Church may remain young". (122)

Suhard, and Hunter after him, recognised that the choice of team leader was of first importance. For Suhard, it was Fr. Hollande, who with his half-dozen fellow workers set out on mission as an act of obedient self-offering. Hollande's acceptance was total: "I vow to dedicate my whole life to the Christianisation of the working classes of Paris". His offering was met by Suhard's own dedication: "On the road your archbishop...will not let you down. He will work and pray and if needs be suffer with you". (123) This was in 1943.

Hunter was impressed and inspired; he was himself by the mid-1940s prepared to "build a bridge" into the a-Christian human complex of industry. He realised that to most it would come as a surprise and bear the marks of "revolution"; (124) to the English mind politics, commerce, the great industries of the country were outside the range of organised Christian concern. The value of religion was restricted to the personal choice of individuals. Hunter fixed his choice of leader on E.B. Wickham. (125) Their conceptions of what would be involved in building "a bridge of revolution in industry" were complementary, not identical. For Hunter, the conceiving and developing of an overall strategy was the immediate and essential task; for Wickham there had to be devised "wholly new structures of engagement...if there is to be dialogue, influence and impact". (126)

Hunter had a special regard and care for his mission chaplains. This was not uninfluenced by Suhard of whom Hunter records with appreciation that when his missionaries were coming to see him he would stop the clock : "I receive my priests today and when I receive my priests I do not want to know the time". (127)

Undoubtedly Hunter's closeness to his mission team coupled with his wise and at times restraining influence were important factors in the success of the Sheffield Industrial Mission. The debt to France and Suhard has to be acknowledged. Indeed, words spoken in appreciation of Suhard may not unfittingly be applied to Hunter : "Il y eut alors...un homme d'Eglise qui sut écouter les appels les plus profonds du monde d'aujourd'hui et qui sut encourager d'une façon positive les efforts missionnaires les plus divers." (128)

CHAPTER TWELVE

LESLIE STANNARD HUNTER

A complex personality, (1) a man of firm faith, an introvert in his inner being, yet extravert in action, such was Leslie Hunter; above all, he never wavered from the vision of God to which his father had led him. During the most active decades of his long life, in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, "he was certainly one of the most creative minds at the top of the Church". (2)

1.

Complexity of personality is a fascinating and inescapable element in the developed capacities of men and women, and in some more than others. But the attribute must not be overstretched. As a man of parts, Hunter was clear-cut; in him there was a "combination of qualities rarely found together and all of a high order". (3) In spite, or perhaps because, of this there was little evidence of blurred characteristics in his sensitivity to stimulus, in his dedication to service, in his concern for the practice and advancement of the Christian gospel and the extending of its influence as a means by which the lot of men and women, in community and individually, could be improved. (4) It was in the fitting together of the parts into a complementary whole that the shades and nuances of his personality were revealed whether for praise or blame.

Leslie Stannard Hunter's birthright was that of the Scot;

logical and clear-sighted, given to weighing the strengths of propositions and the likelihood of their being applicable in practice for human benefit. Added to these capacities, or rather penetrating the whole, were his Christian beliefs and insights from which he arrived at a conviction of his own callings, to become a member of the Church of England and a candidate for the priesthood. One result of his Oxford days, perhaps unrecognised, was the extent to which he became in the fundamental way for a Christian of grace perfecting nature, a seventeenth century man. His discovery of the Book of Common Prayer and the effect which it had on him when allied to his own reasoning and dissecting mind made him one in spirit and in mind with the Cambridge Platonists to whom he approximated in a number of ways. (5) For Hunter as for them "faith and knowledge, reason and revelation, right doctrine and sound morals, were in no sense incompatible with one another". (6) He was averse, indeed irritated, by over-dogmatism; his bent was to preserve the full significance of the Christian tradition but in such practical ways as demonstrated relevance rather than theory. With the Platonists he was at one in recognising that in asserting belief in God's existence "it was more important to understand what he is than that he is". (7) This may well account for Hunter's avoidance of expositions of Christian dogmas whilst giving full force to their application. The exercise of reason, the stress on rationality which is a mark of classical Anglicanism (8) pointed to the necessity of discerning the area of truth in credal matters and at the same time acted as a dissuasive from the adoption of superstitious beliefs and habits by demonstrating that they were either lacking in

credibility or empty of value. (9) This being so, there resulted from such a reasoned weighing of the value of theological pronouncements an impetus to the provision, when necessary, of convincing re-statements of Christian attitudes and objectives which remains part of the Anglican inheritance and without which it is inconceivable that Hunter would have committed himself to the Church of England.

It remains to mention one further mark applicable to the Cambridge men and to Hunter: this was a certain strain of mysticism which for Hunter represented a justifying of what he knew to be true of his father at the bar of reason. Mysticism without morality was a perversion. (10)

A second element in Hunter's maturing outlook was his developed belief that the Christian task was commitment to the Gospel witness to Jesus' teaching. He was conscious of this as a compulsion from which there was no escape. In this he was a man of the twentieth century who saw that his calling was to give practical dimensions to the open-ended vision of the Kingdom which had its basis in Jesus' teaching about "the end and fruition of life when the will of God is perfectly obeyed and love makes full and glad response to love". (11) The need was great: "Utopianism has been allowed to take the place of the Kingdom of God. Men have been allowed to think that they can live the good life in community while they forget their sonship to God and their urgent need of redemption and grace before they can live as brethren". (12) More than this, it needed to be realised that "the way a

man acts and reacts to the day-to-day demands of life should be a pointer towards the ends he serves - a symbol, a sacrament of the Kingdom that shall be". (13) And, though the prophetic word of Auguste Comte had no reference to Christianity, it has a particular application to Hunter who himself saw that the Dominical teaching about the Kingdom of God pointed, in an age of increasing pluralism and post-Christian attitudes, to "the task of the twentieth century (which will be) the horizontal co-ordination of all these vertical tendencies". (14)

As a man of the Bible Hunter was cautious about a one-sided identification of the Kingdom with this-worldly programmes; Jesus had said "My Kingdom is not of this world". (15) Consequent upon this his understanding of a kingdom-inspired theology was that because the Kingdom of God was transcendent - of God - it had to become immanent - for man - in the everyday affairs of human lives, corporately and personally. This presented the Church, and particularly its clergy, with an extensive and intensive paradox where the attempt to hold together Christianwise the realm of grace and the sphere of service for others could so easily founder; self-regarding humanism is the antithesis of the Christian spirit. To those called to headship in the Church the burden of personal responsibility is heavy and never-ending and, God's grace apart, is bound up with incomprehension and failure.

Behind Hunter's often impenetrable front, his remote intensity, there was an alert soul; he never ceased to draw inspiration from his father of whom he had written "not in vain had he studied to be quiet...Power of meditation passes impercept-

ively into the power to hold communion with God". (16) From the perception of spiritual realities comes dedication to God's service, not least to the Scot whose soul-motivation lies deep. Hunter's self-offering may not improperly be surmised in and expressed by some lines written by George Macdonald:

Nothing is alien in thy world immense -
 No look of sky or earth or man or beast;
 'In the great hand of God I stand, and thence'
 Look out on life, his endless, holy feast..
 I have no choice, I must do what I can;
 But thou dost me, and all things else as well;
 Thou wilt take care thy child shall grow a man.
 Rouse thee, my faith; be king; with life be one;
 To trust in God is action's highest kind... (17)

Late in his episcopate a creative insight inherent in Hunter's self-dedication came to him and took shape at the end of his visitation of the diocese in 1960. (18) This was his decision to bring into being a spearhead of mission in the form of a lay order or fellowship to which members were to be committed for seven years and whose service was to consist of a pledged dedication to "Christian action in the home and at work, in neighbourhood and nation by thinking, praying, doing and giving". (19) Hunter called it the "Bishop's Seventy"; (20) It was a projection of his own sense of mission, indeed it had about it a pro-creative urge, which through its corporate embodiment was designed to counteract "the new secularism of a technological age..and the scientism which would dispense with a Father in heaven" by a witness to the only sufficient answer which "is the Christian faith, once delivered, newly interpreted, obediently realised in action and life by men and women moved by the compulsion of Divine Love". (21)

To have "bishop's men and women" under his guidance and inspired by their father-in-God represented a final attempt by Hunter to set forward his constant conviction, that the principal aim of the Church of England was that it became the Church of the English people. As a strategic move, it has to be faulted: the concept was seminal but the timing wrong; it came too late. In less than two years Hunter had ceased to be Bishop of Sheffield.

It was in his day-to-day dealings with people and situations that an inconsequential trait of character can be detected in Hunter which contrasts with his firmly based principles and decisions. It had the appearance of a sleight of mind which served as a defence mechanism against accusations of inflexibility or favouritism. One instance which is indicative of the former concerned the decision taken by the Director of the Society of the Sacred Mission to withdraw staff from Parson Cross (22) and unilaterally, as was usually the practice with the religious orders, to bring to an end the long-standing service of the Kelham Fathers to the diocese. Hunter, properly, reminded Fr. Nicholas Allenby, SSM, who was acting for the English Provincial, that to reduce the staff from five to two would be a quite inadequate provision for the parish and that it ought to remain a priority for the Society to keep the staff up to strength until the severance was completed. In any case, in Hunter's view the three months' notice to leave a curacy applied in principle to all clergy in curacies whether "secular" or "religious". (23) Fr. Allenby's reply must have satisfied the bishop; his subsequent

letters were cordial and appreciative: "I am more grateful to you and the Society" he wrote "than I can find words to express. Your cooperation makes me regret all the more that the partnership between the Society and diocese will presently end". (24) Despite this Hunter had written complaining, in effect, about some of the liturgical practices which the curates had introduced in the two district churches, (25) and, in the privacy of his study, to say to a visiting priest "I was not prepared to let them go until they [sc. SSM] had paid their debts". (26) The archives of the Society have no record of financial debts owed to the diocese; possibly Hunter was referring to his success in preventing the speedy removal which the Director had intimated to him. His study disclosure did not square with the tone of his letters.

Hunter's attitude to the Cathedral was ambivalent; he valued it largely as a means of maintaining a central parish church congregation in the middle of Sheffield; it served also to attract able priests to the diocese perhaps with the hope of appointment to a canonry, stipendiary or honorary. (24) With twelve honorary canonries only at his disposal (consultation with the Provost was normal but the appointment was made by the Bishop) the bestowal of the dignity was regarded at large as a recognition of valuable and devoted - and usually long - service to the diocese. The vicars of Doncaster and Rotherham had been exceptions; they were given a canonry immediately after institution to the benefice. Hunter tended to extend these "official" appointments. There were occasions when appointments were greeted by the clergy of the diocese with displeasure, at times tinged with jealousy. Two

such took place in the late 1950s: the one to a priest rather junior in years who had given eight years of good service and was held in personal esteem by the bishop; the other to a priest of academic attainment who had found the vicariate of a large industrial parish too much for him: of the former appointment, again in his study, Hunter said that the canonry had been given because the priest had to sit on hospital boards and to have a title was a good thing; in the latter case the bishop's comment was "I had to pull him out of the parish and give him other work and I made him a canon to spare his feelings". (28) Appointments to canonries present difficulties and in making them a bishop has to judge wisely in order to avoid imputations of favouritism or injustice.

In preparing for his consecration Hunter had reminded himself of the weighty consequences for a bishop which personal failure represented: "It is humbling to realise that one will be an example before men's eyes for good or ill; and that the temptations of the office added to one's own weaknesses are great". (29)

Was Hunter guilty of a degree of equivocation in his dealings with people? He did not infrequently cultivate this person or that because he judged him to be useful in furthering his plans. And should it be found that he had been mistaken? Quietly such a one was dropped. (30) Hunter tended to damn with faint praise those whom he did not like particularly when they were critical of his actions. He presented, it was noticed, a different face to difficult people. That he was unforgiving if thwarted was the experience of one prominent layman. (31) Hunter liked to have

like-minded people about him, yet "he never chose as colleagues only those who would echo his opinions. He knew that he could always dominate if he wished; he had an inner strength which few could equal". (32) Given an underlying rapport, this is a just observation; when it was wanting a clash of wills resulted.

To one priest in the diocese it had been represented that in Northumberland Hunter had been regarded as a place seeker. (33) To a priest in disagreement with his bishop Hunter was a bully, a man with an inferiority complex by reason of his father's

** It was the opinion of one who had known Hunter over many years that he lacked the moral calibre required of a bishop. (35) Another came to the conclusion that he was not a man of his word; (36) others were struck by his ruthlessness in pursuit of his goals. **

his will was challenged; it was his strongest temptation and its presence was revealed unpleasantly in his moods and by the tantrums to which he was given, (38) not only in the privacy of his own home but in publicly castigating a senior cleric. (39)

Bishops are not immune from temptation; impatience and an imperious spirit are particular snares to those in authority, not least to bishops who know that a firm will has to be exercised in order that diocesan machinery works steadily and to good purpose. Frustration can build up a "head of steam", the more so if there is evidence of a want of zeal in the pursuit of objectives. And

Hunter was a perfectionist who found it difficult not to think that he was always right. (40)

ii.

"Strive to get the love of the congregation; but let it not degenerate into popularity", said Bishop Jeremy Taylor of the diocese of Down and Connor to his clergy in 1661. (41) "Cause them to love you and revere you; to love with religion, not for your compliance; for the good you do them, not for that you please them. Fear no man's person in the doing of your duty wisely." (42) Taylor's sober advice is of perennial value and is necessarily more readily absorbed by the clergy when it is exemplified by their bishop. Hunter was constant in his concern for the quality of his ordinands and in providing for their post-ordination guidance and training. If the clergy of the diocese of Sheffield were less than stupor mundi, (43) they were recognisable as sufficiently endowed with learning and alert to the responsibilities of the priesthood in the post Second World War years; alert also to the task of seeking to devise methods by which to penetrate the apathy to the Christian religion which had progressively increased since the Great War and had been augmented by the Second.

How, it needs to be asked, did the clergy who had been at the receiving end of Hunter's innovations, regard their chief pastor? There was a generally prevalent respect: respect for his intentions and promotions, respect for his application to duty, for his "intellectual honesty and persevering faithfulness", (44) for his support for projects other than his own; (45) "respect for his shrewd and penetrating personality". (46) Hunter

cared for his clergy, for their welfare, for their know-how.

"It was good to have a bishop who knew his own mind." (47) His firm control benefited priests of all ages: the clergy weeks at Whirlow Grange, carefully planned and intellectually demanding, did not admit of a casual recalcitrance in the matter of attending, and more often than not, even to those who felt morally dragooned, were perceived to have been valuable.

The priests well placed to appreciate Hunter were those who came to the diocese on ordination and proceeded from curate to incumbent. One junior priest who became seriously ill discovered that Hunter had sought out his consultant so that he might know the seriousness of his sickness. (48) Another, after he had become an incumbent, was struck by the bishop's concern for a former housekeeper whom he visited in her retirement and after her death went from time to time to her grave. (49) Those who got to know their bishop well were few; his personal interest in the welfare of all his clergy and their families was not always recognised. Hunter had his favourites in the sense that there were those clergymen to whom he warmed by reason of their quiet diligence and, not infrequently, moderate churchmanship. They in their turn recognised their debt to him: "I had great respect and more than a little admiration...I saw his episcopate [sc. in the 1950s] as a time of stimulation and initiative...He had his faults, not least in the authoritative way in which he ruled the diocese; but I believe he had the confidence and the loyalty of the clergy generally. His was a positive leadership which encouraged diversity and initiative in ministry and his influence

to a large extent shaped my attitude and affection for the Church". (50)

Of Hunter in person a priest distinguished both for his learning and his perception has written: of his demeanour: it was "gentle, almost caressing in voice and manner; yet [sc. he was] a man of such formidable strength that even strong men were afraid of him. His mind was so sharp; he could say such cutting and hurtful things and yet to anyone in sorrow he was compassion's very self; as to his method: this was to work through groups; he liked people to give of their best, even when they disagreed with him". (51) There were exceptions to his acquiescence; contradiction for its own sake which interfered with his plans made him "a demon in print". (52)

A personal trait and seldom found was "his power of listening by which he drew out of you, inspired you to things that you hardly knew you knew". (53) Hunter's silences at meetings were frequent. At times they were an expression of disapproval but more often at the end of a meeting he would briefly sum up "and then say nothing, with the result that the silence he had observed fell on all the others". (54) By this means - it was instinctive rather than calculated - Hunter made those present face up to the reality of what had been said rather than to leave them with debating points in their minds and little else.

How did Hunter relate to lay people? There was no invariable pattern. He had his converts, men and women who were usually of stature or position in life - who realised the nature of his aims and gave him strong support. (55) Others were

appreciative but apprehensive. (56) In Sheffield he was not "universally popular with the top laity of the establishment". (57) There were notable exceptions but the Sheffield of Hunter's day still had the marks of a somewhat remote provincial city within which the greatest lay influence in the Church was exercised by the Church Burgesses (58) and by the families of the steel owners. To ignore them or to confront them with a policy imposed by dictat was to forfeit their good will. (59) Hunter in such circumstances seemed to be unable to overcome his resentment. At lunch one day with Provost Jarvis and his family - there may well have been others present - "he did not say a word - only sat there and looked glum". (60)

To those who learned to appreciate their bishop there resulted, as with the clergy, a recognition of his qualities which was marked by respect and admiration and by a lesser number, affection. A long-serving and capable organiser of youth work, on occasion forthright in speech, has a continuing recollection of Hunter: "I had an overall feeling for a dedicated, powerful and sincere man whose lack of height belied his stature". (61) Another, who had seen much of Hunter over the years and recalled his impatience with other people's ineptitude, pointed to a self-regarding trait: "he would go to great lengths to stop them if their folly might impair his reputation". (62)

Personal secretaries as a class have unique opportunities to reach an estimate of their employer's character and motives, how he relates to people and they to him. A secretary who served

Hunter during the 1950s answered a series of questions based on the experience gained in her work:

How demanding was your work?

"Very."

Did the bishop rely on you?

"Yes - for the smooth running of the office, the arrangement of his engagements and all the liaising with other people which this involved. He relied on me entirely each day to make sure he was in the right place, at the right time and with all the right papers."

Was he a good administrator?

"He was pretty good at it. He could always see the root cause of a problem and would not hesitate to recommend and instigate change if change was called for. Perhaps his great quality as an administrator was his facility for persuading others that he was right and encouraging them to get on with it. He had the ideas himself nine times out of ten and would rely to a considerable extent on others to carry them out."

Was he invariably fair?

"I think it has to be said that he was a man of great integrity for whom nothing less than the highest standards of human endeavour were acceptable in the service of the Kingdom of God. With this as the yardstick, his criticisms may well have been seen by others as unfair." (63)

This last comment reaches the heart of the matter. When human vision and endeavour are at a level beyond the ordinary, blemishes and mistakes are revealed as largely transcended.

iii.

If it came naturally to Hunter to gather groups of people round himself, this was none the less not a haphazard exercise but one which depended on a mutuality or a diversity of interests provided, in the latter case, that there were areas of common ground. His memoirs of Oxford, of SCM, of Newcastle Cathedral are evidences of this and once at Sheffield the urge to continue the custom worked necessarily in a different way: the bishop gathered round himself those among the clergy or the laity for whom he had specific tasks in mind, or who with appropriate training would serve his purpose. What had come naturally was at SCM to develop into a pattern of work, of ministry. An impression of Hunter's first years at Sheffield was that of a man with a SCM technique from which he never departed and which was used to effect in post-ordination training, in clergy weeks at Whirlow Grange, as the pattern of study at William Temple College. The planned programmes always included for the participants a sharing in an exercise which sub-divided into a time for listening to the principal speaker; a time for discussion in groups; a time for decision in full session which had as its object the sending back of a section of the diocesan clergy - later of laymen and laywomen as well - to their daily ministry and work invigorated, with minds stretched and inspired to action.

One result, inevitably, was the emergence of a grouping within the clergy which Mary Walton described as "Dr. Hunter and his young admirers". (64) D. L. Edwards, while eschewing a descriptive

phrase, pointed out "the puzzle, which the book [sc. Strategist for the Spirit] does little to explain, is why he was able to accomplish so much by attracting so many able and devoted lieutenants while he was himself often silent and shy, a poor speaker inclined to mumble, and a stern critic inclined to cause offence by comments which seemed coldly patronising. Evidently he had a charismatic hold on others...Is it one clue that he had no children, but that his clergy were the substitute?" (65)

It has to be said immediately that only a proportion of his clergy were captivated by Hunter. They were a recognisable group largely made up of those whom Hunter had accepted for ordination, together with the more senior whom he had brought into the diocese. This had a perceived and unfortunate result which militated against a spirit of unity among the clergy as a whole. Hunter's habit, more often than not, was to address them or speak of them by their Christian names in public. Others were addressed - as was still the custom - by their surnames. (66) This served to give the impression that the diocesan clergy divided into two groups: those for whom the bishop had great esteem and those who were rank and file. (67) A temptation to refer to the bishop as "Leslie" by the former was their hall-mark and did nothing to remove the suspicion. Possibly Hunter was unaware of the dichotomy.

Were his younger clergy a substitute to a childless Hunter? It is likely that his instinctive feeling was paternal: they were the kind of children he would have liked to have had -

rural deans prompt knowledge of the situation, and either by himself in person or by letter, or by his archdeacon or rural dean direct contact was made. He had made it known to the diocese that he prayed for all his clergy by name.

Hunter's deeper motivation would appear to have taken root as a result of his conversion to Anglicanism. He was unrelentingly determined to pierce a complacent conservatism within the Church of England, an ever present temptation, and to present and plan out a programme of mission. Consequently to gather the clergy of his choice around their bishop and to equip them for ministry was a representation of the Church as it should be: a recapitulation of primitive practice when mission was the order of the day, but adapted and transferred to the mid-years of the twentieth century. (70) It was a worthy and necessary enterprise which marked Hunter in the eyes of the Church - and some of his fellow bishops - as much for criticism as for praise. (71)

It follows from this sense of mission that Hunter believed, as he had immediately indicated in 1939, (72) that an effective parish ministry would depend greatly on his being able to provide the right man in the right place. This he attempted to do with varying success. Significant ministries resulted when the right priest was found, (73) but for overall success a supply of priests greater than the Church of England possessed made complete fulfilment of his aim impossible. At times the wrong man - one not suited to a particular task - was given work which crippled him. (74) When a parish was making strides ahead, the bishop was quick to show his approval; (75) he was equally forthright in

condemnation when the next incumbent undermined the advance that had been made whether by incompetence or idleness. (76) It can properly be surmised that Hunter experienced personal hurt when things went wrong. He was supportive and helpful to priests who had fallen into bad habits which resulted in their removal from a parish. His hurt was that of great disappointment and was a combination of chagrin - he had failed the man, and of grief - the one whom he had trusted had failed him. A bishop's relationship with his clergy is always based on "Receive your cure, my care". (77)

iv.

There was about Hunter an air of mystery, impenetrable and yet engaging, unpleasant at times and therefore distressing. Taken as a whole the examples which can be adduced in evidence serve to highlight those contradictory traits of character which were often out of keeping with the principles which were his motivation and which prompted one of his priests to say that "after Hunter no other bishop could frighten one". (78)

The examples which come to mind cover a wide area of Hunter's ministry. His gentleness has to be contrasted with biting criticism and the writing of vituperative letters. To his assistant bishop, Hunter was "an ecclesiastical statesman": (79) he was a considerable force in the development of an ecumenical spirit in England, yet he was firmly determined not to accept decisions made by the Sheffield Council of Churches and allow them to be applied within the diocese unless his consent had been

sought and given. (80) Hunter's inaudibility was a source of embarrassment and though his wife and others had spoken to him about it he never heeded the criticism and seemed unconscious of the fact that the failing was "a great hindrance to his effectiveness as preacher, pastor, leader". (81) At times, in relating to people he could be extremely gauche; he did not enjoy post-service gatherings of people. He would enter the church hall, often full to overflowing, with an air of dejection and discomfort and was incapable of joining in relaxed conversation with the parishioners. Though he had a deep concern for the welfare of people of all walks of life and particularly those from the back streets of industrial towns, yet within his own home a housekeeper, who came from a mining village and was later to become the wife of one of his clergy, was as an employee "kept very much in her place". (82)

Hunter was particularly critical of post-war ordinands who married whilst in training. He was not alone in being averse to the trend but on it being suggested to him that it was at university or college that a man was likely to meet suitable young women, Hunter retorted "perfectly good wives to be found in Attercliffe". (83) Though Hunter was a pioneer in associating the Church with the training of apprentices (84) and of apprentices generally, (85) he had no capacity for entering into a lively conversation with them. As a persistent advocate of the demands which prayer should make on Christians, and an exemplar himself, he never got beyond a general commendation which was, for the most part, more exhortation than spiritual direction.

The list compiled in the middle ages and known as the Corporal Works of Mercy (86) contains an injunction "to visit the sick". As a Christian act it had a firm hold on Hunter's acceptance of the duties of a parish priest and had led him to experience its demands at Charing Cross Hospital. (87) As bishop he was known to visit his clergy in serious sickness; it might be after an operation or during the course of a long and debilitating illness where the condition was incurable. (88) Two less commendable occasions are recorded, one by Hunter himself, where he visited two aged priests: the one was beyond work; the other was seriously, indeed mortally ill. The principal purpose of the visits was not to comfort the sick but in each case to secure the incumbent's signature to a Deed of Resignation of the benefice. It was later evident that Hunter wanted both cures of souls to be vacant so that his plans could speedily be put into operation. (89)

There was in Hunter a deeply rooted inability to "respond to warmth in others or to inspire it in them". (90) His parents, his brother Maurice and his wife Grace were almost the only ones to whom he could show his feelings. Where others were concerned there appeared to be a fear of exchanges when the emotions might be involved. This may well account for his distant coldness towards many with whom he had to do. It was an emotional frigidity which was natural to him but which at the same time preserved him from any sense of obligation to seek to please. His aloofness broke down in the presence of those who knew him well but generally in his study; it was not for all to see. On such occasions he would talk amusingly and volubly, though

strangely or as revealing his loneliness, largely about himself.

(91)

It would be a mistaken attempt at an explanation of Hunter's personality to see him as temperamentally unstable even though to some extent his reactions were influenced by the mood of the moment. He had his moods, but he was not a compulsively moody person. Hunter was too well-founded by upbringing and by his sense of vocation, the mainspring of his life, to be substantially at the mercy of whims and even less of fads. His personal accomplishments and his achievements were the more remarkable when set against those traits of character which diminished his repute as a wise and godly man.

Hunter had none of the inhibitions which are a barrier to a full maturing of personality and character. He was not afflicted by indecisiveness, ineffectiveness or inertia. (92) On the contrary he was in decision-making confident, in the conceiving and implementation of planned action most effective and his workload was daunting. What then was the source of his irreconcilable characteristics? They were, in all probability, the working out in a strong character of inevitable collisions of a purposive nature within his "being" and, in a sense, symptomatic of all human endeavour above a certain level. "It is not neurotic to have conflicts", says Karen Horney, an American psychiatrist; "at one time or another our wishes, our interests, our convictions are bound to collide with those around us. And just as such clashes between ourselves and our environment are a commonplace, so too, conflicts within ourselves are an integral part of human

life." (93) This is a valuable insight into character development and has a clear application to Hunter. That he was so much the master of himself reveals the high degree of character integration to which he attained. At one point he was greatly at risk and fallible: his reaction to opposition was deep-seated and became obsessive at times; his judgement of people and situations was consequently impaired. This conflict within himself he was never able fully to overcome or gracefully to sublimate. "It is not accidental," Horney states, "that a conflict that starts with our relation to others in time affects the whole personality." (94) This can have varying results, as a closing of the mind to certain courses of action, an emotional reaction which ruins a marriage or wrecks a friendship, or the magnifying of a managerial strain of character which in challenging circumstances gives rise to actions out of keeping with a person's reputation for wisdom. Hunter, so often wise and far-seeing, exhibited from time to time a ruthless determination to achieve an objective in spite of the fact that its attainment could not but leave behind a trail of wounded or outraged feelings. (95)

Karen Horney treats of three attributes which for a normal person should not be mutually exclusive. "One should be capable of giving in to others, of fighting, and of keeping to oneself." (96) For Hunter, in matters which were important to himself, "to give in to others" was difficult and to do so with a good grace almost impossible. But in this he was not unique; his determination was frequently turned to good effect. (97) Hunter was, as

are people generally and some excessively, an amalgam of virtues and contradictions, but he was possessed of a master sentiment. His dedication to the Christian gospel could not be faulted; it was the source of his inspiration and the means by which his gifts were enlarged and his virtues strengthened. Faced by his often inexorable urge to action he might have, he may well have, reflected on Jesus' enigmatic words and from them gained in discretion: "From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of Heaven has been subjected to violence and violent men are seizing it." (98)

Mysteries such as those associated with Hunter cannot be removed or even completely explained; they have to be accepted.

v.

Hunter's consecration as the second Bishop of Sheffield brought to the diocese a chief pastor who was to be recognised as a man of "profound Christian faith". (99) Nonetheless, he was and remains difficult to categorise. He achieved so much; he was in the forefront of reform in the Church of England; he made his mark in so many fields: ecumenism, clergy training, (100) as a valued member of the House of Lords; he was a recognised authority in relations between the Church and industry; he was known for his firm and forward-looking direction of his diocese which made him many friends and some foes. And he remained at Sheffield for the whole of his active ministry as a bishop. As far as is known he was not offered a translation to another see.

This is surprising. During the mid-fifties his name was mentioned in church circles both as a likely successor to Bishop

Michael Ramsey at Durham and to Archbishop Garbett at York.

There is evidence that Hunter was not unaware of the latter.

(101) But in 1956 both sees were filled: M. H. Harland went to Durham and Ramsey became Archbishop of York. Was he too old? Harland was fifty-six years old and Ramsey fifty-two. Hunter, on the other hand, was sixty-six, which would have counted against him in spite of the fact that he was still a formidable bishop of more than ordinary experience, and actively still a force to be reckoned with. (102) He was undoubtedly unfortunate in the timing of the vacancies; had Garbett retired several years earlier a stronger case could have been made out for Hunter. But there were considerations which would have militated against his appointment. He did not enjoy high distinction as a chairman and his inability to speak effectively in large buildings was a disadvantage. Other reasons, all suppositional, add up to the unlikelihood that he would have gone to York. He and Archbishop Fisher did not see eye to eye, especially in the matter of the reform of canon law which Hunter regarded as of lesser importance than the stimulation of the missionary task in England. (103) On the bench of bishops it was believed that Hunter was regarded the "odd man out"; (104) he was not liked by some of the prominent top laity of the Sheffield establishment and this may have filtered through to Downing Street. "To many people he was type-cast on Industrial Mission and probably by an unspoken consensus (or perhaps spoken!) he was left to play out time in Sheffield." (105) It is to Hunter's credit that he never gave any appearance of being dissatisfied with his lot. He was very much part of the Sheffield scene and exercised authority and influence over a

wide field. (106)

Is it possible to fit Hunter into a particular category of achievement? He had marks of greatness but they were diffuse; their common factor was his entire dedication to Christian outreach and service. What would otherwise have been a series of largely unconnected interests and ventures were united in a pattern of ministry which Hunter built up as he fulfilled his episcopal duties and seized the opportunities for Christian witness and influence which came his way. What were the distinguishing features of that ministry? That he had an eye for strategy cannot be denied. (107) But at the same time he was a manager (108) and his width of interests and his will to achieve his objectives showed him to be a "fantastic schemer" (109), who by his own contriving would open up avenues of approach largely by the success he had in prevailing on the influential and well-to-do to support his ventures. (110) He demanded for himself freedom of action and "rejoiced to be able to do things while conferences talked". (111) In this he was among the last of generations of bishops who accomplished much by the exercise of an autocratic paternalism, though in Hunter's case it was concealed frequently under the guise of committee resolutions. (112) Election of bishops by synods - as in the developing provincial systems within the Anglican Communion - he disliked. A national church demanded a necessary alliance between Church and State and he believed that bishops appointed under the terms of the English Establishment were the products of a better system and in themselves were men more suited to be bishops. However, Hunter was

prominent among those who recognised that, for the benefit of Church and State, this relationship should be reviewed periodically. In 1961 the Church Assembly had asked for a commission to be appointed "to examine the whole method of Crown Appointments to Ecclesiastical Offices and to make recommendations". In the following year the Archbishops' Commission on Crown Appointments was set up. Its recommendations were published in 1964. Hunter was a member of the Commission and drafted the second chapter: The Contemporary Scene. (113) One recommendation particularly bears the mark of Hunter's thought: "The Church of England needs more bishops so that pastoral duties may be more adequately discharged". (114)

In 1912 Hunter had climbed the Matterhorn. It is important to see this as something more than a testing of physical skill and a head for heights. It has the marks of a symbolic action: Hunter had a head for strategic heights and it is not an imaginary insight into his character to see this accomplished climb as the exercise of a gift which was to be a directive feature of his life. Hunter was able to place himself above the concourse, as it were, and to discern the landscape both at ground level and from the heights and thus to reach an estimate of the problems and decide upon the routes which ought to be taken to reach the summit. His ministry at Sheffield was an application of mountain techniques to the task of guiding the Church in his diocese on its upward climb. The preceding chapters map out the route that was taken.

A point has been reached when it is necessary to ask, What

was Hunter's distinguishing mark? The view taken here is that, above all else, he was a prophet, one of the long line of those who have been men of the Bible. Though he did not say so, there is to be distinguished in Hunter the consciousness "of a divine summons to speak in God's name". (115) Closely associated with this for Christians is the recognition of the need to accept Jesus' declaration at the outset of his ministry that "the kingdom of God is close at hand". (116) This for Hunter was a watchword; from it came his vision of a God-willed renewal of the Church and with it his own robust demand that obstacles to renewal be removed. The vision had to be earthed, not by carefully prepared schemes initially, but by the conversion of men and women to an acceptance of the fact that to believe in God involved belief in the Kingdom of God which was above all else "his sovereignty, his rule in the hearts of men". (117)

Hunter's doctrinal approach was evenly balanced; a phrase from the formula for the ordination of a priest in the Book of Common Prayer exemplifies the balance: "Be thou a faithful Dispenser of the Word of God and of his holy Sacraments". (118) Hunter was one who had "grasped the meaning of Scripture, perceived its powerful relevance to the life of the individual, the Church and society, and (was prepared) to declare that message fearlessly". Such are "perhaps...(those) who are the true successors not only of the Old Testament prophets but also of the prophets of the New Testament: they...build up the Church for its prophetic mission in the world". (119) To the degree that Hunter succeeded in this mission he was a true son of his father and one who inspired

others to recognise this God-given task.

One of Hunter's later sermons reveals the fidelity with which he prosecuted this mission: "The power of the Holy Spirit which sent the Apostolic Church out on its mission still empowers those who know that Christ lives to carry the good news to every man...God is God; Christ is risen; his Kingdom is at hand and ahead, real and eternal". (120) And speaking to his clergy he said: "The Apostolic Church, the Christ-filled Church, overflows with Joy - Joy grounded in faith; manifested in love; peaceable and patient in adversity and frustration - making God's messengers run with light feet bearing the news of God's peace..". (121)

Hunter's preaching of the Kingdom of God always included a discriminating examination of the state of the Church before, and during and after the Second World War; he saw much that disquieted him but with disquiet there was also hope: his appeal was to Christians and to all people of good will and from this pairing of participants he never faltered. Far from it being a joining of opposites - of believers and humanists - for Hunter it was a natural conjunction; the Spirit of God was the motivating force where honesty and integrity prevailed, indeed the humanist was often to be numbered among those who were "with Christ" and not in opposition. (122) Hunter would have agreed with Dostoevsky in his criticism of nineteenth century atheism: "The reproach he [Sc. the atheist] brings against Christ is precisely this: that

He placed confidence in man". (123) It is the prophet's calling to warn of dangers ahead and during the 1950s Hunter persisted in calling his hearers and readers to a sense of urgency. Time does not stand still and the Church has no more than thirty years in which to preserve, proclaim and develop integrated though varied methods by which to arrest the drift to dechristianisation. "There is no way of stopping the arrival of a new civilisation", he quoted, "the only solution open to us is to penetrate it to the core with the spirit of Christ". (124) Christian still in name, the Church's continuing task is to ensure that England becomes Christian in fact.

What would Hunter say in the 1980s? Numerous examples of a decline from Christian practice and standards are evident; a new pluralistic age has come into being and brought with it a spirit of revolt against formerly accepted codes of conduct. It is marked by a humanism at most vaguely theistic in content but which, among younger people, has been marked by a deeply felt concern for those who suffer from starvation and deprivation. The growth of extreme forms of political militancy are inimical to a Christian interpretation of life; when the end is held to justify the means ethical standards crumble. Hunter would have been alarmed and impelled to action by the present beginnings of a new attitude to religious education in schools. He would have protested against the by-passing of prescribed religious education in state schools, and would have challenged especially the recently advocated policy of some city Local Education Authorities which has resulted, or may result, in the deletion of all references to

Christianity when new agreed syllabuses are in process of being adopted. (125)

What then would Hunter say? He was a man of realistic and realisable hope. He would not propose novel solutions but would reiterate and exemplify the teaching for which he had come to be known throughout his ministry. Hold fast to the Christian Gospel he would say. "The Cross shows the goodness and mercy of God...The Resurrection is not the victory but God's seal and endorsement of the victorious life and death of the Incarnate Son." (126) Remember that the Church is the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, and through it "the conception of the character of God is realised; that is, God who enters into covenant with man and thus lifts man's response from duty to love". (127) Create with God's help a Christian community, clearly recognisable by its fidelity to Christ and its concern for all people. The quality of its life is all important; "few people have been argued into the Christian faith". (128) Show convincingly that "the Kingdom of God is not a phantasy; it is a reality. Its satisfying features are delineated in Jesus Christ, its life duly seen in the Christian fellowship that is at its best". (129)

And he would conclude: "The victory is Christ's and may be ours in and through him, for he is able to subdue all things to himself. Christ is our ascended King". (130)

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It was from F. D. Maurice that John Hunter had learned "the

great thought of St. John's interpretation of the Gospel - that Eternal Life is not a prolongation of time, but is here and now to the believing and aspiring heart". (131) So taught by his father, Hunter's own personal faith was Johannine. Surrounded by the evidences of his busy, scheming, directing, dominating life, there was at its heart a grace which preserved Hunter from overweening pride in success and from self-excusing in failure or defeat; a grace that came from his full and firm belief in the Word made flesh, whom to believe in was eternal life. (132) He was greatly attached to the First Epistle of St. John and especially to the author's declaration of faith: "This is the record that God hath given to us eternal life, and that life is in his Son. He that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life". (133) So motivated, Hunter would have agreed ex animo with the Congregational scholar, C. H. Dodd, who pointed to the stark alternatives of St. John's presentation: "with Christ we have life; without him we are dead". (134)

The last time the author saw Bishop Hunter was at his wife's funeral in Sheffield Cathedral on 8th October 1975. After the service he was directed to the Burrows Transept where Hunter, aged and frail, was sitting. Looking up his recognition was immediate and with the kindest of smiles he said "We are old friends, aren't we?" This is the Hunter he will remember. (135)

APPENDIX 1The evidential value of mystical experience (1)

There is a difference, Hunter believed, between the mystical and the specifically Christian experience. (2) The mystic is of pagan ancestry and even when mysticism is practised by Christians it makes for a false antithesis between religion and morality. (3) "The mystic is liable to be preoccupied with his experiences; the Christian is preoccupied not with the processes of faith, but with its object." (4) "The mystic's desire is to find God and meet him, as it were, face to face; the Christian is to be found of God doing his will". (5)

These antitheses are illogical and untrue to fact. Some people are preoccupied with the expression of their faith; others are drawn to seek a prior closeness to God. The roots of Christian faith are found in the Dominical benediction "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God". (6) And "the first of a great line of post-apostolic theologians...declared 'The glory of God is a living man; and the life of man is the vision of God'". (7) The lack of this sighting has resulted, for example, in the English habit of moralising for its own sake.

