

HERBERT HAMILTON KELLY S.S.M. 1860-1950: A Study in Failure.

(a contribution to the search for a credible Catholicism)

by

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Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, October 1971.

FOR

THE SOCIETY OF THE SACRED MISSION

My thanks are due to the Rev. A. M. Allchin for suggesting Herbert Kelly as a subject for a thesis. I have received constant help and advice from members of the Society of the Sacred Mission. In particular I would like to thank Brother George Every S.S.M. who has acted as guide and friend throughout the whole enterprise, and Canon David M. Paton for his helpful criticisms. I was fortunate enough to have two wise supervisors: first Professor R.P.C. Hanson, now Bishop of Clogher, who encouraged me in the early days of the research, and Professor A.R.C. Leaney whose painstaking concern helped me to complete the work. Finally my thanks are due to my wife and to Mrs. E.M. Wray who relieved me of the great burden of typing.

The Theological College
Lincoln.

St. Peter's Day 1971.

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I. INTRODUCTION

"Catholicism": What is it? Our title implies that it is not easily definable. There is need to search for its meaning. It is one of those words which radically alters in meaning according to the way it is used. In popular thought it stands over against its great rival, "Protestantism"; and in protestant England it can suggest anything from "Papal Aggression" to the antics of a mythical Irishman on a Saturday night. "Catholicism" is still an explosive word, even if its precise meaning eludes us. Is it a peculiar, closed system, brooking no rivals? Is it, perhaps, a concept which can only be understood eschatologically? Does it define a man's beliefs? Does it clarify and point to his hopes? How does one particularize something which is, by definition, universal? The word "Catholicism", like the word "God", defies description.

Herbert Kelly would have eschewed the word Catholicism and substituted the word Catholicity. Catholicism suggested to him a neatly ordered man-made system, coercive and repressive; in the deepest sense, a Godless thing. Catholicity, on the other hand, suggested to Kelly something quite different. He claimed that the word, Catholicity, properly understood, can be used appropriately only with regard to God, and never with regard to particular churches or individuals. It is one of those words which emphasises the universality, sovereignty and initiative of God.

This is why we have chosen the word Catholicism in the title, not because we subscribe to Kelly's negative

understanding of the word, but because we are primarily concerned with a particular man, his beliefs and opinions, and not with Almighty God. No doubt with a man like Herbert Kelly the question of God figures largely in the picture but He cannot be our starting point.

We shall try to trace Herbert Kelly's attempt to find a "credible Catholicism". The route is a long and difficult one, involving an exploration into the personality and life of an extraordinary man who could be saintly yet childish; pelucid yet obtuse in almost everything he said, and wrote.

Kelly's search for coherence, wholeness, integrity, in short his search for Catholicism, for Sobornost, began with his sense of failure.

Herbert Hamilton Kelly was a failure; or so he regarded himself. His sense of failure, however, was not of the intense, morbidly introspective kind, but rather one founded on the belief that God's successes are built on the rubble of human aspirations, that the only genuine ideas in this life are the ideas of the shipwrecked, the ideas of those who have been convinced of the bankruptcy of their own inventiveness. In this sense Herbert Kelly was an extraordinary failure, for, as he himself admits, it was not until he was finally convinced of his own utter uselessness that he came to be of any use at all. He was a visionary who flourished in the Edwardian era, remarkable for its lack of vision and its unbridled optimism.

Although we have been chastened by a less stable world than Kelly's, his wild sense of joy and his structured vision would be almost as startling and upsetting to the world of the late twentieth century as it was to the world of the late nineteenth. History does not repeat itself exactly, but it does have the habit of coming up, from time to time, with the strangely familiar. Recent developments in the field of theological education genuinely reflect much of the debate that was inaugurated nearly a century ago; and the writings of Herbert Kelly, both published and unpublished, sound startlingly contemporary.

Theological Education may, at first, sound like a dull subject. It suggests the exploration of new methods and techniques in teaching rather than the examination of the actual subject taught. There are, however, moments in the history of the Church when questions on methods and technique have to be asked in such a way as to expose deeper and more fundamental issues. The apparently simple question, "How should the Church train her ministers?" demands, at certain times, a simple answer. When the clergy were drawn mainly from one social class, training was relatively straight-forward. Provide an atmosphere of prayer and scholarship and they would train themselves; or so it was generally thought in the days before 1890: a notion still held by many in the first three decades of this century. When one is sure about the "product" of an educational system, one can concentrate on efficiency, technique and method. But in Kelly's time, as in ours, it was the "product" itself which

was in question.

In 1880 when Kelly was up at Oxford, the Church of England was very confident as to the products of theological education. Methods and training seemed to meet the demands of the ordinands that were coming forward from the universities. The somewhat donnish, semi-monastic pattern of education which had evolved in the second half of the nineteenth century, seemed to be the answer. Theological Colleges in England have been (and, alas, still tend to be) institutions designed for bachelor graduates: gentlemen, dedicated and prayerful. Anglicans elsewhere evolved their own distinctive ways, though perhaps many were far too eager to follow the English pattern. Only the Anglicans in the United States managed to go their own way: the Revolutionary War saw to that. Not that the American method of theological education was or is in any way necessarily superior to the English pattern. Both methods have their merits and their dangers. The General Theological Seminary in New York City, which Kelly visited in 1912 and which he found intolerably stuffy and "academic", was founded in 1817, long before any of the theological colleges in England, and was, in effect, a university in miniature, with professors and a degree course: an Oxford College with a Germanic curriculum.

Neither the English nor the American patterns, though over-scholarly and celibate, are to be despised. They both worked. They produced many dedicated priests

and in their time they have served the Church well. Now patterns are changing; the old ways are seen to be far from satisfactory for present needs. What was once the world of the middle and upper classes is now one where all classes come together. Students, in England (unlike those in the United States where a degree is still taken for granted), are rarely graduates and are often men who have had careers in industry, commerce, or the armed forces.

The general upheaval in the Church and in the world is bound to be reflected in the theological colleges and seminaries, and such an upheaval is inevitably the harbinger of disturbing doubts and questions which have to be faced before new patterns can emerge. Herbert Kelly, in a complacent age, was asking and, to the best of his ability, answering such disturbing questions. "Theological Education", as Kelly saw it, and as we are being made to see it, raises fundamental questions: What is Theology; above all, what is Catholicity? To put it in Kelly's terminology, is Christianity a religion or is it a Faith? If our answer is a Faith, then in what ways is that Faith Catholic, Universal, free from the opinion and prejudices of men, their feelings and their institutions? How is that Faith to be communicated to the world? What determines our programme of evangelism? What is the exact nature of the data we wish to communicate? What can be said about the nature of reality itself? Then, as now, it was not merely a question of methods, modes, techniques, but one of basic evangelism. Do we have anything to communicate? If so,

what is it? How are we to communicate it?

These same questions press in upon us now. That is why we can listen to Kelly with profit. He anticipated, in an almost uncanny and certainly in a prophetic way, much of what we are going through. He serves both as guide and as warning, because he has been this way before.

To take one example, it was believed, in Kelly's day, that all ordinands should be graduates; some even believed that ordinands should be graduates in any subject but theology. (Kelly himself would have discouraged a man from reading theology at a university; we shall see later why he objected so strongly to academic theology). Graduation from a university, it was thought, would save the Church from incompetent ministers. Such a view was and is too superficial, as is the common notion today that all theological colleges and seminaries should be attached to a university. Theological education is much more complex than is often supposed. It can never be treated as a mere text-book subject; a course here and there on the Bible, Church History, and Doctrine. This method might be adequate for a department of Religious Studies at a secular university (though this is doubtful) but it is certainly inadequate when it comes to the training of men for the ministry. The problem remains. We may improve facilities, academic opportunities, and teaching expertise; all these things are important, but on their own will not solve fundamental problems. By what method can the Church adequately form her priests? Not by the

production of "academic theologians", nor, on the other hand, of pious ignoramuses. What we tend to forget today is that the medium must serve the message. Some have swallowed wholesale McLuhan's witty theory that the medium is the message. Though this may be true in a superficial sense, its sheer brilliance tempts us to forget the basic truth: the message is all that matters.¹ Kelly would have denied the identification of the medium with the message but would have insisted that there was a vital link between them. He reminds us in the opening of his Autobiography that

"no worker stands wholly apart from his work.... Nor does God's messenger stand apart from his message.... The work and the message are part of the man himself. Both have to be learnt and are never learnt completely."

Until basic catholic and evangelical questions are faced (that is to say, questions about message and work), talk of methodology and technique is doomed to frustration and failure.

Herbert Kelly began with passionate conviction about the truth of the Gospel, and firmly believed that if the Church had anything to communicate she would find some means of getting it across. Method follows conviction, and not vice versa. Kelly's road to passionate conviction, which forced him into the world of theological education, was, as we shall see, a long and difficult one. He had

1. See Marshall McLuhan: The Medium is the Massage (sic) Penguin Books, London, 1967.

no patience with those who wished merely to argue about the details of educational process:

"We are fighting for the life of Christianity and nations.... We must go back to the central point, Christ sitteth at the right hand of God, find out what it has to say of the Christian interpretation of the world-life which has, for the moment, grown too tangled for us as well as for itself, and come back to meet it with a message when we have some idea what the message is."¹

For Kelly life, particularly his theological life, was a series of beginnings, of moves, of false starts, of dead ends and wasted energies. This unstable and unsettling pattern suited him. His sense of humour (which got drier and more caustic as he got older) and his love of change enabled him to sustain an uneasy equilibrium. He found the moves from one house to another exhilarating and admitted that he would have enjoyed moving every three years.²

He was a constant fighter. Many of the things for which he fought are taken for granted today: the ecumenical spirit; his contrast between theology and religion; his refusal to allow Catholic Anglicans to stagnate in a ritualistic ghetto. Mervyn Stockwood, preaching a centenary sermon in St. Peter's, Eaton Square, on 4th May 1960, paid tribute to the Kelly "failure":

"Today the things for which Father Kelly pioneered are taken for granted and it is

1. Article in Church Quarterly Review, July 1910, "Training and Examination of Candidates for Holy Orders", p.366.

2. An Idea in the Working, Kelham 1908. p.65

difficult for us to appreciate the conditions which prevailed sixty years ago - conditions which he did so much to alter - in fact the Church of England has saluted his greatness by absorbing almost unconsciously so many of his ideas."

Kelly was a man who was stating what now seems obvious, at a time when nobody could see it. He has passed unnoticed except by a few devotees. It is remarkable that such a man, not only the founder of a theological college and a religious order, but also a profound theologian, should be so easily forgotten. Why has there been no biography written? Surely he is as good biographical material as a Gore or a Benson? Kelly, in fact, had a remarkable affinity with the latter. R.M. Benson shared with Kelly certain fundamental characteristics: both were solitary men, true to a genuine monastic vocation, both were dominated by a vision of the holiness and majesty of God, both were totally devoted to a notion of Catholicity which transcended personalities and parties.¹ Yet Kelly has been largely neglected by both biographers and theologians. Why have we no evaluation of his theology? There is scarcely a mention of Kelly or his thought in the great biographies of eminent Churchmen of this century: Bell does not mention him at all in his important work on Randall Davidson, Iremonger makes only one reference to him in his life of William Temple. I mention Davidson and Temple in particular because Kelly was known and respected by the former and loved

1. See A.M.Allchin, The Silent Rebellion, S.C.M., London, 1958, p.190; and Fr. Lucius Careys, S.S.J.E., introduction to Benson's Religious Vocation, Mowbrays, London, 1939, p.28.

and revered by the latter. Yet even where he was known and loved he merited only "an honourable mention".

Kelly has been neglected too long and this thesis is an attempt to repair this gap in biographical and theological evaluation. There has been very little published about either his life or his thought (a few articles, sermons, introductions to his books, and one pamphlet in connection with the Herbert Kelly centenary celebrations in 1960).

Kelly's anonymity, futility and uselessness is a suitable place to begin this attempt to bring to the fore the thought and method of this important but neglected theologian. One cannot help feeling that this lack of fame, this anonymity is exactly what Kelly would have expected; it is an inevitable and not undesirable outcome of his understanding of theology. Part of him would have been annoyed and hurt but no part of him would have been surprised. In fact he feigned astonishment when anyone managed to understand him. He wrote ruefully to his mother anticipating the reaction of the Bishop of Madras to his article on Indian Ordinations:

"THE ARTICLE IS OF SINGULAR INTEREST AND WILL I AM SURE GIVE US ALL MUCH REASON FOR THOUGHT. That is my normal sticking place. Everybody gets that far with me.... It is so very rare for anybody to understand anything."¹

Thus far and no further. People could go so far with Kelly

1. Newsletter (hereafter referred to as NL) to his mother, 26th June 1911.

but were, in the end, baffled and confused by much of what he had to say. What was the reason for this? Part of the blame, no doubt, can be laid at Kelly's feet. His style, as he got older, became tortuous and disjointed. But more important, he made people uncomfortable, including his own brethren. It was not his rudeness, though he had a sharp tongue, nor was it his becoming, in later life, a "wise and inscrutable" old man. His crime was far worse. He refused to allow anyone to understand anything simpliciter: as if truth could be reduced to neat categories easily accommodated to the human mind. He sometimes wrote stories to illustrate his point:

"The reader may not always know what the story means. Neither do I. But this does not prove the story has no meaning. On the contrary I publish these stories with the full conviction that they are TRUE."¹

This approach to truth is intolerable to the type of mind which craves for "facts, pure and simple". So Kelly is unclassifiable; a maverick, and there is no-one more disturbing than the man who refuses to fit into a ready-made category. He was an Anglican monk, living at a time when ritualism was at its zenith. Yet he was neither a dedicated ritualist, nor a loyal Anglo-Catholic. But are not monks, by definition, party men, classifiable? Books on Church History tell us that the Oxford Movement, and the Catholic Revival in the Church of England, led to a flowering of the Religious Life. One would, therefore, have expected Herbert

1. MS preface to his Palimpsest Stories.

Kelly to be a Tractarian at least. In his maturity he was not. Does this curious fact point to a fundamental inconsistency in the man? Not necessarily. Kelly had a longing for holiness and in this sense he was true in the Anglican tradition at its deepest. As A.M. Allchin rightly points out in The Silent Rebellion, we should "not be surprised if we find from time to time a very Evangelical note in the lives and ideals of the religious founders."¹ Kelly himself was the product of both the Evangelical and Catholic spirit in the Church of England and as such was able to propagate a view of Catholicity which transcended party barriers.

He was indeed a Catholic but of an apparently strange sort; a "Barthian-Catholic", obsessed with the priority and majesty of God, with justification by faith, with the fire of evangelism. He was of that rare breed of Catholic in the Church of England of sixty years ago who was not intrigued by vestments, who was not shrouded with incense and, what was worse, who persistently hob-nobbed with Dissenters; in short, intolerable.

In one sense, at least, the assessment of his theology is an easy one. Though not original, it always bears the Kelly stamp. He gives old thoughts a new vitality, and in consequence it is difficult to read one's own prejudices into his theology. He will not allow this; he is too strong, too dominant. What he does do for us is exactly what F.D. Maurice

1. Op. cit., p.37.

did for him. Once he has aroused us he allows us to leave him behind and get on with our own thoughts. Kelly, like F.D. Maurice, will give us the prod forward, but the thinking is up to us.

The main problem in trying to assess Kelly's Theology, and his contribution to theological education, is to know where to stop, for it is so much bound up with a life. He became a theologian in spite of himself, by accident, the role being forced upon him by circumstances. He found himself catapulted into the unfamiliar, and, in many ways, uncongenial world of Theological Education. He found himself in charge of a theological college with inadequate resources, and ordinands of a type never before acceptable to the Church of England.

