

LESLIE STANNARD HUNTER (1890 - 1983)

BISHOP OF SHEFFIELD (1939 - 1962)

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INTRODUCTION

The incentive to explore in detail Bishop Hunter's long ministry to the diocese of Sheffield came after the weight of my own work had been eased by retirement. My intention has been two-fold : first, to pursue the research as a means of expressing my thanks to the bishop from whom I received the orders of deacon and priest; secondly, to examine the evidence for Hunter's complex personality, to attempt an evaluation of his worth and in so doing, to avoid the temptation to disregard those aspects of his words and actions for which, by some, he was severely criticised. On one occasion Hunter said to me "Do not apologise for me"; he accepted without flinching responsibility for his decisions.

Mary Walton's The History of the Diocese of Sheffield, 1914-1979 contains a not uncritical though judicious survey of Hunter's policy as bishop and its results within the diocese. I have been indebted to it though I do not always agree with her conclusions. It is an acknowledgement of her achievement to say that she has brought into focus the episcopates of the first four bishops of Sheffield from which there emerges, fortuitously maybe, the extent to which Hunter is a sounding-board by which to distinguish the ring of truth, of practical wisdom and of achievement in the direction taken by the Church in South Yorkshire from 1914 to 1979.

Gordon Hewitt's Strategist for the Spirit has its own valuable purpose. It is a celebratory volume written by those who were recruited for work in the diocese by Hunter, and who themselves had fallen under "the snare of the Hunter". They rightly believed that he was a bishop who, by living to a great age, could undeservedly be forgotten. Their personal relationships with Hunter were on a level of intimacy enjoyed by few others. I am grateful to the Dean of St. Paul's - Hunter's literary executor - for permission to use the papers and memoranda in his care, and to Canon Hewitt for his personal kindness in delivering them to me and in answering, from time to time, my queries about them.

My method of work has been to let Hunter, as far as possible, speak for himself. At no time was my personal relationship with him on the more intimate level exemplified in Strategist for the Spirit : on no occasion was I addressed by my Christian name. My own knowledge came largely from those contacts which a priest variously has with his bishop, more often than not initiated by the latter. They were significant in many ways and were, for me, a valuable opportunity of appreciating his motivation and methods and those traits and gestures, his silences and his asides, which could only come from personal experience. My own debt to him is considerable. To be chosen by Hunter for an unusual or necessary task was its own reward even though one knew that there was an element of expediency about it. If Hunter of Sheffield and Dibelius of Berlin would not, as he said, have chosen one another,

it is unlikely that he would have chosen Preece as his curate. Our likenesses were restricted to an acceptance of the place of reason in doctrine and ecclesiology and an emphasis on the importance of liturgy and its musical interpretation. And we both had an ingrained shyness.

It has been necessary in this thesis to stress the nature of Hunter's Christian beliefs which made him the person he was and at the same time to indicate the aspects of and movements within theology which lay behind the direction his work was taking and which were influential in the life of the Church of England during the twentieth century. Much of this has been confined to chapter notes.

In undertaking this self-imposed task I have been greatly helped in my search for relevant information by the many to whom I wrote and to others who gave of their time to talk with me. Their names are recorded in the notes. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Miss Joyce Peck for her long and illuminating telephone conversation and for several letters which were greatly encouraging; to Mr. G.H. Rayner to whom I owe entirely my information about Sheffield Cathedral; and to the Reverend Dr. N.M. Harrison who in his busy life as Diocesan Director of Education has found time to type this thesis.

My debt to Dr. Clyde Binfield is immense. He has imbued me with a zest for the discovery of material and the means of extracting it to the extent that over the months my first and last waking thoughts were so directed.

BOOK ONE.

CHAPTER ONE

JOHN HUNTER

"A step I could not have taken.....without the blessing and approval of my father." Leslie Stannard Hunter wrote these words as he recalled his decision, the most far reaching of his life, to be received into the Church of England. (1) This is a compelling reason for prefacing a study of Hunter's preparation for, and exercise of, his episcopal ministry with an analysis of John Hunter's character and beliefs which had a deep and beneficial influence upon his son's development and outlook. Material for this is amply provided by Leslie Hunter's biography of his father. (2)

John Hunter became one of the most esteemed ministers within the Congregational Unions of Britain. His independent stance underpinned by his intellectual power, together with his preaching, marked him out as a leader with his own interpretation of the distinctive principle of Congregationalism, that of "the scriptural right of every separate church to maintain perfect independence in the government and administration of its own particular affairs." (3)

i.

Dr. Hunter was a Scot, his father William a rope maker and an ardent member of the Kirk. His mother, Jean Boyle, was an Episcopalian. Deprived by the poverty of his parents of secondary and further education, John was a great and wide reader. A sense of calling to the Christian ministry led to his being accepted for training in 1866 at the Nottingham Congregational Institute. His preparation for ordination was completed at Spring Hill College, Birmingham, later to become Mansfield College, Oxford, where he studied from 1868 to 1871.

From early childhood the young John had taken "to haunting churches and religious meetings of all kinds." (4) This did not spring, his own son wrote, from an undue precociousness but from a sense of the sacred. A parallel (mutatis mutandis) can be found in the childhood of Jean-Marie-Baptiste Vianney, the Cure' d'Ars. (5) John was in no way gregarious. "He played no games; he was solitary even in the home where he was loved...If asked about his boyhood in after years the word 'lonely' always came to his lips." (6) A fellow student at Nottingham wrote of him, "I can recall his coming up to chapel, diffident and shy in manner, but what eloquence." (7) The recognition of this - and the pain of it - led him to say to Dr. D.W. Simon, Principal of Spring Hill, "For your kindly interest in me I cherish a deep and lasting gratitude. I am sorry that I cannot express my own thoughts more fully in conversation with you. The want of conversational power is a want I bitterly feel. But I can listen."

(8)

After ordination, John Hunter's ministry took him to York, Hull and then in 1887 to Trinity Church, Glasgow where he established his reputation as one of the foremost evangelical preachers of the day. (9) In 1893 he received an honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from Glasgow University.

In 1901 Hunter was invited to become Minister of the King's Weigh House Chapel in London. Here he remained for three years. "It was the hardest thing he had ever undertaken", Leslie Hunter wrote, "too hard at his time of life." He drew large Sunday congregations but the membership of the Chapel remained tiny and markedly conservative. Hunter was never at ease: his shyness prevented him from bridging the gap. In public he continued to be "fearlessly outspoken" but "he shrank in private from debate with almost physical shrinking. If his views were criticised.....he would close up instinctively as a butterfly its wings at the approach of something alien." John Hunter, the preacher, the personal guide to enquirers was neither an all-round pastor nor an organiser. His short London ministry was a fight against odds.

Hunter's last active years were spent at Trinity Church, Glasgow to which he returned in 1904, resigning because of failing health in 1911. It was at his funeral service in the King's Weigh House that Principal P.T. Forsyth said of him: "He was one of the very greatest preachers of Victorian liberalism.

Among his last words were "I die believing in the liberal Christian faith I have always preached. He was the greatest master we had of manuscript preaching." (10)

ii.

As a young minister, John Hunter was attracted to and felt the compulsion of the new liberalism which was sweeping through Victorian England: in politics, in science, in literature, in social thinking, in philosophy and in religion. There were two reasons for this in the religious sphere: the one being the search for modes of theological expression which was being forced upon the Church at large; (11) the other followed as a consequence of the theological quest and as a spur to it. Hunter was one of those who, from his college days, had come to realise that the old evangelicalism of Nonconformity was ceasing to interest and to grip people. New "gospels" abounded and they were increasingly secular in content. Only a new flowering of scholarly insight within the Church could hope to produce a compelling faith. (12)

Christian scholars were indeed at work in Germany and the likes of Hunter were intrigued but fearful. F.C. Baur (1792-1860) had been Professor of Theology in the University of Tübingen from 1826 to his death, and the founding father of the Tübingen school of Biblical criticism as it became known. To traditionalists it was a name of execration. Even to the new liberals in Britain such as John Hunter it came as a shock to be told that St. Paul was the author only of Galatians, I and II Corinthians and the Letter to the Romans. (13) From the point of view of Biblical conservatism, worse was to come when the opinions of the Form-

Critical school began to be disseminated in England. Johannes Weiss (1863 1914) was in age a contemporary of Hunter. He was the originator of "Formgeschichte" which was an attempt to trace the provenance and assess the historicity of particular sections of the Old and New Testaments by a thorough going analysis of their structural forms, and by this means to establish canons of authenticity. (14) Hunter was critical of Tubingen; he believed that there had been accretions to the Christian faith but these were the mark of later ages. The fact which may have escaped him was that the development of a theological liberalism was bound to result in schools of thought with implications beyond the dreams of Hunter the preacher. (15)

A more inspiring and acceptable emphasis in theology was associated with the name of Frederick Denison Maurice. (16) Maurice's incarnational theology, diffuse as it was, met with a ready acceptance by many of the younger generation of questing ministers. Their outlook was enlarged and their ministry extended by this newly enunciated emphasis on the concept of the Kingdom of God. It was dependent on Christ's person and words. Furthermore, as a result of Maurice's open ended teaching, there was the impetus to proclaim and enunciate a topical and authentic expression of the nature of the Kingdom of God in late nineteenth century Britain. In Hunter's days at Salem Chapel, York his preaching put into words his developing convictions and brought criticism on himself. "Everything which has to do with moral principle,

with righteousness, truth, justice, goodwill among men, has to do with the Kingdom of Christ. The affairs of the city have as much to do with his Kingdom as church and chapel matters...a man cannot neglect his duty as a citizen without incurring guilt in the sight of Christ." (17)

In 1885 - Hunter had moved to Wycliffe Church, Hull in 1882 - he was again dusting down the cobwebs as he commented on the upheavals of belief in English Christianity. The modern movement in theology, he said, no doubt for the unconverted, was to make Christianity more Christian, "to separate the truth as it is in Jesus" from the accretions that had gathered round it in its passage through the ages. The influence of Biblical criticism is clear to be seen in its first flush of confidence. "The mind of Christ was the true principle and standard of Biblical interpretation." (18) Here spoke the independent liberal, more affected by the new opinions than maybe he was willing to admit. (19)

A liberal in theology as in other disciplines must needs think ahead. John was no exception. In a sermon "The Coming Form of Religion" (20), he forecast that "the Christianity of the future would be

1. Less ecclesiastical and authoritative, more personal and free;
2. more reasonable, enlarging the mind not cramping it;
3. less ceremonial and dogmatic (in the bad sense) and more spiritual, and its ministry more prophetic and less priestly;
4. it would be a greater moral and social power."

These were pertinent if controversial points. In a real sense, his son Leslie's ministry was to be a commentary on and an extension and up dating of them; but not an identification tout court.

There was nothing of the wilful revolutionary in Hunter's position. His ministry, wrote Leslie Hunter, was essentially "one of reconciliation". (21) John himself could say with feeling, "It is discord we ought to mourn over, not diversity." (22) He remained constant in his Scotsman's way to preserve and work out his religious position which he once said "is neither conservative nor destructive but liberal, and my liberalism is Christian...." He continued that in an age of transition, the enduring and fruitful work of the religious teacher is "to translate the ancient message into living thought and speech...to lift the evangelical truths which are bound up with the deepest expressions of Christian men into their largest meaning." (23)

One corollary which followed from John Hunter's liberalism is revealed in his political affiliation. His politics essentially depended upon his theology and not vice versa. He identified himself with Liberalism; he voted Liberal all his life. His initial enthusiasm made him see Liberalism as "the political side of Christianity." (24) Hunter was in the habit of supporting Liberal policies from the pulpit at election time though he avoided any reference to political parties. In his mind there was a clear distinction about the Church's proper role in society.

Its task was not to be a political Church but at all times an agent of God's Kingdom. His admiration of Mr. Gladstone was great ;

he respected his staunch membership of the Church of England but recognised in him (one surmises) a truly liberal spirit in his practical politics where adherence to liberal principles in the final result took precedence over Party or Church. A clear example of this is Gladstone's Bill of 1868 to disestablish the Church of Ireland.

iii.

John Hunter was in that succession of Christians whose fundamental tenet was St. Paul's declaration (Galatians 5.1) that "Christ has made us free." In practice this is a position difficult to maintain without having to face accusations of inconsistency, as St. Paul himself had discovered in his relations with the Corinthian Church. (25) What was his theology of the Church ? "He was a High Churchman" said Baron von Hügel, but "no ecclesiastic", remarked A.E. Garvie. (26) Here immediately is an apparent dichotomy. Let Hunter speak for himself. The Church is "that great world embracing society which has God as its foundation, Christ for its Head and all faithful people as its members"; (27) "the most universal society for it began with the beginnings of the race." (28) He could declare "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church....no imaginary or visionary Church. It is a great spiritual idea that is realising itself...." (29) At an early date in his ministry Hunter had parted from the Calvinist tenet of an invisible Church. (30)

None the less there is an almost deliberate lack of clarity about the external marks of the Church which makes it difficult to say in what manner Hunter could give point to his definition and say "this is the Church". This lack of precision was no doubt deliberate but it resulted in a misunderstanding of, for example, the Church of Rome and the Orthodox Churches (31) and was productive of his imaginary view of the Church of England. There was almost an inevitability about this to anyone nurtured in strictly protestant and reformation ways of thinking.

Hunter did not believe, says Leslie Hunter, that Jesus founded the Church in the sense that he established an ecclesiastical institution. (32) This was perhaps a belief based less upon his interpretation of the Gospels than upon his own spirituality which was, in some sense, based on a mystical appreciation of fellowship with Christ and through Christ with all the faithful. The central fact for him was "personal experience of God". (33) That others recognised this characteristic of his faith is born out by an "Appreciation" of Dr. Hunter from a Roman Catholic academic, Professor Jacques Chevalier, one sentence from which will suffice "Je me souviens encore de ses appels à Dieu, qui retentissaient au-dedans de moi comme l'appel même de l'âme chrétienne à la Source de Lumière, de Vérité et de Vie : 'O Dieu' guide nous dans cette obscurité qui nous environne. Toi seul es notre soutien. Sans toi, c'est la solitude et la peine' ". (34) "Worship is the greatest act of man." (35) And so Hunter's rationale of the Church was that

which he deduced from his premises : Church organisation "should be simple, the simpler the better. There are no rules about this, only guiding principles."

Hunter's universalist approach was instinctive and rich in content. All, of whatever temperament, upbringing, credal belief, nationality, were to be included. His emphasis on the Feast of All Saints and on the Communion of Saints (36) showed that this "oneness" was hidden in the love which God has for humanity. He yearned for the Catholic Church which was to be. Christian divisions were man made. His position bears, in this respect, a recognisable resemblance to the strictures of the German theologian Adolf Harnack (1851 1930) who in his History of Dogma (English translation 1894/5) maintained that the metaphysics which came into Christian theology were an alien intrusion from Greek sources and hence, from Hunter's point of view, divisive. (37) This is a position which was at one time much favoured in liberal theological circles, but is now discounted. (38)

In practical terms Hunter disliked rules of separation; admission to Holy Communion as a mark of catholicity should be open "to all who are sincerely seeking and striving to do the will of God and have faith in Jesus Christ sufficient to be disciples in his school, followers in his footsteps and sharers in his work." (39) Dogma was secondary (the reference is to formulated or canonical definition); to be free to worship was of first importance. To the dismay, one may be sure, of many of his Nonconformist brethren, Hunter was suspicious of the

concept of a "gathered church". He esteemed rather the Roman Catholic and Anglican practice which saw the outreach of the Church as a "training place for young and old rather than the Puritan theory of a sacred inner community." (40)

Church unity and the prerequisites for this were to Dr. Hunter a far from insurmountable problem—his approach was simplistic. Differences of religious expression as we have seen were not only to be expected but welcomed. Christ is Christianity and the recognition of this is the one thing needful. A common worship was capable of being devised (he probably regarded his own compositions as at least pointers in the right direction) and should represent "so little of what divides Christians that one local church might satisfy the spiritual needs of widely different types and temperaments." (41)

This utopian vision is vitiated by its anti-doctrinal basis and by the implied assumption that religious syncretism is productive of a spirit of unity in worship. Developed modes of worship have the mark of simplicity in conception and of profundity in penetration; they serve as vehicles of a corporate offering to God.

Nothing shows more clearly John Hunter's conception of Church unity than his lament on his retirement : "For the last twenty years one of the objects nearest to my heart has been a free, unsectarian, comprehensive worshipful Church, a Church simply

Christian and nothing more."

Simplistic , yes. Capable of realisation ? No. Dr. Hunter left out too much of the deep, grace bearing and sacramental life of the Church; a corporate life resting upon theological bases shaped and reshaped over the centuries in faith and loyalty to the "God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ". (42) Understandable, yes; for Hunter's was the mystic's vision of God to that extent that the spiritual vista was, as it were, foreshortened and the "joy of the Lord" (43) was known as a present reality. His son Leslie wrote of this in moving words : "Deep, constant, intimate communion with God was his source of power and the great reality of his life....Again and again as one entered his study, one got the impression of a man withdrawn into another world and wrapped in an invisible fellowship...He had the mystic's love of solitude, stillness and contemplation. He went out alone to pray". (44) As did Jesus.

iv.

John Hunter's ministry was "pre-eminently one of incessant pulpit activity". (45) His son recalls his conviction that "the Independent ministry was not priestly, or pastoral but principally one of teaching". (46) To this he was dedicated in part by the preaching gifts which were evident in his youth, in greater part by his sense of conviction that a new approach to preaching was demanded. The pattern of preaching based on conventional orthodoxy in theology (e.g. the prevalence of Biblical fundamentalism) was criticised by a new generation of 'heretics' as a living in the past. The younger ministers in their zeal looked for fellowship (blessed evangelical word) with all men, irrespective of their theology, who had "the life of goodness in them, who manifested a Christ-like life and spirit." (47) Their real question was What is essential Christianity? and like many would be reformers, they were unable to give a valid answer to the question as long as they downgraded the continuing life of the Church throughout the centuries. "Essential Christianity", that is, is more than the interpretation elicited by personal or group convictions. The use of the term "Catholic" with reference to the Church and its faith from the second century AD is a recognition of this.

As to Dr. Hunter's preaching apparatus, this can be conveniently - if not systematically - divided into two parts.

There were his various personal gifts. "He had a light, clear voice. It was a fine voice, what there was of it." (48)

Hunter's early method was to preach extempore but by middle age he had resorted to the use of prepared manuscripts. His style was emotional but carefully controlled; he was a gifted though not a facile preacher. His sermons were the product of unremitting, concentrated work. His wide reading was undertaken directly for his ministry of preaching. To Hunter, his week's work was the preparation of his Sunday sermons; and they were not easily produced. (49)

Secondly, there were the fruits of his training and the maturing of his views. These particularly applied to his elucidation and use of the Bible. That he belittled the inspiration underlying the Bible cannot be maintained. He was particularly conscious of the on-going and ever-present guidance of the Holy Spirit. This consciousness can be described as an "article of faith" to him. Each generation, inspired by the Holy Spirit, had the task of unveiling the treasures of God's revelation in Scripture, thereby pointing the way forward to new and fresh illumination for the benefit of mankind. Though he persevered in a dislike of formal theologies and had a particular animus against the Quicunque vult (the so called Athanasian Creed) (50), though he was irritated by the old phraseology of orthodoxy, he tried to baptise the language of modern thought so that it

might become a vehicle for teaching Biblical truths. His thought of God was Christo-centric and he anticipated twentieth century theologians in insisting that an understanding of the Person of Jesus had to start from the evidence of his earthly life. "The supreme fact of historical religion is God in Jesus Christ.....the Christlikeness of the character of God is not a truth we have yet deeply and wisely grasped...We have found it easier to think of God as Divine than of the Father as human." (51) One can see from this that Leslie Hunter rightly commented when he wrote, "the cynicism of a Shaw and the gloom and fatalism of a Calvinist repelled him; the background of his teaching was heaven not hell." (52) For John Hunter had a soundly based understanding of the Incarnation: "in the feeling, disposition and attitude of Jesus to the weak, the sorrowful, the sinful, we see revealed the feeling, the disposition of God. What Jesus was to the little children of Palestine, God is to all lowly things." (53) Moreover, "God in Him (sc. Jesus Christ) was not only taught but incarnate." (54)

Leslie Hunter pointedly set his father's theology of Jesus Christ in perspective, the perspective that is of an independent divine for whom the doctrinal definitions of antiquity were

valuable though not infallible helps towards the realisation of "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." (55) In John Hunter's teaching, he wrote, "the Incarnation was not an isolated, wholly miraculous event, but rather the supreme and therefore unique illustration of the most precious law of the spiritual life, supernatural because the natural life is shot through by the supernatural." (56) This summary of his belief has affinities with views expressed by a group of theologians in The Myth of God Incarnate, a collection of essays published in 1977 and designed to update the doctrine of the Incarnation in order to commend it to a generation which, the contributors asserted, can no longer accept the thought forms of the New Testament interpretation of Christ and their expression and development in the early Church. (57) The essay by Frances Young, "A Cloud of Witnesses", contains in effect a commentary on Hunter's position. "It is fundamental to New Testament theology", she writes, "that God's activity of redemption was at work in Jesus in fulfilment of his promises" (58), but "to reduce all of God to a human incarnation is virtually inconceivable, a fact of which the Trinitarian doctrine is a traditional response." (59) Though Jesus is "not the only evidence (in the Bible) for the suffering of God (60)...I find salvation in Christ because in him God is disclosed to me as a 'suffering God'...Jesus is the supreme disclosure which opens my eyes to God in the present." (61)

Hunter's emphasis on God's "humanity" led him to declare that "it is only when we perceive and realise that God and man are essentially one nature, that the Divine is not unlike human nature, but only human nature seen in its source and perfection, that we begin to know and feel the significance of the Christian revelation." (62) However, the only ultimate means by which "human nature in its source and perfection" can be evaluated is, if the Gospel of the Word made flesh is true, in the person of Jesus Christ. (63)

v.

In John Hunter DD the social concern of his father is frequently stressed by Leslie Hunter. It is clear that this concern - a Christian sociology it was not - sprang from John Hunter's emphasis on God's fatherly care for the "poor of the land" which features so prominently in Jesus' own ministry and teaching and who, as in St. Luke's Gospel, are promised the blessings of God's Kingdom. (64) Indeed, the situation had been reached within the Old Testament where "poor" and "godly" were treated as almost synonymous. (65) Hunter recognised that this concern was paternalistic but in a non-patronising sense. He acknowledged the debt he owed in his social concern to F.D. Maurice ("the saint" as he called him); to Thomas Carlyle his compatriot, to Charles Kingsley, to John Ruskin. He was typical of his generation in that he confined himself to broad principles

derived from Christian morality. He stressed the "togetherness" of people. Though an evangelical he could say "You are not saved while society is unsaved....The salvation of Christ is essentially a social revolution." (66) Hunter's definition of true religion was that of the Golden Rule : my duty to God; my duty to my neighbour, obedience to which demanded self sacrifice and selflessness. "To him", says Leslie Hunter, "the social Gospel, as he learnt it from Christ, was thrilling because it sprang from and was permeated by a sense of spiritual reality - the Kingdom of Heaven - and the passion for God and the love of Christ as Guide, Redeemer, Friend and Judge of men." (67)

That Hunter's social conscience was acute is clear and he expressed his concern in sermon after sermon. Glasgow's social workers were inspired by him, the socialist Keir Hardie (who opposed the Boer War) was invited to preach at Trinity - this in spite of opposition from an influential deacon. Women's suffrage had his support. The evils of poverty, drunkenness, disease, sweated labour, bad and insanitary housing all were dealt with in his teaching and speaking; but always sub specie aeternitatis . (68) "History" he said "is the story of the making of man in the Divine image." (69)

John Hunter was at one with the generality of the clergy of the Church of England in believing that the Church and the clergy in particular should not be involved in party politics. (70)

"The call of the Church in these days...is a call to deal with single souls as they are placed in the complex organism of society... It is often said that the great movements for social betterment are outside the Church. That is true and that is where they ought to be." To Leslie Hunter, his father "struck an almost perfect balance between a social and a theocentric gospel between the horizontal and the vertical aspects of religion." (71)

It may indeed be the case that the nineteenth century pioneers in Christian social thinking accomplished under God far more than they ever knew. At their best they had a spirit of prophecy, that is to say "the prophet's consciousness of being called to deliver a message directly given by God" and in giving of his message the prophet "drew upon, modified and added to the religious traditions of Israel (sc. the Church), sometimes rejecting them, sometimes affirming them." (72)

vi.

There are various and intriguing references to the Church of England in John Hunter DD. They serve to show Hunter's ambivalent attitude to the Church and to Anglicans, an attitude which, though it changed dramatically over the years, is based on a tug-of-war

alternation between aversion and attraction. His anti-credal and anti-priest soul was shocked by these aspects of Catholic practice, but he warmed to the beauty of vernacular liturgical worship which he encountered in the prominent churches which he visited. What he had to say about the Church is contained in letters written over the years and usually when he was on holiday on the Continent.

Writing from Rome in 1881 he said "I cannot stand the English church; the priestly pretensions of the business irritate me."

(73) By 1896 however, writing from Switzerland, he was comparing Congregationalism to the Church of England, to the detriment of the former. "I don't like Congregationalism...it might do if one had large-minded, large-hearted people to do with...If it were not for you (his wife) and the children I would enter the Church of England even in middle age. Take it all in all it is the Church that satisfies me most." (74) With Leslie Hunter at Oxford his father wrote from Italy in 1909, "the Church of England produces a fine and noble type of character which no other Church does so well...It is my heart's desire to see you in the Church of England. I should feel that you are where I ought to have been." (75) In the same year from Switzerland he wrote in a more judicious vein "the Church of England has always drawn me on the devotional and aesthetic side, but repelled me intellectually. I have never been able to say or even appear to say what I do not really believe ...I want to keep an open mind." (76) Clearly Leslie Hunter had been writing to his father about his Oxford experiences of the

Church of England and of a growing sense of its appeal to him. When a decision had been reached (77) he had come to agree with his father in his belief that "a church to serve the people in all best ways (sc. and not to be at the mercy of the people, of small cliques, of monied men) must be in a true and good sense independent of the people." (78) Contrariwise however, John Hunter's objection that Anglicanism "is not an adequate expression of a truly Catholic Church, because it systematises exclusion and supports caste in religion" (79) must, for his son Leslie, have provoked a wry smile in later years. The Lord Bishop of Sheffield was not unwilling to exercise authority.

John Hunter had blazed a trail which marked him out as ahead of his time and, as was the case with his son, resulted in "violent criticism from conservatives." (80) Leslie Hunter's motivating beliefs and interests were derived initially from his father : that Christianity depended on the witness of the New Testament to Jesus Christ and issued in a vision of and a work for the Kingdom of God; that the Church was expressive and the agent of the Kingdom; that a Christian concern embraced a living tradition of corporate worship, a continuing evangelistic thrust, a care for the total welfare of both society and individuals and included, as God-given human attributes, a recognition of the worth of artist, musician, dramatist, of workers in industry, of leaders of thought, of members of Parliament. (81)

CHAPTER TWO

GLASGOW AND OXFORD

i.

Leslie Stannard Hunter was born on 2 May 1890. For the first eighteen years he lived in the family circle of his father and mother and elder brother Maurice, with all the Scottish emphasis on its unity and purpose. The nature and characteristics of his home life (1) reveal the degree to which as a child, adolescent and young man he inherited the qualities and standards of his parents. In one particular from childhood onwards he was both influenced by his father and indeed, whether consciously or not, by the innate compulsion of the Scot : to know and to visit the countries and islands of the world which beckoned with their suggestion of experiences to be gained and careers to be fashioned. (2) Hunter's eyes were set from an early age - holidays on the Continent were an introduction - (3) on the outside world; in fact on Western Europe. This served to develop and foster an appreciation of natural beauty which had first come to him in Scotland and which grew progressively from visits to Switzerland and France and, from 1933 onwards, to Scandinavia. (4)

Hunter was not one who committed his private thoughts to paper. (5) In this he was at once a Scot and a true son of his father who "had the reticence and reserve of the Scotsman." (6) Any reference by Leslie Hunter to his Scottish upbringing took the form of asides. This being the case and to the extent that it is proper to the present survey, the search for clues is important for Hunter was not obviously a Scot. There was Highland blood in his veins; both his paternal grandparents were Aberdonians; John Hunter spent his first years in Aberdeen. To the Highlander there is a hint of the mystical - fey- sense of the Celt which from time to time surfaces in intuitive and impulsive action, characteristics which are discernible in Leslie Hunter. (7) Along with this there is the Highland acceptance of monarchy - Old Testament inspired - with its mystique of anointed kingship. Hunter's concept of nationhood included the monarchy. (8)

Hunter's regard and affection for his father which stand out with great clarity in his biography, (9) leave no room for doubt that its conception and writing were an act of filial love and admiration. This is exemplified in a short sentence in the middle of the book where, in moving language, Hunter wrote of the aged John : "Frail in body, often faltering in speech, shadow of his former strength, but with spiritual eye undimmed, he drew back for a space the veil that divides eternity from time." (10)

To what extent did Leslie Hunter recognise himself in his father ? Probably to no small - though less worthy - degree. The likeness in a number of personal ways is striking. John Hunter was undemonstrative except when alight with a vision of truth; (11) so was Leslie though his stress was less lively and more on a moral necessity and propriety than on the opening of "a door into heaven." (12) John was extremely shy and had no small talk; Leslie had generally little small talk except when enjoying a private conversation with one who was prepared to make the opening moves. His shyness was real but often gave the impression of unconcern. There was a quietness about Leslie but of a somewhat different nature from his father's (which his son depicts as a retreat into God). Leslie's trait had more of the marks of a quirk of taciturnity - he did not bubble over in public speaking - in that there did not appear to be a quest for solitariness but, paradoxically, the desire for or the aversion to fellowship with others as the mood took him. And yet, for Hunter was nothing if not complex in his make up, no one definition can give a complete picture of the man. If John had some of the marks of the desert fathers, (13) Leslie had an inner urge, one surmises, to be among people (despite himself) and yet independent of them. His was a sublimated loneliness.

Though Leslie Hunter was not of the Kirk, (14) there was in him the influence of the general Presbyterianism of Scottish culture; the rooted firmness which made aggressive

assertion unnecessary and produced cool, and sometimes cold, expositions of policy and procedures. This has been well summed up as "a Presbyterian reserve but with powerful confidence." (15) That the Lowland and Glaswegian ethos of his upbringing were powerful and continuing influences can be detected variously. In spite of his inherited shyness, there is no evidence that during the stages of his career he was or allowed himself to be deflected from his purpose by diffidence or deference. In all that he said or did there was a measured calculation based upon his referral of proposed action "to general principles and to particular circumstances." (16)

Integrated into these Lowland traits and complementary to them was the influence of Hunter's mother. Marion Hunter, brought up in York, had distinct intellectual gifts, wrote Leslie; she was a natural student handicapped by a delicate constitution. She had a strong and independent personality; she enjoyed travel and was a good linguist. She would perhaps have been wiser, her son wrote, if she had encouraged her husband to mingle more with men and women. (17) "She had a decided capacity and liking for business and management." With these inherited gifts in combination it is not to be wondered that Leslie Hunter developed early the fastidiousness for which he was well known (18) and which resulted, paradoxically, in his own kind of earthed idealism; and with it his capacity for directing the task of policy making and the practical demands resulting from it. (19) Hunter's determination had about it a mark of

ruthlessness which was to make him as archdeacon and bishop, highly unpopular with some with whom he had to do. (20)

The young Leslie Hunter had been sent to a preparatory school in London at the age of eleven. This was in 1901 and was due to his father's appointment as minister of the King's Weigh House Church. (21) In 1904 on his father's return to Glasgow he became a pupil at Kelvinside Academy. That school was founded in 1878. It had (and has) a Christian ethos in a general Presbyterian sense and a wide variety of denominations are represented in the school. The Officers Training Corps is a marked feature of school life. It was founded in 1892 and membership of the Corps continues to be compulsory for all boys from the third year to the end of their school career. (22) The Rector during Hunter's time was W.C. Laming, who is described as a brilliant scholar. He held the Rectorship from 1901 to 1913. He was a "veritable glutton for work; he expected his staff and his boys to have a like appetite...but the slacker, be he master or boy, got no mercy." (23) It is said of him that "he brought the best out of the senior boys". One of whom was Leslie Stannard Hunter (1904-1909) who, like so many from Kelvinside, went up to university.

Hunter's name does not occur in the lists of

prize winners in the commemorative book published on the jubilee of the school in 1928. He was not a prefect and it would appear that he did not figure prominently in the O.T.C. as his name is missing from the long lists of medal winners. (24) By the close of the Great War the school was facing extinction — the problems were financial— but in 1924 its future was secured by the Kelvinside Academy War Memorial Trust, its new owners.

The inspiration for the formation of the Trust came from the lives and deaths of the school's alumni who fought in the Great War. Hunter's thoughts about the school were either not written or have perished. Was there from an early age in Leslie Hunter an antipathy to the O.T.C.? Was this, if it existed, one reason for his not seeking military service himself ?

Beyond an imprecise reference in the first book Hunter was to write and in which he described himself as "one who was strongly drawn to take up Art as a profession", (25) his memoirs are silent on the subject of the high degree of proficiency which he attained as a pianist. (26) Hunter, boy and youth, was a pupil "for many years" (27) of August Hyllested, who was a pianist and composer of considerable repute. Hyllested, though born in Sweden, was a Dane. He lived in Glasgow from 1903 to 1914 where he was "prominently identified with musical activities" in the city. (28) Hunter

was to refer to Hyllested in 1965 as he recalled the visit he had paid to Denmark in 1947 and the contacts he had enjoyed with Danish churchmen over thirty four years. He revealed that Hyllested had married a Scottish wife, which accounts for the fact that he retired in 1923 to Blairmore, Argyllshire. "He was tall and stately" wrote Hunter "and I admired him greatly both as a man and a musician." (29)

Hunter's musical training and competence became an important part of his equipment as priest and bishop. They were married to his liturgical interests and compilations and, in due course, made him a perceptive critic of the music, vocal and instrumental, in church. (30) To his father, perhaps, he owed his taste in hymns. He required clear and indeed declaratory versification coupled with a choice of tunes which had firmness of structure and melody; that they were a vehicle of ready congregational singing was the final test.

Hunter's religious development was greatly under the influence of his father. (31) This being so, his interests were widely based as they remained for the rest of his life. John Hunter had a special, and affectionate regard, for John Caird (1820-1898) and his brother Edward Caird (1835-1908). Both were ministers of the Kirk and were at the height of their influence

in Glasgow University during the closing years of the nineteenth century. (32) This coincided with John Hunter's ministry in Glasgow (1887-1901). Leslie Hunter said of them that "they were moulding the youth of that generation in the liberal 'Hegelian' forms of thought. While Edward Caird gave himself to philosophy, John Caird...one of the most eloquent of Scottish preachers, was recasting Calvinistic theology in terms of the same idealistic philosophy." (33) In spite of this, there is no direct evidence that Leslie Hunter, unlike his father, was influenced by them. His theology was not Calvinistic (his Anglican writings are evidence of this) and it is worthy of note that on going up to Oxford he entered New College, not Balliol where Edward Caird had lately been Master.

An influence however, though indirect, can be detected. One sign of this is contained in Hunter's written memories of his Oxford days with its reference to the dominance in the University of philosophic Idealism. (34) This is revealed in various ways as his career and ministry developed. There is, for instance, in his essay on Mysticism (35) the collision between thesis and antithesis between the acceptance of mysticism and its rejection in its medieval forms where a resultant synthesis rescues the validity of the mystical experience only by developing as its sole criterion a Biblical based moral response.

Again and in a different episcopal context there is Hunter's often repeated dictum that the clergy separate into two categories : those who work and those who do not. No synthesis however results from this black and white statement where it ought to have been pointed out that the word "work" needed to be considered with greater discrimination for it certainly included those priests, and indeed, lay men and women - religious and secular - whose dedication to prayer was a fulfilling of "opus Dei".

Hunter's emphasis on the moral teaching of Jesus was balanced by his understanding (a Hegelian touch) of the significance of Christ's representative role as "Lord of history" and that in its concreteness. In his speaking and writing on matters of social concern to the Church there is constantly and almost certainly unconsciously the Hegelian insight that "history is not merely ascertained as so much fact, but understood by apprehending the reasons why the facts happened as they did." (36) Furthermore, by whatever means he came by it, Hunter's progressive method of work - of which his pragmatism was a part - was in fact an expression of Hegel's logic of becoming. (37) It was responsible very probably for those tactics of his episcopate which were least admired. (38)

Hunter's lack of theological attrait for the Cairds can be demonstrated by contrasting Edward Caird's dictum that "Jesus was only a symbol of the unity of God and man", which could only be anathema to Hunter, with a fellow Scot's criticism "In the last resort he (sc.Caird) had no real place for a doctrine of Christ." With this statement Hunter could not fail to be in full agreement. (39) For him Jesus was "God's uttered Word to mankind." (40)

To both John and Leslie Hunter the demands of the Christian ministry were all consuming; John's inspiration descended to Leslie and, different though its expression was and had to be, there is a line of continuity in the spiritual vision which enabled both men to form and equip the Church for its task of proclaiming and embodying Christ in a manner which challenged both believer and agnostic, converting the latter and stretching the former. (41)

Leslie Hunter's method of approach was not dependent on the spoken word alone or principally as with his father. It had something of the clarity and homogeneity of a panoramic photograph of a Scottish scene, unconsciously for Hunter providing range and depth and also detail. (42) In execution it took the form of a kind of architect's drawing carefully researched, competently executed and inspired by and developed to meet the

requirements of the "building" of the Kingdom of God. The effect of the plan was, to one inspecting it, rather impersonal, giving off an aura of austere conceptual thought. Close examination however detected Lowry-like figures dotted about the plan with the occasional bright spot which attracted the eye. As in Hunter's own life there were live options of music and an appreciation of the beauties of nature and, carefully shielded from public gaze for most of the time, a sensitivity to, an admiration of goodness and holiness in others, so too in the planned scheme these special insertions had significance.