Hunter preferred the word 'contemplation' to 'mysticism'; this is not without wisdom. But he uses the word loosely and makes no reference to the merits of ascetical theology except to condemn the later medieval exemplars who, in fact, were the great teachers of the contemplative life. Hunter preferred their predecessors of the previous centuries, beginning with St. Augustine of Hippo. (8) They were, he said, "all round men"; their teaching about contemplation was "unsystematic" and in their spiritual experiences there was "an entire absence of visions, locutions, auditions". He believed that these latter were examples of an over-emotional female temperament and a product of systematised ascetics. (9) There is, unfortunately, a spurious mysticism which seeks 'experiences' for their own sake; it is unbalanced and deserving of condemnation. The Christian mystics were always conscious of being within the Church and subject to the Church's authority and discipline.

Three questions require an answer :

Are visions, locutions, auditions signs of emotional instability ?

This is a frequent charge made against female mystics.

Hunter mentioned in passing St. Catherine of Genoa (1447-1510).

Von Hugel's The Mystical Element of Religion had the sub-title

"as studied in St. Catherine of Genoa and her friends". (10)

It took the form of an in-depth examination of Catherine's life

and he exonerated her from charges of emotional instability. She was a woman of great spiritual breadth and power, but her teachings were suspect to many by reason of the long ecstasies she experienced when she would lie prostrate on the ground for several hours with feelings, as she said, beyond description. Von Hugel came to the conclusion that she was no ordinary hysterical patient in spite of the signs of hysteria. "Her personality, far from being disintegrated, was as well organised and governed by steady, commendable purposes as that of almost any outstanding character or genius in a different field." (11) Her trances were not due to auto-suggestion; indeed she rarely if ever threw off all awareness of other things. Her attrait was to focus her consciousness upon God until she was filled with love, joy and a sense of his goodness and presence. (12) In 1479 Catherine and her husband moved into a hospital in Genoa where she remained for the remaining thirty one years of her life. She ministered to the sick, the dying and to orphans; she showed great devotion and talent as a nurse. As matron for some years she gave evidence of great administrative abilities. This long-extended caring ministry reached its highest point in the courage and efficiency with which she succoured plague victims.

Are contemplatives impractical people, concerned chiefly with the saving of their own souls ? St. Catherine's life history has already answered this question. There is, however, another

example - one who was mentioned by Hunter - in the person of St. Teresa of Avila (1515-1582). She was, Hans Kung has written "one of the most outstanding women in Church history...; she remained all her life in close touch with people and, even from a convent, with the world". (13) Teresa certainly received visions and in the closing years of her life attained to that experience of union with God known as the 'spiritual marriage'. (14) Deep contemplative prayer can never be sought for selfish reasons without courting disaster and this was emphatically not the case with Teresa. She was a woman of great practical ability. Only the stupid tried to fool her. (15) The combination in her of mystical experience with ceaseless activity has made her life the classical example to confute those who deny that the highest contemplation is compatible with great practical achievements.

St. Teresa's creative works in Spain included the reform of the Carmelite monasticism (nuns and friars) of her day. There had been a decline into considerable slackness. Opposition to reform was fierce, so much so that Teresa was provoked by the persecuting methods directed against her to declare that "no early Christian martyr was ever more cruelly handled by Pagan persecutors than those Religious, whether men or women, who desired to live according to the laws of the founder, were by their relaxed brethren and sisters." (16) Beginning with her new house of St. Joseph at Avila in 1562, more communities were created under her guidance and new buildings put up under her supervision.

In humility she faced her opponents and attributed confidently to God her growth in this virtue. She said "Like the bee making honey in the beehive, humility is always at work". So many of her illustrations came from the life of the countryside. For herself "to praise God and usually not to think of herself in any good thing she did" was her objective. (17)

Teresa's teaching was sensible and practical. "Let's forget about indiscreet zeal" she would say to her nuns, "it can do us a lot of harm". (18) She is the most quotable person with her short, pithy phrases. She said she was uneducated. This was not true for she came from an aristocratic family. She meant by this that she lacked the academic learning of such a one as St. John of the Cross. A few examples taken at random show her vitality. "The purpose of prayer is Work, Work". Prayer is to be sensibly engaged in : "From foolish devotions may God deliver me". As to deportment, "Go cheerfully about whatever you are ordered to do"; as to contentment, "Any unrest and any strife can be borne if we find peace where we live". How great her trust was in Jesus; "He never takes his eyes off us". (19)

Teresa did not like gloomy people; indeed a prayer is on record in which she asked that she might be delivered from "frowning saints". (20)

As to her visions, one example will suffice to show her relaxed attitude. The saint was greatly troubled by the results of the Reformation and with the lapsing from the unity of the Church. The news too of the lack of priests and teachers in the New World preyed on her mind. One night she records she was considering the lack of missionaries "in terrible distress" when the Lord Jesus appeared to her "in his usual way". He said to her "very lovingly" : "Wait a little, daughter, and you will see great things". Teresa took this quietly but seriously, believing that she would be used in some new way. And she was. She received authority - after many set-backs - to reform her, the Carmelite, order as it had been in its early days. "I was not devoid of courage or of hope : as the Lord has given me the one, he would give the other. Everything seemed to me quite possible now and so I set to work". (21) In the spiritual life of prayer Teresa's great written work was "The Interior Castle". (22)

Can contemplatives and the art of contemplation be classified in a serious way ?

The answer is found in the life and work of St. John of the Cross (1542-1591). He too is mentioned by Hunter. (23) St. Teresa had a great influence on St. John. He in his turn became with her a founder of reformed monasteries in Spain and suffered considerably for his reforming activities. Treated cruelly by the heads of his order he accepted his pains humbly

and without complaint. He knew that he was being made to experience something of the reality of the pains of Christ's Cross. He had assigned to him long after his death the title of Mystical Doctor. This was in 1926; it was a well-deserved recognition for his was the academic, scholarly, contemplative mind and spirit which produced the Summa Theologica of ascetical theology and of the practice of contemplative prayer. (24)

In this Summa the total range of the spiritual life was delineated, discussed and taught. It was a library of books of which the most important are The Ascent of Mount Carmel, The Dark Night of the Soul, The Spiritual Canticle and The Living Flame. For a summary of his themes it is sufficient to say that The Ascent and The Dark Night deal with the purgation of the soul by the "night of the senses" when, becoming detached from all sensible devotion, the soul remains in a state of pure faith. This is followed - a period of rest usually intervening - by a second purification when the soul is further spiritualised (cf. the Orthodox "deification") by divine action; this is accompanied by intense sufferings in order to fit it for the transforming union which St. John describes in The Living Flame. This is not, as Hunter surmised, an exercise in hysteria or self-hypnotism. The mystical union is a fruit of the Gospel of Christ and prefigures - to those who are called by God to it - the blessedness of heaven.

Like all truly and deeply spiritual people John's teachings were simple and direct. To one seeking spiritual development his advice was, in his own words, "First, let him have a habitual desire to imitate Christ in everything he does, conforming himself to his life; upon which life he must meditate so that he may know how to imitate it and to behave in all things as Christ would behave". (25)

To those who sought to have visions and locutions he had stern words to say about such "supernatural methods" (his description). God does indeed "provide" or "allow" on occasion such apprehensions, but "I can only say that it is a most perilous thing, more than I can express, to desire to commune with God by such means". Could a more grave warning be given? (26) John was austere but his austerity was tempered by the gentleness of the poet. This is exemplified in the Spiritual Canticle of which Professor Allison Peers has written "The book is a gift of God to man. Few...are capable of savouring to the full its exquisite fragrance...yet it is none the less a book for every true Christian who would partake of the choicest fruit of the tree of faith." (27)

Bishop Hunter's contention that "Christian love is not an erotic emotion" is true in general - it is however being disputed in part today - and no one can quarrel with his statement that "Christianity is a moral mysticism" provided that both morality

and mysticism are stressed. (28) The danger lurking behind his approach to mysticism is that it can provide a smoke screen to blot out the total requirements of the love of God. The first commandment is to love God "with all my heart, all my soul, all my mind, all my strength". (29) This is at the heart of contemplation. The Lady Julian of Norwich (30) can appropriately have the last word "The love of God most high for our soul.. surpasses all knowledge..For this we are to long : God, of your goodness give me yourself, for this is sufficient for me...I cannot properly ask for anything less, to be worthy of you. If I were to ask less, I should always be in want. In you alone do I have all". (30) It is God's will, she said, that this be attained and her trust is based on her 'revelations' : "He did not say, 'You will never have a rough passage, you will never be over-strained ...but he did say 'you will never be overcome.'" (31)

One further observation can be made. Christian living and each person's spiritual development is peculiar to that person; no two people are alike, no two people tread the same road. Indeed there are too many topical examples of a search for abnormal states and an indulging in psycho-physical phenomena. These latter are far removed from Christian spirituality. All Christian living springs from personal belief and vocation, from "disclosure situations" as the late Bishop Ian Ramsay of Durham used to say. (32) Consequently there are many packages which contain, as it were, the aspirations of each and every soul. All, rightly

conceived, are avenues of grace. Some have a 'specialness' about them which is not the talent of most Christians, certainly where spiritual illiterateness prevails. Within this restricted number are the contemplatives, the mystics. The debt owed to them is inestimable. Others there are who have perhaps the gift and pay no attention to it; others get lost on the way. All the more then is it a mark of God's calling that there have been and there are those to whom is committed the opening up of the valleys and the heights to communion with God; for without this communion in however simple a way, there can be no corresponding and authentic love for others. This is the life and work of the mystic, his or her God-ordained task.

APPENDIX 2A SERVICE OF PRAISE FOR CHOIRBOYS OR YOUNG PEOPLE (1)

The organ shall play a cheerful voluntary at the entrance and between the parts of the service.

The verses of the processional hymns shall be sung alternatively by the processing choirs and those who keep their places.

*

(All stand) The entrance of the clergy and their assistants and the choir.

All shall kneel down and remember God's presence.

Reader : O God, make speed to save us;

Boys : O Lord, make haste to help us.

Reader : Grant, we beseech thee, merciful Lord, to thy faithful people pardon and peace, that they may be cleansed from all their sins, and serve thee with a quiet mind; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Reader : O Lord, open thou our lips;

Boys : And our mouth shall show forth thy praise.

Reader : Bless us, O Lord, with a vision of thy being and thy beauty : that in the strength of it we may do our part in thy service gladly and well. Amen.

(All stand)

Reader : Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the
Holy Ghost;

Boys : As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be,
world without end. Amen.

Reader : Praise ye the Lord;

Boys : The Lord's name be praised.

Then shall be sung :

Worship, honour, glory, blessing,
Lord, we offer to thy name;
Young and old, thy praise expressing,
Join their Saviour to proclaim.
As the Saints in heaven adore thee,
We would bow before thy throne,
As thy Angels serve before thee,
So on earth thy will be done.

Then follows an Explanatory Address.

THE WORSHIP OF GOD THE CREATOR AND FATHER OF ALL.

(All stand)

Reader : We praise thee, O God :

Boys : We acknowledge thee to be the Lord.

Reader : All the earth doth worship thee :

Boys : The Father everlasting.

Reader : To thee all angels cry aloud :

Boys : The heavens and all the powers therein.

Reader : To thee Cherubim and Seraphim continually do cry :

Boys : Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.

All : Heaven and earth are full of the majesty of thy glory.

Then shall be sung three verses of the hymn : Praise to the Lord,
the Almighty.

(All kneel)

Reader : Let us join together to thank God for all the good
things that he has made and has given us to enjoy.

The General Thanksgiving (to be said by all)

THE WORSHIP OF JESUS CHRIST, OUR SAVIOUR

(All stand)

Reader : Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ :

Boys : Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father.

Reader : When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man :

Boys : Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb.

Reader : When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death :

Boys : Thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers.

Reader : Thou sittest at the right hand of God :

Boys : In the glory of the Father.

A Lesson (St. John 1.1-14)

Hymn

Jesus shall reign where'er the sun

THE WORSHIP OF THE HOLY SPIRIT IN CHURCH

(All stand)

Reader : O Lord, save thy people :

Boys : And bless thy inheritance.

Reader : Day by day we magnify thee :

Boys : And we worship thy Name ever world without end.

A Lesson (Acts 4.5 - 13)

(All kneel)

Reader : For the churches to which we belong :

For their unity in the service and worship of Jesus Christ:

For our homes and schools and for all whom we love :

Let us say together : Our Father...

Hymn

Pray that Jerusalem may have

THE PRAISE OF THE SAINTS IN HEAVEN

(All stand)

Reader : The glorious company of the Apostles :

Boys : Praise thee.

Reader : The goodly fellowship of the Prophets :

Boys : Praise thee,

Reader : The noble army of Martyrs :
 Boys : Praise thee.
 Reader : The holy Church throughout all the world
 Boys : Doth acknowledge thee.
 All : The Father, of an infinite Majesty :
 Thine honourable, true and only Son :
 Also the Holy Ghost, the Comforter.

A lesson (St. Matthew 25.31 - 40)

Thereafter all shall kneel, and the Dean or Provost, standing
 before the Holy Table, shall make a Commemoration of the Patron
 Saint and Founders of this (Cathedral) Church.

The Procession

For all the saints who from their labours rest.

A station shall be made at the Rood.

Provost : We pray thee help thy servants, whom thou hast redeemed
 with thy precious blood :
 Boys : Make them to be numbered with thy Saints in glory
 everlasting.

Collect for the Festival of the Patron Saint

Hymn

Jesus, good above all other

AN ACT OF DEDICATION

(All kneel)

Reader : Let us ask God to bless and defend us and to use us in
his service.

Silence

Reader : O Lord, have mercy on us :

Boys : Have mercy on us.

Reader : O Lord, let thy mercy lighten upon us :

Boys : As our trust is in thee.

All : Defend us, O Lord, with thy heavenly grace, that we
may continue thine for ever, and daily increase in thy
Holy Spirit more and more until we come unto thine
everlasting Kingdom. Amen.

Silence

Reader : O Lord, in thee have I trusted.

Boys : Let me never be confounded.

THE BLESSING

Go forth into the world in peace; be of good courage; hold fast
that which is good; strengthen the faint-hearted; support the
weak; help the afflicted; love all men; serve the Lord
rejoicing in the power of the Spirit. And the blessing of God
Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, be with you
always. AMEN.

APPENDIX 3

THE CHURCH COMMISSIONERS' SCHEME FOR
THE SHEFFIELD CATHEDRAL BENEFICE.

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Page. 356 - 362.

NOTICE OF THE MAKING OF THIS ORDER WAS
PUBLISHED IN THE LONDON GAZETTE ON THE...1 NOV 1949

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WHEREAS by an Order made by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England on the 3rd day of October, 1946, the parish of the Cathedral Benefice of Sheffield in the diocese of Sheffield was, together with certain other parishes in the said diocese, declared to be an ecclesiastical reorganisation area for the purposes of the Reorganisation Areas Measure, 1944:

AND WHEREAS by the Church Commissioners Measure, 1947, the said Ecclesiastical Commissioners have been dissolved and all the powers and duties of the said Ecclesiastical Commissioners and of Queen Anne's Bounty are now exercisable by us, the Church Commissioners:

AND WHEREAS the Right Reverend Leslie, Bishop of Sheffield, in pursuance of the said Measure transmitted to us the said Church Commissioners proposals for the rearrangement of the pastoral supervision of the said parish:

AND WHEREAS we, the said Church Commissioners, in pursuance of the said Measure, have caused to be prepared the Scheme hereto annexed for giving effect to the said proposals:

AND WHEREAS the endowments specified in the Schedule to the said Scheme were so far as could be ascertained, the whole of the endowments of the benefice of the said parish on the 1st day of July, 1949:

NOW THEREFORE, we, the said Church Commissioners, do by this Order dated this 28th day of October, 1949, made under our Common Seal confirm the said Scheme:

AND WE do by this Order appoint the day when notice of the making of this Order shall have been published in the London Gazette as the day upon which the said Scheme so confirmed shall come into operation.

The Common Seal of the Church Commissioners }
was hereunto affixed in the presence of:— }

F. J. BALL,

Administrative Secretary.



SCHEME.

1. There shall be vested in us, the Church Commissioners, (hereinafter called "the Commissioners")—

- (a) the endowments specified in the Schedule to this Scheme (hereinafter referred to as "the scheduled endowments") so far as on the date when this Scheme comes into operation, they then belong to or are held in trust for the Cathedral Benefice of Sheffield (hereinafter called the said benefice), and any substituted endowments then belonging to or held in trust for the said benefice (including the proceeds of any sale or other transaction affecting the scheduled endowments and any securities or other property derived from or for the time being representing any such proceeds);
- (b) any payment made and paid in respect of any such endowments pursuant to Part VI and Section 107 of the Town and Country Planning Act, 1947;
- (c) any capital payment made in respect of any such endowments pursuant to Section 27 of the War Damage Act, 1943;

And all such endowments and payments shall be vested in the Commissioners freed and discharged from all previously existing trusts and charges in favour of the said benefice or the incumbent thereof, but subject to all other previously existing trusts and charges and subject to and with the benefit of all tenancies and leases.

2. In consideration of the vesting of the aforesaid endowments in the Commissioners there shall be paid out of the Commissioners' General Fund into the Diocesan Stipends Fund opened and held by the Commissioners for the diocese of Sheffield pursuant to Section 30 of the said Measure (which latter fund is hereinafter called "the Stipends Fund") such periodical or other payments as the Commissioners may, with the approval of the Diocesan Board of Finance of the said diocese (hereinafter called "the board"), from time to time determine to be equitable having regard to the value of the said endowments.

3. Subject to the provisions of subsection (2) of Section 17 of the said Measure, there shall be paid out of the Stipends Fund to the incumbent of the said benefice an annual stipend of £1,750 to be reduced to £1,650 if and when a house of residence is provided for the incumbent free of liability for rent, rates and responsibility for maintenance under the Ecclesiastical Dilapidations Measures, 1923 to 1929.

The said stipend shall be payable by equal quarterly instalments on the 1st January, the 1st April, the 1st July and the 1st October in every year, each such instalment to be paid in respect of the quarter ending with the day before it becomes payable: Provided that the first instalment of the said stipend shall be a due proportion of the full quarterly payment.

4. So soon as conveniently may be after the coming into operation of this Scheme permanent accommodation shall be provided, as the Bishop of the said diocese may direct, either for the incumbent of the said benefice or for clerical assistants employed within the parish of the benefice or for the said incumbent and for the said assistants and towards the cost thereof the Stipends Fund shall be charged with such sum not exceeding £8,000 as the Bishop of the said diocese after consultation with the said Diocesan Board of Finance may determine.

SCHEDULE

(1) Freehold ground rents belonging to the Cathedral Benefice of Sheffield.

Premises	Term of lease	Ground Rent		
		£	s.	d.
27 Sale Hill ...	99 years from 25th March, 1866	6	5	0
5 Lawson Road and 2/8 (even) Manchester Road ...	99 years from 25th March, 1858	22	17	6
9 Lawson Road ...	do.	4	9	0
19 do. ...	do.	5	0	0
21 do. ...	99 years from 29th September, 1859	12	16	6
29 do. ...	99 years from 25th March, 1868 ...	7	0	0
24/26 (even) do. ...	200 years from 22nd May, 1924 ...	16	0	0
55/57 (odd) Burngreave Road	800 years from 25th March, 1860 ...	12	11	6
59/61 (odd) do.	800 years from 25th March, 1866 ..	8	13	0
63/65 (odd) do.	800 years from 25th March, 1859 ..	8	5	8
69/73 (odd) Burngreave Road and 53 Catherine St.	800 years from 25th March, 1864 ...	14	14	0
75/77 (odd) Burngreave Road	800 years from 25th March, 1873 ...	8	4	0
79 Burngreave Road and 24 Cranworth Road ...	800 years from 25th March, 1861 ...	10	10	0
87/89 (odd) Burngreave Road	800 years from 25th March, 1875 ...	8	0	0
81/85 (odd) do.	do.	12	0	0
91/93 (odd) do.	800 years from 25th March, 1857 ...	13	0	0
95 do.	800 years from 29th September, 1873	5	9	6
97 do.	800 years from 25th March, 1873 ...	5	6	3
99/101 (odd) do.	do.	13	6	3
168 sq. yds. of land with buildings thereon being part of sites of 12/14 (even) Catherine Street ...	800 years from 25th March, 1861 ...	2	5	8
318 sq. yds. of land with buildings thereon being part of sites of 16/18 (even) Catherine Street ...	do.	4	15	0
652 sq. yds. of land with buildings thereon being part of sites of 20/22 (even) Catherine Street and the whole of the site of 21 Brackley Street ...	800 years from 25th March, 1860 ...	14	15	6

Premises	Term of lease	Ground Rent		
		£	s.	d.
24/30 (even) Catherine Street and 18 Brackley Street	800 years from 29th September, 1860	12	13	0
32/48 (even) Catherine Street and 13/31 (odd) Somerset Street	800 years from 25th March, 1860 ...	30	9	6
50/52 (even) Catherine Street	800 years from 25th March, 1875 ...	7	12	0
37/43 (odd) do.	800 years from 29th September, 1860	9	1	0
45/51 (odd) do.	800 years from 25th March, 1860 ...	9	1	0
1/11 (odd) Somerset Street and 16 Brackley Street	800 years from 25th March, 1862 ...	10	6	0
12 Somerset Street and 10/12 (even) Brackley Street	800 years from 25th March, 1861 ...	6	3	0
14/18 (even) Somerset Street and 4/8 (even) Brackley Street and 3/7 (odd) Somerset Road	800 years from 25th March 1862 ...	13	4	3
20/22 (even) Somerset Street	800 years from 25th March, 1859 ...	4	12	0
2/6 (even) Cranworth Road and 2/10 (even) Brotherton Street and 33/35 (odd) Catherine Street	800 years from 25th March, 1875 ...	21	13	0
8/22 (even) Cranworth Road	800 years from 29th September, 1873	15	2	0
12/16 (even) Brotherton Street and 1 Cranworth Road	800 years from 25th March, 1872 ...	7	2	0
18/20 (even) Brotherton Street and 9 Cranworth Place	800 years from 25th March, 1867 ...	7	19	0
22/24 (even) Brotherton Street and 11 Cranworth Place	do.	9	12	0
1/7 (odd) Cranworth Place and 3/15 (odd) Cranworth Road	800 years from 25th March, 1862 ...	16	14	0
14/34 (even) Sherrington Road	500 years from 29th September, 1869	21	11	8
5/49 (odd) Cecil Road ...	500 years from 25th March, 1870 ...	48	11	3

Premises	Term of lease	Ground Rent		
		£	s.	d.
1/7 (odd) Langsett Road and Nos. 1 and 2 in Court 1	900 years from 24th June, 1858 ...	9	9	2
9/11 (odd) Langsett Road	900 years from 25th March, 1860 ...	4	18	8
13/19 (odd) Langsett Road and Nos. 1/4 (inclusive) in Court 5	900 years from 25th March, 1861 ...	9	19	2
21/27 (odd) Langsett Road and 30/32 (even) Whitehouse Lane	900 years from 29th September, 1866	10	12	6
12/38 (even) Flora Street and garage in Thirza Street (at rear of Nos. 36 & 38 Flora Street) and a plot of land formerly sites of Nos. 4/10 (even) Flora Street and No. 9 Thirza Street	900 years from 25th March, 1869 ...	34	14	4
647/653 (odd) Chesterfield Road	800 years from 29th September, 1901	9	10	0
655/663 (odd) Chesterfield Road and 3 Aisthorpe Road ...	800 years from 29th September, 1903	13	0	0
14/20 (even) Aisthorpe Road	800 years from 25th March, 1902 ...	6	7	0
22/24 (even) do.	800 years from 25th March, 1903 ...	3	5	0
4/26 (even) Broxholm Road	do.	18	0	0
11/13 (odd) do.	800 years from 29th September, 1903	3	4	0
29/35 (odd) Nettleham Road	800 years from 25th March, 1903 ...	6	0	0
37/43 (odd) do.	do.	6	0	0
32/38 (even) do.	800 years from 29th September, 1902	6	0	0
44/46 (even) do.	do.	3	0	0
48/54 (even) do.	800 years from 25th March, 1902 ...	6	0	0
Two pieces of land with buildings fronting Woodside Lane and Rutland Street used as the Sheffield City Engineer's Depot ...	800 years from 25th March, 1866 ...	151	9	0
9/14 (inclusive) Saint James' Row	99 years from 29th September, 1885	120	0	0
15 do.	99 years from 25th March, 1857 ...	16	0	0
16 do.	99 years from 29th September, 1885	25	0	0
Workshops, Vicar Lane ...	do.	35	0	0
2 Saint James' St.	99 years from 29th September, 1854	7	9	6
4 do.	99 years from 25th March, 1859 ...	15	18	0

(2) Property let on short tenancies belonging to the Cathedral Benefice of Sheffield.

Premises	Rent		
	£	s	d.
10 Manchester Road	45	0	0
12 do.	45	0	0
14 do.	50	0	0
1 Sale Hill	55	0	0

(3) Property in hand belonging to the Cathedral Benefice of Sheffield.

122 sq yds. of land being part of sites of 15 & 17, Brackley Street, and whole of site of 19, Brackley Street.

5/7 (odd), Saint James' Row.

Sites of Nos. 10/30 (even), Saint James' Street.

Sites of Nos. 11/13 (odd), Vicar Lane.

Sites of No. 51 and 53, Burngreave Road.

228 sq. yds. of land having frontages to Cupola Street and Cooper Street, with buildings forming part of the site of St. Jude's Moorfields School.

(4) Land at Bell Hagg belonging to the Cathedral Benefice of Sheffield.

Description	Area			No. on Ordnance Plan (1935 Edition)
	a.	r.	p.	
Agriculture land fronting Manchester Road ...	34	0	0	1547, 1548, Pt. 1549, 1550, 1551, 1564, 1565, 1566, 1567, 1569, 1570, 1571 1620 and Pt. 1573 and Pt. 1582.
Land adjoining Bell Hagg Inn, Manchester Road	0	0	5	Pt. 1539.
Part of Bell Hagg Quarry, Manchester Road ...	0	2	39	Pt. 1573, Pt. 1577, Pt. 1578 and Pt. 1582

(5) Annual Payments made to the incumbent of the Cathedral Benefice of Sheffield.

	£	s.	d.
Rent charge payable by the Commissioners in respect of the former church of Saint James, Sheffield	20	0	0
Acknowledgment rent payable by Postmaster-General ...		10	0

(6) Capital funds and stocks held by the Commissioners for the Cathedral Benefice of Sheffield.

(a) Capital fund of £941 7s. 2d.

(b) £4 13s. 8d 3% Savings Bonds (1965-75).

(c) £321 8s. 3d. 3% Savings Bonds (1955-65).

(d) £1,533 10s. 8d. London County 3% Stock.

(e) £6,434 9s. 7d. 3½% Conversion Stock (1961).

(f) £4,579 10s. 1d. 3% Redemption Stock (1986-96).

(g) £2,379 0s. 4d. 2½% Treasury Stock (1975-).

9th November, 1949.

R.35/C/I.
Copy in R 35/SF

My Lord,

REORGANISATION AREAS MEASURE, 1944
SHEFFIELD CATHEDRAL BENEFICE.

I write in reply to your Lordship's letter of the 4th instant.

In consideration of the endowments vested in them under the Scheme, the Church Commissioners approved an annual payment into the Sheffield Diocesan Stipends Fund of £2,050. The fund is at present charged with an annual payment of £1,750 to the incumbent of the cathedral benefice, leaving an unallocated balance of £300 per annum. Payments up to an aggregate rate of £300 per annum may therefore now be made under Section 30 (2) of the Measure in such a manner (within the powers of the Measure) as your Lordship, with the concurrence of the Diocesan Board of Finance, may direct.

In addition to the available balance of £300 per annum there is, as you know, a capital sum of £8,000 for a new clergy house. Pending the expenditure of this money, interest at 2½% from 1st. November, 1949, is available, but this should not be regarded as other than temporary income.

If your Lordship will be good enough to let me know to whom these payments are to be made I will make the necessary arrangements accordingly.

Your Lordship's
Most obedient Servant,

Administrative Secretary.

The Lord Bishop of Sheffield,
Ranmoor Grange,
Sheffield, 10.

NOTES

CHAPTER ONE

1. L.S. Hunter TS The Student Christian Movement.
2. L.S. Hunter John Hunter DD London 1921, John Hunter, b.1848; d. 1917.
3. F.L. Cross, Ed. Dictionary of the Christian Church London 1957. Art. "Congregationalism" pp. 329,330.
4. L.S. Hunter op.cit. p.7.
5. F. Trochu The Curé d'Ars Eng. trans. London 1955, Chapter 2.
6. L.S. Hunter op. cit. p.8.
7. Ibid. p.14.
8. Ibid. p.17.
9. H. Escott A History of Scottish Congregationalism Glasgow 1960 p.139 : "the enquiring and intellectually alert followed him"; "a world renowned minister of Trinity".
10. For the King's Weigh House : L.S. Hunter op.cit. Chapter IX (pp.180 196) and p. 180: (Hunter was 53 years old); p. 187. Cf. Revd. Dr. Daniel Jenkins, letter of 28 December 1985 to author : Bishop Hunter, speaking at the Tercentenary Dinner of the King's Weigh House, said that he was convinced that if his father had stayed longer "his ministry would have prospered greatly". See John Hunter DD pp. 180 197 "A Fight against Odds. London, 1901-4." For Hunter's Funeral : L.S. Hunter op.cit. pp.289,290. P.T. Forsyth (1848-1921), Principal of Hackney College, Hampstead from 1901.
11. An example of the search in the Anglican world was the publication of the important essays entitled "Lux Mundi" under the editorship of Charles Gore. See Charles Gore Lux Mundi London 1879. Preface p. viii. See below Chapter Two, p. 373 n.37 .
12. John Hunter probably had the brother scholars John and Edward Caird in mind. See p.28 below. John Caird and John Hunter were long standing friends. "I owe him (sc. John Caird) a debt of gratitude which I must always gratefully acknowledge". L.S. Hunter op. cit. p.98. The neo-Hegelianism of the Cairds could not fail to influence Hunter, probably in two ways : first, by providing him with a defence against Immanuel Kant's negations (of which he would know through Caird) : the uselessness of prayer, of mystical experience, of a personal redeemer together with his idealised concept of

morality; secondly, by producing in Hunter a theological hiatus about the person of Jesus : Lord and Saviour by New Testament witness and at the same time to be understood conceptually by subjecting the Incarnation to Hegel's rationalism in which truth did not exist in individual truths but in the development and reality of the whole. For John Caird in consequence "Christ does not appear...as a living person as distinct from a principle". See A.J. Drummond and J. Balloch The Church in late Victorian Scotland Edinburgh 1978 pp. 246, 252.

13. F.L. Cross op. cit. Art. "Tubingen" p. 1379. Baur and the Tubingen school had dated the New Testament documents in the second century. J.B. Lightfoot demolished this theory in his Epistle to the Galatians London 1865. Cf. also his Philippians London 1868 and Colossians with Philemon London 1875. It is surprising that the only reference to Lightfoot in John Hunter DD is to excuse John Hunter's lack of acquaintance with his critical work because in his "formative period" Lightfoot (with Westcott and Sanday) "had not come forward." But they had. See L.S. Hunter op. cit. p.154. Both the great "Cambridge Triumvirate" of J.B. Lightfoot, B.F. Westcott and F.J.A. Hort and a little later, the Oxford scholar W. Sanday pointed the way ahead in New Testament scholarship for years to come.
14. F.L. Cross op. cit. Art. "Form Criticism" p. 514.
15. John Hunter's liberalism had not envisaged attacks on the trustworthiness of the New Testament. As late as 1912 he was much perturbed by the acceptance of the Christ-myth theory by some of his friends who were ministers. The theory purported to prove that the Bible does not give any positive proof that Jesus ever existed. "The theory distressed Hunter." L.S. Hunter op. cit. p. 246.
16. F.D. Maurice The Kingdom of Christ London 1883 Part II pp. 272 ff.
17. L.S. Hunter op. cit. p. 45.
18. Ibid. p. 64.
19. Ibid. p. 64. For Hunter the present upheaval of belief was a sign of religion rather than of irreligion. Two modern studies which bear on New Testament origins are C.K. Barrett The Gospel of St. John and Judaism London 1975 pp. 12.13 and passim, and Barnabas Lindars, SSF New Testament Apologetic London 1961 pp. 251 ff.

20. L.S. Hunter op.cit. p. 64.
21. Ibid. p. 179.
22. Ibid. P. 205
23. Ibid. p. 80.
24. Ibid. p. 66. See E.D. Norman Church and Society in England Oxford 1976 p. 159 : The Lambeth Conference of 1888 stressed that in the solution of social and industrial problems the clergy had a part but more particularly the Christian laity.
25. St. Paul's converts had interpreted the apostle's emphasis on freedom as allowing an a-moral licence. I Corinthians 9.
26. L.S. Hunter op. cit. p.200. A.E. Garvie (1861 - 1945) was a Congregational minister and College principal; he was Chairman of the Congregational Union of Scotland, 1902-3.
27. Ibid. p. 200. See Book of Common Prayer The Thirty Nine Articles of Religion : XIX and XX which set out the nature of the "visible Church of Christ" and the basic authority upon which it rests.
28. Ibid. p. 200.
29. L.S. Hunter op. cit. p. 201.
30. The tenet depended more on the views of extreme Calvinists than upon John Calvin himself. "As it is necessary for us to believe that the Church is invisible to us and known to God alone, so we are also commanded to hold the visible (sc. imperfect Church) in honour and keep ourselves in communion with it". See F. Wendel Calvin Eng. trans. London 1963 p. 297 quoting Calvin "Institutes" IV 1, 7. John Hunter the liberal did not concern himself with these hair-splitting arguments of the sixteenth century reformers.
31. L.S. Hunter op. cit. pp. 201, 202.
32. Ibid. p. 201.
33. Ibid. p. 203.
34. Ibid. p. 197. Professor Jacques Chevalier, LL.D., Université de Lyon, France.
35. Ibid. p. 203. Hunter's object was to produce "a worshipful Church": See H. Escott op. cit. p. 156.
36. L.S. Hunter op. cit. p. 202.
37. F.L. Cross op. cit. Art. "A. Harnack" p. 609.

38. See J.N.D. Kelly Early Christian Creeds London 1951 pp. 62 ff.
39. L.S. Hunter op. cit. p. 207 n.
40. Ibid. p. 208.
41. Ibid. p. 207. Sir H. Escott op. cit. Hunter pioneered the inclusion "of a liturgical element into Nonconformist worship."
42. 2 Corinthians 11.31.
43. St. Matthew's Gospel 25.21,23.
44. L.S. Hunter op. cit. p. 149.
45. Ibid. p. 149.
46. Ibid. p. 43. A Dutch Reformed Church minister said to the author (in Utrecht 1949) "we are called 'predikant' because we are preachers."
47. Ibid. pp. 41, 42. A resulting controversy came to a head at the Leicester autumnal assembly of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in 1878. The traditional doctrines of Congregationalism were strongly affirmed and the liberals admonished, but not excommunicated. John Hunter voted against the doctrinal motion. For the complete story see The Journal of the United Reformed Historical Society, Vol.2, No. 10 - October 1982 pp. 345 - 353.
48. Ibid. p. 72.
49. Ibid. Chapter VIII passim and pp. 153 ff.
50. The Book of Common Prayer : appointed to be said at Mattins on certain Holy Days.
51. L.S. Hunter op. cit. p. 160.
52. Ibid. p. 166.
53. Ibid. p. 160.
54. Ibid. p. 160.
55. II Corinthians 4.6.
56. L.S. Hunter op. cit. p. 163.
57. J. Hick , Ed. The Myth of God Incarnate London 1977.
58. Ibid. Chapter 2 "A Cloud of Witnesses" p. 18.

59. Ibid. p. 35.
60. Ibid. p. 37. "To say that God in Christ entered into suffering.. that God himself took responsibility for the existence of evil in his creation...that he is love reconciling his holiness to a sinful and corrupt humanity...is to use poetic, anthropomorphic or 'mythological' language; it is not to present a theological conclusion based on a logical argument."
61. Ibid. p. 37. See p. 47 n. 47 where Miss Young while saying that A.T. Hanson's position in Grace and Truth, London 1975 is close to hers, criticises him because "he fails to see...that the traditional 'hard' distinction between God and man can no longer be upheld : each man is potentially 'God incarnate'."
62. L.S. Hunter op. cit. p. 163.
63. Gospel according to St. John 1.1 -14. See Gunther Bornkamm, Eng. edit. Jesus of Nazareth London 1960 p.62. "To make the reality of God present : this is the essential mystery of Jesus"; and E.L. Mascall refers to the Chevertogne Report of 1953 where the chief participants were two Roman Catholics, two Eastern Orthodox and two Protestants. "For all its awe-inspiring insistence" he says "upon the work of the Father, the Son and the Spirit in salvation, there is a tendency to ignore the part played by the manhood of Jesus". ; and E.L. Mascall The Secularisation of Christianity London 1965 p. 282 where Mascall condemns the "impoverished secularised versions of Christianity" because they do not rest upon "a rigid application of the methods of scientific scholarship nor upon a serious intuitive appreciation of the Gospels as a whole in their natural context, but upon a radical distaste for the supernatural". Relevant to this discussion is H.M. Relton A Study of Christology London 1917 on the doctrine of enhypostasia enunciated by Leontius of Byzantium (6th. century) and St. John of Damascus (d.749). Relton expressed the doctrine in these words : "The Divine Logos, prior to the Incarnation, already possessed everything needful to enable him to live a truly human life"; (p.226). His personality in virtue of its Divinity already embraced all that is most distinctive of a truly human personality". p. 227.
64. Gospel according to St. Luke 6.20.
65. Examples are found at Psalm 72.2; Proverbs 19.1 and 28.11.
66. L.S. Hunter op. cit. p. 169.
67. Ibid. p. 171.

+ The Openness of Being, London 1971 p.232...