Faced with a desperate situation both at home and overseas as far as the shortage of clergy was concerned, Kelly began his work. He had the men. How was he to train them? What was he to teach them? It would have been comparatively easy for him to regurgitate all that he had been taught, to hand on the tradition of his fathers. But the men in his care were no ordinary men. They were unused to intellectual exercise, no less intelligent but certainly less equipped than most men who were offering themselves for ordination. As we shall see later, Kelly found himself with men of the working class, an untapped source of energy and power as far as the Church of England was concerned. No doubt some simple training in the Scriptures would be sufficient for such men, since they were intended for work

among the "heathen". Kelly, however, had other ideas. He proposed to let them loose on the English.

As early as 1842 Keble had written to Pusey:

"I wish some of the new Bishops that go out could be persuaded to try the experiment of a sort of monastic College, in the first instance for converting Heathens or Heathenized Christians. If such a thing answered in Australia or New Zealand or India, people would begin to think it might answer in London or Manchester."¹

It was left to Herbert Kelly to fulfil that hope some fifty years later.

In 1890 a clergyman was still expected to be a Christian and a gentleman.² Kelly's men were Christian enough, but could they ever be gentlemen? It is not surprising that his plan caused considerable alarm. He knew that to train these unqualified men he would have to evolve a system of theological education which would not only equal but as far as possible surpass the present system.

For his men to be accepted by a suspicious and often hostile Establishment, Kelly had to strive for a new excellence. He did not want to turn his men into pale copies of Oxford and Cambridge graduates; he wanted to train men who could think and work for themselves, who were genuine theologians. And if one is to train theologians, one must

1. Allchin, op. cit. p.60, quoting The Pusey House Papers, Vol.I.

2. Such was the popular misconception of the English clergyman that the Japanese Bishop, Isaac Nosse, could write in a memoir of Father Kelly, "In England, the clergy were drawn largely from the aristocracy."
(Written September 1970 at the author's request.)

become a theologian oneself. It is true to say that Kelly did not begin to think theologically at all until he began teaching in earnest.

Thus Kelly's entry into the realm of theological education was engendered by two things: the desperate need of the Church for pastors and teachers, and his own fire and conviction that he had something to say and do. If we are to understand Kelly we have to examine what he did and from that we may deduce what his fundamental convictions were. Apart from the Life the writings of Herbert Kelly remain, for the most part, undistinguished. There were occasional flashes of brilliance but he was often tedious and when not tedious frequently devious and obscure. Yet when we read his writings within the context of his life, his vision comes alive again and we can discern something of his brilliance. His was a life dominated by ideas and principles. These were the real things, not the systems which embodied them. This conviction is an expression of the dominant and, characteristically Maurician side of Kelly's nature.

In one sense, it is true that it is ideas and not mere force of arms that rule the world. Kelly was a man of ideas, though not a man with an ideology, a system of thought which he slavishly followed. He would have approved of Carlyle's rebuke to a businessman who had reacted to the latter's conversation with,

"'Ideas, Mr. Carlyle, ideas, nothing but ideas.' 'There was once a man called Rousseau

who wrote a book containing nothing but ideas. The second edition was bound in the skins of those who laughed at the first."¹

Kelly's fire and conviction was for far more than an idea of God but for God himself. It was a way of looking at the world which revolutionized the lives of those who could see. He told students at Swanwick that he had

"proof of the being of God! I told them of S. Francis and the birds. When you love God even the birds are God's birds. BUT: - I took Fr. Huntingdon to see a new 'proofs of the Resurrection.' I showed him our pigs.

Then, I ses, there's a jolly sight too much poetry about Christianity. If I talked of flowers, and stars, and sunsets you'd say - 'Ah! how true.' Your old farmer, yes, I think he likes sunsets but his business is pigs; he likes them, scratches their backs, and they like that. And they are God's pigs. God's very common things. They - and common people - are what the world's made of."²

Kelly, the "failure", bore witness to the grace of God in the life of every man: "If our hearts condemn us, God is greater than our hearts...." He was a restless spirit up to the end of his life. Even after over twenty years of hard work, founding and establishing the Society, he could write with conviction after his resignation: "I want to have this house blown up and start again".³ This was not

1. Quoted by Alisdair McIntyre in A Short History of Ethics, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1967, p.183. Kelly was very fond of the works of Carlyle.

2. NL, July 1923.

3. NL, to his mother, 5th April 1911. After the war, he was all for uprooting the Society and moving to Stowe House, an eighteenth century mansion, near Buckingham, only an hour from the Oxford he loved, and not too far from London. This was not to be. NL, 8th September 1920.

merely a piece of Kelly rhetoric. In part he meant it. Kelly's genius, his vision, depended on two forces in his personality; his deep sense of his own futility and his driving will. He was, like Fénelon, "profoundly frustrated, beaten, trapped in his own wretched temperament."¹ Such a person needs new projects on which to embark, new mountains to climb, new problems to solve. Kelly wrote, when he was sixty-five, reflecting on the past forty years of his life:

"The chief impression left on me is the sense of my own futility. The great thing in life is driving power - Will. Against that Vision is helpless. You may see it, but you can't explain - unless they want to hear about it very much. A stupid person trying to explain or argue is annoying. Seems to me, a weak-willed person trying to stand fast is much more annoying."²

Kelly was neither weak-willed nor stupid, factors which enabled him to transcend his own sense of failure and helped him see visions,³ and rejoice in a free and open view of Catholicism which was grounded in the sovereignty and catholicity of God.

His quest for Catholicism follows a definite route. It begins at Oxford, where he experienced a larger world than the limited one of home and school. His progress after that is very difficult to follow. From 1890 to 1907

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1. Thomas Merton; Fénelon, Letters of Love and Counsel, translated John McEwen, Harcourt, Brace & World, New York, 1964, p.20.
 2. NL, concerning the Great Chapter of 1925.
 3. See S.S.M. Quarterly, March 1960, a reprint of A Vision, by HK (1907).

there was a period of hard work, foundations were being laid but there was little sign of progress on the surface. In those years Kelly was busy with administration and polemics. In 1907, however, things sown in secret began to bear fruit. Oxford planted the seeds, the foundation of Kelham nurtured them, and the Ecumenical Movement helped them to bear fruit. Kelly's concept of Catholicism began to flourish as his contacts with the Student Christian Movement developed and matured. It was not until after 1910, when he was fifty years old, that we find him being able to articulate his deepest intuitions. It was in Japan that his concept of Catholicity came out into the open. In his book, Catholicity, we can see the accumulation of years of work, prayer and study. The deepest expression of his thought, however, was to come after, in a modest but explosive little book, the Gospel of God, which was published in 1928.

Thus the road to Catholicity is set out for us; from Oxford in 1879 to Kelham in 1928.

For convenience this thesis is divided into three parts. The first is devoted to Kelly's life and personality; the second to his life's work as a theological teacher; the third to his theology. It would be totally wrong, however, to imagine these three sections as separable, capable of isolation. In Kelly, life, work and thought must perforce be together. The three sections, therefore, are in essence coterminous. The shape of this thesis is, therefore, spiral

rather than linear. Topics inevitably occur more than once, seen from different angles.

Kelly was the kind of theologian who responded to actual events. The event which sparked his enthusiasm was the need for trained ministers in the mission field. The type of training for the ministry to be employed depended on a doctrine of the ministry, which in its turn depended on a view of the Church, which finally hinged on a total view of the Catholic Faith itself. In Kelly it is all one. His attitude to life and work is summed up in an article for the S.C.M. Magazine for December 1911, "The Power of Unworldliness".

"Whatever God gives a man to do... he is bound to do it - that is, to succeed - by every means in his power, whether he cares for it or not.... It is what you mean to do and not what you desire to do that makes a difference. If a man is to mean a thing effectively he must mean it wholly. ... Most things worth doing count by life-times, not by years. To have wasted your life for nothing is not half as serious as people make out. What's a life? There are said to be 50,000,000 of them in England. 'Mostly fools', Carlyle said. Well, we're in good company. One more or less won't make much difference. If you will work as patiently and humbly in the true spirit of simplicity, you may perhaps do something, and it is probable that what there is will be useful. But even of that there is no certainty.... What will come of it, God only knows - that's the whole joy of faith."

PART ONE

LIFE

CATHOLIC FORMATION

"I know no more inspiring thought than at the last day to be able to look God in the face, and say, 'I have brought you a character.'"¹

1. NL, 28th July 1927. Herbert Kelly is quoting what he calls "the Fr Bernard Vaughan S.J. story".

II. THE TIME OF PREPARATION: 1860-1910.

(a) Early Life

There are two approaches open to us in dealing with Kelly's theological life. He outlines them for us himself:

"It is related in the story books that a certain Englishman and a certain German undertook to write monographs on a camel. The former travelled in many lands to observe, to learn, and came home to write. The latter shut himself up in his study, and, after many pipes, evolved the camel complete from his own inner consciousness. It is also related that the world read the books of neither.... So it is with biographies. You may, if you like, study a man's life and what he actually was and sought to do, how far he understood his own aims and succeeded in them. Or knowing what your subject is, you may write all that is appropriate to that subject as it has been evolved, in other people's consciousness in this case, and put in names, dates, and events from a biographical dictionary."¹

It will be the avowed policy of the present writer to follow the Englishman, in method at least (though with hopes of being read!)

Kelly's life can be conveniently divided into four parts; the first was his childhood and early manhood, where, as we shall see, he learned quickly to cope with failure; the second, his work founding The Society of the Sacred Mission from its inception to his resignation in 1910 (which would have exhausted and disillusioned lesser men); the third, 1910-1930, the most difficult period of all which saw the Society he had founded move away from his own aspirations, yet gave him the opportunity to be free to pursue other things.

1. HK in the Church Review, 28th June 1900 - a review of Theodore of Beza by H.M.Baird.

After 1910 Kelly enjoyed a new lease of life and creativity, throwing himself into his work with the Student Christian Movement and the Ecumenical Movement in general. During this time he visited the United States, and taught in Japan. Most important of all, 1910 saw the beginning of his most creative period theologically.

The fourth and final period of his life may be called his preparation for death. After 1930 the fire in him began to die and his last five years were those of a lonely old man. Not that he gave up thinking; he was reading books and making copious notes while he could still hold a pen.

Herbert Hamilton Kelly was born on 18th July, 1860, the year that saw the publication of Essays and Reviews and the first attempt on the part of English theologians to come to terms with the Higher Criticism emanating from Germany. There had been some, notably Coleridge, before 1860 who made it their business to be in touch with the Continent, but the year of Kelly's birth marks the beginning of a theological revolution. Kelly, however, in spite of the mixture of Scottish and Irish blood, was not born into a revolutionary household. He had inauspicious beginnings, a happy but mediocre start in life. He was the third son of seven children of the Reverend James Davenport Kelly (who died in 1912). Kelly's father, an evangelical clergyman, staunch but gentle, was rector of St. James', George Street,

Manchester.¹ He was a man of substance, leaving £100,000 at his death, and enjoyed the position this wealth afforded him. He was offered, but refused the bishopric of Barbados. This rarified stratum of society was a far cry from that of James' grandfather, the Belfast labourer, also a James Kelly, who had moved to Glasgow around 1800.

Herbert's mother, Margaret Eccles Kelly, had a warm personality, and was much loved by her third son (as his subsequent correspondence with her shows). Kelly's was a cheerful home, with a sympathetic mother and an understanding father. What it lacked in brilliance it gained in warmth. Alfred, Herbert Kelly's brother, believed that his father's "two leading characteristics were devotion to duty and family affection". To this Herbert added, "the humour was superb. ...I think the point is that he so took duty for granted that he never thought anything else as conceivably possible." In this respect Kelly owed much to his father. Nor should it be forgotten that James Davenport Kelly contributed, in some measure, to the upheaval in theological education. In 1890, the year

1. According to Fr. E. Ball, S.S.M., JDK had "considerable ability but limited ideas - a forceful personality." He was six feet tall and "the handsomest man in Manchester." (From notes by HK's brother Alfred.) At the time of HK's birth JDK was vicar of Christ Church, Ashton. HK revisited the vicarage in 1935 and noted that "the old big mountain ash in the hollow had gone." See NL, July-September 1935. HK felt that he was poorly educated. He needed to be wound up to a subject to be able to speak on it. He could not make conversation very easily "which is largely want of education on my part. There were great disadvantages in living in Ashton-under-Lyne." NL, 4th July 1926.

Herbert Kelly began his life's work, his father became Vice-Principal of the Manchester Scholae Episcopi which trained non-graduates who studied at home,¹ a daring innovation for the time. Like his father, Kelly hated controversy, political or ecclesiastical, but unlike his father he was unable to avoid the latter.

There were, however, serious flaws in the head of the Kelly household. According to Kelly's sister, Edith, "Father had, and wanted no friends":² The family was considered sufficient; but even with them, he was aloof and reserved. He did not like arguments and tended to lay down the law, and there was about him a "starkness and absence of sympathy."³ According to Alfred Kelly he was never known to change his mind, and showed his aversion to the new technology by hating electric light.⁴

Naturally Kelly's first religious instincts were those of his family. While he was at Manchester Grammar School (where his father had been a pupil) from the ages of eleven to seventeen, his "religious conceptions were of the narrowest, evangelical and pietistic kind,"⁵ which suited this shy child who seems to have had few friends. He was

1. From MSS of ADK and HHK.

2. Edith to HK, 13th November 1930.

3. HK address to the College, 1st October 1911.

4. From MSS of ADK and HHK.

5. No Pious Person, p.26, Faith Press, London, 1960.
See also Autobiography, p.9.

always a lonely child, with little or no love for games, and no marked ability in any subject, save, perhaps, science, in which he took an avid interest.

His education began at a private school where from the start he was inconspicuous in his studies. Latin and other subjects remained a tangle because he was inept at memorising and was slow to pick up the rules or ways for doing things. This facility Kelly later contemptuously called "cleverness". It was merely the ability to recognize rules, and Herbert Kelly was not "clever". Rules by themselves would not do. Kelly stubbornly insisted on thinking things laboriously through for himself, until he discovered the principles on which the rules rested. It is no wonder that his fellow pupils found him undistinguished and dull. His was a slow brain resting on the shoulders of a boy whose background had led him to be both reticent and unsociable. His peers naturally found him difficult, and their studied indifference to him made matters worse, "I armoured myself in ... reticent impassivity."¹ Herbert Kelly must have appeared the dullest member of his family.²

His brilliant elder brother, Francis ('the flower of the flock') died prematurely in 1882. Indeed, all Kelly's brothers and sisters were able if not brilliant. Charles, his younger brother, was "the bad boy of the family. He became a doctor.... We all believed he committed suicide out of

1. HK, Autobiography, p.8

2. For the Kelly Family Tree see Appendix.

sheer boredom at the absence of anything worth doing." It is by no means certain that Kelly's account of the tragedy is accurate: certainly his brother Alfred was not so certain it was suicide. In all events, this tragedy greatly affected the family.¹

Herbert Kelly's appearance was even more unprepossessing than his beginnings. The best one could say was that he was striking. He was tall and lanky, with no chin to speak of, a long nose and, according to his passport,² a long face and an 'average' mouth. He had, however, a certain attractiveness and intensity that was magnetic. As soon as he had discovered himself in his vocation his dullness left him. After his experiences at Oxford no-one could accuse him of being boring or dull: a man who was to mix "pigs with piety and sanctity with sanitation"³ could not fail to arouse interest. But at the age of eighteen he was as yet unformed, still the son of his father, and it was not until he had left school, home, and Manchester that he began to change and grow.

He decided to follow his eldest brother, Arthur, into the army. Arthur had made the army his career and eventually became a brigadier; Herbert only lasted one year in the service. "At about 16 I decided on the army, and I began to prepare for Woolwich.... Then two things happened.