For the plan to take material shape in building there had to be a sizeable body of workers, skilled and less adept. Every facet of the work had to be covered by appropriate expertise and this included as essential to its completeness the labourers fulfilling the hum-drum jobs. (43)

This plan for the Kingdom of God Hunter was to put into words early in the course of the Second World War when to the diocese of Sheffield he wrote "In this changing world Churchmen must be asking themselves how they can create in and through their members a faith, a vision, a sense of community and a personal dedication of the will which will make possible without dreadful upheaval a new order to replace the old which is dying so painfully." (44) Such language came naturally to a Scot imbued with a sense of mission.

ii.

Hunter went up to New College, Oxford, in 1909.

No evidence exists to account for this choice though it is likely that New College's post-reform (1870 style) eminence coupled with the relatively recent admission of commoners, were factors. That Hunter was a commoner is to be presumed; there is no mention in his literary remains of his being awarded a scholarship. He referred to the fact that he did not belong to "the public school élite" for whom, he appears to suggest, there were no financial problems. Hunter and his particular friends, a Roman, some members of English and Scottish Churches, some agnostic, had "to live frugally but they sharpened their swords for mental strife; they were taking life seriously and were enjoying it." (45)

In those halcyon days for educated youth, Hunter wrote in the 1960's there was "the general acceptance of progress" but "it had far more moral stuff in it than the easy going optimism...thirty years later." (46) That generation's basis was the doctrine of evolution, the spectacular material progress of the previous century, the first fruits of general education, the first victories of social justice and the new arrival of democracy, and faith in God who was doing these things in and through men." (47)

Hunter's plan had been to read history for a first degree and then to pass on to theology. Clearly he had ordination in mind. He tells us that the breaking up of his father's health did not allow this; financial provision was doubtless less certain. (48) In the event, Hunter was the only man in the college reading theology. The Warden of New College, W.A. Spooner, acted as his tutor. He was, according to Hunter, "well read in theology but hardly up-to-date in his Biblical scholarship." (49)

New College, by statute and tradition a natural preserve of the Church of England, (50) had come through what was virtually a second foundation in 1870. (51) Gone were the old restrictions which had tied entrance very largely to boys from Winchester College. (52) Gone too were the reasons for such pejorative adjectives as "obscure and unenergetic" to describe it. (53) Commoners were now admitted (previously there had been none) and by degrees, and culminating especially in the years preceding the Great War, the most noticeable change was in the intellectual temper of the college, if, writes Alan Ryan, "we can properly enlarge the term to embrace the expression of practical intelligence in law, government and in industry." (54) Leslie Hunter, with his liberal inheritance and ingrained pragmatism, could not but benefit. (55)

In different ways Hunter was attracted to and much and lastingly influenced, perhaps more than he knew, by two New College figures of his day. These were Warden Spooner and Hastings Rashdall. The former, initially perhaps by comical aspects of his make up, the latter with his awkward manner, had an appeal which went beyond the practical benefits of which Hunter was conscious.

Before his election as Warden in 1903, W.A. Spooner had worked "incessantly" as tutor, lecturer, dean and examiner. His appearance, we are told, (56), was that of an "ineffectual sheep" and he was nicknamed "the child"; but since the turn of the century he had become "one of the best known and best loved of the Oxford figures" (57) to whom belonged a great deal of the credit for the smoothness and painlessness of the process of growth at New College. His kindness in conjunction with his idiosyncrasies (58) were endearing facets of the man who gave "silent delight" when, in giving the Blessing in the chapel, he managed to get the Persons of the Trinity entangled. (59) There was in Spooner, Hunter realised, something of his own father's gentleness, and the Warden's memory was a suggestive reproach to one who in later life was little or seldom given to bearing fools, and much less those who opposed him, gladly.

A more direct impact was made by Hastings Rashdall;

his influence on Hunter was of a kind which marked him for the rest of his life. According to Alan Ryan (60) Rashdall was a less strikingly talented undergraduate than others of his time; H.A.L. Fisher is cited as one. Later and as a tutor he was "benign as well as effective." (61) His influence on Hunter was in part certainly if not chiefly due to his liberal theological position. He brought a critical mind to the classical definitions of Christian orthodoxy which, particularly for evangelicals, were bound up with the sacrificial theory of Jesus' atonement for sin, and, based upon selected texts from the New Testament, had produced a welter of subjective hymns in which emotion obscured systematic doctrine and to be washed in the blood of Jesus was the aim and definition of Christian orthodoxy. (62)

Rashdall's main asseveration provided material for some of Hunter's dicta as a bishop. Hastings Rashdall believed in national churches and once described himself as "almost an Erastian". He believed in the principle of establishment. (63) Though he disagreed with Charles Gore in many ways he was at one with him in their common suspicion of the mystical view of religion. To Rashdall Christianity was prophetic ; it is based on the uniqueness and supremacy of the Christ of the Gospels. (64) That the Church of England was established made it imperative for truth's sake and for the benefit of the people of England

that the prophetic note should be clearly heard, and that it should issue in a search for and an acceptance of God's will after the pattern of Jesus Christ. (65)

Rashdall's theological position sprang from his belief that "personalism" was the means of God's self revelation and the key to unlock the Church's teaching about Jesus Christ. Personal character and life were the bases and fruit of Christianity. This belief is the criterion of his Bampton lectures of 1918 (66) in which Rashdall developed his theory of the atonement effected by Christ. (67). This was exemplarist. The benefits of Christ were subjective and involved a personal following and a moral content, by which alone Christianity is valid. Hunter's copy of the Bampton - much annotated - shows his acceptance of exemplarism as part of the meaning of the nature and grace of Christ. Jesus is "the Incarnate Son" of God but it is in Christian discipleship marked by personal discipline that the moral emphasis is always to be inculcated and practised. (68)

In what ways did Rashdall influence and, in effect, help to mould Hunter's development? His liberal expositions of Christian beliefs served to widen Hunter's reading and, in conjunction with the firm orthodoxy of Bishop Gore, brought him to seek ordination in the Church of England. The value of national churches, not as the esse but as the bene esse of Church organisation became Hunter's own belief. If Rashdall's ordering of worship was "a happy kind of dignity and simplicity" (69) then he had a ready pupil in Hunter; and, perhaps recalling Rashdall's practice

as Dean of Carlisle, Hunter as Bishop of Sheffield had his own ideas as to what the cathedral church of the diocese should be and do, to the extent of occasioning ill-will between himself and the Provost. (70). In personal dealings, Rashdall gave hard knocks and did not always realise the pain he gave. (71). So did Hunter. To a degree Hunter had in Rashdall a kindred spirit. This comes to the surface in the distaste which each had for the developed mysticism of the later middle ages. Despite this, Rashdall had two qualities of the mystic - a professed belief in the presence of God and a humility of spirit which enabled him to lose himself in worship and prayer and in contemplation of the life of Christ. (72) With John Hunter inevitably and formatively in mind, Leslie Hunter had now at Oxford an exemplar from a sympathetically different school to inspire him in the person of Hastings Rashdall.

It was Rashdall, Hunter has written, who helped me "on my way forward to ordination." He was significantly taken to see Bishop John Percival of Hereford who was a Liberal and on good terms with Dissenters. (73)

In New College Chapel Hunter came into regular contact with the liturgy of the Church of England. To the liberal minded Congregationalist the experience was not only an inspiration but a fulfilment of his father's excursions into the composition

of liturgical services. "I learnt to love the Book of Common Prayer". (74) At the same time he was initiated into the riches of church music to a degree beyond the normal musical provisions of Free Church worship. But in conversation with Dr. G.V. Bennett, Librarian of New College and Canon of Chichester Cathedral, he said on a visit after his retirement in 1962 that the college religion of his day was, in a sweeping undergraduate-like phrase, utterly dead, and without meaning for most of the undergraduates of the time. (75) "I learned to love" - "utterly dead"! Hunter was perhaps trying in old age to rationalise his love-hate attitude to chapel in the days when he was regarded as something of a rebel, with his unwavering subsequent concern for the provision of material for worship. (76)

More mundanely, Hunter did not go down from Oxford in 1912 in a blaze of glory. He had hoped for better things but was awarded second class honours. His captaincy of the Oxford Tennis Six ended in an easy win by Cambridge. His thesis, offered in the summer of 1913 on "The evidential value of the mystical experience" was not accepted for a university award. His father had read the essay but was not greatly impressed. "It is not of much use except as a discipline" was his opinion. His criticism of his son's sentence construction was apposite: "you must take more pains with your sentences, especially the little connecting words." (77) Time and again, for this was a feature which marked

Hunter's writings through the years, he indulged in generalities. To decipher and give factual bases to these makes more fascinating the task of unravelling his complexities of character.

Hunter's essay on mysticism was clearly inspired by his father. John Hunter with his urge to contemplation, was the guide he revered and from whom he came to a consciousness of God's presence as an experienced reality. "His passion for God", Hunter wrote, "was an unquenchable passion...his prayers vibrated with the passion for God and were filled with an intimate sense of his presence." (78) Hunter's argument was none the less not to his father's taste. It has, however, a continuing importance because it represents a position from which Hunter never retreated. There is, he asserted, a true and a false spirituality. Christian prayer, to be valid, is always purposive, giving glory to God and issuing in moral action for the benefit of others. "The unique glory of New Testament Christianity is that it resolves the conflict between religion and ethics." (79) Hunter went on to quote with approval Baron von Hügel's analysis of the spiritual tradition of the Western Church which was described as embracing the institutional, the intellectual, the mystical and the moral aspects of religion. "A fully developed, properly balanced, personal religious life must be the result of a harmonious blending of these four elements, not one of which may be neglected except at the cost of a one sided,

disturbed, enfeebled type of religion". (80)

A false spirituality, said Hunter, concentrated on abnormal states, on psycho-physical phenomena, on experiences of an emotive nature and resulted in the formulation of "processes of prayer". (81) The later medieval mystics, and particularly St. Teresa of Avila, are its exemplars and advocates; they are dangerous, even false, guides. "Even though there were evidences of a 'supernatural morality' which resulted from union with Christ - that is, the ethics of the New Testament (82) but with a renunciatory and ascetic bias unsuited to most Christians - this was always thought a consequence of religious faith rather than its expression". (83) In fact, of course, the one proceeds from the other and their interaction increases both the quality of personal faith in God and the depth and extent of its exemplification in moral attitudes and actions. A wiser Hunter was to underline this fact many years later when he wrote "If our theology is soundly Christian there is no conflict between prayer and adoration and the outreach of Christian action in the service of men; since God is love, these are not alternatives but complementary". (84)

CHAPTER THREE

VOCATION AND INSPIRATION

i.

On going down from Oxford, Hunter was appointed in 1913 to the staff of the Student Christian Movement through the good offices of his theological tutor at New College, Leslie Johnson. (1) Johnson's father was Principal of Cuddesdon Theological College and to Cuddesdon Johnson took Hunter for a fortnight's visit. At the end of this brief stay he was presented to the Bishop of Oxford (Charles Gore) for Confirmation. (2) This was a step towards ordination, (3) which, wrote Hunter in his memoirs, "I could not have taken, even then, without the approval and blessing of my own father". (4)

Two events marked the pattern of Hunter's thoughts and actions for the duration of his long life. The one was his reception into the Church of England; the other was the outbreak and results of the Great War; the one personal by intent; the other fortuitous. Hunter's ministry in the Church of England began as a long era of national history was painfully ending and another, inescapably and uncertainly, was beginning. The legacy of Victorian

prosperity and the concomitant, and comforting, or so it seemed in retrospect, belief in progress were to cease abruptly. In 1914 there was excitement and an explosion of patriotism as the nation's youth volunteered for service in Army or Royal Navy; there was "an extraordinary quickening of the whole life". (5) This was followed by the shattering impact made by the huge and little contemplated scale of casualties - in killed and maimed - which followed. In spite of the courage and endurance "never have armies", H.A.L. Fisher has written "suffered such terrific losses without yielding ground". (6) A new temper arose : the war must be won; and when won, Germany must be made to pay the price. And so it came about that in 1918 there was "a rare mood of vindictive passion"; the nation "was set on the punishment of the enemy". (7)

There was, in retrospect, an inevitability about Hunter's entry into the Church of England. A burgeoning interest fostered by his father and proceeding from visits to the Continent where the family worshipped in the Anglican chaplaincies, took a compulsive turn at Oxford. Warden and tutors at New College were Anglican priests. Charles Gore with his strong Churchmanship was Bishop of Oxford (1911 - 1919) (8) and an acquaintanceship with the Book of Common Prayer brought illumination and a lasting love to Hunter. His enquiring mind was opened to vistas wider

than he had conceived before. That entry into the Church of England had a sacramental content through Confirmation at one and the same time brought Hunter personally to a recognition of the vertical/horizontal - Godward and manward - balance in Christian initiation, one which he was to emphasise frequently in later years.

Hunter's decision for the Church of England was not, however easily reached; it was a choice deliberately made with a view to life-long commitment. A career in the arts (9) had been dismissed on the two-fold grounds that he was not entirely adequate to the former and was progressively certain that he was called to the Church's ministry. But why the Church of England rather than Congregationalism? Why the established Church of England rather than that of Scotland? The presbyterian Churches of whatever denomination did not appeal: their general puritan exclusion of the arts was sufficient reason but in addition there were, as his father had testified, internal fissures due to power blocs, individual or corporate, which limited the effectiveness of a liberally conceived ministry. Moreover, there was in the English establishment, even allowing for its deficiencies compared with the Scottish, an influence and an outreach in extent greater than that of the Kirk. (10)

Hunter's Oxford memoirs contain no references to his attendance and involvement in a Congregational church other than that he went occasionally to Mansfield College chapel to hear W.B. Selbie, the Principal, preach. (11) Although Hunter did from time to time quote P.T. Forsyth, (12) "the theologian for the practical man" as he came to be called (13) who was abreast with the work of Continental theologians, particularly Kierkegaard, and who "made much the same points as did Barth", (14) yet his influence was, on Hunter, in the realm of theology not of ecclesiology or Church allegiance.

"I joined the Anglican Communion" wrote Hunter in 1944 "because of its tradition of worship, because it has the lineaments of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, and because the re-united Church for which we pray cannot be less comprehensive than the Church of England is". (15) It is clear from this, his only voiced, declaration that Hunter had made his decision when he had satisfied himself that he would find within the Church of England the enlargement of Christian content and experience for which he was seeking; and that in so doing he was committing himself to incorporation into a Church which had "the marks of the Church" as these had come to be defined by the early "Fathers of the Church" whose authority in doctrinal matters carried special weight. (16)

Hunter in consequence had necessarily come to grips with the claim of the Church of England to be the Catholic Church of the land : Catholic and Reformed in its formularies. His knowledge of Bishop Gore and his long association with Archbishop William Temple are sufficient guarantee of this. (17) But there was no unchurching of Nonconformists. In the matter of inter-Church recognition Hunter as bishop took up a pragmatic view congenial to Anglicans much as did Bishop John Cosin of Durham in the seventeenth century. Whilst in exile in Paris in 1642 Cosin would on occasion receive Holy Communion in the Reformed (Calvinist) Church, excusing the lack of episcopacy as being due to the invincible obstacles of the times. (18) Bonds of interest are to be distinguished between Cosin and Hunter. Both were attached to the Church of England by their sense of history : Hunter's was marked by his acceptance of the Anglican ethos, Cosin's by his writings: (19) and in both cases it resulted in a recognition of the need to comprehend within Christendom those whose historical perspectives were differently based. And they were doughty advocates of their allegiance to the Church of England, coupled with which was a strong liturgical interest common to both and which issued in noteworthy compositions. (20)

And what of the Church of England in 1914 ? There was an acquiescence in popular feeling which here and there gave the

impression that the safety of Britain and her Empire was more important than the proclamation of the Kingdom of God. (21) In fact the Church was ill-prepared and its leaders bewildered by the turn of events. (22) The bravery of the fighting men was matched by that of the chaplains; and it was significantly from the latter that the bishops learned of the widespread ignorance among the men in the front line of the elements of the Christian faith. Geoffrey Studdert-Kennedy, the best known padre, punctured the complacency -of those Church leaders who were prepared to hear - by his vivid descriptions of the men to whom he ministered in their fighting and dying. (23) It led him to unconventional descriptions of the effect of his ministry upon himself. He discerned a God-like strain, despite their cursing and blasphemy, in "the muddy, bloody heroes of the trenches. I know nothing in my real religion of the Almighty God of power...I only see God in Christ and these men have shown me". (24)

The Great War marked the end of nineteenth-century liberal theology; it seemed to have little to say to the agonising questions that the breakdown of civilisation drove home. To some the experiences of war brought a deeper seriousness to Christian faith; far more, however, were bitter and hostile. (25) It is significant that Hunter's literary remains contain no references to the war and its consequences as affecting himself; there are occasional remarks of a general nature - the loss of manpower in the country, the unwisdom of the Versailles Treaty, and the

valuable insight that the Church "has failed to help men to find God in their secular obedience". (26) If a reason is sought for this reticence it is probably to be found in Hunter's remoteness from the conflict. (27)

Hunter's decision to accept an appointment to the staff of S.C.M. "about which I knew nothing at first hand" (28) was prompted by a long talk with Tissington Tatlow. Tatlow was the General Secretary of the Student Christian Movement. (29) Hunter's initiation continued by attendance, as a staff member, at the summer conference (1913) at Swanwick, Derbyshire. "It was as thrilling", Hunter wrote in later years, "in its way as being a freshman at Oxford". (30) The annual conferences were made up - in addition to staff members - "of large gatherings of students, predominantly from Oxford, Cambridge and Scotland with many senior friends and well-chosen speakers, the whole well-planned and carried through, lively and serious". (31)

Initially Hunter was for a year the S.C.M. travelling secretary for theological colleges where his task was to interest the colleges in S.C.M. and to introduce the ordinands, of different colleges and denominations, to one another through study groups and weekend "retreats" so-called. This was interestingly a revolutionary, vital, unenviable task - how could denominational colleges accept such a secretary ? yet they took place and began

to be of crucial importance in understanding the development of ecumenism.

"I cannot believe" he recalled "that I made much of a job though I learnt a good deal". (32) Hunter confessed that his visits to theological colleges were "a severe test of vocation"; (33) and indeed, in preparing for his ordination to the diaconate in 1915, he was not required to reside at a theological college. "I was very grateful for this and still am". (34) There is to be detected in this remark a note of aloof superiority (possibly Oxford inspired) which can, through the years, be seen from time to time in Hunter's remarks about places and institutions which did not appeal to him and about people who irritated him. (35) In fact he would have benefited from a term's residence at a theological college, wisely chosen, particularly from the corporate worship in the chapel and in the common life of the students. The most important lessons in humility are learned by the clergy in those situations where obedience is obligatory. (36) Hunter, as bishop, was caustically critical of one theological college for the poor quality of ordination candidates which proceeded from it.(37)

Hunter was happier in his succeeding assignment. From 1914 to 1919 he was Bible Study Secretary, a "more congenial sphere" and from 1919 to 1921 Literary Secretary (latterly part-time). Benefits came to him from these appointments. From the former he

gained experience in Biblical exposition and its communication;
 (38) from the latter came his book The Artist and Religion. (39)
 In the preface Hunter asserted "there are more religious-minded men and women outside the Church than many good Christians care to admit"; a perception which he never had cause to repudiate. The book brings out the degree to which true art is akin to religion, in particular by the fact that the quality of the work of art depends on the character of the artist. (40) This moral emphasis is always to be found in Hunter. And to the artist there is always the cry "for a full and joyous worship", (41) a pointer to Hunter's own experience which had a depth unsuspected by many; it was difficult for him to give expression to it without circumlocution. His references to Alpine scenes are evidence of this. (42)

There is a freshness in this "small book on one aspect of a big subject" (43) which is less evident in his later writings. His theme, as he developed it in the main section of the book, separated out for the artist's consideration the inescapable interwovenness of the sphere of the spiritual in nature. "Nature is more than the sum total of things we see and touch". (44) It includes "the soul of man". (45) Should the artist, grudgingly as it were, admit the reality of the scientific spirit in art, then let him not be blinded to the fact that "science cannot be the ultimate authority for a philosophy of religion...Economics can never be a substitute for social morality". (46) It is Christianity that has called into being the two new arts, of painting and music, together with the architecture of the pointed

arch..."expressing in small the sum total of things and gathering in a long-drawn sigh, in arch, in vault, in spirit, the sigh of the aspiring soul". (47) And so Hunter recited his credo : "Truth is more than the sum of all true thoughts. Beauty is more than the sum of all beautiful things. Goodness is more than the sum of all the virtues. The Ideal is more than the sum of all ideas. God is above all, in all and through all, the end to which all creation moves, inherent in all things from the beginning". (48) "All the qualities we attribute to God are founded on Truth, Goodness, Beauty." (49)

This is Hunter, still youthful in years, at one and the same time analytical and yet spiritual; perceptive yet most directive. "Chiefly the artist needs God". (50)

The value of Hunter's work for S.C.M. is assessed by Tissington Tatlow in a piecemeal way in his The Story of the Student Christian Movement. As Bible Study Secretary, Hunter had become "a force in the leadership of the Movement". The desire for more thorough study was awakened - for students - by the Bible Study School which preceded the summer conferences of 1915. It was "guided by Leslie Hunter" who "fathered it with success". (51)

The unattractive appearance of S.C.M. publications was criticised by fine arts students at this time (the years of the Great War) and their criticism was taken up by Hunter "whose taste was fastidious". He "urged incessantly" that attention be paid to this defect. (52) Coterminous with publications, attention was drawn (53) to the poor quality of the singing at conference. It was at Hunter's suggestion that the brothers Geoffrey and Martin Shaw were invited to take the music in hand. This they did and so it came about that music was given a new and satisfying place in the life of the Movement. (54)

Did Hunter have a long term influence on S.C.M. ? Yes, says Tatlow. His stress on "the importance of an adequate study staff is being constantly emphasised as true by the Movement's experience". (55) It (sc.the Movement) "was always at its best when it had competent leaders for its thought life and its study work". (56) This mark of Hunter's perspicacity was to lead him as a diocesan bishop constantly to seek out leading men in their field for clergy conventions and seminars.

Hunter too derived benefit from the calibre of other members of staff (57) and together they are examples of the way in which S.C.M. had a creative share in the maturing of men, some of whom were to be leaders of the Churches in the first half of the twentieth century. To Hunter the fellowship of the staff members became "a strong influence in the growth of the ecumenical movement". (58)

During his years at S.C.M. Hunter's career began to take definite shape : in 1915 he was made a deacon at Southwark and ordained priest the following year. From 1915 to 1918 he was part-time curate of St. Peter, Brockley (dio. SouthwarK). This was his title, the obtaining of which was a necessary preliminary to ordination. (59)

On 31 July 1919 Hunter's marriage with Miss Grace McAulay was solemnised at St. Lawrence, Aylesby, Lincolnshire. The two had met through S.C.M. whilst Grace was an undergraduate at Girton College, Cambridge; (60) She was after graduation to join the staff of the Movement. Letters written by Hunter to Grace reveal the depth of affection for his wife; it was a love on his part born of attraction for her in person and in personality, coupled -and this had to be the case with Hunter - with her gifts and their mutual interest in Christian activity for the benefit of others. (61) "Grace was essential to Leslie"; (62) she was a very honest person with a sense of humour and through their marriage she "always gave Leslie total loyalty", (63), but not uncritically. Through the years, Grace Hunter was to provide a necessary brake when Hunter was in an imperious mood; from this there arose fierce arguments and at times outspoken reproofs : Hunter, not always in private, was given at times to tantrums and his mumbled speaking was an embarrassment. (64) Grace stood

alone, apart from his father, as the one to whom Hunter could reveal his innermost thoughts. After their engagement Hunter wrote from Cologne to reveal that S.C.M. did not fulfil him adequately. "I always feel more critical of the S.C.M. away from it than with it. I think it goes to show that the S.C.M. is not my spiritual home as it is to most of the staff". He went on : "My spiritual home is the room where you were writing from". (65)

ii.

In 1921 Hunter accepted from H.R.L. Sheppard the offer of a vacant chaplaincy at Charing Cross Hospital, which appointment made him a member of the staff of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields adjacent to Trafalgar Square, London. The invitation came unexpectedly from "a man I had never met". (66)

From his Oxford days and afterwards there was a succession of mentors outside the university who guided, in various ways, Hunter's thinking and inspired him greatly as he sought to fulfil his vocation as a Christian and as a priest. In every case they spoke to his needs and to his temperament, helping him to define and to refine his approach to the tasks that were, and were to be, laid upon him.

H.R.L. Sheppard (67) had an immediate appeal. "Like hundreds more I was captivated by his sheer charm and goodness. Sheppard was by nature and grace a comedian...It was the comedy of a man who loved much and felt deeply the tragedy of life. He

broke his heart over the broken-hearted and perplexed who came to him". (68) In all this he was a communicator par excellence of the Christian Gospel - he so obviously lived the Gospel. (69) The quality of the worship at St. Martin's which he inspired and which constantly drew large congregations of many nationalities was not based on showmanship but on careful planning and preparation, (70) coupled with Sheppard's gift of making the Church's liturgy relevant to worshippers. His personal contributions were diffused in an almost incidental manner : "in church he was natural, reverent, quick in his movements yet unhurried" wrote Hunter; though not an orator "his sincerity and passion often moved crowds deeply". (71) Perhaps his greatest contribution was the gift which time and again derives from the ministry of a holy pastor of souls; (72) Hunter recognised it as "the homely spiritual atmosphere of a church where all and sundry can at their ease think quietly on God". (73)

To Hunter, Sheppard was "typical of all that was best in the Christian spirit of the post-war years. He had an incisive, quick mind which could floor the best, with a lively imagination; an actor and a man of action; a most radiant Christian who cast a spell over all sorts and conditions of men. He commended the faith by his own love and courage and gaiety". (74) No curate could speak more highly of his vicar.

The gain to Hunter was great. Here was a priest "for all seasons" - frail and seriously asthmatic; urgent in his enthusiasms : for ecclesiastical reform (75) and later for pacifism; (76) for his mission to the world and its people whether near or afar. (77) Though Hunter did not warm to Sheppard's pacifism, he realised that it sprang from his compassion for suffering people. The rebel in Sheppard delighted Hunter. (78) Indeed it was at St. Martin's that he became enthused by the planned objectives of the Life and Liberty Movement. (79) A further bonus and one that Hunter valued highly was the invitation which came to him through Sheppard that he should become the secretary to the "Grey Book" group which was actively to engage in the provision of material for the revision of the Book of Common Prayer. (80)

Of his chaplaincy work at Charing Cross Hospital Hunter remained generally silent. In 1931 he recalled an experience which centred upon a celebration of the Holy Communion in a ward. A patient, a non-communicant, had assured Hunter after the service that when he returned home he was determined "to seek God that way". (81) Though he was particularly observant of his surroundings, it had to be conjectured that ministering to the sick was always difficult for him. It was one thing to say when he had been a patient in a Sheffield hospital over Easter "I learnt more about charity from the ordinary folk in the beds than I ever taught"; (82) it was another matter entirely to minister to the sick, whether the long-term bedridden or to those whose sickness was serious but not chronic. It was not his *métier*. He looked

uncomfortable, even out of his depth: and , apart from the liturgy he had to perform, he was tongue-tied. (83) On no occasion do his memoirs dwell on this most important aspect of a priest's ministry. It is probably not too much to say, as was the case with his public speaking, he did not, for whatever reason, seek to remedy the defect, despite the fact that he had in Sheppard a model of the caring pastor.

iii.

Hunter's encounter with Bishop Charles Gore in his chapel (84) was the continuation of a process by which, first as an undergraduate, (85) later as a young priest he had been attracted by an outstanding personality in the Church of England; (86) and by one also whose writings were full of a concern for social problems the solution of which, Gore taught with prophetic force, was to be found in the application of a theology based upon the Church's belief in Christ as the incarnate Son of God. (87) Gore's large output of theological writing began with his editorship of the *Lux Mundi* essays. (88) It continued over the years and particularly during the last period of his life, when he wrote a triad of books which finally were published in one volume, The Reconstruction of Belief, which was widely read. (89) Gore was bishop successively of Worcester, Birmingham (90) and Oxford; at all times he was

contending for the preserving and maintaining of a Catholic interpretation of the Sacraments and was foremost as a bishop in setting forward the necessity for discipline within the Church. To Hunter he was a bishop to revere - at a distance - and a source of stimulation, if not always of agreement, to forward-looking clergymen . (91)

Hunter was to remark on Gore's "books and spoken words" which "were reinforced by the frugality and asceticism of his life and profound piety; his exposition of the teaching of Jesus brought illumination and challenge". (92) This appreciation of Gore's worth could not have failed to draw Hunter to one whose exposition of the person of Jesus was orthodox yet realistic. For Gore, Jesus' "true Godhead...was not shown in any miraculous exemptions of himself from the conditions of natural knowledge in its own proper province". (93) Moreover Gore liked to describe himself as a rationalist and a free thinker - in the sense that nothing is outside the range of enquiry - and as a consequence was determined to meet the objections to Christianity which sprang from the continuance in the Church of traditional teaching about Jesus which, he believed, was a misrepresentation of the witness of the New Testament. The Christ, he could say, to whom he had surrendered "was not a Christ who had chosen to reveal his Godhead by displaying omniscience". (94) For Gore, Christ's claim was spiritual and moral. These were reassuring words for Hunter. "Christ is supern atural, yet natural" Gore had written. He is "supernatural

from the point of view of mere man, because the divine Being who has always been at work...here assumes humanity...as the instrument through which to exhibit his own personality and character". (95)

Theologically Hunter was not a creative thinker - he needed and valued academic theologians to do that work for him - but he was firm in his belief and by wide reading and much thought distilled his own insights into the religion of Christ and to its practical application. Gore was to him an important source of enlightenment. Through the years increasingly the reality of the Incarnation was to be emphasised and applied in practical ways by Hunter.

In a review of A.M. Ramsay's From Gore to Temple in 1961 (96) Hunter revealed part of Gore's attraction for him and also remarked on a trait of character from which he ought to have benefited. "Gore was" he wrote "when compared with Temple, a more rugged and stubborn prophet of the Kingdom of God. Although he was a member of a Community (97) and a man of tender heart towards suffering and the victims of social injustice, yet he was a man withdrawn and not easily approachable - or so it seemed to a young man". (98) Did Hunter not know that young priests - and others - in the diocese of Sheffield found their bishop withdrawn and silent ?

Hastings Rashdall's influence on Hunter had pointed him to an evaluation of religious experience of which the key criterion

was "the morality of grace". (99) This placed him alongside Gore, who in spite of his championship of Catholicism, was distrustful of appeals to mysticism as evidence of valid spiritual experience. To Gore the experience which mattered was the moral experience of mankind. So it was with Hunter. (100) But there are intimations above experience as generally conceived; Gore came to admit this when he wrote "I would have you realise that historical evidence is never demonstrative", which led him to write warmly of the mystical element in religion which he found to be very important within the Bible itself. (101) Of this again, he and Rashdall and Hunter were in fact conscious in their own lives : a mystical appreciation of reality is discernible in all three. (102)

Gore's strong and convinced belief in the Church of England would have been regarded by Hunter, the convert to Anglicanism, as verifying his own conviction. Writing in 1892 Gore said "I believe with a conscience the strength of which I could hardly express that it is the vocation of Anglicanism to realise and to offer to mankind a catholicism which is scriptural and represents the whole of scripture; which is historical and can know itself free in the face of history and critical science; which is rational and constitutional in its claims of authority, free at once from lawlessness and imperialism". (103)

iv.

It was early in his undergraduate days that Hunter came to know and greatly appreciate Baron Friedrich von Hügel. (104) The Baron had a considerable influence in university (and wider) circles and to Hunter he was - in the matter of personal religion - a deep and continuing influence in his life, second only to his father. Von Hügel was a Roman Catholic of "massive, saintly character" (105) for whom confessional differences were no bar to friendship or to Christian co-operation. His influence was greater outside his own communion than within, and of this both John Hunter and his son Leslie are examples. Von Hügel "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." (106)

Over a period of some years von Hügel was the nearest approximation to a spiritual director that Hunter ever had. He was "generous of his time and astringent in his thought. I always came away from these memorable hours knowing that one had been led by a man of God into the heavenly places." (107) This last sentence indicates the first of Hunter's great debts to von Hügel. There was in Hunter an agnostic, thought-provoking streak. His great emphasis on morality as the test of Christian faith might have blinded him to aspects of Christian practice which were not immediately congenial to him. (108) The reality of the

realm of the spirit was rarely expressed exuberantly by Hunter and von Hügel's "intellectual openness" (109) both made him feel at home with and yet gave him assurance that "the essence of religion is the supernatural life - the other world, the otherness of God, different from but penetrating this our life". (110) The astringency of thought which Hunter had valued is well illustrated by von Hügel's assured declaration "if I could understand religion... it would not be worth understanding, " (111), the which or like sayings must have endeared him to Hunter and influenced his own habit of making obiter dicta.

A second indebtedness is revealed by Hunter when in reminiscences written many years later about himself, he said "for one with a protestant background and a critical liberal attitude to churches as such, von Hügel was a living demonstration of the necessity of 'church' and of the integrating power of sacramental worship". (112) Unemotionally but firmly, Hunter was convinced. In a sermon at the Labour Party Annual Conference in 1950 he spoke of the Christian faith and the need for it to be enshrined and practised by a "responsible membership of the Christian community" where "the Church prayed for the State" and individuals through prayer were upheld by "the strong conviction that Jesus is Lord and the Kingdom is the Lord's; from which came a realisation of evils to be overcome and objectives to be achieved in a nation's life." (113)

Hunter was never "churchy" either in sentiment or in concept. He would have appreciated von Hügel's confession, perhaps he heard it from his own lips, that "institutional Christianity was his hair-shirt". (114) Hunter's constant aim was to direct Christians away from the temptation to think of God as confined to the sphere of religion rather than as totally immanent in the whole of creation. It was the Church's task to make this truth known. (115)

In a letter written in 1973 Hunter disclosed the origin of his sessions with the Baron who "was so kind as to invite me three or four times soon after I had been ordained to spend an hour alone with him in his study. I owed this probably to the fact that he and my father were friends and had a high regard one for the other". He still had, Hunter believed, a relevant message to the Christian world - "a truly great man and a very good one". (116)

v.

Greatly as Hunter was attracted to Dick Sheppard, valuable and lasting as was his indebtedness to Gore and von Hügel, there was in the person of William Temple (117) a wider and deeper influence amounting to discipleship and veneration. There were Temple's immense gifts, but above all himself "a humble man of God with a modesty not assumed but deeply rooted, constant". (118) It has been written "here was a man in a class and on a level by

himself, by far the greatest Englishman of his day". (119)

To Hunter, Temple was an inspiration and a source of strength : the response of one plagued with shyness and wanting in distinction of presence to a man of commanding personality, whose attainments were enormous but coupled with a homely bonhomie : the very attributes which Hunter lacked. Temple's sudden death - Hunter learned of it from the stop press of an evening newspaper as he was returning from London to Sheffield - "was a shattering blow." (120)

It was as a staff member of S.C.M. that Hunter first came to know William Temple (121) and to recognise his "stimulating influence". When Temple in 1915 accepted an invitation to edit the Challenge (122), Hunter, as he put it, "devilled for him", (123) and, as a result, began to be known himself for his discriminating talent. At a meeting of the board of the Challenge there was a discussion about priorities in the selection of material. Temple demurred when it was suggested that "the first Note should always be 'devotional' or in the narrower sense of the word 'religious'; in any case Temple said 'it needs a flair for that sort of thing and I haven't got it. Somebody like Leslie Hunter might be able to do it'". (124) Hunter was evidently becoming known as one who was capable of writing articles in which an exposition of a spiritual thesis would be adequately earthed and of patent application to intelligent lay people.