68. Sydney and Olive Checkland Industry and Ethos Scotland 1832-1914 London 1984 pp. 39, 40 (for Glasgow) "The dwellers in the deep slums were of three main kinds : the drop-outs who had reached a depth from which there could be no recovery, the criminals (whose principal prey was property), the miscellaneous providers for both groups, the shebeen keepers, the street traders and the low prostitutes".
69. L.S. Hunter op. cit. p. 168.
70. Hensley Henson (1863 - 1947) Bishoprick Papers London 1979 p.14.
71. L.S. Hunter op. cit. p. 170. Commenting in 1921 Leslie Hunter said "The weakness of much of the social Christianity of our time is that it is social and little else".
72. David Hill New Testament Prophecy London 1979 p. 14.
73. L.S. Hunter op. cit. pp. 56, 57.
74. Ibid. p. 102.
75. Ibid. pp. 266, 267.
76. Ibid. p. 268.
77. See below p. 62 for example; von Hügel wasⁿ a living demonstration of the necessity of 'church'.
78. L.S. Hunter op.cit. pp. 271, 272.
79. Ibid. p. 233.
80. H. Escott op. cit. p. 187.
81. Hunter's Lichfield Divinity Lectures, 1949 (published under the title Church Strategy in a Changing World London 1950) and his lectures in 1951 in the faculty of Divinity of the McGill University Montreal (published with the title The Seed and the Fruit London 1953) exemplify his teaching.

NOTES

CHAPTER TWO

1. L.S. Hunter John Hunter DD London 1921 pp. 252 262.
Cf. p. 252 "The memory of my father is pervaded by one quality-his affection" ; and p. 255 "He was a family man, but not a typical one. He was not at all paterfamilias".
"The discipline and the administration of the home he left entirely to our mother".
2. Hunter was to gain much, as Bishop of Sheffield, from his visits to Canada and the U.S.A. He was in Montreal, Canada in September 1951 to deliver a course of lectures (published as The Seed and the Fruit) at McGill University. In 1954 he attended and addressed the Pan Anglican Congress held at Minneapolis, U.S.A. from 4-13 August and was present at the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Evanston from 14-31 August. Cf. Sheffield Diocesan Review October 1954 : in a letter begun in the U.S.A. and completed in Toronto Hunter commented, the "international and inter-racial element on a Congress confined to members of our Communion came as a discovery and a thrill to delegates from some dioceses in England and Canada, and was a joy to us all". Hunter returned to England via Seattle, Victoria and Vancouver and through the Rockies to Toronto.
3. L.S. Hunter op. cit. p.253 : "I was taken to Switzerland for the first time when I was five".
4. In 1904 Leslie Hunter spent several months at Caen learning French under Professor Lebonnais of the Lycée who arranged summer courses at the university of Caen. In 1912 Hunter climbed the Matterhorn. He came to know the Scandinavian countries from the late 1920s onwards. This led him to write in a keenly appreciative manner of their natural beauties and to reveal his quiet enthusiasm for the architectural distinction of the Scandinavian churches. They were to his eye in stone and brick expressions of the beauties of these northern lands transmuted into shrines for worship. See L.S. Hunter, Ed. The Scandinavian Churches London 1965 pp. 15-33.

5. For a comparable case, see J.G. Lockhart Cosmo Gordon Lang London 1949. Lang admitted in his Oxford days - in his diary - that he did not find it easy "to exchange deeper thoughts". (p.31) And in later years "We Scots are men of such strong emotions that we are compelled to keep them under restraint". (p.85)
6. L.S. Hunter op. cit. p.252.
7. It is tempting to ask to what extent Hunter had to discipline his Celtic instincts by developing a rationalisation of religious practices which led him as an Anglican to prescribe what was permitted and becoming in parish life and worship whilst at the same time preserving a dramatic sense - severe though real - in the performance of the liturgy. See L.S. Hunter The Artist and Religion London 1915 where he wrote of "The artists' cry for a full and joyous worship", as against dry and tedious services. p.12.
8. L.S. Hunter : Sheffield Diocesan Review - March 1952 on the death of King George VI : "No monarch in so few years had greater burdens and more searching duties. Through them all he bore himself without reproach". And: Sheffield Diocesan Review - August 1953 on the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II : The ceremony expressed "a commission given and received - dedication to a life-long service; the inter-penetration of secular and sacred, material and spiritual in true living; the spiritual finding expression in the secular and thereby springing into life. All this focussed in the representative figure of the Queen".
9. L.S. Hunter John Hunter DD p. 252.
10. Ibid. p. 191.
11. In Hunter's finely drawn perception of his aged father there can be detected a flowering in John Hunter the disciple of F.D. Maurice of his debt to the latter's aphorism that "the direct knowledge of God and experience of God was beyond language". See Owen Chadwick The Victorian Church Oxford : Part I p.352.
12. Revelation of St. John the Divine 4.1.
13. Solitaries, particularly of the second and third centuries AD who retreated to the desert. St. Anthony of Egypt is the best known - d. 356.

14. There is no evidence that Hunter was attracted to the Established Presbyterian Church. Within it, he could say, there is no place for music, art or drama. He confessed to being dismayed by "the sectarian spirit of Scottish Presbyterianism", a reference perhaps to the Disruption of 1843 - largely concerned with patronage - which was only healed in 1929, but more probably to the fissiparous itch which was a recurring feature of presbyterian debate and, because schismatic in content, was disruptive of unity. To Hunter the fact of Establishment came more and more to be one of the guarantees of Church unity. On the Disruption see F.L. Cross, Ed. The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church London 1957 p. 407 Art. "The Disruption (1843)". There remained a certain deeply rooted adherence to Scottish religious sentiment. This was referred to by Hunter in the House of Lords when he remarked on the vestigial influence which Puritan morality had on him; the subject was gambling, against which he had something of an obsessive objection. (Hansard for 8 February 1965 : Debate on the Report of the Royal Commission on Betting.)
15. S and O Checkland op.cit. p.4.
16. Ibid. p.4.
17. L.S. Hunter John Hunter DD p.59.
18. Tissington Tatlow The Story of SCM London 1933 p.547.
19. See below Chapter Six.
20. Venerable M.J.M. Paton : letters of author of 29 November 1984 and 10 January 1985.
21. The King's Weigh House is just off Grosvenor Square, London W 1. The school, according to Leslie Hunter, was Frathorne House Preparatory School (biro note in D.M. Low, Ed. Kelvinside Academy 1878-1928.) The Rector of Kelvinside Academy (see n.22) knows of no connection with his school. A search by the Archivist of Marylebone Library reveals that in the local records the school is described as the Preparatory School for the Public Schools. The address was 29, York Place - now 113, Baker Street, Marylebone. (R.A. Bowden in letter to author of 29 January 1985).

22. Dr. J.A. Duff, Rector of Kelvinside Academy in letter to author of 1 April, 1985.
23. D.M. Low, Ed. Kelvinside Academy 1878-1928 Glasgow 1928 p.43.
24. Ibid. p.6 for the contents of this paragraph.
25. L.S. Hunter The Artist and Religion London 1915 p.8.
26. See p. 92 for a reference to Hunter's competence as a pianist.
27. L.S. Hunter, Ed. Scandinavian Churches London 1965 p.32.
28. J.A. Fisher : letter to author of 2 October 1985. August Hyllested (1856-1946) was born in Stockholm of Danish stock. He toured as a prodigy at eleven, then studied with T. Kullak before spending three years with F. Liszt. He made his British debut in 1883 in the course of touring Europe and America. He lived in America from 1886 to 1903, in Scotland from 1903 to 1914, in America from 1914 when he returned on his retirement to Scotland in 1923. See J.A. Fisher op.cit. who says that Hyllested was professor of pianoforte at the Atheneum, now the Royal Scottish Academy of Music, and president of the Glasgow Society of Musicians from 1910 to 1914. Hunter, Scandinavian Churches op.cit. p.32, reveals that he had been the Danish Court pianist, that he was brought up in Danish political circles and was befriended by the Danish royal family.
29. L.S. Hunter op.cit. p.32.
30. See, for example, L.S. Hunter A Diocesan Service Book London 1965 Preface pp. xvi,xvii, on using the Psalter : "Our Church ought to have the courage to be as ruthless in excisions as the French Church is being, for we want the best of the psalms to continue to be a deeply-rooted part of public worship."
31. L.S. Hunter John Hunter DD p.254. Referring to the childhood of himself and his older brother Maurice "Religion was never made a burden to us. I was taken early to church...(sc.my father) believed in the forming of habits and the creating of an atmosphere, but was chary of explicit instruction. We grew into it rather than were trained".

32. John Caird : Glasgow University - Professor of Divinity (1862); Principal from 1873. It was John Caird who suggested that the degree of Doctor of Divinity should be conferred on John Hunter in 1893. Edward Caird: Professor of Moral Philosophy, Glasgow from 1866; Master of Balliol, Oxford from 1893 to 1908.
33. L.S. Hunter op.cit. p.78.
34. L.S. Hunter Years of Change and Revolt. Hunter while referring to Edward Caird suggests that its influence waned in the post-war years.
35. L.S. Hunter TS dated Oxford 1909; not accepted for a university prize.
36. A. Thiselton : The Two Horizons Exeter 1980 p.66, quoting R.G. Collingwood, The Idea of History Oxford 1946 pp. 90,91.
- 37 It is likely that the examples of neo-Hegelianism in Leslie Hunter's thinking were due to Lux Mundi authors among whom Charles Gore was the leading figure and a force in Hunter's life as an undergraduate. (TS Oxford) In the essays published under the title "Lux Mundi" there is to be discerned a methodology by means of which the self-understanding of Jesus to which the Gospels bear witness and which are given theological expression in the Church's Creeds, had, none the less, to be commended to an age already affected by the agnosticism of the scientific spirit. The revelation of the past, even of Jesus, could only be realised when its newness emerges to consciousness in the dialectical process and this comes about in "thoughtful meditation with contemporary life". (See A. Thiselton : op.cit. p.67 and quoting H-G Gadamer, Truth and Method - English trans. London 1975 p.150). Consequently Gore, in his Preface to the essays wrote "Theology must take a new development...which is rather a process (sc. a becoming) in which the Church, standing firm in her old truths, enters into the apprehension of the new social and intellectual movements of each age". (C.Gore Lux Mundi London 1897 p.viii).
- 38 Rev. B. Sharp to author. In the matter of the exercise of discipline as incumbent Hunter, disagreeing with Sharp's decision, wrote to him to say that he would receive no preferment in the Sheffield diocese and that a move to any other diocese would be opposed. In the bishop's opinion he was unfit for the ministry. Sharp was advised by his solicitor that the letter was actionable. See also under Sheffield Cathedral, pp. 253-254.

39. J. Baillie. The Source of the Presence of God London 1957 pp. 251, 252.
40. L.S. Hunter The Seed and the Fruit London 1953 p.105: "our fellowship with Christ must be narrow and incomplete until we believe that the value he attached to things are the true value".
41. Mrs. Rachel Moss : letter to author of 17 April, 1984. To Bishop Hunter "I owe many of my life-long concerns"; 13 July 1984 : "as much as to any other person he convinced me of the relevance of the Christian faith to the concerns of lay working life and affairs".
42. There are many examples in guide books : e.g. AA Guide to Country Towns and Villages of Britain London 1985 pp. 354, 355 and 408.
43. In practice Hunter gave way on occasion to a loss of temper in public when a planned exercise was hampered by a forgetfulness in some detail by one of his senior assistants. Two occasions involved the Archdeacon of Sheffield, D.E.W. Harrison. (Rev. B. Sharp to author. Sharp was present at one such; the other was reported to the author.)
44. L.S. Hunter Bishop's letter - September 1940 : three months after Dunkirk.
45. L.S. Hunter TS Oxford.
46. L.S. Hunter MS Years of Change and Revolt 1907 - 1957.
47. Ibid. It was "faith in God" which allowed Hunter to take Darwinism in his stride. It could be that he knew of F.J.A. Hort's opinion - gleaned from his theological reading, written in 1860 "In spite of difficulties, I am inclined to think it (sc.Darwin's theory) unanswerable". (Letter of March 1860 to B.F. Westcott). Had Hunter read A.K. Wallace My Life London 1905 in which Wallace, who anticipated Darwin's findings, provided for a theistic understanding of creation ? His comment has particular value. Darwin's teaching was, he wrote, "that man's whole nature - physical, mental, intellectual and moral was developed from the lower animals...and as a consequence...there was no difference in kind, intellectually and morally and that while his body was undoubtedly developed by the continual modification of some ancestral animal form, some different agency, analogous to that which first produced organic life and then originated consciousness, came into play in order to develop the higher intellectual and spiritual nature of man". Quoted by Alastair Hardy : Darwin and the Spirit of Man , London 1984 p.74 Hardy concludes, p. 242

"That is Darwinism with a difference". Throughout his ministry Hunter's credal affirmation was soundly based. In a liberal, this has to be accounted for.

48. L.S. Hunter : John Hunter DD pp. 240 249. "His breakdown" Leslie Hunter wrote, "he had never contemplated"; he had always had almost perfect health. A very strenuous American tour in 1910 for a preaching mission of ten weeks duration taxed his strength. "In experience the programme proved even more exacting than on paper". (p. 234)
49. L.S. Hunter : TS Oxford.
50. J. Buxton and Penry Williams, Eds. New College Oxford 1379-1979 Oxford 1979 Chapter III "Transformation 1850 - 1914" Alan Ryan pp. 72 ff. As late as 1850 New College "was less a nascent institution of higher education than a corporate landowner whose revenues by statute and tradition were devoted to training and paying for the personnel of the Established Church".
51. Due to the pressure of government enquiry (following the Parliamentary Commission of 1850) and the internal consultation headed by the Visitor, the Bishop of Winchester (C.R. Sumner) in 1852. "
52. New College and Winchester were co-foundations of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester 1367-1404. These were perhaps prompted in part by his own lack of higher education.
53. J. Buxton and P. Williams. op. cit. : Alan Ryan p.72; also quoting H.A.L. Fisher An Unfinished Autobiography Oxford 1940 p.43. New became a very distinguished institution (Ryan) and no longer "a society at once contracted, indolent, orthodox and obscure". (Fisher)
54. Ibid. p.100.
55. L.S. Hunter MS Years of Change and Revolt. 1904 - 1957. Many of the undergraduates were killed in the Great War.
56. J. Buxton and P. Williams op.cit. p.81.
57. Ibid. p.103.

58. L.S. Hunter TS Oxford.
59. Ibid.
60. J. Buxton and P. Williams op.cit. p.100.
61. Ibid. p.100 Cf. L.S. Hunter TS Oxford. Hunter obviously began at Oxford to develop his own idiom by which he commended from his own acquaintance, those of whom he approved. Rashdall was "a humble man of God, erudite in several fields, a sturdy contender for the faith in senior common rooms... warm-hearted and kind". Though written in retrospect they reveal the warmer side of Hunter's character.
62. The New Testament references are : Romans 3.25; 5.9 : Ephesians 1.7 and Colossians 1.15 : I Peter 1.19 and Revelation 7.14; 12.11. The Church of England was not greatly affected by this kind of pietism. In Hymns Ancient and Modern (Standard Edition of 1916) there are only seven hymns of this kind; their popularity was minimal and their retention in the collection would have ended but for the publication of Hymns A and M Revised in 1950 which largely replaced the Standard Edition.
63. P.E. Matheson The Life of Hastings Randall London 1928 p.231
64. H. Rashdall The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology London 1919 pp. 360/1; 420/1 Also pp. 463, 464.
65. Ibid. pp. 463/4. Rashdall's rationale of Christian prophecy was: the moral ideal which Christ taught with his words and illustrated by his life and death of love; the great spiritual dividing line between men will be the line between those who really accept Christ's ideal of life and those who do not; finally, of all the saving forces in the world "the strongest is still the influence of Christ". The test of acceptance was formulated by Jesus himself - Hastings believed - in his penetrating declaration, "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." (St. Matthew 7.21) "The highest loyalty is an exclusive loyalty".

66. Ibid. Appendix "Atonement and Experience" : p. 478. "Countless numbers of men have absorbed much of the spirit of Christ without much conscious devotion to Himself. Sometimes the ideal which really influenced them had more of Christ in it than the conventional Christ of their Church or age".
67. In Christian theology there are theories of the Atonement; it has been a mark of the Church's humility and wisdom never to define a doctrine of salvation through Christ.
68. Hunter's understanding of the Incarnation is that of St. John's Gospel (see p. 338 . Addresses to the clergy often exemplified this) but there was a place for Rashdall's emphasis, the two being held in solution. "If we can say" wrote Rashdall "that God is to some extent revealed in all men, then it becomes possible to think of Him as making a supreme, culminating, unique revelation of Himself in one human character and life. And such a crowning revelation I believe the conscience and reason of mankind do discover in the historical Jesus of Nazareth". (Hastings Rashdall : op. cit. p. 448.) Cf. A.M. Ramsey From Gore to Temple London 1960 p.86. for Hensley Henson's criticism of Rashdall who "maintained Christ's deity only by deifying mankind and blurring the line between Creator and Creature".
69. P.E. Matheson op.cit. pp. 236/7.
70. Revd. Bernard Sharp in conversation with the author ; Sharp was in Provost Jarvis' confidence. Hunter's two periods as a Residentiary Canon of Newcastle Cathedral were to give him added and responsible experience. See Chapter Four.
71. J.W.B. Joseph The Oxford Magazine 14 February 1924.
72. Ibid.
73. F.L. Cross : op. cit. p. 1044. John Percival was Bishop of Hereford from 1895 to 1918. In his later years he sought to further the cause of reunion between the Church of England and Nonconformist Churches. He met with opposition both from Convocation (Canterbury) and from his own clergy when he invited Nonconformists to receive Holy Communion in Hereford Cathedral.
74. L.S. Hunter TS Oxford.
75. Revd. Dr. G.V. Bennett : Letter of 3 October 1984 to author.
76. See Chapter Three n. 78 below.
77. L.S. Hunter : John Hunter DD - letter of 4 November 1912 p. 272. But cf. p. 290 P.T. Forsyth at John Hunter's funeral; his was a religion "intrinsically and overwhelmingly moral...mystically moral."

78. L.S. Hunter : John Hunter DD - pp. 155,6.
79. L.S. Hunter : TS Morality and Mysticism.
80. Ibid. quoting von Hügel The Mystical Element of Religion New York 1923 pp. 28-39 and passim.
81. Ibid. where "processes of prayer" refers to methods of prayer as they were developed and systematised in ascetical theology.
See : F.P. Harton : The Elements of the Spiritual Life : London 1932 - passim and especially Parts IV and V pp. 221-339.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid. See Appendix 1. In the author's view Hunter's dismissive evaluation of the later medieval mystics is unjust. It resulted in an inability to understand and to value rightly those - priests and lay people - who were not "activists".
84. L.S. Hunter : A Diocesan Service Book op.cit. p. 195.

NOTES

CHAPTER THREE

i.

1. L.S. Hunter TS The Student Christian Movement : "I owed much to him as tutor and friend. he was a fine, deeply religious man and was much involved in the Student Christian Movement".
2. Hunter's Confirmation took place in the Bishop's Chapel; he was presented by Principal Johnson. Cf. p. 45 "I joined the Anglican Communion...".
3. See p.34,38 above.
4. L.S. Hunter op.cit. See p. 1 above.
5. H.A.L. Fisher A History of Europe London 1936 p.1120.
6. Ibid. p. 1120.
7. Ibid. p. 1163. With this temper came also "the collapse over a greater part of Europe of social discipline. The trust in authority was undermined, the fabric of society was broken". p. 1186. See A.R. Vidler The Church in an Age of Revolution London 1961 p.213 quoting R.H. Niebuhr The Kingdom of God in America "A God without wrath brought men without sin into a kingdom without judgement, through the ministrations of a Christ without a Cross". Cf. R.H. Niebuhr The Nature and Destiny of Man Vol. II London 1943 p. 56 "Liberal Christianity can give no satisfactory answer to the question why Christ, rather than some other good character of history, should be revered as divine..."
8. See p. 57ff.
9. L.S. Hunter The Artist and Religion London 1915 p.8.
10. Examples include : the number of dioceses in England in 1915 : 24 in the Province of Canterbury; 12 in the Province of York; the relationship of the Church of England to the Crown which differs from that in Scotland : the Monarch is always crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury; membership of the House of Lords by the two Archbishops and twenty four diocesan bishops.

There is no indication that Hunter was drawn to the Episcopal Church of Scotland. The fact that it is not the national church is sufficient for this.

11. The Reverend W.B. Selbie (1862-1944). Fr. Selbie was Principal from 1909 to 1932.
12. L.S. Hunter op.cit. p. 40 quoting Forsyth "What the artist sees entombed within material nature he raises and reveals to us by a nature above nature - by his genius...and to complete nature by soul as God completed it in man". (P.T. Forsyth Christ on Parnassus. p. 259)
13. A.R. Vidler op.cit. p. 219.
14. S.A. Kierkegaard (1813-1855) - Danish philosopher and theologian. He was a baffling theologian to the nineteenth century Church, but came to be regarded in the twentieth as the author of existentialism. To him the key to human life was the primacy of personal existence; community scarcely mattered. As he applied this to Christianity he taught that it was impossible for the intellect to accept the fact of the Incarnation : it is a contradiction that can only be accepted by the leap of faith. His basic Lutheranism emerges in this statement. For a convenient summary see A.R. Vidler op. cit. pp. 201-211.
Karl Barth (1866-1968). Swiss by birth, Barth exercised a tremendous influence in the Protestant Churches of Western Europe and after the Second World War in Britain, especially in the 1950s. His influence is to be found in the work of Roman Catholic theologians in the 1960s. He was a bitter opponent of National Socialism in Germany. His theological position was based on an affirmation of the Supremacy and Transcendence of God, revealed only in Jesus Christ; man is totally dependent on God's grace and is incapable otherwise of godliness in thought and deed. Sir Edward Hoskyns (1884-1937) by his translation of Barth's Der Romerbrief - Commentary on Romans London 1933 - introduced him to non-German speaking English scholars and clergymen.
15. L.S. Hunter Let us go Forward London 1944 pp. 5,6.
16. The Church Fathers were strictly the first bishops whose writings have been preserved : e.g. St. Ignatius (c. 35-c.107), Bishop of Antioch. His seven letters - to the Ephesians, to the Romans, to Bishop (St.) Polycarp of Smyrna - are perhaps the most important. (See F.L. Cross op. cit. pp. 676,677). Subsequently the term specifically referred to the defenders

of orthodoxy in the face of heresy during the fourth and fifth centuries. To them the Church owes the so-called Nicene Creed which remains the definitive Creed of the Eastern and Western Churches. This is the creed of the Nicene Fathers of 325 AD as accepted by the Council of Constantinople in 381. (See J.N.D. Kelly Early Christian Creeds London 1958 pp. 322-331).

- 17 For a contemporary expression of this see Cyril Garbett The Claims of the Church of England London 1948 passim; and the Minutes of the Upper House of the Convocation of York on 16 October 1946 : The Primate referred to the question of mixed marriages of members of the Church of England with Roman Catholics; members of the Church were to be warned not to sign the undertaking usually demanded about the religious training of children. He reminded the Synod that the Church of England "is historically the Catholic Church of the country".
18. Cosin was deprived by the Long Parliament of all his benefices in 1642. He went to Paris where he was chaplain to Anglican members of Queen Henrietta Maria's household. At the Restoration he was consecrated Bishop of Durham in 1660 and died in 1672.
19. Cosin wrote two books during his exile : Scholastical History of the Canon of Scripture, and The History of Papal Transubstantiation.
20. John Cosin The Hour of Prayer 1627; L.S. Hunter A Diocesan Service Book London 1965.
21. J.R.H. Moorman A History of the Church in England London 1953 p. 413.
22. Ibid. p. 414. See G.K.A. Bell Randall Davidson London 1935 ii p. 737 : At Lambeth Archbishop Davidson faced the crisis with the calm fortitude for which he was well-known but he was bewildered by the shock. "Randall thinking - thinking" wrote his wife in her diary. There was one clear voice in 1914 - the young vicar of St. James's, Piccadilly, who in a sermon in February 1916 said "The sin which led immediately to the outbreak of war we may believe to be mainly in one nation, but the root is to be found among all peoples...The punishment for sin comes through the moral order which God has set up". F.A. Iremonger William Temple London 1948 p.174.

- 23 G.A. Studdert-Kennedy (1883 - 1929), Anglican priest. He was a chaplain to the Forces from 1916 to 1919. His Christian faith endeared him to the men in the trenches where he was known as "Woodbine Willie" from the cigarettes he gave to them. (See F.L. Cross op. cit. p. 1316)
24. Gerald Studdert-Kennedy Dog Collar Democracy London 1982 p.76.
25. J.R.H. Moorman op. cit. p. 414.
26. L.S. Hunter TS Years of Change and Revolt .
27. There is no evidence that Hunter contemplated active service. His father, after the death of his elder brother Maurice at the front in 1916 - his commanding officer had written to say that "he was one of the bravest men I ever met" (L.S. Hunter John Hunter DD op. cit. p. 283) - was opposed to it. Grace Hunter's parents lost their only son in battle and there is a suspicion that the lack of cordiality of Samuel McAulay for Grace's husband stemmed from the fact that the latter had escaped military service. Hunter visited France in 1916 with the Y.M.C.A. and under their auspices went to Germany in 1919 where he stayed for several months.
28. L.S. Hunter TS The Student Christian Movement.
29. Canon Tissington Tatlow (1876 - 1957) : made a deacon in 1902 and ordained priest in 1904. he was successively assistant curate of St. Barnabas, Kensington 1902-3; St. Peter, Bayswater 1904-9; Secretary of the S.C.M. 1903-29; Chairman of S.C.M. 1929-33; Select Preacher University of Cambridge 1915, of Oxford 1934?36; rector of All Hallows, Lombard Street 1926-37; Honorary Canon of Canterbury Cathedral from 1926.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid. See W.R. Inge Diary of a Dean London 1949 p.22. where he quoted Bishop Hensley Henson in 1913 : "I think one of the most impressive prophesies that have come true was by Bishop Westcott who was speaking about the second-class stuff that was taking Holy Orders".
34. L.S. Hunter TS Oxford.

35. Ven. M.J.M. Paton : letter to author of 29 November 1984 in which he quoted a remark made by Hunter to Archdeacon R.W. Woods (later Bishop of Worcester) "Don't thank choirs; they are always bad".
36. A couple of terms at Westcott House, Cambridge or at Cuddesdon Theological College, Oxford would have been a valuable experience. The academic ability of students was generally high. At Westcott there was an earthing of theology by a study of its practical application; at Cuddesdon he would have related, or objected, to the Catholic ethos of the college. Hunter's criticism of the theological colleges would have had, as a consequence, a more informed content. But see W.R. Inge op. cit. pp. 167, 168 (in 1932) "The theological colleges, or some of them, are queer places". Inge had been talking to the younger clergy of the diocese of Southwark on the practical difficulties connected with sex. "I was astonished at the innocence and ignorance which some of them showed by their questions".
37. The reference was to St. David's College, Lampeter (now incorporated into the University of Wales). It had been passing through an unsatisfactory period. See L.S. Hunter : letter of Ascension Day 1931 to the Bishop of Lichfield (J.A. Kempthorne). He had been offered the principalship of Lichfield Theological College. Hunter set out the practical needs of the College and made two further points : the need for a wider vision of college worship - "the most valuable thing ordinands can learn at college is how inexhaustively rich and dynamic truly Christian worship is"; and on admissions, "candidates are weak, an all-graduate college is preferable and bursaries ought to be provided and used to attract the best type of ordinand." Hunter refused the offer.
38. Hunter drew up and had printed a series of booklets on books of the Old and New Testaments. Their contents were drawn from his reading at Oxford. A valuable feature was a list of questions for discussion which were designed to help students to see the relevance of the Bible - selectively used - to modern needs. The only example which the author has been able to find is his Outline Studies in Isaiah, London 1915. The last section on the Kingdom of God was a theme never absent from Hunter's mind.
39. L.S. Hunter The Artist and Religion London 1915. It was written at the request of the Fine Arts and Music Committee of S.C.M. It "stirred thought in wider circles than the fine art colleges and music schools". (Tissington Tatlow op.cit. p. 600.)

40. Ibid. p. 72.
41. Ibid. p. 13.
42. Ibid. p. 12.
43. Ibid. p 7.
44. Ibid. pp. 39, 40.
45. Ibid. p. 40.
46. Ibid. pp. 42, 43.
47. Ibid. pp.50, 51.
48. Ibid. p. 55. This points to the attraction which the thought of Pierre Teilhard de Chardin was to have for Hunter: cp. The Phenomenon of Man, Eng. trans. London 1959 p.297. "Though frightened for a moment by evolution, the Christian now perceives that what it offers him is nothing but a magnificent ~~means~~ of feeling more at one with God and of gearing himself more to him". Hunter in a footnote acknowledged his indebtedness to P.T. Forsyth in his Christ on Parnassus, Chapters I-IV.
49. Ibid. p. 57. Hunter continued "consequently the artist has to guard the principles of Art uncorrupted from the influences of a materialistic, uncultured and in many ways vulgar age". (p. 81)
50. Ibid. p. 91.
51. Tissington Tatlow op. cit. p. 536.
52. Ibid. p. 547.
53. By Hunter it may be presumed.
54. Tissington Tatlow op. cit. pp. 602, 603.
55. Ibid. pp. 878, 879.
56. Ibid. p. 637.
57. Hunter was one of a group which included the English Presbyterian William Paton (d. 1943) who was missionary secretary of S.C.M. in 1911 and later secretary of the International Missionary Council; F.A. Cockin who after other appointments was Bishop of Bristol from 1946 to 1959; Dr. H. Mess who became Director of the Tyneside Council of Social Service and in 1935 reader in Sociology in London University.

58. L.S. Hunter TS The Student Christian Movement.
59. The Church of England's rule concerning titles is contained in Canon 33 of the Canons of 1604. It specifies that a man is not to be ordained until he has obtained a definite spiritual charge or office with guarantee of maintenance. (See J.V. Bulard op. cit. p. 36 and F.L. Cross op. cit. pp. 1362, 1363.) The Vicar of Brockley - F. Whitfield-Dawkes, later Bishop Suffragan of Plymouth - in a letter to Hunter of 2 April 1918 wrote "I want you to know that no-one could have helped me more than you have done".
60. Hunter had previously been engaged to another woman. On his resignation as Bishop of Sheffield Hunter spoke warmly of the debt he owed to his wife - large indeed - and even permitted himself a joke. Miss Joyce Peck (Grace Hunter's niece) - letter of 27 March 1985 to author : Grace McAulay was the daughter of Samuel McAulay of Aylesby, Lincolnshire. He was a gentleman farmer, a Methodist and was made High Sheriff of the County in 1920, the year of his death. He had inherited the property - manor house and farm - as a consequence of being invited as a young man to live with his maternal grandparents - the Sowerbys who came to Aylesby from Yorkshire in 1817.
61. L.S. Hunter : letters to Grace Hunter (in the Hunter papers in Sheffield City Library) in which the strength of his affection is revealed. She was "Dearest"; "Grace love" and in conclusion "Always yours"; "Much love to you, my beloved"; "I miss you more than I can say". Each letter gave details of what Hunter had done and the people he had met; there were frequent descriptions of natural beauties. After Grace's death in Sheffield on 30 September 1975 - she was eighty three - Hunter "never seemed to settle" (Rev. J.B. Pears in letter to author of 1 January 1985); his forgetfulness became more extreme and mental confusion developed quickly.
62. J. Peck op. cit. Essential for diverse reasons : Grace Hunter was not overawed by him; her sense of humour encouraged Hunter's own puckish humour; her healing words assuaged the hurt and turned the anger of those whom Hunter had severely criticised; to those who visited Ranmoor Grange her welcoming smile was reassuring. Behind these duties and ministrations was her unparaded work as Justice of the Peace and her membership of the executive committee of the Sheffield Council for Social Service. Within the diocese she drove Hunter to many of his evening engagements - on one occasion with humorous result. Hunter, despite Grace's expostulations, gave out confident directions and the episcopal car drove into a ploughed field.

63. G. Hewitt Strategist for the Spirit p. 124 quoting Mrs. Jean Sutton (another niece) : letter 15 February 1984.
64. J. Peck : telephone conversation with author of 1 October 1984.
65. L.S. Hunter : letter of 25 February 1919. But Grace Hunter's last years had been unhappy - she was failing in health and anxious about her husband's welfare. In old age - and not entirely himself - Hunter criticised her peevishly for her inability to keep the Sheffield flat in good order. Throughout her last illness - the result of a severe stroke - Hunter spent most of the daylight hours by her bedside in the Royal Hospital. After her death he was depressed and lonely. Sadly, though he lived for nine more years (at the Retreat, York), his mental grip deteriorated though his smile, so much more in evidence after his retirement, remained.
- ii.
66. L.S. Hunter TS Autobiography.
67. H.R.L. Sheppard, 1880-1937 : deacon 1907, priest 1908; Oxford House, Bethnall Green 1907-1911; assistant curate St. George's, Hanover Square, London 1911-1914; vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields 1914-1926; Dean of Canterbury 1929-1931, Canon of St. Paul's 1934-35; founded the Peace Pledge Union in 1936. Of his ordination see R. Ellis Roberts H.R.L. Sheppard : Life and Letters London 1942 p.37.
"There is no doubt that, so far as man's influence counted at all, the Church of God owes Dick Sheppard to Cosmo Gordon Lang".
68. L.S. Hunter op. cit.
69. L.S. Hunter A Parson's Job London 1931 p. 228. R. Ellis Roberts op. cit. p.87 "In his heart he was a man of sad doubt, timid, self-distrustful, but he lived Love".
70. R. Ellis Roberts op. cit. pp. 92.93. During Sheppard's incumbency "he made the church the most widely known in London and he himself the best-known and most widely loved parson in England; hundreds of thousands of men, for whom religion had meant boredom, mumbo-jumbo, something dessicated and dead, found it exciting, moving, helpful, alive".
71. L.S. Hunter TS Autobiography.
72. R. Ellis Roberts op. cit. p. 81. "No man had quite his power of giving himself".
73. L.S. Hunter. A Parson's Job p. 130. An example of this phenomenon was the ministry of Fr. G.C. Ommanney at St. Matthew's, Sheffield (1882 - 1936). An atmosphere of God's presence and of holy living still remains in the church and is frequently commented on. (See J.D. Preece "St. Matthew's, Sheffield", Sheffield 1974 pp. 3-5.) Hunter came to realise this.

74. L.S. Hunter TS Autobiography.
75. J.R.H. Moorman op. cit. pp. 416-418. "A small group of enthusiasts, including William Temple and H.R.L. Sheppard, met in London and discussed ways in which such (sc. democratic) reforms could be carried out".
76. J.G. Lockhart Cosmo Gordon Lang London 1949 p. 375. Lockhart quotes Archbishop Lang on Sheppard: "We shall never see his like again" but "how I wish that the course of his life had been different and that the dear man had never written those tiresome and unhelpful books but simply allowed his unique personality to radiate its influence of love and good will". One such book would have been We Say No ! A Plain Man's Guide to Pacificism London 1935 and probably The Impatience of a Parson London 1927. See Lord Birkenhead Halifax London 1965 p. 360. Birkenhead referred to Sheppard's "message of peace at any price".
77. F.L. Cross op. cit. p. 1270. At St. Martin's Sheppard made his church the best known parish church in the British Empire.
78. F.R. Barry Period of my Life London 1970 p.86. Bishop Barry writing in his autobiography of the post Great War years referred to "the rebel groups which resolved at various distances round Dick Sheppard - including Leslie Hunter".
79. R. Ellis Roberts op. cit. pp. 118, 119 quoting William Temple : "Apart from Dick Sheppard there would have been no Life and Liberty Movement. In that sense it was his creation; yet it was never, I think, quite what he wanted it to be. He conceived a movement for a great quickening of religion in the Church." See F.A. Iremonger op. cit. p.219; Sheppard to Temple "Don't you think, William dear, that there ought to be a 'ginger' group in the Church ?".
80. R. Ellis Roberts op. cit. p. 120. Roberts saw Sheppard as "remaining in many ways Victorian" and the "Grey Book", (see below p. 72) for which the Life and Liberty group was responsible, was "rather firmly Victorian in much of its outlook". It was a scholarly essay in liturgical revision but, in the author's view, essentially a successor to the Book of Common Prayer and as such providing for the needs of the better educated.

81. L.S. Hunter A Parson's Job. p. 235.
82. L.S. Hunter The Bishop's Letter - 15 April 1947.
83. On one of his visits to the parish of Holy Trinity, Dalton (near Rotherham) Hunter had consented to confirm a bed-fast man - very feeble and scarcely able to speak - whose wife was quite voluble and welcoming. The Sacrament was administered but Hunter made no personal contact with the couple for whom this was a great occasion, beyond a brief word or two of little importance.

iii.

84. See above p. 57.
85. See the comment by G.L. Prestige (1889 - 1955) in "Theology", March 1941 p. 166. Prestige was contemporary with Hunter at Oxford. "The whole foundation of my own theological position and that of my Oxford contemporaries was based on the teaching of its (sc. Lux Mundi) authors"; he continued, "but many of them were apt to raise local rebellions and to do a bit of sharp-shooting from behind convenient ricks".
86. Charles Gore (1853-1932) : deacon 1875, priest 1876; Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford 1875; vicar of Radley, Berks 1893-1894; Canon of Westminster Abbey 1894-1902; Bishop of Worcester 1902-1905; of Birmingham 1905-1911; of Oxford 1911-1919.
87. Charles Gore The Incarnation of the Son of God London 1882. An example in the field of applied theology was Gore's statement that "there is not amongst us anything that can be called an adequate conception of what Christian morality means". See D.L. Edwards Leaders of the Church of England London 1979 p. 277 quoting Gore "The Church...has a moral standard...which...she must be true to..." (The Sermon on the Mount).
88. Gore contributed the Preface and subsequently a long Preface) to the Tenth Edition. He also wrote Chapter 8: "The Holy Spirit and Inspiration".

89. The three books were : Belief in God London 1921; Belief in Christ London 1922; The Holy Spirit and the Church London 1924; and the complete texts in The Reconstruction of Belief London 1924.
90. D.L. Edwards op. cit. p. 279. Gore was the first Bishop of Birmingham. He won the respect of the - loudly Nonconformist - city by his radical zeal in politics combined with his prophetic moralism. "He was assiduous in teaching the clergy and people, in befriending those who needed his friendship in any problem, in confirming the young, in speaking for civic and national causes and in stirring up the social conscience of churchmen".
91. Hunter never attached himself to any group or power bloc within the Church. Gore was too great a man to do so, but inevitably he was regarded by many as "Catholic" and not "Evangelical"; "Broad" he was not.
92. L.S. Hunter TS Years of Change. See M.B. Reckitt Maurice to Temple London 1946 p. 146. Gore "would jealously set limits to the paternal supervision of the democratic state". See Chapter Ten below, pp.265/6 for Hunter's similar views.
93. D.L. Edwards op. cit. p. 274.
94. Ibid. p. 275.
95. Charles Gore The Incarnation of the Son of God p.4.
96. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review - April 1961. In this review Hunter said "Gore and Temple by the range and quality of their writings and their public utterances and actions and their deep spirituality had a unique influence on the Anglican Communion which spread far beyond it." For Temple on Gore, see D.L. Edwards op. cit. p. 285 : " Though I have had many tutors in Christ, he was perhaps above all others my father: and so far as I can picture Jesus Christ, I picture him as not unlike the father whom I have lost."
97. Gore was the founder of the Community of the Resurrection at Oxford in 1892; now at Mirfield, Yorkshire - the 'Mirfield Fathers'.
98. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review - April 1961.
99. L.S. Hunter The Seed and the Fruit London 1953 p. 38.
100. A.M. Ramsey From Gore to Temple London 1961 p.95.