1. MSS of ADK and HHK.

2. to go to Japan in 1916.

3. The Bishop of Manchester at The Centenary Celebrations, 28th June 1960.

First was my conversion.... Secondly, about that time, I began to be deaf."¹ The Woolwich experience was misery for him. He was ignorant of the world and still intensely shy. So this year, 1878, spent at the Military Academy, Woolwich, was a disastrous yet an important one: disastrous in that Kelly was forced to resign his commission because of his deafness, which was to plague him for the rest of his life; important, because it was at Woolwich that Kelly caught a glimpse of the efficiency and smoothness of military routine which was to influence him later, in his formulating the programme of studies and pattern of life at the theological college which he was to found. At Woolwich Kelly caught a vision of the enormous possibilities of organized power. For this reason he always maintained a healthy respect for the Jesuit order, which exploited such possibilities to the full. It is hardly surprising that Kelly's respect for the Jesuits and for military models of training were misunderstood. As we shall see later, he was thought by many to be introducing "seminarist" production-line clergy. This accusation is not totally unjustified.

As a military cadet he was a failure. He wrote in a memoir over sixty years later,

"I left Woolwich as a Protestant Evangelical which is much less complex than being a Catholic evangelical.... To us the world of men fell into two

1. Autobiography (unpublished, 1929) p.9.

classes - the Converted, and the Unconverted - nothing else had any significance beside that tremendous difference."¹

When he arrived at Queen's College, Oxford, he was still a naive and zealous evangelical. A parish mission at home earlier that year convinced him of his vocation to the ordained ministry. He believed he might become the sort of mission preacher who revolved around the twin poles of Salvation and Damnation. By God's grace, no doubt, he would be found among the sheep and not among the goats. Kelly's four years at Oxford were to shatter this simplistic world-view. The change came, when he discovered the works of Charles Kingsley and F.D. Maurice² and sat at the feet of Henry Scott Holland, the senior student of Christ Church. Kelly was beginning to discover a new world of ideas, a new way of understanding the Church, and, what was more important, Oxford gave him a new vision of himself. For the first time in his life he was happy. Narrow evangelicalism began to repel him because of its self-centredness; the yearning to be saved "set one's mind on a self - a religious self, a self devoted to Jesus Christ, but a self all the same."³ Kingsley helped Kelly reject this view of life.

1. Memoir, 27th July 1940.

2. According to Fr. E. Ball, S.S.M., Kingsley liberated Kelly from his narrow religionism in teaching him to see the whole of creation as the province of God. Maurice taught him the habit of thinking.

3. Letter, 13th August 1913.

Kingsley's view of the world, however, though stimulating, was marred by prejudice and impatience. There was too much of the moralist in Kingsley for Kelly's liking. He hungered for something more. F.D. Maurice met this need. In his second year at Queen's, he discovered Maurice, who continued to fascinate him for the rest of his life. Maurice was "concerned with meanings and in meanings we see, or are looking for, the universal under the particular."¹ Here we see the roots of Kelly's vision of Catholicity.

"The thing means what it means, and its meaning stretches to all infinity. An explanation is as much of its meaning as you can give. You can explain chalk as a rock formed from globigerina ooze, dried and solidified.... At most you have not got more than fragments of an explanation. And then if I asked suddenly, 'And now, what is the meaning of chalk?'"² You can only bow your head and worship."

Here Kelly expresses, in a rudimentary form, the basis of his notion of Catholicity - it had as its foundation the sanctity of a fact and like Maurice, Kelly came to see that Doctrines "were tremendous facts or principles, or realities."³ By the time Kelly left Oxford he had imbibed Maurice's two great works, The Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy and The Kingdom of Christ. These volumes reflect quite a different world from that of Kingsley. Maurice had a

1. Autobiography, p.18

2. Ibid., p.20

3. Ibid., p.48.

passion to understand all things and the way they were related. Kingsley's world tended to be a narrow one, with its unreasoned hatred of Catholicism, both Roman and Anglican. This distressingly blind prejudice caused Kelly to leave Kingsley behind, not because Catholicism was the truth but because Kingsley had made no attempt to understand it.¹

So Kelly underwent a metamorphosis in his university days. At school he had been aloof and withdrawn. At Oxford he threw himself into everything. The shy school-boy had gone. His rule was, "Never let anything go by without having a shot at it."² He even tried the piano and singing and for a while attended Ruskin's drawing school.³ Sport at last began to mean something to him. All these various activities, rowing, gymnastics, drawing, music, helped him to develop as a person.

He was, however, too busy with his own inner development to distinguish himself in the schools.⁴ His incapacity to memorise did not help. He could only retain facts by the knowledge of their interrelations, and needed to see things bound up with one another in a total context in order to make sense of them. This method he exploited later in his own teaching of theology, giving his students

1. See Ibid., p.22.

2. Ibid., p.16.

3. HK was just in time. Ruskin retired as Professor of Fine Art in 1884.

4. "He remembered when he was at Queen's he was supposed to be studying constitutional History, but to the despair of his tutor he would persist in reading the Old Testament." Oxford Chronicle, 5th February 1910. HK's address at his old college.

as wide a canvas as possible to work on, showing them how the various ideas were related but expecting them to fill in the details for themselves.

Kelly left Oxford with a fourth in History. This was doubly disappointing, for it is in Kelly's subsequent excursions into Church History that we shall find much of his theology. He did not do well at Oxford because he insisted on understanding everything he read. His method of study was slow and deliberate; too slow for the examiners. He had failed once more. At the time, he felt this very keenly, though it amused him in later life, especially on one occasion when he was asked his advice on the respective merits of two men, one with a double first, the other with a double second. "Losh," he wrote to his sister, "how these professors do talk, and how I snigger. Fancy me with my poor little fourth discussing the rival merits of these big pots."¹

In 1883, however, Kelly was in no position to snigger. In that year he was ordained deacon by Archbishop E.W. Benson. E.S. Talbot, then Master of Keble, was Benson's Examining Chaplain, and Kelly was extremely grateful to him for his sympathy and kindness. The acquaintance flourished as time went by, and when Talbot was made a bishop Kelly was pleased to find a friend.² The only other person of

1. NL, to his sister, 4th November 1912.

2. See SSM Quarterly, Easter 1934 - HK on Bishop E.S. Talbot's death, 30th January 1934. Talbot, when Bishop of Rochester, was visitor of the young Society in the latter half of its Vassall Road days.

influence Kelly knew at the time was Henry Scott Holland. The world of "important people" was an alien one: "They all seem to know one another. I never belonged to it."¹

Kelly served his title in Leeds, near Maidstone in Kent, where "the vicar was as ignorant as an owl".² Undaunted, Kelly joined the London Library and read voraciously. His diary for 1884 lists ninety books. After two years he left Leeds and for a few months tried Toynbee Hall, where there was a brotherhood of mission priests. He then went to Holy Trinity, Dalston, where he saw Catholicism at work, for the first time. That appointment fell through. Kelly was turned down for "a better man".

As a curate he felt himself to be a failure and this pressed hard on him when he moved in the summer of 1886 to be curate of St. Paul's, Wimbledon Park with St. Barnabas, Southfields. He was virtually in sole charge of the latter. This was a new high church parish founded by Earl Beauchamp. St. Paul's catered for the well-to-do, St. Barnabas for the people living in that dismal area around the river Wandle. Kelly saw, for the first time, the wasted potential and unlooked for talent in working-class people. It was then that the problems of the Church, the shortage of clergy, the untapped energies

1. Autobiography, p.65.

2. Ibid., p.32. Kelly, in the tradition of his father, celebrated "North-End" in this first curacy.

of the laity, and especially those of the less privileged began to oppress him. "The dreariness and loneliness and helplessness of it all forced on my mind the need of training lay workers."¹ The seeds of the idea for a Missionary Brotherhood, utilising an untapped source of manpower, began to germinate.

His first thought was to devise some scheme whereby young men from poor homes could be trained for work in the Church. Some sixty years later Kelly wrote,

"I never made my own incapacities the measure of possibilities. I began to dream of a plan by which ordination might be open to anyone who would give himself wholly to serve, and to provide an adequate training. The whole S.S.M. scheme was formed in my mind as it is today, before I left Southfields."²

In 1888 the problem was how to translate that dream into reality. There was, of course, work in the Colonies and it was said that there was a desperate need for men to go to Korea. The first thing Kelly did was to apply for the post of vice-principal at the S.P.C.K. College for lay-readers, about to be started. He was unsuccessful. Everything he touched seemed destined to fail. What could he do? As far as work abroad was concerned he felt himself drawn to the Colonies rather than the purely "heathen" nations, as he called them. He felt his hopelessness at languages would prove too much of an impediment.

1. Annual Reports 1891-1910, p.2.

2. HK, MS, 28th May 1947.

Kelly went into London to see Scott Holland on May 19th 1890. He had talked several times about his future to this distinguished canon and precentor of St. Paul's. Scott Holland, who also lived in the parish, had lectured in Southfields at the Navy Mission Hall,¹ and had had the opportunity to assess the worth of the mediocre Oxford graduate. Scott Holland had an "exuberant vitality and joyousness.... He possessed to a surprising degree the gift of making quite ordinary people feel that his own brilliant talk owed something to their halting vapidities."² Kelly, weakened by failure, needed a friend. He found one in Scott Holland, who possessed the kind of human generosity that would take an interest in "failed" curates. The canon listened attentively to the three possibilities Kelly outlined. Should he attempt to start a community? Should he seek work in one of the Colonies, Australia for example? Should he offer himself for work in Korea? The last proposal was the least congenial to him since he regarded it as an insurance against his being refused in the other two instances.³ As he and Scott Holland walked down the Strand, they talked of Kelly's future. When they reached the steps of Exeter Hall the canon advised him to write to Bishop Corfe, of Korea.⁴ That night "with a

1. Southfields, 14th June 1888.

2. E. Lyttleton, The Mind and Character of Henry Scott Holland, Mowbrays, London, 1926. p.8.

3. See Annual Reports 1891-1910, pp. 2ff.

4. Corfe turned out to be an old pupil of Kelly's father when the latter was in Guernsey.

heavy heart" he wrote an important letter. A few days later he received information from Scott Holland:

"I saw the Bishop of Corea yesterday and had a good talk.... He needs specially a man to study, as this will be the principle part of his work for three years; to meet Confucian ideas and to build up a Korean Prayer Book.... Secondly he wants a man to train blue jackets, artisans etc for missionary purposes."¹

On All Saints Day 1889 Charles John Corfe was consecrated Bishop of Korea. On that day Kelly ceased to be a failure. He had no idea at the time that this consecration was to be the turning point in his life. His life's work had begun. Charles Corfe had been a naval chaplain since 1867 with a break as chaplain to the Bishop of North China. There, he had had the opportunity of seeing the work of Hudson Taylor, who had enlisted men of the lower classes for the mission field. As the new Bishop of Korea, Corfe was in desperate need of men and his plight was widely advertised in Church circles. A dozen or more men offered themselves but they were hopelessly unqualified. Who would train them? Meanwhile Kelly had resigned his curacy² because he was conscious once more of his failure, but it was a failure brightened by a new sense of destiny. "By this time the whole plan for the education, training and organisation of men of this class

1. HSH to HK, 22nd May 1890.

2. In April or May 1890.

was tolerably completely formed in my mind."¹

On 26th May 1890, Kelly saw Bishop Corfe. The interview was very brief and Kelly was sent off for a more rigorous interview to the Bishop's commissary, Canon E.C. Brooke, the capable and forceful Vicar of Kennington. The interview took place on 3rd June. Kelly admitted that he was singularly unqualified to train men for the mission field but Canon Brooke was sufficiently impressed to ask him to undertake the training of the men who had offered themselves to Bishop Corfe. The reaction of Kelly's parents was, on the whole, favourable, though they admitted:

"The first thing we did was to get our Atlas. ... I should think the college for working class people in Kennington ... is your place. At the head of such an institution you might do much."²

The thoughts of such work had been germinating in Kelly's mind for nearly four years. He now took the irrevocable step and unfolded his four year old dream (1886-1890) to Bishop Corfe who was well content to allow him to train his men. Kelly left Southfields on 25th August, and from 23rd September to 17th October he lived with the Cowley Fathers in Oxford. At the end of the year, on 15th December, he moved into 97 Vassall Road, Kennington, to inaugurate the Corean Missionary Brotherhood.

Community life and theological education he inextricably bound together and it is impossible to divorce

1. Annual Reports 1891-1910. p.2.

2. JDK to HK, 2nd June 1890.

Kelly's ideal of a community, formed to spread the gospel of God, from the theological training which was inevitably the means by which such a mission could be realized.

Spreading the Gospel of God was his aim from the start; the founding of the Society of the Sacred Mission was the means.

What qualifications did this "failure" possess to undertake such an enterprise? A few years later Kelly wrote to Father J. Bull, C.R., about his qualifications for founding and leading the Society of the Sacred Mission,

"I had no preliminary education.... A shy and very gauche bounder of a curate whom the 'Park' of the parish agreed to ignore - peace be to their ashes, and whom the 'fields' neither liked nor understood. An utter failure on all sides. I had three points in my favour.

1. Though I have no strength of will to impress people, I can sit a thing out with anyone.

2. I can think enough to handle a theory, but they never fascinate me.

3. And I have a certain intellectualist turn of mind. Not enough for a fellow (Varsity) but enough to make me a fair educationalist for practical purposes."¹

Kelly's work began in earnest in January 1891 with three students. They were looked after by a Mrs. Staples, though life (as far as possible) was based on the monastic pattern which appeared to be the only workable one at the time, and served as a strong framework to bind young men together with

1. HK to Fr. Bull, C.R., 14th July 1901. See also a draft letter, 20th October 1908, "There is nothing I denied more than a reputation for ability.... I loathe the very idea of being the star of an ecclesiastical music hall. As to my share in the discovery I tumbled into it in the dark - not knowing whither I was going."

a common purpose. It is difficult to discern what exactly drove Kelly to pursue a particular style of life and work. He appears to have been influenced by the writings of Antonio Rosmini (1797-1855), the founder of the Institute of Charity, influential in England in the middle of the last century. Kelly possessed the two volumed edition of William Lockhart's Life of Antonio Rosmini Serbati, founder of the Institute of Charity (published 1886) and there is evidence to suppose that he had read them well before he began work in Vassall Road. Both volumes in the Kelham Library contain Kelly's Queen's Oxford stamp, and on the fly-leaves at the end of the books are some notes which reveal Kelly's particular interest in Rosmini.¹ We can discern three Rosminian characteristics which would have influenced or attracted Herbert Kelly. First, there was the desire of Rosmini to found a confraternity which sought to harmonise everyday interests and occupations with the regularity and devotion of the religious life. This double-edged concern was with Kelly from the start. Second, Rosmini required total sacrifice and devotion in those who wished to belong to his society. This, as we shall see later, was also Kelly's central concern. Third, in Rosmini's Institute there was to be room for all conditions of men, not only priests and scholars but for artisans and workers of all

1. I am indebted to Br. George Every, S.S.M., for pointing out to me Rosmini's possible influence on HK. HK refers particularly to Vol.I, pp. 84, 95, and 231, of Lockhart's biography.

kinds. Kelly opened his Society and College to all who would dedicate themselves, regardless of class or cultural background. There is a fourth characteristic peculiar to Rosmini himself which Father Kelly shared: his fear of waste and his determination to see that "nothing be lost".

Rosmini was a pioneer in Catholic action. He was one of the first to take the laity seriously and was a strong supporter for the movement for the establishment of a native clergy in missionary countries. His first maxim was "To desire only and without limit to please God."¹ Nothing could have been closer to Kelly's own mind.