Hunter had been exposed to the surge of opinion in favour of church reform by Sheppard. Indeed, it was Sheppard who, having secured the active interest of William Temple, had called together a group of people who were to pioneer a movement for reform. Success however for this new uprising within the Church would depend upon high-quality leadership and a carefully designed programme of action. Temple was "the one man who seemed to possess all the qualities needed". (125) After an initial conference held at St. Martin's vicarage in March 1917 there followed in July a public meeting in the Queen's Hall, London at which Temple was the principal speaker. "We demand liberty for the Church of England" he said, "because we believe that liberty is essential to the fulness of life". (126)

Hunter's memoirs do not refer to any active participation by himself in the Life and Liberty Movement. He was too junior in orders for this to be possible. His advocacy however and active participation in reforming policies, which were in due course to mark his episcopate, (127) were anchored to Temple's vision of a revived Church. Indeed, after Temple's death - though without his charisma - Hunter became known as a determined protagonist within the Church of a responsible exercise of freedom to act effectively; abuses were to be remedied; impediments were to be removed. (128)

A substantial though limited success was to crown the efforts of the reformers. In December 1919 the Enabling Bill was passed and became law. (129) It had the result of providing a new system of church government by the introduction of democratic processes which, in Parochial Church Councils and in the National (or Church) Assembly, provided for the first time for the laity to have a constitutional place and voice in church affairs. The Act was to point the way forward to a greater degree of self-government in the future (130) and, though this was not the intention of the reformers, it had the effect as a result of the compilation of Electoral Rolls in every parish, of reducing the Church of England in some respects yet further to the position of one denomination among others. Hunter was conditioned by the course of events as the new requirements were put into operation; but more deeply by his regard for Temple. From him emanated Hunter's often reiterated hope that the Church of England might become in reality the Church of the English people. (131)

As Archdeacon of Northumberland (132) Hunter was to see more of Temple, then Archbishop of York (1929-1942). He was a member of the Lower House of the Northern Convocation and of the Church Assembly and the Archbishop would be aware of his wide-reaching work at Newcastle. When in 1939 Hunter was nominated by the Crown to the bishopric of Sheffield, he supposed that this was at Temple's suggestion. (133)

Preaching at a memorial service to Temple in 1948, Hunter, with reference to Temple's gifts, said that they "were perfected by untiring industry; they never made him overbearing and proud. No brilliant and busy man ever suffered fools so patiently...To those seeking advice and help he wrote long helpful letters by hand." (134)

Doubtless Temple's personal character and traits were for Hunter an encouragement in his episcopal ministry and not least in seeking to overcome his own difficulties in communicating easily with others. That he never succeeded is a misfortune. (135)

Unlike Temple, there is no evidence that Hunter was ever a member of the Labour Party, but while recognising the duty of Parliament to seek political solutions to social problems, Hunter shared Temple's belief that, whether inside or outside of Parliament, actions taken by citizens imbued with Christian principles and fair and good ideas, derived from whatever source, were essential to the nation's life. This meant for Temple - and no less for Hunter - "an ever stronger and more consistent proclamation of the full gospel of Christ, and an ever larger role for the Church through her members." (136)

Three areas of concern to Christians were deeply imprinted in Hunter's mind. They coincided with and were, at least in part, derived from Temple. There was a recognition, initially learned

from his father, of the Church's duty to be active in welcoming and also in promoting action designed to improve the lot of the under-paid and socially deprived sections of the population, particularly in urban areas. Temple had insisted that freedoms necessary to human development were impeded by forms of slavery in modern guise : there was economic slavery which derived from the industrial revolution which, after the Great War, had resulted in large scale unemployment and the dole; there was spiritual and mental enslavement, the result of inadequate education which led to the under-development of human personality and to the degrading situation in which "the man who cannot buy recognition of his rights is treated as if he had no human rights"; and beyond that leading to a situation in which he would be ignored, even despised, "as if he had no claim upon sympathy or respect, still less upon affection". (137)

If for Temple the stress was laid on the ethical problems which large-scale industrialisation had created, for Hunter the problems had to be dissected and remedies of a practical kind sought and implemented. Industrial society, so estranged from the Church, was his practical concern. By 1942 Hunter had come to realise that Temple's teaching was dated. "Few of the situations, choices, decisions in industry today are unequivocally ethical". (138) The application of science and technology to life and to

industry in particular posed problems which had to be solved. He was well aware of the climate of opinion which obtained among the more literate industrial workers : "to the more thoughtful technicians, greater advances will come through scientific knowledge and social idealism than through religion". (139) Hunter's answer to this was his creating of the Sheffield Industrial Mission (140) which started out in the knowledge of the fact, in Hunter's words, that "in industrial society there is a new phenomenon : multitudes exist without any feeling of spiritual need". (141) In saying this he was ante-dating by more than thirty years the conclusion reached by Professor John Macquarrie, who however included all sections of society in his diagnosis. (142)

Writing after Hunter's death Professor Ronald Preston remarked on both Temple's and Hunter's understanding in the sociology of religion and in social judgements. Temple dealt with these issues in "a general and inclusive manner"; "Hunter had a sharper and more incisive, more mordant approach". (143) This judgement is valid providing that Temple's initiative in placing social concerns in the forefront of Christian activity is not forgotten or minimised.

His father's universalist approach had introduced Leslie Hunter to the large-scale problem of Christian disunity. He came himself to a firmer and more orthodox belief in the nature of the Church (144) whilst retaining John Hunter's unwillingness to

un-church those of other communions. Temple, himself the embodiment of the Churchman, set standards of involvement which Hunter came to make his own, secure in the knowledge of Temple's achievement in the international field which led to "the development of the ecumenical movement in Europe and America." (145) The World Council of Churches would not have come into being when it did, wrote Hunter, but for him. (146) Hunter in due course gave long and valuable service in the cause of unity. (147)

In one further sphere - that of the constitutional relationship of the Church of England to the State - Hunter continued to devil for Temple. It was largely through Temple's exertions that the Enabling Act of 1919 was passed, conferring powers on the Church Assembly to prepare and present ecclesiastical measures to Parliament. It was by an extension of this Act that Synodical Government in the Church of England was set up fifty years later. In retrospect Hunter believed that the first priority should have been the reform of the Church rather than the development of new structures. (148) It was, he said, "the untimely death of Temple in 1942 which had prevented a radical programme of reform being agreed upon immediately after the war and receiving the spiritual and moral impetus to carry it into operation." (149) In fact eighteen years were lost.

Reform by degrees took place in the fifties and Hunter was in the forefront. His schooling under Temple coupled with his own insights which had developed early in his career had been sharpened into a sense of greater urgency. (150) In his own diocese action was taken; stipends of the clergy were raised and equalised; parsonages were built (and the old ones sold to defray the cost) of a size more suited to the economic position of the clergy in the mid-twentieth century years; liturgical reform was preached; post-ordination training of the clergy became obligatory; the position of women in the Church was advanced; the equipping of lay people for a distinctive share in the Church's mission - all were pursued with vigour. (151)

In 1962 there was set up the Archbishop's Commission on Crown Appointments in the Church. Hunter - he had just resigned as bishop of Sheffield - was a member. The Commission's report was published in 1964 and its contents gave evidence of Hunter's influence and wisdom. He sought a reformed establishment. (152) Indeed, there is evidence that the drafting of the report had been done wholly or in part by Hunter. (153)

One of the principal affirmations of the report was to insist upon the need to continue the relationship between the Church and

the Ruler representing the State. (154) Its findings were much in line with Temple's thinking twenty years previously (155) and Hunter's debt to him is obvious. (156) Indeed, Hunter was enriched and rounded off as a result of Temple's magnetic appeal to him, combined with the effect of his broad (157) theological position. From this Hunter drew inspiration for his own decisive thought and action, much of which was close to or drawn from the breadth of Temple's penetrating mind.

vi.

It remains to recall an eminent theologian, Oliver Chase Quick, to whom Hunter was greatly indebted. (158) Quick was on the staff of Leeds Clergy School (159) when Hunter for S.C.M. visited it in 1913. The two were later to be colleagues in the field of liturgical composition and as members of the Chapter of Newcastle Cathedral. The two periods overlapped.

The Enabling Act of 1919 was a watershed in the life of the Church of England, not least in the incentive which it gave to the long-delayed consideration of liturgical reform. (160) In 1923 the Revised Prayer Book (Permissive) Measure became law. Conservatives were alarmed, the laity in general if they knew of it were bemused, but the protagonists for reform showed that they were prepared for action by the speedy publication of their proposals. One group of reformers issued the "Grey Book". (161)

This represented the views of those who, initially urged on by H.R.L. Sheppard, wanted radical reforms. Under the title A New Service Book the contents of the "Grey Book" were published in several parts in 1923. (162) The services which had been drawn up were based upon a series of scholarly pamphlets (163) which had been compiled by members of the group. Both Quick, and Hunter to a lesser degree, were among the authors. The object of the preparatory research was to compile an alternative Prayer Book for permissive use (or to indicate at least the lines upon which such work should be undertaken) which should incorporate a thoroughgoing adaptation and enrichment of Church services to meet modern needs. Quick was the theologian of the group; Hunter was the secretary. (164)

Quick was a systematic rather than a historical theologian. He had a creative influence on Hunter through the balanced discrimination with which he treated the Biblical witness to doctrinal orthodoxy and by his exemplification of the degree of verbal accuracy which exposition required. (165) Hunter had a tendency to write or speak in a generalised manner when he was tired or overworked or not at his ease. A consequence of this was his way of leaving statements floating in the air because undefined or imprecise. (166) When his preparation had been exact, he generally overcame this habit. (167) Hunter, himself proof against sentimentality, wrote - in a comment typical of his

attitude to those whom he greatly valued - "for all his acuteness of mind he was a sensitively human man,...to the extent of being afraid of being biased by his feelings". (168)

Hunter's comprehension of liturgy was sharpened by Quick's doctrinal clarity; this he revealed in his own compositions. (169) Though a Diocesan Service Book was published after Hunter's retirement it had been long in making. Among much else it contained a number of orders of service which had been used in the diocese of Sheffield and refined through use. (170) Two sentences in the Preface reveal the theological basis - the askesis - of worship as taught by Hunter. As to God's world "Christians have not to think the worst of it, but thankfully to make the best of it. Their thought of God, to whom their prayers and adoration are directed, will not belittle either the grandeur of his creative activity in the universe or the wideness and depth of his mercy in his redemptive action of which the Bible is the record". (171) This ties up with Quick's dictum that "the full orthodoxy of Christian faith should be overheard...in the language of Christian worship". (172) So it was that Hunter objected to new-fangled descriptions of services. "Family Communion" was one such. It had for him a folksy image whereas "the word 'holy' points the true direction and puts an emphasis on the numinous which is in danger of being lost out of English churches". (173)

Liturgy, Quick had written in a letter to Hunter, is not for the purpose of making the Prayer Book human, but that "it should tell the truth about God". (174) If Lux Mundi began the process of up-dating theology so that it "assimilates new material" (175) then the Quick-inspired men a generation later continued the work because, he wrote, "we believed that in many ways fresh interpretations of Christian truth, fresh applications of it to the life of the Church and the world have been granted to use". (176) The spirit in which Christian worship was to be offered benefited accordingly.

In his own contribution to the Grey Book Pamphlets Hunter reminded his readers that the The Occasional offices belonged "to the great hours of life - the setting up of a home, the entry into full membership of the Christian community, birth and death" (177). He was mindful of the fact that at these times the Church was ministering to large numbers of people, many of whom were not regular worshippers. Because this was so, the Church had to face "the most fundamental criticism" that "worship today and the Prayer Book offices" were unreal and remote from the lives of men. (178) The Church's task, said Quick, was to promote "a better understanding of God's almighty power of love which brings good out of evil through the cross of self-sacrifice, and so finally a fuller realisation of God's immanent working throughout creation and history and uncommon things." (179) Time and again as Bishop of Sheffield Hunter was to recapitulate this theme. (180)

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FORMATION OF A BISHOP

There comes in the ministerial career of a Clerk in Holy Orders, sooner or later, an indication of the sphere of work to which he is likely to be preferred and in which he will continue his ministry. To most this means a succession of incumbencies; to some few, there is a progression of appointments in an ascending scale of importance which, if a man is not dedicated to an academic career, may result in his nomination to a vacant deanery or to a bishopric. Other factors, ability, experience and success apart, are inevitably and occasionally improperly present : to have gained the confidence of the highly placed, to be available at a particular point in time, to have the necessary gifts for a particular task. Hunter was to build up a reputation as a clergyman who had knowledge, vision and determination adequate to be a penetrating force in areas of the country where industry predominated, and where the Church, in consequence, faced the uphill mission of creating a sense of the relevance of Christianity to the unchurched workers in particular industries. For Hunter the progression, though he could not have known it except by hindsight, began in 1922.

i.

Hunter's curacy at St. Martin-in-the-Fields proved to be, and was probably intended to be, an interim appointment. In 1922 he was preferred to the residentiary canonry of St. Benedict Biscop in Newcastle Cathedral. (1) This was to be the first of two appointments that he was to hold in the north-east. His name, Hunter reveals, (2) had been suggested to Bishop Wild (3) by Canon B.H. Streeter who was an active supporter of the Student Christian Movement. (4)

To be appointed at the age of thirty two to a residentiary canonry, parish church cathedral notwithstanding, was a significant step up the ladder of uncertain preferment in the Church of England. For Hunter it proved to be a congenial sphere of ministry and one for which, in some respects, his work for S.C.M. had prepared him. His cathedral duties necessarily demanded that he fulfilled his periods of residence (5) and in addition there were those tasks of organisation, oversight and planning which were the responsibility of the executive Chapter. (6) Beyond these duties there were sermons to be prepared and preached in the cathedral; these included, in Hunter's case, sermons for special occasions. (7) Of the cathedral round of duty Hunter says almost nothing in his memoirs. There evidently remained time for other interests

coupled with the search for an extended ministry. At Newcastle with Canon G.E. Newsom as Vicar of the Cathedral Church (8) there developed a valuable connection with Armstrong College. (9) This paved the way for the giving of a course of lectures to students by the cathedral staff. Education work was to grow : there were study circles in private houses; discussion groups, especially for teachers, took root and in 1922 both Quick and Hunter were invited by Newsom to give a series of lectures in preparation for a mission he was planning for 1923. These activities were clearly designed to give substance to Bishop Wild's policy of deepening the impact of the Christian faith by showing to lay people the relevance of the Bible's witness to the affairs of daily life by means of a clear exposition of its teaching. Canons-residentiary by tradition included men of academic competence who were fitted for tasks of this nature. At Newcastle O.C. Quick was the theological mind behind the planning, with Hunter active and well-fitted to cooperate and to give much time to the teaching and leading of the groups. (10) The members of the chapter, Hunter has written, "grew into a happy and relaxed fellowship who had the satisfaction of knowing that hard work was not without success". (11) From Quick Hunter gained an unexpected insight : he was not equipped by learning or desire to be an academic theologian . (12)

There was a natural affinity between Hunter and William Ellis the cathedral organist who, Hunter testified, was a "fine church musician" (13) and, he added in a longhand note, "an affectionate friend." (14) The two were the principal planners in 1925 of an Orlando Gibbons celebration to commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of the musician's death. (15) As part of the programme of events on 14 and 15 June there were services in the cathedral at which Gibbon's music was sung and played. Hunter preached the sermon on 14 June. He used the occasion to underline the qualities of Gibbon's compositions and to point out the lessons to be learned for church musicians and choirs in the twentieth century. (16)

Gibbon's music, Hunter said, "is purely English; it is the product of the reformed Church of England". It has, he went on, "a sobriety of religious feeling, a reflective beauty, a deliberate skill and a solid worth". The requirements of the Book of Common Prayer spring immediately to mind and Gibbons clearly set out to write both organ and vocal music which would match the beauty of Cranmer's language. Much of Gibbon's work was beyond the execution of a

but cathedral choirs and others of similar quality. Consequently and rightly Hunter continued, there is no excuse for the copying of such music in parish churches when "indisciplined, slovenly choirs (sc. try) without the necessary study and equipment to sing elaborate settings and anthems, while congregations listen in most

unspiritual silence". Worse still, he was to suggest, "some choirmen nurse the flattering delusion that, were it not for the music they provide, people would not come to say their prayers together". (17)

This Hunter insinuated was wilfully to misconceive the role of music in church; it is "not a bait, an elaborated decoration of a base, bald, boring duty". Its purpose is "to glorify God and to lift hearts and minds of worshippers to a height of adoration and praise which they might not otherwise attain". How true !

But in practice, as Hunter knew and was to be reminded of time and again in the years ahead, its accomplishment was and is still difficult to achieve. Hunter ended his sermon with a pertinent observation. There is no such thing as "sacred and secular music". Much so-called sacred music has no religious value and much so-called secular music certainly has". (18) A test is needed. "Does the music slacken and soften the fibres and sinews of the soul., or is it making a man of me ?". And Orlando Gibbons ? His music "is all the better because its appeal is not instantaneous". (19)

Hunter's sermon is evidence that he had become proficient in two requirements of the art of preaching : the one a mastery of the material relevant to theme or subject, the other a penetrating and thought-provoking application of it for the benefit of the hearers.

It was from his base as a canon residentiary that Hunter made an impact upon Tyneside by his determined advocacy of the need to apply Christian principles to highlight and to remove the social deprivation which existed in the area. "Considering", he was to write in his memoirs, "the prosperity of Tyneside and its long industrial record, the complacency and ignorance of many affluent Christians about the amount of poverty, bad housing and ill-health, asked to be disturbed". (20) These were years when the poor and the deprived sections of the community were still dependent on the patronage of private charity, when more drastic measures were needed to improve their lot. (21) The requirement "was not for palliatives. One's mind turned towards the making of a thorough social survey whose expertise and accuracy could not be disputed and whose conclusions might not only arouse the careless but point to constructive social action". (22)

In the event the way was provided by the Northern Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship (C.O.P.E.C.). (23) There was a danger that the conference might have been productive of interest and a sharpening of discussion and no more. In fact it opened the way to the setting up in 1925 of the Bureau of Social Research. Hunter, though he did not say so, was the author of this venture and his practical wisdom is seen in the securing of adequate financial backing to make the work possible. The chairman of the Survey Committee was the Principal of Armstrong

College, Sir Theodore Morison, and university, industry and social work were represented. Dr. Henry Mess came from the S.C.M. to be the Director of the Bureau in 1925 and was the author of the Bureau's report in 1928 under the title Industrial Tyneside. (24) The Bureau published in addition a series of information papers on housing, health, education, local government and population. Its work done, it was succeeded in 1930 by the Tyneside Council for Social Service with the aim of providing for practical schemes of community service. (25)

The Bishop of Durham (H.H. Henson) was a severe critic of Christian engagement in social or political matters. In a letter to the local press he poured scorn on the C.O.P.E.C. conference and condemned the participants as "injudicious idealists". Hunter, though he came later to have the esteem of Henson, replied to say that C.O.P.E.C. did not have a cut and dried programme and was not at all committed to economic socialism. Conference had had the benefit of "the knowledge and experience of men and women in daily touch with the subjects (sc.under discussion); business men, industrialists, trade unionists, economists, civil servants, colonial administrators, teachers, social workers...to describe whom as irresponsible programme makers is grotesque". (26)

Hunter's personal views found one outlet through the traditional observance of Mayor's Sunday. A sermon in the cathedral on 11 November 1924 was reported in detail in the Newcastle daily. Yes, Hunter had said, the keeping of Mayor's Sunday had value "provided that it was not a mere form...God made his own terms and he would bless them in proportion as they kept them; integrity was essential and without it charity and brotherhood was impossible". In Newcastle new agencies and philanthropies were not wanted. "What is wanted is that Christians and all people of good will" (a perennial phrase with Hunter) "should take more intelligent interest in civil administration and support more actively and sacrificially good work that is being done". What was near to Hunter's heart was the improving of the conditions under which people lived. "It is not enough - by the provisions of hospitals - to try to make people well again when they become ill; we must try to prevent them falling ill by attacking the causes of the disease. It is the physical conditions -foul homes, overcrowded houses, polluted air, lack of pure sunlight - that are largely responsible for the diseases which crowd our hospitals...and the moral diseases which crowd our prisons". (27) The sermon was described as pungent and hard-hitting. Such adjectives show that, though deficient as a pulpit orator, Hunter could keep the attention of people as diverse as regular members of the cathedral congregation and of those who came for a specific purpose, be it in memory of

a musician or as Lord Mayor and city councillors in their civic capacity. Hunter always contrived to have memorable punch lines.

Hunter resigned his canonry in 1926 on his acceptance of the benefice of Barking. He did not find the decision easy to make. To him "Northumberland - most lively of counties - drew one's affection as did St. Nicholas' Cathedral which shared some of its qualities". However, he had come to the conclusion that he could not escape the challenge presented by the cure of souls of a large, and mixed, parish. "After being engaged for several years" he said "in telling the parochial clergy how to do their job, he must try to do it himself". (28) It remains a remarkable feature of the Church of England that not infrequently those who become directors of post-ordination training, archdeacons and bishops have had a relatively slight acquaintance with the demands of a parish ministry. The development of so-called specialist ministries after the Second World War of which Hunter was to a large extent the architect (29) has tended to depreciate the parish priest's significance and to give the impression that as a general practitioner he cannot fulfil a cure of souls with high and wide competence. In fact the "curate", to use the Book of Common Prayer term, is the ministerial specialist par excellence. Without his experience and expertise in the discernment of

people's needs and his knowledge of the working of people's minds other specialisms time after time founder. Hunter took away from Tyneside a conviction of great importance borne upon him by local experience that "no amount of organisation, of planning and publicity can make up for lack of quality in man-power. This is true of the Christian ministry especially when the tides seem to be contrary". (30)

ii.

Hunter became the incumbent of the ancient parish of St. Margaret, Barking in 1926. This was the only parochial charge he was to hold and, because of illness, its duration was limited to four years. The patronage was vested in the Warden and Fellows of All Souls' College, Oxford. It is likely that the choice fell on Hunter as a result of his work in Newcastle (31) and for his known concern that the Church should be active in seeking for solutions to the social problems in industrial towns and communities.

In the space of forty years from 1881 Barking had grown from a small town of 9,000 inhabitants in a country setting to an industrial suburb. From 1888 to 1895 the incumbent of St. Margaret's had been Herbert Hensley Henson. (32) In a real way, Henson pointed to Hunter's later vicariate. Henson, outspoken to a degree, mordant in speech, frequently controversial, applied himself without delay to the task of denting the hostility to the Church

of England which was a mark of the trade unionism of his day; and with a degree of success. In Barking Henson became to many industrial employees their man. (33)

In 1926 the population of Barking was in the region of 35,000. (34) It was marked by the common problems resulting from increased industrialisation : unsatisfactory housing, lack of adequate secondary education, some post-war unemployment - though less than the national average - were all present. (35) What was Hunter able to accomplish in four years ?

There is no evidence that he exercised a ministry to industry and industrial workers. Attitudes in the mid-twenties were rapidly hardening and the gap between Church and industry had become a gulf. Hunter, in spite of his concern for 'industrial man', had to recognise that the times were not propitious to speedy success. In various ways he sought to pierce the consciences of the leaders of the local community. An instance of this occurred in October 1928 when, in commending a local Health Week, he attacked "industrial conditions and social habits which produce ill-health" and instanced slum property in Barking "which men ought to be utterly ashamed to own; overcrowding which does not give children a chance to live wholesome lives; money spent by parents on beer

and gambling instead of on children's food and clothing; dark smoke which shuts out the invigorating rays of the sun and the mental tonic of light". (36)

A year later Hunter made a plea to the local authority to make use of the 75 per cent government grant for public work by the unemployed : he instanced as suitable and necessary projects street cleaning, the construction of new roads, draining of the marshes, the demolishing of insanitary houses and the rebuilding of the hospital. (37) His most direct contribution was to education; he became a valued member of the Barking Education Committee. One result from his membership must have given him pleasure : it was the decision of the Committee to appoint a music adviser to the town schools. (38) The need had been recognised and advocated by Hunter.

Necessarily Hunter's first concern had to be for the life and work of the parish church. This took several directions. He quickly mounted an assault on parochialism. Church people in Barking, they were largely middle-class, (39), were urged to extend their horizons and in so doing to share a growing movement of thought within the Church of England. International peace was a pressing issue. It had come to be realised by many that the peace terms imposed by the Allies on Germany were a recipe

for war; and the failure of the Geneva Conference of 1922 had increased the anxiety. (49) There was a crisis in the coal industry caused by the falling demand for coal, the economic consequence of which led to the miner's strike of 1926. (41) Slum clearance was not only needed in Barking, it was endemic and on a huge scale in the large industrial cities. And there was unemployment. If it was less of a problem in Barking, unemployment there was and its incidence nation-wide had to be a matter of concern to Christians everywhere. The Church ought to be in the van of enlightened opinion. "The problems of heavy unemployment", a Prime Minister to be has written "in these years were not substantially eased by any conscious effort in the industrial or economic field". (42) It was Hunter's aim that his people should be alive to the major areas of weakness in the nation's life and to be conscious of the aspirations of the rising generation in Britain. We tried at St. Margaret's "to personalise big issues" and to do all we could "to bring home to people what others in other parts of the country, and in other parts of the world, were doing and suffering". (43)

To further this aim Hunter founded a meeting for men - the Forum - which continued for many years - and to which "he gave a solid start". (44) Visiting speakers from S.C.M. and Newcastle were brought in; social and industrial issues figured prominently. Indeed the meeting has an S.C.M. feeling about it; its discussions

served to give substance to Hunter's design to "provide a practical answer to the question as to whether Christ's way is possible in modern life...Here was a parish linked to national issues...(showing) what it means to love one's neighbour as oneself". (45) "I am impressed" writes one who was himself present at the meetings "that a number of the subjects discussed still rage fifty years on". (46)

Hunter's reforming and practical mind led him to pioneer changes in the worship of the parish church; no easy matter, but he had his way. (47) He retained the "sacred hours" of Sunday worship in the Church of England - 8 a.m., 11 a.m. and 6.30 p.m. - but immediately on his arrival introduced a Sung Eucharist at 9 a.m. and at the same time Songs of Praise, the newly published hymn book. (48) In so doing Hunter was pioneering what came to be known as the parish Communion and which in the 1940s became wide-spread. This "theological thrust can be said to have stamped the life and worship of the church for a generation". (49) At St. Margaret's there was to be no alteration in this pattern until a new era of liturgical composition and experimentation set in during the 1950s and 1960s. (50) By 1929 the Sung Eucharist had become the principal act of worship on a Sunday morning. In January of that year Hunter announced "The abolition of collections at all services is now an accepted and welcome fact". The free-will offering scheme had become well-established and in Hunter's eyes

it was a more seemly and responsible method of contributing to God's work in the parish. (51)

St. Margaret's, apart from the thirteenth century chancel, was built in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; it incorporated some Norman features in the east chapel. Hensley Henson in the 1880s had been responsible for much restoration work, but by the 1920s it was essential and recognised as such by Hunter, that a further restoration scheme was necessary. In 1928 an architect was appointed; his plans within three months had been approved by the Parochial Church Council and the work was put in hand. An appeal for funds was launched both outside and inside the parish and such was the response (£6,000 was the estimated cost) that on 15 September 1929 the church was re-hallowed by the Bishop of Chelmsford. (52) Immediately Hunter made known his mind : "I am anxious now that we have made the church more beautiful and worshipful that we should use it fully in the way that a church is meant to be used". (53) The pattern of worship in future was to be, in addition to the four Sunday services, Holy Communion every weekday except Monday; and in addition a Fellowship of Silence every weekday evening at 6.30 p.m.

The great problem which affected the ancient and central town parishes was the high percentage of baptisms and weddings which were sought and celebrated in them. Barking was no exception.

Hunter, like many another zealous parish priest, was shocked by the discrepancy between the high figures for the occasional offices, as they are called, and the low numbers by comparison of regular worshippers. He sought to remedy the imbalance, but, as so many incumbents similarly placed have found, with small success. To Hunter the Church's acquiescence in the anomaly resulted in a "misrepresentation" of itself in the eyes of most people by allowing Holy Baptism and Holy Matrimony" to be in practice so isolated from the corporate life of the Christian fellowship".

(54) Yes indeed. Over the centuries canon law had made baptism, and marriage before a priest, obligatory and the Acts of Uniformity (55) by which the Church of England became the Established Church made both rites available at law for all parishioners. Discipline therefore was difficult and the generality of parishioners were contented to have it so.

Hunter's astuteness, which over the years was a feature, not uncriticised, of his capacity for attaining objectives, bore fruit in Barking. An unsatisfactory situation concerned the churchyard; it was being used as a short cut, always a difficult matter to solve without recriminations. Hunter succeeded, very much to the advantage of the church, by entering into a 100 year agreement with the local authority by which, in return for a right of way across the churchyard, the authority accepted responsibility for the maintenance of the whole. (56)

Did Hunter have a pastoral ministry ? "I doubt if he had this, except to a very few people". But he had curates who had their allotted tasks. Did he visit the homes in the parish ? "Not much". Was he liked ? "Not really, because he was so shy". (57) But in 1970 on paying a visit in old-age - he had been asked to preach - the bishop and his wife were greatly touched by the warmth of their welcome. Few could have known him "but they recognised from all they had heard the calibre of the man who had served their parents". One who did remember him has written "He was a shy and an intellectual preacher with a great sense of beauty shown in the special services he devised...and the renovation he carried out to the church building...He was a gifted pianist... he was responsible for the establishment of a Dramatic Society... he was a first class tennis player". (58) To be so remembered after fifty years is indeed a tribute.

In 1929 Hunter had to have an operation for the removal of gall stones. "It was the beginning of the most painful and frightening experience of his life", Canon Gordon Hewitt has written. (59) After the operation and "a long and tedious convalescence" Hunter decided to resign. He was to say years on "I suppose I worked too hard at Barking". (60) To the Parochial Church Council he wrote "If I were sixty or so one might ignore the advice of doctors and friends and take the risk; but at forty it is foolish to risk the best years of one's life for the sake of the next few months. Neither would it be in the interests

of the parish that I should..." (61) His last words before leaving were written for the parish magazine and were heartening. "The influence of the Church in the town, whether it be good or ill, depends in the long run less on its vicar than on the people who compose it. It is an ill-influence unless they 'out-live, out-think and out-die' the pagans around them...and that depends on the degree in which they are faithful to Christ in worship and life...God bless you all". (62).

iii.

Great though Hunter's impact was to be in the social field after his return to Newcastle, this beneficent activity was complementary to his ecclesiastical appointments and to the responsibilities which were attached to them: Archdeacon of Northumberland and Canon Residentiary of St. Nicholas' Cathedral. The office of archdeacon in the Church of England, though shorn of its judicial functions, remains an influential ministry. The archdeacon, in matters concerning the cures of souls in his archdeaconry, is the bishop's principal adviser and, particularly in pre-synodical government days, represented the mind and policy of the bishop to the clergy and the views and problems of the latter to the bishop. Rural Deans within an archdeaconry had similar duties -additionally presiding at the Deanery Chapter -

but in all of which, apart from the Chapter, they^{are} to act "in all respects in subordination to the Archdeacon". (63) Since the middle ages the office is a benefice and consequently enjoys freehold tenure. Formal duties include the inspection of parishes, the admission of churchwardens, the presenting of candidates for the diaconate and the priesthood to the bishop for ordination, the induction, after institution by the bishop, of incumbents to benefices. On occasion, but rarely, the bishop may commission the archdeacon to examine a clergyman or a parish in cases where serious problems have arisen. (64)

In August 1931 the Bishop of Newcastle, H.E. Bilbrough, (65) wrote to Hunter inviting him to Newcastle in order to discuss the vacant archdeaconry of Northumberland. Hunter replied cautiously - "my affection for Northumberland remains" (66) - but accepted the invitation. After careful thought and having consulted several friends, all of whom urged him to accept, (67) his mind was made up and early in September his affirmative answer was given to the bishop. (68) Bishop Herbert Wild, Hunter's diocesan during his previous ministry at the cathedral, had written stressing the cathedral ministry as the more pressing need - "all the younger people, clergy and laity, are waiting for a teacher"; (69) but it was as archdeacon that Hunter was to make his mark and provide evidence that he was episcopal material. (70)

Why had Hunter hesitated ? He knew that there were those who wanted him to return. To Hunter, it was the bishop himself. Bilbrough had been translated in 1927 after a period of eleven years as Suffragan Bishop of Dover. By 1930 he was regarded as a liability by the more energetic among the clergy and was to continue in office until 1941. "You will find Bilbrough a trial" O.C. Quick had said. "He really does hate an idea when he sees it which he seldom does". (71) For Hunter the call of duty had been heard; reason advised caution, vocation demanded acceptance. (72)

The chorus of depreciation of Bishop Bilbrough needs examination. In 1931 he was 64 years of age. He had had a long and responsible ministry before his consecration as bishop, the whole of which had been spent in town and city and always adjacent to industry and commerce. His long period as a suffragan could well have militated against further preferment. His curacy at St. Mary's, Tyne Docks however bore witness to his firm churchmanship, (73) but he was not extreme in his Catholic beliefs in that "he did not worry much about externals". (74) In ability and experience he was adequate to the responsibilities of a diocese which included both industrial and country parishes. It may have been the case that he was not as energetic as some would have liked, though the criticism seemed to have linked this with the lack of

a progressive spirit. Physical energy, though it is required, is not the most important quality of a diocesan bishop. The ability to hold together the clergy with their diverse talents has a particular importance and, though Bilbrough was not regarded as open to new ideas by younger priests motivated by a zest for breaking new ground, he clearly was averse to an over-zealous development of policies which would most likely be divisive. Among the promises made by a bishop about to be consecrated is, significantly, "Will you maintain and set forward...quietness, love and peace among all men ?" (75)

Bishop Bilbrough "was a very good pastoral bishop, a very kindly man and much loved in the diocese". (76) So testifies a priest who was accepted for ordination by him. So far from being neglectful of opportunities for extended ministry within the diocese "he was responsible for the Newcastle Church Extension Fund which did a great work in coping with the many new areas which were opened up in his time". (77) There were clearly those who found him ineffective, one of whom was Hunter who, imbued with the memory of Sheppard's urgency, was not disinclined to "take over" as some of the older clergy of that period can testify. (78) He was a young "and I dare say rather an ambitious man". (79) But again at the beginning of the 1930s the Church, too easily regarded as middle-class, could not in face of large-scale unemployment and endemic hopelessness, remain unmoved.

Hunter, the proclaimer of the Kingdom of God, was never to accept a two-nation situation in which class structures were treated as God-given and the "grim monotony of the worker's life - if he had work- was sweetened by "the returns of savings banks, the expenditure on films, holidays and travel, the boots of school children" which were evidence "of a community not too ill-provided with little superfluities". (80)

The Archdeaconry of Northumberland - the other was that of Lindisfarne - consisted of 115 parishes grouped in six deaneries. With a diocesan, no longer in the prime of life, an added weight of responsibility rested on the archdeacons. To Hunter especially, with his discerning eye, the opportunity had to be seized for action but it had to be exercised in a spirit of loyalty to his bishop whose oculus episcopi he was. With what results? Within the archdeaconry Hunter was soon to become "remarkably unpopular". (81) The reasons for this antipathy were various though they are not documented. One was certainly the evident contrast between Hunter's "standards of industry, intellectual honesty and persevering faithfulness", (82) and the easy-going or uninspired ministries to be found among some of the clergy. Again, there was evidence of the extent to which Hunter was, owing to the inactivity of the bishop, taking over the reins. He was, as it was thought, pushing people around and as was usually the case,

having his way with them. Could it be though, that Bishop Bilbrough had brought Hunter back to Newcastle for this purpose ? . and to fulfil duties which were not congenial to himself ?

The decision to close St. Peter's, Newcastle was attributed - no doubt rightly - to Hunter. It caused great distress but "it was the right thing as it turned out". (83) Offence there was and this was not minimised when the archdeacon was in visitation. Churchwardens were of a breed to smart under the charge that "there has been serious negligence". (84) But despite this climate of opinion there were those who regarded their archdeacon if not with affection then with respect: he was "likely to be a breath of fresh air, probably much needed at the time". (85)

An archdeacon is charged with making each year, unless inhibited by the bishop, a formal visitation of the parishes within his area of jurisdiction. It has two parts. The first is the issuing of the Archdeacon's Articles of Inquiry which are directed to the churchwardens. Following upon this, the Articles having been returned, the formal visit is paid; the in-coming churchwardens are admitted to office - the diocesan registrar dealing with the canonical formalities - after which the archdeacon delivers his charge to the clergy and churchwardens assembled for this purpose.

An examination of Hunter's Visitation Articles and Charges reveals the clear and pointed manner in which he exercised this ancient form of supervision and assessment. They are models of their kind. They varied in content, deliberately, from year to year, and ranged over every aspect of parochial responsibility : the church, the churchyard, other parish buildings, the interior furnishings of the church, whether a faculty had been sought for additions; church services and the provision of altar linen; the Parochial Church Council and its duties in matters of finance, in evangelism, in upholding and sharing with the incumbent in the fulfilling of the spiritual obligations of the cure of souls. A final question always tested the wardens' understanding of Christian faith and its application. Though given to criticism, Hunter was at pains to point the way forward so that the Church should be better prepared and better equipped for the tasks which lay ahead.

The background to Hunter's visitation charges is contained in that of 1936 in which this reminder is given : "The Church of England is a missionary society to which God has committed the re-evangelisation of England, beginning with the nominal membership. A lot of our work is ineffective and not geared to the national life". A complaint which he voiced in 1934 and was to repeat, concerned both the late return of the visitation articles and the fact that their completion had not been the work of the churchwardens. "They are" Hunter said, "directed to wardens, not

to the incumbent. I like Popes on the banks of the Tyne even less than I do on the banks of the Tiber". A little reflection, however, might have convinced the archdeacon that the less literate of the wardens were unable to provide the precise answers which he required. Furthermore there must have been parishes in which competent persons could not be found. But Hunter pressed on. Churchwardens are officers of the bishop whose authority the archdeacon exercises; as in Hunter's case they well knew. "If a warden cannot answer the bulk of such questions he is not doing his job aright and ought to give place to some one who will". (1937)"Your office, unlike that of the parish priest is not 'a freehold' (86)", and Hunter went on to say, foreshortening by far future developments in the Church of England, "that (sc.freehold) of incumbents in an absolute form is not likely to survive much longer". (1934)

Year after year the charges drew attention to faults to be rectified and virtues to acquire. A church (1932) "is no proof for godliness when it is dirty and unkempt". Mural tablets (1932) proliferate. "Has it ever occurred that if parishioners of former times set up mural tablets as readily as in recent times there would hardly be standing room left for us?" (87) Altar cloths and linen articles necessary for the celebration of the Holy Communion demand proper care and high cleanliness but, though

replies to this question are nearly always in the affirmative, they ought to be in the negative." (1934) As to the question about the effectiveness of the work and witness of the Church - often a delicate one to answer - you are reminded that this "is not just a way of asking whether the incumbent is behaving himself but an opportunity for you to say from years of experience whether the life of the Church has been going forward well and to call attention to praiseworthy things and even more to blameworthy things in the year's working. Beware of a charity more sentimental than sound". (1937)

Here was an archdeacon with clear objectives. He was a student of liturgy; he had an ecclesiastical bent which sought to encourage good taste both in the furnishing of church interiors and in discreet and uncomplicated ceremonial; he had made the Pauline dictum his own : everything was to be done "decently and in order". (88) That incumbents, churchwardens and members of Parochial Church Councils should have an adequate knowledge of the finances of the Church, central and diocesan, was to be inculcated. Above all the Church of England, in rural and in town parishes, in mining as in affluent parishes, had to be made aware of the challenge of the times and of the debilitating effect of a parish church which was little more than a part of the traditional scene and which made small demands on its congregation. To have no

"Gospel sense" precluded Christians from re-presenting Christ; and not so to do was to fail to accept the urgency expressed in the Gospel tradition where, as St. Luke's Gospel indicates, there comes a time when the Church is "to compel them to come in". (89)

Would that Archdeacon Hunter, strong in faith and sure of the Church's vocation in England, had been able to arouse within people a willing sense of discipleship leading to action rather than a dislike of himself who, by his method of presentation - half - removed from them and over-personal in general criticism - seemed to sit in judgement. (90) Hunter was more a pastoral overseer than a pastor. The practical directions contained in his charges were pertinent, but within the Church of England, to use a motoring simile, the higher and safer method of driving is to control speed and maintain road adhesion by use of the gears rather than by robust braking.