101. Ibid. p.97.

102. See p. 41.

103. Charles Gore Roman Catholic Claims London 1892 p. xiii.
He expanded this slightly in The Reconstruction of Belief.

iv.

104. Friedrich von Hügel (1852-1925), Baron of the Holy Roman Empire, was born in Florence (his mother Mary Catherine, was a Scot and a Presbyterian, a daughter of Sidney, first Lord Herbert of Lea). He came to England in 1867. Von Hügel was a Roman Catholic (lay) philosopher and theologian. He was suspected of Modernism but never moved from a firm, but not uncritical, adherence to the Church of his birth. His The Mystical Element of Religion as studied in St. Catherine of Genoa and her Friends, London 1908, though diffuse and involved in its use of English, is of considerable significance as a guide to and a verification of the spiritual life. It has been said of him (in 1934) that "with a deeper, more genial conviction and greater intellectual openness and ability than any other man of our time, he quickened faith in the reality of God for many in whom the sense might have been stifled but never replaced by current indifference to the supernatural". (A.H. Dakin - see n. 105 below.) Hunter said of the book in 1973 "It was a pity in some ways that he wrote the book when he did. If he had left it for another ten years it would have been more readable. There is a marked difference in his English between this long first book, which I began to find on re-reading rather tedious, and his last unfinished book on the reality of God". (Letter to M.J.M. Paton : see n. 116 below). Von Hügel's last book was The Reality of God London 1931. He had been invited to give the Gifford Lectures in the Scottish Universities in 1924-1926 but was too ill to complete them. They were published posthumously.
105. A.H. Dakin Von Hügel and the Supernatural London 1934 p.vii.
106. Ibid. p. vii.
107. L.S. Hunter TS Autobiography See The Dictionary of National Biography 1922-1930, article on von Hugel by C.C.J. Webb : Von Hügel was "repelled by the immanentism of many modernists as tending to a denial of the 'objective' full reality of God postulated by 'adoration' which he regarded as essential to religion."

+ a R.C. convent

108. L.S. Hunter Morality and Mysticism : "The mystic is of pagan ancestry and even when practised by Christians it makes for a false antithesis between religion and morality". See Appendix I.
109. A.H. Dakin op. cit. p. vii.
110. Ibid. p. 68 n.1.
111. Ibid. p. 27 n.1.
112. L.S. Hunter TS Autobiography. Von Hugel's faith "was like one of those Italian churches which meant so much to him, rich in traditional treasures and mysteries with their lights and holy confusion". He compared this with his father's "psalmlike simplicity and firmness", but recognised the formative and complementary value of both as illuminating the spiritual path. Cf. The Dictionary of National Biography op. cit. where Webb quotes Dom Cuthbert Butler, The Tablet, 14 February 1925 p.49 : Dom Cuthbert would "watch him sitting in church, the great deep eyes fixed on the Tabernacle, the whole being wrapt in an absorption of prayer, devotion, contemplation"... "Those who have not seen him so know only half the man".
113. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review - November 1950 : at the Labour Party Conference on 1 October 1950.
114. F. von Hugel Letters to a Niece New York 1928 p.xxxvi in A.H. Dakin op. cit. p. 111 Cf A.R. Vidler to author 29 September 1984 : Hunter "was a realist about the Church".
115. F. von Hugel Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion New York p. 230 in A.H. Dakin op. cit. p. 100 : "If God is to be known he must be apprehended ordinarily through the concrete, the incarnational, the manifestation of himself in some form capable of being assimilated by our sense-surpassing human knowledge".
116. L.S. Hunter : letter to the Reverend M.J.M. Paton of 6 February 1973.
- v.
117. William Temple (1881-1944) : fellow of Queen's College, Oxford; Headmaster of Repton 1910; Rector of St. James', Picadilly 1914; Organising Secretary of the Life and Liberty Movement 1915 - 1919; Canon of Westminster 1919; Bishop of Manchester 1921; Archbishop of York 1929; Archbishop of Canterbury 1942-1944.

118. L.S. Hunter TS After Thirty-One Years.
119. C.W. Lowry Theology - January 1985 : Art. "William Temple after Forty Years", quoting W.R. Matthews et. al. William Temple : An Estimate and Appreciation p. 100. There is something of the spirit of hagiography here; Temple in his humility would have been the last man so to think of himself.
120. L.S. Hunter TS op.cit.
121. Temple was at the time Rector of St. James, Piccadilly.
122. F.A. Iremonger William Temple London 1948 p. 180 : quoting Temple "The Challenge is a Church of England newspaper, independent in all party matters, whether in Church or State. The title indicates the hope and intention to express more and more adequately the challenge offered by the Cross of Christ to worldliness and indifference both within and without the Societies which claim to embody the Spirit of the Master". This was written in 1914. Hunter ceased to be editor in 1919.
123. L.S. Hunter TS Student Christian Movement.
124. F.A. Iremonger op.cit. p. 185.
125. Ibid. pp. 220, 221.
126. Ibid. p. 220.
127. L.S. Hunter : Let us go Forward. London 1944 p. 15 n.
128. L.S. Hunter. Bishop's Letter January 1941. "The ordering of Church life will always be the best witness we can offer to secular society".
129. F.L. Cross op. cit. p. 450 Art. The Enabling Act ; the official title is The Church of England Assembly (Powers) Act 1919. An Ecclesiastical Committee was also established consisting of fifteen members each of the Houses of Parliament nominated by the Lord Chancellor and the Speaker respectively to which its measures were to be submitted before proceeding to Parliament.
130. This was contained in the Synodical Government Measure of 1969.

131. See L.S. Hunter Church Strategy in a Changing World London 1949. Appendix p. 94. The desiderata were : the Church of England would become in fact the church of the people; the Church would be a community and not a clique; there would be inter-Church cooperation; Churchmen would be politically active; English Churchmen would not be too insular.
132. See Minutes of Convocation of York (Full House) for 23 May 1940: "His Grace (s.c. W. Temple) welcomed the new Bishop of Sheffield." Temple had known Hunter and his work for 19 years.
133. L.S. Hunter TS After Thirty-One Years; and William Ebor - letter of 17 June 1939 to Hunter : "I want you to know that it is with my most cordial approval that this choice was made".
134. Ibid.
135. A.R. Vidler : letter to author of 29 September 1984. Hunter was "a poor public speaker and had no small talk and so was gauche in personal relations...I don't know why he never took the trouble to improve his style in this respect which I am sure he could have done".
136. L.S. Hunter "The Church in the Secular World" : BBC talk, 28 May 1947. Hunter's theme was the necessary interpenetration of the Christian and the secular : "the task is to get the ratio the right way round".
137. F.A. Iremonger op.cit. pp. 78-80.
138. L.S. Hunter TS After Thirty-One Years .
139. L.S. Hunter Church Strategy in a Changing World. p. 30.
140. See Chapter Six pp. 157-168.
141. L.S. Hunter Church Strategy in a Changing World p. 30.
142. John Macquarrie In Search of Humanity London 1982 p.213.
143. Ronald Preston op. cit. p. 81.
144. L.S. Hunter TS Why Bishops? "Ordination and consecration within the Catholic tradition is that reception 'in an abiding form' of Holy Orders and places the three-fold ministry within the category of non-repeatable acts which mark the corporate life and identity of the Church as Catholic and Apostolic".
145. L.S. Hunter TS After Thirty-One Years.

146. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review - October 1948. But see J.G. Lockhart op. cit. p. 273, quoting Bishop G.K.A. Bell of Chichester (1929-1958) : "There is no man in the whole Anglican Communion who has left a deeper impression on the unity movement in that Communion between 1920 and 1947. Temple in certain special respects extended its influence more widely...but Lang took the significant decisions for the Church of England and its sister Churches".
147. See p.107- the Oxford Conference; cf. Rev. Dr. K. Slack : letter to the author of 19 March 1985 : Hunter "was for very many years indeed a member - and an active and regular member - of the British Council of Churches. He was also for very many years the (joint) chairman of the Inter-Church Aid and Refugee Service Department of the Council, out of which Christian Aid sprang...His interest was, I think, mainly in the 'Inter-Church Aid' side of things, and notably the links with Europe."
148. L.S. Hunter Church Quarterly Review - July 1964 pp. 312, 313. "Reforms in the Church involving money, bricks and mortar, terms of employment, social relationships at bottom concern the holiness of the Church and its witness to Jesus Christ in the world".
149. Ibid. p. 313.
150. Ronald Preston op.cit. p. 75. Hunter was "perhaps the leading figure in the group which produced (sc.two short books outlining areas of necessary reform) Men, Money and the Ministry London 1937, and Putting our House in Order London 1941.
151. Minutes of the Committee of Management of the Diocesan Trust and Board of Finance for the years 1940 - 1942.
152. Church Information Office 1964. Report of a Commission appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York.
153. The Reverend Canon P.H. Boulton by telephone to author : Canon Boulton is the Synodical Secretary and Pro-locutor of the Lower House of the Convocation of York.
154. Church Information Office op. cit. "The Church of England has always been entwined with the life of the English people at all levels". Referring to the increased neutrality of the Welfare State the Report says "we must not regard these trends as outside the influence of Christian thought and judgement; the bishop is first and foremost a father-in-God to those living within a diocese and this involves contacts with the State and with other social groups."

155. William Temple Citizen and Churchman London 1941 passim
156. Church Information Office op. cit. "A Bishop is consecrated to the whole Church of God" of which one effect in England is the presence of bishops in the House of Lords. "They should" (sc.in the Lords) use their opportunities to bring Christian insights into the discussion of current issues". Hunter did. See Chapter Ten passim.
157. Temple once said in a letter to his father "What is needed is a strong broad Church movement". (F.A. Iremonger op.cit. p. 486) Haziness of doctrine did not come into Temple's conception of "broad". In a letter to his mother (F.A. Iremonger op. cit. pp. 487, 488) he wrote "Religion is in all respects (sc.as opposed to moralism) 'not of this world' and of it one may say that there is safety in extremes and nowhere else. There !" So wrote the young Temple just before his ordination; he never changed his views. He dedicated his Studies in the Spirit and Truth of Christianity (London 1914) to Charles Gore to whom, more than to anyone else "I owe my degree of apprehension of the truth".

vi.

158. O.C. Quick (1885-1944) : ordained priest 1912; Canon-residentiary of Newcastle Cathedral 1920 - 1923; of Carlisle 1923 - 1930; of St. Paul's 1930 - 1934; of Durham 1934 - 1939; of Christ Church, Oxford and Regius Professor of Divinity 1939 - 1944. See A.M. Ramsay op. cit. p. 107 : "in detachment from any group or party in the Church, he (sc. Quick) expounded a liberal orthodoxy".
159. Leeds Clergy School was founded in 1876; it closed in 1925.
160. F.L. Cross op. cit. p. 318. The Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline reported in 1906. It recommended the issue of "Letters of Business" to the Convocations (of Canterbury and York) with a view to Prayer Book revision. The subject was before Convocation for nearly twenty years until the Revised Prayer Book (Permissive) Measure set reform in motion.
161. W.K. Lowther Clarke and C.H. Harris : Liturgy and Worship London 1932 p. 789.
162. A New Service Book London 1923.

163. Principles of Prayer Book Revision - Grey Book Pamphlets London n.d. but very likely 1923. An ink note in Hunter's copy indicates that the compiler was "O.C. Quick and a Group".
164. G. Hewitt op. cit. p. 24. A leather bound copy of the book was presented to Hunter by members of the group who signed their names. Four of them were to become bishops : Mervyn Haigh (Winchester 1942-52); R.G. Parsons (Hereford 1941-49); F.R. Barry (Southwell 1941-64); E.S. Woods (Lichfield 1937-53).
165. O.C. Quick : among his writings were The Christian Sacraments London 1927 and Doctrines of the Creed London 1938. Both were recommended reading for ordinands.
166. Author from observation. Hunter would wave a hand vaguely and drift into silence.
167. See L.S. Hunter Let us go Forward op. cit. p. 6. "Authority, unless balanced and combined with freedom, becomes totalitarian; freedom, unless restrained by love of the brotherhood and the discipline of the community, becomes individualist and sectarian. A solely clerical authority is the worst form of totalitarianism; a freedom which acknowledges neither the authority of learning, tradition or order, is the worst of anarchies - and there is a good deal of it among half-educated people". The last phrase is a fall from grace into generalisation.
168. L.S. Hunter TS Public Worship and the Strategy of Mission.
169. L.S. Hunter A Diocesan Service Book London 1965.
170. Ibid. Section 14 Special Occasions pp. 124-171. The Services are of great merit. One, "A Service of Praise for Choirboys or Young People", was first used on 9 December 1933 in Newcastle Cathedral. Its aptness to the occasion is particularly satisfactory. It is based on the Te Deum Laudamus and caters for constant participation, interspersed by brief organ interludes; for controlled movement; for directed worship. The one element lacking, and which dates the composition, is that no provision is made for any form of youthful spontaneity. See Appendix 2.
171. Ibid. pp. vii, viii.
172. O.C. Quick Doctrine and the Grey Book Pamphlet 13 p.4.
173. L.S. Hunter TS Public Worship and the Strategy of Mission.
174. Ibid.

175. C. Gore, Ed. op. cit. Preface p. viii.
176. O.C. Quick op. cit. pp. 9, 10.
177. L.S. Hunter The Occasional Offices Grey book Pamphlet 12 p. 3. Hunter also collaborated in The Vulgar Tongue, Pamphlet 11 with T.M. Parker, Librarian of Pusey House, Oxford. "It is just as difficult to compose simple as elaborate English". p. 9; and with F.R. Barry The Value of Freedom, Pamphlet 14 p.6: "we have sought to make suggestions for prayer of a frankly experimental type".
178. Ibid. p.3.
179. O.C. Quick op.cit. p. 10.
180. L.S. Hunter A Mission of the People of God London 1961 p. 112. "The risen and ascended Christ is radiating the power of the Holy Spirit to his Apostles and through them to the whole human race and all living creatures". This was Hunter's last visitation of the diocese of Sheffield.

NOTES

CHAPTER FOUR

1.

1. St. Benedict Biscop, c. 628-89. He was a Benedictine monk of noble birth. He founded monasteries at Wearmouth (674) and Jarrow (628). He was an enthusiast for learning, art and music, and was reputed to have introduced into England the use of glass for windows and stone (to replace wood) for church building. See F.L. Cross, Ed. OP. CIT. p. 153.
2. L.S. Hunter : TS A Lively Community.
3. Ibid. H.L. Wild, Bishop of Newcastle, 1915 - 27. Wild believed that it was important to build bridges between Biblical theology and the laity and that the clergy should be helped to do this. He stood in the tradition of Lightfoot and Westcott. See p. 364 n. 13.
4. B.H. Streeter. 1874 - 1937 a notable New Testament scholar. His The Four Gospels London 1924 in which he set out his reasons for his conclusion that St. Mark's Gospel was the first to be written, was prescribed reading for ordinands for many years. He was concerned about the problems confronting the Christian faith in its relations with a modern outlook on life; he was an active supporter of the S.C.M. and consequently knew Hunter well. In TS Years of Change and Revolt Hunter referred to W. Sanday (1843 - 1920) and B.H. Streeter who "seemed to have succeeded in saving the historicity of the Gospels from the German critics".
5. A residentiary canonry is a freehold and stipendiary. The canon's first duty is to be "in residence" - a month at a time usually - on a quarterly basis during which period he is responsible for all the arrangements for services in the cathedral, and, either in person or by another priest (e.g. a vicar choral) to perform the service himself.
6. The executive chapter is made up of the Dean or Provost and usually four residentiary canons.
7. In Hunter's case as exemplified below.

8. G.E. Newson (1871 - 1934) : Vice-Principal and Dean of King's College, London 1897-1908; Professor of Pastoral Theology 1903 - 17; Vicar of St. Nicholas Cathedral, Newcastle 1916 - 1928; Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge from 1928. The title "vicar", which marked the incumbent of the ancient parish church of Newcastle, continued after its emergence as the parish church cathedral of the diocese; the title was eventually changed to "provost".
9. At this date Armstrong College (formerly the College of Physical Science) and the College of Medecine formed the Newcastle Division of the University of Durham (Durham University Act, 1908). In 1937 the College of Medicine and Armstrong College were merged into King's College. On 1 August King's College became the University of Newcastle upon Tyne with its own Charter.
- 10.K.E. Kirk : The Apostolic Ministry London 1946 p.30. Bishop Kirk referred to "the late Dr. Quick whose regretted death has robbed the Church of England of one of its finest minds".
- 11.L.S. Hunter op. cit.
12. Ibid.
- 13.Ibid.
- 14.Ibid.
- 15.Orlando Gibbons, 1583 - 1625 : Organist of the Chapel Royal from 1604 and of Westminster Abbey from 1623 to his death.
- 16.Orlando Gibbons and English Church Music : An Address given in the Cathedral Church of St. Nicholas, Newcastle upon Tyne at the Tercentenary Commemoration Service on Sunday, January 14, 1925 by Leslie Hunter, MA Canon of Newcastle: London 1925. The sermon quotations are from this source.
- 17.Ibid. Hunter never ceased to be caustic in his comments about church choirs; often with good reason.
- 18.Ibid. Hunter had in mind music written for parish church choirs in the style of the great composers. It was inferior in construction and sentimental in tone and made demands which were beyond the vocal capacities of untrained choirs. Though John Stainer 1840 - 1901 is mentioned favourably by Hunter in the sermon and was in vogue well into the twentieth century and organist of St. Paul's Cathedral, he did not entirely escape this criticism.
- 19.L.S. Hunter op. cit.
- 20.L.S. Hunter: ALively Community.

21. Ibid.
22. "One's mind" - Hunter himself who had been the active agent and probably the originator of the scheme.
23. The Conference was held on 28 September to 1 October 1924. It had the blessing of the Archbishop of York (Cosmo Gordon Lang, 1909 - 29) and the support of the Bishops of Carlisle (H.H. Williams, 1920 - 46) and Newcastle. Hunter was the convenor and also the organising secretary. He was assisted by A.R. Vidler, at that time curate of St. Philip's, Newcastle and subsequently Warden of St. Deniol's Library, Hawarden 1939 - 48; Select Preacher Univ. of Cambridge 1938, 40 and 59; of Oxford 1943 -45; Honorary Canon of Derby 1946 - 48, of Windsor 1948 - 56; Ed. Theology 1939 - 64; Birbeck Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History, Trinity College Cambridge 1952 - 53; Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity, Cambridge 1957.
24. L.S. Hunter op.cit. Sir Theodore Morison, KCSI, KCIE, CBE, MA, DCL was Principal of Armstrong College from 1916 - 29. Between 1885 and 1916 he had distinguished himself in academic appointments in India. By a lapse of memory Hunter in TS "A Lively Community" wrote of Thomas Morrison.
Dr. H.A. Mess, B.A., PhD, 1884 - 1944. Social Study Secretary of S.C.M. 1919 - 24; Director of the Bureau of Social Research for Tyneside, 1925- 29; Reader in Sociology, University of London, 1935; Director of Studies to the National Council for Social Service, 1942.
25. L.S. Hunter TS Towards a New Age. "We thought that the appropriate sequel (sc. to Dr. Mess' survey) would be a Council of Social Service".
26. Newcastle Journal and North Star for 11 November 1924.
27. Newcastle Journal and North Star for 12 November 1924.
28. G. Hewitt, Ed. op. cit. p. 30 quoting J.H.S. Wild, TS 1983. Wild was the son of Bishop Wild of Newcastle and himself Dean of Durham from 1951 - 1973.
29. Examples in the late forties were industrial chaplains and education officers for children and young people's work.
30. L.S. Hunter TS A Lively Community. Bishops however can nod, or be disappointed by a priest's performance in a parish. Hunter said to the author "I sent the wrong man to follow you at Dalton (Rotherham); he undid much of your work".

ii.

31. See above p.77f.
32. Owen Chadwick Hensley Henson Oxford 1983 p.51.
33. Ibid. p. 57. Henson developed by his outspokennes an initially grudged and then an accepted relationship with the workers at the Beckton Gas Works which supplied gas to the city of London.
34. Bishop of Barking (J.W. Roxburgh) to author in letter of 11 February 1985.
35. Ibid. In addition to the gas works there were several chemical works and William Warne - Jute Manufacturers. There was in addition Cape Asbestos. "You can ... think of Barking as well-industrialised".
36. L.S. Hunter The Church Magazine of Barking. - October 1928.
37. G. Hewitt op. cit. p. 38.
38. Ibid. p. 34. This was Frederick Woodhouse, a professional singer. With his usual opportunism Hunter secured his help in developing the music of the church.
39. Bishop of Barking op. cit. "The strength of St. Margaret's congregation was always in the middle-class areas of the parish and the weakness of the life of the church has been caused through the years by its failure to absorb the working-class cultures of the majority of the community". Hunter himself did not have the gift of bringing working people into the worshipping life of the Church.
40. Harold Macmillan. Winds of Change 1914 - 1939 London 1961 p. 125. Had the Conference succeeded "there might have been perhaps no Ruhr, no Hitler, no World War II".
41. L.S. Hunter TS Barking.
42. Harold Macmillan op. cit. p. 162.
43. L.S. Hunter op. cit.
44. Unsigned letter from an old parishioner living at 91, High Street, Hinxton, Saffron Walden.
45. L.S. Hunter op. cit.
46. Unsigned letter op. cit.
47. Bishop of Barking in letter of 15 January 1985 to author.

48. Songs of Praise London 1925. Words Editor, Percy Dearmer; Music editors, Ralph Vaughan Williams and Martin Shaw. This was a paradoxical choice. Hunter was critical of the then prevalent Standard Edition of Hymns Ancient and Modern : "it contains too many examples of Victorian sentimentality both in words and music". The editors of Songs of Praise in their Preface enlarged upon their aim which was "to make a national collection of hymns for use in public worship, and also such "spiritual songs" as are akin to hymns and suitable for certain kinds of services in church, as well as for schools, lecture meetings and other public gatherings". To this end the new hymn book contained a representative number of well-tested Christian hymns. Some were marred in significant ways by emendations of the authentic text by out-of-date liberal protestant moralism. In addition there was a selection of religious verse from older and from modern sources, the whole being completed by examples of the work of the English poets which could fittingly be sung to hymn tunes. The result certainly fulfilled the editor's intention to be national. That the inclusion of hymns which were theistic in varying degrees rather than Christian, and humanist rather than theistic was likely to be "a necessary part of the religious recovery for which the Churches look" (Preface) was not well-based and certainly has not been true in fact. Hunter was not one to encourage the singing of hymns which were reductionist in doctrine, particularly where there was a minimising or an exclusion of the centrality Jesus Christ. In 1952, writing in the Sheffield Diocesan Review (for October) Hunter admitted that Songs of Praise "had its short-comings". Why then his choice in 1926 of Songs of Praise ? The quality and choice of music was an, perhaps the, important factor. The names of Ralph Vaughan Williams and Martin Shaw were sufficient guarantee.
49. Bishop of Barking op. cit.
50. Ibid.
51. This is an example of Hunter being ahead of his time.
52. The Right Reverend F.S.G. Warman, 1923 - 29.
53. L.S. Hunter The Church Magazine of Barking. October 1929.
54. L.S. Hunter A Parson's Job London 1931 pp. 202, 237 - 8.
55. The Acts of Uniformity : 1549 - 2,3 Edw. VI c.1.
1552 - 5,6 Edw. VI c.1.
1559 - 1 Eliz. c.2.
1662 - 13,14 Car. II c.4.

56. Bishop of Barking : letter to author of 15 January 1985.
57. Ibid.
58. Unsigned letter op. cit.
59. G. Hewitt op.cit. p. 40.
60. Ibid. p. 32.
61. Ibid. p. 41.
62. L.S. Hunter The Church Magazine of Barking - September 1930.

iii.

63.
Bishop's Commission to a Rural Dean. For an archdeacon's judicial functions which developed after the Norman Conquest and only ceased completely in 1840, see S.L. Ollard, G. Croſse, M.F. Bond, Eds. A Dictionary of English Church History London 1948 pp. 19-21. The jurisdictional functions were exercised by the archdeacon in his court. They included testamentary matters, affiliation cases and a general moral supervision of the laity and in certain instances of the clergy as well. The medieval archdeacon was frequently unpopular.
64. One such was held in the parish of St. Peter, Hoyland Law in the Sheffield diocese in 1936 by the Archdeacon of Doncaster (F.G.Sandford). The incumbent, an able and diligent parish priest, was accused of drunkenness. He was an alcoholic. The accusations were heatedly made by the local doctor, though there were others who supported him, but more in sorrow than in anger. The author was present at the enquiry and took minutes of the proceedings for the archdeacon.
65. H.E. Bilbrough : deacon 1890, priest 1891. After a first curacy at St. Peter's, Tune Docks, Vicar of St. John, Darlington 1897 - 1904; South Shields and Rural Dean of Jarrow 1904 - 10; Honorary Canon of Durham 1909-11; of Liverpool 1911-16; of Canterbury 1916-27; Rector of Liverpool 1911-16; Bishop Suffragan of Dover 1916; Bishop of Newcastle 1927-41. He was known to have private means and was unmarried.
66. L.S. Hunter : letter to the Bishop of Newcastle of 14 August 1931 in which Hunter said "my sympathy with Tyneside and its clergy in the midst of continued adversity remains so strong that I should consider a proposal to return very seriously".

67. L.S. Hunter TS Vocation and Choice : "I could not avoid knowing that some friends....wanted me to return to Northumberland; but if I had a choice it would have been to the charge of the Cathedral Church". Hunter had spent some months in 1931, whilst he convalesced, considering his future course. In June the offer of the Principalship of Lichfield Theological College had been received and refused (rightly in the author's view). His interest had been roused by a suggestion that Leeds Clergy School might be reopened and that it should become the northern counterpart of Westcott House, Cambridge; in the end this came to nothing.
68. Hunter went to stay with Bishop Bilbrough in September 1931 and gave him a verbal acceptance.
69. Bishop Herbert Wild : letter to Hunter of 31 August 1931.
 "It seems to me that you will bring to the diocese just what it needs at the present time. I am not thinking of the routine duties of the archdeaconry those you will find easy enough (sic) but of the preaching at the Cathedral". There was clearly that about Hunter which made him - in spite of lack of presence and voice - an acceptable and thought-provoking preacher in big churches. See below pp.210 - 219.
70. It is a well-known secret that a file is kept, probably by the Prime Minister's Ecclesiastical Secretary, on which is entered the names of those priests who by whom and by whatever means are considered candidates for the episcopate.
71. L.S. Hunter : TS Interview replies". On Bilbrough: "For my last years, hopeless; he did nothing; just sat there, ate great meals with four servants to prepare them. He liked to give Lenten addresses to women in the Cathedral and nothing more".
72. Hunter's guide to decision and action in matters of moment was to have a reasoned examination of the proposal, to consult friends of experience whom he trusted and then to decide whether or not the proposition could be fitted into his or the Church's vocation. His refusal of the invitation to be the director of religion in the BBC is an example of the latter. See p.108 above.
73. St. Mary's, Tyne Docks was a church of the Catholic Revival and the parish typical of those to which so many priests of this outlook went.
74. Canon G.R. Parke : letter to author of 31 July 1985.

75. Book of Common Prayer : The Consecration of Bishops.
76. Canon G.R. Parke op. cit.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. H.A.L. Fisher op.cit. p. 1211.
81. Venerable M.J.M. Paton : letter to author of 25 November 1984.
82. Venerable M.J.M. Paton : letter to author of 10 January 1985.
83. Canon G.R. Parke : letter to author of 18 February 1985
84. Archdeacon of Northumberland's Charge - 1934.
85. G.R. Parke op. cit.
86. Hunter was seeking to curb a practice which had grown up in many parishes whereby churchwardens, one or both, were reappointed year after year. Did he reflect on the fact that not only a diocesan bishop but himself as archdeacon was in possession of a freehold ? Limitation of absolute freehold of benefices was introduced after the Synodical Government Measure of 1969. It limited the holding of a benefice after the age of 70 to those receiving permission so to do.
87. During the nineteenth century there had been a large increase in the number of memorial tablets in church. "Though dedicated to God" as Hunter said "in reality they were often of a mundane nature". He advocated, and must have been one of the first to do so, the making of gifts of such a nature as to "aid the worship of God".
88. I Corinthians 14.40.
89. St. Luke's Gospel 14.23. The compulsion intended is of course moral suasion.
90. An example is found in the Charge of 1935 where the reference is to the duty of maintaining church and church buildings in a proper state of repair : "a feckless policy of not spending money on buildings until you are driven to it...costs more and the deterioration is greater".

91. L.S. Hunter : A Parson's Job : Aspects of the Work of the English Church London 1931.
92. Ibid. Preface.
93. Hunter was elected at the Annual Meeting on 6 March 1933. (Minutes)
94. Minutes of the Annual Meeting on 18 December 1933.
95. G. Hewitt op. cit. p. 54.
96. L.S. Hunter TS A Lively Community.
97. Hunter chaired the first, and subsequent, meetings of the Special Appeal Committee on 12 June 1933.
98. Minutes of 12 June 1933.
99. L.S. Hunter op.cit.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid. See Harold Macmillan Winds of Change op.cit. p. 303. Macmillan , in 1934, advocated the adoption of a scheme of public works to mitigate the effects of the slump.
102. Harold Macmillan · op. cit. p. 292. Macmillan referred to an article in the Manchester Guardian which underlined the plight of the distressed areas which was due to the collapse of heavy industries and the exporting industries. He went on "It might be amusing if the times were not so serious to see a Tory deputation entreating a Socialist Prime Minister to adopt state action in the interests of the unemployed".
103. The Archbishop was William Temple, 1929 - 42.
104. In addition to Hunter, the signatories were J.N. Bateman-Champain, Provost of Newcastle (later Bishop Suffragan of Knaresborough); C.F. Knyvett, Vicar of Benwell (later Bishop Suffragan of Selby); G.D.L. Greer, Vicar of St. Luke, Newcastle (later Bishop of Manchester); F. Baker, Vicar of St. Michael, Byker (later Rector of Morpeth and Chaplain to H.M. the King.)
105. Tyneside Council for Social Service : The post of Director was full-time. Under the direction of Dr. Mess the work had become highly professional and required gifts of a creative as well as of an administrative nature.

106. Minutes of Directorship Appointment Committee for 9 September 1935.
107. Minutes of Executive Committee for 2 March 1936. This was due to "the amount of support given from outside the area and the predominance of unemployed welfare work".
108. Minutes of Executive Committee for 5 October 1936. "By forming a Welfare Committee it was hoped that the Executive Committee - when relieved of the executive business in connexion with welfare work would become a Committee concerned with the direction of the Council's policy and that it would be able to develop the Council's work along the lines of research and education and the co-ordination of social work in the area".
109. Minutes of Executive Committee for 4 April 1938. The Minutes reveal that Hunter "had convened a small meeting of members and staff and committee to consider proposals for extending the knowledge of the Council's work and broadening the basis of its financial report". This is evidence of a typical Hunter ploy, later to be much used at Sheffield, and is evidence of his use of "extraordinary" means to attain an end.
110. Minutes of Executive Committee for 30 September 1938.
111. Examples are contained in Hunter's speeches in the House of Lords : on 9 October 1964 in the Debate on the National Health Service Bill, Hunter urged the need of integration between statutory and voluntary services; on 22 June 1949 in the Debate on Voluntary Action for Social Progress Bill when he intervened to urge the necessity for grant aid to be given in order "to maintain at a high level the administration of the voluntary organisations and in seeing that their personnel are well-equipped".
112. G. Hewitt op. cit. p. 57.
113. Church of England Year Book for 1979. p. 161. The position of Royal Chaplains is a very ancient one. The Royal College of Chaplains preach according to a Rota of Waits in the Chapels Royal. The College comprises the Clerk of the Closet (always a bishop), the Deputy Clerk of the Closet and thirty six chaplains. When a vacancy occurs the Private Secretary to the Monarch asks the Clerk of the Closet to suggest possible names to the King/Queen.
114. The Church and the Economic Order London 1937.
115. L.S. Hunter TS Towards a New Age.
116. Bishop R.G. Parsons had been one of the senior members of the group which had produced the 'Grey Book'.

117. The British Council of Churches came into being in 1942 to further Christian action in Great Britain. The Articles of Amalgamation, 1943 set out its agreed membership. The first president was William Temple.
118. L.S. Hunter Vocation and Choice.
119. B.K. Cunningham, famous principal of Westcott House Theological College, Cambridge in a letter to Hunter of 31 July 1938 wrote "I cannot conceive of any more important position in the service of the Kingdom of God". But Dr. Mess believed that this was not the case : "As an interlude for three or four years it might be an interesting and valuable experience". (Letter of 22 July 1938). F.A. Iremonger became Dean of Lichfield in 1939.
120. L.S. Hunter; Ed. Men, Money and the Ministry London 1937.
121. Tyneside Council for Social Services : Annual Report for 1938 - 39.
122. Prime Minister's letter of 14 June 1939 : "I cannot better serve the interests of the Church than by offering you the succession to this important See". Hunter replied by asking for time on 24 June 1939 and mentioning his "reluctance" to be a diocesan bishop".

NOTES

CHAPTER FIVE

I.

1. M. Walton A History of the Diocese of Sheffield 1914 - 1939 Sheffield 1981 p.2.
2. L.S. Hunter TS Bishops, priests and people .
3. The only small market town is Thorne with a population of c. 12,000 in 1940.
4. H. Belton Ommanney of Sheffield London 1938. Fr. Ommanney (the Reverend George Campbell Ommanney, d.1936) was the most loved, the most creative, the most notorious incumbent in the history of modern Sheffield. The author has seen photographs of his funeral procession from Carver Street to the City Cemetery when the streets down to the Moor were lined with people.
5. In 1914 there were 60 medieval churches in the diocese and a further 6 which had ancient features incorporated in a later building.
6. A.A. Illustrated Guide to Britain London 1982 p. 411. The Honour of Tickhill had ranked with Doncaster in importance during the middle ages with its castle, parish church, chantry chapels, friary and its prosperous citizens. Cf. Rev. Joseph Hunter The History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster in the Diocese and County of York Vol. 1 London 1828 pp. 221-249.
7. This was due to the prominence of Tickhill Castle as a royal possession and stronghold. The grounds and the ruins of the castle buildings remain in the possession of the Duchy of Lancaster. The Earl of Scarborough of Sandbeck Hall, though owning property in Tickhill, was never the squire. Cf. F.S. Popham, Christianity in Yorkshire. London 1955 : the earliest grammar school foundation in Yorkshire was at Tickhill (1348-49).
8. A typical example was the parish of Tankersley which though wide in area had a small population of 2,000 from which was drawn the nucleus of workers in the Tankersley and Wharncliffe Silkstone Collieries, both of which were within the parish.
9. The Diocese of Wakefield was formed in 1888.
10. M. Walton op. cit. p.5.

11. The Most Reverend W.D. Maclagan, 1891 - 1909. Archbishop Cosmo Gordon Lang formally agreed to the formation of the diocese.
12. M. Walton op.cit. p.5.
13. Examples of the dual-purpose buildings were St. Catherine's, on Richmond Road, Sheffield and St. Peter's, Whinney Hill, Thrybergh, with church and hall under one roof.
14. Title : see p.53 above.
15. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review - March/April 1962. See M. Walton op.cit. p.58. Church-going in South Yorkshire was and remains near the bottom of any computation of statistics.
16. E.R. Wickham Church and People in an Industrial City London 1957 pp. 211,212.
17. Ibid. p. 213.
18. L.S. Hunter TS Bishops, priests and people .
19. L.S. Hunter op.cit.
20. In Sheffield and Rotherham, for example, the majority of baptisms were administered in the ancient parish church. There was no preparation, one female godmother was provided, frequently the father did not attend and there was no after care. The Churching of the mother was held to be almost as necessary as the "Christening" of the baby.
21. At the relatively new parish of St. Paul, Masbrough, Rotherham (1902) where Albert Leigh was superintendent of the Sunday school for many years, there was an attendance of children which varied between 400 and 500. Mr. Leigh was a partner in the constructional engineering firm of Allott Brothers and Leigh of Fullerton Road, Rotherham.
22. M. Walton op. cit. p.6.
23. The author as a youthful sidesman at Tickhill recalls his amazement when he inadvertently saw the amount placed in the collection by a retired police sergeant - 2d. This was in the mid 1930s.
24. Sheffield Diocesan Gazette - February 1938. In the Bishop's Notes there is a reminder of the need to support the Archbishop's Appeal for the Anglo-Indians and also the British and Foreign Bible Society. Such entries are typical of the piecemeal way in which the church was financed as late as World War II.

25. M. Walton op. cit. p. 47. Churches were built at Bramley, Goole (St. Mary and All Saints). Dunscroft, Doncaster (Carr House, Intake and Wheatley), Sheffield (St. Aidan, St. Alban, St. Swithun, Brightside St. Margaret, Malin Bridge, Greystones, Lower Shiregreen and Norwood), Thurnscoe, Rotherham (Clifton and Herringthorpe), Stainforth, Thorne (Moorends colliery village). In addition a number of churches were enlarged and improved. For Sheffield rehousing see Six Years of Labour Rule 1926 - 32. During these years 7,844 houses were built so that slums could be cleared.
26. L.H. Burrows Sheffield Diocesan Review March 1938 in his Presidential Address to the Diocesan Conference. The Society of the Sacred Mission was founded in 1891 by Fr. H.H. Kelly for the purpose of training priests for missionary work overseas. In 1903 Kelham Hall (Newark) was purchased and adapted; other facilities were provided of which the beautiful chapel was the most important. Up to eighty students were in training at any one time for the priesthood, no longer missionary only.
27. Reginald Richard Roseveare : member SSM from 1928; priest in charge of Parson Cross 1937-39; vicar from 1939-52; Bishop of Accra, Ghana from 1956. Fr. Roseveare was a priest of distinction who opened the eyes of the unknowing to the reality of the vocation to the religious life. Fr. Edmund Wheat SSM : letter to author of 14 May 1985. Hunter soon came to value and esteem Fr. Roseveare and by degrees to involve him considerably in diocesan matters; he represented the diocese for many years on the Sheffield City Education Committee and was made a residentiary Canon by Hunter in 1945. "I know" writes the Director "how much Leslie valued Richard and vice versa". He agrees with the author that the work in the parish was less effective because "Richard was away a lot on diocesan and other business and left the parish very much to the devices of the curates. I think this made for problems in the priory when the boss wasn't always there". And more than that for there was an inadequate training of young priests in parish duties.
28. Parson Cross was in the Deanery of Ecclesfield. The author in his first curacy was a member of the Deanery from 1940-42 and saw much of the fathers. In 1936 a mission church of St. Bernard was built at Southey Green and later another district church at Sheffield ~~lane~~ Lane Top, Christ the King. The parish church of St. Cecilia, together with the attached priory was consecrated in March 1939. It was a gift. The £10,000 needed to provide the priory, a church hall and financial support for the priests - they worked for half the normal stipend - was raised by an appeal. (Appeal leaflet No. 174, Diocesan Records in Sheffield City Library).