Armed with these Rosminian ideals the small community began its life at Vassall Road, where the going was extremely hard. Failure still dogged Kelly's steps, and although they did expand later into the house next door, only seven men were trained in the first three years, and not all of them were sent to Bishop Corfe.² Few men were, at first, willing to accept the rigid and demanding life offered them at Vassall Road. Self-surrender had to be absolute. On that Bishop Corfe, Canon Brooke and Father Kelly were agreed. It is not surprising that many men could not stick the course.

Small amount of encouragement came from the Church at large. Kelly was constantly in touch with sympathisers

1. Rosmini, Counsels to Religious Superiors, Burns & Oates, London, 1961. p.12.

2. In 1895 the Rev. M.N. Trollope, a senior priest already in Korea, was noviced. By 1898 only four men were in Korea, one of whom was the Rev. H.J. Drake, S.S.M., who was the only subsequent Kelham link with Korea, which lasted until 1934.

at Cowley, with Darwell Stone, principal of the Missionary College, Dorchester, and with Hugh P. Currie, principal of St. Stephen's House, Oxford. Bishop Adelbert Anson, the retired Bishop of Qu'Appelle, Canada, who had resigned his see for the sole purpose of encouraging the foundation of Missionary Brotherhoods, showed some interest, and gave active encouragement.¹ The only other bishops who showed any interest and sympathy were B.F. Westcott of Durham who extended his good wishes for Kelly's work in a letter of 16th April 1896, and E.S. Talbot who became Bishop of Rochester in 1895. The latter wrote to Kelly on 24th July 1896, "I feel for your work a very special sympathy. It seems to me just the sort of thing of which we have too little and which we need most." This kind of episcopal understanding was rare. Most bishops were either ignorant or suspicious of this young missionary college and it took years for the majority of the English bishops to recognize the value of what was to become "the Kelham system."

Father R.M. Benson of Cowley had done much to defend the monastic vocation to the Church. In 1888 at the Church Congress in Manchester he had given an eloquent apologia for the religious life. The question of Brotherhoods was continually debated in Convocation from 1889 onwards, and was a topic discussed at the Lambeth Conference of 1897 at which Bishop Grafton of Fond-du-lac gave an

1. The bishop spent the night of 21st March 1893 at Vassall Road, but nothing came of his association with the Korean brethren.

address, largely based on information, concerning the religious orders, which Lord Halifax had gathered together from various sources.¹ In the 1890's all religious orders were regarded with some suspicion and it was not until 1908 that the Lambeth Conference accepted Religious Communities and regularized their position vis à vis the Episcopate and the Church at large.

In 1891, Herbert Kelly found himself in the world of theological education, knowing precious little about it. The next ten years would teach him much but it cannot be said that the next decade was fruitful theologically. The seeds were sown but the harvest would not be reaped until Kelly was well into his forties. He was indeed a slow thinker and his early years in theological education were largely spent in administration, battling with the suspicions of the Establishment, and trying to sail in the turbulent waters of party strife and petty squabbles.

The men in his charge were not used to academic work and the lectures from 1892 onwards were dictated slowly, which is hardly the most stimulating method of imparting knowledge. Kelly's own reading was narrow and the lecture fare was based mostly on Plato and St. Thomas Aquinas, with rudimentary introductions to the Gospel of Mark and the book of Genesis. As soon as boys of sixteen were admitted in 1895, subjects other than theology had to be taught. Kelly left the teaching of classics to others but enjoyed teaching

1. See Halifax to HK, 8th April 1897.

mathematics and physics. At first he was a hard master, believing obedience was a primary virtue. Lack of it was "the ruin of this generation. Better to my mind the brutality of 40 years ago, than the sugar plums of this time."¹ In time Kelly mellowed.

On 29th September 1892, a new name was adopted for the Korean Missionary Brotherhood and it became the Society of the Sacred Mission. This action did not please Charles Corfe. Relations between the Society and the Bishop of Korea, though cordial at first, became less harmonious as time went by. There was basic disagreement almost from the start. Kelly refused to narrow his vision to Korea alone, while the Bishop tended to view the Society as a source of supply solely for his own diocese. Corfe later felt himself let down. Kelly, looking back to 1891 and the years that followed, wrote in his report to the Great Chapter in 1905,

"The Bishop of Corea ... objected very strongly to our training men for ordination and to our instituting a Society, as not included in the original purpose. I can say positively that both were laid before him."²

Corfe's response to the new title was, "O, why did you not stick to the Korean Missionary Brotherhood,"³ and even went

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1. HK Retreat Address on Obedience, 3rd January 1895.
 2. See also HK letter to Bishop Montgomery, 8th August 1926, about Corfe.
 3. HK report for 1905. See HK to Bishop Corfe, 13th November, 1901, and H.J.Drake to HK, 27th February 1905.

so far as to threaten to remove his name as founder. Gradually the work of the S.S.M. died out in Korea. Father H.J. Drake expressed his lack of confidence in the Bishop whom he felt was incapable. Father Drake's view of the Bishop seems to have been common. He needed the men in his diocese but he had little or no idea how to use them. Bishop Corfe resigned in 1905 and was succeeded by Arthur B. Turner.

So, in spite of the misgivings of Bishop Corfe, Herbert Kelly began his novitiate on 9th May 1892, with two others, J.S. Badcock and C.W. Chilvers. It was then they adopted the now familiar red girdle, the crucifix not being added until December 5th, 1897. Three more men joined the novitiate by the end of the summer of 1893. On 29th September of the following year Father Kelly made his first profession with Father H.H. Woodward of U.C.M.A.¹

It was not long before the two houses in Vassall Road proved inadequate for the life and work of the Society. The College moved into the sixteenth century manor house at Mildenhall in Suffolk on 18th February 1897. On this Suffolk period Kelly wrote, "a time of apparent peace - a time of dead hard work - our friendlessness - unknown and unhelped. We were not reaching England."² He was an

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1. Kelly's profession greatly distressed his father: "Not to marry and have children was positively wrong, almost wicked. ... It was a tragedy for him that only two of his seven children produced grandchildren, though he would not allow outsiders to criticise his family." Memoir of ADK.
 2. HK, Three Talks - the Story of Kelham, III, 5th November 1911.

impatient man. This period of apparent inactivity was very important in the life of the Society. It was a time to think, to consolidate those first six years, and Kelly himself admits that it was at Mildenhall that "we became a family."¹

Kelly, himself, needed that time to think. What had he achieved in those six years? Very little. The college was established, but to what ends? Kelly needed time to clarify his objectives. Bishop Corfe and Korea were already a small part of a larger scheme. More important, at this stage, Kelly had not yet had any serious or constructive thought about the nature of the Catholic Faith. He had embraced virtually uncritically the generally accepted monastic pattern of life, followed in other communities, but he had not, by 1897, thought through to a position as regards Catholicism. Mildenhall not only gave him a chance to reflect but thrust the opportunity upon him. Protestant agitation forced him to think. He had done the things that "Catholics" were supposed to do (he made his first confession around 1888), but he had very little love for professional Romanisers or Ritualists. He was instinctively a lover of the Church of England and was never tempted to take sides with a fringe movement. Kelly knew well enough the deep-seated prejudices of his countrymen, and much of his time was spent in trying to persuade the bishops that he was not a crank to have any dealings with Romanism.

1. Ibid., I, 1st October, 1911.

Nevertheless, Kelly was, to many of his contemporaries, a romanising Catholic. He offended the Vicar of Mildenhall, A. Livingstone, by being heard to say that the services in the parish church, where the Society at first worshipped, were "casual and Protestant". The vicar went so far as to threaten to resign. He wrote to Kelly 22nd March 1897, "I told you frankly I was not a Ritualist, that I was a High Churchman of the Keble and Isaac Williams type." Whether Kelly liked it or not there were divisions in the Church of England and a man wearing a monk's habit was and is never likely to be mistaken for a Protestant.

Kelly could not come to a genuine understanding of Catholicity until he had run the gauntlet of party polemics. Honesty was the first criterion. If he presented himself unashamedly and openly to would-be opponents, he expected them to do the same and allow a discussion to take place in an atmosphere of mutual respect. It was on these grounds that he defended his wearing of the habit to Canon Armitage Robinson in a letter of 24th March 1902,

"I am not a spike - I have no love for shocking people. It is not because they do not like it that I do it. Rather the exact contrary - it is in confidence that they do. I have an immense belief in putting confidence in people.... I go to a Protestant Church up in the Lakes - call on the vicar straight away. By so doing I virtually say, 'Here I am. You see all I am. Now I talk to you as a man and a brother and a fellow Churchman. If you like to throw a half-brick, throw it. But I take it for granted, you meet me as I meet you. I know all about you, you know all about me'. With hardly any exception

(there are a few stubbornly bitter) they are as pleased as punch and we swear eternal friendship.... I let my boys wear it because I trust them. If they were cranks I would not let them."¹

Despite Kelly's intentions, many thought he was a crank. The religious life had much to teach churchmen, both Catholic and Protestant, because, in its very essence, it speaks of Christian self-surrender. It speaks of the cross and Christian witness. This was why Kelly persevered through the 1890's and endured the exhausting heat of petty controversy.

1. J. Armitage Robinson (1858-1933), fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, until 1898, and canon and subsequently dean of Westminster. He and HK were regular correspondents. In 1903 Robinson visited Mildenhall on behalf of the Bishop of Ely and gave the college a very favourable report which was printed and circulated 6th March 1903. This helped some bishops to view S.S.M. more kindly. The bishops were worried over the question of obedience. They could not be sure of the loyalty of S.S.M. men.

(b) Ritualism

Kelly was never a dedicated "ritualist" and found the controversies ritualism aroused debilitating, annoying and boring. His skirmishes with the extreme Protestants were comparatively mild and did not begin until the Society was safely installed at Mildenhall. In fact, Kelly had little sympathy with the Oxford Movement, and disliked Newman intensely. Yet he was, if anything, a Ritualist rather than a Tractarian and a casual one at that. When Kelly's opponents attacked him for his ritualism, they were often surprised that it was not backed up by a doctrinaire Tractarian theology; to their annoyance it was not something he cared passionately about. Ritualism was a red-herring, distracting and harmful when pushed to extremes, particularly in theological colleges. Yet many of the colleges harboured and even promoted partisan feelings. Even Kelly's theology, such as it was, before 1910, was overshadowed by the polemics of Ritualism, the party wars within the Church of England. It was not long, however, before Kelly rejected the narrowness of a doctrinaire Anglo-Catholicism. A small but influential clique within the Society was to embrace this form of Catholicism in the 1920's to Kelly's great distress. In the 1890's, however, it was the extremist Protestant fringe he had to contend with. In the last decade of the nineteenth century there was absurd and hysterical opposition, on the part of militant Protestants, to anything that smelled of popery in the Established Church. This opposition made

Catholic Anglicans more extravagant in their claims and actions, both liturgically and theologically. Kelly found support in his objections to the more exaggerated claims of Anglican Catholics in Fr. Benson, who wrote to him in 1893,

"A familiarity with the method of St. Thomas would be a great check to the loose talk of the present day. One is surprised at the vast theological vacuum which underlies many statements that are intended to be 'Catholic' and are only ... growing out of Roman popular devotions."¹

One of Kelly's hopes was to help fill that "vast theological vacuum".

In view of the heated and irrational atmosphere of the times, the Kelly utterances between 1890 and 1910 seem all the more restrained and sober. In 1899 he wrote:

"I recognise fully the need of gentleness, of conciliations, tact; I abhor that self-assertion which loves to say 'advanced' things just because they imitate the affectation of the ecclesiastically 'chic' because it is 'spicy'.... Yet it remains that campaigns cannot be won whose ideal is a compromise, and whose aim is safety As men will only die for what they believe, so will they believe what men show themselves ready to die for."²

There was one tussle which occurred before the move to Suffolk which will serve as an illustration of the climate in which Kelly had to work. In January 1896 he began a

1. R.M. Benson to HK, 27th March 1893.

2. Article in the Church Review, 31st August 1899, "Brotherhoods in the Church".

series of lectures on Church History at Barnet which caused considerable comment and there began a heated correspondence in the local newspaper which lasted until the end of April.¹ Today the issues involved seem peripheral and petty. Then they appeared central and essential. In his lectures Kelly placed the adjective "Catholic" in what was thought to be an uneasy and unseemly juxtaposition to "the Church of England". Had he not read the XXXIX Articles? Evidently not. Had he done so he would have known of the essentially protestant character of the English Church. Though his lectures were "dated" and a little pompous, he was mild and restrained when dealing with his often obnoxious opponents. Bigger things were in the wind, and a now famous sermon illustrates this.

On 28th September 1896, Kelly preached at The Festival Service of the Society of the Sacred Mission in St. John the Divine, Kennington. His text was Revelation XIV 6-7:

"And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred and tongue, and people, saying with a loud voice, Fear God and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come."

Members of the Society were to be brothers of the angels,

1. There was a strong reaction from the Reverend J. Matthews of Barnet Congregational Church. Kelly corresponded with the Reverend Laurence Bomford, curate of Christ Church, an Anglican of evangelical persuasion, who wrote on 2nd February, 1896: "I was under the impression that you were a Roman Catholic delivering lectures in a Roman Catholic School."

the messengers of God. This text has been the memorial of the Society ever since and has been a constant reminder to succeeding generations of members of the Society of their central task in the life of the Church. They were to be dedicated to the everlasting Gospel and not to party polemics.

One cannot stand aloof, however, from the Society in which one lives. Father Kelly was unable to take a group of monks, Anglican ones into the bargain, into a small Suffolk village without exciting some comment. It was not long before these monkish clerics excited the attention of the members of the Church Association, the Kensitites. Mr. A. Seton was sent to represent the Protestants and on June 11th 1898, the West Suffolk Advertiser carried the following headline: "Mr. Seton and Father Kelly at Mildenhall. A Spiffle in the Square." Mr. Seton had given an inflammatory address entitled "Romanism at Mildenhall" and Kelly felt he had to invite Mr. Seton back to voice his accusations in a more public place. The village square was packed for the encounter. The accusations were so ludicrous (Seton accused the Society of using lighted candles in broad daylight) that Father Kelly was able to dismiss them in a brilliant and witty refutation. Mr. Seton's argument rested on the belief that celibacy necessarily meant vice and that married life meant virtue. The meeting lasted two hours and was as exhausting as it was useless. Kelly himself did not think so. "The meeting was long and

confused, but I fancy in general beneficial.¹ Nevertheless he had to work under the cloud of petty suspicion, of being thought of as the founder of "the mock monks of Mildenhall" and the instigator of "medieval superstitions and priestcraft."²

If one reads the press cuttings of the period one can sense the atmosphere of the times; incense and transubstantiation were words calculated to raise the fury of the mildest protestant. Kelly was a staunch Anglican and hated to be thought of as a traitor to the Church of his birth. Passionately loyal to the Church of England, he was greatly distressed when he heard anyone in the Society speak disrespectfully of her.³ It was doubly galling for a man trying to be loyal to the Church he loved to be accused of founding "a system that seems to have very little of the scriptural free and healthy tone of the Church of England."⁴

Only one more case need concern us, for after it things began to die down as far as Kelly and Ritualism are concerned. In March 1899 the "masquerading monks" reached

1. Annual Reports, p.101.

2. West Suffolk Advertiser, 11th June 1898. See also HK's letter to Seton, 26th May 1898.

3. See Appeal to S.S.M. (1924) p.3: "I have heard a brother say - 'the C of E was to him repulsive.' I don't think any man ought to speak that way of his Mother; I also think that the Society cannot forbid him to say what he feels."