Was it likely on his return to Newcastle that Hunter would be less concerned with the social issues and less inclined, after the manner of Bishop Henson, to Christian involvement in any way? The issue was not in doubt. Hunter's convalescence had provided him with the opportunity to write A Parson's Job : Aspects of the Work of the English Church. (91) In the Preface he wrote of

"the impatience of this parson with much in the Church which is still accepted with complacency", revealing in conclusion the "stronger motive" which had inspired the book. This was "a conviction that the Church is giving society a sense of direction and a moral stability which no other movement is able to give, and that a richly concrete Christianity, sensitive to the values of Jesus Christ, is the only sure alternative to disaster and despair in the modern as in the ancient world". (92)

Hunter did not record the occasion of his resumed relationship with the Tyneside Council for Social Service but that it was not delayed is certain. In 1933 he was elected to the Executive Committee of the Council. (93) Nine months later he became its chairman and continued in that office until his removal to Sheffield in 1939. (94) Indeed, Hunter was to chair a number of regular and of ad hoc committees during these six years : the Finance Committee, the Music and Drama Committee, the Directorship Appointment Committee, The Tyneside Churches Committee (for liaison with the Council) and others. His directive influence can be detected in the Council's minute books; at the Annual Meeting on 9 December 1935, he was in the chair, and so continued.

Unemployment had by 1933 become the most serious problem on Tyneside and was to be the preoccupation of Council members for five years. By July 1935 it had reached a peak of 74,000. (95)

In his memoirs Hunter wrote of the value of Dr. Mess's survey (96) which "anticipated by thirty years the recommendations of a regional survey made at national level...The Trade Unions, with their income greatly reduced could not do much to alleviate the growing misery and damage. They had as little success as enlightened industrial management and the Church in getting the Government to adopt an intelligent and generous policy". Despite this, Councils of Social Service with the aid of substantial sums of money put into their hands through the National Council by individuals and groups, were able to do something".

The Chairman of the Tyneside Council for Social Service was the leading personality in the local, short-term rescue operation. (97) The practical steps which were taken by the Committee are, as to the major ones, set out in the minutes of its first meeting: the provision of camps for unemployed men; of a nursery school; of a handicrafts club. (98) Supervisors were appointed on a full-time basis and were adequately capable in their respective fields.

Hunter and those working with him recognised that "the deep tragedy of long unemployment was not only the loss of income and occupation but the feeling of being unwanted. Visits by members of the Royal Family did much to increase public support, but it

became clear, as with refugee work in Europe fifteen years later, that the guiding of these improvised clubs and centres was a full-time job which required gifts of leadership and a most Christian patience". (99) "The failure of the Government to cope was not only a moral but a political failure; (100)...the failure to invest capital in such public work as arterial roads, slum clearance, housing and hospitals was short-sighted". (101)

The Church of England on Tyneside was not silent. Again Hunter was the leader. In April 1932 a group of diocesan clergy wrote to the Home Secretary to urge that immediate measures should be taken to alleviate the lot of the unemployed. In 1934 the Unemployment Act was passed and by its provisions for the benefiting of the unemployed 95 per cent of the cost was to be provided by Government and the remainder by the local authority. This gave hope of better things. (102) However on 12th. March 1934 a strongly worded letter under the signatures of the same clergymen was sent to the press. It complained about the lack of urgency shown by the slowness in deploying ameliorative measures. "There ought" they wrote "to be an increase in benefit if possible in the form of larger children's allowances, a more generous administration of the Means Test and immediate action to reduce the rents of decontrolled houses". A personal note concluded the letter, "We wish - as the Archbishop of York is urging - (103) the restoration of the 10per cent cut in benefit to take precedence over any remission of tax upon our incomes". (104)

In 1935 Dr. Henry Mess resigned as Director of the Council.

(105) Hunter had much to do with the search for suitable applicants for what had become a demanding task. When the post was offered to J.W.L. Adams, Hunter wrote "you are a young man and will not want to stay necessarily for a long period but...the position has many possibilities and the immediate future of Tyneside is so absorbing that it is possible that it will hold you for a number of years". (106) It did until 1939.

Since its formation the Tyneside Council for Social Service had justified its existence but it did not escape problems endemic to voluntary organisations. Archdeacon Hunter with his eye for detailed examination drew the attention of the Executive Committee to them. There was a tendency for local support to dwindle; (107) a lack of direction was developing, as Hunter perceived, which led to the forming of a Welfare Committee in order to free the Executive Committee to concentrate on matters of policy; (108) then too there was the lack of personal support by members of the Council for its work. (109) All these problems were overshadowed in 1938 by the deteriorating situation in Europe and talk of war. The Council was alerted to draw up preliminary plans in the event of hostilities breaking out. At the Executive Committee meeting in September 1938 Hunter pronounced on the situation in such a way as to combine in one stratagem not only the continuing task

of the Council but also, by inference, the answer to its problems. "The Council would be able to render most effective service if it acted as an organisation, that the work which it carried out should be of a social service character and that it was important that as a voluntary organisation it should retain the right to determine what specific action should be taken". (110)

Time and again in war and in peace Hunter was to stress the importance of retaining a voluntary in-put in national life. It was a safeguard against one-sided secular trends, totalitarian, communist or fascist and provided an outlet for service of neighbour and country. (111)

Beyond the duties and tasks undertaken by Hunter between 1931 and 1939 there were other commitments which he was asked to undertake. From 1932 onwards he was a representative, at Archbishop Lang's invitation, to a series of conversations between the Church of England and the Church of Scotland. (112) A Joint Report was made in 1934 but it did not advance the cause of reunion to any extent. In 1936 Hunter was made a chaplain to King George V. (113) In 1937 he was one of the delegates to the Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State at which preparations were made to bring together two separate sections of the Oecumenical Movement : 'Faith and Order' and 'Life and Work'; the one theological, the other practical. This work was diligently pursued and came to

fruition in August 1948 when the first meeting of the World Council of Churches was held in Amsterdam. Hunter had been assigned to the Economic Section of the Oxford Conference and was on the drafting committee which produced a report The Church and Economic Order. (114) It was, Hunter later said, "the one Church document of the 1930s which recognised that society was entering a new industrial age". (115)

In 1934 Hunter was offered the Deanery of Bristol. He declined. A former colleague, R.G. Parsons, Bishop of Southwark since 1932, wanted him in 1936 as suffragan bishop of Woolwich; the request was refused. (116) A year later he felt unable after careful thought to share in the work of a "Church and Community" project which was intended to lead to the formation of a British Council of Churches. (117) At the time it seemed to Hunter that there was insufficient definition about the nature and the financing of the project. "So I said. No - and have often wondered whether I was right". (118) In 1938 F.A. Iremonger had decided to resign as head of religious broadcasting at the British Broadcasting Corporation. It was his wish that Hunter should succeed him. Again, and much to Iremonger's disappointment, Hunter declined on the grounds that it was a civil service type of work more suited to a layman than a priest. (119) What was his future to be ?

In the late 1930s Hunter had associated himself with a campaign for radical changes to be made in the methods of payment and deployment of clergy. He it was who launched the campaign which attracted considerable support. He it was who edited and largely wrote Men, Money and the Ministry which introduced the aims of the campaign to a wider public. (120) Two years later Hunter was to leave Tyneside. The esteem in which he was held was expressed by his successor as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council for Social Service : "The consecration of Archdeacon Hunter as Bishop of Sheffield has removed from Tyneside, to our great regret, one who has been the guiding spirit in the affairs of the Council for many years...We have long expected that he would be called to higher responsibilities but the Council will greatly miss his wisdom and forcefulness". (121) Hunter had received a letter from the Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, written from 10, Downing Street on 14 June 1939 offering him the vacant See of Sheffield. (122)

BOOK TWO

A BISHOP IN ACTION

CHAPTER FIVE

A DIOCESE FROM WAR TO WAR

i.

1914 - 1939

The diocese of Sheffield came into being as a result of the passing in 1913 of the "Bishoprics of Sheffield, Chelmsford and for the County of Suffolk Act". It was in fact a bishopric for South Yorkshire, which - though the need had long been felt - (1) created an episcopal area of jurisdiction which geographically was "an example of ecclesiastical folly". (2) South Yorkshire has no natural centre of unity. The city of Sheffield and with it the cathedral church of the new diocese were on the western edge. This could not but foster an already self-regarding parochial emphasis; a sense of "diocese" scarcely existed. This in turn was exacerbated by the unbalanced mix of parishes. From this the diocese has always suffered. There is a lack of market town and small town type of parish: (3) of local Church centres that is to say. One result of this has been a dearth of incumbencies to which priests of proven ability and growing experience could be preferred.

In addition to the parish-church cathedral, key parishes were limited to the parish churches of Doncaster and Rotherham, to the west-end in Sheffield - at Broomhill, Ecclesall and Ranmoor - and in a lesser way to Goole. Of influence were the several parishes of the Catholic revival, of which St. Matthew's, Sheffield was the prime example. (4) There were many small country parishes with, not infrequently, beautiful medieval churches (5) and, perhaps uniquely in the first decades of diocesan life, the township of Tickhill, where "the lovely parish church of St. Mary attained its present grand proportions in the 14th. century". (6) Its population was a blend of county families (one of which lived in an initially seventeenth century house in the grounds of the ruined castle), vicar and doctor, farmers and farm workers, business and local trades people, colliers; but no squire. (7) The prevalence of the Sheffield and Rotherham steel works and the mines of the south Yorkshire coalfield had brought into being the crowded streets of the works parishes, and the mining communities housed in decent, functional dwellings but having a mark of separation from the rest of the local population.

The colliery villages within the diocese, particularly those which were well-established, were an amalgam of Christian commitment on a descending scale. Colliery owners, their managers and senior staffs were given to church and chapel attendance; considerably less diligent, but with notable exceptions, were the miners' wives, who in many cases saw that their children went to Sunday

school. The attitude of the miners themselves was ambivalent : for them church-going was largely non-existent apart from weddings and funerals. Firmness was required to ensure that they were present for the baptism of their children. Despite this, there was a certain residual acceptance of aspects of the Christian faith which centred upon the person of Jesus. In one colliery of long foundation it was not uncommon for the affairs of the Church to be discussed for praise or blame, at the pit bottom. (8)

The more easterly townships and villages looked to Leeds rather than Sheffield as a centre for shopping expeditions and entertainment; and far east, the villages in the river port of Goole area were much nearer to York than Sheffield. A more balanced diocese would have included Barnsley and its surrounding parishes but the diocese of Wakefield was already in existence. (9) There is reason to believe that the claims of Doncaster to be the see city were considered. It was centrally placed and indeed, when the vicar of Doncaster, J.N. Quirk, was consecrated as suffragan bishop in 1901 he had thought that his title would be Bishop of Doncaster. (10) The choice of Sheffield was however inevitable. Its inaccessibility was compensated for by its world renown as the home of the cutlery and steel industries and, as events were to prove, the financing of the diocese would have been impossible apart from the influence and prestige and wealth

which Sheffield represented. So it was that when Archbishop Maclagan (11) took the first formal steps towards the creation of a diocese for south Yorkshire it was clear that Sheffield had been chosen. In 1907 "The Sheffield Bishopric Scheme" was set up to promote the project and to make adequate financial provision for the immediate requirements of a new diocese. (12)

An exact classification of the parishes within the diocese in the late 1930s is difficult to achieve. Apart from the small country villages and the estate and industrial parishes, the remainder had mixed populations variously engaged as to work; in a number of instances industry had come into a parish and established itself there. Examples of this are the parishes of Chapelton and Ecclesfield. A convenient breakdown of parishes gives this result : City residential: 7 parishes; Urban mixed : 30 parishes; Market Town : 1 parish; Estate parishes : 9; Industrial and Coal Mining : 55 parishes; Country villages : 48 parishes. In addition there were curates-in-charge of a number of areas known as Conventional Districts. The plant was either a modest church and a church hall, or a dual-purpose building. An example of the latter was at Herringthorpe, Rotherham. Generally the population was made up of workers in industry or colliers, though the building of housing estates of moderate size were catered for in this way. (13)

However, whether by repute or by reason of factors internal to the diocese, Sheffield did not, and never has, attracted a ready supply of clergymen. The newly ordained sought their titles elsewhere (14) and the home supply of ordinands was small. This situation was a continuing problem to Bishop Burrows and was too evident to his successor who, writing in retrospect, said "The first and continuing task was to draw more priests and ordinands into the diocese" who came because they "recognised the situation and responded to its challenge". (15) What was this situation? It was not peculiar to Sheffield but was a mark of all heavily industrialised areas in Britain. By the thirties "the middle-aged generation at the time of the First World War retaining its membership of the churches" had died and its passing accounted "for the steep fall in membership in that decade". (16) More easily recognisable was the result of the post-war depression on the working classes when the traditional lack of adult participation in church life "had been further defined and solidified". (17) In many parishes where industry prevailed the church building was large and often unattractive and to Hunter, on his arrival, there was no escaping the call to action supplied by "the emptiness of the churches in the crowded areas of the diocese". (18) This was complicated in the Church of England way by the lack of a policy of "providing the right man for the right place at the right time". (19)

But though candidates for Confirmation were decreasing in numbers, baptismal returns remained at a high level; these owed as much to motives of a folk religious nature as to any explicit obedience in faith to the requirements of Christian initiation. (20)

Alongside disturbing evidence of regression there has to be placed during these years the relatively satisfactory state of the on-going life of the Church in many parishes. Its general ethos was "low Church", with significant exceptions, but in spite of this church interiors had been greatly altered, and at times ruined, by refurnishing schemes which owed their prevalence to the outward expression of "gothic" medievalism favoured by the ecclesiologists. Church attendance was regular; church choirs were maintained in numbers if not always in quality; on Sundays Holy Communion at 8 o'clock and at mid-morning once a month was the pattern in many parishes, with Mattins - attended by the better to do - and Evensong the most popular service. Attendances at Sunday school, though past their peak, were not inconsiderable.

From its inauguration the diocese was underfinanced, particularly in capital investment. In 1914 its endowment was no more than £4000. (22) Personal giving generally was at a low level. (23) This was still the age of garden fetes, of bazaars and jumble sales, which was less a mark of complacency than of conservatism. Indeed through the years Bishop Burrows urged Church people to be generous though it must be said that methods of giving were too often in support

of this or that appeal; of which there were many. (24)

In January 1930, the Reverend (later Canon) F.A.C. Youens was appointed as organiser of the "One hundred thousand guineas Appeal". This had as its object the provision of finance for the building of churches and church halls in the newly populated areas of the diocese. It realised £120,483, and as a result a planned programme was drawn up which included the provision of new buildings in Sheffield, Rotherham and Doncaster. (25)

One large rehousing scheme in Sheffield brought into being the Parson Cross estate on the north-east boundary of the city. By 1937, 40,000 people had been moved from slum dwellings in the centre of the city and the number was to increase by a further 10,000. This challenge to the Church of England was met by the bishop in, for Sheffield, an unprecedented manner. In March 1938 he was able to announce that he had "entrusted what will be the great parish of Parson Cross to the Kelham Community". (26) By this means it became possible, in an understaffed diocese, to maintain a larger team of priests than would otherwise have been possible. The first vicar (and Prior) was Fr. Richard Roseveare, SSM (27) who, assisted by two and later four members of the community, began a penetrating pastoral ministry which was to continue, though not with the same staff, until 1956 when the Society of the Sacred Mission withdrew from the parish. By the time of Hunter's enthronement in Sheffield Cathedral on 31 October 1939 the Kelham Fathers had made a deep impression and were building up a vigorous mission. (28)

Once the decision had been taken to make Sheffield the see city, it followed that the cathedral would be the parish church of St. Peter and St. Paul, until modern times the only parish church in the town. The building dates from the early fifteenth century and was the successor to two previous churches on the same site, of which the first was built about 1100 and the second was completed and consecrated probably in 1280. Finance for the preservation and maintenance of the ancient church was no problem. This happy state of affairs was due to the provisions of the Sheffield Church Burgesses Trust, the first purpose of which was "the support and repair of the fabric of the Parish Church of Sheffield - now Sheffield Cathedral - and the ordinary expenses attending on the celebration of Divine Worship therein". (29) That there were less desirable results necessarily followed; generations of worshippers were excused the duty of providing for their mother church. Unfortunately, as a cathedral, the overall amenities were inadequate for the greater demands and facilities needed for the performance of its enlarged functions. This meant the provision, and the need continues, for large capital expenditure and a continuing increase in giving by members of the congregation.

As early as 1921, the Great War over, the cathedral architect - Sir Charles Nicholson - prepared an extension scheme. The bishop was in full agreement. When the prospectus was published Burrows

said "it is hoped that at least in seven years the great scheme of a Cathedral worthy of such a city and diocese can be achieved... We have got a splendid leader in our Provost...The decision to build depends upon our determination within the diocese to "make good this loyal and courageous resolution". (30) The cost seemed huge, an estimated £250,000 but with the onset of the depression the scheme was shelved until in 1936 the Cathedral Extension Fund was launched to provide for new building on a modified plan. In that year the foundation stones were laid on 23 April by the Princess Mary, the Princess Royal and Miss F. Tozer. (31)

Bishop Burrows made his farewell to the diocese on 13 July 1939; his resignation took effect on 2 August. In his last message to the diocese he wrote "I doubt whether any Bishop has been as blessed as I have been in his staff of workers...whether clerical or lay...My work in the Diocese I have loved." Burrows had been loved in return and throughout the diocese in every kind of parish, the visits of their father-in-God were eagerly awaited. "My last word" he said "shall be one of welcome to the new Bishop ...His work in the industrial area of Tyneside has won universal approval." (32)

In the Diocesan Gazette for September 1939 there was printed "An Appreciation" of Leonard Hedley Burrows, Bishop of Sheffield

1914 - 1939. The author's name was not revealed. "This was a man" he wrote quoting Shakespeare (33) and continued, "in bodily presence worthy to be considered as a representative Englishman. At the age of eighty he was such a one as we all might hope to be. Strikingly handsome, amazingly young, healthy and hard-working, of a countenance which combined the eagle and the dove, dignified and kindly...The kindliness of his expression evoked a liking and then a love; the dignity won first our respect and then our obedience". (34) The conclusion is unavoidable :as a result of the ministry of its first bishop the heterogeneous collection of city, town, industrial and country parishes had become a recognisable diocesan family. (35)

ii.

1939 - 1945

The consecration of a priest to be a bishop and chief pastor in the Church of God inevitably places the one so hallowed in the public eye both within and outside the Church. Within these intertwining spheres he will be esteemed, maybe revered, at times disregarded or criticised and even possibly denounced. For these reasons a bishop must properly have served a demanding apprenticeship and with this in mind, such a one may not be consecrated until he has reached at least thirty years of age. (36) Commonly bishops have been much older. (37)

Hunter had served such an initiation. His nomination to a diocese which did not command a high reputation had no immediate appeal for him. Thirty five years later he was to admit that it came as "an awful shock". (38) He compared Sheffield, "an inland city shut in on itself", to Newcastle, "a port which looks out on the world" (39) and recoiled from the prospect. What he had heard of the diocese was not encouraging; there was a shortage and inadequacy in the clergy (40) and an aged bishop had just retired at the age of eighty two. It was an unattractive proposition.

Moreover, he would have preferred to stay at Newcastle until Bishop Bilborough had retired. Is there a hint of ambition here ? (41) It is likely that he would have valued the opportunity of building on the foundation he had laid at Newcastle. However, there were those who realised that he ought to accept. Archbishop Lang wrote to say that "this offer has been made with my full concurrence and knowledge". (42) A few days later Hunter was in Lang's study to receive the advice and the blessing of the Primate of All England. Archbishop Temple wished Hunter to know that the nomination "has my most cordial approval; I very much hope that you will see your way to accept". (43) Hunter's was rather a muted acceptance for, writing to the Prime Minister he said "I believe it is my duty to accept your offer to nominate me to his Majesty for the See of Sheffield". (44) However, experience testifies to the fact that many an appointment in the Church which is

undertaken as a matter of duty rather than of personal choice proves to be both a valued and valuable and often an outstanding ministry. There is just the suspicion that the lack of cordiality for which Hunter was criticised in his first years at Sheffield was due, in part, to the low estimation in which he initially held the diocese.

Leslie Hunter's consecration to the episcopate took place in York Minster on the Feast of St. Michael and All Angels (September 29th) 1939. The Principal consecrating bishops were the Archbishop of York (William Temple), the bishops of Durham (A.T.P. Williams), Carlisle (H.H. Williams), Southwark (R.G. Parsons), Newcastle (H.E. Bilbrough), Southwell (H. Mosley) and Wakefield (C.R. Hone).

Many years later Hunter drew back the veil which concealed his innermost thoughts and feelings. Before his consecration he had spent three days at Hathersage, adjacent to Sheffield but in Derbyshire, where he devoted part of his time in meditation and prayer in the parish church. He has left on record his thoughts on the first question which the archbishop would put to him in his examination before the laying-on of hands. "Are you persuaded" runs the question "that you be truly called to this Ministration according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ...?" Hunter left for posterity his answer in his notes : "I did not seek it or ask for it. Half of me is reluctant to accept it...My friends have

advised or welcomed my acceptance. It comes with the approval of the authorities of the Church and from the highest in the State.. The Chapter has elected me..." : "I am so persuaded". He added an explanatory rider : "I accept the Anglican view that a bishop is primarily a doctor and upholder of the truth, therefore a believer in the present ministry of the Holy Spirit in the Church and in the world". This is pure John Hunter. A prayer followed :

Make me, O God, fit for the strains that I shall have to endure;
 give me the courage to bear a full load;
 and let me not fail thee, seeing that thou hast trusted me greatly.

(45)

Looking back to his consecration Hunter, for the benefit of others, recalled the occasion in these words, "To kneel before Archbishop Temple and to have his hands and those of bishops who were to be my colleagues placed on my head; to be surrounded by friends - clergy and laity from Northumberland whom I was leaving at that grim moment in history, and by clergy and laity from Sheffield who were to become my care - and in that sublime church to wait upon God in the beautifully ordered Eucharistic offering of worship, was a deeply moving and inspiring moment in my life." (46)

The bishop was enthroned in Sheffield Cathedral on 14th. October 1939. (47) In a message to the diocese, printed in the Diocesan Gazette, he had written "The contemporary world is under the judgement of God ". (48) "When people cease to believe positively in a righteous God or in Christ as his uttered Word to mankind, they sooner or later become a law to themselves...We as a nation are rightly challenging those who in the international sphere are principally responsible for their breakdown". But, as a student of the contemporary scene, he went on "These disintegrating influences are working among us". Sheffield's new bishop gave added point to his message in his enthronement sermon - in the presence of diocese and city when he said "The message of Christianity and the duty of the Church is to confront men with the living God...in Christ-service there is no reserved occupation". (49)

The fact that the outbreak of the Second World War had coincided with his consecration could not but be prominent in Hunter's mind. In these first words as bishop he had shown his agreement with Archbishop Temple, his filial agreement. To both men the war represented a spiritual crisis in the affairs of men and nations and a call to Christian service. "We enter the war as a dedicated nation" the Archbishop had said. This statement did not include for Temple the making of prayers for victory. (50) For Hunter there had to be full support for the war effort and in

this he could have cited Temple with his reference to "fighting effectively". (51) Looking forward as was his habit Bishop Hunter wrote in his November message that there had to be "in the years ahead a wholly new quality of effort to rekindle faith and love in a world which is under the judgement of God". (52) The scene was set by the bishop for his immediate and continuing ministry and during the course of the war years he continued to uplift, to encourage and to challenge people to see through the nation's unsought, dangerous venture.

"A dedicated nation" was Archbishop Temple's verdict. "We are rightly challenging those responsible for the war" declared Bishop Hunter. Was the nation's immediate response marked by unanimity of spirit as the bishops indicated? A.J.P. Taylor has cast doubt on this so far as the political leaders of the nation were concerned. "The House of Commons forced war on a reluctant British government and that government dragged an even more reluctant French government in its train". (53) It is, he concluded, "hard to believe that he (Hitler) wanted a full-scale war against Britain and France". (54)

None the less, adult memory of the war years contains the sense of doom which united the nation on and after September 3rd.

This war was unsought; this war had a moral objective: evil as represented by Nazism had to be faced whatever the outcome. Taylor's dictum "The British people accepted the decision of parliament and without complaint" is a just observation unmixed with cynicism. There was, on hearing Chamberlain's message to the nation at 11 o'clock on September 3rd, the sensing of a duty to be accepted and a price to be paid. That the war could have been avoided - Taylor hints at this - is an unanswerable hypothesis. There was no leader for peace of the stature of Churchill as the leader in war, and it was the voice of Churchill which roused the nation, and indeed was the nation, when on May 13th. 1940 he said in the Commons "You ask, what is our aim? I answer in one word: Victory - victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror; victory, however long and hard the road may be". And Taylor rightly concluded "This was probably the will of the British people". (55)

Was there a word of God relevant to the nation's cause? The Bishop of Sheffield had spoken one such. "Before the nation or the Church can make a strong crusade against evil rampant in the world, we must humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God". (56) There was sufficient of a sense of the mystery of evil (57) in the minds of the Bishop's readers to understand his meaning. He himself was too much of a realist to imagine that his words would be readily comprehended by people at large. But the

Church's title deeds included the admonition to be the leaven in the lump. (58)

A note-worthy and significant aspect of Bishop Hunter's ministry to the diocese was the persistent way in which from its beginning, as we have seen, he set out to instruct and to guide the people of South Yorkshire in what he realised was their hour of need. His basic tenets had been worked out in his pilgrimage from Nonconformity to the Church of England; not in a sectarian manner for such was not his way, but as providing greater emphasis, outreach and authority for the exposition of the Christian faith and in the delineation of the Kingdom of God. Like his father John Hunter he was a disciple of F.D. Maurice (59) and it was a Maurice-inspired teaching which he developed in the new world of evaporating faith in God and in the Christ-revelation of his nature and will.

During the war years the bishop had much to say to the church and diocese of Sheffield; to the clergy of the diocese; to the community at large.

a.

No contemporary bishop was more convinced of the nature of the Church's mission. It was to the world and should embrace the world by setting out the meaning of God's creative and redemptive

activity. The fruit of this was (and is) the recognition of God's moral law for mankind which is summed up in the concept of God's Rule or Kingdom as the Church has received the teaching of Jesus Christ.

The month of May 1940 was a time of apprehension. Preaching on the Day of Prayer (26th. May) Bishop Hunter spoke of "terrible forces of aggression, with a determination and ruthless skill which we have under-estimated, are striving to destroy - not what is evil - but what is good". This was a time for penitence and searching of heart "because we have left undone things we ought to have done, and we have honoured with our lips a faith and purpose that we have not always practised in our lives...We cannot have the God of Truth on our side without pledging ourselves, body and soul, to him". (60) Such preaching smacked of the prophetic tradition of Isaiah and Jeremiah (60) and it was from this source that Hunter drew his immediate inspiration; but this was at all times a potent force to him to the extent that it led him to set out again and again "the rule of God, the Lordship of Christ". (62) The days ahead were to be marked by the defeat of the French armies and the evacuation of the British and French troops from Dunkirk. "A great deliverance and a great disaster" as Taylor succinctly wrote in retrospect. (63) Many people throughout Britain regarded it as a miracle and were, though apprehensive, the better prepared for the testing days ahead.

On the eve of the Battle of Britain (September 7-15) when the attack on nerves and on moral resolution was intense the Bishop asked characteristically, What are we to do ?, and replied to his own question :

1. use common sense in the habits of life; he emphasised the need for sleep.
- ii. exercise moral and mental discipline; avoid intemperance; let there be real neighbourliness.
- iii. prayer and worship were not to be neglected : Christians are believers in the Cross and the Way of the Cross. Trust in God's overwhelming purpose; "if we can live a little in eternity now, it doesn't matter when we die". And this wise word : "Religion has its techniques like any other craft; spiritual faculties atrophy if not used". (64)

Two months later the bishop broadcast from the chapter house of the cathedral on Remembrance Day. He had an astringent message. "Mere nationalism is the danger, with military victory as the end; and no further. Hold to the peace of God. Only the Word of God can provide an alternative creed to Nazism and secular Communism." He went on to say that representatives of the Church ought to re-affirm the true doctrine of God and man "to which the dying and living of Christ gives insight and illumination to say - here you are going right and here you are going disastrously wrong". (65)

In preparation for the Day of Prayer on March 23rd. 1941, Bishop Hunter wrote "we are fighting for the basic principles on which a Christian civilisation rests". (66) Later in the same year he reminded his people that the Church has to be true to its calling which is "in its worship to steady resolve and strengthen faith in the eternal things of God...The ordering of our Church life will always be the best witness we can offer to secular society". (67)

Hunter's aim was to present to all whom he could reach a clear understanding of the demands of the Christian faith - as true, though greatly tested, in peace as in war. The extent of the penetration of his teaching is again a matter for debate: immediately what he said and wrote was largely confined to the clergy and the official representatives of the laity. The diffusion of his more demanding thought - which was often expressed in general terms without exemplification - needed the mediating guidance of the parish priest.

Writing of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima (6th August 1945) and on Nagasaki three days later, A.J.P. Taylor committed himself to the dictum "War suspends morality". (68) It was his opinion, expressed earlier in his book, that as the war progressed there were in Britain no proponents of moral precepts and proprieties. With strategic bombing tactics in mind he commented

"The groups in England who were usually the guardians of morality had been the first to turn their moral indignation against the Nazis - there was virtually no one left to speak with a higher conscience". (69)

Perhaps the voice of the Church in the persons of Bishop G.K.A. Bell of Chichester (1929 - 58) (70) and Bishop Hunter of Sheffield was unheard by him. Speaking to the Diocesan Conference in the middle of 1942 Hunter drew attention to the danger "that the people may lose grip of the moral principles which they were fighting to uphold...It is not easy for us to know what is a military necessity but the destruction of congested streets in old continental cities is not easily acceptable. Lex talionis is not Christian". (71)

A prophetic word followed. "If men would justify acts of revenge as a necessity of psychological warfare, then do not let them deceive themselves with false hopes. Should the last stages of the war be fought with such weapons then the chances of those who use them making a just and enduring peace are infinitely remote". (72) Clearly Hunter was disturbed.

The largest part of British war strategy in 1942 - and indeed throughout the war - was made up of the strategic bombing raids into Germany. Though much circulation was given to setting out the raids as directed against military and industrial targets, in

fact the underlying (and undisclosed) motive was to destroy the enemy's will to fight. This demanded a policy of making indiscriminate attacks on civilian populations in Germany; it had been presaged as early as 1940 when Winston Churchill had said "There is one thing that will bring Hitler down and that is an absolutely devastating, exterminating attack by heavy bombers...upon the Nazi homeland". Taylor's contention is that "Britain outdid German frightfulness first in theory, later in practice, and a nation which claimed to be fighting for a moral cause glorified in the extent of its immoral acts". (73) This was an example of English moralised pragmatism.

Bishop Hunter's severe reservations were apposite and alongside them can be placed the equally clear criticism expressed by his Metropolitan of York. Temple's "anger was reserved for those who professed Christian faith and yet called for reprisals on Germany". (74) It is likely that the Archbishop was suspicious of official government propaganda and intended his views to be made public. But in spite of one crash concentration against a German city which was part of a cabinet decision in October 1940 that "the civilian population around target areas must be made to feel the weight of the war" (75), the results were indecisive. Post-war investigation revealed that "the German war economy was but little, if at all, affected by the strategic bombing which took place during these (early) years". (76)

By the beginning of 1943 - though the hope was still fragile - there was a feeling that the war was being won. Had not the bad faith of the Japanese government by the attack on Pearl Harbour (December 6th. 1941) brought in the United States of America ? (77) Britain was no longer alone. Certainly this hope was expressed by Bishop Hunter and, as usual, with a stress upon the moral implications. Under the heading "A Need for a New Puritanism", he wrote "Shall we win the peace ? This depends upon there being a people willing to think seriously on the issues before them, to act disinterestedly and exercise self-control". The Bishop was alarmed by what he described as the "combined and constant influence of entertainment - which made no demands except that people should register impressions and not think at all ". (78) Yes, a warning to the Church, but what of the folk religion of the masses, not to mention unbelievers ? There is a hint of unreality in what Hunter was saying - unreality, not in his moral perception, but arising unconsciously out of his own austere standards. Leslie Hunter, however much he tried to conceal it did not or could not appreciate the low brow. The presence of the parish priest and of his people - this was certainly true in the back streets of Rotherham - had an influence for good, often of a deep kind; but a forgetting there had to be for most people in an industrial community and the standards of entertainment were not high.

b.

One of the prime concerns of Leslie, Bishop of Sheffield, was to be very clearly and decisively the spiritual father of his people, beginning with his clergy. (79) He did not accomplish this latter duty by any facility of speech or by a humanly welcoming manner. Rather it had to be seen in the care he took in the selection and training of future priests and in his instituting of a planned three-year course of post-ordination training - from compliance with which there were no exceptions. It was in 1942 that this took firm shape when he appointed D.E.W. Harrison (at that time Vice-Principal of Wycliffe Hall Theological College, Oxford) to a residentiary canonry and as director of ordinands and post-ordination training. There was to follow after the war ended in-service seminars for incumbents - as well as for the junior clergy - not least for those who had reached an age when there was need for them to be brought to face new concepts and methods in theological thought together with the pressing demands for a pastoral training adequate to communicate the Christian faith to a post-war generation.

Throughout the course of World War II there proceeded from Ranmoor Grange, the bishop's relatively modest palace, a constantly maintained series of directions, exhortations, words of encouragement - and sometimes of discipline - for the benefit of the diocesan clergy. The most junior clergy were forbidden to marry until

they had been in Holy Orders for at least three years; no junior priest was to hear confessions (this would apply only to a minority of men) until they had been in priests' orders for two years.

What of practical directions ? In a letter to the clergy of September 10th. 1939 the bishop gave a reminder of the Archbishops' regulations - "The Clergy in War Time" - issued at the beginning of September under the terms of the Clergy (National Emergency Precautions) Measure 1939. (80) Subjects included were the care of churches, church services, the preparation of candidates for Confirmation and the reminder to each priest not to neglect his own spiritual life. Pastoral visiting was to be maintained. No clergyman was to place himself under any non-church authority without the bishop's consent.

Some months later the clergy were admonished to see that consecrated lands and buildings were not used for military purposes. Only the authority of the Secretary of State under the Defence Act (81) could over-ride the incumbent's authority and even then the sacredness of the place should be carefully observed. (82)

A month later (July 1940) all the clergy of the diocese were directed to take part in community life to the extent that their physical strength and priestly duties permitted. (83)

Cooperation with Free Church ministers and Roman Catholic priests was an obligation. In the event of military forces being encamped or billeted in a parish, the incumbent should without delay (this was stressed) contact the commanding officer and ascertain if chaplains were attached to his command. Should this not be the case, the services of himself and of his staff were to be offered. In this matter - the bishop was leaving nothing to chance - "the CO has sufficient authority to act".

In this same pastoral letter there was a reference to the priest's spiritual duties. "Show people how to pray" wrote the bishop, and in the use of the Lord's Prayer "to ponder and enter into each clause". The clergy were not to rush about exhausting themselves for the sake of so doing; but "to pray much".

Bishop Hunter did not forget the needs of the priest as an individual. He had particularly in mind the fact that the long continuance of the war was inevitably sapping energy and possibly a priest's sense of vocation. A Synod of the Clergy had been summoned to meet on April 27th. 1944. Among the bishop's first words were "our priestly commission is to stand on the Godward side of man in such wise as not to hide or hinder his ministry but to mediate his life and love. God forgive our failures, but we are called and commissioned to be the instruments of his saving grace, his voice to speak words of truth and pardon, his hands to heal, to bless and to adore". (84)

It had been quickly realised that Hunter lacked the personal attractiveness of his predecessor : a fine presence, readiness of speech, and outgoing manner. By contrast his silences at interviews, at table, among people were embarrassing. His inaudibility on the telephone was to older men irritating and to young curates or junior incumbents demoralising. But despite these inadequacies Hunter came to be respected for his informed convictions about tasks which awaited the Church of England and its leaders, the clergy. During the war years, and indeed throughout his tenure of the see, there was a recognition, often hardly won, by the priests of the diocese that their father-in-God held them in the hollow of his hand; (85) that notwithstanding his off-handedness with those whom he found difficult, there was a recognition of the value of their work. His hopes for his clergy were high. (86) That their bishop prayed for them they knew; he said that he did. The exercise of his firm will was supportive and if necessary corrective of their ministry. (87) He was aware of their personal gifts. In all this Hunter had a strong practical streak; he disliked fussiness or effusiveness; he was not a master of the ready phrase and in conversation almost trailed his thoughts behind him. His personal piety was screened off from public view; sentimentality had to be avoided; it had no place in a priest's commission.