29. Brian Pye-Smith A Historical Note on the Sheffield Church Burgesses Trust 1554 - 1977 Sheffield 1977 p.11. The Trust was established by Letters Patent of Mary I, daughter of Henry VIII and his first wife Katherine of Aragon. For preceding legislation see I Edw. c 14 (1547) : "The Statute of Chantries".
30. L.H. Burrows Sheffield Diocesan Gazette April, 1938; and M. Walton op. cit. pp. 44- 46.
31. M. Walton op. cit. p. 46.
32. L.H. Burrows Sheffield Diocesan Gazette The Bishop's Letter August 1939.
33. W.G. Clark and W.A. Wright; Eds. The Works of William Shakespeare London 1924 Julius Caesar Act 4 Scene 5 line 75 (Marcus Antonius and Marcus Brutus).
34. Sheffield Diocesan Gazette September 1939 "An Appreciation". But as Miss Walton says, by 1938 Bishop Burrows was seen by those who worked with him to have "lost no will or ability to carry out his routine duties and pastoral care (but) his deafness had increased to become a handicap and the power within him was running down". (M. Walton op.cit. p. 54). She rightly points to the fact that Burrows never had the benefit of an assistant bishop to lighten the load of those duties which only a bishop could perform.
35. There are two memorials to Bishop Burrows; both were initially financed by the Bishop Burrows Memorial Fund which was set up after his retirement. The one, a memorial tablet in the cathedral, the wording of which was his successor's work, was placed in St. Katherine's Chapel and dedicated on 5 October 1957 and later on 19 February 1967 removed to the north transept of the enlarged cathedral. The name of the transept was changed from the Nicholson Transept to the Burrows Transept. The second memorial was the building of a new parish church at Scawsby, north of Doncaster and dedicated to St. Leonard and St. Jude. It was consecrated by bishop Hunter on 15 November 1960.
- ii.
36. Book of Common Prayer : the Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons according to the Order of the Church of England. The Preface. (para 2)

37. J.G. Lockhart op. cit. p.6 and p.147. Cosmo Gordon Lang was consecrated Bishop Suffragan of Stepney in 1901 at the unusually early age of 37.
38. L.S. Hunter TS Informal Talks with A.B. Webster (1975)
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid. "The clergy were playing around". The village of Braithwell was doubly unfortunate in this respect. In 1937 its rector, J.L. Baines, eloped with a choir girl. A year later the author accompanied the Archdeacon of Doncaster (F.G. Sandford) on a visit to the parish. Sandford was greeted by the incumbent and his wife at the rectory. Shortly afterwards it became known that the rector was indeed married, but that the lady living with him was not his wife.
41. G. Hewitt op. cit. p. 61. "At breakfast on 15 June 1939 Leslie was gloomily inspecting a letter from 10, Downing Street. Grace, watching him, exclaimed 'Oh no ! not Sheffield ! ' "
42. L.S. Hunter, Ed. The English Church London 1966 p. 83.
43. W. Temple : Letter to Hunter of 16 June 1939.
44. Hunter replied to the Prime Minister (Neville Chamberlain) on 24 June 1939. He asked for "a little time to consider" the offer to nominate him and wrote of "my reluctance to become a diocesan bishop". See below p.153 and p.158 for the tasks ahead.
45. G. Hewitt op. cit. pp. 64,65.
46. L.S. Hunter The English Church p. 85.
47. Sheffield Diocesan Gazetter - October 1939.
48. The phrase was clearly inspired by William Temple who, as early as 1914, had said that war was a "divine judgement". See F.A. Iremonger William Temple Oxford 1948 p. 541.
49. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Gazette - November 1939.
50. F.A. Iremonger op. cit. p. 555. Cyril Garbett took a different view.
51. Ibid. p. 545. See Sheffield Diocesan Gazette for May 1940 : Sir John Reith of the BBC had attacked neutral-mindedness, by which he meant the lack of emotional fervour for the prosecution of the war effort. By implication Hunter was included in his denunciation. The Bishop's method never varied; a balanced assessment had always to be sought even at the expense of patriotic jingoism. The real objectives were a just peace after victory coupled with the acceptance of the moral content of the struggle. Hunter made a telling point in stressing the danger of accepting

the postulates of those who declared that "until victory is won on the international front we must let live evils which are weakening the life of the nation". This by inference was the real "neutral-mindedness" and Hunter left his readers to see the point.

52. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Gazette - November 1939. See Earl of Birkenhead Halifax London 1965 p. 450 where with reference to the war Halifax is quoted : "For in this matter, as indeed in all life, it is finally the spiritual side that counts". Again, as Chancellor of Oxford University : "If under what I hold to be a one-sided interpretation of our Lord's teaching we refrain in principle from replying in kind to the use of force, we may be surrendering to extinction the most sacred causes for which we stand to posterity as guardians and trustees". (p.450)
53. A.J.P. Taylor English History 1914 - 1945 London 1965 p. 453. Frequent quotations from Taylor are deliberate and due to his mordant dissection of motives and events. He is an antidote to jingoism.
54. H. Macmillan Winds of Change London 1966. p. 542 Note B "Never did our country enter war with such forebodings and with such heavy hearts".
55. A.J.P. Taylor op. cit. p. 475. See H. Macmillan op. cit. pp. 571 ff. "The situation with which we are faced today (6 October 1938) in this country, with which the world is faced, is more dangerous and formidable, more terrible than at any time since the beginnings of Christian civilisation."
56. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Gazette - October 1939.
57. 2 Thessalonians 2. 7.
58. Gospel according to St. Luke 13.21.
59. F.D. Maurice The Kingdom of Christ Vol. 1 London 1883 PP. 301-340.
60. L.S. Hunter op.cit. June 1940.
61. Isaiah and Jeremiah : chapter 1 in each case.
62. L.S. Hunter op.cit. June 1940.
63. A.J.P. Taylor op.cit. p. 486
64. L.S. Hunter Bishop's Letter - September 1940.
65. L.S. Hunter op. cit. - November 1940 Remembrance Sunday.
66. L.S. Hunter op. cit. - March 1941. The Days of Prayer were at the request of King George VI.

67. L.S. Hunter op. cit. - June 1941.
68. A.J.P. Taylor op. cit. Note A p.601.
69. Ibid. pp. 517, 518.
70. F.L. Cross, Ed. Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church 2nd. Edition 1974 pp. 152,153. Bell's outspoken condemnation of indiscriminate Allied bombing of German towns was probably a major factor in preventing his succession to William Temple as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1944. See Dictionary of National Biography, 1951 - 60 pp. 80-82.
71. L.S. Hunter Bishop's Letter - July 1942. See Bishop's Letter - October 1940 in which reference is made to correspondence in the press resulting from intemperate remarks made by an incumbent (not in the diocese of Sheffield) who demanded that bombing reprisals ought to be made against Germany and that a justifiable course of action would be to "exterminate the lot". Such emotional and irrational violence was reprehensible, commented Hunter, coming from one ordained to preach Jesus Christ and his Cross. "God forbid", he concluded, "that the Churches should even try to entice them (sc.the men and women of England) by preaching an emasculated Christianity as something which happens to be more in line with the political emotions of the moment like 'German Christianity' in Germany".
Cf. F.A. Iremonger op.cit. p.540 quoting Temple : "The proposal that we should decree that for every civilian life taken here, we should take ten German civilian lives, represents just that descent to the enemy level which we must at all costs avoid if we are to stand for any principles at all in the world of the future".
72. Birkenhead op. cit. p. 549. It is interesting to note that so humane and Christian a man as Lord Halifax could write in a private letter "More and more I find myself wishing that lots and lots of Germans may be killed before the job is over...for I believe that justice would be best served by their feeling something of what either directly or by acquiescence they have done to other people"
73. A.J.P. Taylor op. cit. p. 518. H. Macmillan The Blast of War London 1967 p. 284 quoting Churchill : "victors have a free hand; it does not mean that they are entitled to behave in a barbarous manner".

74. F.A. Iremonger op. cit. p. 546.
75. A.J.P. Taylor op. cit. p. 519.
76. Ibid. p. 519, Quoting Webster and Frankland The Strategic War Offensive i. p. 299. But cf. Max Hastings Art. Dresden in the hindsight : Daily Telegraph -- 4 March 1985 : "In the case of the bomber offensive, the plain fact was that between 1940 and 1944 Western Allies possessed no other means of carrying the war to Germany and for that alone the campaign was justified"...and on the Dresden raid of 1945 the briefing notes read "The intentions of the attacks are to hit the enemy where he will feel it most... to prevent the use of the city in the way of further advance, and incidentally to show the Russians when they arrive what Bomber Command can do". The entire British bombing programme in 1945 was controversial; it was Bomber Harris' obsession with saturation rather than precision bombing that can be criticised "when it was evident that the victory was only weeks away".
77. Birkenhead op. cit. p. 531. Cordell Hull to the Japanese Ambassador to the USA : "In all my fifty years of public service I have never seen a document that was more crowded with infamous falsehoods and distortions - on a scale so huge that I never imagined until today that any government on this planet was capable of uttering them".
78. L.S. Hunter Bishop's Letter - February 1943.
79. See n. 40 above.
80. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Gazette - October 1939.
81. Presumably the Emergency Powers Act of 22 May 1940.
82. L.S. Hunter op. cit. - July 1940.
83. Ibid.
84. L.S. Hunter Bishop's Letter - May 1944. Address to Diocesan Synod at the Holy Eucharist.
85. Isaiah 40. 12.
86. L.S. Hunter op. cit. There was an occasion in his study when Hunter spoke to the author (in November 1954) of a priest of unfulfilled potential : "I have been more disappointed in him than in any other priest in the diocese."
87. Ibid. "Do not tolerate any longer the amount of sheer dullness in our buildings and in our worship."

88. Ibid. Hunter's two addresses at the synod (27 April 1944) were based on Christ's "Exemplary Sacrifice" and the manner and degree to which the ordained ministry was to commend it by the exercise of "our faith, our love, our sacrifice, our joy".
89. L.S. Hunter Bishop's Letter - March 1945.
90. L.S. Hunter op.cit. - September 1940.
91. L.S. Hunter op.cit. - March 1941. "Once again His Majesty has appointed a National Day of Prayer. It is fitting that not only on one day at the beginning of another intense and critical period in the war but continually and constantly a Commonwealth, which believes that it is fighting not only for its own survival, but also for the basic principles on which a Christian civilisation rests, should dedicate itself and commend its cause to God".
92. Ibid. Speaking in the Commons in 1936 Harold Macmillan had said "I am not sure that the development of the social services since this century has not been the thing which has just saved capitalistic society in this country". (Harold Macmillan Winds of Change p. 494)
93. Ibid.
94. A notable critic was J.M. Keynes in his Economic Consequences of the Peace : See A.J.P. Taylor op.cit. p. 136; and H.A.L. Fisher op. cit. p. 1158 : "It was unfortunate that the (Peace) Conference should have been held in a capital (Paris) which was still reeling under the tragedies of the war and the shock of bombardment. In the inflamed atmosphere of Paris the ideals of appeasement fought an unequal battle with those of retribution".
95. A.J.P. Taylor op. cit. p. 596 n.2.
96. See Chapter 11 ii below *passim*.
97. L.S. Hunter op. cit. November 1945.
98. One of the groups came from the Province of York; it was led by the author.
99. L.S. Hunter op. cit. March 1941.
100. L.S. Hunter op. cit. March 1942.
101. L.S. Hunter op. cit. March 1941. This quotation is typical of Hunter's habit of making generalised statements without examples to support his view.

102. L.S. Hunter op. cit. - July 1944.
103. Ibid. Taylor has nothing to say about this.
104. Christopher Dawson The Crisis of Western Education London 1961 p. 125.
105. A.J.P. Taylor op. cit. p. 567.
106. Ibid. p. 568. As against this pejorative viewpoint, the continual support of parents - and of teachers- for R.E. in schools which has been expressed over succeeding years is noteworthy.
107. F.A. Iremonger op. cit. p. 571. Speech to the National Society. This was at the time of the R.A. Butler Education Bill which became law in 1944. (The National Society was founded in 1811; its full title was 'The National Society for the education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church'. At the time of the 1944 Education Act the Society had become the Church's Central Committee for Religious Education.)
108. Ibid. p. 573.
109. K.E. Kirk, Bishop of Oxford (1937 - 1955) and the foremost moral theologian in the Church of England. Temple regarded Kirk's group as "largely detached from reality". Writing to the President of the Board of Education (R.A. Butler) he said that Kirk's views "might have been the right policy to adopt in the middle of the last century when the whole thing was starting...in 1870 it was already too late". (F.A. Iremonger op.cit. p. 572.) Hunter agreed.
110. L.S. Hunter Bishop's Letter - November 1942.
111. H.H. Henson Bishoprick Papers London 1946 p.176 : "The latest democracy shows a ruthless disregard for the private conscience".
112. Christopher Dawson op. cit. p. 173.
113. Ibid. pp. 134, 135.
114. A.J.P. Taylor op. cit. p. 173.
115. Ibid. p. 585.
116. L.S. Hunter op. cit. - April 1944.
117. L.S. Hunter op. cit. - February 1945. See G. Hewitt op.cit. p. 121 : Hunter in his 80s was "full of misgivings about the future of the Church of England".

- 118.L.S. Hunter op. cit. - May 1945. This was a favourite phrase repeated by Hunter from time to time.
- 119.Christopher Dawson op.cit. p. 128.
- 120.Ibid. p. 159.
- 121.F.R. Barry Period of my Life London 1970 p. 156.
- 122.L.S. Hunter op.cit. - September 1945. The last phrase is a quotation from St. Augustine of Hippo (345 - 430). The dropping of the atomic bombs revealed the extent to which a-morality held the field.
- 123.L.S. Hunter op.cit. September 1945.
124. See p. /4/ above.
- 125.Hunter was a great admirer of Simone Weil (1909 - 1943), the French Jewess who, so Christian at heart, was never baptised so as not to separate herself from her fellow Jews and who for the deprived and suffering endured voluntary starvation and greatly shortened her life thereby. Hunter would well know her sayings in Gravity and Grace Eng. trans. 1952 London on the subject of Affliction. One in particular has the Cross as its background : "The extreme greatness of Christianity lies in the fact that it does not seek a supernatural remedy for suffering but a supernatural use for it". (p.73) For an introduction to her life story see Simone Weil Waiting upon God Eng. trans. 1951 Note p.v.
- 126.F.D. Maurice op.cit. e.g. p. 307 : Baptism is "the sign of a spiritual and universal kingdom". and p. 292 : Christ's Kingdom means that "a communion has been opened between the visible and the invisible world, and that the one was under the power of the other".
- 127.L.S. Hunter TS What is a Bishop's Job ?

NOTES

CHAPTER SIX

1. D.L. Edwards, Provost of Southwark Cathedral : review of Strategist for the Spirit in the Church Times.
2. Ibid. Edwards rightly observed : "It is not advantageous timing that we are asked in the 1980s to admire what was fresh in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s".
3. See e.g. p.206.
4. L.S. Hunter Church Strategy in a Changing World London 1950 p. 30. "In industrial society a new phenomenon as far as we know has arisen - namely multitudes who are neither bad nor worldly, but apparently without any feeling of spiritual need...They are mass-producing and mass-produced".
5. Bishop's Letter - December 1944 : "The Bishop recently appointed a Committee to consider the Church's problem in the return of men and women from the Forces and of the transferred industrial workers and civil defence workers. The Committee is charged with the task of surveying the problem, of making recommendations to the Bishop and, with his approval, of making recommendations to the parish clergy and all holding office in the church and all those concerned with the problem".
6. L.S. Hunter Bishop's Letter - January 1945.
7. Ibid. i.
8. M. Walton op. cit. pp. 78,79.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. See above p. 115
12. See above p. 116
13. L.S. Hunter Bishop's Letter - March 1945. "The large sum...is a measure of the challenge made by the world catastrophe to the Christian Church. As never before Churchmen must think in a big way and give in a big way".

14. L.S. Hunter Bishop's Letter - July 1945. Earl Fitzwilliam had covenanted £3,500 a year for seven years.
 15. Ibid.
 16. St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians 6.2.
 17. M. Walton op. cit. p. 83. On 27 September 1947 the first phase of the Church in Action Campaign came to an end. There was little delay in putting the accrued monies to good use. Negotiations for the purchase of sites were entered into. The bishop had a hand in many of these and he pursued them - and others of his plans - by methods "orthodox and unorthodox". (F.T. Wing to the author : Mr. Wing was the Diocesan Registrar's managing clerk.) Examples of church building with Church in Action money are St. Barnabas, Broom Park, Rotherham in 1952 (Church Extension Committee minutes of 2 December 1949 : Bishop Hunter had treated with Rotherham Corporation about the site); St. George, Wheatley Park, Doncaster in 1952; St. Hugh, Cantley, Doncaster in 1956; William Temple Church, Sheffield in 1957; St. John's, Kimberworth Park, Rotherham in 1958; St. Paul, Ecclesfield in 1959.
 18. Colonel H.E. Madge in the Sheffield Diocesan Review - November 1950.
 19. L.S. Hunter Bishop's Letter - October 1946.
 20. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review - March 1953. "A Church" Hunter wrote "is bound to be weak when too few men and women, and some of them too half-heartedly, are committed Christians. Very badly do our churches need more lay people so loyal to Jesus Christ that they are ready to learn, to train and to make sacrifices in order to be reliable and persuasive followers of Jesus Christ".
 21. M. Walton op. cit. p. 157.
 22. For C.E. Holmstrom, see Chapter Eight p.207 and n.22.
 23. Minutes of the Church Extension Committee for 2 February 1962.
- ii.
24. L.S. Hunter TS Towards a New Age.
 25. Ibid. Hunter had established a war emergency fund to provide financial support for the provision of priests for industrial parishes. It met with a generous response from twenty three industrial companies, large and smaller. (Bishop's Letter - March 1941).

26. L.S. Hunter Bishop's Letter - April 1944.
27. L.S. Hunter Let us go Forward 1944 p. 32.
28. L.S. Hunter TS Industrial Mission.
29. Ibid. "The Churches do not really believe in their mission to industrial society".
30. L.S. Hunter Bishop's Letter - April 1944.
- E.R. Wickham : deacon 1938, priest 1939; assistant curate of Christ Church, Shieldfield 1938-41; Chaplain Royal Ordnance Factory, Swynnerton 1941-44; Curate-in-Charge of Swynnerton 1943 - 44; Diocesan Missioner to Industry, Sheffield 1944-59; Canon Residentiary of Sheffield Cathedral 1951-59; Bishop Suffragan of Middleton 1959.
31. L.S. Hunter TS Industrial Mission.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid. The Church in workers' minds was identified with class structures.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. L.S. Hunter TS Informal Talk op. cit.
37. L.S. Hunter TS Industrial Mission quoting Sir Wilfred Garrett. Sir Wilfred had been for many years H.M. Chief Inspector of Factories and was the Chairman of the Social and Industrial Commission of the Church Assembly till it was merged or submerged in the Board of Social Responsibility.
38. Edwin Barker in letter to author of 24 August 1984. Barker knew Hunter "over a long period beginning when I was an SCM secretary from 1927 to 1937 and renewed in 1961 when I became secretary of the Board of Social Responsibility of the Church Assembly. I saw him and his wife frequently."
39. Cf. Peter Selby, Review of Strategist for the Spirit : Hunter "was not especially avant garde; just a long way ahead of his time. His theology does not appear to have been especially risky or original."
40. Edwin Barker op. cit.
41. L.S. Hunter TS Industrial Mission.

42. L.S. Hunter TS Work and Workers The success "was good for all to see, though not what all expect".
Cf. V.A. Demant Religion and the Decline of Capitalism London 1952 p. 41 quoting von Hugel : "religion...cannot become its own fullest self" but by "taking the Cross upon itself...and it will become the base and transfigurer of things." Demant paraphrased this as indicating that "for the Church to allow the various fields of human activity and knowledge to find their own laws and pursue their own distinctive puposes..that is a kind of crucifixion for the Church, but it is the losing of its life to find it."
43. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review - March 1950.
44. L.S. Hunter Industrial Mission.
45. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review - March 1950.
46. L.S. Hunter TS Work and Workers : "It is a long-drawn penetration; a slow breaking down of suspicion and misunderstanding, a combined operation of clergy and laity within industry".
47. L.S. Hunter TS Industrial Mission.
48. L.S. Hunter TS Work and Workers. See Convocation of York, 14 May 1952. The debate on the Church and Industry was introduced by the Bishop of Sheffield. He referred to the limited lives of so many in the industrial scene : "our anxiety should not be that to some politics has become a substitute for religion, but that so many are uninterested in either".
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. M. Walton op. cit.
52. Ibid. p. 77.
53. See above pp. 111, 112.
54. M. Walton op. cit. p.8. By 1912 there were churches with curates-in-charge at Woodlands, Maltby, Whinney Hill; and building had begun at Highfields and Bentley, with a double-purpose - temporary - building at Edlington. Further churches were needed at Askern, Bullcroft, Stainforth, Rossington and Thorne Moorends but the financial response was inadequate. In time the envisaged work was completed.

55. M. Walton op. cit. p. 78. See TS Industrial Mission : Hunter referred to "Sheffield shop floors...where the pitch had been queered by some crude evangelism and decadent puritanism - methodism gone sour". It would be unfair to suggest that Hunter was referring to Canon H.T.G. Smith's incumbency at Attercliffe (1930-42) although Miss Walton is writing of Attercliffe.
56. At Dalton Brook where the population was almost entirely composed of mining families it was not uncommon when the incumbent called about a baptism for the father on answering the door to say "I'll go and get the wife". Affairs of religion were for women.
57. Folliott George Sandford was vicar, rural dean and archdeacon of Doncaster for twenty eight years and continued in the office of archdeacon for several years during which he served the tiny parish of Stainton. He was abounding in energy, a magnificent preacher and speaker, a good organiser and known, with trepidation by some, through the length and breadth of the diocese. His competence was such that he simply tookover the direction of anything with which he had to do. Hunter found him an uncomfortable fellow-worker but after his death in August 1945 wrote (Bishop's Letter August 1945) "he was a man of great vitality and quickness of perception. Among his many gifts, perhaps the most remarkable was his eloquence. Eloquence, as distinct from mere fluency, is rare in our country. He had real eloquence. The right words came spontaneously to his lips to express thoughts and ideas which were keenly grasped and well-informed. He was the commanding personality in the borough of Doncaster." And in the diocese.
58. M. Walton op. cit. p. 78; where reference is made to 'Hunter and his young ordinands' Canon H.G.G. Herklots. TS Snare of the Hunter. Herklots came to the diocese in 1945 at Hunter's invitation as Director of Education - he was then 41. Hunter was, he said, "in some ways a difficult man to work for...but he was also better working for than any other bishop in the Bench. He was always looking ahead - but within the forward plan ready to adapt himself to the opportunities of the moment". Hunter did not allow an unlimited freedom to 'angry young men'.
59. G. Hewitt, Ed. op. cit. Art. by the Reverend Michael Atkinson.
60. Ibid. p. 161 quoting from the Christian Frontier Council's Newsletter for December 1945.
61. L.S. Hunter TS Industrial Mission.
62. L.S. Hunter TS Informal Talk op.cit.
63. Examples are readily forthcoming :
L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review - March 1948. Writing of men working in industry he said "it will eventually be through their home ties and parental responsibilities that they will be drawn into the family life of the Church in a particular parish

- and only of course if there is a real Christ-centred family life there. Some parochial congregations have a long way to travel to the light before that is a recognisable description of them".

G. Hewitt op. cit. p.52. In a letter to his wife Hunter pronounced on his preference for churchwardens rather than their incumbents "who tended to a mild insanity".

L.S. Hunter to the author - in the privacy of his study :
"How long was Hick incumbent of the parish (Dalton) - fifty four years ? Fifty four years too long !"

Ven. M.J.M. Paton to author : letter of 29 November 1984.
"Like many strong personalities I don't think he can have realised how crushing he could be. I recall (a remark) of Robin Woods when he was archdeacon here : that he had spent much of his time going round cheering up clergy to whom Leslie had been beastly". Grace his wife, also fulfilled this task with particular tact and kindness.

64. G. Hewitt op. cit. pp. 70,71. "New bishops are frequently reputed to fill key posts with their own nominees, neglecting the gifts of those already serving within the diocese. Leslie Hunter did not escape censure on this point, but much of it was unjustified. Many of those whom he brought in...were given fairly tough, low-level jobs". An analysis of the names of clergymen mentioned in the Index of Strategist for the Spirit reveals that of the twenty two so named twenty were brought into the diocese by Hunter - there were of course many others. Of these, six were given testing jobs in unattractive areas : P.S. Burnett at St. Mary's, Bramall Lane Sheffield (1952-61); C.N. Wardle-Harpur at Attercliffe (1942-46); A.B. Webster, curate of Attercliffe (1942-44) and curate of Arbourthorne (1944-46). Nine remained in the diocese for six years and less; three stayed for twenty years or more and four served from twelve to eighteen years. Two left on becoming bishops : R.W. Stannard, Archdeacon of Doncaster on his appointment in 1947 to the Suffragan See of Woolwich; E.B. Wickham in 1959 to be Suffragan Bishop of Middleton. Three subsequently became bishops: O.S. Tompkins, Bishop of Bristol from 1959-75; R.W. Woods, Bishop of Worcester from 1971-81, and S.E.F. Booth-Clibborn, Bishop of Manchester from 1979. Two names stand out : Bishop G.V. Gerard as vicar of Rotherham and assistant bishop (1945-60) and finally full-time Assistant Bishop (1960-71) to whom the diocesan debt is incalculable; and Alan Ecclestone who for twenty seven years was vicar of Darnall in the east-end of Sheffield : politically a Communist; intellectually and theologically the most able priest in the diocese; forthright and mordant in criticism - he was the exemplar par excellence of the Parish Communion/Parish Meeting method of pastoral care. Of the seven archdeacons appointed by Hunter, not one came from within the diocese.

65. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review - March/April 1962.
66. Edwin Barker op. cit.
67. Ibid. M.J. Jackson : deacon 1955, proest 1957; assistant curate of Tinsley and chaplain in the Sheffield Industrial Mission 1955-59; Senior Chaplain 1959-69; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Sheffield 1967-73; Vicar of Doncaster 1969-73; Honorary Canon of Sheffield Cathedral 1971-73; Vicar and Rural Dean of Nottingham from 1973; Honorary Canon of Southwell Minster from 1973.
68. Jackson lacked the ebullience of Wickham; theologically he was more cautious. He attracted to himself criticism from some members of the mission team who created a vendetta-type opposition. The charge against him was that he was undoing Wickham's work and "going down the Church side of the razor edge". There was criticism of the mission from the managerial side of industry - this may have influenced both Bishop Taylor and Jackson considerably - that within the team there were those who were so involved with the trade unions that it (sc. the mission) had become yet another body which had to be consulted. Given the success of the mission some consultation with management was to be expected, but informally and as a rule impartially. Personal dislike of Jackson was exacerbated by his authoritarian methods. These had the bishop's approval and this fact, coupled with his somewhat cold exterior, was compounded in the eyes of his opponents by the way in which he overtly took up an evangelical position which was akin to that of Taylor. After leaving Sheffield he returned to his previously held moderate Catholic line. A report on the Sheffield Industrial Mission is severely critical of Jackson's opponents and upholds the duty of the bishop and his senior chaplain to exercise authority until other and enlarged methods of oversight were instituted. The divergence of view "was ground for legitimate debate and it is greatly needed...The issues are crucial to both Church and society but the whole debate has been bedevilled by considerations entirely extraneous to it and by resistance to experiments which might illuminate it". (Report on the Sheffield Industrial Mission). It was unfortunate that Wickham sought to exercise influence and to intervene in the dispute. A formal constitution is now in force and the work of the mission is under the overall supervision of a fully representative Council.
69. E.R. Wickham op. cit. Chapter 6 passim for Wickham's exposition of his views.
70. L.S. Hunter TS Industrial Mission Cf. V.A. Demant op.cit. p. 176. : "Renewal always comes, and only comes, when there are sufficient people who can be sources of renewal out of a faith that does not depend upon the survival of this or that civilisation".

Mutatis mutandis this applied to the changing situation within industry and is apposite to the examination of policy within the Sheffield Industrial Mission. The paragraph to which this note refers was written in the light of the author's experience of miners and steel workers from 1940 to 1953.

71. Francis John Taylor : deacon 1936, priest 1937; assistant curate of St. Swithun, Walcot 1936-38; Tutor and Lecturer at Wycliffe Hall Theological College 1938-42 (Chaplain from 1939); Vicar of Christ Church, Claughton 1942-55; Principal of Wycliffe Hall 1955-62; Bishop of Sheffield 1962 - 71.

A Church/Secular tension can conceal for the Christian missionary a temptation to apply a Christian validation to the work of mission to such an extent that the strength of the secularist maelstrom is undetected or underestimated because it has become subsumed into the mission's scheme of work. Consequently in the Church/Secular tension, the integrated ethos of mission becomes flawed from a Christian viewpoint and when the imbalance is challenged "considerations entirely extraneous to it and...resistance to experiments which might illuminate it" (Report op.cit., n.68 above) are readily adduced in justification of policy. In the Sheffield situation, Christian ministry had become for some of the missionaries an alliance with the unions and to that extent it was ceasing to be a cohesively Christian influence in the works. Cf. for a manipulation of "the idea of Christianity" as expounded over-liberally H. de Lubac The Drama of Atheist Humanism p. 51 quoting Nietzsche who - ironically - declared that on hearing of these purer Christianities passing judgement on the earlier Christianities which were impure "the impartial listener often had the impression that Christianity does not enter into it at all". This poses the question as to whether "knife edge" is a particularly happy metaphor.

iii.

72. Unsigned letter of 6 October 1984 to author from an old parishioner of St. Margaret's Barking at the request of the Reverend Patrick Blair, Rector of Barking. Hunter had devised a meeting for men called "The Forum"; he gave it a solid start", but "in my view it flourished most under Dean Robins who introduced some first class speakers". (Henry Charles Robins was Rector of Barking from 1930-35 and subsequently from 1943 Dean of Salisbury.) This comment underlines the fact that Hunter's approach was often diffident and not greatly inspiring.
73. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review March/April 1962. Writing of the diocese as he found it in 1939 "Many of the parishes... had not men of vision and ability to make a determined penetration of an industrial population and the exiguous congregations of their churches gave them little encouragement".

74. Gordon Hewitt.Ed. Strategist for the Spirit London 1985 p.89.
75. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review April 1953.
76. There was evidence that a kind of mental inertia seized some priests within two years after ordination with the result that they were not engaged in any kind of demanding study.
77. The mansion was Brookfield Manor, Hathersage. In any case it was too far from Sheffield.
78. Miss M. Walton op. cit. p.98, gives the date as 30th. November 1950. This conflicts with the evidence of the Committee of Management minute of 25 January 1952 : "the Bishop was negotiating with the lessee" and a minute of the Church Extension Committee of 4 April 1952 : "The Bishop said the cost would be met from the War Emergency Fund with some help from Church in Action monies".
79. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Conference 13/14 June 1952 with reference to the Grange "We are getting a licence to make the necessary alterations and also to build a block of twenty two small bedrooms".
80. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review April 1953. The Grange was built in 1848 near the Whirlow Brook. The Corporation had extended the existing lease from twenty one to ninety nine years at a rent of £75 a year. These favourable terms wrote Mrs Grace Hunter were a "monument to Leslie's close contact with the Trade Unions - for it was they who persuaded the City to ask for a nominal sum". (Letter to the Very Reverend Alan Webster dated 10 December 1974.)
81. This was the episcopal "we". The choice was Hunter's.
82. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review May 1953. The routine for each day was : Mattins and Holy Communion; breakfast; lecture and discussion; lunch; free afternoon; tea; Evensong; dinner; group discussion; Compline.
83. A priest in the diocese of Manchester - c. 1953 - to author : "You are far ahead of us in Sheffield in your understanding of the task of the Church today and in your methods of work." See p.323/4 below.
84. The translating of Hunter's aims for the conference house in practical details owed much to the Venerable D.E.W. Harrison, Archdeacon of Sheffield (he became Dean of Bristol in 1957) and later to Canon Roland Walls who came to the diocese in 1958 as director of ordinands and post-ordination training, and particularly to Canon Gordon Hewitt who was education secretary from 1952 to 1958. Of the latter Hunter wrote on his departure "he has put us in his debt for three things especially - his visits to parishes on Sundays; his concern for adult education expressed in his painstaking arrangements of clergy weeks and lay leadership courses; his work for religious drama".

85. "We recommend Whirlow Grange" wrote one priest (Sheffield Diocesan Review - June 1953 : 'M.Z.B.) "When the (Bishop's) summons arrived the designated clerics said to themselves 'What a good idea - but I wish I didn't have to go". But - on Friday evening - they gave thanks sincerely, for they would go home with bodies rested and minds again alert".
86. The existence of this criticism is evinced by statements which Hunter made on two dates separated by four years : Committee of Management - 24 May 1954. Minute on the reported loss of £500 on the first year's work : the Bishop said that "Whirlow Grange was playing an extremely valuable part in diocesan affairs; it had never been expected that it would work without loss"; Committee of Management - 30 June 1958. "The Bishop emphasised the vital part played in the diocese by Whirlow in the sphere of religious education".
87. Committee of Management - 28 January 1955. The Hague Bequest is connected with a family which lived at Castle Dyke, Ringinglow. The house is now an old people's home. The Bequest was for the purpose of providing within the parish of Ecclesall two churches at either end of the parish. The one was to convert a double-purpose building at Greystones into a church (St. Gabriel's); the other was to enable the parish to cater for an expected growth of population at Whirlow by building a mission church on Broad Elms Lane on land which Earl Fitzwilliam had promised to give. Green belt legislation had made the Broad Elm project unnecessary. Counsel's opinion was sought - probably by Hunter; the diocesan registrar's managing clerk, Mr. F.T. Wing, has no recollection of it - and a diversion of part of the bequest to the extent of £10,000 was allowed. This was an example of Hunter's astuteness.
88. Church Extension Committee - 28 February 1958 - statement by the bishop.
89. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review - July 1958.
90. Kenneth Graham to author. Bishop Hunter's inspiration for the design and furnishings of the chapel came from his tour of Swedish churches.
91. L.S. Hunter, Ed. Scandinavian Churches London 1965.
92. Ibid. p. 22.
93. J.V. Bullard. Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical 1604 London 1934 p. 86. Canon LXXXI1.
- iv.
94. M. Walton op. cit. p. 82.

95. Miss Walton says that the money came from a diocesan source; there is no record of this, but the Reverend C.A. Auckland- letter of 7 May 1985 to author - affirms that part came from a diocesan source and some from the Sheffield Association of Youth Clubs of which Mrs. Hunter was the chairman. Auckland comments, "This was Leslie Hunter's clever way of spreading financial committment."
96. Mary Oughtred in letter of 30 April 1985 to author. See C.A. Auckland op.cit. "It was the most primitive of places...water pumped from some sort of spring...the drainage and sewerage was crude to a degree...the main building an old army hut with a cook-house ...sleeping quarter in a brick building with no real division between the sexes...I cannot think of any more primitive building in all my youth travels in England and on the Continent. But somehow it seemed to work admirably."
97. The youth chaplains, the Reverends C. Hill (1941-45), C.A. Auckland (1946-50), and T.G. Kelsey (1950-53) had much to do with this. Miss M. Stripp was the organising secretary of the Sheffield Association of Youth Clubs at this time; she was succeeded by Miss Oughtred in 1954. C.A. Auckland op. cit. "There was a ready response from parishes...so there was a full programme of week-ends of all kinds".
98. Mary Oughtred op. cit.
99. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review - July 1959.
100. Ibid.
1. To consider the desirability of using Hollowford wholly or for part of the year for training courses for teenagers from Secondary Modern Schools now in industry (modelled to some extent on the Outward Bound Courses).
 2. If this is thought desirable, to advise what staffing would be required and what new buildings and equipment, and to make an estimate of the capital cost and the per capita running expenses.
 3. To recommend (i) what approaches should be made to Industry and Education Authorities for co-operation and financial support to start and maintain the project, and (ii) what sort of committee should be appointed by the Church through the existing Hollowford Committee to bring it into operation.
101. Ibid.
102. Hunter annotated the report with his comments. To the suggestion that £20,000 was needed he commented "No use starting with inadequate finance: raise capital once for all". His figure was £30,000.

103. Mr. D.R.O. Thomas: W. Holland - a senior member of the staff of the Sheffield Education Authority - in a letter to author of 6 August 1985 : Thomas who had a reputation for "taking up other people's ideas...and causing a third party to act on them" suggested "Outward Bound" to Hunter. Hunter's emphasis, p. 176, on the need for financial support from industry reveals that a degree of caution tempered his initial enthusiasm which probable was inspired by Thomas "who was given to suggesting rather grandiose schemes for others to carry out".
104. L.S. Hunter op. cit.
105. Ibid. "The kind of course we have in mind would be an expansion of the week-end courses which the Industrial Mission has recently been holding". Cf. Hansard - 30 November 1960 and the debate on Training for Industry and Commerce: Hunter spoke in the debate on the large scale unemployment of young people, "What matters is the matching of the boy or girl for the right job. This requires ...a knowledge of industry by teachers; a knowledge of schools and their curricula among works managers; good sense in the home...My particular concern is the training of the non-apprentice. Is not the distinction between skilled and semi-skilled today very often rather within the trade unions?...Attention needs to be given to boys and girls leaving secondary modern schools (now so much improved), otherwise they go into industry to unskilled and completely dull jobs. They are not "bookish but intelligent." The bishop then referred to the diocese of Sheffield and Hollowford though not by name. We are "making a youth-training centre in the Peak District...The course is designed for young people seconded from industry. Work, not a holiday, is the object... and the scheme of work can be followed up locally in the works. Since the war there has been much talking about youth, too much perhaps in terms of leisure than of work."
106. The Youth Service in England and Wales, 1960
107. G. Hewitt op. cit. p. 96. Cf. Sheffield Diocesan Review - July/August 1960. Art. Young People and the Church.
108. L.S. Hunter op. cit.
109. Ibid.
110. The Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire was founded in 1624 when an Act of Parliament gave self-governing powers to the Master, Wardens, Searchers, Assistants and Commonality of the Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire in the County of York. The duties of the Company were chiefly directed to regulating the cutlery trade - the makers of "knives, blades, scissors, shears, sickles, cutlery wares and manufactures made or wrought of iron and steel" (Act of 23 April 1624); the issuing of trade marks and the

oversight of the appointment and training of apprentices were important parts of its work. Entrance to the trade by apprenticeship was obligatory by a Statute of Elizabeth 1563. As late as 1938 another Act gave manufacturers...in the specified area the option of applying to the Cutlers' Company or to the Patent Office for the registration of their Trade Marks on metal goods. (See The Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire in the County of York - n.d. but probably 1979/80.)