4. The Cambridge Daily News, 7th July 1900. See also the Record, 14th July 1900, and the Rock, 14th July 1900. The S.S.M. "teaches rank popery".

the columns of the Times. The Catholic revival in the Church of England was setting father against son, and son against father. The household of the Reverend A.R. Cavalier had been torn asunder by the machinations of ritualists. In a letter to the Times Mr. Cavalier claimed that his son left home because of the "secret work of the ritualists among the young."¹ The boy had visited Mildenhall and spoken to Kelly. Mr. Cavalier on hearing of the visit singled Kelly out for attack. The affair blew over and although the boy was reconciled to his father, a ritualist he remained. Six years later, in 1905, the young Cavalier came to Kelham to act as tutor for a while and later left to be on the staff of St. Aidan's College.

The Cavalier Case in March 1899 was in one sense the last straw. Kelly's health failed after seven years relentless toil and he was forced to rest for a few months.

One of Kelly's constant worries was over money. The Society was always in need of financial help. He wrote regularly to the Church Times appealing for funds. Money worries and the continual misunderstandings of his aims and motives in the columns of the English Churchman and other journals did much to wear him down. In addition to financial worries, he carried the constant burden of administration. Harassed by "Protestants", embarrassed by "Catholics" he

1. The Times, 17th February 1899. "An indignant father" wrote to HK 20th March 1899: "If you and the rest of the Confraternity of child stealers had your deserts ... your house would be burned to the ground."

had little time to answer his correspondence, let alone the many requests for help that came to him in the 1890's.¹

By the end of the decade the College had a reputation as a training school for the colonies, a development and expansion, as we have seen, that was not likely to delight Bishop Corfe. Kelly was constantly writing, publishing pamphlets, trying to get the college known, and to win friends.² In April 1899 he edited, with J. Low Warren, the first edition of The New Quarterly, to which two friends contributed. Henry Scott Holland wrote on "Mr. Gladstone's Religion", and T.A. Lacey, the Vicar of Madingly, on "The Principles of Ritual".

The 1890's were hectic, eventful and exhausting for Kelly and his young college. After all this controversy, at least one person thought he was ripe for Rome. A Père Ragey, a Maurist who had written articles on Anglican missions, including the S.S.M., wrote to Kelly a personal letter inviting him to submit to Rome, an offer "which I declined" adds Kelly in his Annual Report for 1899.

1. He was asked to provide help for Western India (June 1892), Zululand (January 1895), Adelaide (July 1895), Japan (February 1896), British Honduras (November 1896).

2. The College printing press was installed in 1898 and published The History of a Religious Idea, and August of that year saw the first edition of At Home and Abroad, a Church quarterly published by the S.S.M. It included an article by G.W. Ord entitled "A Few Words on Flint Implements", with illustrations, and one by HK, "St. Thomas Aquinas and the Doctrine of Transubstantiation". HK's choosing the former demonstrates his debt to Kingsley. His own article, however, is hack work. There is no hint in it of the man who was to write The Gospel of God.

(c) Kelham and Kelly's Resignation 1910:

Financial worries, administrative burdens, and party polemics continued to plague Kelly. His most creative and free period was yet to come. Meanwhile in 1898 plans began to be laid for the foundation of a house in South Africa. On 2nd August 1902, Kelly went out to Modderpoort to supervise the foundation of the Society's work there.¹ In the following year Alfred Kelly left England to begin the work there. He was only thirty and eventually became the first provincial. By the end of 1903 all was going well in those new missions at Ladybrand and Modderpoort in the Orange Free State on the borders of Basutoland.

Meanwhile work was accumulating for Herbert Kelly at home. He had managed to gather all his thoughts together in his England and the Church which was published by Longmans in 1902. In April of that year the S.S.M. Press published the first edition of The Quarterly Paper. What was more important, the lease on the manor house at Mildenhall was to terminate on Lady Day, 1904, and Sir Henry Bunbury, the owner, desired possession. The Society began to look for a new home.

Kelly's first thought was to build a house somewhere. It was not merely a question of finding the money for a house, or land, or both, but of finding a bishop who would welcome the Society into his diocese. In December 1901 Kelly began looking for help by writing to Charles Gore, then Canon of

1. See HK's letter from St. Augustine's, Modderpoort, 29th August 1902.

Westminster. Over two years later the Society was no nearer to finding a new home. Kelly wrote to Lord Beauchamp on 9th March 1903,

"I am almost worn out with the disappointments of House-hunting.... I can find nothing except Kelham Hall, Newark - a splendid house but in a swamp.... Please pray for us. Twelve years of this sort of thing is a great deal in a man's life."

Kelly had inspected this former home of the Manners Sutton family on 6th January 1903. It is rather like a replica of St. Pancras Station set in the middle of the Nottinghamshire countryside. The architecture of Gilbert Scott with its marble pillars, its vaulted ceiling, at first put Kelly off. The splendour of this red-brick Fairy Castle was itself a deterrent¹ but the rent was low and the accommodation great. In the end, these factors were decisive. The advance party arrived on 29th July 1903. The old carriage court was soon converted and used as a chapel although the roof was falling in and had to be repaired. But the Society was in and there it remains,² "chastened but not killed".

When the Society left Mildenhall, Kelly was in his forties. He had not yet contributed much to theology, apart from a few articles in the Church Quarterly Review and a two-volumed history of the Church of Christ (1902) which

1. Annual Reports, p.163.

2. The house was not purchased until 1920 (for £9,000) though they were offered the estate for what now seems the absurdly low price of £5,500 in 1905. The magnificent chapel was dedicated in 1928.

had received mixed reviews. It is not until Kelly was approaching the end of his time as superior that there are signs of his engaging in deeper theological reflection. Then he began to articulate things which he had always instinctively felt. Between 1907 and 1910 he was given a new lease of life, and his days became less burdensome and more creative. He had served a long apprenticeship - over twenty years of hard work, marked by only moderate success and continual disappointment.

Kelly retired as Director of the Society in 1910 and was succeeded by Father David Jenks,¹ who was a graduate of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and had joined the Society while at Mildenhall. He was professed at Easter 1902, and became Director of the Society after very few years experience. Yet it was right that Kelly should go. Characteristically he wanted to begin again as a junior novice. This last request the Society very wisely refused, seeing only too

1. George Every writes in No Pious Person (Faith Press, London, 1960), p.98: "According to the Constitution of the S.S.M., the Director is elected by the Great Chapter, itself elected every ten years by Provincial Chapters, who are represented in proportion to their size, but at the General Chapter, a like body which normally meets five years after ... he offers his resignation. At the next Great Chapter he resigns. The Constitution, while leaving the way quite clear to the election of a Director to a further term of office by no means takes his re-election for granted. Fr. Kelly had been so re-elected in 1905 but by 1910 he had been in charge for twenty years, and it was only to be expected that the possibility of a change in leadership should be seriously considered." Kelly, in the curriculum vitae which precedes his Autobiography simply wrote, "1910 - deposed as Director".

clearly the dangers of having the father founder of a society re-entering as its most junior member. Kelly knew this to be a foolish idea and realised that the best thing he could do was to leave the Society alone to get on without him as best it could.¹ The resignation of this charismatic, charming, disagreeable person is all the more remarkable when one reflects on his character. At fifty he was willing to give up the thing he had created. It was a hard decision but he had no regrets and with a mixture of pride and modesty he let go the reins:

"I do not think 'Fr. Founder' a healthy term, nor for us very applicable. It belongs, if to anyone, to Bp. Corfe and Canon Brooke. Theirs was the sacrifice, courage, purpose, wisdom. Only the spade work, the working (or muddling) of purposes was mine. I am not proud of it."²

His resignation was his way of saying to the world that the Society of the Sacred Mission was more than Herbert Kelly. Kelham had to make up its own mind. Kelly persisted in refusing to say exactly what the S.S.M. was as if he were its fons et origo alone. In a letter to his mother he confides that Randall Davidson appreciated the fact that his retirement was for the best, and that the Archbishop had said that Kelly "almost alone represented a view of

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1. Fr. E. Ball S.S.M., however, claims that HK always regretted the Society's refusal. See also Fr. Ball's personal memoirs.
 2. Appeal to S.S.M. p.7. Later he wrote, "It would be ridiculous for me to do the old hen stunt. I am not the Father, but the grandfather. I do not mind its absurdity, but it is contrary to my notion of faith in God. They are in His hands, not in mine...."
NL, 29th October 1919.

theology which was of great importance and should be kept before the Church,"¹ and Kelly was to write later of Randall Davidson with irreverent affection to his sister:

"I always was rather fond of the old creature and I always maintained that he really was a Christian. It was only the misfortune of his Taitism which made him convinced that nature intended him to be a statesman. But such a frank human letter as this so entirely void of balancings and other humbugs in the non-committal line I never did see."²

Kelly's resignation took an enormous burden from his shoulders: "I have got rid of responsibility and I don't care a brass button for anything."³

The Church at large began to wonder what really had happened. Why did Father Kelly resign? Had he been dismissed from the Society? Writing to his mother soon after his resignation, he outlined three areas of misunderstanding that he was anxious to clear up:

"(1) to get people to understand that I was not cast out by an ungrateful Society, that I was enormously bucked because it proved its strength; (2) nevertheless I hadn't done it myself, the Society had done it; (3) if it were possible, - that I was not doing the Christian 'eero, but quite a normal procedure at Kelham."⁴

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1. NL to his mother, 12th June 1910. Randall Davidson wrote to HK, 24th July 1912, "You have been a helper of many, and of myself also, and I am very grateful to you for much. You always set us thinking: usually it is wisely and well."
 2. NL to his sister, 28th August 1912.
 3. NL to his mother, 12th June 1910.
 4. NL, 18th July 1910.

Nevertheless rumours began to circulate and two years later they were still being reported back to Father Kelly. He had been deprived of the Directorship, so it was rumoured, because the Society could no longer trust his theology, and because of his close relationships with Free-Churchmen. The second rumour amused him a great deal more than the first: he had got married and therefore had to leave Kelham. "This wants looking into," Kelly wrote to his sister,

"it is rather alarming to find that you have got married without knowing it and not even to be told who the happy lady is. It might be beastly awkward don't you know."¹

We shall have to return to this year, 1910, later on. It marks, what is, undoubtedly, the most significant turning point in Kelly's life.

1. NL to his sister, 11th November 1912 - This rumour was reported to Kelly at a meeting of the Nottingham E.C.U.

III. THE FINAL YEARS

The decade 1910-1920 was perhaps the happiest and most fulfilling of Kelly's entire life. In those ten years he entered wholeheartedly into the Ecumenical movement and travelled widely in the United States and Japan, and taught vigorously and with great effect. Personal loss, however, overshadowed his success. His father died on 12th February 1912, and his mother on 11th May, that same year. She had been in great pain, and Kelly returned from America in time to be at her bedside. Bereavement seemed to spur him on and give him a new sense of urgency. This decade, being extremely creative and important theologically, will have to be dealt with separately at a later stage.

Kelly returned to Kelham in 1919, from then on known always as "the Old Man". He did his best to live up to his title.

"They don't want me as Director (God forbid), but they do want me to sit around and inspire etc. If I am just to sit around, for a few weeks you will think how jolly having the old man back. In a few months he begins to be a bit of a nuisance, and after that he just remains an ancient and interesting gargoyle."¹

No doubt this is the way Kelly saw himself. Nevertheless this irascible genius was both revered and loved by the Society which he founded. Kelham remained his permanent home until his death. The last thirty years of his life

1. Memorandum, 28th May 1919.

were, in many ways, sadly disappointing to him. His deafness had worsened as the years went by, and in consequence he often felt isolated and even rejected by the Society. After 1920 private conversations got more and more difficult and eventually well-nigh impossible. Kelly's final burst of energy came in 1928 when his Gospel of God was published, representing the distillation of many years of prayer and thought.

He was still needed at Kelham to teach and on his return from Japan he was asked to do the whole of the Church History course in four years. Since he had done very little history during his stay in Japan much of his time was spent in catching up. He later shared the history load, and in the spring of 1922 he took over the Philosophy and Dogmatics courses.

The recording of one event is sufficient to illustrate the increasing difficulty and isolation of Kelly's position within the Society. It is the position of any father who, by force of chance, continues to live in the same house as his children long after they have grown up. Late in November 1920 Father Gerald Murphy, a brilliant Kelham tutor who had become prior, began to lose faith in himself and the Society. Kelly was obviously fond of Murphy and deeply affected by the latter's departure.

"Like me he had ideas, and they prevented his dealing with practical things simply He is the last, the only one left, of all the younger generation I trained to be teachers and thinkers. Am I to start again at 60? At the same time

knowing the Society is not with me....
 All these outsiders i.e. non-Kelham
 trained tutors ... are bringing in the
 conventional, parochial thinking I abhor
 (as they abhor and stand bewildered at me)."¹

How far had the Society strayed from the ideals of its Founder? Not as far as the Founder himself thought but far enough to cause him understandable distress and annoyance. Kelly's main criticism of the Society in the twenties and thirties was that it had become conventionally Anglo-Catholic, monkish and ritualist.² He saw the House which he loved torn by disagreement over basic principles and he was determined to make clear once and for all his own views on the matter. In November 1924 he put out his Appeal to the S.S.M., a duplicated paper in which he set down his early intentions for the Society and his hopes and fears for the future. He was always stubbornly loyal to the Book of Common Prayer and would leave chapel as soon as he had made his communion during the period when Kelham broke the Prayer Book rubric concerning the Ablutions. He remained a rebellious and uneasy member of the England Church Union until he could stand it no longer and resigned his membership early in May 1933.

Kelly, "the Old Man", emphasised certain "cultic" patterns of behaviour himself; it became almost a matter of principle for him to be untidy and scruffy in appearance.

1. NL, 5th December 1920. Fr. Murphy left the Society in January 1923.

2. See HK's NL for March 1923, and Chapter IX for the Carleton Affair.

Photographs of the period show him to be a scarecrow of an old man, eccentric, and belligerent, but with an unmistakable humorous glint in his eye. When Kelly was only sixty-seven, a workman, asking how old he was, had guessed at eighty.¹ At the same time Kelly acquired an ear-trumpet - his "gadget". An ancient, untidy sixty-seven year old complete with ear trumpet presents a bizarre picture.

Father Martin Knight S.S.M. who came to Kelham in September 1920, took one look at that old man and said to himself, "'Does that old buffer think he's going to teach me anything?' I remember him vividly - a lot of people mistook him for the gardener, a weird decrepit old man."²

Yet this strange old man was still visited, written to, asked for advice. If conversation proved difficult or impossible, he could still write (though his letters get less and less coherent after 1930). He would inaugurate correspondence with any who had stimulated or annoyed him. Among his latter-day correspondents were F.E. Brightman, B.H. Streeter, Lord Halifax, Arnold Lunn, F.C. Burkitt, Gregory Dix, and A.E.J. Rawlinson. By far the most interesting collection of letters is that between Dorothy Sayers and Kelly. The "Old Man" had written to Miss Sayers in October 1937 praising her play, The Zeal of the House, and there followed a regular if infrequent correspondence which lasted right through the war. In these letters

1. NL, 5th October 1927.

2. MK in conversation with AWJ, March 1970, at Kelham.

Miss Sayers outlines many of the ideas which were subsequently worked out in her Mind of the Maker, published in 1941. Kelly on his part refers her to his Gospel of God, "in which I tried to expound just your theology."¹

Kelly also corresponded with Miss Zoe Fairfield of the S.C.M. for nearly twenty years. They enjoyed a deep friendship.² He was also in touch with the young secretaries of the S.C.M. in the 1930's; with Oliver Tomkins, who was to become Bishop of Bristol, William Greer, later the Bishop of Manchester, and Alan Richardson, who is now Dean of York.