So it was that the bishop pierced bubbles of complacency. Referring to drudgery in the vicarage - no doubt a hard-pressed priest had complained for his wife's sake - drudgery, yes "but we are ministers of the homeless Christ" : "of his values not those of the world" : "The worldly layman is our most delusive friend".

As to security, "I am terribly uncomfortable with myself and uncomfortable when ministers of Christ claim greater security than any other profession in the world had".

And referring to vocations to the Sacred Ministry he said, "I am uncomfortable at the number of conditional vocations among us. We shall not win over the best elements in society unless we ask God how to re-order the affairs of the Church". (88)

This is Hunter at his most typical and best. His vision of Church reform had matured over the years and included within it the equalising of clergy stipends, the provision of housing suited to modern requirements and the training more thoroughly of candidates to the ministry.

Finally, with the hope that the war was drawing to an end, Leslie Sheffield began a section of his monthly letter to the diocese with this question - when will the end be ? Incumbents and others

must be ready for that event and announce in advance how it will be observed in the churches. I hope that on the day churches will be open for private prayer and that at stated times there will be short informal services of thanksgiving lasting 15 to 20 minutes. The bishop had in mind busy people and also those unaccustomed to being in church. The important thing is to let people know what is arranged. (89) The Declaration of the Ending of the War in Europe was made on May 8th. 1945.

c.

On May 22nd 1940 the Emergency Powers Act was passed. Its provisions gave the government practically unlimited power over all British citizens and their property. Strangely it was not until September that Bishop Hunter referred to this when he reminded his readers that, faced with "a new conception of government - and not only with evil men (a reference to Nazism) - parliament should act (it already had). The government should be given complete control over persons and property", which Hunter thought could not be done just for the duration of the war and then step back into the old ways. At first sight this might appear to be an advocating of tyranny, but in the context of community life the nub of his thought was that the action would be a means

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generals, could assert that they were really convicted for the crime of having lost...the moral effect of the Nuremberg trials was, at least, questionable". (95)

This firm opinion is not incontrovertible. True though it was that the British people had been fed with propaganda highly critical of the German mentality in general and of the Nazi regime in particular which predisposed them to an extreme reaction; and accepting the evidence of the undisclosed objectives of the strategic bombing campaign by the RAF, which brought the scales down on the British side in self-justification, it remains that there was a deep-seated sensing which was very largely felt throughout the country that there was a German culpability for the war which was criminal in intent. The devastating exposure after the German capitulation of the sadism and barbarism perpetrated in the concentration camps led to a revulsion of horror against the German nation as a whole.

A search of the records of Bishop Hunter's speaking and writing during the years 1945-47 does not yield any reference to the Nuremberg trials. The bishop by his silence can with some justification be thought to have held the view that a cathartic punishment was not inappropriate; not as a matter of revenge but as representing and delineating the reality of a nation's guilt. It is at any rate a possibility. And it must be remembered that

Hunter was in close touch with Christian opinion in Germany at this time and onwards. (96)

To what extent it may be asked was there an acceptance of guilt by German Christians for the outrages of the Hitlerian era ? Two examples may be adduced. The first is a Conference of the German Evangelical Church which met at Stuttgart on October 18th and 19th 1945. It was attended, as representatives of the World Council of Churches, by Bishop G.K.A. Bell of Chichester together with others from Switzerland, Holland and the U.S.A. A declaration was drawn up by the Conference which included these words : "we with our people know ourselves to be not only in a great company of suffering, but in a solidarity of guilt. With great pain we say, through us has endless suffering been brought to many peoples and countries". (97)

The second example is a meeting, by invitation of the Dutch Reformed Church, of a large group of young Christians of several nationalities during the first fortnight of August 1949, held at Driebergen in Holland. All were West Europeans and among them a group from Germany. A significant feature was the way in which there rapidly grew up a sense of unity of purpose and of friendship.

The German group was included in this without any rancour. The latter in private conversation and of their own volition spoke of the sense of shame which they felt when they realised the enormities which had been practised in their name. (98)

Through Christian spectacles Bishop Hunter set out a two-fold argument which he repeated time and again.

First of all the Nazi aggression represented an "attack on the cultures, institutions and liberties of people; the disavowal of a moral code accepted for centuries though uncertainly, but which has formed an environment in which Christian faith and life could grow". (99) The country was "fighting for an international political order based on justice and as far as needs go, supported by power, within which nations can live and co-operate freely and the rights and needs of minorities and of the vanquished are respected". Economic freedom and economic justice between states was a desideratum (the old Liberal free-trade concept), as was the preservation (he might have said, restoration) of cultural and religious freedom. (100) These forward-looking prescriptions for a true and lasting peace were an act of faith indeed in 1942 when the Blitz of September 1941 was but a recent memory. Looking far ahead, the Bishop in old age must have rejoiced in the setting up of the European Economic Community. His indignation at Britain's tardy entry is a likely presumption.

Secondly, there was another side, that of the Bishop's preaching. Justice and mercy knew no boundaries of country or language; reform began at home. In Britain there needed to be a refusal "to be contented with a social order where greateconomic inequality and irresponsible use of power are not only tolerated but apparently approved". (101) Three years later, at the time of the invasion of Normandy (June 1944), Hunter referred to the danger of post-war anarchy. (102) Perhaps he saw this as a delayed-action in the moral sphere. He declared that "European society must be a planned society in which individual enterprise is consciously part of a common effort and is controlled by the will to serve a common good. Our answer to totalitarianism has to be a disciplined and ordered freedom". (103)

A background comment on what Bishop Hunter was saying is provided by the Roman Catholic philosopher and historian Christopher Dawson. Surveying the crisis in Western culture in the twentieth century he wrote "Every European war has the characteristics of a civil war and the creation of an international order is no longer the dream of political idealists but has become a practical necessity without which Europe cannot hope to survive". And he posed the question whether "Western civilisation is strong enough to create a world order based on the principles of international law and perfect liberty?" (104) The Anglican Bishop and the Roman Catholic layman are at one in their assessment of the situation.

By the time that hostilities were drawing to an end the Beveridge Report on social security was in preparation and was to be of signal importance in the developed conception of the Welfare State whilst adhering to the principle of flat-rate contributions for its financing. In these ways the visions and demands for justice uttered by the Bishop of Sheffield took shape. Taylor's comment is valuable. "The British people deserved a reward - they had risen to unparalleled heights of sacrifice and resolution - and the most substantial was the plan for universal social security". (105) He went on to say that the Report catered for past evils : abject poverty and mass unemployment, one the great social evil before 1914, the other between the wars. Neither was to present a problem after 1945. This was an over-sanguine statement. R.A. Butler's Education Act of 1944 was another land-mark and set forward the cause of education with the plan to raise the school leaving age to fifteen (realised in 1947) and to sixteen (realised only in 1970). The provision of free secondary education for all was of great moment even if, in the light of later developments, it was to some degree experimental. The Act of 1944 made religious education compulsory for the first time in maintained schools. Taylor has a comment typical for its acidity. "The Christian devotion of teachers, or of parents, could no longer be relied on. Christianity had to be propped up by legislative enactment". (106)

Bishop Hunter rejoiced in these long-overdue provisions. There lay behind his own convictions the influential authority of Archbishop Temple, whose aim it was to advocate a Christian "ideal for the children of our country, the ideal for truly religious education". (107) Because of this the Archbishop was firm in his view that the provision of R.E. for all in the maintained sector was of more importance than the preservation of Church schools. "Let us not give" he had said, "the impression that our concern as church people is only with the adjustment of the dual system : we ought as Christians to be concerned with the whole educational process". (108) Many Churchmen, led by the Bishop of Oxford (109), disagreed with him.

Hunter agreed though that neither he nor the Archbishop had any desire to see Church schools as envisaged in the dual system vanish. He made a pertinent observation as early as 1942 when, in a lecture under the auspices of the Sheffield L.E.A., he spoke strongly of the danger to the freedom of teachers which might result from bureaucratic control. "I make the plea for freedom strongly, because it is more vital to Christian education and experiment in education than many of the details of curriculum and syllabus". (110) Emphasis on the training of Christians as teachers was indicated.

The danger of bureaucratic control expressed by Bishop Hunter sprang out of his fear of totalitarian processes permeating English life under various guises. (111) This once more had a prophetic touch to it as later decades have shown. Christopher Dawson was making much the same point when he said "Our modern Western secularised culture is a kind of hot-house growth. On the one hand, man is sheltered from the direct impact of reality, while on the other he is subjected to growing pressure which makes for social conformity...The sub-religious is in a certain sense sub-human". (112) Hunter might have expressed himself differently but he would have assented to Dawson's credo : "I believe that the study of Christian culture is the missing link which it is essential to supply if the tradition of Western culture and Western education is to survive". (113)

In retrospect the events of 1944 - 45 which culminated in the German surrender seem very matter-of-fact : there was the Allied landing in Northern France (D Day) on June 6th 1944; there was the capitulation at 2.41 p.m. on May 7th 1945. But the interim period had been marked by the dangerous rocket attack on Britain - the rockets were costly to produce and killed relatively small numbers of people but they were a portent for the future. "Great Britain had lost her land security"; (114) there had been the devastation of the city of Dresden by saturation bombing; and

there had been the underlying and unseen consequences to Britain : the final victory came just in time, was Taylor's verdict. "Great Britain was at the end of the road: production of munitions was declining; the armed forces were quivering at their summit; currency reserves had been run down; two-thirds of export trade had been lost. She needed a better world for her own sake, not only for others". (115)

What was Bishop Hunter saying ? With particular clarity he prepared his readers and hearers for the casualties which the invasion of Northern France would bring - "The hard price of victory". After five years of war these would be "hard to bear". He too perhaps began to wonder if his reiterated message of the grace of God in Jesus Christ had been heeded : "Would that more people were fortified to bear them (sc.the last strains and pains) with the patience, assurance and courage which a full Christian faith gives...As a rule men must follow Christ and live with him before they are able to enjoy the strength and consolation that his triumph over death and evil brings". (116)

The signs of post-war secularisation were being sensed. "I have an uneasy feeling about spiritual slackness..of all the issues before the world the spiritual one is primary". (117) He returned to this theme in his sermon in the Cathedral at the Civic Thanksgiving on May 13th. 1945. "A military victory is essentially

destructive, not constructive - in all European countries there is a desert of nihilism...Men and women are empty...What better have we to give them than our Christian heritage and all the social virtues and political wisdom that derive from it. Here in England faith in Jesus Christ has been the heart of our common life; his Church has been the cause by which all other good causes have been fed". (118)

"Has been" : Christopher Dawson writing post-war on education within a Christian culture in Western Europe said "The vital factor (which produced the moral values of Western culture) was not the aggressive power of conquerors and capitalists, but the widening of the capacity of human intelligence and the development of new types of creative genius and ability". (119) The "has been" of Hunter's phrase has haunted the church during the passage of the later decades of the twentieth century. "Modern civilisation" declared Dawson "is morally weak and spiritually divided". The Bishop of Sheffield was quite aware of this.

Preaching at a second Civic Service (on August 19th 1945) the Bishop began "The war is over...there are victories still to be won : victories in the field of politics : "has the atomic bomb made war impossible ? nations gamble on the exercise of power...Righteousness is the basis of security in human relations". Hunter's friend and co-bishop (of Southwell 1941-64) F.R. Barry

wrote in his autobiography "Hiroshima killed the consoling dogma of automatic progress". And in a further penetrating remark he asked of World War II, "Did men stand alone in a neutral or even hostile universe? It is the fear that this is the truth which is gnawing the heart of post-war society". (121)

victories on the spiritual plane : "we have to recover our moral perception...is not the loss of moral sanctity in Europe largely due to loss of faith in a Divine Law which men must obey or perish and in the Rule of God whose will is man's peace". (122)

In his diocesan notes a few weeks later the Bishop protested : "I feel bound to express moral horror at those two massacres of civilians in Japan. Almost as shocking were the plausible arguments used to defend the action- it shows how soiled the moral conscience of society has become through six years of total warfare, and how necessary it is that we should be cleansed and recover our moral sanity". (123) Hunter is in fact saying that, like the leaders of the Evangelical Church in Germany, there is a solidarity in guilt which appertained to the Allies also. (124)

It was this conviction which enabled him to express a firm hope in the final victory of the Allies (even in the darkest days of the war) and couple with it a demanding challenge posed by a peace which had to be won. It is doubtful, with this in mind, if he foresaw that from the sixties and onwards Britain would be

described as the most secular country in Europe. Or was it, in an exaggerated form, the continuance of Anglo-Saxon earthiness and pragmatic pelagianism ?

Bishop Hunter once wrote "Although a man is consecrated to be a bishop in the Church of God...he is this by becoming a father-in-God to the people of a diocese...It is not a roving commission to which he is consecrated...but to a personal and pastoral relationship - for better, for worse". (127). His fatherly care for the diocese during the years of war revealed the degree to which he was obedient to his calling and the distinction with which he fulfilled it.

CHAPTER SIX

A BISHOP'S CREATIONS 1946 - 1961

"He was certainly" in the decades immediately before and after the Second World War, "one of the most creative minds at the top of the Church". (1) This is D.L. Edward's verdict on Hunter. (2) He was a pioneer, conscious of the ambivalent attitude of the Church towards industrial society broadly conceived, alarmed by the comfortable presumption that England was a Christian country, aghast at the complacency within the Church of England which accepted its constitutional position as the English Church but was insufficiently energetic in working for its realisation in fact. Hunter's vision, which he was to repeat time and time again, was that the Church of England should become in reality the Church of the English people. (3)

Within the diocese of Sheffield Hunter harnessed his creative urge to the task of developing both a competence for action and an outreach into those areas, notably the world of industry and industrial workers, where the Church had little or no influence. (4) Before hostilities had ended he jumped the gun by setting

out his thoughts on 'The Church Prepares' project while it was still being discussed. (5) Such a campaign had to be clear about its basic objectives : "our spiritual task in the Church is to get rid of the hindrances and obstacles which are holding up the free course of the Spirit of God (6) and to prepare His way and a way to Him;" he continued, a clearing for action, removing all unnecessary activities and disciplining personnel "to be ready for the opportunities of the day and to be able to fight materialism and mass indifference with good success"; and to prepare in the family life of the Church "a welcome to the men and women who have been away - trying to meet their unspoken needs and ready to receive what they have to bring from the experience they have been through". (7)

i.

The Church in Action Campaign, inaugurated by Bishop Hunter in March 1945, was Sheffield's response to the Church Assembly initiative contained in the report, The Church Prepares, which had been produced by its Financial Committee. The report was sent to the dioceses and at Sheffield after being recommended for action by the Diocesan Board of Finance (8) was approved by the Diocesan Conference on 28 June 1944. The Diocesan Board of Finance as the executive organ of the diocese had agreed that the Committee of Management (9) should appoint a committee for the purpose of defining the extent of the scheme and its practical objectives. That Hunter was the impetus to action is clear, as Mary Walton suggests : "The Bishop informed the Board that he

had consulted the Committee of Management;" they had together collected a committee; Earl Fitzwilliam (rather bashfully at the Bishop's request) was chairman and Sir Walter Benton Jones (10) the honorary secretary. At the request of the lay members of the committee a more militant title was adopted and "The Church in Action Campaign" was born. Bishop Hunter was in action.

The lack of an adequate capital endowment (11) had been a severe handicap from 1914 onwards. The Hundred Thousand Guineas Appeal of 1930 had shown by its success, that a sense of responsibility for the Church's mission existed and could produce worth-while results. (12) By the end of the Second World War there had been a build-up of pressing needs for action in Sheffield, Rotherham and Doncaster. New housing estates and smaller areas were without churches; pastoral ministrations were greatly hampered and the development of Christian mission impeded. For want of funds the diocesan complement of priests was the lowest in the Church of England in relation to population. Churches, parsonages, church halls had to be built, and built without unnecessary delay in order to safeguard the options of sites reserved to the Church by local authorities. To set a target of £750,000 in 1945 - the war in Europe barely over - was a courageous as well as a daunting venture in faith. (13)

Four months after the launching of the campaign, with much of the time taken up by victory celebrations and by a general

election, Hunter commended the speedy response which had produced the first £100,000 from personal gifts. The parishes' burden was to follow. It was a great encouragement to their bishop that "the laity are making this campaign a layman's movement, following the good lead which the chairman, Earl Fitzwilliam, is giving. They are doing much of the organising, speaking, and the number of the 'they' increases." (14) Hunter brought the attention of all the workers, lay and clerical, to the purpose of the Church in Action campaign which was not "simply to increase our material resources. It is nothing less than the making of the membership and organisation of the Church here as elsewhere an effective instrument for the conversion of England to the Christian faith. The power is of God, but whether that power is hindered or allowed free course depends on us." (15)

The idea that there ought to be an overall strategy for the diocese was a novelty to many incumbents and to their people. Those of the clergy who had within their parishes large new housing estates were alert to the possibilities; to the rest it was a challenge to "bear one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ". (16) That the non-recurrent needs of the diocese should involve the raising of £750,000 was a shock which could have been stultifying of effort or a galvanising to action. In the event it was the latter. By September 1947 the first phase of the Church in Action Campaign came to an end with the news that, in

addition to the £100,000 and more which had come from personal gifts and covenants, the parochial share which had been assessed at £100,000 had been raised. (17) The Church Extension Committee had come into being in December 1946 for the purpose of administering the monies and to advise on its allocation. Provisionally the first planned allocation was : to Central Church Funds £20,800; to Loans to parishes £16,000; to Stipends £70,000; to Diocesan and Parochial buildings £70,000; to Cathedral Enlargement £16,000; to Church Schools £8,000. (18)

It was a mark of Hunter's strategic flair that in October 1946 he followed up the launching of the campaign by making a direct approach to each Parochial Church Council in the diocese. He sent out a set of questions designed to elicit a thoughtful reappraisal of parochial aims and to lead to action. (19) What should a Christian community be like ? Is your church such a community ? The post-war years present a challenge and an opportunity to the Church : in what ways can Christian lay people be given a clearer grasp of the Christian religion and its interpretation of life ? The rising generation is less attracted to the Church's round of worship : in what ways can the worship of God be more suited to the needs of children and of young people ? is it possible at the same time to encourage parents with young families to attend ?

As to finance, what grounds are there for expecting people in general to give monetary support to the Church ? Do you give, and give enough, to diocesan and central church funds ? Do you object to such demands ? Is straight giving or are special efforts to be preferred as the means by which the ordinary expenses of the Church are met ? Do you think that enough is spent to enable the Church to do its work effectively ? Such questions were to the point, but they required discussion in the Parochial Church Councils and in parish groups to come alive.

Hunter put another penetrating question to the diocese in 1953. "What" he asked "does a 'Church in action' do ?". His familiar theme of radical overhaul of organisation and activities has the corollary that for this to be "constructive and wise" it must not be inspired merely by our own likes and dislikes or only by an uncritical response to what other chaps say. It has to be made in the light of the New Testament and of our own Anglican inheritance." With these words Hunter defined the area of his appeal to history and, knowing the resentment that re-ordering could cause, he continued "It is vitally important that the Church should be loved or hated for the same reasons that the Lord Jesus was loved and hated, and not as sometimes happens for quite different reasons". (20)

As the years passed by, Hunter's vision and his persevering advocacy were recognised and accepted by many within the diocese. One sign of this was that by 1960 the Church in Action Campaign had reached its target. Not only had £750,000 been raised; it had been spent. The momentum continued. When the church Extension Committee was dissolved in 1974 (21) over £1,000,000 had been disbursed.

Hunter was present for the last time on 2 February 1962 at the Church Extension Committee. At the end of the meeting, C.E. Holmstrom, (22) said "that he would like the Bishop to know how greatly he would be missed. The Committee had spent £750,000 and the success in raising and disbursing the money was entirely due to the Bishop's energy and tremendous drive". (23)

ii.

Hunter's concern for workers in industry had been fired at Barking and, by reason of unemployment, only partially satisfied on Tyneside. He had, however, come to the conclusion that "there was little first-hand knowledge of how industry was functioning day by day, or of the relations between industry and finance; and little experience of open discussion with management, technicians, trade-unionists and shop stewards". (24) And even to concerned consciences there was the "unexplored territory" of employment in industry "where so large a part of the population earn their living, its working conditions and their pressures on human

psychology, personal relations or the absence of them ". (25)
 These were the insights of great dynamic potential which, to a person of Hunter's creative mind, demanded action. But the Second World War came and the country's survival was the all-important task.

With the general feeling in the country in 1944 that the war was being won, Sheffield's bishop began to look ahead. (26) In his primary visitation of the diocese he remarked on "the lack of contact between the industrial worker, qua worker, whether of the management or of the managed and the parochial life of the Church, is very serious". (27) The two worlds, he declared, scarcely touch. Hunter was conscious of the severe demands which the attempt to establish and develop contact would make; and of the back-log of ignorance within the Church which would have to be overcome. That anti-clericalism scarcely existed in Britain was an encouragement, but there was instead "the crust of apathy and neutrality which in some ways presents the Church...with a harder task than the Church has to face in Europe". (29)

Hunter's first planned move came when in April 1944 he appointed E.R. Wickham as "the Bishop's chaplain to industry". (30) The appointment was in the nature of an experiment in order to test the possibility of a Church initiative to heavy industry. (31) Wickham, who was soon to be "Ted" to all and sundry, began

a ministry of penetration on the shop floor of Steel, Peach and Tozer at the Templeborough Works. With his quickness of mind and a cockney gift of repartee he quickly passed "the speaking our language bit". (32) He was able to avoid involvement in trade union and party politics and had the benefit of knowing that he had been accepted as works padre by the Joint Production Council (the workers' representative body). From small beginnings (33) Wickham, talking to this person and that, was to gather men together for small and then larger meetings - for the answering of questions, for discussion, argument - and in Hunter's words uncovered an interest in "an uncompromising statement of the Faith". (34) In time it became possible to organise meetings outside the works at Church House and later on at Whirlow Grange. A monthly celebration of Holy Communion in the cathedral became a key part of Wickham's ministry to workers in industry, representing as it necessarily did, the relationship between daily work and God's acceptance and blessing of it. (35)

The experiment was succeeding in its initial task. Hunter's faith in Wickham had not been misplaced. He was - in a conversation after his retirement - to describe Wickham as "the most remarkable of my colleagues" (36) and quoted an experienced observer of the industrial scene in his memorandum on industrial mission that "therewasno one else in the Church to compare with him (sc. Wickham) in knowledge, experience and ability in this field". (37) One factor which contributed to Wickham's success was the support of

his bishop which he gave "strongly and faithfully". Hunter was never a "Wickhamite". He accepted Wickham's description of the work as creating "a bridgehead of revolution in industry" (38) but there was room for a difference of interpretation between the two. Of this Edwin Barker firmly says "I have never associated him (sc. Hunter) with revolutionary or socialist views. (39) He was persistently critical of industrial practices but in terms of profound Christian faith rather than from any given political theory". (40)

Another factor was Hunter's wise oversight of the developing work in its practical details coupled with his guidance in matters of principle. One of his most pertinent comments was designed to nip in the bud any status talk about industrial mission. Should it "begin to think of itself as an end in itself it would come in time to be a dead-end". (41) Such success as there has been was the result of "exacting and lonely work". (42)

The second stage of industrial mission came in 1950. Wickham was appointed Industrial Missioner in the diocese. With this appointment the Sheffield Industrial Mission came into being. (43) Authority in the Mission was exercised by the bishop in consultation with the senior chaplain, other chaplains and women workers having been licensed and a mission staff created. (44) At the same time Hunter had set up "a permanent committee of industrialists, trade unionists and clergy in association with Wickham to advise upon and to promote the work undertaken under the direction of the

Bishop. (45) From this time onwards the work of the industrial mission was consolidated and expanded - it was to include the staffs of railway yards and stations for example and smaller as well as larger works and the collieries.

After ten years of penetration (46) into the industries, the impact of the Mission was going deeper "as a result of brilliant improvisation : an increasing number of men and women, especially in posts of responsibility, were beginning to realise that they cannot take the Church for granted - that it is the good cause which underlies other good causes". (47) The long-term aim, which underlay mission strategy, was "to encourage and help men and women to make their 'secular' job a sphere of Christian action and to try to bring Christian principles and insights to the day-to-day decisions and relationships". (48) At the Annual Meeting of the Mission in 1959 the Archbishop of York (Michael Ramsay) had been the invited speaker. The Archbishop, with his gift of saying profound things simply, was listened to "with hungry attention". (49)

From the pioneering work in the Sheffield diocese, industrial mission fanned out to Scunthorpe, Corby, Manchester, Teeside; to the Copper Belt in Central Africa and to the U.S.A. and Hong Kong. (50) In many cases the leaders had gained experience in the Sheffield strategy.

Bishop Hunter was alert, to some degree at least, to possible misconceptions about the role of the Industrial Mission. There were criticisms, some voiced at the time, others in succeeding years. Were the criticisms justified ?

Miss Mary Walton in her careful history of the diocese of Sheffield (51) gave due emphasis to Hunter's aims in the industrial field. He had, she wrote "long been devising some ways of interesting such men (sc. within industry) in religion within their own conditions of work and life" ; but "the idea that the Church was not concerned with people in their homes and factories in the early years of the diocese is not true". (52) There were indeed diligent priests in industrial and mining areas who gave time and thought to the care of their parishioners and in varying ways were in touch with them. The links however were tenuous. (53) The formation of the South Yorkshire Coalfield Extension Committee in 1910 resulted in a succession of churches being built over a number of years in the expanding mining villages; the work required patience for money came in very slowly. (54) One purpose only was in mind : to encourage industrial workers to go to church with their wives and families and to provide Sunday Schools for the children. At Attercliffe the incumbent had a team of visitors and some contact with factories was made. One result was that "lunch hour services were conducted and little evangelistic addresses delivered, and many enjoyed the hymn-singing". (55) But steel workers and miners in general did not go to church; (56) and those who heard "little evangelistic addresses" were few in number and chapel-orientated. Archdeacon F.G. Sandford (57) who is mentioned by Mary Walton, would have agreed that "a person was simply a person" but he was a west-end Sheffielder who, though he could talk with ease to all kinds of people, was a product of the very gap whose existence she denies.

Hunter was not mistaken in his evaluation of the situation. If he saw "men in industry" as a sort of separate race, his diagnosis was relevant to their situation. Men in industry, like men in the armed forces or like clergymen, become a separate race: marked men, or rather men marked by their training, and by the circumstances and pressures of their life and work. Men in industry were, and are, shaped by their work; an attitude of mind develops which is derived from the blast furnace, the shop floor, the isolation of the pit face. To imagine that they could be brought to an interest in the practice of the Christian religion by simulating an evangelical atmosphere only served to harden their existing view that religion was for women or for men who were less than manly; and the clergy as a class were readily included in that category.

Hunter was convinced, and brought others to share his view by studying the evidence of the irrelevance of the Church to industrial society. (58) He continued to express his conviction as late as 1967. (59) There were "men without hunger" who were a new phenomenon; they were "mass producing and mass produced: the unresisting product of the machine age". (60) Hunter recognised their common humanity readily enough, and this was a source of hope, but they were as a class deprived of their birthright by a species of invincible ignorance which was at least in part a

product of industrialisation.

Out and about in the parishes there was criticism. This was not directed for the most part against the aims of industrial mission as enunciated by Hunter, but against what many incumbents and their people regarded as denigration of parish clergymen and the alleged effeteness of parochial congregations. This criticism sprang from Wickham's well-known and often repeated dismissive references. Hunter of course knew of this and sought - rather mildly - to pour oil on troubled waters. It was necessary, the bishop said, that at the beginning the mission should "keep to itself" but in the long term this was wrong. (61) In private conversation he said, in later years, of Wickham that "he did not get on well with the parish clergy and wasted a lot of venom in criticising them. Perhaps he had rather a chip on his shoulder". (62)

Hunter himself, however, was not entirely guiltless. Beyond the fact that he seldom shone on parish visits, he was well-remembered for the acerbity of some of his letters to incumbents and in private conversation did at times speak critically; his confidence was not always kept. (63) The gradual building up of a team of specialists - priests and women workers who were diocesan rather than parish orientated - militated against a good corporate spirit, first by an over-emphasis on the designation

(64) and secondly because of the easier relationship which they appeared outwardly to have with the bishop. This was unfortunate, for some of them were men of above average ability.

In 1962, shortly before his resignation took effect, Hunter, writing in the Sheffield Diocesan Review, said that the Industrial Mission had been "the most successful penetration into industrial society in recent years". (65) This was no exaggeration and erred on the side of understatement. It had had no previous counterpart. Why then did it run into trouble in the early sixties ? Was there a weak link in its conception and methods ?

A valuable comment is provided by Edwin Barker who later headed a team of three which investigated the troubles within the mission. "What Wickham did was good for his day and in his hands..but it was not for now. Hunter was well aware of this". (66) The latter's appointment of M.J. Jackson as Wickham's successor was "intended as a fresh start". (67) New technology in the steel industry invited a reconsideration of methods of work; no longer were men on the shop floor available to the chaplains in the lulls between the end of one process and the beginning of another. Within the ordering of the mission itself it was opportune and, as events showed, necessary for there to be a reconsideration of the structure of authority within the mission, and of the delicate task of defining sensitively the ethos of mission, balancing on "the knife edge" - a phrase beloved by the missionaries - the call

to secular involvement with that of Christian enlightenment and, it was to be hoped, practice. (68) Disagreement, and animosity, within the team apart, the maintenance in tension of the two-way task demanded a high degree of insight from each chaplain and a patient exercise of corporate loyalty. The flash-point for success or failure in Hunter's Kingdom-centred creations depended to a large extent on the strength, or weakness, of explicit Christian conviction corporately expressed.

Hunter's perceptive critique of Wickham's Church and People in an Industrial City (69) applies also to the latter's presuppositions about industrial society; at the same time it was in the nature of self criticism by Hunter. Since the sixteenth century English society has been increasingly pluralist in character and the effect of the industrial revolution was greatly to foster the trend. The gap between Church and industrial worker had never been absolute, nor was it impassable; although it was not bridged by a main road, it was overcome in various ways by a congeries of lanes and footpaths. The Sheffield city breakdown into villages meant that there was, in the industrial as in other areas, an awareness of the Church and an acceptance of the vicar and of other ministers which went deeper than outward conformity indicated. In the older mining villages there was a recognition of the Church which was marked by the continuation of links on a descending scale : from church attendance, occasional church-going, weddings and funerals in church and the welcome which was given to the parish

priest in his visits to the sick, the dying and the bereaved. Rotherham had an ethos of its own : there was a hardness in its men-folk who were given to ignoring the clergy; there was among the women a fixed resolve to have their babies christened and themselves churched as soon as possible, a habit which owed as much to superstition - usually mother inspired - as to Christian faith. At funerals they customarily gave way to emotion in a near-hysterical manner; it was expected of them and was not greatly a mark of grief. In the case of the men, let their aloofness be punctuated perhaps in argument with their vicar, at times by the application of firm persuasion when a measure of church discipline was involved and there resulted from time to time a recognition that the clergy were under orders and that the Church was committed to the care of people in Christ's name and in his way. From such encounters there came by degrees respect for the priest as a man for them and in some a notable turning to the Church and to Christian faith and practice.

In Sheffield Hunter came to see, and it was a softening of previously held convictions, that "there is more to be said about the religious life (sc. of the city) than can be deduced from counting heads or empty pews. Wickham's thesis with its emphasis on structures and organs is unconvincing to anyone who has been involved in the Church's life and work in parish, diocese and province, while the antithesis between inner life and mission is not borne out by history". (70) It was this fact which produced in Bishop John Taylor - Hunter's successor - the determination to

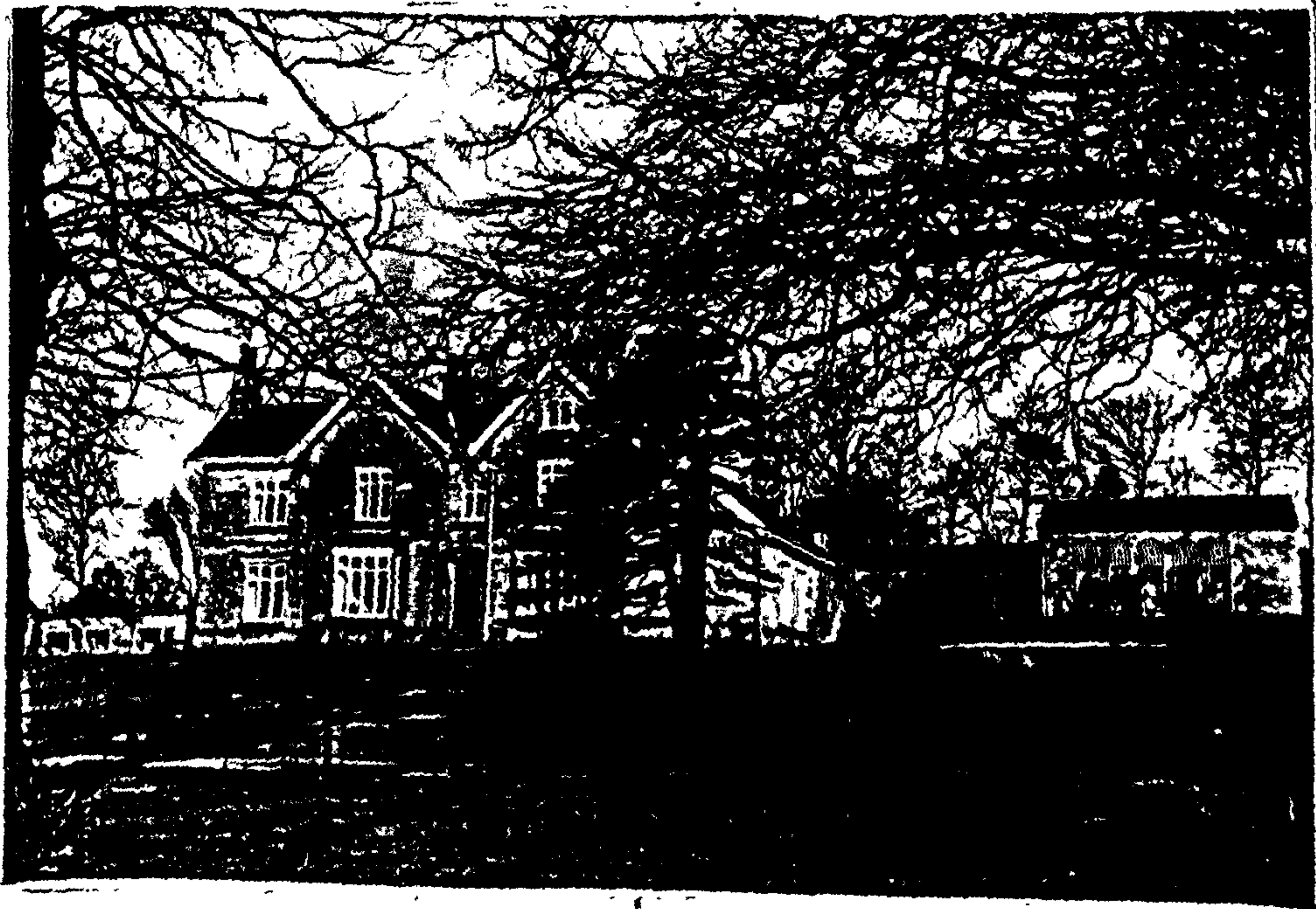
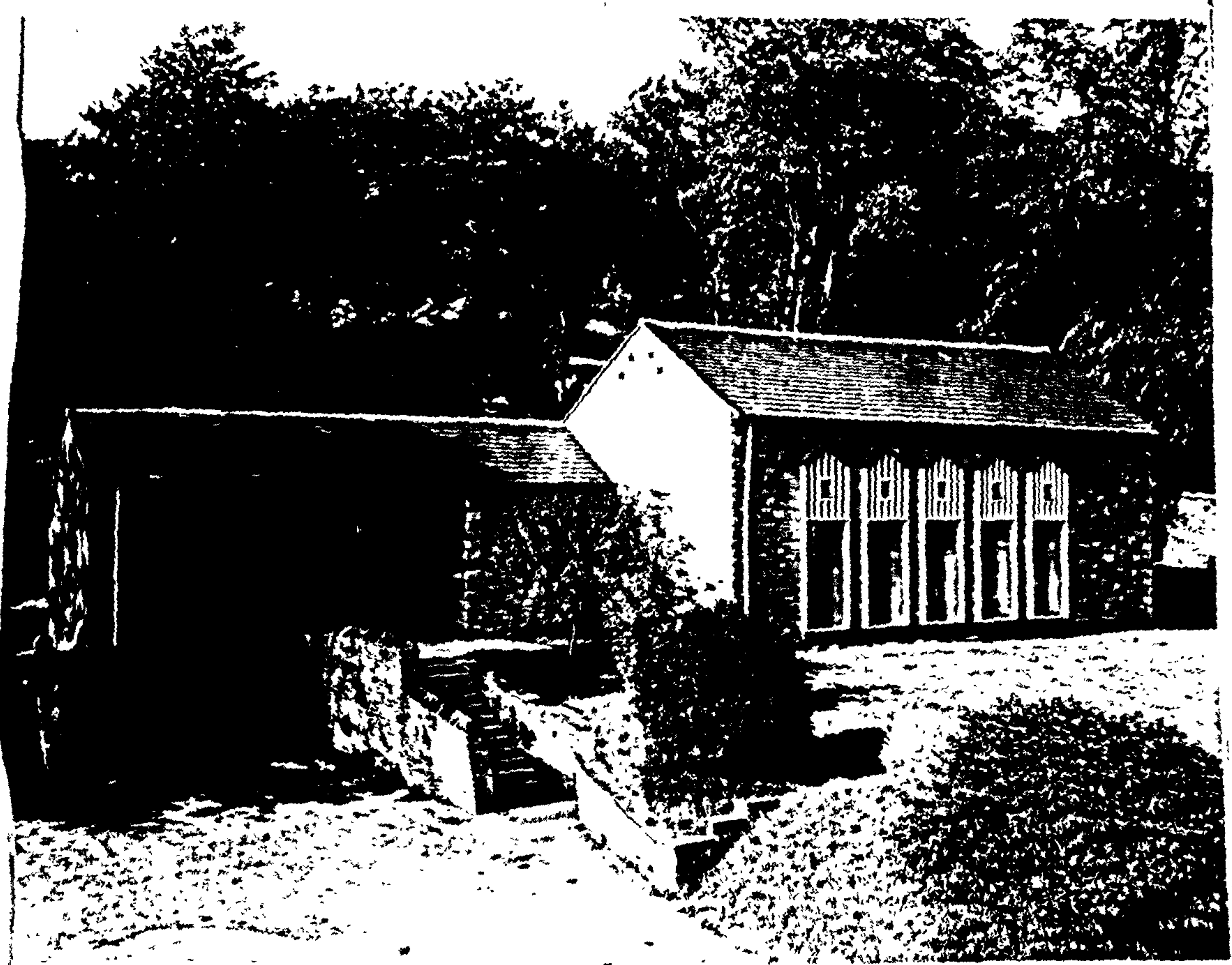
examine and if necessary correct the balance of tension in the work of the Industrial Mission. His aim could not be faulted; the methods employed were inadequate to the importance of the task. (71)

iii.