Mr. C.H.T. (later Sir Harry) Williams became a Freeman of the Company from The Parkgate Iron and Steel Company. He was a man of great integrity - and known to the author - who began his life in industry as a 7s. a week apprentice and rose to become general manager.

111. K.S. Pound MS - March 1984. The Reverend K.S. Pound had served a first curacy at St. Peter, St. Helier in the diocese of Southwark. He was training officer of Hollowford from 1961 to 1964 and warden from 1964 to 1967. In March 1986 he was appointed Chaplain General of Prisons.

112. Ibid.

113. L.S. Hunter TS The Younger Generation. See : Minutes of the Committee of Management for 26 June 1958 : "The Bishop outlined the proposed development of Hollowford along modified Outward Bound lines." "The committee fully supported."

114. M. Oughtred op. cit.

115. C.A. Beck : letter to author of 11 November 1985 : The Diocesan Board of Finance resolved to lease the premises to Linley Lodge in February 1980. The lease took effect from 1 April 1980.

v.

116. Crockford's Clerical Directory 1940-50 : Index to Benefices p. 1722. See Look at Life (St. Mary's Parish Magazine) - March 1957 p.3. "The planning ...started in 1824 and the foundation stone was laid on the 12th. October, 1826 by the Countess of Suffolk.

117. Edward Venables Vernon Harcourt 1808-48. The Sentence of Consecration is dated 21 July 1830 and is signed "Ebor".

118. The Waterloo churches in Sheffield were : St. George (1825), Christ Church, Attercliffe (1826). St. Philip (1828) and St. Mary. Both Christ Church and St. Philip were severely damaged by the German raids on Sheffield and were subsequently destroyed. St. Mary was to be restored.

119. J.R.H. Moorman A History of the Church in England London 1954 p. 323. The Church Building Society was founded in 1818 for the purpose of supplying this need; there were large subscriptions from the King (George III) and others. "It is reckoned that between 1818 and 1833 over six million pounds was spent on building new churches".
120. Ibid. p. 323.
121. Revd. D. Munro St. Mary's Church and Community Centre Sheffield 1980 p. 5. As late as the turn of the century the Bible class numbered 700 and the total involved in the church's activities exceeded 2000.
122. Ibid. p.2. The church principally served the new owners of industry and their professional colleagues whose mansions had begun to spread to south and east of the city.
123. Look at Life op. cit. p.4.
124. D. Munro op. cit. p.7.
125. Look at Life op.cit. p.9. The Reverend J.M. Paulin was curate-in-charge of St. Mary, St. Barnabas and St. Simon, Sheffield 1941-43 and vicar of St. Mary, Bramall Lane 1943-48; he was Rural Dean of Ecclesall 1947-48. After the air raid "we patched up St. Mary's Institute as well as we could and had some windows restored to Leadmill School".
126. D. Munro op.cit. p.7.
127. D. Fielding in conversation with the author. 30 May 1985. Mr. Fielding has a very long memory of St. Mary's and has been a churchwarden for many years.
128. D. Munro. op.cit. p.7; and L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review April 1950.
129. Such a vision and so expressed, when contrasted with the large-scale industrialised population of the parish, represents Hunter's remoteness from the thought processes of the inhabitants of the terrace houses. Many found their interests and consolations in the 48 public houses in the parish and as supporters of Sheffield United F.C.
130. D. Fielding in conversation with the author. At the annual vestry meeting on 28 September 1951 disagreement with the vicar's policy and actions was voiced. On 16 April 1952 at the vestry Mr. G.V.G. Ellis, who had been people's warden for twenty years and was highly regarded, refused nomination. He gave as his reason that he had come to "a gentleman's agreement with the Lord Bishop with regard to the Reverend S. Henshaw". Presumably this amounted to an undertaking that he would cease to be churchwarden and that Henshaw would be found another benefice.

131. "Look at Life". op. cit. p.9.
132. P.S. Burnett : letter to "My Lord Bishop" of 25 November 1954.
133. The author had this experience on a number of occasions, particularly with reference to the parish of Holy Trinity, Dalton to which he was sent by the bishop to remedy serious deficiencies.
134. P.S. Burnett : letter to author of 26 September 1985.
135. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review - August 1954 : "The district badly needs a different type of building which would provide accommodation for Church worship, and also for educational and recreational activities for young people".
136. Ibid.
137. D. Munro op.cit. p.9. The sale of the mission church and the school buildings with the addition of war damage compensation came to £35,000. There remained a balance of £5,500 still to be found. This was paid early in 1956 - a testimony to Vicar Burnett's assiduous work. Burnett writes "We had a 'Bob a month' scheme to which hundreds of households contributed...The pubs joined in with Piles of Pennies. It was to be their centre and they were to have a say in it - not something laid on for them by the Church". (Letter to author - 25 September 1985).
138. P.S. Burnett : first a solicitor; University of London BA 1934 Balliol College Oxford, BA 1945, MA 1946. After one curacy, Assistant General Secretary of SCM 1949-52; Vicar of St. Mary with St. Simon and St. Matthias, Sheffield 1952-61; Rural Dean of Ecclesall 1959-65; Canon of Sheffield 1961-70 (Emeritus from 1970); Diocesan Education Secretary 1961-70.
139. P.S. Burnett : letter to author of 25 September 1985.
140. Ibid.
141. D. Fielding. to author.
142. D. Munro op.cit. p.8.
143. P.S. Burnett op. cit. Hunter "did not immediately concur". "It would not be wise" said the Bishop "in view of the religious history of Sheffield and the recent history of your parish, for the P.C.C. to agree to the surrender of half of the building to a body which would be responsible to no-one in particular and of which, according to your plan, the majority at some time might become unfriendly to the Church". L.S. Hunter : letter to Burnett of 23 November 1954.
144. L.S. Hunter : letter to Burnett of 23 November 1954.

145. See p.32 above. Hunter's Kingdom-centred theology was his creative motivation. He was a Churchman through and through but none the less did not equate the Church with the Kingdom; the Kingdom is the goal of all human endeavour, even when Christ is unknown. However the Church is the spear-head of the Kingdom, it bears Christ's authority and the realisation of the Kingdom is its hope and life. It was for these reasons that Hunter could say "I am not greatly interested in ecclesiastical institutions as such"; the Church is not infallible and in any case religious institutions are varied and of variable worth. But "God's purposes for man's welfare...are mediated through the fellowship of believers". (L.S. Hunter Bishop's Letter - September 1945). Consequently, for him the relationship of the Church to the Kingdom was many-sided and to be treasured for this reason. True community on earth is to be proclaimed through the Church, exemplified in the Church and with the Church as its enabler sought and planned for in the corporate relationships of mankind, in nation, in local community, in the family. With his one time colleague and long-standing friend, Oliver Quick, Hunter was in agreement : "only in the Christian community is that freedom of the Holy Spirit found which derives full redeeming power from the incarnation and the cross of Christ" but "its holy fellowship exists for the sake of those outside it", (O.C. Quick Doctrines of the Creed London 1938 p.311.) Cf. V.A. Demant op.cit. p.41 quoting von Hugel : "religion will have to come to see that it cannot attain to its own depth...if it does not continually renounce aspiring after being everything."
146. P.S. Burnett - letter to author 31 July 1985. See however n.149-151 for the legal safeguards.
147. Brochure St. Mary's Community Centre n.d. "Whose will it be?"
148. P.S. Burnett : letter to author of 25 September 1985. "The centre flourished as a real neighbourhood centre bringing together church people and many others in fruitful cooperation". But see P.S. Burnett : letter to Hunter of 25 November 1954 : "Hard facts, however, have got to be faced, and one of the hardest is the very small number of adults living in the parish who are effective members of St. Mary's (or any other) church".
- 149.D. Munro op. cit. p.9.
150. Look at Life op. cit. pp. 12,13. and L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review - April 1957.
151. P.S. Burnett : letter to author of 31 July 1985. Neither the Archdeacon of Sheffield (D.E.W. Harrison 1943-57) nor the Bishop's Chancellor (Humphrey Hastings King) were in favour of the scheme. Hunter "over-rode" Douglas Harrison and was prepared to over-ride

his Chancellor and the legal boys - we went ahead without a faculty or anything. All was 'whitewashed' at the end". The application of the Reorganisation Measure of 1944 (Part IV) provided a legal basis for the scheme. See n.157 below.

152. Leaflet, presumably printed shortly after the opening ceremonies, provided the text of the Bishop's Address and the Princess's Speech.

153. Look at Life op.cit. p. 11.

154. Ibid. pp. 14,15. The numerous groups included : Women's Handicraft Group, the Dance Club, The Discussion Group, the Angling Club, The Sewing Class, The Health and Beauty Class, The Housewives Club, The Men's Club, Women's Welfare Clinic and Clubs for school children, teenagers and old people.

155. Ibid. p. 15.

156. The author preached to an evening congregation in St. Mary's on 2 October 1960. This was the harvest festival; the congregation numbered forty five. This represented fifteen people for each member of staff of the parish - the vicar, the assistant curate, the woman worker. Contrariwise the Centre was thriving. See D. Munro op. cit. p.10. : The Centre "progressed vigorously despite the changes in the local environment". The process of moving families to new estates on the edge of the city began in the 1960s. As this gathered pace there was a growing dependence for membership of the Centre on those who did not live in the area.

157. Instrument of Delegation dated 19 October 1956 by the Sheffield Diocesan Trust and Board of Finance...in relation to St. Mary's Hall and Centre, Bramall Lane, Sheffield. A. "under and by virtue of a Scheme or Order made by the Church Commissioners for England on the Seventh day of June One thousand nine hundred and fifty six...and of a further Order of the said Commissioners made on the Nineteenth day of July One thousand nine hundred and fifty six and the provisions of Part IV of the Reorganisation in the said Order and which has been converted into a Hall and ancillary rooms and offices and is now known as St. Mary's Hall and Centre Bramall Lane Sheffield has become vested in the Board upon trust to allow the same to be used for the purposes specified in the Schedule to the said Order subject to the conditions specified in the same Schedule".

158. Ibid. Section 2 (a), (b), (c).

159. Ibid. Section 12, 13.

160. The Reverend L.G.E. Hancock was incumbent from 1963 to 1972. He had been appointed by Bishop John Taylor (1962-71) after the benefice had been vacant for seventeen and a half months. His was not a successful ministry. There was friction between Hancock and the warden of the Centre during his vicariate and he finally resigned as chairman of its Council. It was at this time that the warden and his helpers were designedly avoiding contact with the church and making it known that they did not wish the Church/Community relationship to be brought to people's attention. It cannot be said that Hancock was any more successful in the parish. In the opinion of Mr. Fielding the relationship between parish and the community was severely damaged. Hancock went on to do good work elsewhere; St. Mary's - church and community - was not his *métier*.
161. This was under the scheme drawn up by the Rural Dean (the author) and accepted by the Ecclesall Deanery Pastoral Committee and given force by the Diocesan Pastoral Committee.
162. The Reverend J.A. Smith, vicar of St. Barnabas and St. Mary, to the author. The creation of the reconstituted parish of St. Barnabas and St. Mary, coupled with the wise leadership of Smith provided a way forward for St. Mary's Church and Community Centre. The Deed of Delegation to the Council was surrendered on 30 June 1982. A new *Deed* to the P.C.C. was effected from 1 July 1982. (Letter from C.A. Beck, Secretary of the Diocesan Board of Finance to author - 12 December 1985).
163. The Reverend J.A. Smith to author.
164. Epistle to the Ephesians 6.13,17. "Take up God's armour...for sword, take that which the Spirit gives you - the words that come from God". (NEB)
165. Meeting of the Ecclesall Deanery Chapter on 7 June 1960 at St. Oswald's, Millhouses, Sheffield. The author was present at Chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

NOTES

1. G. Hewitt op.cit. p. 42, quoting Canon N. Wardle-Harpur, one-time curate to Hunter at Barking. "Once married, curates brought their wives to staff meetings - one never forgets his biting comments if any of the men spoke in any way which showed any sense of superiority over the women".
2. The Council came into being in the 1930s at the same time as the Council for the Order of Deaconesses. Bishop Hunter was chairman from 1941 to 1956. In 1960 the two Councils were united to form the Council for Women's Ministry in the Church. (See Church of England Year Book - 1979 edition p. 14)
3. L.S. Hunter TS William Temple College.
4. G. Hewitt op.cit. Chapter 9 "Strategy for Reform in Church and Nation", Alan Webster p. 138. But the College "never received sufficient institutional and financial support".
5. Clwyd Record Office, Hawarden : Hawarden Rectory (the benefice was in the patronage of the Gladstone family) ceased to be used as such in 1925 when the incumbent, C.F. Lyttelton, moved to the Sundial, formerly the home of Miss Helen Gladstone. The Rectory was presented to the Council of the Knutsford Ordination Test School by Henry Neville Gladstone. A new wing was added in 1926 and the Test School moved into the house in 1927. After several uses, all but one by the Church, it provided temporary accommodation for the William Temple College from 1947 to 1953. It was bought by the Flintshire County Council in 1955 as a library and county record office.
6. L.S. Hunter TS The Venture of William Temple College.
7. Ibid.
8. Sir William Benton-Jones, Bt. was the Honorary Treasurer of the Sheffield Church in Action Campaign. He "persuaded some of the big steel companies as well as his own (Steel, Peach and Tozer) to give substantial support in the form of covenanted subscriptions. This led to support from other industrial companies". (L.S. Hunter op. cit.) Cf. Canon R.S.O. Stevens (eventually a Governor) : Taped information to the author : "Sir Walter used his influence with a friend to secure a bequest of £50,000 for William Temple College".

9. J. Keiser : letter to author of 12 October 1985.
10. The Earl of March : letter to author of 31 May 1985. Lord March was a full-time student at the College and later a member of the Governing Body. Cf. Canon Stevens op.cit. Hunter "was a fantastic schemer and involved in every imaginable way".
11. Rachel Moss : Letter to author of 17 May 1984. Mrs. Moss was a member of the College Staff from 1947 to 1950 and later a Governor.
12. Ibid.
13. Hunter was fearful that, because the years were passing after the death of Temple, it would prove very difficult to make a successful appeal for financial endowment of the College.
14. Miss Mollie Batten was the first to be approached. (see n.21 below). She had shared with F.A. Cockin (later Bishop of Bristol from 1946 -59) in drawing up a provisional syllabus for the College. She declined the offer on the grounds of her lack of theological training; this she immediately sought to remedy. She went up to Oxford in 1947 and graduated in theology in December 1949. (See letter to author from Miss Roxburgh of 26 June 1985.)
15. The lady was Miss Margaret Potts of Huyton Girls' School. (Letter to author from Rachel Moss : op.cit.)
16. Rachel Moss op.cit. Mrs Moss writes "any substitute". Cf. Dr. J. Keiser : letter to author of 13 July 1984. Hunter had a major impact on the opening session in as much as when the intended principal dropped out he appointed the temporary staff and probably helped to finalise the teaching syllabus.
17. Rachel Moss : letter to author op.cit.
18. Rachel Moss : letter to author of 13 July 1984.
19. Rachel Moss : Letter to author of 17 April 1984.
20. Rachel Moss : Letter to author of 13 July 1984. These were the Josephine Butler House and St. Christopher's College, Blackheath.
21. Edith Mary Batten, OBE (always known as Mollie) was well qualified for the post; her wide-ranging interests included science, social science and theology, (see n.14 above) together with her work for the Birmingham Settlement and the Ministry of Labour (war-time temporary post). See Rachel Moss : letter of 13 July 1984 and M. Roxburgh op.cit. In character Mollie Batten was 'femme

formidable', possessed of a "lively Christian faith". (J. Keiser n. 22 below.)

22. Dr. J. Keiser "Tribute to Edith Mary Batten, OBE" attached to The William Temple Foundation Newsletter, Spring 1985. Miss Batten died on 28 January 1985; Dr. Keiser's "Tribute" is dated 12 March 1985.
23. M. Roxburgh : op.cit. : "their joint influence on and direction of the College was closely interlocked". Miss Roxburgh writes of Mollie Batten's imagination, administrative capacity and concern for standards. Hunter, she thinks, was almost a weekly visitor to the College.
24. J. Keiser op.cit.
25. M. Roxburgh OBE op.cit.
26. This was at Barking; Hunter prepared her for Confirmation in 1929. She was formerly a Baptist.
27. Mollie Batten : letter to Hunter of 16 October 1954.
28. J. Keiser op.cit.
29. Rachel Moss : letter of 13 July 1984.
30. L.S. Hunter op.cit. Cf. J. Keiser : letter to author of 12 October 1985. See + below .
31. L.S. Hunter op.cit. "The house had to be reorganised inside and centrally heated, and a long two-storey block of study-bedrooms built". He added in a penned note : "Early in its life the College was recognised by the Minister of Education for Supplementary Courses in Divinity and later it became an Associate College of the Birmingham Institute of Education".
32. L.S. Hunter op.cit. "The Town Clerk and some of his colleagues came all the way to the hotel at Bakewell for a friendly talk which clinched the transaction". The hotel could only have been the "Rutland".

✦ "William Temple College never had trustees. A Governing Body was established in March 1948 with thirty-six members. Fifteen of these were representatives of various Church of England councils, including six from the Central Council for Women's Work. Twenty were appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. There was one co-option and Leslie was chairman. Membership changes were frequent and indeed some members never turned up to the meetings !" Clearly the purpose of the large membership was not least to commend the College widely within the Church of England.

33. Ibid.
34. Ibid. At the opening of the College in its new premises, the Old Rectory, Rugby, the Archbishop of Canterbury said "This is a most exciting age in which to live because in two respects man has brought himself now to the ultimate question on which his very life and death depends...in his relations to Nature...and the powers latent in the physical universe, and to and within society, how are men to fashion our lives in fellowship with one another.. From William Temple College comes a tiny but vital contribution to this central problem". The date was 24 October 1954.
35. L.S. Hunter Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. L.S. Hunter TS William Temple College. Cf. Lord March : letter of 31 May to author : "Bishop Hunter was always ahead of his time"(but) "the College was never more than half-full, if that, of full-time students".
38. L.S. Hunter TS The Venture of William Temple College
39. Ibid. The course "was repeated several times. There were two or three times as many men as women at these short courses: while the proportion has been the other way round for the long courses of a year or more. There has also been a number of ordinands sent by their bishops".
40. Ibid.
41. The Earl of March op.cit. Cf. Canon Stevens op.cit. who describes Hunter as "an extremely good chairman". Lord March (op.cit.) came to the College as a full-time student as a result of the interest raised in trade unions and management for the two-week courses. Both Lord March and Canon Stevens are in doubt as to whether Hunter or Batten was responsible for the changed emphasis which the disparate courses provided. Certainly the germinating seed came from Hunter but it would not have flowered without the careful planning and wide experience of Miss Batten.
42. J. Keiser:letter to author of 13 July 1984. cf. n.37 above.
43. Ibid.
44. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review - January 1962.
45. Ibid.

46. F.A. Iremonger William Temple op.cit. p. 452. Letter to priest's wife in March 1916 : "personally I want (as at present advised) to see women ordained to the priesthood. But still more do I want to see real advance towards the re-union of Christendom, and the general emancipation of women. To win admission to the priesthood now would put back the former and to moot it would put back the latter".
47. L.S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review - May 1955. The conference met from 22 - 24 March 1955.
48. The date was 20 May 1953. See pp269/70 below.
49. L.S. Hunter op.cit.
50. Ibid.
51. L.S. Hunter TS William Temple College.
52. J. Keiser : letter to author of 8 May 1985. cf. The William Temple Foundation. Occasional Paper "The Creation of Wealth", Number 14, 1985.
53. J. Keiser "Tribute" : See n.22 above.
54. G. Hewitt op.cit. p. 132. Freda Matchett quoting Hunter "The opening of the priesthood to women is not practical politics in our life-time". These words were followed by a typical Hunter observation : "When a thing is plainly inexpedient, it is neither necessary nor courageous to hint darkly at theological mysteries". Maybe, but a doctrine of the priesthood cannot rest upon an ambiguous basis. Ambiguity, though a temptation to the Church of England, is no part of her theological position, The Preface to the first Book of Common Prayer - that of 1549 - makes this clear. "We have rejected all (sc. proposed alterations) such as were either of dangerous consequence - as secretly striking at some established doctrine or laudable practice of the Church of England or indeed of the whole Catholick Church of Christ - or else of no consequence at all, but utterly frivolous and vain".
55. Examples of both these characteristics were to be found and not infrequently the incumbent and his principal parishioners were unaware of the causes.
56. Hunter was conscious of this. The matter was complicated by the equally ungenerous levels of curates' stipends. At the Committee of Management on 25 November 1955, the bishop stressed the need to increase the salaries of women workers.

57. Two sources, among many, can be adduced as examples of the post-Second-World War currents of thought and of the confusion of voices. Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906-1945) : Letters from Prison, Eng. trans. London 1953 p. 118. Bonhoeffer became well-known for his axiom of "religionless Christianity". This was frequently understood as being dismissive of Christianity in favour of secular (or atheistic) humanism. It was in part certainly Bonhoeffer's critique of 'religious activities' of a kind which concealed from Christians the fact that they had not become adult in the faith. (Cf. for the sources of secular/atheistic humanism H. de Lubac, SJ The Drama of Atheistic Humanism, Eng. trans. London 1949.) For a favourable view of Bonhoeffer see especially Martin Thornton, The Rock and the River London 1965 : Chapter 4 and especially pp. 55-59; and also John Macquarrie Principles of Christian Theology London 1977 p. 23: "Knowledge of God is not just something intellectual : it is an acknowledgement of God as God, a recognition which is given only in the true worship of God, in the unconditional worth accorded to him as the centre of the whole of life". But cf. E.L. Mascall The Secularisation of Christianity London 1965. Mascall is less inclined to recognise Bonhoeffer's "deep devotion to Jesus Christ...one who knew prayer to be of the essence of the Christian life" (Thornton op. cit. p.50) and consequently regards his 'we stand continually in the presence of the God who makes us live in the world without the God-hypothesis' as indicating that "we must plan our lives without any reference to God". p. 42.
- Paul van Buren The Secular Meaning of the Gospel London 1963 p. 103. Quoting Nietzsche's declaration 'God is dead', van Buren went on to say that "the problem now is that the word God is dead". Cf. H. de Lubac op. cit. p.22 "If God is dead, it is we who have killed him...We are the assassins of God"; p. 25 "God is dead, long live the Superman!"; p.64. What Nietzsche fought in Christianity was "its ideal of man" and consequently the qualities of "trustfulness, ingenuousness, simplicity, patience, love for one's neighbour, resignation, submission to God, a sort of discerning and repudiation of one's own ego".
58. D.L. Edwards Religion and Change London 1969. Edwards writes of "a period of great confusion in Christian theology". (p.10) He refers to Ronald Gregor Smith's Secular Christianity London 1966 in which the author had written "modern secularism is not secular enough (p.172)...it should not lead to any doctrine but leave people to think their own thought about God". But cf. Gregor Smith's The Doctrine of God London 1970 in which he expresses his faith : "Everything turns today on the one decision, the one risk, the staking your life on the inexpressible reality of God who is entirely historical, that is, entirely for man, and also entirely himself. But God that is entirely himself is not the same as entirely-for-himself. We know that God by faith in what he does to us. More we do not know". (pp.182,183)
59. Ibid. p. 11.

NOTES

CHAPTER EIGHT

i.

1. M. Walton, op. cit., p. 119.
2. Ibid., p. 63, quoting R. W. Stannard, Archdeacon of Doncaster (1941-47).
3. Minutes of Committee of Management - 28 February 1952. The bishop, who had been absent from the previous meeting, disagreed with an action taken about a car (a modest Austin 7) which had been provided for the moral welfare worker. The minute recorded a decision for the car to be offered to the Moral Welfare Committee at a reasonable valuation with the Diocesan Board of Finance not accepting any further responsibility. Not so, said the bishop. The car must be given to the Moral Welfare Committee, which committee should pay for the repairs.
4. Ibid. - 25 January 1952 and 26 September 1952 (the latter referring to the alterations and additions to the Grange).
5. Ibid. - 28 January 1955. Cf. the Church Extension Committee minutes for 28 February 1958. The bishop said that £10,000 was available from the Hague Bequest. The Bequest consisted of monies to be used within the parish of Ecclesall, Sheffield at Broad Elms Lane and at Greystones for church building. The Broad Elms project was not required after the Whirlow area had been brought within the Sheffield green belt. Counsel's opinion was sought about an alternative use of the Bequest; this was favourable and the Ecclesall Parochial Church Council agreed, though not enthusiastically, that the capital should be used for the Whirlow Grange chapel. (Kenneth Graham to author.)
6. This is an example of the parochialism which was a feature of the diocese, indeed of the Church of England at large.
7. Minutes of the Committee of Management - 24 May 1954, op. cit. See Chapter Six, n. 86 above.
8. Ibid - 30 June 1958. See p.174f above.
9. Ibid. - 27 July 1951.
10. Ibid. - 18 September 1951.

11. Ibid. - 23 February 1951.
12. Ibid. - 22 February 1954.
13. Ibid. - 25 November 1955.
14. Ibid. - 27 July 1957. A careful search has failed to find evidence of Hunter's visit to the U.S.A. in 1957.
15. The compilation of Church Electoral Rolls (on a baptismal basis) became mandatory after the passing in 1919 of the Enabling Act: see J. R. H. Moorman, A History of the Church in England, London 1953, p. 417. Cf. E. W. Kemp, Counsel and Consent, London 1961, Lecture 8 and especially pp. 198 and 201 for canonical and legal arguments. "In spite of lay membership of the various conferences which mount from the parochial church council up to the Assembly, the right of Convocation within certain fields to legislate by canon without reference to the laity remained unimpaired..."
16. Minutes of Committee of Management - 27 February 1961.
17. Ibid. The incumbent in question was the author.
18. L. S. Hunter, A Church in Action: The Dean Starr Lectures for 1954. Niagara 1954, p. 7.
19. Minutes of the Church Extension Committee - 6 December 1946.
20. See n. 24 below: Church Extension Committee - 17 July 1948. From 6 December 1946 to 13 October 1961 the major part of the business transacted bears the marks of Hunter's promotions and interest.
21. L. S. Hunter, The Bishop's Letter - 15 March 1945. See above, p. 153.
22. C. E. Holmstrom was the managing director of Firth-Vickers Stainless Steels Limited from 1945 to 1960.
23. Minutes of the Church Extension Committee - 6 December 1946.
24. Ibid. - 17 July 1948. It was at this meeting that, on the bishop's proposition, the Church in Action Committee was dissolved and its responsibilities vested in the Church Extension committee. Cf. Minutes of the Church Extension Committee - 7 January 1949: agreement had been reached for

the purchase of the cathedral glebe - adjacent to the church - for £38,000. See Chapter Nine below, pp.239-242.

25. Ibid. - 2 December 1952.
26. Ibid. - 4 April 1952. Cf. M. Walton, op. cit., p. 68. War damage within the diocese comprised: six churches destroyed; twelve damaged; Church House, Sheffield and forty vicarages damaged.
27. The Reorganisation Measure was passed by the Church Assembly in 1941. Bishop Hunter set up under its provisions a Diocesan Reorganisation Committee which took over the work of the War Damage Committee and those responsibilities of the Union of Benefices Committee which involved, as a result of war damage, the making of new pastoral arrangements. See M. Walton, op. cit., p. 69. Hunter spoke to the author of his opposition to the rebuilding of St. Mark's. It would seriously affect the work of St. Augustine's, Endcliffe to which some of the inhabitants of Broomhall had attached themselves. This proved to be the case.
28. Minutes of Church Extension Committee - 3 February 1956.
29. Hunter gave voice to this on the occasion of his farewell to the diocese in the Cutler's Hall on 15 March 1962. He referred to Father Ommanney (see above, p.111) of St. Matthew's, Sheffield as that "great man of God" in contradistinction to his successor, Fr. H. C. Morgan - he had been Ommanney's curate for eighteen years - who had transgressed by refusing to use the Book of Common Prayer.
30. Hunter had in mind, evidently, the parish of St. Wilfred, Cantley, Doncaster of which the Guild of All Souls was patron. The parish had a fine history and had become a church of the catholic revival in the Church of England; it had been served by faithful and able priests. A new church had been built to cater for a recently built housing estate. It was within the parish and the patrons were insisting that the church be served by a priest of their choice. Their wish was circumvented by Hunter who made St. Hugh's a conventional district church with a curate-in-charge licensed in 1955 by the bishop and responsible to him.
31. D. L. Edwards: Prophetic Bishop: review of G. H. Hewitt, Strategies for the Spirit, Church Times, 22 March 1985.

32. Felix Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans (d. 1878), The Ministry of Preaching, Eng. trans. n.d. (but possibly c. 1910) p. xxi: quoting St. Augustine of Hippo "De Doctr. Christi" L iv 38.
33. Ibid., p. xiii.
34. L. S. Hunter, Sheffield Diocesan Review - April 1949. The sermon was preached on 19 February 1949. J. H. Cruse: Vicar and Provost of Sheffield Cathedral 1949-65; Bishop Suffragan of Knaresborough 1965.
35. Ibid. The phrase "spreading light" derives from the Flemish mystic, Jan Van Ruysbroeck (1293-1381).
36. See p 83 above.
37. G. Hewitt, op. cit., p. 65.
38. A. R. Vidler: letter to author of 29 September 1984. Hunter "was a poor public speaker. Grace (sc.his wife) is said to have described him as a perfectionist but what evidence is there that he ever tried to improve, let alone to perfect, his abilities as...a public speaker".
39. Letter of St. Peter 1.3.
40. L. S. Hunter, Sheffield Diocesan Conference: Presidential Address - June 1955.
41. See p. 78 above.
42. Book of Common Prayer, The Catechism.
43. See pp. 215, 216 below.
44. TSS: Sermons preached and used:
- To the Benchers of the Inner and Middle Temples on 23 October 1950.
- To Members of Parliament and delegates at the Labour Party Annual Conference in 1 October 1950.
- To Members of Parliament and delegates at the Labour Party Annual Conference on 26 September 1954. It was printed by request.
- Civic Sermon in Sheffield Cathedral on 29 May 1960.

45. Sermons used:

Bishop Hunter's Primary Visitation of 1944. Two sermons to the clergy of the diocese of Sheffield. L. S. Hunter, "Let us go Forward", London 1944, pp. 37-42.

TS: Sermon preached in Westminster Abbey at the United Service of International Witness. Whitsun 1951.

Diocesan Review - November 1955: Address at the opening of the Conference of the Sheffield Diocesan Board of Finance on 14 October 1955.

46. TS Sermon preached in Grace Church Cathedral, Vancouver on 5 September 1954.
47. TS Address preached in Bristol Cathedral on 20 October 1962.
48. F. L. Cross, op. cit., p. 450.
49. F. A. Iremonger, op. cit., p. 279
50. Book of Common Prayer: The Consecration of Bishops.
51. Sheffield Diocesan Conference - 13 July 1949.
52. See p. 191 above: William Temple College : cf. 200, 201.
53. Sheffield Diocesan Conference - 28 June 1949.
54. See pp. 168, 169, 170, 171 above.
55. Sheffield Diocesan Conference - 15 July 1947; and 13, 14 June 1952.
56. Hunter had parishes in mind of a narrow concept of churchmanship which tended to be 'closed shops' and insensitive to the needs of the non-churchgoer. Cf. Sheffield Diocesan Conference - June 1952 (n. 55.) for Hunter's condemnation expressed in "It is an abuse of freehold if an incumbent has a part-time job outside the parish". He had the parish of Gleadless, Sheffield in mind where the incumbent was from 1934 to 1972 the Reverend Bernard Sharp. He taught in a Sheffield Preparatory School.
57. Sheffield Diocesan Conference - 9 October 1958.
58. See p. 170, 171 above: Whirlow Grange.

59. See Chapter Six above, n. 84. G. H. G. Hewitt: curate St. Clement, Leeds 1936-39; Chaplain of Ridley Hall Theological College 1939-41; curate of Leeds 1941-42; curate-in-charge of Emmanuel and Holy Trinity, Leeds 1942-43; Education Secretary of the United Society for Christian Literature 1943-52; Education Secretary Diocese of Sheffield and Chaplain to the Bishop of Sheffield 1952-58; Canon of Sheffield 1953-58; Perpetual Curate of St. Andrew's, Oxford 1958-64; Canon Residentiary of Chelmsford Cathedral 1964; Chaplain to H. M. the Queen from 1969.
60. Sheffield Diocesan Conference 15 July 1947.
61. This necessary reform took years to become general practice. Its larger extension was one fruit of the Synodical Measure of 1969. It had been the custom for the incumbent to pay out of his stipend all the expenses of his administrative work: telephone, postages, stationery; travelling costs. Some parishes refunded in whole or part.
62. For Hunter this was not only a matter of principle. He had had problems - hard for him to bear patiently - over the delayed retirement of ageing priests where the lack of housing provided an obstacle.
63. Sheffield Diocesan Conference - 9 June 1951. Post-war inflation had added to the problems of providing adequate stipends for incumbents. The figure of £600 was fixed as the minimum stipend for incumbents within the diocese. When the endowed income and other monies, including wedding and funeral fees, fell below £600 the balance was made up by the diocese.
64. Sheffield Diocesan Conference 13, 14 June 1954. Cf. Sheffield Diocesan Conference - 6, 7 October 1954. Hunter, who had recently returned from the Pan-Anglican Conference at Minneapolis, U.S.A., commented wryly "Church of England immigrants (sc. to the U.S.) have to be taught to give adequately".
65. Sheffield Diocesan Conference - 21 March 1957. Eighteen months later Bishop Hunter referred to the "Wells Scheme". This was a scheme devised in U.S.A. with the object of persuading church people to pledge a firm and fixed amount to the Church; the amount pledged was to depend upon the donor's disposable income. A pledging supper ended the campaign and in many parishes large total sums were promised. Sadly, but not unexpectedly, lapsing was large scale, particularly among nominal adherents and as a consequence some parishes had difficulty in paying the large bill due to the organisers. This was not the way for the Church of England.

66. This scheme under the direction of Canon Roland Walls, the diocesan director of ordinands, was of considerable value while it lasted. The ordinands who came to Sheffield valued the experience. One such who had worshipped at St. Matthew's Sheffield for the six months said to the author on leaving "I have learned both to be a Catholic and a man".
67. F. L. Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 1425.
68. D. H. Farmer, Saint Hugh of Lincoln, London 1985, p. 68.
69. The bishop's visitation charge of 1944 was printed under the title Let us go Forward, London 1944; that of 1960 A Mission of the People of God, London 1961.
70. L. S. Hunter, Let us go Forward, p. 1.
71. Ibid., p.2.
72. R. H. Lightfoot: letter to Hunter of 2 April 1945. Lightfoot was one of the foremost Biblical scholars of his day. At the time of writing he was Dean Ireland Professor of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture, Oxford.
73. L. S. Hunter, A Mission of the People of God, p. 3.
74. Ibid., p. 4.
75. Ibid., p. 4.
76. Ibid., p. 7.
77. Ibid., p. 8.
78. Ibid., p. 10.
79. Ibid., p. 13. Cf. p. 99 and n. 57. above.
80. Sheffield Diocesan Conference - 2 June 1948.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid.
83. Sheffield Diocesan Conference - 15 July 1947. Cf. L. S. Hunter, Sheffield Diocesan Review - March/April 1962. "I could not

get within speaking-range of a Trade Unionist for the first two or three years".

84. See Chapter Ten, ii. below, pp. 289 - 298.
85. Sheffield Diocesan Conference - 15 October 1959.
86. The Parliamentary Debates - Hansard - House of Lords - 2 March 1962. See below, p. 263.
87. See p. 45 above.
88. Book of Common Prayer: Collect for Saint Simon and Saint Jude.
89. See D. N. Power, OMI, Ministers of Christ and his Church, London 1969. In his conclusions drawn from his research into the origin and development of the ministry this Roman Catholic scholar wrote: "in what form the pastoral ministry was established it is impossible to tell" (p. 165); and "the heads or pastors in the local communities or of other apostles and prophets who spread the word of God was as much the work of the Spirit as of the transmission of an apostolic mandate. They had to be received by the church and authenticated by the apostles, for nothing could take place outside the fellowship with the original community of Christ's followers", (p. 171).
90. Book of Common Prayer, The Consecration of Bishops.
91. L. S. Hunter, Ed. The English Church, London 1966; Art. by Hunter "Why Bishops?", p. 70.
92. L. S. Hunter, TS, What is a bishop's job?
93. Ibid. Hunter quoted from Doctrine in the Church of England, London 1938 (Report of the Archbishops' Commission), pp. 121-123.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. L. S. Hunter, The English Church, op. cit., pp. 73ff.
97. L. S. Hunter, TS, What is a bishop's job? In fact, Hunter was much away and in demand as a result of his many duties and interests.

98. L. S. Hunter, TS, Bishops, priests and people. Such a one for Hunter was Father Gilbert Shaw who had been the Organising Secretary of the Association for Promoting Retreats (1928-32) and the Warden of St. Anne's Church House, Soho (1943-46). See his A Pilgrim's Book of Prayers, London 1947 - 4th impression. This is a most valuable introduction to the practice of affective prayer. The book is made up of exercises in this method of prayer.

NOTES

CHAPTER NINE

i.

1. G.H. Rayner TS The Story of the Enlargement of Sheffield Cathedral. n.d.
2. Ibid.
3. L.S. Hunter TS Interview replies.
4. The oblique evidence for this statement was derived by the author in 1941 from Canon A.W. Douglas, Rector of Tankersley and long a senior priest in the diocese.
5. All were in their late sixties.
6. Alfred Eustace Jarvis : formerly a Methodist minister; deacon 1908, priest 1909; had a distinguished career as an army chaplain, finally Chaplain-General 1925-31; BD (Lambeth) 1920; DD (Lambeth) 1925; Vicar and Provost of Sheffield Cathedral 1931-48; Archdeacon of Sheffield 1931-33; Rural Dean of Sheffield 1939-42; from 1925 a Chaplain-in-Ordinary to H.M. the King. (Crockford's Clerical Directory 1949)
7. G.H. Rayner op.cit. But cf. Revd. G. Kirk to author : the young curates of the Sheffield Deanery found him dull and verbose; and L.S. Hunter, Bishop's Letter - April 1948 at the time of Jarvis' retirement: Jarvis' "colourful personality and warm enthusiasms have stimulated our life...His gift of vigorous, racy and often witty speech has roused many a dull meeting from torpor...We are bound to think chiefly of what he has done to beautify and enlarge the Cathedral. The scheme was one finely conceived and put vigorously into execution...I have always admired the way in which, late in life, he made himself a master of the technicalities of building and a connoisseur in the arts and crafts which he must have loved." See below section ii of this chapter, especially p.246 f.
8. G.H. Hewitt: letter to author of 18 July 1985 confirms the author's view. Cf. Revd. Bernard Sharp to the author. Sharp was in Jarvis' confidence and had been told by the Provost that his threat to resign resulted from his having received a vituperative letter from Hunter.
9. Ibid.