In the twenties Kelly was managing to lecture ten times a week and keep up with a fairly heavy regular correspondence. He continued to accept outside engagements, preaching a series of Holy Week Sermons in Paignton (1922), St. Paul's, Ramsgate (1923), and St. John's Red Lion Square (1924). His sermon notes are very difficult to follow and one suspects the same of the sermons. He took the Holy Week Retreat at Kelham in 1925, 1928, and 1930, and led the S.C.M. Staff Retreat at Barlaston Hall in 1938. His Japanese friends wrote to him frequently for advice and Japan continued to be very much on his mind. On 8th September 1925, Bishop Motoda visited Kelham and revived in Kelly a longing to return to Japan. It was not to be.

1. HK to Dorothy Sayers, 14th October 1937.

2. HK wrote to her from 1920 up until her tragic death. She died of cancer of the lung on 9th December 1936.

His sister Edith, however, was destined to go there in the following year. Kelly used to visit her regularly at the House of the Community of the Epiphany of which she was a member. He greatly missed these visits to Truro.

However, he continued to lead as full a life as he could, visiting friends, writing furiously and giving advice.¹ One of his many correspondents was William Thomas Manning, the Bishop of New York, whom he admired. Kelly seemed always to be doing something - talking, writing, chopping wood and climbing, even when he was over seventy (he broke his arm climbing in August 1927). He remained a devotee of Boots Library, and was introduced thereby to the exploits of Lord Peter Wimsey.

He was always anxious to keep up to date with his reading and insisted on doing so right up to the last moment. Nor was he slow in commenting on any new book published. Indeed he often wrote to authors of books which he had read, either to praise or blame. His reaction to Charles Raven's book, Apollinarianism, is typical of the Kelly style: "It is a horrible book. I have a notion I should like to get in to him and pull his leg. I wonder if anybody can get anybody to see any Christianity?"² Early in 1925 William Temple

1. A few random examples will illustrate the pattern of his life. In April 1924 he went off to stay with Bishop Kirk and his family in Oxford, met and liked Oliver Quick at Swanwick in July, and in September gave Fr. Northcote C.R. (who taught Church History at Mirfield) a copy of his history notes. Frank Gavin, Professor of Church History at the General Theological Seminary, New York, wrote 24th December 1926, asking for a copy of HK's lectures. Such examples are legion.

2. NL, 6th September 1925. The book was published in 1923.

sent Kelly his Christus Veritas for the Old Man's comments. In the end Temple felt that Kelly had misunderstood him,¹ in seeing too much modern philosophy in that book.

1925 was an important year for both Kelly and Kelham. It was the year of the Great Chapter. On the 15th June the Society elected Father Reginald Tribe as its Director. Father Stephen Bedale had been Warden of the College for three years. Kelly obviously admired the new Warden but also thought him intolerable. Bedale was, in Brother George Every's phrase, "a combination of St. Francis and Freud", and no doubt this confused Kelly. The latter increasingly found Father Bedale's meticulous "quarter-deck" manner irritating. One can imagine Bedale, who had been a naval chaplain during the war, often at odds with a man like Kelly who was untidy almost as a matter of principle.

At the Great Chapter Father Bedale referred to the danger of personal influence and was unwise enough to call it "Kellyism". This was one point which was calculated to make Kelly extremely angry. He had, after all, resigned as Director and had asked to be re-admitted as a novice - a request which cannot be dismissed as mere rhetoric (though it does reveal a naivety, even a childishness in Kelly's personality). "I jumped straight down his throat fiercely. I had told them that I had done all I could to destroy my

1. see NL, 5th May 1925.

own influence."¹ Kelly, however, had about as much chance of destroying his own influence as a man has of putting a fire out with a can of petroleum.

There is no doubt that Kelly became more and more difficult as he got older and his disturbing trait of feeling sorry for himself became more pronounced. Perhaps the only person close enough to him who could administer a gentle rebuke was his sister, Edith Mary. He was able to take the truth from her as from no other. She wrote to him from Truro some time before Christmas one year:

"I feel so strongly that Founders can only found - they may plan the building but they can't build it; - if they live long enough to see the next generation running amok, they won't like it, in fact it will be heartbreaking; but they can't see the future, nor what God has in store.... I do feel afraid ... lest the House should feel you the representative Protestant. There are so many things you dislike - not all equally important - but if you show your dislike, it may seem to them as if you were always 'in opposition' - and a Religious House not being a Parliament, can't do with a professional opposition can it?"²

No-one else could have written to "the Old Man" with such loving frankness. Many at Kelham felt Kelly tended to sulk, but what many mistook for sulkiness was his embarrassment

1. NL on Great Chapter for 1925. See also NL, 7th December 1924: "I wish people wouldn't make Cults, and least of all make cults of me. They only tempt you into making a fool of yourself.... You hanker after people reproducing you. If they do they are never any use. No one can ever be more than a small factor in others lives, nor should they want to be."

2. Letter, 13th November 1930.

at having to make people shout so that he could hear them.¹

Kelham was busy in the months of 1927 with the building of their great chapel, the altar of which was to bear only two candles, not six, much to Kelly's delight. What did not delight him was the news that his sister Edith was seriously ill in Japan. In the following year she returned to England, having decided finally and irrevocably against any further operations to check the cancer.

1928 was a strange year of mixed emotions for Kelly; he celebrated the last Eucharist in the old chapel and watched the dedication of the new. He found the new chapel, designed by C.C. Thompson, wonderful beyond words. He saw the publication of his book, The Gospel of God, from which William Temple quoted in his Charge to the York Diocese in 1931, urging all the clergy to read it. Both these happy events were overshadowed by the long drawn out illness of his sister.

Less than two years later (20th January 1930) his brother Arthur, a brigadier, and generous supporter of Kelham, died, and "the Old Man" himself was ill when the news of his brother's death reached him. Herbert Kelly was nearly seventy, his family was dwindling, his feelings of isolation increased. Complaining of his varicose veins, he relentlessly plodded on, taking a retreat at Pleshey for S.C.M. secretaries (in June 1931) or working on his book on Catholicity for which William Temple had promised

1. See HK to Zoe Fairfield, 1st August 1925.

to write a preface. Japan continued to fill his thoughts.¹

In April 1931 Kelly knew Edith had not long to live. She died on 4th May. "I am sharing her joy, her triumph. She and I have always been one."² In Edith he had not only lost a well-loved sister but another link with Japan.³

Fr. H.H. Woodward, the first with Kelly to make his profession in the Society, died the following year. Kelly felt that he would not be long. There was so much to do. His book, Catholicity, was published in 1932 (the Japanese version came out the following year), and he was asked by the Society to get his Church History notes into more of a coherent shape. 1932 was a good year in that Kelly renewed his acquaintance with Sir Edwin Hoskyns whose book, The Riddle of the New Testament, he read in the September. The Old Man was delighted to get in touch once more with the author of what he thought to be an excellent book.⁴ Kelly probably first met Hoskyns when the latter became Dean of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, late in 1919. Hoskyns came up to Kelham and took the Michaelmas

1. He was asked to act as an adviser to a Japanese Church Committee. Isaac Nosse, one of his old students, now a retired bishop, wrote to him for advice on the Lectionary. He was also writing papers for Japan on Catholicity.

2. NL, 4th May 1931.

3. Edith had been one of the founders of St. Hilda's Mission, Sanko Cho, Shiba, Minato-ku, Tokyo, in 1919.

4. See NL, 5th October 1932.

retreat in 1934. The initial contact with Kelly seems to have been very important to Hoskyns for he told Br. George Every that it was a turning point in his life.¹

Kelly's days of power and influence, however, were numbered. Things were beginning to get on top of him, and in September 1935 he handed over the bulk of his History teaching to Brother George, keeping for himself his favourite period from St. Francis to Calvin. From this time on he began to decline. He was now "a character", sharpening old razor blades, boiling up soap ends; odd habits revealing a mind still active but interiorized and isolated by an almost complete deafness. Kelly's articles in the S.S.M. Quarterly Magazine became rambling and lacking their former sparkle. They do reveal, however, the fact that he kept himself well-informed. The occasional encouraging letter cheered him up, but he was beating old drums too loud and too long. He had only one thing to say and he had been his most eloquent in Japan and in his Gospel of God.

He did not really notice the visit to Kelham of a young German pastor, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, in 1935. Bonhoeffer and Kelly did, however, have a mutual friend in G.K. Bell,² the Bishop of Chichester, but this friendship seems to be

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1. Brother George's memory here cannot date this encounter, but he recalls vividly Hoskyn's testimony. In the 1930's there were many visitors to Kelham; Visser t'Hooft, Yngve Brilioth, Nicholas Zernov, G.P. Fedotov, T.S. Eliot, S.O. James, J.H. Oldham, to name a few. There is little evidence, however, that HK took much notice of them.
 2. Kelly met and liked Bell when he was Chaplain to the Archbishop -- see NL, 26th April 1920.

the only thing they had in common. Kelly makes no mention of Bonhoeffer's visit in his monthly newsletters. Julius Reiger, Bonhoeffer's companion, recalls,

"The venerable and gifted founder of Kelham, old Father Kelly - sometimes described by the English as a theological precursor of Karl Barth - was a chain smoker.... I think it was Father Kelly who replied to our question [about the disciplined life at Kelham]; 'How do you keep it up?' in the paradoxical [dialektisch] words, 'I can do it because I cannot.'"¹

From 1935 on Kelly remained in his room, B 12, and the Great Chapter of that year saw little or nothing of him, but he was still lively.

"In the 1930's I feel he was still capable of reacting in a quite positive and enthusiastic way to every prospect. He had a very lively mind. I remember his saying about Barth that he did not think Barth had a doctrine of creation, which at that time was true."²

In 1939 Karl Barth's son, Marcus, visited Kelham and interviewed Father Kelly. What seems to have impressed the young man most were two items of decoration: one, a picture of a pig, the other an "L" plate. Both are significant symbols for those who know anything of Father Kelly's life and thought. In pigs he saw the glory of God, in himself he recognized the perpetual novice.

Kelly ended his days a rather lonely old man, living almost entirely in his room, absolutely deaf, still lecturing

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1. Julius Reiger: Dietrich Bonhoeffer in England, p.28, Lettner Verlag, Berlin, 1966. Translated into English in I knew Dietrich Bonhoeffer, p.97, Collins, London, 1966.
 2. GE to AWJ, March 1970.

in his 80's, and managing to come out most afternoons to cut logs. Brother George Every believes that Kelly ceased to function during the Second World War. The impending confrontation was too much for him. He could see another World War, much more devastating than the first - "it seems to have let loose all the powers of evil."¹ This fact seems to have undermined all his faculties. The Fall of France was not something he could take in. As we would expect, he refused to give up his work, and he continued lecturing twice a week until the summer of 1940. Twice a week he managed to get up to attend the Eucharist, his last appearance in chapel being St. James Day 1948. Two hours each day were spent pottering around the wood yard. As well as this physical exertion there was mental activity. Ideas continued to plague him. "Drat - I wish the flies in my head would keep still while I swat them."² When he could he would write these ideas down and send them off to anyone he thought might be interested. Dom Gregory Dix, commenting on a bundle of "ideas" sent by Kelly, wrote, "I have rarely received so much dynamite in so neatly packed a parcel."³

Lawrence Rose, who had left Japan to be the new dean of the General Theological Seminary in New York, wrote to Kelly,

"Recently I have been rereading some of your kind notes, and have turned a few

1. HK, letter unidentified, 23rd January 1938.

2. Fragment, 29th August 1945.

3. Gregory Dix to HK, 5th August 1946.

good men to the study of F.D. Maurice.... [He] is beginning to be studied over here, as you may know. You put me up to it and here and there I find younger theologians turning to him. Vidler of St. Deiniol's Library is here now and seems likely to awaken more interest. Hopeful omen, I think, while partisan lines seem generally to be drawn more and more stringently."¹

In 1948 Alec Vidler himself, then editor of Theology, asked Kelly to review his book, The Theology of F.D. Maurice. Kelly refused to take on the assignment but suggested that someone ought to write a comparison between Maurice and Kierkegaard.² No-one has yet done so. This small incident illustrates how Kelly's mind was still working.

In that same year, the year of the Lambeth Conference, two Japanese bishops, Yashiro and Makita, and Chang, Bishop of Fukien, China, visited Father Kelly at Kelham. This must have cheered him considerably. He had a particularly long and warm conversation with Bishop Michael Yashiro; it was indeed the visit of a son to his father.

People were beginning to urge Kelly to write an autobiography which he began in 1949 with the help of an amanuensis.³ Time was running short. He became more and more testy and tiresome to those who had to look after him in his last years. He knew he was difficult and this made him angry with himself. Writing on his brother Alfred's

1. To HK, 15th October 1947.

2. Vidler to HK, 14th June 1948.

3. Fragment, 2nd November 1949, "The funny thing is that I still go on writing as hard as ever."

illness, on 11th March 1950, Kelly summed up the situation:

"It frightens me. We were - were meant to be - a House of young men, looking forward to being prepared for a future. We are getting to be a House of useless old men on whom the young have to wait."

Kelly longed to be free. "My life seems to go in decades....

I am writing, December 19th, 1949. What will 1950 bring?

I know what I am hoping for."¹ It seems that he knew

death was not far off. He had printed a simple card, which read:

Sept. 25th 1950
THE LORD BE WITH YOU ALL
I am too feeble to write more.
The Angels will help you.
HK

Paradoxically, this "old man" waiting for death, still felt it worth while to write to the Times Bookshop in the month before he died, to ask them to send him information on the series of War Crimes Trials.

Kelly's death was a peaceful one. He was unconscious for some time. His last moments are recorded by Father Ernest Ball, S.S.M.

"We were all summoned to his room when we knew the end was coming and stood around his bed with prayers and the Old Man looked at us but one felt he was not seeing anything. His eyes were open but had a glazed appearance."¹

Thus he died on 31st October 1950.

1. Fragment, 19th December 1949.

2. Fr. E. Ball to AWJ, March 1970.

Among the many tributes paid to Father Kelly perhaps the most apt was that of F.R. Barry, the Bishop of Southwell, who wrote in his Diocesan Newsletter for December 1950:

"He was ... a man of creative vision, a great educational pioneer ... and an original thinker and a master builder - above all, a holy and humble man of heart. 'Unknown and yet well-known, poor yet making many rich.'"

IV. KELLY'S PERSONALITY.

How then are we to treat the life of this "accidental" theologian? While a full-scale biography is not within our scope, a brief biographical sketch is indispensable to our attempt to understand the thought of Father Kelly. Thus we have something like a ground plan, a map on which we may indicate those creative crises in his life which demonstrate his ability as a theologian, an educationalist, and a visionary. An appreciation of his thought without reference to his life would be as impossible to construct as would a picture of his educational achievement without a deep understanding of his personality. The task ahead, therefore, is a complex one, further complicated by the fact that Kelly was by no means a systematic thinker. His utterances were of an ad hoc nature, occasionally charismatic, designed to meet a particular need or situation. Thus his theology is inextricably bound up with his teaching of it. It was a way of living. It might well be argued, with just cause, that this is the occupational hazard of all theologians. Barth's life and theology were very much intertwined. Would we have had a St. Thomas Aquinas without Europe being threatened by the growing power of Islam? Would Socrates have developed as he did as a teacher without the growing opposition of political Athens?

All genuine theology grows out of crisis, out of human striving, and no theologian would propose to write in a vacuum. By theologian, however, we do not mean academician,

nor the teacher of a subject on a college curriculum; we mean the Christian Apologist who is bent on spreading the Gospel with all his power of intellect and heart. It is often imagined that theologians are purely cerebral creatures. Rightly understood, they are men who are on fire with the love of God and wish to pass this on to others. Herbert Kelly was a theologian in this sense.