When Leslie Hunter came to the diocese of Sheffield as its second bishop, it was not difficult to recognise that he brought with him something of the ethos of the Student Christian Movement. This is not a matter for surprise for most clergymen retain identifiable marks of insights and practices which were acquired in their early spheres of work. With Hunter it was the SCM method of group discussion in which lecturer and students shared in a give and take interchange, the value of which depended upon the sensitivity and skill of the leader. Hunter's particular gift was to be able to sit back and let discussion flow and then from time to time to interject a searching question or point to a weakness in the on-going debate. (72)

Hunter's policy for education began with the clergy in mind, (73) and was stimulated with a growing sense of urgency by two questions which he was asking himself. Both, though rhetorical, demanded answers which would issue in action. The first question was, Why do the clergy stop growing? and the second, Why are so many faithful churchgoers inarticulate about their beliefs?

Whirlow Grange - Chapel



House and Chapel

(74) For Hunter the muscular Christianity of the Victorians was inadequate and the Great War chaplains' reports had revealed the ignorance of the basic facts of Christianity among the men in the armed forces. It was not enough that Sheffield had become known by 1950 as a diocese with a marked vitality. "My anxiety is not lack of vitality but lack of depth". (75) In other words there was, he correctly believed, the need to gather together the clergy for in-service training on a regular basis (76) and beyond this, to develop lay-training methods and courses to which men and women within the diocese could be invited.

Suitable premises did not exist and it was a matter of urgency to supply the deficiency. Early in 1952, after a mansion at Hathersage had been rejected on the grounds of expense, (77), it became known to Hunter that the lessees of Whirlow Grange, Ecclesall were anxious to relinquish the remainder of their lease. With no loss of time, Hunter entered into negotiations with Sheffield Corporation (the lease owners) and succeeded in securing an option to purchase. The transaction was completed in November 1952, the purchase price being £1700. (78) Extensions and alterations were put in hand (79) and the Grange was formally opened on 29 April 1953 by the Archbishop of York (C.F. Garbett : 1942 - 1956). (80) From first to last the scheme had been pioneered by Hunter; at every stage his was the directing hand.

The bishop's intentions for the clergy were quickly put into effect. "According to a plan borrowed from another diocese, I am inviting (sic) the clergy in groups of twenty five to spend from Monday to Friday at Whirlow Grange. Each man will be asked to choose one of two dates. A general subject will be chosen for all the conferences each year. We shall appoint (81) a chairman for each week who will represent me as the host, a leader (also) of the morning discussions and one of the number to be chaplain, leaving the group, when it arrives on Monday, to choose what practical subjects it would like to discuss each evening". (82)

The Clergy Weeks as they were called were well attended. Though Hunter had used the word "invite", it was made clear in his letter to individual priests that attendance, except for grave cause, was expected. It was in part due to this moral compulsion that there developed among the clergy a greater sense of corporate morale and with it came the answer to Hunter's question. His clergy were growing. (83) And with their increased awareness of the theology of mission and the choices of practical action which could result from it, there came a stirring of the minds and consciences of the lay people in the parishes.

Led and encouraged by their clergy, groups of all kinds came to Whirlow Grange - diocesan, parochial, ecumenical, and increasingly the Industrial Mission used its facilities for its more cerebral activities. Groups from the professions were to follow. From

parochial and inter-parish week-ends there developed a more detailed and demanding scheme for lay-training with each course lasting nine months. The leaders - unlike the provision for the clergy - were found from within the diocese. (84)

"If we use the place rightly" Bishop Hunter had written "it can become the centre and spring of spiritual power and life to the whole diocese". This was not a misplaced hope. Young priests were provided with an enlarged vision of their ministry coupled with a capacity to judge wisely and on an adequate scale on matters of parish strategy; their elders were, many of them, revived by the consideration of the writings of post-war theologians by whom they were stimulated - if not to agreement - to a reconsideration of their own personal beliefs. (85)

To those of the laity who benefited from the Whirlow courses, the resulting ability to appraise the application of the Christian faith to daily life gave an answer to Hunter's second question.

Whirlow was a success story. None the less there were those within the diocese who were not wholly committed to the venture. They included some of the clergy and on a wider scale Parochial Church Councils, faced with increased diocesan quotas, were inclined to be dismissive of the conference centre as the bishop's brain child for which he should provide financially. (86)

Whirlow Grange
Chapel of the Holy Spirit



The facilities provided by the enlarged Grange were incomplete in one respect - there was no chapel or money available to build one. A small brick building in the rear garden had served for this purpose. It was in size quite inadequate. In 1955 Hunter spoke of the pressing need for a chapel to the members of the Committee of Management. This was deliberately timed. There was, as Hunter had learned, a charitable gift to the parish of Ecclesall - the Hague Bequest - which the bishop said could be used in part for defraying the cost of building a chapel. (87) The diocesan architect, Mr. George Pace, was commissioned and instructed by Hunter to draw up the plans. The estimated cost was to be in the region of £10,000. By the end of 1957 the building work was almost complete and in February the bishop told the Church Extension Committee that a revised estimate had reduced the cost to a figure in the region of £9,000 (88). By May the chapel was ready for use and it was consecrated by Bishop Hunter on 22 June 1958 and, it being a Lambeth Conference year, he was assisted by bishops of the Anglican Communion from India, Pakistan, South Africa, Canada and the U.S.A. (89)

Pace frequently reminded his hearers when he spoke of his work that the architect is the servant of the person or persons from whom he receives his commission. Of the Chapel of the Holy Spirit it can be said that it is Hunter's memorial of himself to the diocese; it expresses in its planning, in its materials and in its facing outwards to the world the nature of his spirituality.

Its inspiration, certainly in part, was Scandinavian. (90) "To one who loves the simplicity of an English sanctuary" he felt the attraction, not so much of the magnificent Engelbrekt Kyrka (at Ersta) with its granite piers and parabolic arches, but of the "more satisfying" east-end of Hogalids Church. (91)

Whirlow Grange Chapel is outwardly a well-constructed stone building, in no sense ambitious; it is particularly noticeable for its perpendicular type windows on the south side. Like so many of the churches Hunter admired in Scandinavia, his chapel has the same marks : "fine craftsmanship in metal, wood and embroideries". (92) Inside the chapel there is a fragrance of wood which is almost incense-like, an abundance of light which gives the impression of a northern sky and with it a communication of the holy as clear and distinct (the mystic's vision). The whole is given point by the impressive altar which is long and set in the middle of the sanctuary and standing on it a cross and two candlesticks in silver of distinguished design. Colour is given by the frontals made of damask, the "carpet of silk or other decent stuff" enjoined by the Canons. (93)

iv.

The building named "Hollowford" originated as a project of the Sheffield Educational Settlement in 1936. Its purpose was to develop further the work of the Settlement by providing a hostel for recreational and educational activities in a country setting. (94) In 1945, and as a result of Hunter's decision to make available residential accommodation for extended youth work within the diocese, the freehold of the site including the hostel building was bought for the Settlement; the selling price was £3,500. (95) The accommodation at that time comprised a sleeping block and a large dining/recreation room. (96) An agreement had been reached by the bishop whereby the hostel was to be managed jointly by the Diocesan Youth Council and the Sheffield Association of Youth Clubs. A second sleeping block was added and, partly as a result of the increase in numbers of church youth clubs in the post-war years, there was a steady use of the premises by parish groups, by clubs associated with the Sheffield Association and some school parties. (97) An administrative committee was nominated by Hunter; this was composed of three representatives from the diocese and three from the Sheffield Association and a chairman appointed by the bishop. Miss Mary Oughtred came to Sheffield in 1954 as organising secretary of the SAYC and assumed responsibility "for the entire day to day administrative supervision of the centre - bookings, accounts and the supervision of the warden and his wife". (98) This coincided with an increase in

bookings from outside the diocese by groups of young people who wished to explore the Peak district.

In 1958 Hunter set up a working party to consider the future of Hollowford. He, as a member of the House of Lords, was aware of the Albemarle Commission which was examining the provisions for youth work in the country and the way in which government support could be provided; he knew too of the Training Scheme for Youth in Industry. (99) Hunter's terms of reference to his working party were wide; (100) it reported in June 1958 in favour of the venture and indicated in detail the additional facilities which would be required - in buildings, equipment and staff - and the way in which the extended Hollowford could be combined with the existing use of the hostel. (101) The report was accepted by Hunter, but not uncritically. It lacked, he realised, any firm intention to provide a clearly discernible Christian context for the project. "What about a chapel?" This is "essential in my judgement". And the full time organiser? He "must be a man with a deeply -rooted Christian faith". (102)

Meanwhile Hunter, through the good offices of the Education Adviser of the United Steel Companies, (103), had discussed the project with some leading industrialists, trade unionists and local educationalists. The response was favourable. (104) But it was one thing to envisage the secondment from work of young

apprentices for courses at Hollowford, it was another matter to secure the consent of sufficient firms to make the scheme viable. Furthermore, there was the added necessity of providing both an attractive and adequately spacious setting and a challenging plan of action. The first involved the raising of money; the second required skill coupled with experience in order to envisage and set out in sufficient detail the complementary items of programme.

(105)

In fact finance for the scheme was to come from two sources : Hunter was opposed to an appeal. Immediately upon the publication of the Albemarle Report in 1960, (106) Hunter drew up and sent off within twenty four hours an application for a grant by the Minister of Education. The scheme was accepted and the Minister was impressed by the speed with which Hunter had applied with a major plan. A grant of half the estimated cost of the building programme was promised. As for the remainder, there was no doubt in the bishop's mind : "Unless a dozen companies are prepared to find some money it is no use going on." (107) The response was adequate. Further grants were received from the Dulverton Trust (£2,000) and from the King George VI Trust which provided £2,000 per annum for three years towards the payment of staff.

A year's closure of Hollowford was thought necessary for the rebuilding and extensions; during this period Hunter was spreading the news of his plans to industry and through educational and discesan channels. The training courses were to come under the umbrella of Further Education and this would include education

within industry. (108) Two salient points were emphasised in the planned operation : "It would be local and so become an integral part of local training schemes, which could be followed up by the staff of the Industrial Mission, parochial clergy and club leaders." Secondly, "it would aim at helping young people...to understand what is happening and to gain a healthy and sound attitude to life...The attempt to give them this cannot easily be done in the classes for which industrial firms are directly responsible. A beginning can, however, be made by living together even for a short time and to some extent where the Christian way of life is assumed and explained and where there are well-planned out-of-door activities as well as talks and plenty of discussion, especially if contacts are maintained afterwards. (109) On 30th. September 1961 the Master Cutler, C.H.T. Williams, formally opened Hollowford Training Centre which Bishop Hunter then dedicated. (110)

Two questions need to be considered. First, was the venture successful ? After a stuttering start, staff-wise, the centre took off firmly after the appointment of Keith Pound as training officer and later as warden. Pound's work as a priest was "to be responsible for the teaching and discussion elements in the one-week residential course, to do the recruitment and liaison with the firms involved and to organise a programme of follow-up to the courses...The Bishop hoped that the experience of living together in a Christian environment and an exciting range of new activities would provide for young people a situation where they could make some new discoveries about themselves and take stock of the Christian dimension." (111)

The Hollowford experiment "was intended to complement the work of the Industrial Mission in the educational sphere and to earth its concerns in a particular residential context". (112) Hunter, doubtless, was relieved to be able to record that "many of the best firms in the steel industry are sending their young men to the courses". (113)

The second question is, What happened to the former involvement of Hollowford in diocesan youth work and of its association with the Sheffield Association of Youth Clubs ? The centre was available for use by the parishes and other young people's organisations though they ceased to be the main concern of the staff. Mary Oughtred, who had a great respect for Hunter even though she describes him as "formidable", goes on "I have to say that SAYC was rather presented with a fait accompli and was edged out with the minimum of consultation". (114)

Hollowford was Hunter's last creation as Bishop of Sheffield; in its re-directed form it gave promise of long life. By the later seventies however, the decline of the British heavy steel industry was increasing in pace, one result of which was the virtual disappearance of apprentices and with them the demise of the work release scheme which made the Hollowford project feasible. In 1980 the diocese, on the recommendation of the Diocesan Pastoral Committee, entered into partnership with the Linley Lodge Organisation which undertook responsibility for the running of the

centre. (115)

v.

St. Mary's church, adjacent to Bramall Lane, Sheffield was in building in the 1820s and completed in 1829. (116) It was consecrated on 21 July 1830 by the Archbishop of York. (117) Like its sister churches in Sheffield (118) and in other parts of the country, the impetus to build came from a recognition by the Church of England that the rapid growth of the industrial towns was "fast outrunning the accommodation of the churches, and unless new churches were quickly built there was a danger of people being enticed away to the dissenting chapels". (119) The sympathy of the government was aroused and, in thanksgiving for the victory of Waterloo, a million pounds was given from public funds. This was in 1818; a second gift of half a million was made in 1824. (120) St. Mary's had a seating capacity, inclusive of the galleries, of 2,000. From 1830 it had been a chapel-of-ease of Sheffield parish church until in 1846 a separate parish of St. Mary was formed.

St. Mary's had an effective ministry to large numbers of people. (121) There is no indication, however, that they included more than a few drawn from the working classes, (122) in spite of the fact that there was a growing population at

Highfields and Lower Sharrow. It could well have been that St. Mary's and its well-to-do congregation did not attract the workers and an indication that this was the case is to be detected in the opening in 1830 and in 1860 of day schools in Hermitage Street and Leadmill. Sunday Schools were held in them and also at Franklin day school. Each of these centres was used as a mission hall and "each developed a healthy and vigorous life of its own, still remembered (sc. in the 1950s) with affection by many parishioners". (123) The years after the Great War were marked by diminishing congregations - a nationwide phenomenon - but of greater impact at St. Mary's as the parish was gradually ceasing to be sub-urban and more and more a congeries of small terraced houses and a variety of factories.

In 1940, on the night of 12/13 December came the first German air raid on Sheffield which demolished and devastated the area of the Moor and the adjacent streets. Bomb blast destroyed the roof of St. Mary's and made the church unusable and unsafe. Because of war-time priorities it was not possible to repair the damage. (124) A temporary place of worship was available at Leadmill School on the east side of the parish and St. Mary's Institute, close by St. Mary's, was patched up and continued in use as a church centre. (125) By 1948 a licence for the first stage of repair had been granted but the continuing pressure on government funds made for slow progress. Bishop Hunter, who "was to take a great interest in the future of St. Mary's" brought J.M.

Paulin from Morpeth in 1941 to be the curate-in-charge of the contiguous parishes of St. Mary, St. Barnabas and St. Simon. (126) He is still remembered in 1986 with affection for his devoted pastoral care in difficult circumstances; reorganisation was in the air, but the future of St. Mary's was uncertain. (127)

What was the future ? Samuel Henshaw came to the parish in 1948 and during the four years of his incumbency plans were maturing in the bishop's mind. A brochure was printed in 1950 - "Planning for the Future : a part for you to play" - which set out the overarching purpose : "A modern church must enter the life of its people on every day of the week - it should as far as possible be a Christian model of the secular world, setting a standard in culture, recreation and social contacts and giving opportunity for its people to develop their tastes and opinions upon the basis of Christian philosophy. It should be a training ground of youth and a forum of adult opinion. It should be closely related to family life. Employers and employees within its sphere should receive inspiration and refreshment from its activities". (128) The Hunter approach is evident and the turn of phrase is redolent of his style of writing. (129) There was a suspicion at the time and the memory of it still lingers on (130) that Hunter had intended to close St. Mary's. There was a greatly diminished congregation and the restoration of the large church for so few, even allowing for war damage payments, was unjustifiable. Henshaw was to bear the brunt of the antipathy which resulted

from this fear. That a gradual diminution of the activities of the church was taking place led suspicion to become more acute. In fact there was to be a re-ordering, not the removal, of the church.

Though the hand of Hunter can be detected in the "Planning for the Future" appeal, Henshaw had directed it and when he resigned the benefice in 1952 more than £2000 had been raised. (131) The contentious situation which had arisen was due largely to a clash between the long-standing pattern of church life at St. Mary's and the need, which Hunter saw clearly, of planning for a very ~~different~~ future in the changed circumstances of post-war Sheffield. P.S. Burnett, Henshaw's successor, revealed his understanding of this in a letter to Bishop Hunter in 1954. "One of the things he wrote "I have been fighting against ever since coming to St. Mary's, is a sectarian 'gathered church' attitude. There were many here who, when I arrived, wanted the strategy of the Church to be one of gathering in again the 'old St. Maryites' scattered all over Sheffield, and even on the P.C.C. this was the prevailing attitude. Changes, however, have taken place in the composition of the P.C.C. and some have been 'converted', and I feel that this battle is largely won". (132) Hunter was always alert to bring an able priest into a parish in order that

he should prepare the way for future action, not least when the form that it would take had not been shaped or was undecided. This he would do almost in an aside, and usually with effect. (133)

Hunter had had St. Mary's future in mind as a necessary post-war exercise. His appointments successively of Paulin and Henshaw were to point the way. Paulin, almost certainly inspired by the bishop, had suggested that the church should be divided into two parts with a church on the ground floor and a church hall above it. (134) By 1952, Henshaw having braved the wrath of the most influential members of his congregation, Hunter had decided that the interior of the church should be rebuilt in two halves : the east end into a church, the west end into a church hall.

In August 1954 Hunter referred to the reconstruction of St. Mary's in the Sheffield Diocesan Review. (135) The architect of the scheme was Professor Stephen Walsh of Sheffield University. It provided for a division of the church as Hunter had desired. Here was, said the bishop, a scheme "ingenious, serviceable; it leaves the exterior of the building unaltered". (136) Finance was to be provided from the sale of the mission church and the school buildings on and immediately adjacent to Leadmill Road; (137) to this would be added the monies received for war damage. The way had been prepared by Hunter who had sought and received the approval of the Minister of Education for the use of the proceeds of the sale of the school buildings, and from the Church Commissioners for the division of the church.

The Reverend P.S. Burnett whom Hunter had collated to the benefice in 1952 (138) had been for three years the assistant general secretary of the Student Christian Movement. Hunter had not hidden from him the problems which St. Mary's presented. He offered the benefice to me, Burnett says "as a challenge and encouraged me to take a radical line and supported me in it. I remember him saying that the parish had broken half a dozen vicars and the first thing to do was to break the stranglehold of a number of men who now lived right outside the parish". (139)

"I had a gruelling first year but (sc. with Hunter's backing) we came through". (140) . Duncan Munro wrote in 1980, Burnett "quickly became the moving force behind events, mobilising support for the new venture". Indeed, it was largely due to him that the Community Centre came into existence and when in existence began to take root. He was "fired with enthusiasm" (141) and was both a creative force and a tactful enabler in the development of a modus vivendi between church and community. (142)

The first task which Burnett faced was to convince Bishop Hunter that the way forward was to bring into being a community centre which would embrace the whole parish, ecumenically and socially, without restrictions on membership. Hunter was initially doubtful. (143) You seem to forget, he wrote to Burnett, that

"the Church of England is not just one of several competing sectsIt would be wrong to try to divest ourselves of our responsibility towards all parishioners". (144) Burnett persisted and convinced Hunter that his Kingdom-centred theology (145) pointed in this direction. (146) This allowed Burnett, in preparing for the opening of the Community Centre, to write in his commendatory brochure "The Centre is to be yours, to serve the whole district and not just one sector. It will provide better accommodation for organisations which already exist and for new ones which are to be started. It will be a meeting-place for you, and all who wish to further the well-being of our neighbourhood". (147) One result of this was that during Burnett's incumbency there were no church organisations - the programmes of the Community Centre were utilised - but there was little evidence of a penetration of the Community into the Church. St. Mary's congregation continued to be very small; time and effort, on the other hand, were given by Church members to the work of the Centre but there was no reciprocal urge from members of the Community to enter the worshipping life of the Church. (148)

The Centre was in partial use before the building alterations were completed. (149) The initial interest in the project promised well for the future. On 13 March 1957 Bishop Hunter rededicated the Church of St. Mary and Princess Alexandra opened St. Mary's Community Centre. (150) Hunter, whose episcopal authority and impetus to action lay behind the scheme, wrote of

its conception : "no existing parish church has been remodelled in this sort of way, and for these purposes, before. The lawyers had to work overtime to make this possible. (151) Admittedly we are making an experiment and therefore taking a risk...Our confidence is tied to the hope that there will be a two-way traffic between the two parts of the building...and that those who through their worship together have come to love God will have the courage and good will to share their faith with others". (152)

Certainly the statistics were encouraging. There were nearly a thousand members of the Centre, not including the Youth and Old Folks Clubs. Its activities were "bringing new life to our district". (153) The range of interests was wide and inviting; (154) it covered every age group and provided, additionally, a feature very necessary in a large city : an opportunity, an invitation to those - whether members or not - who faced problems and anxieties to seek sympathy and help from the staff. (155) As against the hopeful signs in the Centre, there was minimal interest and involvement in the Church. St. Mary's congregation grew but little. (156)

The legal provisions for the use of the community centre had been drawn up with careful precision and subjected to close scrutiny by Hunter. He was, rightly and wisely, determined that the diocese should retain final control of the building.

The separated part of the church building - officially described as St. Mary's Hall and Centre - was vested in the Diocesan Trust and Board of Finance. (157) By an Instrument of Delegation which came into operation on 19 October 1956, the Board delegated its powers of management over the Centre to a body - the Council - brought into being under the terms of the Instrument. The Chairman of the Council was to be the vicar of St. Mary's ex officio; the warden of the Centre was always to be a member and the remaining places, on a wide representative basis and including three nominees of the Parochial Church Council, were to be elected annually. (158)

To the Council authority was given to employ a responsible person, approved by the vicar and the Board, as Warden of the Hall. Permission to employ, a practical touch, included a caretaker. To the Council fell the responsibility for payment of salaries and to have ownership of the fittings of the Centre. Among other conditions two were important. The first stipulated that the Parochial Church Council was to have "priority over all others in regard to the use without payment of the Hall and Centre on Sundays, Christmas Day, Good Friday and Whit Monday, and the Council shall ensure that full effect is always given to such priority". The second stipulated that the Instrument of Delegation should be "summarily revoked" by the Management Committee of the Diocesan Board of Finance if the terms and conditions of the Instrument "shall not be fully observed...or if the character of the Hall and Centre...become of bad repute". Provision was also made for

the delegation to be revoked at any time after giving not less than twelve months notice". (159) Difficulties were to become acute in the late 1960s. The initial fervour had evaporated, there were differences of opinion - at times acrimonious - between the incumbent and the warden and the experiment was in danger of collapsing. (160)

The final outcome of the scheme upon which Hunter had set much store and which Burnett had planned and directed was revealed first of all in 1978 when St. Mary's ceased to be a parish church and was included as a constituent part of a new parish of St. Barnabas and St. Mary. (161) Subsequently, chiefly as a result of the weakness of the Centre, the Council responsible for its management became the Parochial Church Council of the reconstituted parish; the Diocesan Board of Finance agreeing, the necessary legal formalities of delegation were completed. (162)

The unification of the initial scheme under one authority was always possible, and as events had proved, an inevitable result. Even with good will prevailing, there were bound to be tensions arising from the original devolution; when good will or interest were lacking, a vicious circle of cause and effect produced an impasse. A small congregation feeling that the tail, the Community Centre, had at all times wagged the dog had, unfortunately, a diminishing concern for the Centre; the Centre, becoming less effective with a part-time warden, had reached a point of small returns and, looking for assistance from St. Mary's, was disappointed.

The hoped for mutual benefit with which the project was launched and which had been to some degree realised in the first days, had ceased to exist. (163)

Where lay the weakness ? Canon Burnett, with hindsight, has asked the question : Was the St. Mary's project misconceived ? Pioneer ventures necessarily involve the taking of risks. A stratagem aimed at creating local community in a working class suburb was commendable. That a rejuvenated St. Mary's should offer Christian-inspired service for such an end deserved to succeed. From the outset, practical details were well-conceived, well-planned, well-directed. Burnett's width of outreach and his practical sense were masterly. Hunter's probing mind and sense of opportunity led him at all times to be open to new possibilities of extending Christian influence and service; always however as exemplifications of the Christian Gospel. His gift for choosing workers for pioneering projects seldom faltered; and when chosen his support was constant; he made suggestions but seldom criticised.

Where lay the weakness ? At St. Mary's the two communities, Church and Centre, were unequally yoked; their objectives were disparate and as a consequence each was a communaute manquée. The Church, to use St. Paul's metaphor, was "unarmed"; it had no compelling word for the Centre. (164) The centre had as its bases self-regarding social enjoyment and the provision of recreation which teetered more and more fitfully on the edge of

re-creation of mind and spirit. Bishop Hunter had by 1960 reached a realistic conclusion himself; it applied pari passu not only to St. Mary's but others of his creation in varying degrees. In discussion with the clergy of the Ecclesall Deanery Chapter he admitted that Church-pioneered schemes, which sought to commend aspects of the Christian faith to the uncommitted, but which lacked a strong Christian cell at the centre were unlikely to achieve their objectives. (165)

CHAPTER SEVEN

A MEMORIAL TO GREATNESS

It was during his incumbency at Barking that Hunter first showed that, given the opportunity, he would be a forerunner in working for an increased role for women in the life of the Church. (1) Later, in 1941, he became chairman of the Central Council for Women's Work in the Church of England. (2) It was at the request of the Council that the Archbishops - W. Temple and C.F. Garbett - appointed two committees, the one to be concerned with the development of policy, the other under the title of "Training for Service" with the setting up of a new residential college. Such a college was to be designed for theological training and to allow tuition rather than lectures as the overall method. Temple's unexpected death left the proposal without its main and most powerful backer. None the less, and it was principally due to Hunter, the scheme was not allowed to die. In a modified form and in spite of luke-warm acceptance in some quarters (but with the support of Archbishop Fisher) the plan began to take shape. It was intended that the college should "attract graduates and women in responsible positions by offering a thorough study of the Christian doctrines of God, man and society, related to contemporary society and the influences at work in it, scientific, technological and sociological". (3)

Though Hunter does not say so - and such modesty was part of his nature - he was the founder in fact of William Temple College. (4) The choice of name made it a memorial to William Temple, a particularly satisfying choice to Hunter and no doubt recommended by him. It opened at the Old Rectory, Hawarden in the autumn of 1947. (5) There was accommodation - it was an enlarged house - for thirty students. (6) Hunter, from the beginning, was the chairman of the governing body and continued in that office until 1967. The proximity of St. Deiniol's Library with A.R. Vidler as Warden provided facilities and help for the academic work of the College and, in addition, the Department of Sociology in Liverpool University directed the teaching in that discipline. (7) Finance was always to be difficult but monies adequate to initial requirements were forthcoming as a result of the interest shown by Sir Walter Benton-Jones (8) and - after the launching of the William Temple Memorial Appeal in 1947 - the annual interest from the capital sum collected was transferred to the College's bursary fund and used to help students in the payment of fees. (9)

Hunter who had been "extremely influential in the setting up of the College" was to continue to have a direct influence on its life. He was most "persistent in his concern for it". (10) All that he did for the College was at one with his constant mission to extend Christian influence throughout England not only by revitalising the Church but through the calling up and training of women for ministry, and of men and women to recognise a Christian dimension in their secular callings. The story of its foundation

was "in microcosm an instance of his shrewd insight into many matters" (11) which in themselves were patent of service or of use to the extent to which they became agents of the Kingdom of God. (12) His sense of urgency led Hunter at times to attempt too much too quickly. This criticism has force in the hurried opening of the College in 1947, even allowing for the fact that delayed action might have placed the project in jeopardy. (13)

An initial task had been to secure the appointment of a well-qualified principal. Two such were offered the post - by Hunter - but declined on different grounds. One thought herself not to be adequate at that time for the task; (14) the other had discovered that the enterprise was not as well founded as she had been led to believe; her unexpected decision was an embarrassment. (15) It led to a search against time for a substitute and to the appointment of Dss. Marianne Turner, a retired missionary, "to a job for which she was not altogether fitted". (16) It was this situation which led to William Temple College getting off "to a muted start". Its aims and objects had not been clearly thought out; in fact "they were worked out as the College developed and the body of staff built up". (17) A complicating factor lay in the twin concepts, in Hunter's mind, of seeking to provide a theological training in depth for women and at the same time to plan as part of the College's task the setting up of courses to which people from the fields of industry and business might be drawn for the purpose of examining the underlying principles and assumptions upon which their work was based. The implementation of the latter lay in the future, but it added uncertainty to the original concept of the College and its role.

Deleterious results followed : a sense of direction was lacking which aroused frustrations both among staff and students; and in Hunter a critical attitude towards those who were working for and with him. (18) This would build up "a head of steam which seared many". (19)

In addition there was the forfeited esteem for the new venture resulting from the abrupt way in which Hunter "confronted the principals and staffs of the existing training colleges for women (20) with the concept of a new central college". Students were to spend two years at William Temple College and then pass on for one year only to the training colleges. The inference was no doubt drawn, and was no less painfully true, that the existing colleges were catering for less able students and were not staffed to provide facilities for the study courses to be provided by the new foundation. This was Hunter's view and it was built into the aims of William Temple; but in the pursuit of this, and indeed of other objectives, he was insensitive in his zeal to the slights which others felt.

The appointment of Mollie Batten as principal in 1950 was salutary and effective. (21) Dr. Jack Keiser has written "That the College became a worthy memorial to William Temple is largely due to the insights, the courage and the tenacity of Mollie Batten". (22) She had confidence in Hunter and he in her. (23)

She made it a condition of acceptance that the College be removed from Hawarden to a more central position, preferably near to London. Though she was known to argue with Hunter about policy and indeed had the strength of will to promote the College's progress "in directions which she herself determined", (24) "she would not have taken any major step", says a friend of many years standing, "without his concurrence". (25) Between Hunter and herself there was a strong bond of affection and mutual respect which was underpinned by the fact that it was through Hunter that she became an Anglican", (26) and beyond this the certainty in her own mind that "there would be no college named after William Temple but for your faith and courage". (27) Their partnership - it was nothing less - resulted in William Temple becoming a college "which was unique in itself in its contribution to Christian higher education". From this parentage, Dr. Keiser implies, it was "no wonder that there were some who found it difficult to categorise". (28) After Mollie Batten's appointment the unsatisfactory features which had marked its first years were eliminated and a prospectus and syllabus were put together as a result of joint staff consultations. (29)

In 1953 a decision was taken by the governing body (30) to close the college temporarily and to allow a year in which to prepare for its re-opening at Rugby. (31) The town had the advantage of being in the middle of the country and adjacent to

William Temple College



WILLIAM TEMPLE COLLEGE, RUGBY

Photo: Ronald Hamblin



WILLIAM TEMPLE COLLEGE, RUGBY

Photo: Ronald Hamblin

industry. That the local authorities were welcoming was an encouraging portent. (32) "The temporary closure proved a good risk for the next round was well-conceived and a great deal of cooperation gained for its courses". (33) The re-opening took place on 24 October 1954 when the Archbishop of Canterbury (Geoffrey Fisher) dedicated the buildings to their new use. (34) The freehold of the property had been bought from the Church Commissioners, (35) the money for which had been provided as a loan from the William Temple Memorial Fund. Other contributions came from several industrial companies and from trusts. The Pilgrim Trust gave £6,000 for the salary of a tutor in industrial relations; the Dulverton Trust gave £10,000. Donations were received from the Stafford Cripps and the Maud Royden Memorial Funds. (36)

One result of Miss Batten's appointment was to speed up the extension of the College's work to include the provision of short courses and conferences for men and women from the social services, industry and education. For these it "afterwards became well-known". (37) "Perhaps the most interesting of the courses that were planned" Huxler has written "was one that brought together industrial executives, trade unionists and shop stewards on 'Responsibility in Industry Today' ". (38) The course was in three parts : the first ran for a fortnight; then after three months it was resumed for a long weekend; and, after another three months, it ended with another long week-end. (39)

The principal's share in this and other courses was essential to their success. "Men who had never set foot in a theological college and did so with trepidation were quickly put at their ease; she drew them out and never evaded searching questions; her final summings up, one was told, were masterly". (40)

Hunter's chairmanship of the governing body, Lord March writes, was a stabilising factor. As chairman he was "often difficult to hear and not very good at encouraging others to participate in debate and decision making; I think that the grafting of part-time courses for men and women within industry on to theological training was Hunter's idea, though it emerged in discussion with Mollie Batten". (41) Lord March is not entirely correct. The grafting had been in Hunter's mind but Miss Batten provided the competence to integrate it into the ethos of the College. In Dr. Keiser's opinion however, the College suffered from its "ambiguous nature"; it represented an attempt to combine two diverse sets of people and, apart from the economic value of having more people in residence, (42) there was little common ground between the women teachers - who formed the larger section of the full-time students - and those from industry. The incidental gains to the full-time students were insights into the world of industry through participating in the curriculum designed for those attending the short courses. (43)

By the time of Hunter's resignation as Bishop of Sheffield in 1962 he had to record that he was "grievously disappointed". The number of women in training at William Temple was declining and he pointed as a reason for this to "the failure of the Church to make good use of women in the parochial ministry". (44) "This failure" he said "gives added weight to the argument that the Church will not make much use of women in full-time ministry until they are ordained as men are". (45) It can fairly be said that Hunter was a disciple of William Temple in his acceptance of the eventual ordination of women to the priesthood and his equal conviction that the time was still inopportune". (46) There remains however an inconclusiveness about his position. In 1955 Hunter took a leading part in a conference at Whirlow Grange on "Married Women in Industry". (47) He had spoken indirectly on the subject in the House of Lords in 1953 when he stressed the responsibility which industry ought to have to its women employees who were married. (48) Writing after the conference he declared that "a ponderous or prudish condemnation of married women having both jobs and children would be foolish and wrong...they have normally had jobs outside the home...and they have, mostly, been the better for it, and so has the home". (49) But the sanctity of home and family are paramount. "If industry and the welfare services and the professions are of necessity employing married women, then they have a moral responsibility to society - to the nation - to see that the conditions under which they are employed do not prejudice family life". (50)

The same degree of responsibility would belong to the Church were women to be ordained. However, with some other vocations in life but specifically that of the priesthood, a principle cannot be based on a ministry which would - in the case of married women - often be part-time. An unresolved tension is to be detected in Hunter's thinking; and in this instance as in others it points to a trait of character. The ambiguity of conception in the aims of William Temple College provides another example.

Hunter's valedictory estimate of the College, written in retirement, was that it had contributed "through those who have come to it from many parts of the world, through its staff and through its common life, to the Church-Society relationship; and the proclaiming of the Kingdom of Christ, though small in scale, has been both real and prophetic. It has enjoyed the full current of the Ecumenical Movement". (51) It is noteworthy that no mention is made of the success or lack of it represented in the creation of a residential theological college for women. Hunter had not envisaged failure but finally came to accept the unavoidable decision to close down the residential work of the College.

Three dates mark the gradual and necessary transition of William Temple College in order to preserve in some manner the objects for which it was founded. In July 1956 the William Temple Foundation was set up as a company limited by guarantee. It took

over the assets of the College and was recognised as an educational charity. Ultimate direction passed to the Foundation. In October 1971 the College moved to Manchester and ceased to own any residential accommodation. Part-time and residential courses were still offered; hired accommodation was provided for this purpose. At the same time research was given greater emphasis. In October 1974 the name was changed from College to Foundation. "There has been no change in policy or programme; the Foundation continues to be a Christian educational institution engaged in research and teaching". (52)

The vision of a residential theological college for women, different in kind from any existing institution, had been inspired by William Temple; it had come into being largely as a result of Hunter's pertinacity; it had taken shape through Mollie Batten who, through her imaginative approach, "had ensured that the courses (sc. provided by the College) were unique in concept and in execution". (53) Why had its life been restricted to twenty four years ? The ordination of women was not a live issue in any practical way during these years. Indeed, had this been one of the aims even in the long term, support for the College would have been minimal. (54)

What then were the contributory factors which placed a term on the College's existence ? The situation in the parishes was sufficiently inhibiting. Incumbents wanted not women workers as a first priority but curates who would fulfil a priestly ministry.