10. L.S. Hunter Bishop's Letter - March 1942.
11. Ibid.
12. National Assembly of the Church of England Measure : Reorganisator Areas Measure 1944 7 & 8 Geo. 6. A previous Measure is dated 1941.
13. Ibid. Parts I and II.
14. Ibid. Part IV s. 30.
15. See L.S. Hunter Let us go Forward op. cit. pp. 14-18; and L.S. Hunter Planning Ahead : The Case for Reform in the Church of England. London 1942.
16. Sheffield Diocesan Reorganisation Committee : TS Reorganisation Scheme 1948.
17. S.L. Ollard, G.Crosse, M.F. Bond, Eds. A Dictionary of English Church History - Art. Chapters pp. 103-105.
18. A.C.E. Jarvis TS A Memorandum on that part of the glebe of the Cathedral Benefice around and adjacent to the Church. pp. 2,3.
19. Ibid.
20. The area is bounded by St. James' Row, St. James' Street, Townhead Street and Campo Lane.
21. A.C.E. Harvis op. cit. p.4.
22. Ibid. p.2.
23. Ibid.
24. See below pp. 244, 245.
25. Reorganisation Scheme op.cit. ; presented to the Parochial Church Council on 17 November 1948. A comparison for 1949 of the stipends of the Provosts of the Parish Church Cathedrals in the Northern Province gave these figures :

Blackburn	:	£1552 gross;	£1069 nett and house.
Bradford	:	£1141 gross;	£1022 nett and house.
Newcastle	:		£940 nett and house.
Southwell	:	£1199 gross;	£1041 nett and house.
Wakefield	:	£595 gross;	£488 nett and house.
26. Ibid.

27. Sheffield Cathedral Parochial Church Council : Minutes for 4 December 1948. The contents of the letter to the Church Commissioners were approved.
28. Church Assembly : C.A. 870 Report of the Parish Church Cathedrals Commission, 27 November 1947 - section 3(c). The words "the diocese as a whole" refer to all dioceses in which a parish church cathedral existed.
29. Parochial Church Council Minutes. op. cit.
30. Revd. W. Sorby Briggs, Secretary of the Diocesan Reorganisation Committee : letter to PCC secretary (L.M. Pugh) of 21 January 1949: the latter stated that "the Reorganisation Areas Measure provides a simpler and more expedient method than that of crowding the agenda of the Church Assembly with a 'private bill'. This was not the point at issue.
31. Parochial Church Council : letter to Church Commissioners of 6 January 1949.
32. G.H. Rayner : report in longhand dated 6 January 1949.
33. Ibid. In fact the inner glebe with the vicarage was bought by the Diocesan Trust and Board of Finance from the Church Commissioners for £38,000. (A. Savidge, Principal Officer, Church Commissioners in letter of 24 January 1949 to L.M. Pugh.) The figure of £38,000 subdivided into £30,000 for the glebe and £8,000 for the house.
34. Minutes of the Parochial Church Council for 10 February 1949 and making provision for representation at the Special Committee if it were called before the next meeting of the P.C.C.
35. F.V. Perham, Secretary of the Special Committee (Church Commissioners) : letter to L.M. Pugh of 7 March 1949.
36. John Howard Cruse : after two curacies, Minister of St. Paul's Conventional District, South Harrow 1936; vicar 1938; vicar of Holy Trinity, Cambridge, Chaplain of the Cambridge Pastorate 1942 - 49; Select Preacher University of Cambridge 1948; Vicar and Provost of Sheffield Cathedral 1949-65; Bishop Suffragan of Knaresborough 1965 - 72; died 1979. Cf. Sermon by author at Memorial Eucharist in Sheffield Cathedral on 26 May 1979 : "he had a personal warmth...a pastoral heart which grew and grew...an outreach to those who were difficult, unwanted, lonely, embarrassing, neurotic...He would so often say (rather than making appointments) 'I'll come to you'".

37. Minutes of Parochial Church Council for 6 April 1949.
38. Ibid.
39. Minutes of Parochial Church Council for 29 June 1949.
40. G.H. Rayner : letter to author of 16 July 1985 : "I had the job of fending off Bishop Hunter's attempt to take over the Benefice while there was no incumbent".
41. Sources of benefice income : Ground rents in Sheffield from land in various parts of the city and including the inner glebe adjoining the cathedral; from investments with the Governor's of Queen Anne's Bounty and with the Church Commissioners; from surplice fees and 10s from Post Office Telephones. In 1946 the total income was £1672.9.4d of which £300.11.6d was produced by the inner glebe. Cf. D.A. Armstrong, Records Officer, Church Commissioners : letter to author of 8 August 1985 to say that the former glebe land was sold during the 1950s. It was all sold at the market price. "I do not think that there is any way in which one can compare the sums received for individual properties in a variety of circumstances in the 1950s with today's values". See Appendix 3 for the Commissioners' Scheme of 3 October 1946 with the Schedule of Endowments.
42. Parochial Church Council : letter to Church Commissioners op.cit. ..This is evidence that the Parochial Church Council was alert to its responsibilities towards the diocese : e.g. it had relieved the diocese of an obligation to pay £200 p.a. into cathedral funds.
43. G.H. Hewitt op.cit. Art. A. Webster Strategy for Reform in Church and Nation p. 130.
44. C.A. Beck : letter to author of 16 July 1985.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. G.H. Rayner : letter to author of 16 July 1985.
48. Sheffield Cathedral Chapter Minutes of 14 February 1984, when this matter was last discussed.

ii.

49. Sir Charles Nicholson, MA FRIBA 1867-1949 : Consulting architect for the cathedrals of Sheffield, Wells, Lichfield, Llandaff, Portsmouth and Belfast; diocesan architect for Wakefield, Winchester, Portsmouth and Chelmsford. (Who was who). His work

"was overshadowed by that of greater architects of his time working on ecclesiastical buildings, particularly Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, Sir Ninian Comper and Sir Edward Maufe". (Professor John Needham of Sheffield University 1957 - 72 : letter to author of 3 August 1985.)

50. M. Walton op.cit. pp. 34,35.
51. Ibid. p. 34.
52. G.H. Rayner : TS The Story of the Enlargement of Sheffield Cathedral p.1.
53. The Cathedral Church of S. Peter and S. Paul Sheffield p.9.
The Shrewsbury Chapel was built by the 4th. Earl of Shrewsbury during the first three decades of the sixteenth century. It remained the private property of the Dukes of Norfolk, to whom with the Manor of Sheffield and Lay Rectorship of the parish church, it had descended through the female line from the Earls of Shrewsbury.
54. Mrs. Anna Louisa Burrows died on 29 December 1934.
55. G.H. Rayner op.cit. p.2.
56. G.H. Rayner to the author.
57. M. Walton op.cit. p.72.
58. L.S. Hunter Bishop's Letter - 15 October 1942.
59. The chapel was inspired by the Lady Chapel of Llandaff Cathedral - built in the fourteenth century. Its dimensions are virtually the same, 58 feet long, 24 feet broad and 40 feet high. Like Llandaff it is vaulted, the bosses are carved with rose, vine, lily and sunflower. (See The Cathedral Church of S. Peter and S. Paul Sheffield p. 53.)
60. Thomas Watson was a prominent and well-to-do Sheffield solicitor. He was a member of many years standing of St. Matthew's congregation. Fr. Ommanney was vicar of St. Matthew's from 1882 to 1936. During his incumbency St. Matthew's "became one of the famous churches of the Catholic revival in England". (J.D. Preece St. Matthew's Sheffield p. 3.)
61. See pp.237/8 above.
62. G.H. Rayner op.cit. p. 3.
63. L.S. Hunter Bishop's Letter - March 1945.

64. G.H. Rayner op.cit. p.4. Rayner gives no details in support of this statement but he was in touch with those who would be able to vouch for its truth.
65. Ibid.
66. Peter Pace : letter to author of 26 July 1985. Dean Milner-White of York (he was appointed in 1941) was engaged after World War 2 in creating a pool of highly skilled craftsmen, artists and architects dedicated to the conservation and promotion of art and architecture in the Church. "He was determined to keep my father in York (and) sought to find work to enable him to build up an architectural practice and turned to Leslie Hunter among others for help". Hunter made him surveyor of vicarages and eventually surveyor to the diocese of Sheffield. Cf. "Who was who" : George Gaze Pace 1915 - 1975, CVO, FRIBA, MA (Lambeth) : Surveyor of diocese of Sheffield 1949 - 1956; consulting architect to the cathedrals of Sheffield, Lichfield, Durham, Peterborough, Chester, Liverpool, Newcastle, Southwark; surveyor of St. George's Chapel, Windsor; consulting architect to the dioceses of Wakefield, Bradford, Sheffield, York, Llandaff, Monmouth; honorary consulting architect to the Historic Churches Preservation Trust. His work includes : Llandaff Cathedral - rebuilding; Ibadan, Nigeria - Chapel of the Resurrection, University of Ibadan; Ibadan Cathedral; Holy Trinity, Newport, Monmouth; All Saints, Doncaster; Scargill Religious Centre, Kettlewell; chapel complex, Keele University; William Temple Church, Withenshawe; St. John's College, York : chapel; King George VI Memorial Chapel and Tomb, Windsor Castle; Chapel of the Holy Spirit, Whirlow Grange, Sheffield. Pace was an architect of great artistic talent. Cf. John Needham op.cit. "My opinion of George Pace is high".
67. G.H. Rayner op. cit. p.4 and Note A in Sundry Documents and Letters relating to the Enlargement of Sheffield Cathedral. See also G.H. Rayner : letter to author of 16 September 1985. Before the Statutes were revised "the Cathedral Council had a full membership of more than 40. Presided over by the Bishop it included all the 12 church Burgesses and 3 or 4 members nominated by the Bishop himself...Attendance at Council meetings was rarely more than 20, including perhaps 2 Burgesses and one local dignitary. Thus, if one entered the Chapter house as a meeting was about to begin and observed about 8 or 9 Burgesses and maybe all the personal nominees one knew there was organised opposition, all primed." Under the revised Statutes, the bishop is not a member of the Council. Cf. Report of the Cathedrals Commission in Parish Church Cathedrals. 1947.
68. Pamphlet The Sheffield Cathedral as it will be. - January 1949.
69. Cathedral Council Minutes - 3 December 1953.

70. Ibid. Dykes-Bower is minuted as saying that he would be very reluctant to abandon Sir Charles' scheme in principle. Coming from an architect of his eminence this hardly agrees with Hunter's description of Nicholson's proposed nave as "unmeretricious twentieth century Gothic".
71. Ibid.
72. Report of the Fabric Committee to the Cathedral Council - 1 February 1954.
73. The Very Reverend J.H. Cruse : letter to S.E. Dykes-Bower of 5 November 1954.
74. S.E. Dykes-Bower : letter to G.H. Rayner of 30 November 1955.
75. S.E. Dykes-Bower : letter (marked confidential) to G.H. Rayner of 2 December 1955.
76. Ibid. Cf. Dykes-Bower in confidential letter of 8 December 1955. This confirms that the suggestion to jettison the Nicholson scheme emanated from Hunter. "No amount of ingenuity" Dykes-Bower wrote "could achieve the impossible" - i.e. the completion of the plan for £150,000.
77. G.H. Rayner op.cit. p.7.
78. Ibid. p.7. Dykes-Bower resigned soon afterwards.
79. Ibid. p.7. This could only have been at Hunter's request.
80. George G. Pace : Sheffield Diocesan Review Art. The Completion of Sheffield Cathedral December 1957.
81. The delay can, at least in part, be attributed to Pace's privately expressed complaint that the Cathedral Council was constantly asking for changes of plan. (Revd. George Kirk who had it from Pace himself) Cf. G.H. Rayner : letter to author of 16 September 1985 : Rayner agrees. "The Fabric Committee, having previously considered Pace's proposals at considerable length, would propose that the Scheme be adopted, whereupon various queries and objections would be forthcoming followed by an amendment that the matter be referred back...Amendment carried ! That meant a further delay of 6 months, since the Council only met twice a year, and thus you see the frustration and the ultimate sad outcome". Cf. Professor J. Needham : op.cit. "I do not think that his proposals for Sheffield Cathedral rank amongst his best work".

82. Cathedral Council Minutes - 22 June 1961 : TS Resolutions. Rayner's comment on the situation which had arisen is : "no vestige of resolution remained. The vacillation, the procrastination of the past ten years were succeeded by utter disillusionment".
83. L.S. Hunter : letter to G.H. Rayner of 5 February 1961 : "The final resolution I think ought to end with the words 'discuss the position with Mr. Pace' "; this meant omitting 'and if necessary or desirable make a change of architect". Cf. G.H. Rayner to author in letter of 16 July 1985 : "Hunter's request was clearly that he did not wish Pace to know that he had supported a decision to sack him."
84. G.H. Rayner : hand-written note at foot of TS Resolutions.
85. Cathedral Council op.cit. In his letter to Rayner (see note 83 above) Hunter had said "I do not want to raise this matter at the meeting on Thursday as the past is the past". This letter together with his raising of the issue at the Cathedral Council is an example of Hunter's tortuous weaving when he was in a tight corner.
86. Ibid. The architect was Mr. A. Bailey, OBE, FRIBA of Ansell and Bailey, Chartered Architects of 12, Gray's Inn Square, London WC1. Bailey's scheme for remodelling and extending the cathedral gained the Civic Trust Award for 1969.
87. The Cathedral was re-hallowed by Bishop John Taylor in the presence of Princess Margaret and a congregation representative of Diocese and City. The sermon was preached by the Archbishop of York, F.D. Coggan (1961-75).
88. Pamphlet The Sheffield Cathedral as it will be.
89. L.S. Hunter : letter to J.H. Cruse, 30 September 1953.
90. Ibid. Hunter overestimated the popular affection for the old parish church; by degrees it had dwindled and continued to do so. Cf. L.S. Hunter TS Sheffield Cathedral - marked confidential. The Provost "must remain vicar and be the leader of a responsible company of laity and not become the chairman of a company of clerics". Cf. M. Walton : letter to author op.cit. "I did get a strong impression, when talking to people who did not wish to say anything too definite, that Hunter did not like the Cathedral's existence."
91. G.W.O. Addleshaw and F. Etchells The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship London 1948 pp. 53,54 : "In a letter to a friend...(Christopher) Wren states that his aim in designing a church was to produce a building in which all the congregation could conveniently see and hear the minister".

92. Ibid. p. 240, Plan 56; p. 241. Plan 57 for examples of medieval churches rearranged for the purpose of siting the high altar nearer to the congregation. Cf. p. 239 : "there is little to be said for a mere temporary altar". One such is now in use in Sheffield Cathedral. The authors in the matter of nave altars rightly stress the need to avoid...the error of interposing clergy and choir between a nave altar and the people.
93. Gilbert Cope, Ed. Christianity and the Visual Arts London 1964, Chapter VIII : Function and Symbolism in Church Buildings - G. Cope p. 84. "It is generally agreed today that the proper celebration of the eucharist...should be a primary consideration in the design of any new church...This means that the design should be as flexible as possible...In its simplest architectural terms, flexibility means the provision of plenty of space. And in the context of eucharistic worship, this means plenty of space all round the altar."
94. L.S. Hunter : letter to J.H. Cruse op.cit.
95. Venerable Hayman Johnson : letter to author of 25 July 1985.
96. M. Walton op.cit. quoting Bishop Taylor : "he gave unfaltering witness to the grace of Christ". Cf. author : sermon at the Memorial Eucharist for Bishop Cruse op.cit. : "He was dedicated to the blended and difficult task of guiding and ministering to the unity which was the old parish church of Sheffield and the cathedral church of the new (or relatively so) diocese of Sheffield".
97. J.H. Cruse : letter to G.H. Rayner of 18 January 1963.
98. G.H. Rayner : letter to author of 16 July 1985.
99. See above p. 253.
100. G.H. Rayner: letter to author of 25 July 1985.
101. The most obvious feature is the Chapel of St. George which was removed from a position adjacent to the chancel and placed on the site of the high altar and sanctuary in the Nicholson scheme. It is thus raised up above the level of the rest of the cathedral interior. The foundations for the projected new nave lie under the forecourt on the south side of the cathedral.
102. M. Walton op.cit. p. 138. Of the £75,000 which remained of the debt - three months before the date set aside for the re-hallowing - Sir Stuart and Lady Goodwin promised to give £50,000 provided that the remainder was raised by 1 May 1966. It was. The new organ, based on the original Father Willis instrument, was built by Noel Mander of London. It was the gift of Sir Stuart Goodwin.

103. Ibid. L.S. Hunter TS Sheffield Cathedral.
104. The author in another connexion discussed the need for chapels, shrines, statues, pictures, as aids to devotion and found him in agreement.
105. See above p. 259.
106. F.W. Dillistone : b. 1903; deacon 1927, priest 1928; assistant curate, St. Jude, Southsea 1927-29; Tutor Wycliffe Hall Theological College, Oxford 1929-31; CMS Theological College, Saharanpur, North India 1931-32; Perpetual Curate St. James, Alperton 1932-34; Vicar of St. Andrew, Oxford 1934-38; Prof. of Systematic Theology Wycliffe College, Toronto 1938-45; Vice Principal, London College of Divinity 1945-47; Prof. of Theology Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. USA 1947-52; Canon Residentiary and Chancellor of Liverpool Cathedral 1952-56; Dean of Liverpool 1956-63; Fellow and Chaplain Oriel College, Oxford 1964-70; Bampton Lecturer, Oxford 1968.
107. G. Cope, Ed. op.cit. Chapter V Sacred Art and Philosophy p. 60.
108. Ibid. For Dillistone a source of hope was "the gradual advance of the sciences of living structures" which has led to "the discovery of beautifully structured wholenesses even in the tiniest elements of living tissues... (sc. and consequently) there must be a reverence for the given forms of organic life and a readiness to work within its process of building up successive wholenesses. Where the artist feels the mystery of life's 'depth' and the wonder of the 'holistic' processes, there a new form of sacred art may emerge... We wait for the artist who can relate this new conception of depth to the comprehensive and determinative Christian symbol of the Body of Christ." Cf. H.K. Schilling The New Consciousness in Science and Religion London 1973 pp. 191, 192 where the American physicist sets out his belief that "the ultimate mystery, God, is transcendent - immanent, not one or the other. I believe this mode of thought is consistent... with man's actual experience of mystery...; it is an ambience of all its (sc. creation's) events and occasions... at all levels of existence, that of the elementary particles, of the molecules, of the biological organisms, of the galaxies, as well as in all of history." And Schilling concludes : "my feeling then is of the omnipresence of mystery.. which does not itself differentiate between transcendence and immanence - the latter is simply an aspect of the former."
109. Sheffield Cathedral Chapter Minutes for 9 February and 30 June 1980.
110. Ibid. 23 October 1984.

NOTES

CHAPTER TEN

1. On his arrival in the diocese in 1939 Hunter continued the existing Sheffield Diocesan Gazette until the June issue of 1940. From July 1940 the monthly publication became the Bishop's Letter. In January 1948 the enlarged magazine - the Sheffield Diocesan Review - was launched.
2. L.S. Hunter : Bishop's Letter - January 1946.
3. The Convocation of York - 11 October 1945 in the Full House. The Bishop of Sheffield proposed "This House deplors the expulsion of German families in the Eastern parts of Germany and the Sudetenland from their homes and occupations as a violation of the principles of humanity that the Allies are pledged to uphold". (Minutes of Convocation)

L.S. Hunter : Bishop's Letter - November 1946. The British Zone in Germany. Hunter indicated the forms of aid which were necessary : prayer, food and clothing parcels, the making of personal contacts with Germans and the inviting of children and young people to England for a period of recuperation. See Chapter Eleven ii., p.293.
4. L.S. Hunter : Sheffield Diocesan Review - November 1950.
5. L.S. Hunter : Sheffield Diocesan Review - March 1950.
6. The Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords Official Reports - 12 February 1960. (Hereafter "Hansard") See below p.274.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. L.S. Hunter Bishop's Letter - April 1946.
10. Hansard : The National Health Service Bill - 9 October 1946.
11. L.S. Hunter op.cit.
12. See p.23; 103f above (Tyneside).
13. Perhaps he meant unenlightened paternalism.

14. L.S. Hunter : Sheffield Diocesan Review - July 1949.
15. Ibid. Cf. G. Kitson Clark The English Inheritance London 1950 :
 "the problems resulting from democracy...include a greater concentration of coercive power in the hands of government...an Englishman no longer lives under the protection of a known and stable law, but under the compulsion of innumerable regulations.. telling him...what he must not do"; (p.45) "the concentration of power is not the same as the distribution of liberty". (p.46)
16. Hansard : Voluntary Action for Social Progress - 22 June 1949.
17. Ibid.
18. Hansard for 21 January 1953 - Grants to Marriage Guidance Organisations.
 20 May 1953 - Well-being of the Family.
 4 March 1959 - Plight of Stateless Persons.
 13 December - Care of the Elderly.
19. L.S. Hunter Bishop's Letter - November 1944.
20. Ibid.
21. L.S. Hunter : Sheffield Diocesan Review - February 1950.
22. Ibid.
23. L.S. Hunter : Sheffield Diocesan Review - April 1952.
24. In the late sixties and during the seventies Sheffield did build upwards : the Park Hill flats (for a time the envy of Western Europe), and the series of high rise flats in various parts of the city. The carefully planned experiments proved to be a failure by reason of the impersonal separateness of the flats; by difficulty of access (lifts often out of order); by hooliganism along the corridors. The tenants felt isolated and in extreme cases developed emotional and neurotic symptoms.
25. L.S. Hunter : Sheffield Diocesan Review - op. cit.
26. Hansard : Well-being of the Family - 20 May 1953.
27. Ibid. Lord Beveridge usefully said "Welfare does not depend really upon the State; it depends more on the individual; but savings are being cut to pieces by continual price rises".
28. Hansard : Plight of Homeless and Stateless Persons - 4 March 1959. Lord Silkin agreed with Hunter and emphasised not only the problem but the difficulty of solution. He referred specially to the Arabs. As against repatriation (impossible) or immigration (governments were unwilling), he preferred integration into the countries where they were now living "as by far the easiest solution, the only solution".

29. Hansard : World Refugee Year - 12 February 1960.
30. L.S. Hunter : Sheffield Diocesan Review - February 1950.
31. L.S. Hunter : op. cit. - April 1953.
32. L.S. Hunter : op. cit. - May 1953.
33. L.S. Hunter : op. cit. - January 1955.
34. L.S. Hunter : op. cit. - March 1955.
35. L.S. Hunter : op. cit. - May 1955.
36. L.S. Hunter : op. cit. May 1956.
37. L.S. Hunter : op. cit. - September 1956, October 1956.
38. L.S. Hunter : op. cit. - October 1956.
39. Gordon Brook-Shepherd : "The sick man of Europe about the Suez crisis" (Daily Telegraph - 4 June 1955) Eden "talked to him (sc. Nasser) very much de haut en bas as the famous polished Tory diplomat lecturing the raw revolutionary novice...."
40. Hansard : Neglected and Homeless Children - 29 March 1946; and 12 December 1946 : Care of Children.
41. Hansard : Plight of Old People - 5 April 1950.
42. Hansard : Gifts for Germany and Austria - 4 March 1947.
43. Hansard : German Prisoners of War and Internes - 12 February 1947.
44. Hansard : Report of the Royal Commission on Betting - 8 February 1956. Hunter said that "the little occasions of betting were relatively harmless, but his vestigial Puritanism gave qualms of conscience...The evil lies not so much in the actual transactions as in the climate of moral irresponsibility and the wrong attitude to work which it engenders". Here we have the Protestant work-ethic which bore more heavily on the poor than on the rich.
45. Hansard : Sound and Vision Broadcasting - 23 January 1957. "Televison should be watched carefully; not least by those responsible for education and by the Churches".
46. Hansard : Training for Industry and Commerce - 30 November 1960. "There ought to be" Hunter said, "some compulsion in the matter of day release at some stage...My particular concern is the training of the non-apprentice. Is not the distinction today very often rather within the trade unions ?"

47. Hansard : Disarmament - 12 February 1960. "I believe that the Christian allegiance does not ask us either to preach a religious war against an absolute enemy or to walk arm in arm with a bear. But it does require us to care for all men and to keep the peace so far as we possibly can". Cf Hansard for 8 November 1961 : Rival Ideologies : "To out-think Communism (Hunter believed this to be an urgent necessity) there is need for a more accurate historical analysis, necessary for both Christian and non-Christian democrats; otherwise one is caught up in a fantastic absurdity". See above p. 263.
48. Hansard : The Statement on Defence - 21 March 1961. "An accelerated arms race means disaster in the end...As against partial defence palliatives, the only security in a scientific and nuclear age is complete disarmament".
49. Ibid.
50. Bishop Lord Ramsey : letter to author of 15 March 1984 indicating where his comments could be found : cf. G.H. Hewitt op. cit. p. 154.
51. L.S. Hunter TS What is a bishop's job ?.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

1.

1. See p. 22 above.
2. G. E. Newsom: see Chapter Four, n. 3. above.
3. L. S. Hunter, Ed., Scandinavian Churches, London 1965. Art. The Anglo-Scandinavian Theological Conferences - Professor Emeritus Ragnar Bring: p. 184. On the Scandinavian side the initiators were Dr. Gustaf Aulen, Bishop of Strangnas and Archbishop Nathan Söderblom. Bishop A. C. Headlam, Bishop of Gloucester from 1936 to 1946 was - with the assistance of Canon Newsom - the promoter on the Anglican side. His Bampton Lectures of 1920, The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion, London 1931, sought to provide an ecclesiological basis for reunion between the Church of England and other religious bodies. Conferences were held in 1929 at Cambridge; in 1931 at Sparrholm, Sweden; in 1934 at Gloucester; in 1936 at Fritzeehus, Norway; in 1939 at Durham; in 1947 at Liselund, Denmark; in 1950 at Durham; in 1952 at Jarvenpaa, Finland; in 1955 at Sheffield; in 1957 at Bastad, Sweden; in 1959 at Oxford; in 1961 at Oslo; in 1963 at Rugby.
4. L. S. Hunter: op. cit., p. 18.
5. Ibid., p. 186.
6. Ibid. It was significantly held at William Temple College.
7. This was the year of Hunter's consecration as Bishop of Sheffield and the date of 29 September 1931 (Feast of St. Michael and All Angels) would have made his attendance impossible.
8. F. L. Cross: Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, London 1957: Art. Christianity in Sweden, p. 1308. The systematic conversion of the country began in the eleventh century, largely from England, and was not completed until the middle of the twelfth.
9. L. S. Hunter: op. cit., p. 15.
10. Ibid., p. 19.
11. Ibid., p. 19.

12. See F. L. Cross: op. cit., p. 1309. The relationship was influenced by a Church revival in Sweden in the twentieth century. It was marked by a recognition of the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ, by the acceptance of the value of the historic ministry - the Apostolic Succession in the episcopate - and of the sacraments and liturgical worship. Hunter was attracted by what he saw of the effects of this movement. In 1920 the Lambeth Conference of the Bishops of the Anglican Communion recognised the orders of the Swedish Church. Cf. H. A. L. Fisher, History of Europe, London 1936, p. 507: where Lutheranism is described as a "low temperature religion agreeable to Erastian kings and adapted to the long winters of the rigorous north". "Unfair," wrote Hunter, "it did not take note of the pietistic revivals". L. S. Hunter: op. cit., who referred to Art. The Revival Movements and the Free Church - Bernt Gustafsson - pp. 174-178.
13. L. S. Hunter: op. cit. Art. Ecumenical Relations and Missionary Tasks, E. F. Gulin, Bishop of Tampere, Finland, p. 159. Erling Eidem succeeded Soderblom in 1931. "The influence of the Ecumenical Conference in Stockholm (1925) and the presence of a continually deteriorating world political situation led, during the primacy of Eidem, to the beginning of Swedish ecumenical life."
14. L. S. Hunter: op. cit., pp. 20/21.
15. Ibid., p. 21.
16. Ibid., p. 21.
17. Ibid., p. 22.
18. Ibid., p. 23. The title 'High Mass' is a survival of medieval terminology in Lutheranism, but it is used to designate the principal Sunday morning service, which may not be the Eucharist.
19. Ibid., p. 23. This has been the author's experience in Holland both in the Reformed Church and in the Old Catholic Church and also in the Roman Catholic Church in Germany.
20. It was at this meeting that Hunter was elected chairman in place of Bishop R. G. Parsons (Bishop of Hereford, 1941-49).
21. The Lambeth Conference of 1948.
22. L. S. Hunter: op. cit., p. 24.

23. Ibid., p. 26.
24. G. Hewitt: op. cit., p. 173. Chapter 12, Salt not Sugar: A Good European, John Arnold.
25. L. S. Hunter: op. cit., p. 26.
26. Compline - the last office of the day in Western Christendom - is much used in the Church of England.
27. G. Hewitt: op. cit., p. 173.
28. L. S. Hunter: op. cit., pp. 26/27. Hunter compared as "poor and shabby" the emergency (church) building in Britain after the war with those in Finland, but he acknowledged that there was the advantage in the latter case of an unlimited supply of timber and a steady income from church taxes.
29. L. S. Hunter, Sheffield Diocesan Review, August 1952. Scandinavian Tour: this began with a two weeks holiday at Molde in Norway and continued:
- August 23-25: Trondheim. Guest of the Bishop of Nidaros. Sermon in Cathedral.
- August 26-28: Sigtuna, Sweden. Conferences with Swedish Churchmen on Inter-Church Aid and Refugee Work.
- August 29-September 7: Helsinki. Services in the English Church.
- September 9-15: Denmark. Chiefly in the Diocese of Aarhus as guests of Bishop Hoffmeyer and giving addresses.
- September 14: Aarhus Cathedral. Sermon.
- Hunter concluded the note by saying: "The King of Denmark has been graciously pleased to make me a Commander of the Order of the Dannebrog. The Danish Ambassador...stated that the grounds for this pleasant, albeit little merited, honour were 'services which you have rendered in promotion of mutual understanding between Anglican and Lutheran clergy and to Danish clergymen in connexion with their studies in England'".
30. L. S. Hunter: op. cit., p. 28.
31. Ibid., p. 28. See n. 33 below.
32. L. S. Hunter: Sheffield Diocesan Review - December 1952.

33. Bishop Fjellbu had won legendary fame for his leadership of the resistance to German aggression in Norway. Hunter wryly commented on the disparate appearance of Fjellbu and himself in the pulpit: "he was a big man, at least twice my girth with a big voice. I must have looked like his marionette than he my interpreter".
34. L. S. Hunter, Ed., op. cit. Art. Church and People: A Contemporary Picture, Bernt Gustafsson: pp. 45/46.
35. L. S. Hunter: op. cit., p. 31.
36. This was a result of the Danish disregard for and lack of the 'Apostolic Succession' of bishops which was a mark of most Lutheran Churches. As that claim is often presented it is treated, wrote Hunter, as "an unimportant and even misleading myth". L. S. Hunter: op. cit., p. 32.
37. L. S. Hunter: op. cit., p. 32.
38. Ibid., p. 32. Adult education was a priority with Hunter and had a special place in the work of Whirlow Grange Conference House and William Temple College.
39. Cf. Bishop of Barking (J. W. Roxburgh) - one time Rector of Barking - who accepted the existence of working-class culture. Letter to author, 11 February 1985.
40. L. S. Hunter: op. cit., p. 15.
41. Ibid., pp. 15.
42. Ibid., pp. 15/16.
43. An exception is in the constitution of the Church Commissioners of England (formerly the Ecclesiastical Commission) where statutory provision is made for the inclusion of four persons appointed by the Crown and certain officers of State: the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President of the Council, the First Lord of the Treasury, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, one of the principle Secretaries of State, the Lord Chief Justice and certain lay members of the Church of England appointed by the Crown. See F. L. Cross, op. cit., p. 286.
44. L. S. Hunter: op. cit. Art. Church, People and State in the National Church of Sweden, Gunnar Hultgren, Archbishop of Uppsala: p. 59.

45. The Church of England's approach to the reform of Crown Appointments was considered and made public in a Report of a Commission appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in 1964. Hunter was a member of the Commission and his influence is to be detected particularly in the second chapter of the Report on the Contemporary Scene. (Canon Peter Boulton to author: the drafting was done by Hunter.)

The rationale of the process of appointing bishops has developed during the past twenty-five years. Informal soundings came to be made by the Prime Minister's ecclesiastical secretary of the Primates and the Cathedral Chapters and, usually other groups of people. Aided by this information, but not bound by it, the Prime Minister made his choice. Since 1977 a formal procedure, under Synodical Government, has been set up. (It is again under discussion in 1985 by General Synod.) A Diocesan Vacancy in See Committee makes representations to the Crown Appointments Commission. This latter is composed of the two Archbishops and other nominated members and includes four representatives (two clerical, two lay) from the diocese where the see vacancy exists. Two names are selected, neither more nor less in an order agreed by the Commission. The names are to be in order of preference if there is agreement; in alphabetical order if the Commission is divided; no name may be sent in without at least two-thirds agreement. The Primate of the Province in which the vacancy lies forwards the names to the Prime Minister. He/she may not appoint anyone else (unless both refuse nomination) but may appoint either one. The Prime Minister can reject both names and ask for more. [Professor David McLean: letter to author of 6 July 1985 writes "I hope that (sc.a refusal) will never happen".]

46. An exception was the Book of Common Prayer of 1927 which, after acceptance by Convocation on 7 February 1927, was rejected by the House of Commons on 13 December 1927 and again, after some modifications, in 1928. The rejection was due to Protestant objectors in the Commons who took a 'no popery stand' and included members who were not Anglicans. The archbishops and the whole episcopate issued a unanimous statement that the Church must retain its inalienable right to order its forms of worship and in July 1928 the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury resolved that bishops should be guided by the proposals of 1928. The legal basis of their actions is unclear and was never tested at law. See for a summary, A. R. Vidler, The Church in an Age of Revolution, London 1961, pp. 164-168.
47. When a Measure is presented to Parliament there may be a speech from the appropriate Opposition spokesman. Of recent years there has been a tendency for a few more speeches to be made to 'let off steam' on some church matters of the day.

48. L. S. Hunter, op. cit., p. 192: based on Art., Education and the Church, Sten Rohde, pp. 144-156. It is generally agreed that approximately 95 per cent of the population are members of the national Churches of Scandinavia, but no more than 3 per cent are regular worshippers.
49. L. S. Hunter, op. cit., p. 194.
50. Ibid., pp. 192/193. Author's interpretation.
51. Ibid., pp. 193/194
52. Ibid., p. 193.
53. W. K. Lowther Clarke and C. Harris, Eds., Liturgy and Worship, London 1936, p. 267. "Cranmer could and did associate himself with the party that favoured the German reforms. This association finally determined the direction of the English Liturgical reform." Cf. A. H. Couratin and D. H. Trapp, Liturgical Studies, a collection of E. H. Ratcliff's unpublished works: London 1976, p. 191. "It may be said that, once Cranmer had formed his general idea of refashioning the manner of English public prayer, he turned to Lutheran sources for assistance...Nevertheless the Prayer Book of 1549 is no mere English reproduction of a Lutheran liturgical book". As early as 1563, the English Convocations issued the first text of the Thirty Nine Articles of Religion; Article XI is entitled Of the Justification of Man and affirms a Lutheran position: "We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own works or deservings: Wherefore, that we are justified by Faith only is a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of comfort".
54. F. L. Cross: op. cit., p. 109. Aulen's best known book in Britain was The Christian Idea of Atonement (Den kristna forsoningstanken) translated in an abridged form by Fr. Gabriel Hebert, SSM, under the title of Christus Victor, London 1931. It had a considerable vogue.
55. Church of England Year Book: op. cit., p. 321. These permissions were extended to all Trinitarian Christians in good standing in their own Churches in Canon B15 A promulgated in July 1972. See Canons of the Church of England, London 1969 and 1975, p. 18.
56. See p. 138 above.
57. L. S. Hunter, TS, Germany: see below, p. 291 and n. 70.

58. A cardinal doctrine for Martin Luther (1483-1546) was his interpretation of the New Testament references to justification: Romans 3.26; Philippians 4.8; Hebrews 2.2 and 12.23; I Peter 3.18. In virtue of the sacrifice of Christ a man is acquitted of the punishment due to his sins and treated in God's mercy as though he were righteous; this state of 'being justified', insisted Luther, is granted to those who have an interior disposition to faith alone; and, as a consequence, the merits of Christ are imputed to the sinner. For brief summaries see: F. L. Cross: op. cit., p. 756; Gerhard Eberling, Luther, Eng. trans., London 1970, pp. 162-165. For an example of twentieth century demythologising, see A. Thiselton, The Two Horizons, Exeter 1980, p. 213, quoting R. A. Johnson, The Origin of Demythologising, Leiden 1974, p. 33. "In Bultmann's version of Luther's anthropology, the twentieth century insecurity of the ego before a threatening world has replaced the sixteenth century insecurity of conscience before a judging God". This implied dichotomy was perhaps sensed by Hunter but not explicitly recognised.
59. See p. 478 n. 103 below. ii.
60. L. S. Hunter: TS, European Churches.
61. L. S. Hunter: Bishop's Letter, January 1947. During the visit to Germany in October 1946 (see n. 6 below) it was hoped that permission would be given for Bishop Dibelius to visit England; this was forthcoming and Dibelius arrived in December for the purpose of visiting German prisoner of war camps and, at Hunter's invitation, spending Christmas in Sheffield. On Christmas Day the senior camp leader at Lodge Moor sent a beautiful Christmas card to Hunter on which was written: "May I express in the name of the three camp leaders and my fellow-prisoners our hearty thanks for the Christmas service in Sheffield Cathedral and for your great hospitality at the same day. I need not emphasise, my Lord, how very much we all enjoyed it. Will you kindly accept my best wishes for a happy and blessed New Year".
62. L. S. Hunter: TS, European Churches. Hunter specifically referred to the eighteen architects in the camp at Lodge Moor.
63. Hansard: 12 February 1947, German Prisoners of War and Internees.
64. L. S. Hunter: op. cit.
65. G. Hewitt, Strategist for the Spirit, p. 174. John Arnold, Dean of Rochester, the author of this chapter, identifies the members of the group as: the Bishop of Chichester, G. K. A. Bell; the Bishop of Sheffield, L. S. Hunter; the Reverend Oliver Tomkins of the World Council of Churches (London Office); three

representatives of the Roman Catholic Church; representatives of the Church of Scotland and of the English Free Churches.