Our concern then cannot be only with the content of his theology but with the general shape of his mind, his basic approach to life. Kelly teaches us that theories concerning religious education should not overshadow the vital educational ingredient of personal charisma. We can tidy up curricula, reshape timetables, expand our resources, but without the power of a dynamic personality such improvements are next to useless. As we have seen, Kelly's life and thought have to be studied together if either is to be understood.¹ His personality shouts at the reader both in his published works and more so in his private correspondence. If one couples a sense of failure with a sense of mission one has the ingredients of a troublesome and difficult personality. Kelly was capable of inspiring many men to give up all they had and to give themselves to God: the cynic would say to give themselves to Kelly, but this would

1. Michael Ramsey, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in a conversation with the author (7th May 1970) said this: "I think one has to see him as a whole and rather take warning. We cannot expect to imbibe his intellectual theories without some appreciation of his religious vocation as well. I think it is very much all of a piece."

be unfair. He discouraged any form of personality cult, precisely because he was convinced that God matters more than the medium through which he is revealed. Ironically the more he protested the more the cult surrounding him tended to develop. Yet he was able, as we have seen, to let go the reins of power in the Society of the Sacred Mission at a time when any other man of his age and dominance would have hung on to them.

Kelly was an impatient man yet he seemed to have a charm, a power over everyone who met him. One of the reasons was his youthfulness and freshness, always ready to learn, always ready to fight. A few days before his fifty-second birthday he wrote to his sister: "It is only the young (like me) who keep up permanently a state of excitement."¹ Only the week before he had written to her: "I consider I am exceedingly patient."² This latter remark is one of many to be found in his correspondence which one should not take seriously.

"A permanent state of excitement": this was Kelly's style. He had no patience with the petty, the pusillanimous. He did not suffer fools, be they never so wise, gladly. Small men found him an overbearing bully. For example, the vicar of Mildenhall, the Reverend A.J. Livingstone, who had encouraged the Society to move to Suffolk, confessed that

1. NL, 8th July 1912.

2. NL, 1st July 1912.

Kelly's "manner and dictatorialness fretted him."¹ Troubles within the Society and troubles without did little to sweeten the Kelly disposition.

To Kelly's "permanent state of excitement" we may add a strange amalgam: his eagerness to be gentle, tactful and conciliatory, coupled with his determination not to compromise or follow the safest route. Kelly could not afford the safe route. He had tried and failed. He knew that

"God gives a man a chance in this life to do something. If he hasn't the pluck to chance it, he doesn't generally get the chance again. ... Nobody cares to make speculative investments with his own life. We don't mind paying a stiff price if we can be sure of a moderate return."²

Kelly had the pluck to chance it; but this is not to say he was a fool. He was as calculating as he was brave. Determined to think for himself, he refused to follow any party line in either religion or politics.

One would, perhaps, have expected a disciple of F.D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley to have embraced Socialism. Yet Kelly inherited little or nothing of Christian Socialism from either of his teachers. Politically speaking he was, by nature, a conservative and he certainly had no time for the utopian identification of Socialism with Christianity. This

1. See HK Annual Reports 1891-1910, p.83.

2. NL, to his mother, 3rd October 1911.

was one of his criticisms of Mirfield.¹ His conservatism, however, was not doctrinaire. He would vote for the man rather than the party and did vote Labour on at least one occasion, and wanted a Labour Government after 1918;² but his instincts were to the right. Being extremely critical of any kind of political idealism, his political priorities were stability first and justice second. Revolution was never an option. For Kelly the English were in part justified in affecting an effortless superiority with regard to the rest of the world. Kelly was a patriot and could not bear patiently criticism of Britain as a Colonial power. He was, for example, "lost in admiration at the Christian Faith, patience, tolerance, of the English Government and governing class in India."³

Two factors seemed to war against Kelly embracing Socialism: his approach to life which caused him to reject Utopianism; and what seems an unKelly characteristic, his latent snobbery. There is an undercurrent of this throughout his writing - an assumption that even the grimmest of slum-dwellers could be made into something like the product of a minor public school. It is true that Kelly was not such a "gentleman" as, say, someone like Father Stephen Bedale. Kelly was untidy but his was the untidiness of aristocracy,

1. See NL, 29th October 1919, referring to a conversation with Fr. Bull C.R.: "He talked mad socialism. I think he is more of a socialist than a Christian."

2. According to Fr. Martin Knight, conversation with AWJ, March 1970. See NL, 15th April 1918.

3. NL, June-July 1929.

and while it would be misleading to overstress the snobbish side of Kelly's nature, it cannot be ignored. He was overjoyed, for instance, when Kelham received a middle-class student.¹

Kelly agreed with the Christian Socialists in so far as he strongly believed in a "fair wage for fair work". He certainly favoured Socialism as against warring individualism, and would declare himself dissatisfied with "the present state of affairs". Yet Kelly could say to a group of workers:

"It was not our business to decide whether a fair wage was being paid for fair work done, nor to say what other social system was possible. Whatever system came up, they would find the Church making the best of it, and being strafed by both sides for not supporting something else."²

This political acceptance of the status quo seems not only out of date, but totally mistaken, in an age when political action is being seen by an increasing number of Churchmen as their Christian duty.

Life for Kelly was a question of interdependence and any kind of tyrannical Sovereignty, Capitalist or otherwise, was detestable. Politically Utopias were anathema yet he believed a Christian had to work as if God's will did involve the establishment of heaven on earth. "You must

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1. See NL, January and February 1925 for his reaction to the coming to Kelham of Richard Roseveare as a student: "Now it's all very well being a democrat, but the difference between a 'gentleman'... and the common man is very striking."
 2. NL, May/June 1917, from Australia. HK was addressing a group of workers in a talk called A Churchman's View of Labour.

fight to win.... If you're a Christian you play to win."¹

What then had his two great mentors taught him? Kingsley had taught him to look at the observable world with wider eyes. Maurice had shown him (as we shall see later) the vital difference between religion and theology. Neither passed on to his disciple any political philosophy. The hard-headed side of Kelly came out in his appraisal of Socialism: "I want ideas, scientific economic theories which will hold water. No socialistic theory I've seen will do yet."² Socialism may be impractical, but it was no more so than Kelly's own vision. He felt frustrated and alone when he found he could not pass on his vision to others.

A reviewer of The History of a Religious Idea is at least partly accurate when he writes: "Father Kelly is like Lord Rosebery - a dreamer of dreams and he is destined to a rude awakening."³ As we have seen, Kelly's rude awakening came after 1919 when the Society which he founded settled down (or so it seemed to him) within the framework of a conventional Anglo-Catholicism and, in effect, became a party college. This, in some respects, was a stunning repudiation of all Kelly stood for.

What are we to make of this hotch-potch of attributes and characteristics? How can they possibly hang together?

1. NL, 20th December 1917.

2. NL, 20th March 1911.

3. 29th June 1898, in Scrap Book II, p.27.

His recklessness wars against his common sense; his gentleness against his impatience; his failure with his sense of destiny. The deeper and richer a personality is, the fuller it is of paradox and contradiction. It is only a shallow character who offers us no problems of contrast. The biographer of such an irritatingly diverse personality as Kelly can far too easily be tempted (as, indeed, were his contemporaries) to cut him down to size, to plane down those sharp edges which can cut one, to squash him into a convenient pigeonhole. If one can make a man like Kelly manageable and comprehensible, he is no longer disturbing. But Kelly's genius was to disturb. C.S. Lewis wrote,

"One very effective way of silencing the voice of conscience is to impound in an ism the teacher through whom he speaks: the trumpet no longer seriously disturbs our rest when we have murmured 'Thomist', 'Barthian', or 'Existentialist'."¹

Kelly has been called "Augustinian", "Platonist", and, more recently, "Barthian", this latter an anachronistic way of trying to tidy him up. But it is as impossible to tidy Kelly's free-wheeling mind as it was his room. It is through his surprising and disturbing "bits and pieces" that the totality of his thinking comes into a coherent whole.

Kelly himself offers us a single characteristic which embraces all these contradictions. He was a profound egotist. This is not to use the word in its totally

1. Introduction to George Macdonald an Anthology. Dolphin/Doubleday, New York 1962.

pejorative sense. It is part of the paradox of the Christian life that in losing one self we find another. Kelly was absorbed by what he had to do; indeed he knew what he had to do and he did it. Is this egomania? Or is this the total dedication to the will of God? Again we come up against the mystery of the Christian life; the man who is most "lost" in God is most himself.

Kelly knew what it was to be a representative man, a man with an aura, a man who in his person was the apotheosis of a movement, of a theological outlook, which did so much to influence the Church of England and the Ecumenical Movement. Kelly was ambivalent about his own influence. At one instant genuinely humble and arrogant the next, he could rarely be accused of false modesty. A man in high office had a duty not to avoid the limelight.

"To my idea the desire to escape these things is a wee little bit of self-importance. One of the main duties of elevated stations is to give simple people the opportunity of frisking and making a row, gen'lly speaking. The dear old King knew his duty to a hair. It's all rot to say you don't like being kissed. All I can say is 'Y'ought to'."¹

Yet he was suspicious of anything that looked like self-importance: "Greatness is a giddy turnip lantern with a white sheet. If you've got nerves same as me - it'll scare you to sights in a church-yard - even when you know what it is."²

1. NL, to his mother, 15th September 1910.

2: Undated MS.

If Father Kelly was an egomaniac he was one who did not take himself too seriously. He enjoyed controversy, loved the limelight but knew exactly the dangers of being in love with either. His sense of humour was perhaps his overriding quality. His newsletters home (his "billy dux" as he called them)¹ to his mother are warm and merry, more intimate and detailed than the occasional one to his father. When his mother died in 1912 he continued to write his newsletters, sending them to his sister, Edith Mary.² In difficult times a sense of humour was an essential remedy for depressed spirits: "What you want to laugh with is a good conscience, love for God, self-forgetfulness and then any rag will do for a joke."³ He was a lover of Mark Twain and Americanisms are often to be found in his letters. Another source of Kelly humour was the Alice Books of Lewis Carroll. He often referred to them, regarding them as containing deep philosophical truths. His humour, as we might expect from his impatience and intensity, could on occasion be impish. He loved pulling people's legs and deflating the pompous, and he even confessed that he enjoyed annoying some people. On one occasion, at a reception for the Board of Missions at Church House, he longed to get hold of Francis Paget, the Bishop of Oxford, who had ignored

1. NL, 31st September 1911.

2. HK wrote in a private note: "She was a notable woman, with exceptional musical ability and ideas, intuitional i.e. womanwise, rather than analytic like mine. To her community and friends she was known as Sister Hilaria, from her joyous sense of fun."

3. NL, to his mother, 26th June 1911.

him, "if it was only to rile him by effusive friendship."¹

His humour was also a very important teaching aid for laughing the truth into his students; a method which could be as terrifying as it was amusing. He would mercilessly deflate students who refused to think or who tried to cover up their ignorance with a flowery phrase or the prolific use of adjectives. Humour in his own writing often had an element of C.S. Lewis's Screwtape in them,² knowing full well that if frivolity of purpose can be made to look very serious, one may find a good deal of seriousness in what looks frivolous. His deflating humour was not confined to students. The Novice-Master in the early 1920's, Father Stephen Bedale, who ran the House like a battleship, came in for some of the Kelly wit. "He sends me a message per a novice, that if I call him 'the Pope' he's going to call me the Father-Founder. I grovel."³

Kelly hated humbug of any kind and the smoothness of many bishops. He must have had mixed feelings when he was described by the Bishop of Rochester, Edward S. Talbot (a person whom Kelly loved and admired) as a man who had "the utmost loyalty of churchmanship, spirituality of tone, and all the qualities needed for the founder and leader of

1. NL, 19th June 1911.

2. See his short stories What the Monk Saw and The Pious Old Gentleman.

3. NL, 3rd October 1921. HK made this remark often about anyone in authority. One could give many illustrations of the Kelly humour, often schoolboyish in content. "My own labours are confined to what I call 'Anti-Presbyterian Research'. As this weather allows no opportunity for fires I have gone into the wood to dig up the roots of the elders."

an organizaion of this kind."¹ One can imagine Kelly smiling to himself; the phrase "spirituality of tone" would have made him laugh heartily.

A sense of fun, an open heart, often harbour a weakness, a fault which occasionally overshadows the whole personality. His humour sometimes harboured a bitter sting. As a prophet or a visionary, he found those with pedestrian minds difficult to stomach, and he could be uncompromising in his criticism of others.

Kelly wrote to his mother of

"a Dissenting divine who preached one of his old sermons. Goodness knows what it was about or what good it could have done anybody even when it was bright and new."

Of another he added: "He gave an exceedingly sweet little address with nothing in it at all."² This acid turn of mind could also be used on those who, in later years, called him a prophet rather than a systematic theologian. This designation piqued him because he felt it was an excuse to disregard what he believed were his carefully worked out thoughts. Here, as in many other areas, he was inconsistent. However carefully his thoughts were worked out no-one could claim that they were systematic. In fact Kelly himself claims "systematic is not an HK word."³

His brethren within the Society of the Sacred

1. Speech in 1897 recorded in HK'S Scrap Book II.

2. NL, to his mother, 18th July 1910.

3. A pencilled note scribbled by HK in 1943 in the margin of a letter to him from Fr. Reginald Tribe S.S.M., 15th July 1927.

Mission certainly found him inconsistent, sometimes very emotional and prone to be gratified by flattery and praise. He was a difficult man but perhaps this is the prerogative of the visionary? He was inconsistent and shifting because his peculiar fault lay in his somewhat naive approach to human relations. In general terms Kelly was considered a poor judge of character, and often too hasty in his judgments, having strong likes and dislikes. He wanted to believe the best about the young men in his charge and was naively disappointed when they let him down. He tended to be moody and if someone upset him he wrote them off too easily and impatiently. Kelly's lack of judgement was responsible for some wrong appointments within the Society.¹ This he himself admitted, "I have no confidence in my own judgement.... I pushed this place through for twenty years, in a sinfully wasteful fashion, but the Society has not now recovered from my blundering methods."²

One other quality, which we have already encountered, needs emphasising before we leave this excursion into Father Kelly's personality. He was untidy. He admits the personal habit but insisted that pressure of life and work made his being tidy impossible. His room at Kelham was a shambles and he himself looked upon a tidy room as an apocalyptic hope, "that distant and far off time when I might get my room

1. A theory expressed by Br. George Every S.S.M. in conversation with AWJ, March 1970, which seems to be substantiated by our analysis of HK's temperament.

2. NL, January 1925.

straight."¹ His was, however, an untidiness of an over-active mind, an untidiness of growth and development, of openness to new possibilities. As far as he was concerned, his mind was as tidy as his room. To the ignorant both may appear chaotic. Just as Kelly could lay his hands on a needed item in a cluttered room, so he could dredge up a salient point from an untidy mind.

At the Student Christian Movement Camp at Baslow in July 1910 his singular untidiness was honoured by the students. "Then came the prizes. I was called up for a prize for the untidiest tent in camp. It was for being the worst dressed person last year."² His ability to laugh at himself was a great asset; his untidiness, however, was not. His was an untidiness of impatience, an untidiness that is reflected both in his lecture notes and his letters and his published works. His points in lectures were never neatly marshalled and he was a master of digression, which later Kelham students found intolerable. His active, intelligent but untidy mind could not stick to the subject in hand and his lectures are full of interesting but unhelpful meanderings and dead ends. He was a slow thinker and he needed more than one session to develop an idea, but by the time another session came along his mind had gone on to something else: hence the disjointed quality of his writings.