There were parishes where a combination of the two was effective, though it was rarely possible to devise a sphere of responsibility adequate to the training and expectations of a well-qualified woman. With hindsight, William Temple College came not too soon, but too late. In the sixties theological colleges began to admit women students; and overseas students, particularly teachers, were seeking courses which led to a degree. The lack of placements for women had meant that no more than a third of College students went into full-time church work. There was an added complication in the, sometimes justified, fear that William Temple was producing a militantly professional type of woman who might sooner or later develop symptoms either of aggressive confrontation, or of ineffective impotence. (55) To able and academically distinguished women, capable of creative and energetic responsibility, the vista of parish work as it generally existed was unattractive. Neither the scale of salaries nor the prevalence of sideways moves were inducements. (56) Even with a principal of Mollie Batten's competence and personality, there was no complete answer to the dual role of the College. Important and effective as were the short courses, the future of the venture depended on the maintenance of a constant intake of full-time students. Their decline in numbers coincided with the extent to which more secular attitudes to spheres of work were gaining ground in the nation. Coupled with this was the growth of intellectual doubt about the reality

of God and the tenets of the Christian faith. (57)

In spite, therefore, of Hunter's capacity for discerning times of opportunity - his policies were always based on his belief that England was at heart still a Christian country - the tide of national life after the Second World War and increasingly as each decade passed was flowing away from Church-provided and directed projects; (58) pluralism was on the horizon and those who would serve the Church, whether as clergy or in lay capacities, needed for their equipping a baptism of fire more testing than William Temple College could supply.

The importance of William Temple College is that it existed, that it was a training ground for many who thereby came to see the application of the Christian faith more realistically, that it continues in the William Temple Foundation as a centre for study whereby the answer to the question as to "whether a recognisably Christian faith in God can be held healthily and maturely by honest and intelligent people who know why Christianity has seemed incredible or repulsive to so many in the twentieth century". (59) Hunter would not finally, in spite of disappointment, have been dissatisfied to know that his foundation continued to fulfil a basic aim of his own ministry.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ADMINISTRATOR, PREACHER, TEACHER

1.

The administrative machinery of the diocese of Sheffield was re-cast by Bishop Hunter. (1) He quickly revealed that "he had a flair for finance and administration" (2) and at the first opportunity set in motion consultations which in November 1940 resulted in the acceptance by the diocesan conference of a new constitution for the Diocesan Trust and Board of Finance. Various committees - largely independent of one another - were dissolved and replaced by a committee structure responsible in each case to the Diocesan Trust. A Committee of Management was created to be the executive organ of the D.B.F. Elections to the Board and to the sub-committees were on a triennial basis. Provision was made for direct nominations by the bishop. Thus at one stroke Hunter swept away a "system" which comprised a piece-meal growth of unrelated committees and brought into being an integrated structure which enabled him readily to keep under review the bases for development and maintenance within the diocese.

An examination of the minutes of the Committee of Management reveals the extent of Hunter's influence and direction. It is not evident that voting took place in a formal manner. The inference

is, from the general tenor of the minutes, that there was discussion in plenty, but that the bishop's view prevailed. (3) More than this, he took not infrequently the principal part in the conduct of negotiations. It was Hunter, for example, who dealt personally with the Sheffield Corporation and with the lease owner of Whirlow Grange (4) to secure the purchase of the remainder of the lease. At a later date (1955) it was Hunter who drew the attention of the committee to a source of income, the Hague Bequest, which could be tapped to provide for the building of the chapel in the grounds of the Grange. (5) What the bishop created, he was not slow to support with his own authority. There was a feeling in the diocese that Whirlow Grange represented a financial burden which bore heavily on the parishes. (6) The criticism was firmly dealt with by Hunter. (7) Four years later - ground-roots grumbling is endemic in Parochial Church Councils - Hunter again emphasised the vital part played in the diocese by Whirlow in the sphere of religious education; at the same time he outlined the proposed development at Hollowford along modified "outward bound" lines. "The Committee fully supported". (8)

At all times in the business transacted by this committee, the bishop's initiative is evident. This is particularly true in the degree to which a forward-looking impetus and outlook prevailed. The need for a church centre for Sheffield University was raised; (9) and allied to this, the provision of a full-time chaplain was accepted. (10) With equal urgency there was set forward the

allocation of monies for the augmentation of stipends for the clergy; (11) money too had to be forthcoming for pensions for diocesan lay-workers; (12) of children's allowances for incumbents; of improved salaries for women workers. (13) An interesting Hunter attitude is shown in a letter written to the Diocesan Board of Finance - and passed on to the Management Committee - whilst the bishop was in the U.S.A. It urged the provision of marriage allowances for assistant curates, provided that their wives were not working. (14) Shortly before Hunter's resignation in 1962 the committee agreed that special responsibility payments might be made to assistant curates and women workers, but at the bishop's discretion.

Two interesting items on the agenda of the Maintenance Committee for 27 February 1961 concerned certificates of church membership and St. Matthew's, Carver Street, Sheffield. Hunter had long appreciated the relative pastoral ineffectiveness of the Church Electoral Roll. (15) It was not inter-parochial and contained no provision for commending church people to other parishes. As a result, lapsing was all too easy and oversight scarcely existed. The bishop decided to introduce a system of membership cards which could, on the removal of families or individuals, be transferred to another parish in the Sheffield or other diocese. The committee agreed to finance the scheme. (16) Alas, it was too late in Hunter's episcopate for him to pioneer the new project and the attempt failed.

St. Matthew's Clergy House had in 1960 been considered unsuitable by the new incumbent and another house was bought. (17) The suggestion was made and considered by the Management Committee that the clergy house might become the diocesan offices. There was agreement by the bishop and the rest of the committee that "neither the house nor its location was suitable". However, in October 1982, the upper floors of the house were leased by St. Matthew's Parochial Church Council to the Diocesan Board of Finance and adapted to become the diocesan offices. By then the harsh facts of inflation outweighed the modest triumphalism of 1962 and the diocese secured a serviceable and less expensive business centre.

The compelling vision which dominated Hunter's ministry and lay behind his administrative reforms was expressed cogently to Anglicans in Canada in 1954. At Trinity College, Toronto he summarised his long-standing convictions when he said "In England the alternative to the Church of England becoming the Church of the English people and being, therefore, the spear-head of the revival of an operative and full Christian faith among them, is the spread of scientific humanism and its political and economic counterpart, namely communism in one form or another. The issue is an open one, I believe, for the next thirty years". (18) Thirty years on there remains a large-scale resistance to communism coupled however with a rapid increase in secularism and some loss of confidence in the Church.

In 1946 there was set up - Hunter inspired - a sub-committee of the Diocesan Board of Finance which bore the title of the Church Extension Committee. Its declared purpose was "to proceed with the carrying out of such development plans as have been approved, including the buying of sites, the allocation of monies and cooperation with the parishes concerned". (19) In fact the Committee became the executive organ of the Church in Action Campaign, (20) and had the responsibility therefore of raising the £750,000 which it had been estimated was required for the non-recurring needs of the diocese. (21) In a minute of the Committee, its chairman, C.E. Holmstrom, immediately before Hunter's retirement, is recorded as saying "I would like the Bishop to know how greatly he would be missed. The Committee had spent £750,000 and the success in raising and disbursing the money was entirely due to the Bishop's energy and tremendous drive." (22)

To study the minutes of the Church Extension Committee from 1946 to 1962 is to be convinced of the accuracy of Mr. Holmstrom's farewell words. The major part of the business - all of a practical nature - bears the marks of Hunter's promotion and interests. The first decision taken in 1946 shows the bishop's constant care for the clergy of the diocese : a practical and necessary care. It was to "take steps to fulfil the pledge given by the Bishop to raise the level of benefice income to £500." (23) Through the years a stream of measures were implemented, many of which had first been discussed by the Maintenance Committee.

In 1948 it was agreed that the cathedral glebe be purchased. (24)

In 1949 the bishop himself treated with Rotherham Corporation to secure a plot of land at Broom Valley for a new church. (25)

Hunter in April 1952 announced that the cost of acquiring Whirlow Grange was to be met from the War Emergency Fund with some help from Church in Action. (26) In 1955 the decision to rebuild St. Mark's, Broomhill, Sheffield is minuted. In fact, the diocese had no financial responsibility for this; the Parochial Church Council had received £82,157 in war damage payments and was determined to have the church rebuilt - only the tower remained of the original building. The Diocesan Reorganisation Committee had agreed. The bishop of the diocese was not, for once, in favour; and on this occasion, a rare occurrence, he did not have his way. (27)

An interesting minute of the Extension Committee in February 1956 reveals a particular exercise of Hunter's astuteness and is an example of the way in which he could use circumstances to the benefit, as he believed, either of the bishop or of the diocese in general. The minute referred to the exercise of patronage to the benefice in the case of newly created parishes. The bishop was "anxious that the patronage should not be retained by the patrons of the old parishes...in cases where extreme forms of churchmanship prevailed and when diocesan money was involved". Patronage should be vested in the bishop or in the Diocesan Board of Patronage. The minute ends: "The committee fully agreed

in principle". (28) Hunter had little love for extremes of churchmanship, high or low, unless he was able to recognise a clear loyalty to the Church of England; then, though with no great enthusiasm, he gave credit where credit was due. (29) Two points were foremost in his mind. The first was that patrons, whether individuals or a trust or society, should be prepared to contribute to the augmentation of the incumbent's stipend. In fact they usually excused themselves. Secondly, and this bulked large in his mind, Hunter knew that individual patrons were generally willing to heed the diocesan bishop's advice whereas party trusts were more often than not inflexible; they were only prepared to present to the bishop for institution such priests as were certain to maintain the objectives of the trust. This was natural enough provided that due notice was taken of the needs of the parish. (30)

Hunter's administrative reforms served the diocese well. In conception they were both prudent and effective; prudent in that they preserved to the bishop the initiative which was inherent in his office; effective because they included in committee formation and membership democratic election whilst preserving the rights of archdeacons and, to Hunter an important feature, the means of direct nomination by the bishop which enabled him to bring in men, and from time to time women, of distinctive ability, influence and experience. And having created the system, he was

a manager who allowed committees their head in discussion but directed it to the achievement of his objectives. He saw "his episcopal office as benevolent but strong paternalism". (31) This pragmatic spirit was inseparable from Hunter's exercise of responsibility throughout his career. Paradoxically, to his own satisfaction, he saw it as allied to conference and committee discussion and as its exemplification.

ii.

"The privilege of the preacher is that he has always to speak about great and important things"; (32) "his preaching is a ministry...it ought to contribute to the salvation of souls". (33) As a preacher Hunter was at his best on the bigger occasions: in his cathedral or on special and important preachments. His preparation was meticulous and his matter well-researched and apposite. An example of a cathedral sermon is that preached by Hunter at the institution and installation of John Howard Cruse as Vicar and Provost of Sheffield Cathedral in 1949. (34) Hunter was particularly urgent, not only in reminding the congregation made up of Church and City of the varied duties and ministries of the mother church to city and diocese, but in stressing the "spreading light" which should flow from the cathedral. "Our desire " he said, "is that in the years ahead, this Cathedral may increasingly

become in its worship and teaching an example to all the churches of the diocese : a power for righteousness, a source of inspiration and solace, a continual reminder to a busy community that man is a child of God and Jesus Christ is the unifier of its common life, and so a homely church for all people to linger in and to say their prayers". (35)

It was always necessary to listen carefully to Hunter; he was no orator and was not possessed of a good voice; there were no purple patches. ~~He wrote~~ his sermons; the contents were well assimilated and though read, were challenging and often pungent. On these occasions he took pains to be audible - and just succeeded.

During his first period in Newcastle Hunter served an apprenticeship in preaching to large congregations. (36) His sermon on True Patriotism on the Mayor's Sunday in 1924 was reported and praised for its forthrightness in the local press. (6) Throughout his long years at Sheffield, his biographer concluded, Hunter had fulfilled "a notable preaching ministry". (37) This is a just comment.

A different conclusion has to be reached when Hunter was out and about in the diocese. Parish congregations were often disappointed, not least by having expected much. Content and

appositeness was generally there and church people were prepared to be attentive to their bishop; but he was too often barely or only in part audible. (38) He had the habit of dropping his voice at the end of sentences and seemed unconscious of the effect that this had on a congregation; if not to bodily, it led to mental fidgets. At Confirmations Hunter's addresses were not over-long; what he had to say was to the point if candidates could see the point. He did not speak well to children and usually had little rapport with them. Furthermore in what he had to say, necessarily on these occasions about the Holy Spirit, Hunter would properly emphasise that it was in the circumstances of daily life - at school, at work, with friends - that he was operative. But candidates listened in vain - or so some of their priests thought - for assurance from their bishop that Confirmation was the "seal" of the Holy Spirit, a sacrament conferring the Holy Spirit.

To consider the contents of Hunter's sermons as a whole is to be convinced of his discernment in drawing out the spiritual and moral consequences which followed upon a belief "in the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ". (39) His continuous aim was exemplified at a diocesan conference when he said "In every age the Church is called to be the embodiment of Jesus Christ. The Kingdom of God is the end towards which history moves because Jesus Christ is the centre of history. The Church represents the Kingdom in history so far as the short-comings of its members allow". (40)

From time to time Hunter would say that he was not a theologian. In this he did not do justice to himself. He had aptitude based on study as a moral theologian; he had some understanding of ascetic theology but he was not a dogmatic or a systematic theologian. Of this fact he was conscious. (41) The proof of this becomes apparent from studying his sermons. They do not yield a single instance of a sermon devoted to the exposition of a dogma of the Christian faith as such. The consequences of Christian belief were magnificently enunciated and detailed, but the "articles of the Christian faith" (42), though mentioned and asserted, were never dissected and expounded. It has to be accepted that this was not his métier. (43) And this was a weakness because in the post-War years more and more intelligent people were demanding to have Christian beliefs taught and justified, failing which only agnosticism or downright rejection remained.

Sermon preparation is all important. Hunter did not waste words; his sermons were examples of the ancient reminder that what the preacher had to say must needs be ad rem et ad hominem. His sermon construction shows method and integration. An examination of two classes of his sermons reveal a consistent pattern.

There were sermons preached at services of a civic nature. The composition was one of concentric circles, where the content of each circle is generally homogeneous and made up of variables on a basic pattern. (44)

Circle one : the secular world of this age as distinguished from the past, is the age of science and technology; it is also the age of exploded faith in progress.

Circle two : the responsibilities which belong to position : in leadership, in inspiration, in integrity; the weakness which is human sin and failure and its necessary correction through spiritual search and experience. The basic truth is the validity of the Christian message rooted in the reality of the historic fact of Jesus Christ.

Circle three : the impetus to outreach and to a converting influence always comes from a converted minority who to the Church, and variously to the nation, actualise the relevance of the Christian spirit in community through that Community which is the Church. At one and the same time the depth of responsible membership is exhibited together with the truth, the realising, of the Kingdom of God. Both facets depend upon the belief, based on experience, that "the God who acted and spoke in Jesus still speaks"

and within the Apostolic Church "his Spirit still sends us out to be God's Kingdom - at hand, ahead, real, eternal".

There were Church sermons. The composition of these was pyramidal in shape. (45)

The base : The Lord is King and he is creator, redeemer and sanctifier; belief in which is described in the unfolding of the history of the people of God in the Old Testament, with its climax in the witness of the New Testament to the Word made flesh. A favourite text was "He that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the Son hath not life". (I John 5,12)

The rising, interlocking sides : which spring from the belief in the Lordship of Christ, crucified and risen. He is Master, Saviour, Lord, Redeemer. The love of the Son for the Father issued in the love of the Christ for mankind, and in the age of the Holy Spirit.

Whence the sides of the pyramid :

the evangel - the empowering by the Holy Spirit of the Church "to present and represent Christ among men" as "the truth of God's self-revelation".

the worship - by which and in the realisation of God's

presence, "forgiveness, faith, courage, and wisdom are given to the Church to live as God wills".

the sacrifice - which is the encounter with the fact of Christ's cross and resurrection, enshrined in the ministry of the Word and Sacrament, and made real in each generation by Christians and commended to others by personal exemplification of faith, of love, of sacrifice, of joy. "Let us remember that joy is the heart of the Triune God; that his heaven is a place of melody and singing; that the worship upon earth most near to heaven is the Eucharist - joy in sacrifice".

the Kingdom - Christ's empowering of the Church is for the purpose of penetrating the world of men and women by the beacon light of the Kingdom of God - the realm of righteousness, of peace, of personal identity and corporate responsibility. The Kingdom of God is the true end of man's life; it is the will of God that all men should be saved, made whole.

If Hunter took care in the preparation for preaching and if he had developed precise construction patterns, this did not lead to fluidity in delivery; contrariwise his style was quiet and at times laboured. He gained, and at times failed to gain, attention by the challenge contained in the theme he was developing.

A sample of his style is contained in a sermon preached in Grace Church Cathedral, Vancouver in 1954 on Canadian Labour Day. Hunter gave to the sermon the title Making Men Whole. (46)

"While the underprivileged are still numerous in our cities, it is in other parts of the world that they are massed...; if the Western nations continue to push up their standards of living regardless of the low standards elsewhere in the world, there may be the devil to pay. The wholeness of life...must not be confused with 'standards of living'. Human nature being what it is - a whole, integrated life for men or nations - cannot be achieved by driving up a straight highway through an ever rising standard of life. Psychiatry, medical treatment, education, techniques cannot eliminate a bad conscience or enable men to evade the paradox of the good life - that through losing we find, and dying we live.

The last word as well as the first word of the Gospel given to the Church to speak to a secular society, and to itself, is that in the end of the day Jesus Christ can make men whole. For only He can say to you and me with authority, through the ministry and sacraments of His Church 'Son, Daughter, thy sins are forgiven thee. Arise and walk; go sin no more'. To be healed of pride, ... self-sufficiency, fear, men and women have to hear, receive, accept that word of pardon and hope. 'My peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth give I unto you". Even so , come Lord Jesus."

From this extract it has to be concluded that the sermon was dull; it lacks a lively feel about it and is not greatly appropriate for the occasion on which it was preached. As a talk quietly given to a small group in Whirlow Grange chapel it would have succeeded.

Another example of a Hunter sermon was in Bristol Cathedral at the Annual Act of Worship for the Medical Services in 1962. Hunter had entitled it Medical Service - a Christian Ministry. (47)

In the course of the address Bishop Hunter quoted an eminent orthopaedic surgeon who in speaking to his colleagues said of their work "It means a strenuous life for we shall set ourselves to do each job as well as possible for its own sake, but even more for the sake of the person who needs our help. We shall regard the whole person of our patient, the care, the cure, and the re-enablement of his body, mind and spirit. For after all, the whole thing exists for him..." "That seems", continued Hunter, "a very balanced statement of the right attitude in my service, as in yours...It is a fact of history that a care and concern for people, whoever they may be, have been inspired and sustained down the centuries by the faith that in Jesus Christ, God was revealing himself and identifying himself with man, and especially man conscious of his need and lack of faith...We have, at some point, to make an act of faith and take the medicine offered us

through Jesus Christ and trust that his word 'the Kingdom of God is nigh you', is true...In the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is our unfailing resource and refreshment. Ministry, not vaguely felt and casual, not a good will that is clumsy, uninformed and unintelligent, but, using science and techniques, efficient organisation and good working conditions; and all the time fed by the love of God as seen in Jesus and upheld by the belief that man's true destiny is to be 'a child of God and an inheritor of eternal life'. Fed by the Love of God and so enabled to see Christ the Healer in and through you: your hands His hands; your skill and patience His care; your service His ministry."

Here indeed we have Hunter speaking ad rem et ad hominem with a penetration springing from his developed theme of the nature of ministry. It was a sermon from like to like. In Canada he had laboured but without sparkle, without fellow-feeling. In spite of his expressed concern for man in industry, Hunter was never able to bridge the culture and education gap which separated him from the manual worker whose image is seen in the Carpenter of Nazareth.

iii.

The setting up in each diocese of the Church of England of the Diocesan Conference had been one of the results of the Enabling Act of 1919. (48) The conference in its membership under the

presidency of the bishop was representative in a general way of the clergy and laity of the parishes within a diocese; deans or provosts and archdeacons were members ex-officio and provision was made for the bishop to nominate to the conference directly. (49) Business included the presenting and debating of reports on the range of diocesan organisations and their work. By custom the bishop delivered a presidential address. This enabled him as bishop and chief pastor to expound "wholesome Doctrine" and, whenever necessary "to drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine"; (50) and beyond this to advert to such matters of policy - his own or diocesan - as seemed desirable. Bishop Hunter used the opportunity to the full. Indeed his addresses serve as a commentary on the direction he gave to the diocese of Sheffield and on the practical measures which resulted from it.

Time and again Hunter set out the range of priorities which he regarded as essential to the development of the life and mission of the Church. Immediately after the ending of the Second World War he said that the first requisite was evangelism and a readiness for the demands which would be necessary. "When a religious tradition has become complicated" - a tendency endemic to any institution not excepting the Church of England - "more simplicity and singleness in faith and life is required; theology, however complete, is no substitute for a Gospel". The Church fellowship had to be attractive and pruned of unnecessary activities; the Church's worship needed the mark of the right kind of simplicity. (51) Unfortunately Hunter's tendency to the making of generalised

statements without providing examples to give substance to the criticism leave, and left, a vacuum either of confusion or supposition.

Hunter stressed, and continued to stress over the years, the necessity for a strategy of mission, of outreach to the general community in which the Church is set. In the England we know "the danger of a paganism or of a vestigial Christianity is all too real" he said in his presidential address on July 15th. 1947. This aim required a great emphasis on lay education to a high standard; (52) there had to be an increase in the number of lay workers in the Church at all levels and especially in administration. (53) These would only be forthcoming when there were "more committed Christians". (28th. June 1949) He added characteristically, "It will cost a lot".

And what of the clergy ? Hunter had already set a new pattern of post-ordination training. (54) He complemented this by reminders to the laity about the need to provide adequate stipends and housing. (55) "I urge you", he said to the clergy on June 6th. 1950, "to make the training of the adolescent in Christian belief and Church membership the subject of a searching enquiry". There had to be no easing off in parochial visiting which was to be "systematic, intelligent, sympathetic" (June 13th. 1952). By this he meant that the task was not solely to convert more people, but to provide in every parish an embracing by the

Church of all people in such a way as to inspire, guide and sustain them whenever possible. (56)

It was a happy and necessary commendation of the diocesan clergy when at the diocesan conference on 9th. October 1958 Hunter spoke of their steadfastness in conditions more difficult than prior to the war. At the same time, however, he presented a challenge when he pointed to the need for unmarried priests and women workers to serve in the inner city parishes and to be attached, through the industrial mission, to the smaller works : in all "a patient and sacrificial work." (57)

In making these and other demands on clergy and laity their bishop was at the same time engaged in providing in mid-1952 a means to equip them the better for ministry and mission. The acquisition of Whirlow Grange when successfully accomplished and suitably equipped and enlarged was to provide the accommodation necessary for in-service training for the clergy, for lay training, for parochial and inter-parish meetings, for Church planned meetings for professional groups. (58) The bishop's agents for developing and directing this new venture of faith - and such were always a postulate in all Hunter's schemes - were the Archdeacon of Sheffield (D.E.W. Harrison) and later and especially, Canon Gordon Hewitt, the diocesan education secretary. (59)

For the Church in the diocese of Sheffield to advance in mission and in service was a temporal as well as a spiritual exercise. An adequate financial base had to be provided. To this Hunter returned from time to time as he addressed the diocesan conference. In 1947 he reminded his hearers that it was the responsibility of parishioners to provide their share of money towards the raising of the stipends of the clergy. (60) And more than that : a priest's real income depended upon the payment by the parishes of dilapidation premiums on the parsonage together with the defraying of all expenses of office. (61) There was - in the Church of England at large and in the diocese of Sheffield in particular - an urgent need to provide more suitable houses for incumbents, and also housing for assistant curates and for retired clergy. (62) These points were taken up again when in 1951 the need to raise stipends to £600 per annum was stressed. (63) A year later there was yet another reference by Hunter to the housing needs of elderly priests, to whose plight was added that of clergy wives widowed whilst their husbands were still exercising a cure of souls. That clergymen and their wives should be able to have holidays, that parishes should be in a position to provide for the stipends of curates was more important "than church ornamentation or a new hall." (64)

Five years on Hunter was still finding it necessary to refer to finance. "Why are we unable to provide the necessary money?"

He said this in the context of an observed and general reliance on endowments and on the generosity of the few. "More responsible giving is needed. Sacramental giving is the aim; the laity are the Church." (65) Conference had been reminded in 1955 that there were good signs of the quality of ordinands and in 1958 the bishop referred to the scheme which had been drawn up in the diocese and put up to Cambridge and the Central Advisory Council for the Ministry to provide the opportunity for ordinands to spend six months in the works and thereby to realise the problems of industry and at the same time to deepen vocation. (66) The scheme was put into operation in Sheffield with considerable success.

An extensive and extended range to a bishop's teaching ministry is provided by a periodic visitation of his diocese. (67) Its purpose is to inspect the temporal and spiritual affairs of the parishes and church institutions and, additionally, to sustain the diocesan clergy and their people by instruction designed to make them the better able to fulfil their duties and particularly to give them confidence to commend the faith to the lapsed, the doubtful and to those outside the Church. It was the practice of St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln to inculcate and insist that "ordinary people must realise that their vocation was to be Christian and that they should be able to explain the meaning of this short word to their friends". (68) What was necessary in the twelfth century was axiomatic for Hunter in the twentieth.

Hunter made formal and extensive visitations of his diocese early and late in his tenure of the see. One took place in 1944, the last in 1960. (69) In that of 1944 Hunter set out his approach in an introduction to the printed text of the visitation report. This was in fact a short but telling examination of the state of the Christian religion in England and particularly within the Church of England. "Religious faith in England is differently assessed. While it is more than the statistics of Church life and work suggest, it is certainly impoverished. And it is impoverished because it is insufficiently nourished by the rich traditions and the corporate life of the historic Church". He continued : "A religion diffused, vague, nominal, will not maintain itself for many years against influences which are prejudicial to Christian influences and practice...The dynamic of a living Church is quite simply God himself and the experience of its members that they are a community in Christ, chosen and commissioned by him and not of themselves". (70)

Hunter doubtless could see an incipient growth of a ghetto mentality. And returning to his theme he declared "Now it makes all the difference whether one believes that the Church is God's doing - the Body of Christ - or whether one regards it only as a a body of men and women...The uncertainty which many feel in regard to the Divine nature of the Church...is chiefly due to their uncertainty in regard to the way God acts in the world and in the lives of men". (71)

Hunter had sent a copy of his visitation charge to Professor R.H. Lightfoot, that most discriminating theologian, who responded with a pertinent comment. "Rightly or wrongly" he wrote "men feel, I think, that they must settle this problem (sc. about the reality of God's action in the world) before rich traditions and corporate life can mean much to them". (72) There is an insight here which was without doubt true in a number of ways. The more erudite and the more intelligent, after the war, were to search for a faith grounded on reason, not negatively by dismissing such parts of the Gospels, for example, which seemed to conflict with scientific dogmatism; but rather the search involved for them a rehabilitation of Christian belief which was recognisable as "the Faith" and proceeding from insights accepting and penetrating into the divine action which is incarnate in Jesus Christ, and which remained patent of exposition in thought-forms at least sufficiently attractive to a post-Hiroshima age.

Hunter's introduction to the record of his visitation of 1960 is couched in less elevated but more practical terms. It is possible, he wrote, "to glimpse here and there of ways through them (sc. the difficulties confronting the Church today in the Western world) which may in time lead the Church to a revival of the Christian faith in England". (73) Something of Hunter's ebullience of 1944 had gone and been replaced by a more concrete sense of the practicalities of the situation. To this his chosen theme for the visitation, Mission and Worship, bears witness.

There is a church-centredness which was less in evidence in 1944. The Church's mission remains constant but the modes of operation require adjustment.

That the social situation has changed "even a cursory study of society shows". (74) The geographical divisions of the Church, of parishes, deaneries, dioceses, often no longer correspond with the natural social groupings within the nation - "neither with its regional groupings and social patterns, nor with those of a more vocational type, industrial, professional, and the like". They may prove, Hunter went on, "to be convenient ecclesiastical divisions". (75)

Looking outward from the institutional bases of the Church, Hunter drew attention to "three concentric circles" - obvious enough to every parish priest - which, though they merged into one another, were clearly recognisable. There was, first of all, the inner core of committed church people - the nucleus of Sunday congregations. Secondly, there was a "deep fringe...of adherents with whom we have some contacts and communication and should have more". Then thirdly there remained the majority of the population "who are right outside", (76)

Hunter drew some encouragement from his analysis. A serious facing of the situation provided an incentive to the local Church to remember that an essential part of Christian practice is to

withdraw from the world "into the presence of God to take care of their own souls for the sake of others...to be fired with zeal for God's redeeming work". (77) As to the fringe, it is important to remember that they are potential members of the national Church. These are the people who bring their children to baptism; who come to church to be married; who expect and take for granted that a Christian burial will be provided for their parents and themselves. Such people must not be allowed to slip into "the mass of pagans anonymous". (78)

Looking to the future, although it had been his aim throughout his ministry, Hunter declared that the paramount need in the Church today was that "the laity who are the inner core of our Church life should have to be more effectively trained...to become active partners with the clergy". How greatly would the Church be strengthened in its mission especially in overcoming scepticism - stemming from scientists, philosophers and writers of the nineteenth century - which "has got well into the bloodstream of the people". (79)

Over the years Hunter, by conviction issuing in personal involvement, had reminded the diocese in his presidential addresses and month by month in the Bishop's Letter (from 1948, the Sheffield Diocesan Review) of areas of concern which were not directly ecclesiastical but in which there should be Christian involvement. Thus in 1948 he said "I would plead for a broad, comprehensive vision". He was referring to a debate in the diocesan conference

on "The Church's Educational Opportunity". (80) There had to be a greater concern for education generally and not least within the Church. "The Church cannot hope to evangelise England until its lay membership is instructed and understanding the Church's doctrine and of the teaching of the Bible". (81) The necessity for this went beyond the Church's own needs. There are, he said, "in the community today...posts for men and women, especially for women, in which they exercise a real pastoral ministry...I have in mind welfare officers and personnel managers and shop stewards in industry, and the increasing range of social service posts under the ministries and local authorities. It is of immense importance for the future of Christian England that the men and women in these posts should hold the Christian faith and understand well the Christian philosophy of life - and indeed should bring to their work a Christian sense of vocation". (82) Hunter saw the danger signals; he believed that there was still time to build upon a Christian foundation, failure to do so would result in a pluralism which could remove the remaining strands of Christian influence. Within the industrial scene in Sheffield the Church had to make an approach whenever possible to people in their place of work; and to do so in a direct manner when it may be "is a good thing in itself". (83) The Sheffield Industrial Mission, Whirlow Grange Conference House, William Temple College, all owed their existence to the inescapable and

compelling vision of what might be which fired Hunter's mission to the diocese.

Hunter's interest in and work for post-war reconstruction in Europe and especially in Germany is the subject of a later chapter.

(84) This over, the time came when he became greatly concerned to arouse concern among men of Christian faith and men of good will to the dangers apparent in the growing confrontation between the western allies and the Soviet dominated bloc. He put his fears into words when in 1959 he distanced himself from the policy of "a balance of terror" which, in the growing reliance on nuclear arms, is a policy "so easily unbalanced". He went on "the task of a sane statesmanship is a determined effort to end this desperate and dangerous game of bluff". Then followed a perceptive warning "It cannot just be left to the experts". (85) It so happened that Hunter's last speech in the House of Lords was made during the debate on defence in 1962. In it he strongly advocated, as against any partial defence and palliatives, the acceptance as a fact that "the only security for civilisation in a scientific and nuclear age is complete disarmament". (86)

The Church of England, Hunter had come to believe, "has the lineaments of the Catholic and Apostolic Church". (87) Consequently he recognised and accepted the episcopate as a ministry derived from "the apostles and prophets" (88) under the guiding inspiration of the Holy Spirit (89) and, himself as bishop,

exemplified episcopal direction and oversight not as a pastoral expedient but as proceeding from the grace of ordination; his bishoping had made him "Pastor of the Church", "preacher of God's Word", the agent of its "godly Discipline". (90) Inevitably, Hunter-wise, he was impelled to place on record his understanding of his office.

"A bishop is not consecrated to "bishophood", he wrote, "but to the care and oversight of a particular community of persons. It is a pastoral office and the bishop is empowered and authorised to look after the community with the solicitude of the Father whom Jesus Christ reveals". (91) In fact, the episcopate is an expression of the fact that "the Lord Jesus is Love incarnate". (92) Attentive to the mind of the Church Hunter quoted from the authoritative "Doctrine in the Church of England" which referred to the office of bishop as being dependent on that "consecration which sets the bishop in a succession that derives from Christ and symbolises and in a manner receives in an abiding form the apostolical mission and authority within the Church". One result of this is the authority reserved to a bishop to ordain priests and to share with other bishops in the consecrating of a bishop, so that Christ's mission may continue. (93) Ordination and consecration within the Catholic tradition is the 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. The bishop, therefore, Hunter quotes again, is "the living representative of the unity and universality of the Church". (94) He is a

"sharing-member" with the whole of the episcopate and subject in certain ways (e.g. in a decision to resign) to the authority of his metropolitan, the archbishop. In a collegial way the bishops of the Church must needs confer together and in matters affecting the Church at large · speak and act together. (95)

But what of the exercise of the office ? "I am persuaded", Hunter wrote, "that the size of a diocese should be such that a bishop and his clergy may know one another and know the bishop as a father-in-God and a co-pastor. The diocesan bishop in England is our safeguard against centralised bureaucracy. He is the guardian of the Church's profession of faith and in the twentieth century - in a scientific age - must needs be an example of sound learning. (96)

Hunter did not readily unveil his secret thoughts but from time to time they surfaced. The bishop "may be a shy sort of person with whom it is not easy to talk freely, but for better or worse he is in the same service and ministry (sc. with his clergy) to share if not to guide and lead. Woe to him if he is shut away from them in a palace and by an excuse of status engagements or administrative duties." (97) As bishop Hunter knew from his own experience the degrees of loneliness which have to be faced in the priestly life. Consequently - he once wrote - "when the clergy are perplexed the bishop should be the first person for them to

turn to and consult. He may not know all the answers more than they do, but he should have a wider range of experience...He may not have the gifts and knowledge of a good spiritual director but he ought to have their addresses". (98)

That a bishop should have an approachable image depended in Hunter's thinking upon very practical issues. The kind of housing provided for a bishop; "we do handicap and humbug ourselves (sc. with over-large houses) in our Christian ministry"; the time spent outside the diocese when "there is danger in losing again (sc. after its recovery in the nineteenth century) a pastoral tradition under the influence of the Church Assembly and its bureaucracy which draws body and mind away from the people and parish priests in the diocese". (99)

Here are to be discerned marks of humility, of genuine feeling and a desire to be at the service of both clergy and laity in such a way as to merit the designation of a diocesan bishop as "Right Reverend Father-in-God".

CHAPTER NINE

THE BISHOP AND SHEFFIELD CATHEDRAL

i.

There is no hint in Hunter's reference to Provost Jarvis that the two "never got on well together". (1) It was believed by some that Hunter towards the end of the Second World War was "working for the removal of the Provost" (2) though by what means he could have accomplished this end is a matter for conjecture; direct action by a bishop to remove from office a beneficed priest on the grounds of personal dislike or disagreement about policy is impossible. It is on record in Hunter's own telling that on his arrival in Sheffield in 1939 a senior churchman had said to him "Bishop, I ought to warn you; you can't trust the Provost". To this Hunter added his own comment "He (sc. Jarvis) was always playing his own hand and would really have liked me to leave". (3) No evidence is available to substantiate this statement but that there existed a spirit of mutual wariness and mistrust is obvious. As Provost of the Cathedral Church Jarvis had both duty and authority on his side to be alert to and working for the development of the cathedral in the circumstances of a diocese still only twenty five years old.

There was, among the senior clergymen, a lack of warmth for their new bishop. Their relationship with Hunter lacked mutuality; they were not consulted as they had expected to be, even though they had long held positions of authority within the diocese; they believed and found it hard to accept that to the bishop they were expendable, dated in their views (4) and being of an age with the provost (5) they suspected that Hunter was anxious to replace them by men of his own choice. In any case, there was in Jarvis a man who had - as Hunter still had to do - made his mark in Sheffield as Archdeacon, Vicar of Sheffield, Provost and Rural Dean, (6) and who had inspired a regard by "great popularity and influence and tremendous affection". (7)

On 2 March 1942 there appeared a letter from Jarvis in the Sheffield Daily Telegraph giving the news that he had come to the conclusion that he ought to resign as provost. There can be little doubt that the cause was the personality clash which existed between himself and Bishop Hunter, (8) coupled with the suspicions which each had of the other. The immediate occasion almost certainly had to do with the bishop's coolness towards the cathedral extension plans; (9) an added exasperation may have been Jarvis' discovery that Hunter intended, eventually, to include the cathedral benefice in his reorganisation plans within the diocese.

Consequently an element of tactical appeasement is to be detected in Hunter's reference to Jarvis in the March issue of the Bishop's Letter. (10) "The hearts of all of us have been deeply moved by the depressed way in which our Provost has written in the Cathedral Messenger about himself and his work". After ten and a half years in one of the most arduous posts in the Church "it is understandable that he intends to make way for a younger man, but he ought to take a proper holiday before he makes such a decision". (11) "That he intends to make way" in the context is a tendentious phrase which is patent of the interpretation that such would be in accord with the bishop's wishes.