66. L. S. Hunter: rough notes possibly made at Koln and giving statistics of civilian losses for the industrial area of West Germany: 600,000 killed of whom 15% were children under 14: 400,000 dwellings destroyed. And L. S. Hunter: TS, European Churches, op. cit.
67. L. S. Hunter: op. cit.
68. L. S. Hunter: op. cit. General Brian Robertson.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid. Otto Dibelius (1880-1967): appointed Bishop of Berlin in 1945; in 1949 he became Presiding Bishop of the Evangelical Church of Germany. His policy, faced with a divided Church (West and East Germany) and the complication of rivalries within the Church, was one of comprehension. He avoided involvement in politics and in ideological discussion but he firmly fought for the liberty of the Church in the East to function and for freedom of conscience for churchmen. Hunter was in full agreement. Cf. L. S. Hunter, TS, Germany: "Never in talking about personal relationships did he let fall an uncharitable remark about some who were trying him sorely. He had been shocked by the way that some would attack another colleague to a churchman of another country". Between Dibelius and Hunter there was a spirit of mutual trust; it was based on respect rather than attraction. Cf. "Church Times", 3 February 1967, Hunter's obituary on Dibelius' death: "Our friendship during the past 21 years has been one of those unexpected and unforeseen things as God orders it for us. Dibelius was a Prussian and a conservative in his politics (though he was rudely shaken by the Nazi regime) and a staunch Lutheran Protestant. No, we would not have chosen one another".

Martin Niemöller (1892-1984): a U-boat commander in the Great War. In 1924 ordained minister in the Protestant Church of Westphalia; in 1933 Pastor at Berlin-Dahlem where he resisted Nazism; in 1937-45 in concentration camps - Dachau and Sachsenhausen. He was a popular writer and speaker but his influence was "political rather than spiritual. It must be remembered he begged Hitler to allow him to come back into his service as a U-boat commander - declined by Hitler - and later explained it as 'rendering to Caesar...' which I found wholly unacceptable". (Professor J. Atkinson to author, letter of 18 January 1986). Cf. L. S. Hunter, op. cit. Niemöller was "a great Christian, warmhearted, a powerful preacher of the Gospel in English as in German. In 1933 he was getting involved in

politics through trying to form a Christian party standing for an entente between East and West. He was not communist or a pacifist but was prepared to go to all lengths to make civil war in Germany impossible".

Hans Lilje (1899-1977). Cf. J. Atkinson, op. cit.: "a much finer man (than Niemöller) - more spiritual and weightier academically": 1947 Landesbischof Evangelische Lutherische Landeskirche, Hannover; 1955 Bishop of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany; 1952 President of the World Lutheran Congress. He founded Loccum, an academic and spiritual centre for the diocese of Hanover, but which had a world outreach. Fine ecumenical leader.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid. Casalis "an able and rather leftish French pastor commented in German 'Like the beginning of the Nazi party'". The hysteria can surely be forgiven.

77. L. S. Hunter: Bishop's Letter, November 1946.

78. L. S. Hunter: Bishop's Letter, December 1946.

79. Ibid. A gummed slip was inserted.

80. Acknowledgements were received under the date 20 December 1946 from:

W. Asbury: Regional Commissioner for Land NorthRhine/Westphalia.
"The German people are drinking the dregs of the cup of misery...Your gifts will be shared (sc. as you wish) in the larger towns and cities and cities - Munster, Dortmund, Duisberg, Essen, Koln and Dusseldorf".

Air Vice-Marshal Hugh de Crespigny: Regional Commissioner, Schleswig-Holstein.

"There is no doubt that a gift of clothing such as the one you are sending will save a great many lives."

81. L. S. Hunter, TS, Recovery in West and East Germany. Not all refugees were a problem; there were those who with courage and determination created new lives for themselves: cf. H. J. Larisch to author in conversation and by letter of 21 June 1985: on Herr Ewald Larisch. Herr Larisch lived at Gleiwitz, Oberschlesien in East Germany. He was conscripted into the German army in 1939; in May 1945 he was captured by the Russians and sent to a prisoner of war camp at Murmansk in the Arctic Circle. This was a death camp: both prisoners and guards suffered severely from the arctic climate and the shortage and bad quality of the food. Of 6,300 prisoners, 1,600 survived. In May 1948 Larisch was released without money or food. With the help of the Red Cross he reached Gleiwitz to find his family gone; again with Red Cross help he discovered that the Larisch family had moved to Hinsdorf (Dessau) to escape the Russians. Ewald Larisch had kept alive by doing odd jobs and sleeping where he could. Food was everywhere difficult to find and to buy when found. It consisted of sugar and horse meat. In 1950 he was given his army release papers by the British and directed to Quakenbruch in North West Germany (department of Oldenburgh). Here he rented a little room and found work with a paint manufacturer. In 1956, he built his own house and, starting as a junior, became treasurer of the county administrative authority at Bersenbruch.

Frau Johanne Heise-Morike: letter to the Editor, Daily Telegraph of 24 May 1985:

"Let me add a special note of thanks to those unknown British officers and men who helped our family which, after our flight from the Russians, had arrived at Celle Town in the British zone...Our gratitude goes out to many a man in British Army uniform: to you, who offered to take us to a hunt in the Luneburg Heath, promising us the bag; to you, who gave us reels of thread for me to make some garments for our kids out of thrown-away uniforms found in the woods; to you, who gave a jacket and a pair of shoes for six-year-old Hans, the eldest of our foursome; to you, who gave us matches and candles in those dark hours when the electric current was off once again; to you, who gave me lifts - once even in an armoured tank - when I was wearily trudging home after a begging day in the country; to you, who offered to carry the two bedsteads I had 'organised' in some village where they had stood quite lost on an 'out of bounds' site in the farmyard. Although 'fraternisation' was still taboo, you helped, regardless of possible severe regulations, regardless of the fact that we still were 'enemies'".

82. Ibid. and L. S. Hunter: Sheffield Diocesan Review, September 1953.
83. Ibid. In the Northern Convocation on 8 May 1953 Hunter had a motion down on this persecution of Christians in East Germany.

84. Ibid.
85. Ibid. See L. S. Hunter: rough notes: the Minister for Refugees: "The refugees are now an economic asset".
86. L. S. Hunter, TS, European Churches, op. cit. Hunter had been asked by Bishop G. K. A. Bell "to take over the winding up of the emergency fund which he had been instrumental in raising".
87. Ibid. Christian Reconstruction in Europe in fact became the Inter-Church Aid and Refugee Service.
88. L. S. Hunter: TS, Recovery in West and East Germany.
89. F. L. Cross, Ed., Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, p. 397.
90. L. S. Hunter: rough notes for 1955.
91. L. S. Hunter: rough notes for 1957; Rev. Dr. Kenneth Slack: letter to author of 16 March 1985: "I remember accompanying him on a visit to Berlin".
92. L. S. Hunter: TS, op. cit.
93. Ibid.
94. L. S. Hunter: rough notes for 1957.
95. L. S. Hunter: TS, Recovery in West and East Germany, op. cit. "I still remember," wrote Hunter in the sixties "the shiver that went down my spine when the equerry in whose charge we were, leant over me between the two bloodiest scenes to tell me that I was occupying the place where Hitler always sat in the former house."
96. L. S. H. Hunter: rough notes. The clergy in the East were three times worse off than their brethren in the West.
97. L. S. Hunter: TS, Recovery in West and East Germany, op. cit. "This Anglo-German getting together could now become cooperation in a wider fraternisation."
98. Ibid. An additional objective was to include in the Conferences representatives of smaller protestant churches and societies which were too small to be caught in the U.C.C. net.

99. Ibid.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid.
102. L. S. Hunter: TS, Public Worship and the Strategy of Mission.
103. Dr. Kenneth Slack: op. cit. Hunter's "interest was mainly in the Inter-Church Aid side of things, and notably the links with Europe...I doubt if he was really gripped by the issues of world development that came along late in his time". The author, on leave from Mauritius, in a long conversation with Hunter in November 1955, cannot recall that he showed any interest in the work of the Anglican missions on the islands of the Indian Ocean.

Hunter's TSS contain no references to the Old Catholic Churches of Holland, Germany, Switzerland and Austria. They are small national Churches which at varying times separated from Rome. Since 1932 they have been in full communion with the Church of England. Hunter to the author referred to them as "difficult to find and when found are little to the taste of Anglicans". This is a judgement made on insufficient evidence. Anglicans generally have received little encouragement to get to know the Old Catholics. The 'feel' of their congregations is sufficiently akin to many within the Church of England to be recognisable. The liturgies in use are of Catholic provenance but with variable 'reformed' provisions. See C. B. Moss, The Old Catholic Movement, London 1948 and e.g. the service booklet "The Holy Eucharist in the Old Catholic Church of Germany", Karlsruhe 1963.

iii.

104. L. S. Hunter: Sheffield Diocesan Review, October 1959.
105. Ibid.
106. G. H. Hewitt, Ed., op. cit., p. 182.
107. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone: Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, Second Edition, London 1976, p. 1337.
108. Ibid.
109. Ibid.

110. G. H. Hewitt, op. cit.
111. E. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, op. cit., p. 182.
112. Brother Roger Schutz: TS to author, 29 August 1985. Brother Roger has translated the French 'tendance' literally; 'tradition' in English.
113. Ibid.
114. G. H. Hewitt, op. cit., p. 182.
115. See above Chapter One passim and Chapter Three iv.
116. L. S. Hunter, Sheffield Diocesan Review, November 1959.
117. Ibid.
118. Brother Roger Schutz, op. cit.
119. Miss Joyce Peck to author by telephone on 1 October 1984. When Grace Hunter was failing and nearly blind Hunter would criticise her severely for breaking crockery and not keeping the flat as before.
120. See n. 121 below.
121. L. S. Hunter, TS, Cardinal Suhard of Paris.
122. Ibid.
123. Ibid.
124. See p. 158 above.
125. See Chapter Six ii, pp. 158-160 above.
126. E. B. Wickham, op. cit., p. 242.
127. L. S. Hunter, op. cit.
128. Ibid., quoting Paul Vinalier, vicar-general of the Mission de France.

NOTES

CHAPTER TWELVE

1. Rachel Moss: letter of 17 April 1984 op. cit.: "a most complex personality". This was a frequently voiced opinion.
2. D. L. Edwards: "Prophetic Bishop" - a review of Strategist for the Spirit - Church Times, 22 March 1985.
 - i.
3. Canon H. Hodkin: letter of 3 July 1984 to author.
4. Ibid. Hunter "had a passionate concern for the social gospel".
5. For the Cambridge Platonists see G. R. Cragg The Church and the Age of Reason 1648-1789 London 1960, pp. 67-71. The best known of the Platonists were Benjamin Whichcote (1609-1683); Ralph Cudworth (1617-1688); Henry More (1614-1687); John Smith (1618-1652). The first three were priests; Smith was never ordained.

See P. E. More and F. L. Cross Anglicanism London 1935:

p. 213: Benjamin Whichcote: "...there is no inconsistency between the grace of God and the calling upon men carefully to use, improve and employ the principles of God's creation...to be throughout rational in all they do; for these things have a Divine foundation." "Several Discourses, XXIII"

p. 783: Ralph Cudworth: God's actions are examples of what is reasonable: "God who is absolute goodness cannot love any of his creatures and take pleasure in them without bestowing a communication of his goodness and likeness upon them". Sermon before the House of Commons, 31 March 1647.

p. 642 Henry More: referring to the "Holy and Divine Life" required of man, three virtues are so essential that "nothing more weighty can be pronounced...; they are Charity, Humility and Purity, which...are the sure and infallible marks or signs of either an unfallen Angel or a regenerate soul". "An Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness; Or a True and Faithful Representation of the Everlasting Gospel of Our

Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Only Begotten Son of God and Sovereign over Men and Angels" Book II, Chapters xi f. London 1660, pp. 53-56.

p. 224 John Smith: a note of mysticism here. "Divinity indeed is a true efflux from the Eternal Light, which, like the sun-beams, does not only enlighten, but heat and enliven, and therefore our Lord hath in his Beatitudes connected purity of heart with the Beatific Vision...It is a thin, airy knowledge that is got by mere speculation...but that which springs forth from true goodness is...such a Divine light into the soul, as is more clear and convincing than any demonstration." "Select Discourses" (1673), pp. 2-4.

6. G. R. Cragg op. cit. p.68.
7. Ibid. p. 68.
8. The Anglican triad for the verification of doctrine and practice is Scripture, Tradition and Reason.
9. G. R. Cragg op. cit. p. 71. Cf. "Reason, it is clear, is the true correction of over-confident dogmatism and the best means of dispelling superstitious beliefs". Cf. L. S. Hunter The Error of Fundamentalism - Sheffield Diocesan Review, April 1956. Hunter, forsaking generalisations, set out a concise and incisive, indeed devastating criticism of Biblical fundamentalism. It was, he declared, "not true. It depreciates reason and conscience...Taken by itself it [Sc. a doctrine of the atonement which is almost exclusively penal and substitutionary] denigrates the character of God and leads to a defective presentation of the Gospel and of the Christian way of life...The demand as made by some evangelists for an immediate decision is an appeal to emotion and will, and very little to the mind...The Church according to the New Testament is the creation of the Holy Spirit and normally his medium... It is a perversion of the truth that every man has a private wire to the Almighty down which he will receive guidance and all he needs for nourishment".
10. See L. S. Hunter A Diocesan Service Book op. cit. IV. Special Occasions, pp. 124-173. In this valuable section there is provided in every service a rubric enjoining a period of silence: an example of liturgically directed contemplation. See also Appendix 1.
11. L. S. Hunter The Seed and the Fruit op. cit. p. 34.

12. Ibid. p. 24.
13. Ibid. pp. 51, 52.
14. H. de Lubac, SJ op. cit. p. 144.
15. St. John's Gospel 18.30.
16. L. S. Hunter John Hunter DD op. cit. p. 148.
17. George Macdonald Diary of an Old Soul, Minneapolis 1975, pp. 79, 81.

George Macdonald (1824-1905): educated at the University of Aberdeen and at Highbury College, London; ordained to the Congregational ministry but resigned in 1853 to devote himself to literature. (F. L. Cross The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church op. cit.-p. 840) Cf. L. S. Hunter op. cit. where Macdonald is mentioned nine times and especially at pp. 231, 232. John Hunter "had a very strong desire for a number of years to do something to commemorate the men who did most for the widening of religious thought in Scotland during the nineteenth century"; letter to Miss Mary Scott, March 16 1908. Among those whom he wished to commemorate was George Macdonald. The form of the memorial was to be two stained glass windows to be placed in Trinity Church, Glasgow. "In default" wrote Leslie Hunter "of authentic portraits, Chrysostom was given a likeness to John Caird, and Isaiah to George Macdonald".

18. L. S. Hunter Sheffield Diocesan Review - July/August 1960: Some Recommendations.
19. Ibid.
20. Cf. St. Luke 10.1; Exodus 24.1; Numbers 11.16.
21. L. S. Hunter The Seed and the Fruit op. cit. p. 100.
22. L. S. Hunter: letter of 16 December 1955 to the Reverend Fr. Nicholas Allenby, SSM. Cf. above p. 57 for Parson Cross.
23. Ibid.
24. L. S. Hunter: letter of 21 February 1956 to Fr. Allenby.
25. L. S. Hunter: letter of 13 February 1956 to Fr. Allenby.

26. Bishop Hunter to author in conversation - November 1955.
27. See Chapter Nine passim.
28. Bishop Hunter to author in conversation - November 1959.
29. L. S. Hunter MS Consecration. Cf. G. Hewitt Strategist for the Spirit op. cit. p. 65.
30. Canon R.S.O. Stevens. Tape op. cit.
31. G. H. Raynor to author in conversation. Cf. Miss Joyce Peck op. cit. In his dotage Hunter would write severely critical notes about people and leave them about the flat in Sheffield.
32. Canon H. Hodkin op. cit.
33. Rev. B. Sharp in conversation with author on 16 August 1984. He was quoting W. A. Parker, vicar of Gosport, Newcastle 1937-52 and later Archdeacon of Stafford and Bishop Suffragan of Shrewsbury.
34. Ibid. An area of contention was the plan to create conventional districts at St. Catherine's, Richmond Road and at Holy Cross, Gleadless, both of which were in Sharp's parish. The decisions had been taken without reference to the incumbent, who on being presented, without warning, with an Order in Council - a necessary preliminary to the creation of the districts - refused to sign on the grounds that the proposals violated his freehold.
35. Confidential comment to the author by one who had known Hunter over many years.
36. Very Rev. Frank Curtis, Provost of Sheffield: letter to author of 30 July 1985. This set out the complaint of a Miss Kitty Drinkall which she had repeated to Curtis on a number of occasions. She had had a great concern for St. Matthias, Sheffield. The church had been declared redundant and pulled down after the Second World War; the land had been sold without any restrictive covenant about industrial building. Miss Drinkall did not vary in her assertion that the archdeacon (probably D. E. W. Harrison) had assured the Parochial Church Council that the church plot would not be built on. It was later discovered that the bishop had agreed to the use of the land for industrial building before the archdeacon's assurance was given. There are no means of testing the complaint; Miss Drinkall though aged and latterly blind had an excellent memory.

37. News from the Diocese - October 1983. J. D. Preece Bishop Hunter - Vision and Power. The title was not the author's.
38. Miss Joyce Peck - telephone conversation op. cit.
39. Rev. B. Sharp op. cit. Archdeacon D. E. W. Harrison was the victim; the author was told of another occasion in a church vestry at an institution to the benefice.
40. Canon R. S. O. Stevens op. cit. who commented: "it was not good to tell him that he was wrong".
41. Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667): Bishop of Down and Connor from 1661 to 1667. Taylor is chiefly remembered as the author of Holy Dying, London 1873 and Holy Living, London 1876 which are recognised as classics of Anglican spirituality.
42. Bishop Jeremy Taylor: Rules and Advices to the Clergy of the Diocese of Down and Connor, given at the visitation of Lisnagarvey 1661: quoted in J. R. H. Moorman The Curate of Souls, London 1958 pp. 12, 13.
43. For stupor mundi see J. R. H. Moorman A History of the Church in England op. cit. p. 233. This title was given to the learned divines of the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries who by their lives and writings "gave quality and strength to the Church of England..." Cf. P. E. More and F. L. Cross, Eds. Anglicanism op. cit. and passim; and P. E. More, Art. The Spirit of Anglicanism: "The documents from which this compilation is drawn fall within the period from 1594 to 1691, for which the "seventeenth century" will pass as a convenient and sufficiently accurate term".
44. Rev. P. E. Lawrie - interview on 20 August 1984: "I liked him; not a warmth of affection but admiration".
45. Rev. Dr. N. M. Harrison: letter to author of 21 August 1985. Harrison had offered himself in 1959 for chaplaincy work to the deaf. Hunter responded immediately: "It has been on my mind and in my prayers for many years that someone should make this offer".
46. Rev. P. E. Lawrie: interview op. cit. "I had a good relationship with him".
47. Ibid.
48. Rev. E. P. Eccles: interview on 10 May 1985. Hunter brought eggs and chocolate to the hospital. Eccles cannot recall that

Hunter prayed with him.

49. Rev. W. Hudson: letter to author of 6 August 1985.
 50. Ibid.
 51. Canon H. Hodkin, op. cit.
 52. Canon G. J. Jordan to Rev. B. Sharp, op. cit.
 53. Canon H. Hodkin, op. cit.
 54. Ibid.
 55. Among this group were, for example the Earl of March, FCA, DL (see p. 94 above) and Mr Eric Holmstrom, Managing Director of Firth-Stainless Steels Limited (see p. 157 above).
 56. Earl Fitzwilliam came into this category. He agreed reluctantly to be the chairman of the Church in Action Appeal Committee despite the fact that his response to the appeal had been munificent.
 57. Very Rev. Alfred Jowitt: letter to author of 14 February 1986.
 58. See Cathedral Council pp. 249, 250, 253, 260 ; the Burgesses were strongly represented on the Council. Cf. B. Pye-Smith op. cit.
 59. See p.249 above.
 60. Christopher Jarvis (son of Provost Jarvis): letter to author of 14 September 1984.
 61. Miss M. E. Oughtred: letter to author of 30 April 1985.
 62. Edwin Barker: letter to author of 28 August 1984, op. cit.
 63. Mrs Joan Brown (nee Tonbridge): letter to author of 18 July 1985. Cf. Mrs C. Wentworth-Ping, op. cit. Joan Tonbridge was "almost like a daughter to the Hunters".
- iii.
64. M. Walton, op. cit., p. 78
 65. D. L. Edwards: Review of Strategy of the Spirit, op. cit.
 66. This was an innovation in the diocese and probably derived

from SCM.

67. There was a priest in the diocese who had fashioned himself on Hunter: his mannerisms, tone of voice, use of words, facial expressions, use of hands.
68. Hunter could be mistaken due to his not knowing the priest well enough. The author had to convince the Lord Chancellor's ecclesiastical secretary that Bishop Gerard's description of himself was correct rather than Hunter's: "a rigid Anglo-Catholic".
69. Such were: Alan Ecclestone, vicar of Darnall, 1942-69
E. R. Wickham, diocesan missionary to industry, 1944-59
R. C. Walls, canon residentiary of Sheffield Cathedral, 1958-62 and diocesan director of ordinands.
- Cf. Bishop Oliver Tomkins: letter to author of 27 October 1984: "nice to hear (from another) of that... group of war-time POT" (Post-Ordination Training).
70. D. N. Power, OMI Ministers of Christ and his Church op. cit. p. 41. "The bishop has a special place in the local church as the one who possesses the spirit of high priesthood and headship given by the Father to Christ and then to the apostles...The part of the presbytery (is recognised) by seeing the bishop and the presbyters as a college of which the bishop is the head and in which he and the presbyters are united in government and priesthood". In practice the emphasis came to be placed on the authority of the bishop and the obedience of the priest.
71. Very Rev. Alfred Jowitt, op. cit. Hunter "did not get on with Fisher (not surprisingly!) and I certainly heard that on the Bench he was regarded as odd man out (with some support from Cockin of Bristol and Barry of Southwell)". Hunter's friendship with Cockin had begun at SCM and he had been on very good terms with Barry.
72. See above, p. 137 - Hunter's reference to "conditional vocations".
73. Examples of Hunter's successful appointments were A. Ecclestone to Darnall, Howard Hall to St. Leonard, Norwood, Sheffield and P. S. Burnett to St. Mary, Bramall Lane.
74. Examples are L. G. E. Hancock at St. Mary, Bramall Lane and R. L. Hale at Parson Cross, 1956-59. Both were worthy priests but in each case their appointment had been to a parish for which they were not suited.

75. L. S. Hunter: letter to G. T. S. Cook, vicar of Tickhill of 16 May 1955. It referred to two services for Rogationtide broadcast by the BBC. Hunter's letter was congratulatory: The service - this was in the evening - "seemed to me simple and good and came over well, so did your address which was very apt for the occasion".
76. L. S. Hunter to author: conversation in study - November 1955.
77. The form of investing a priest with authority to fulfil an incumbent's or a sole charge ministry. Of one priest Hunter said to the author: "I am more disappointed in him than of any other priest within this diocese".
78. Rev. E. P. Eccles, Interview, op. cit.
79. Mrs Elizabeth Gerard: letter (undated) to author.
80. L. S. Hunter: letter of 4 April 1955 to the Reverend F. Stafford, Secretary of the Sheffield Council of Churches. Cf. Dr. E. M. Jackson (biographer of William Paton): letter of 13 December 1977 to Dean Webster of Norwich: "It is my opinion...that Leslie Hunter was one of the most brilliant contributors to the ecumenical movement".
81. Canon H. Hodkin: op. cit.
82. Rev. J. B. Pears: letter to author of 1 January 1985: "she did not have a particularly easy time with them".
83. Ven. M. J. M. Paton: letter to author of 10 January 1985, op. cit. quoting Canon John Fenton. Fenton commented "But Leslie Hunter's wife was the daughter of a gentleman farmer".
84. See pp. 87, 88 above.
85. See Chapter Six, n. 105 above.
86. F. L. Cross, Ed., The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, op. cit., p. 345.
87. See p. 56 above.
88. Ven. M. J. M. Paton, op. cit. Hunter had a great care and affection for the Reverend L. P. Sheath, vicar of Fulwood to whom he ministered in his long illness.

89. The one was the Reverend G. W. Turner, vicar of St. Jude, Eldon Street, Sheffield. Turner's removal probably saved his life; St. Jude's was adjacent to the Moor which was blitzed by the Luftwaffe on 13 December 1940 and both sides of the road and the surrounding streets largely obliterated. Hunter's plan was to unite St. Jude's with St. Matthew, Carver Street and at the same time to make possible the removal of Fr. H. C. Morgan from St. Matthew's. Morgan was under discipline for his disuse of Anglican formularies in favour of those of the Roman Catholic Church. He was unable to make the vow of canonical obedience and resigned. St. Matthew's people were firm in their belief that his leaving was engineered by the bishop. The Reverend Robert Hodgson was rector of Hooton Roberts - a very small country parish. It was suitable to provide a stipend for a priest engaged in diocesan work and has been so used since Hodgson's death on 22 August 1949.
90. Canon H. Hodkin: op. cit. Cf. n. 88 above for an exception.
91. The author spent an hour with the bishop whilst on leave from Mauritius in November 1955, during which time Hunter showed no interest in the nature of the work in the diocese of Mauritius.
92. Karen Horney, MD, Our Inner Conflicts, London edit. 1957, pp. 157, 158, 160.
93. Ibid., p. 23.
94. Ibid., p. 46.
95. Canon R. S. O. Stevens, op. cit. "He was ruthlessly determined" which had to be contrasted with his "eager gentleness".
96. Karen Horney, op. cit., p. 45.
97. Canon R. S. O. Stevens, op. cit. A post-war meeting of the Council of European Churches had been arranged and was to meet in Denmark. Delegates from East Germany had been invited greatly to the displeasure of the German Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer who said that if the East Germans attended he would cut off all the German imports of butter from Denmark. Hunter, chairman of the Council, was a match for the Chancellor. "I am not going to let these stupid politicians interfere" he said to Stevens. A small liner was chartered and the meeting was held in neutral and rather stormy waters.
98. St. Matthew's Gospel 11.12 (NEB version).
99. Ernest Barker: letter of 24 August 1984, op. cit. Cf. Ven. M. J. M. Paton: letter of 29 November 1984, op. cit.: "He

always came across to me as a strongly believing and Christian man".

100. Hunter's men had generally recognisable characteristics. They were in churchmanship sound with a liberal feel about them. They were disinclined to apply to themselves the prevalent adjectives denoting degrees of churchmanship whilst freely assigning them to others. Their spiritual discipline was based on the recitation of the offices of morning and evening prayer as prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer; their reading was ecumenical in range with a preference for the latest authors; their theological training had encouraged them to apply theology to life, and this was rounded off by the gaining of practical experience of the Church as and in community, of their parishioners' life styles and work. There was a willingness to engage in inter-Church activity but based on episcopal (Hunter's) guide-lines.
101. J. B. Pears: letter to author of 1 January 1985, op. cit. Pears' wife, Molly, housekeeper to the Hunters, learned - possibly from Grace Hunter - that "Bishop Leslie felt disappointed that he had not been appointed to York. He felt that had the 'colour' of politics been different at the appropriate time things might have been different for him".
102. Cf. F. R. Barry, Period of my Life, op. cit., p. 207: "the Church is hardly mentioned in exercises of social criticism... The Church seems to have so little to say". Barry instanced Hunter as an exception.
103. An examination of the formal minutes of the Convocation of York reveals that beginning in 1948 and still awaiting ratification in 1961 there was an enormous flood of business dealing with the reform of the Canons Ecclesiastical.
104. Very Rev. A. Jowett, op. cit. Cf. The Bishop's Letter - September 1945, Sermon Beyond Victory at the Civic Thanksgiving in the Cathedral on Sunday 19 August 1945. Hunter used the phrase "I am not greatly interested in the ecclesiastical institution as such, and I do not suppose many of you are" which, taken out of context, would have been uncongenial to many of his fellow bishops and to not a few of the prominent lay people of Sheffield.
105. Ibid.
106. On 29 March 1962 Hunter was admitted to the Honorary Freedom of the City of Sheffield. In his address to the assembly he said: "This is a speech of farewell; for we are...ending affiliations and shared enterprises which are the very reason for your conferment of the proud status of a Freeman of the City of Sheffield".

107. G. Hewitt, Strategist for the Spirit, op. cit. Art. Alan Webster, Strategy for Reform, p. 130. "Leslie Hunter used to plead for strategy both in Church and State".
108. D. L. Edwards, Prophetic Bishop, op. cit.
109. Canon R. S. O. Stevens, Tape, op. cit.
110. Ibid. Stevens drew attention to the Hunter habit of taking such a one gently by the arm for a stroll and then opening his mind about a particular plan for which backing or finance was necessary.
111. D. L. Edwards, op. cit.
112. Hunter had a remarkable capacity for securing the good-will and agreement to his plans by members of diocesan committees.
113. Crown Appointments and the Church: Report of a Committee appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York - Church Information Office 1964.
- See p.284 above and no. 45. The Report (in Chapter 2) stressed the fact "that the Church of England has always been entwined with the life of the English people at all levels and in many ways, (and consequently) it is reasonable to hope that those who have direct responsibility for the welfare of a State which in law and by inheritance is professedly Christian, should continue to have a concern that the Church of England should be an effective Christian influence in its life".
114. Ibid.
115. M. Black and H. H. Rowley, Peake's Commentary on the Bible, London 1964. Art. The Archbishop of Canterbury, The Authority of the Bible, p. 1.
116. St. Matthew's Gospel 10.7.
117. R. McL. Wilson, Mark in Peake's Commentary, op. cit., p. 800. This is a major theme in C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching, London 1944.
118. Book of Common Prayer, The Ordination of Priests, op. cit.
119. D. Hill, New Testament Prophecy, op. cit., p. 213. Cf. "Church Strategy in a Changing World" op. cit. Chapter III in which Hunter set out God's call to the Church, as he believed, to be "the pervasive influence" in British society. The time is short; now is the time: the choice is between a Christian or a pagan society. Cf. p. 206 "thirty years".

120. L. S. Hunter, A Mission of the People of God, op. cit., pp. 111, 112.
121. Ibid., p. 115.
122. Cf. St. Matthew's Gospel 12.30; St. Luke's Gospel 11.23.
123. H. de Lubac, The Drama of Atheist Humanism, op. cit., p. 198, quoting Dostoevsky.
124. L. S. Hunter, op. cit., p. 44, quoting Canon F. Boulard Introduction to Religious Sociology, trans. M. J. Jackson.
125. Rev. Dr. N. M. Harrison, Diocesan Director of Education, to the Sheffield Diocesan Church Schools Committee - 16 October 1985. Dr. Harrison was finally the only objector to the acceptance of an emasculated Agreed Syllabus (Durham). Cf. his letter to author of 20 February 1986: the phrase "world religion" was repeatedly used in place of "Christianity"; also letter of 9 September 1985 to K. Manley, Clerk to the Statutory Conference for an Agreed Syllabus; also N. M. Harrison to the Bishop of Sheffield, letter of 12 September 1985.
126. L. S. Hunter, Sheffield Diocesan Review - April 1948. Art. Easter.
127. L. S. Hunter TS Sermon preached before the Benchers of the Inner and Middle Temple, 23 October 1949, op. cit.
128. L. S. Hunter, TS, British Broadcasting Corporation - Address, 28 May 1947. Hunter had in mind parochial congregations and also groups of people from industry or from other walks of life which could develop into Christian communities. Cf. the German Roman Catholic theologian, Karl Rahner, SJ, who, twenty, five years later, wrote of the possibility of the growth of "basic communities" drawn from particular spheres of life. They would organise themselves into mini-churches but would have "a duty to maintain unity with the episcopal great Church". (Karl Rahner, The Shape of the Church to Come, Eng. trans., London 1974, p. 111 and Part One 4 and Part Three 3, passim.)
129. L. S. Hunter, Sheffield Diocesan Review - December 1955, Art. The Kingdom at Hand.
130. L. S. Hunter, A Mission of the People of God, op. cit., p. 115.
131. L. S. Hunter, John Hunter DD, op. cit., p. 171.

132. St. John's Gospel 6.40, 47.
133. First Epistle of St. John 5.11, 12. See p²¹⁵ above. Cf. L. S. Hunter, Let us go Forward, op. cit., pp. 37, 38. Ad Clerum - Our Lord and our Ministry: "He that hath the Son hath life". A bold phrase. For no creature can posses or use God; he can only be possessed by Him and filled with the life of his Son".
134. C. H. Dodd, The Johannine Epistles, London 1947, p. 133.
135. Bishop Hunter died on 15 July 1983. His last years, from 1976, had been spent at the Retreat (a nursing home) in York. Though he recognised visitors his loss of memory was very apparent. The funeral was at St. Laurence's, York on 22 July where for as long as he was able he had presided at the Sung Eucharist on Sundays. Fittingly he was committed to God's eternal care at the singing of a funeral Eucharist at which the Bishop of Sheffield (David Lunn) presided. A feature of the occasion was the lack of any sensed connexion with Sheffield apart from the formal presence of the bishop. There were within the congregation a number of Hunter's one-time "young admirers". They had eyes and ears for none others than themselves. On 9 September a Service of Thanksgiving was held in Sheffield Cathedral. Hunter's ashes were buried in the family grave at Hampstead in which his father and mother had been buried and where the headstone had an inscription to his brother Maurice. Hunter had taken Grace's cremated remains there in 1975.

Hunter had proceeded, after his second class BA in theology, to MA in the Oxford manner. He subsequently received honorary degrees: DD (Lambeth) 1940, DCL (University of Durham) 1940, LLD (University of Sheffield) 1953, DD (Trinity College, Toronto) 1954.

APPENDIX 1NOTES

1. See above p.39 This was the title of Hunter's Oxford thesis. He reproduced it later as in Note 2.
2. L.S. Hunter TS Morality and Mysticism.
3. L.S. Hunter The Seed and the Fruit op.cit. p. 12.
4. Ibid. p. 113.
5. Ibid. p. 111.
6. Gospel according to St. Matthew 5.8.
7. K.E. Kirk The Vision of God London 1941, quoting St. Irenaeus (c. 130 - 200).
8. L.S. Hunter TS Morality and Mysticism. For this great Doctor of the Church, see F.L. Cross op. cit. pp. 106 - 108. Cf. Charles Williams The Descent of the Dove London 1939 p. 72.: To Augustine the spiritual life was foremost a matter of belief in God and of God's relationship with men. "Pefection consists not in what we give to God but what we receive from him".
9. Ibid.
10. F. von Hugel The Mystical Element of Religion London 1908.
11. A.H. Dakin op. cit. pp. 139, 140. Cf. von Hugel op. cit. I p. 260 in Dakin : "nowhere are such psycho-physical conditions and experiences (sc. of St. Catherine) to be considered the causes of her doctrine, as though the lower produced the higher, and as though the spiritual were the automatic resultant and necessary precipitate of certain accidental, involuntary conditions in time and space".
12. Ibid. p. 142.
13. Hans Kung Eternal Life Eng. trans. London 1984 pp. 267,268.
14. Teresa of Avila The Interior Castle Eng. trans by Kieran Kavanaugh, OCD and Otilio Rodriguez, OCD London 1979 p. 128. God "gives the soul raptures that draw it out of its senses... I mean true rapture, not the weaknesses women experience here below..."

15. E. Allison Peers Mother of Carmel London 1945 pp. 41, 42.
16. A decay in the observance of the ideals and disciplines of the coenobetic life was endemic in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The austerity of poverty was relaxed and the rigorous demands of common prayer was eased, particularly in the recital of the night offices. For the Carmelites, for example, the practice of silence and of solitude became less demanding; there developed in some convents a 'ladies club' atmosphere which was marked by a standard of personal surrender for postulants which had more in common with the secular than the religious life; a mark of this was the frequency with which the nuns' parlour became a place not of simple recreation for the sisters but an acceptable meeting ground for the well-born ladies and gentlemen of the neighbourhood. Instances of immoral conduct, stemming from this, were not unknown. Cf. G.G. Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion, Cambridge Vol. II 1929 pp. 406, 407: Coulton quotes Rodrigo, bishop of Zamora, Spain in his "Mirror of Life" (1470) in his castigation of those who "defile Religion; few of them are holy; many are religious in name, few in deed;...the vows of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience are broken..." A German witness, one Jakob von Juterbagh, who was first a Cistercian abbot and finally a Carthusian prior declared that religious now plead "that long custom has made relaxation a matter of course". For monastic decay, see G.G. Coulton op. cit. : Vol. I pp. 247 - 261; Vol. II pp. 87 - 106; Vol. III pp. 395 - 409.
17. E. Allison Peers op. cit. p. 47.
18. Teresa of Avila op. cit. p. 47.
19. E. Allison Peers op. cit. at p. 52, 71, 61, 74.
20. Ibid. p. 101.
21. Ibid. p. 81.
22. Teresa of Avila op. cit. Introduction pp. 1 - 29. This sets out the most important elements of Teresa's teaching : e.g. her definition of recollection where "the soul collects its faculties together and enters within itself to be with God". p. 14.
23. L.S. Hunter Morality and Mysticism.
24. E. Allison Peers The Complete Works of St. John of the Cross, Eng. trans. London 1943.
25. Ibid. Vol I p. 60.
26. Ibid. p. 167.
27. Ibid. Vol. II p. 8.
28. L.S. Hunter op. cit.

29. Book of Common Prayer. The Catechism.
30. C. Wolters, Ed. and trans. Julian of Norwich : Revelations of Divine Love, London 1966. The late monk and mystic, Thomas Merton, coupled the Lady Julian with John Henry, Cardinal Newman as the two greatest spiritual teachers in English Church history.
31. Ibid. p. 185.
32. J. Macquarrie God Talk London 1967 pp. 47, 48 where Macquarrie sets out Barth's objections to 'disclosure' models : "If we do know about God as Creator, it is neither wholly nor partially because we have a prior knowledge of something that resembles creation. It is only because it has been given us by God's revelation to know him..." (Karl Barth Church Dogmatics Edinburgh 1957 Vol. II/1, pp. 76, 77.) Cf. I.T. Ramsay Religious Language p. 168 : Cf. p. above. On the Incarnation Ramsay wrote "We shall only know what 'hypostatic unity' talks about when there has been evoked for us the Christian disclosure situation. Models may help, and apologetic must see to it that they do help, in such a disclosure but no model will ever 'explain' or 'describe' that which its use invokes, and which 'hypostatic unity' was coined to deal with. The authors of The Myth of God Incarnate are faced with proving that by demythologising the Biblical witness to the Incarnation they are retaining the Biblical models of Incarnation theology that Jesus is 'the Truth'".

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