Suppositions where they exist about the relationship between bishop and senior clergymen are symptoms of a malaise which afflicts inner circles of church life to its detriment. Elements of truth may be there but underlying the relationship is the stature of the people who are involved and their dedication to their vocation as priests in the Church of God. Hunter, for his part, had known both praise and unpopularity in Northumberland and was not therefore, as bishop, to be deterred by detraction. His indifference to criticism was more apparent than real but his acumen was such that he could, and doubtless did, distinguish in his senior colleagues a degree of quiet - and to Hunter irresponsible satisfaction with the on-going life of the diocese which was marked by a lack of adventurous planning for the future.

It was in 1944 that the second Reorganisation Areas Measure became law. (12) Under the terms of the Measure it became possible to prepare reorganisation schemes designed to rearrange existing parochial areas, to create new parishes and to deal with benefice income by diversion in cases where the stipend was greatly in excess of the norm. (13) The Measure required a diocese in the event of such a diversion taking place to "open and hold a diocesan stipends fund" into which the diverted endowments were to be paid". (14)

Hunter had long been in the forefront of the movement for reform in the Church; (15) the provisions of the Reorganisation Measure were much to his liking. That one of the first schemes under the Measure to be proposed in the diocese of Sheffield was directed to the cathedral is symptomatic of his desire to have the sources of the provost's stipend transferred from the benefice to the Church Commissioners and by so doing to acquire by purchase from the Commissioners the increasingly valuable glebe land immediately adjacent to the cathedral and thereby at one and the same time to allow a diversion of endowments to be made. (16) At mid-summer 1948 Jarvis had finally made known his intention to resign and, for the implementation of a reorganisation scheme, a vacancy of benefice presents the optimum time for its completion. By November a scheme had been published by the Diocesan Reorganisation Committee (set up under the Reorganisation Measures of 1941 and 1944); it was presented to the Parochial Church Council of the cathedral on 17 November 1948 by the bishop himself. Such a

scheme to be applicable to the cathedral depended upon the fact that in the case of a parish church cathedral, so called, there is a combination in the person of the provost of the headship of the cathedral chapter (17) and the incumbency of the ancient parish church. The reorganisation may not be applied to the cathedral as such but to the benefice.

Advance notice had been given to Jarvis of the scheme. He quickly drew up a statement in which he set out the history of the ancient endowments of the parish church, including the ancient glebe still belonging to the benefice. (18) This, Jarvis said, "should be secured in perpetuity for the needs and work of the Church". (19) He proposed that the glebe land adjacent to the Cathedral (20) should be vested in a Cathedral Benefice Development Trust (21) and that, within forty years when the site would be cleared of houses, permission should be sought of the Church Commissioners for the incumbent to be allowed to give two-thirds of the area to the Cathedral for the purpose of "housing those ministering in holy things and others who serve it in any way, and additionally, a well-conceived centre for Church and Christian life and work". (22) The latter would be available for diocesan use. The remaining one-third would, with permission, be given to the diocese to provide for a diocesan headquarters with offices and other amenities. (23) Later events were to prove that the Provost's proposal would have been a sensible and far-seeing use of the land. (24)

However, Jarvis' suggestions were not accepted by the Reorganisation Committee - the bishop was the chairman - and the reorganisation scheme, after its presentation to the Parochial Church Council, was to be a source of contention for the next six months and a long continuing grievance. The scheme opened with the words "There shall be invested in us, the Church Commissioners ...the endowments specified in the Schedule to this Scheme...so far as on the date when this Scheme comes into operation, they belong to or are held in trust for the Cathedral Benefice of Sheffield..." In consideration of this provision "there shall be paid out of the Stipends Fund to the incumbent...an annual stipend of £1,750 to be reduced to £1650 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, 1925 to 1929." (25) There were two further provisions, the one designed to provide - either for the incumbent or for clerical assistants - permanent accommodation at the charge of the Stipends Fund but not exceeding £8,000; the other allowed the bishop, after consultation with the Diocesan Board of Finance, to assign monies from the endowments of the benefice for the augmentation of stipends for residentiary canonries. (26)

The Parochial Church Council was immediately and strongly opposed to the scheme. In a letter to the Church Commissioners

dated 15 December 1948 the Council set out the grounds of opposition. (27) The Council complained that the Diocesan Reorganisation Committee had "overlooked the most vital fact, namely, that this is not just an ordinary parish church but that this parish church is also the Cathedral of the Diocese". It was pointed out that a report of the Church Assembly had said that in general "parish church cathedrals were inadequately financed and that "it is most noticeable that the contribution of the diocese as a whole towards the maintenance of its cathedral is absurdly small". (28) The Council's wish was that the benefice endowments should "by a special measure or statute be held in trust for the Cathedral in perpetuity". (29) Failing this - the proposal was not accepted by the Diocesan Reorganisation Committee - (30) "it is our wish, if the scheme must be made under the 1944 Measure... that the surplus income should be disposed of in the following priority : 1. Cathedral; 2. Stipends of parishes in the gift of the Cathedral; 3. Assistant clerics in such parishes." (31)

On 6 January 1949 the Vice-Chairman - G.H. Rayner who was the acting chairman during the vacancy of the benefice - reported that there had been a meeting of representatives of the Parochial Church Council (the churchwardens together with himself and the secretary, L.M. Pugh) with the Diocesan Reorganisation Committee. (32) The bishop had said at the meeting that negotiations for the sale of the inner glebe (sc. to the diocese) were actually proceeding (33) and that as the scheme was limited in effect to

the provost's stipend, surplus monies could not be dealt with. The Council's objections continued throughout the month. The bishop, it was known, was displeased and in a letter of 14 January addressed to L.M. Pugh said that "I have now to consider what I should do as Bishop in regard to the institution of Mr. Cruse in view of the advice from the Commissioners Office...that there should be no institution until the scheme is finally settled... The interregnum has been unduly long. I therefore propose to proceed to the institution and installation...and I have fixed... February 19th. at 2.30 p.m. for the service". Still opposed to the scheme, the Council made a final effort and called for the setting up of a Special Committee as prescribed by the Measure. (34) This was acknowledged on 7 March 1949 by the Secretary of the Special Committee (from the Church Commissioners' Offices at 1, Millbank, Westminster) giving at the same time the date for the hearing. This was to be 26 March. (35)

To Provost Cruse must be given a large measure of credit for the resolution of the dispute. (36) There is no further reference to a meeting of the Provincial Special Committee and though it is unclear whether it met, the probability is that it did not; no recommendations from the Special Committee were considered by the Parochial Church Council at its meeting on 6 April 1949. (37) The minutes reveal that Provost Cruse referred to the objections raised by the Council and said "that certain of the objections had now been met, in particular the objection to the making of

any scheme during a vacancy and also on the grounds that the scheme did not provide for preserving in perpetuity such parts of the benefice property as abutted the Cathedral. He stated that the Scheme had not been made during a vacancy and that the benefice property was in process of being conveyed to the Diocesan Trust. One main objection remained; this concerned the disposal of surplus benefice income when it appeared likely that the Provost would have no voice in its allocation. It was resolved that a sub-committee be appointed with the Provost as chairman with full power to settle the matter. Clearly, and with a new incumbent in office, the mind of the Council was that the dispute should be ended on the best terms that could be secured. (38)

The next meeting of the Parochial Church Council was, significantly, held on the Patronal Festival of the Cathedral, 29 June, Feast Day of the Apostles Peter and Paul. The Provost reported that he had discussed with the bishop the matter of the allocation of surplus benefice income and, in a letter of 14 April 1949, had asked the bishop "if he was right in saying that 1. the surplus income will be used primarily for the purpose of the spiritual work of the Cathedral; and 2. the income when it becomes available will not be allocated once for all, but will from time to time be applied to different purposes as the Bishop and Provost shall agree with the concurrence of the Board of Finance". Hunter had written on the letter "The answer to 1 & 2 is Yes. Leslie Sheffield. 14/4/49." (39)

There is no room for doubt that Bishop Hunter was determined to secure the adoption of a reorganisation scheme for the cathedral benefice. (40) The necessity either for a scheme or for the note of urgency is difficult to understand and not easy to defend. The net benefice income for 1946 was £1672.9.4 (41) A case had been made out by Jarvis for converting the various sources - ground rents from properties largely - into a single payment, but in fact the inner glebe land was likely to be essential to the cathedral's future and, in any case, the raising of the status of the ancient parish church into the cathedral of the diocese warranted a greater measure of consideration from the bishop and from the Diocesan Reorganisation Committee. The level of stipend allocated by the Committee was reasonable though not widely generous having in mind the responsibilities belonging to the provost's office and ministry. In status he was second only to the bishop. For the secretary of the Diocesan Reorganisation Committee to lecture the Parochial Church Council about the "present scandalous disparity in the incomes of benefices" and further to say that "my Committee...repudiates the implication in the letter referred to (sc. from the PCC) that as the income is likely to increase the basic income of the Provost should increase accordingly" falls below the courtesy and honesty of purpose which should have obtained between the representatives of the mother church of the diocese and a diocesan committee. The evidence produced by the Parochial Church Council reveals the responsible way in which the cathedral was fulfilling its obligations to the diocese (42) and

in any case, the endowments under consideration had for a thousand years been attached to the benefice. The calibre of the principal members of the cathedral congregation put them outside the range of petty obstructionism. The summary dismissal by Hunter of a cathedral scheme based on the provost's suggestions diminishes in this instance the credibility of his "broad sweep of mind " coupled with a "clarity about main objectives". (43)

The real criterion, and criticism, of the reorganisation scheme appeared later. In 1976 the former inner glebe land, held by the Diocesan Trust and Board of Finance, was sold to Sheffield Corporation for £345,000. (44) The purpose of the sale was to provide capital for the diocese and for the Corporation a site of unique potential in the centre of the city, adjacent to Paradise Square with its Georgian houses. In 1985 the market value of the invested proceeds of the sale was £912,077. (45) This large investment is held in trust for the Church in Action Fund. Its use is restricted to the provision of building grants for the parishes and as a diocesan source towards the raising of clergy stipends which ongoing inflation continues to make necessary. (46) In spite of Hunter's "Yes" to the two conditions affecting the primary use of the proceeds of the glebe profits, there is no evidence that, with one exception, any grant of money has been made to the cathedral. (47) "It is my private guess" G.H. Rayner says with reference to the bishop's promise, "that nothing more has been heard of it". (46) The exception was the payment to the cathedral Council of £30,000 in compensation for the loss of the precentor's flat on the top floor of the former vicarage when vacant possession was required by the City Council in 1976.

Sheffield Cathedral now stands on an island site. Provost Jarvis' vision of a cathedral close and a diocesan centre are dreams of the past. The provost and the precentor and another residentiary canon live at Broomhill; the remaining two live respectively at Ranmoor and Sharrow. The head verger, responsible among other things for the oversight of the building and - with his paid and voluntary assistants - for guarding the church from potential thieves and preventing misuse of its amenities - has a flat at lower Broomhill at a distance of one and a half miles from the cathedral. To purchase suitable housing in the vicinity of the cathedral in the 1980s is seldom possible; a conversion from office use would be necessary and the cost prohibitive. (48)

ii.

Bishop Hunter's literary remains give no indication that he had paid any attention to the enlargement of Sheffield Cathedral before he accepted the Prime Minister's offer of the see. He would have been aware that Sir Charles Nicholson (49) had prepared a comprehensive plan and that the first stage, made up of new vestries, a song school, the chapter house together with a chapel dedicated to St. George had been built and consecrated. (50) More than that, before Hunter's enthronement, the contract for the second phase of the scheme had been signed and work was due to begin on 4 September 1939, the day following the outbreak of the Second World War. Nicholson's plan had been designed to make the best use of the restricted site; it entailed the demolition of the

greater part of the existing nave and the building of a new nave at right angles to the old with a great west door facing on to Church Street.

Cathedral enlargement had early been a matter of importance to the new diocese. It had been Bishop Burrows' aim, expressed in 1918, that the cathedral should be worthy of its new function. (51) Plans had been prepared by Nicholson in 1921 with an estimated cost of £250,000 for the completed project. Both plans and cost had been accepted by the General Committee but post-war economies caused the postponement of the projected appeal. In fact the decision to start work was not made by the Cathedral Council until 1936, by which time "enthusiasm was running high". (52) Delay had whetted appetities which were variously inspired by a will to build to the glory of God, by a triumphalist spirit which still motivated the Established Church and by a sense of an enlarged cathedral as representative of the dignity of the city of Sheffield.

The impetus came from the Provost. When Jarvis arrived in 1931 he had found a dull and dowdy church, lacking in atmosphere and with its cramped interior unsuited to the needs of a cathedral church. In 1933 the Duke of Norfolk had handed over the Shrewsbury Chapel, his private property, to the vicar and churchwardens of the parish church. This gift enabled Jarvis to open up the chapel for use and at the same time to restore and beautify it. (53) Similarly, St. Katherine's Chapel which had housed the organ, was in 1935 put to its proper use and restored as a memorial to Mrs.

Anna Louisa Burrows, the wife of the first bishop. (54)

These examples added to the Cathedral Council's confidence in Jarvis and the fact that its membership included industrialists and professional people guaranteed both strong support for the enlargement schemes and adequate financial backing. "There is no doubt", says G.H. Rayner, "so great was his optimism and so willing the response that, but for the war, the enlarged cathedral... would have been completed without great difficulty". (55)

In spite of war-time conditions work did not stop entirely. The contract for the nave was cancelled - "a too hasty decision perhaps" - (56) but instead work continued at what would have been the east end of the new nave. The crypt and the foundations of the choir were built and two and a half bays of the east choir aisle adjoining St. George's chapel were completed. They were consecrated by Bishop Hunter on 29 September 1942. (57)

Referring to this Hunter wrote "The happy ceremony on Michaelmas Day, when a further portion of the new building was consecrated, marks the end of building operations for an indefinite time to come. We owe it to the perseverance of the provost that the work has continued slowly but steadily for these three years of war-time, as, indeed, the whole enterprise is due to his initiative and most able direction". (58)

Six years passed before the next stage of the enlargement was completed. This was the Chapel of the Holy Spirit which in the Nicholson plan was designed to be the Lady Chapel and replacing for that purpose the Shrewsbury Chapel. The new chapel was sited after the pattern of some medieval cathedrals on the east side of the high altar. (59) The work had been restarted in 1945 and the chapel was consecrated on 24 June 1949. The outstanding feature is the Te Deum window behind the altar. This was given as a memorial to Fr. G.C. Ommanney of St. Matthew's, Carver Street, Sheffield by Thomas Watson. (60) This was Jarvis' last contribution to the enlarged cathedral before his retirement the same year.

It was no coincidence that the removal of Jarvis from the scene resulted, not only in the publication of the reorganisation scheme affecting the cathedral benefice (61) but also of proposals for a critical reappraisal of the Nicholson plans. By degrees as the years passed Hunter became "increasingly unhelpful, discouraging and obstructive". (62) The story began in 1945 when Hunter disallowed Jarvis' wish that an appeal should be made to complete the new nave as a thankoffering for victory in the war. This would have clashed with the launching of the Church in Action campaign and Hunter was not prepared to give precedence to the cathedral over the total needs of the diocese. He did, however, in March 1945 refer to the enlargement scheme to say that "when such building becomes possible again...it will require £150,000". (63)

Behind the scenes there were rumours of dissatisfaction. A group of industrialists claimed that they had agreed to support the Church in Action campaign on the Bishop's assurance that 20 percent of the proceeds went to the Cathedral Enlargement Fund. (64) Hunter later denied that the promise had been made leaving the industrialists "extremely incensed". (65) In Rayner's view the goodwill of many influential people was forfeited.

Sir Charles Nicholson died in 1949 at the age of eighty two. He was replaced in 1949 by S.E. Dykes-Bower, Surveyor of the Fabric of Westminster Abbey and G.G. Pace, an up-and-coming architect of great promise introduced to the diocese by Hunter. (66) The Cathedral Council agreed under pressure "instigated by the bishop" (67) that the Nicholson plan should be re-examined. In a brochure The Sheffield Cathedral as it will be published in January 1949 Hunter had contributed a closing paragraph in which he referred to the estimated cost of completion - £320,000 - and continued "this would be a formidable sum to raise" adding significantly "even if the Church here and elsewhere did not require large sums to maintain its ministry and to set forward its work at home and overseas". There is a hint that to the Bishop of Sheffield the scheme was a luxury and one which would if it were to be completed require "gifts and donations...and legacies". This was in effect a reminder to the protagonists of the scheme that theirs was the major responsibility. (68)

In November 1950 an appeal for £80,000 was made for the purpose of completing the Quire and Sanctuary of the new nave, the foundations of which were already in place. By 1952 half of the money had been subscribed but with the onset of protracted delays over the next years, it was not to be used for that purpose.

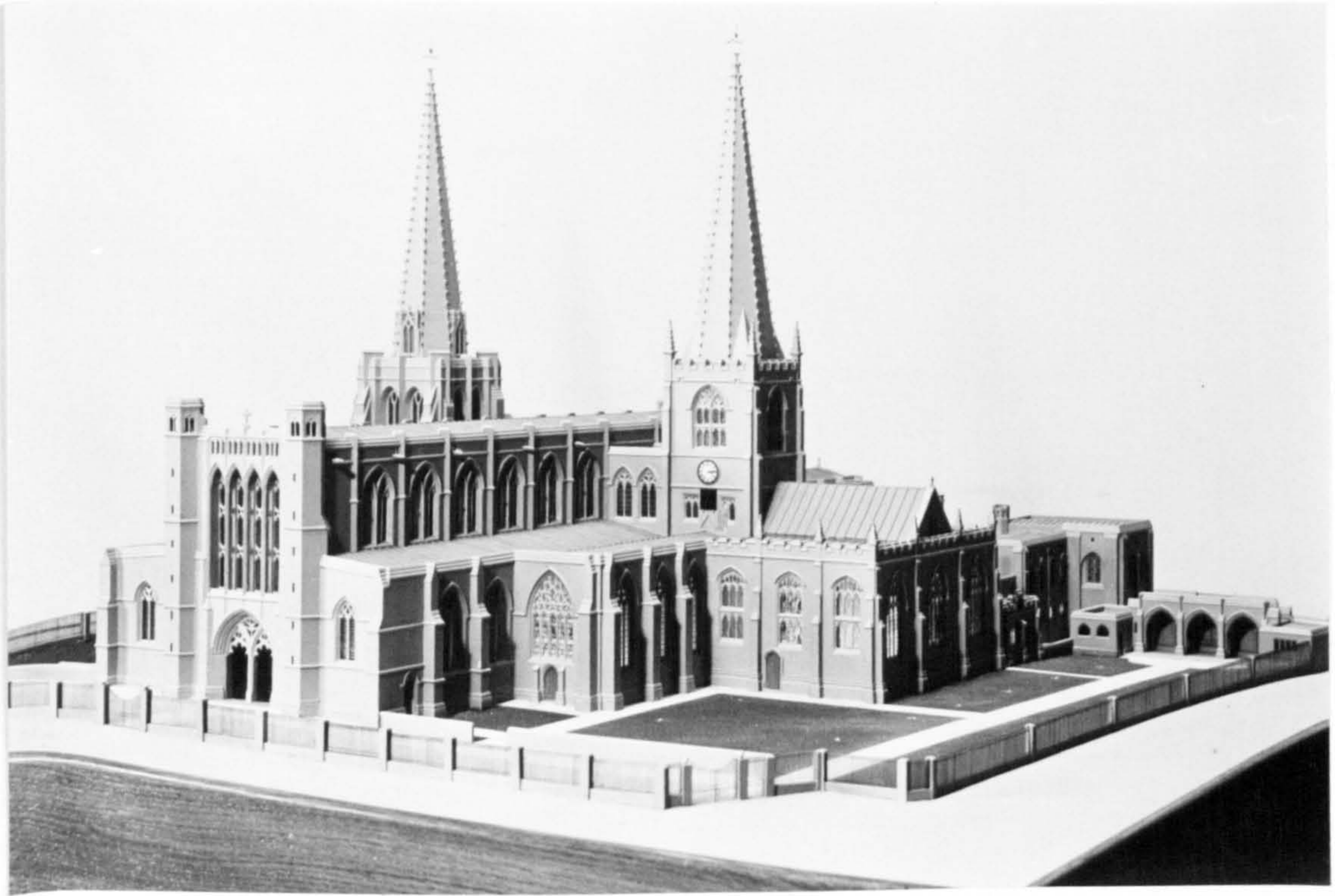
The course of events from this time onwards is illustrated by the minutes and the documents of the Cathedral Council and its sub-committee the Fabric Committee. In December 1953 Dykes-Bower told the Cathedral Council, he was present in person, that "irrespective of finance Sir Charles Nicholson's scheme is the best for the site". (69) He referred to the considerable amounts of work and money sunk in the unfinished sanctuary and the foundations of the new nave and emphasised the demands in time, work and money which would be required for the completion of the work. Hunter's hand can be seen in the suggestion that a less costly plan for completing the work would be to connect up the existing nave with the Chapel of the Holy Spirit. (70) Both Dykes-Bower and Pace agreed, after separate calculations, that the estimated cost for this would be £150,000 but that architecturally the result might be "abnormal and revolutionary". (71)

The revised plan was referred by the Cathedral Council to the Fabric Committee which responded with a detailed critique of the arguments for and against the plan. Its conclusion was reported to the Cathedral Council on 1 February 1954 : "This

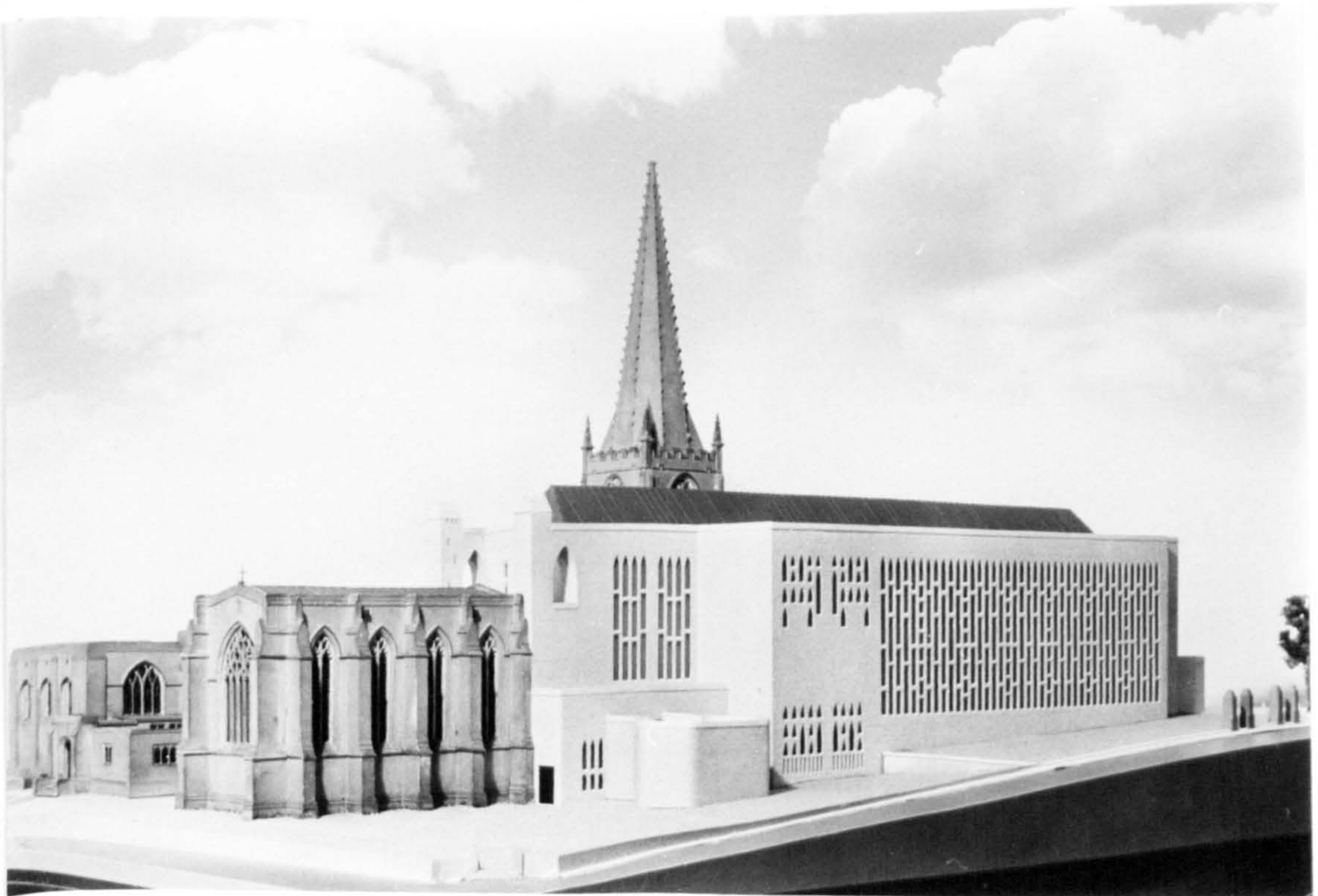
committee recommends that the ground plan of Sir Charles Nicholson be adhered to." (72) A further nine months elapsed before Jarvis' successor, Provost Cruse, wrote to Dykes-Bower to confirm that the Cathedral Council had decided that "the nave should be re-orientated as in Sir Charles Nicholson's design, that a detailed survey should be made of the present building and that the total cost of the work required to complete the Cathedral should not exceed £300,000". Cruse went on to say that the Council "would like to have explored the alternate scheme referred to in December 1953". (73) A year and nine months later Dykes-Bower wrote to the Clerk of the Cathedral Council (G.H. Rayner) giving reasons for the delay in producing a measured survey of the cathedral. He continued "The problem of enlarging Sheffield Cathedral is one of great difficulty...Mr. Pace and myself independently and jointly have studied it from every angle and what has clearly emerged is that, if Sir Charles Nicholson's original scheme cannot be proceeded with, there is no ideal solution". (74) In a confidential letter three days later Dykes-Bower referred to the suggested figure of £150,000 and said that the reason that this figure, rather than £300,000, was included in the discussion was that Pace "had repeatedly given me to understand that any scheme which entailed expenditure much over £150,000 would be unpracticable and doomed to failure". (75) "I have consistently maintained that nothing worthy of public support could be designed for that sum". (76)

Almost a year later, in November 1956, the Cathedral Council discussed a motion (77) which was critical of Dykes-Bower's plan - it was too costly and would take too long to complete - and which proposed instead that the enlargement should be completed in one stage at a cost within £200,000. (78) Pace produced preliminary plans "about which nothing had previously been heard in committee". (79) These were approved in principle and he was instructed to prepare a detailed scheme. Pace provided in brochure form his conception of the task and the way in which he proposed to fulfil it. (80) "The climate for cathedral building in 1957 is very different from that of 1939,, ,There is now a much wider understanding of the basis of modern architecture in the service of the Church, and with that understanding a desire that the nave and quire of the new Cathedral shall be a Theological Affirmation...expressed in the living architecture of this century. It is traditional to be modern. (The architect) is bound to respect the great axis laid down by Sir Charles Nicholson...and he and his collaborators must be prepared to utterly (sic) efface themselves as individuals - the complete reversal of the current, all-powerful individualism rampant in modern art." Pace stressed that all the partly finished portions of the Nicholson scheme had been incorporated in his plan. The nave and aisles of the present Parish Church "will be demolished, but not all vestige will disappear, since much of the window tracery, the nave roof timbers and the glass" were to be used in the enlargement. A modern design and technique would provide natural light for the new nave; this had of necessity "to come from the liturgical north side (and) this wall has been designed

Sheffield Cathedral



The Nicholson plan - from S-E



The Pace plan - from N-E

as a continuous window". Pace's plan reveals his competence both as architect and artist. Provost Cruse launched a once for all appeal; the target of £200,000 was achieved. It was not until the spring of 1961 - four and a half years later - that Pace produced the quantity surveyor's estimates. They gave a completion figure of £424,200. (81) It was only then that Hunter stated that he had never been happy about the scheme.

The result of this bombshell was evident in the loss of confidence displayed by the Cathedral Council at its next meeting on 22 June 1961. The Cathedral Chapter had resolved that a further appeal for the Cathedral "is neither possible nor desirable". At the same time it "welcomed the scheme outlined by the Provost retaining the existing nave". The Council in turn decided : that the resolution of the Chapter be accepted and approved; that the scheme proposed by Mr. Pace be abandoned; that a new scheme be prepared which, if possible, retains the existing Nave, extends and improves the West end and incorporates Sir Charles Nicholson's uncompleted work; that the Provost and Treasurer, together with two other members of the Council be authorised to discuss the position of Mr. Pace and if necessary or desirable make a change of Architect. (82)

There was an unhappy sequel which reflects discredit on the bishop. In a letter to the Clerk of the Council Hunter requested him to delete from the minutes of 22 June the reference to Pace's position as architect. (83) The minutes had already been approved by the bishop and the Clerk refused to alter them. "I replied that this could not be done as the minutes would not then be accurate".

(84) At the next meeting of the Cathedral Council Hunter objected to the resolution affecting Pace on the grounds that it "was not put before him in writing" and that he, as bishop, "had not understood that it also empowered them to make a new appointment if necessary or desirable". The Provost in reply said that "he could not accept the Bishop's suggestion that the Council had acted improperly...he could not think of any other diocese in which it would be thought irresponsible for executive power on an important matter to be given to the Provost and Lay Treasurer and two other Council members". (85)

The sequence of events which began with the onset of war, by post-war diocesan policies which insufficiently high-lighted the cathedral scheme, by Hunter's war of attrition against the scheme in which his influence on Pace made difficulties for the architect, by mounting post-war costs exacerbated by the delayed implementation of the building work coupled with a loss of heart in the protagonists and the unconcern of the diocese at large, all inevitably led to the abandonment of the Nicholson plan in favour of an attempted simpler scheme. This was Provost Cruse's practical eirenicon. Pace resigned and a new architect was appointed. (86) The new design added two bays to the existing nave at the west end with a lantern at the centre; it converted the unfinished Quire and Sanctuary into a kind of transept and provided a new main entrance to the cathedral at the south west. The final cost was ironically £330,000. The re-hallowing of the Cathedral took place on 15 November 1966. (87)

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The vision of a fine cathedral...should capture the imagination of the citizens of Sheffield" Hunter had written in 1949. (88) Provost Jarvis believed that it had. Hunter's hitherto unexpressed thoughts were contained in a letter to Jarvis' successor, J.H. Cruse, in September 1953. He complained that during his fourteen years as Bishop of Sheffield he had "never been asked to express a considered judgement on the enlargement scheme, and as it had been adopted before I came to the diocese, I have never done so". (89) A lack of enthusiasm however had been evident and as chairman of the Cathedral Council Hunter had opportunity enough to speak his mind. This he now did : "To pull down the larger part of the existing building...seems to me an act of historical vandalism - it would remove a centre and symbol of worship - and would constitute (sc. at the same time) an act of aesthetic vandalism; the nave "is an unmeretricious, straightforward piece of Georgian Gothic...I am not particularly interested in a plan to substitute uninspired twentieth century Gothic for uninspired eighteenth century Gothic". (90) Hunter went on to label as "unrealistic" a scheme which assumed that a parish church cathedral should by enlargement resemble a medieval cathedral with its long choir. "What we want today at the centre of a great city is a church primarily designed for popular worship". To this end Hunter's positive suggestions were that two new aisles to the nave should be added and possibly a bay at the west end. The High Altar "might be brought down to the line of the pulpit, or



St. George's Chapel

perhaps better, be set under the tower arch".

Such a basic scheme would have produced an auditory church which, for diocesan and civic services, would have made it possible to seat the congregation within sight and sound of altar and pulpit. None the less there are arguments which detract from its value. Hunter's obsessive dislike of the late medieval Church included the architecture of the period and was responsible for his lack of enthusiasm for the Nicholson plan. It can readily be granted that the vernacular liturgy of the Church of England was intended to be heard and shared by . . . congregations; (91) but there has to be necessarily a proper balance between size and liturgy. Too large an undifferentiated space destroys liturgical sensitivity; too small an area makes the performance of liturgy contrived and inept. (92) Hunter's proposed nave would have been too large and to cathedral congregations Sunday by Sunday an embarrassment with phalanxes of unused seats. Furthermore, one of the secrets of successful church building lies in the relationship between the high altar and the nave. The long medieval chancel with the altar at the far east was an over-emphasis on the mystery of the Mass, whereas Hunter's advocacy of the burgeoning provision of nave altars represented an over-emphasis necessarily on a theology of incarnation and a less evocative stress on Christ's cross and resurrection. (93) Hunter, strongly reacting to opposition, saw the alternatives too much as either/or choices.

Hunter's letter to Cruse ended with two assertions, both of which were to be proved wrong. He estimated that an enlargement of the kind he contemplated "would cost about a quarter of the cost of the Sir Charles Nicholson's building"; again, "I believe (sc. it) would be four times as serviceable for the needs of the church in this part of the contemporary world". (94)

In a parish church cathedral accord between bishop and provost is particularly important. Its lack in Sheffield was unquestionably due in part to the personality and policy clashes between Hunter and Jarvis. Hunter's papering over the discord in his published references to Jarvis were of more value to his own reputation for far-sightedness and fairness than they were to Jarvis' wounded pride and defeated vision. Underlying causes there were : Hunter neither relished nor desired to perpetuate the power enclaves in a diocese represented by the cathedral close; contrariwise it is a mark of the Church of England that when individual inventiveness and dedication to worthy ends is stifled, there is a loss of confidence in the episcopate. If Hunter escaped the charge of creating centres of power, he has to bear responsibility for being party to and collecting together groups of men - clerical more than lay, younger rather than older - who gave the impression of being possessed of collective knowledge beyond the ordinary and who, seen through other eyes, could be and were labelled "bogus

intellectuals" who made much noise in the immediately post-Hunter period in the Sheffield diocese.

Provost Cruse was a model of modesty who exercised a ministry "of unflinching pastoral care to a multitude of persons". (96) In spite of this, his relationship with Hunter was delicate and from time to time difficult. This is revealed in a letter to G.H. Rayner in 1963 written on the occasion of the latter's resignation as Clerk of the Cathedral Council. "Your care and your goodness" Cruse said "have been so great; I wish they had been happier times. The last ten years seem an eternity of anxiety and unhappiness". (97) Rayner's goodness was not appreciated by Hunter. To Rayner had fallen the task, as he put it, "of fending off Bishop Hunter's attempt to take over the benefice whilst there was no incumbent." (98) After Rayner's refusal to alter the Cathedral Council minutes (99) Hunter "never wrote to me directly again; any subsequent communication...was through the Registrar". (100) "What a miserable time I had to endure" is his final comment.

It was a tribute to Cruse's quiet pertinacity that the enlargement scheme was set on its way to completion. Though diminished in content, abbreviated in concept, and architecturally a hybrid compromise, Jarvis' vision of a beautified church was in a measure accomplished. (101) Drabness was a thing of the past and final large gifts added to its beauties and amenities and

resulted in a re-hallowing free from debt. (102) Pace had pointed the way; his conception of the completed cathedral as a theological affirmation was valid; to no small degree he was the unfortunate victim in the protracted and less than harmonious debates within the cathedral council. Hunter's criticism that the "east-end was not designed for sacramental worship by a large congregation" (103) has not prevented the celebrating of Eucharists at which large numbers have received the Holy Communion without difficulty by an added and convenient use of the Lady and St. Katherine chapels.

The piece-meal way in which the cathedral came to completion had one distinct advantage. To those seeking quiet and repose for private prayer the chapel of the Holy Spirit and the adjacent crypt chapel, being separate from the main body of the church, provide a haven of peace; the Te Deum window in the former is a spur to meditation and the crypt chapel has its appeal for those who seek anonymity in their search for God. (104)

"Abnormal", "revolutionary" (105) : the completed cathedral exemplified the former and was redolent of the latter description to the extent that the final plan was a unifying of the disparate parts of the church into a gathered whole. In fact, and despite long-lasting controversy, there was an inevitability about the final outcome. The post-war years had not been propitious; circumstances had been unfavourable; delays made it increasingly difficult to adhere to the original conception and even more difficult to arrive at an architectural plan which captured the imagination and united the protagonists. The temper of these

Sheffield Cathedral



The Lantern

years was unfavourable. Dean Frederick Dillistone (106) was conscious of this when he wrote "the whole ethos of our age is against the supernatural and the timeless. Man is interested - deeply so - in the natural and is caught up in the on-ward passage of the temporal." (107) Unconsciously the Cathedral Chapter and the Cathedral Council were actuated finally by motives derived from the current ethos; and there was the feeling, generally accepted, that the cathedral project had to be brought to a conclusion. Dillistone believed that there was a possibility that there would emerge "a truly sacred art today"; he sensed the beginning of a hunger "first for some integration of the fragmented elements of the natural order and secondly for some symbolic representation of life's contradictions which will remain stable amidst the onrush of time's current". (108) For this possible eventuality a further delay to the cathedral completion, even given such a hope, was not conceivable.

By way of a postscript it has to be recorded that in the 1980s the roof and the ceiling of the new chapel of St. George had to be replaced and the lantern, a special feature at the extended west-end, required urgent attention to remedy water leakage and the flaking away of the glass. (109) Both the chapel and the lantern were parts of the finally accepted plan. The deterioration in the case of the chapel roof was due to a cutting of costs in its construction, and of the ceiling to signs of decay

in its "egg-box" construction; it was discovered on inspection that the deterioration of the lantern was due to the initial use of material of inadequate quality. (110)