1. NL, to his mother, 22nd May 1911. See also letter to his father, 13th February 1911.

2. NL, to his mother, 18th July 1910.

Let it be understood that Kelly was a pragmatist and culturally speaking something of a philistine, unmusical and unpoetic.¹ He was a scavenger, a collector of old razor blades, a beachcomber uncomfortable and out of place in a world of the artistic and aesthetic. He collected anything he thought might be useful, and hoard against future need.² One theory is that he inherited this jackdaw mentality from his grandfather who made a great deal of money, honestly but not in the manner of a gentleman. He may well have been a dealer in scrap-metal.³ There may be some doubt as to the origin of this trait but there can be no question of its existence. Kelly was a scavenger both intellectually and psychologically. He would root around in the world of ideas, sniffing, questioning, until he found items of use, and write them down on old pieces of margarine paper. In his latter years he would lecture sitting down, sharpening old razor blades as he talked. While it is true that the more eccentric form of his determination to waste nothing came out in old age, it would be unwise simply to dismiss this trait as that of a strange old man. It is there throughout his life and reflects at its best his deep

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1. NL, 4th March 1932: "I do not know anything of music. I have no soul for poetry", and NL, 3rd October 1926: "To me there is no music so fascinating as the sound of a circular saw."
 2. See NL, April 1924. "I have a love of finding and using things. Nobody seems to care for such things at all."
 3. A theory of Br. George Every S.S.M.

commitment to the monastic ideal of genuine poverty. Like Father Benson he was "a figure altogether unnoticeable, almost insignificant, except its poverty and general appearance of shabbiness."¹

Herbert Kelly was a genius, both muddled and muddling, and it is his mind, his theology, his Catholic vision we are anxious to capture.

1. Letters of R.M. Benson Vol. I, Mowbrays, Oxford, 1916.
(a pen Portrait by Fr. B.W. Maturin), p.356.

PART TWO

WORK 1890-1920

CATHOLIC EDUCATION

V. THE "DEARTH OF THE CLERGY" AND THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION:
1890-1920.

(a) The Beginnings at Kelham.

Kelly's whole life can be described as a quest for a genuine Catholicism, a wholeness and integrity which springs from God, himself. As we have seen from his life, his progress was slow and stumbling. The search began at Oxford with his joyful discovery of Kingsley and Maurice who, in their different ways, rescued him from a narrow evangelicalism and introduced him to the universe. This was his first major step in the search. His second was his founding a theological college. He did this on little knowledge either of theology or of educational methods. His concept of Catholicism grew and developed in his ensuing struggle to establish the Society of the Sacred Mission in a largely hostile ecclesiastical world, and to gain respect for his great theological enterprise from a generally suspicious bench of bishops. It is to this struggle, this step in the quest for Catholicism, we now turn.

The sobering thing about the study of Church History is that it convinces the student of the truth that there is nothing new under the sun; nothing changes. One correspondent to the Guardian on January 22nd 1902, uttered the same cry: "Even in the glow of a New Year we may remember that there is no new thing, unless it be wireless telegraphy, under the sun."¹ The cry of one century is echoed in the next; the

1. S.B. James. The Guardian referred to is a now defunct Church weekly.

actors have changed, the dialogue has been altered, but the plot is the same. The cry in 1900, as now, was "the Dearth of the Clergy". Theological Education and the training of men for the ministry were burning issues then as they are now.

"There is no need in the Church of England so pressing as the reorganization of theological study. It is now being recognized on all hands that the training of the clergy is the most pressing question of the day."¹

Herbert Kelly wanted to meet that need. The ecclesiastical machinery of the day seemed to be geared to quench what little enthusiasm there was. Not much has changed since 1900. The newly ordained man today is easily "swallowed up by the machine, and within three years the fire has gone from his belly and the creativity from his soul."²

It takes a crisis to start a fire in men's hearts. The crisis in Kelly's case was supplied by "the Dearth of the Clergy" from 1880 onwards. The seeds of the problem, of course, were sown much earlier. The case of the Hon. George Spencer, who was born in 1800, throws some interesting light on the state of theological education in the Church of England. On October 5th, 1822, he was informed that the Lord Bishop of Peterborough would be holding an ordination on December 22nd. If he would care to present himself on that date for ordination the bishop would be happy to accept

1. An Idea in the Working, (Kelham 1908) p.90.

2. Mervyn Stockwood's sermon at St. Peter's, Eaton Square, 4th May 1960.

him. He would be required to undergo a brief examination: "a verse in the Greek Testament, and an Article of the Church of England turned into Latin would be amply sufficient."¹ Not all the bishops were as lax in their method of laying hands on men for holy orders, but the situation of a George Spencer was not uncommon. As one commentator remarked,

"Let a man give a sermon, and he may become a minister any day provided he has an earl or a viscount at his back, and a bishop who sits tête à tête with either in the House of Lords. ... He (George) could bowl to a wicket, play cribbage, read Walter Scott, and shoot partridges, but where was his Theology?"²

Where indeed? From 1820 onwards the need for the foundation of theological colleges became more and more apparent. Yet there was considerable opposition to their being founded.³

It was thought that the theological gaps were being filled by the two great Universities. It was not until 1871 that the Theological Tripos was instituted at Cambridge. Eventually the need of the Church became so acute that colleges were started; the 1860's and 1870's being the great period of their foundation. The universities, however, were hardly giving a man an adequate preparation for the ministry and the Reverend Ashton Oxenden was moved to remark in the debate in Convocation in May 1863: "I find that there

1. C.K. Francis Brown, A History of the English Clergy, Faith Press, London, 1953, p.241.

2. Ibid., quoting John Venn's Alumni Cambridgiensis.

3. See The First Report of the Cathedral Commission of 1841.

is little or no distinction between those who are destined to pass their lives as laymen and those who desire to employ the remainder of their day in the sacred ministry of the Gospel."¹

Though it was admitted that faculties of theology at the universities were not training men specifically for the ministry, there was a natural reluctance (as there is today) to deny any connexion. Yet this connexion between theology as taught in the universities, and that taught at theological colleges, remained (and some would say, remains) extremely tenuous. In 1860 the clergy of the Church of England might not have known much theology but they were for the most part gentlemen and "educated".

In 1865 a committee set up by Convocation two years earlier "to consider some plans for the more special and distinctive training of candidates for Holy Orders"² made its report. A syllabus was drawn up, the General Ordination Examination syllabus of today in embryo form. It emphasised the need to train men in audible and distinct speaking before a congregation. The most important principle, however, which the Committee re-emphasised was one which sunk deep into the minds of generations of Churchmen and against which Kelly fought a tireless battle:

"No scheme should, in our opinion, be adopted which should interfere with the principle hitherto recognized, that the

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1. F.W.B. Bullock, A History of Training for the Ministry, Budd and Gilliat, St. Leonards-on-Sea, 1955, p.129.
 2. Ibid., p.139

Universities are the right places for laying the foundations of an education for the Christian ministry."¹

All this rested on one great assumption (and for Kelly, at least, a false one) that only men who were capable and suited to a university education were worthy candidates for the Christian ministry. In the 1870's university men were in short supply. As soon as the demand exceeds the supply there follows an inevitable lowering of standards both intellectually and spiritually - which is just as true in 1970 as in 1870. The decline in the number of ordinands appears to be a recurring problem. In 1886, 814 deacons were ordained. This number dropped to 587 in 1907.²

Kelly admitted that his students would not be as "cultured" as university men but he denied that this involved a lowering of any standards. In fact he claimed to be surpassing anything that Oxford or Cambridge could do. So coupling the suggestive ideals of the Salvation and Church Armies and responding to the cry of the Mission Field, Kelly started his small fire with three students at Vassall Road. He began by following a principle elucidated in 1887 by the Church Missionary Society: that no man should be refused training because of a lack of funds. 1887 marked the beginning of a period of great expansion for the Church. Men

1. Ibid., p.132.

2. See The Supply and Training of Candidates for Holy Orders - the report of June 1908, edited by Canon G.R. Bullock-Webster. Even as late as this many ordinands received no theological training at all. Between 1902 and 1906, 866 of the 2,158 Deacons ordained in the Province of Canterbury received no formal theological training.

were offering themselves for the ministry, who, on the ground of class and financial consideration, would not have dreamed of doing so a decade earlier. What was to be done with these men? They were not stupid yet they were not equipped for an academic life. Even here the question of Catholicism, as Kelly was to understand it, cannot be ignored. Was the Church of England "catholic" enough to repudiate an exclusivist approach to ordinands with regard to background and education? Was the ordained ministry open to "all sorts and conditions of men"?¹ Kelly plainly thought so. He clutched at his small but formative experience gained at the Military Academy, Woolwich: that vision of the enormous potential of organized power -- a group of highly disciplined men, the shock troops of the Church, who could be sent where they were needed at a moment's notice. The Dean of Canterbury² had long cherished a dream of a preaching order within the Church of England. If only that Church would learn at least something from Rome. Rome might still be in the middle ages, she might still be repressive in her measures against liberals and modernists, but she was at least efficient and organized

1. On 7th April 1900, a "Liberal Catholic" sent Kelly a cutting from a French Christian newspaper. It was "an article on seminary teaching written...by one of those Abbés who are leaving the Church in numbers": "Avant la Révolution le clergé se recrutait dans les classes de la société les plus élevées comme les plus humbles. Son education se puisait au grand jour, dans les maisons d'enseignement que les mêmes autres citoyens, en commun. Le clergé respirait le même air, se nourrissait du même esprit que les autres classes laïques."

2. F.W. Farrar, 1831-1903.

(at least she appeared so to Anglican eyes). Rome had thousands of men and women at her disposal. If only the Church of England had the vision to work on such a scale something might happen. The Roman Church excited in her members an intense loyalty and devotion, and as much as Kelly loved the Church of England he had to admit that "Anglicanism as such has really no hold on anyone, except its officials".¹ Rome had the apparent advantage of solidarity and coherence. She spoke with one voice. Anglicanism, Hydra-like, had many heads, and it was this tendency "to coagulate into parties... where the shrinking me can take shelter behind the pretentious majesty of us..."² that Kelly loathed most of all about the English Church. He longed to introduce some organization and method into the training of ordinands. This passion for structure and planned objectives appeared Romish to the minds of some Churchmen.

Thus, when Herbert Kelly applied what he had learned at Woolwich Academy to the training of Clergy he used arguments which provoked accusations that he was introducing Roman seminary methods into the Established Church. In the common mind military power was quite acceptable; Church power was not. The Army was at liberty to grapple

"with its ever changing and different problems by its own independent intelligence and yet concentrating its determination

1. The Church Review, June 1900.

2. HK. The Gospel of God (1928), S.C.M., London, 1959, p.61.

under disciplined direction upon the
attainment of one simple common aim."¹

The Church was expected to muddle on as usual. In the 1880's Churchmen found out how easy "it was to call aloud for heroic self-sacrifice in someone else."² Time was running short. Too many opportunities had been lost already. The Church of England had failed miserably in the eighteenth century; would she fail again now? Kelly believed that the Brotherhoods could save the Church by filling in the hideous gaps in the parochial system. The old parish boundaries reflected a past age. They bore no relation to the large industrial communities that had sprung up in the previous half-century.³ Brotherhoods, however, could do more than help the Church function with greater efficiency. A religious community, in a unique way, "focuses and intensifies the common spiritual life of the whole Church."⁴ Here again we see the similarity between Father Kelly and Father Benson. Brotherhoods could witness, in a special way, to Catholic truth which to Kelly was common truth, common to all men at all times. Catholicism could neither be parochial nor partisan.

In August 1899, Kelly wrote a moving article entitled "Brotherhoods in the Church". It was a cry to be heard, to be understood:

1. An Idea in the Working, p.9.

2. HK Report for 1893.

3. see article CQR July 1911 by HK on the Religious Communities.

4. Allchin op. cit. p.217.

"What opportunities we have lost! If only the Church had been strong enough in her own faith, earnest enough in her spirit to have absorbed and guided the splendid zeal for souls which in Wesley was allowed to drift into unmeant channels! ...Nine books of the Sibyl are burned. Will the Church be wiser now? Will she understand that she is loved?"¹

It is ironic that it was precisely the flexibility and woolliness of the Church of England that enabled Kelly and his Society to survive at all. Had the Church of England the organization, efficiency and rigidity of Rome, Kelly would not have even moved into Vassall Road. In the same article Kelly refers his readers to Kipling's The Drums of the Fore and Aft and His Private Honour for inspiration as regards his aims in theological education: "You will learn better what it takes to be a soldier."²

The military model is, to say the least, a limited one when applied to the training of ordinands. Kelly tended to be naive about the extent of his own influence and imagine it was the system which carried men forward. He wrote about the early days of the Society to his brother, A.J. Kelly:

"The one charge constantly thrown at me was that I was a genius for the plan nobody else could work (that is all the same as calling you a crank). I maintain that the system is perfectly simple, and could be worked by any reasonably intelligent person who would take the trouble to understand it."³

1. Church Review, 31st August 1899.

2. see also Church Review, 7th September 1899, for further amplification of the Military Model.

3. HK to AJK, 17th November 1912.

Why was Kelly so afraid of his own influence? As we have already seen, he abhorred what he called "personal influence" because it emphasised the individual at the expense of the common enterprise. Individualism was the great enemy of Catholicism. The army, so Kelly thought, had no time for individuals. That is why the military life was so attractive to him.

It is, perhaps, difficult for us now to appreciate the attractiveness of army life. It is not an image which comes so readily to mind in the light of modern warfare. In Kelly's day the Army suggested virtues of discipline, order and loyalty. Today more vivid and concrete images come to mind. In 1900 it seemed natural to talk of a person one admired in military terms. Thus Father G. Congreve S.S.J.E., preaching soon after Father Benson's death, said of the founder of the Cowley Fathers,

"The habit of self-discipline, of living a rough life, like a soldier on campaign, hard on himself, became so fixed, so much his real self, that it looked like a hardy soldier's indifference - who scarce notices discomforts on the march - than a virtue consciously acquired."¹

The military imagery suggested the seriousness of the enterprise, the hard reality of the life.

One can easily over-emphasise the military aspect of Kelly's ideals and it would be foolish to press this analogy too far. Kelly did not want to form an ecclesiastical branch of the British Army, nor lord it over his raw recruits

1. Letters of R.M. Benson, Vol.I 1916 (sermon preached on 16th January 1915, the Sunday after Fr. Benson's death) p.367.

as their self-styled commander-in-chief. He did, however, see the need in the Church of England for a large missionary order which could meet emergencies as they arose and work in areas where corporate continuous work was essential.¹ Training in the disciplined life was mandatory for it was, as Kelly understood it, the foundation of character. Self-sacrifice was an inescapable ingredient of the Gospel that had too long been ignored. The Church needed heroes, and Kelly, without being at all pretentious, was determined to keep up the supply.

Understandably perhaps, these military ideals were interpreted by many as Jesuitical. Kelly himself did little to allay doubts in men's minds. The military side of Kelly's vision was certainly in accord with the Jesuit ideal. "We are therefore", wrote Father Kelly to Fr. Huntingdon O.H.C., "as the Jesuits would say, rather a regiment than orders."² Like St. Ignatius, Kelly saw the religious life as a way of performing efficient service for the Church. We shall see later, however, that Kelly's wider vision of the Society was far more Franciscan than Ignatian. He could talk of the Society's "quasi-Jesuit anti-Jesuitry". By that he meant that the Society was Jesuitical in so far as it served the Church: "The primary idea of the S.S.M. is to form a community of men who are willing to give up everything FOR

1. See the CQR, July 1911, HK's article on "Community Work and the Church of England" -- and the columns of the main daily papers for the last month of 1901 on "the Dearth of the Clergy", a discussion which lasted for twenty years.

2. Letter, 23rd August 1907.

THE SAKE OF SERVING THE CHURCH"¹ In that sense Kelly welcomed the adjective, Jesuitical. He repudiated the regimented aspect of Jesuitry. The Society, though anti-individualistic, was not against the development of genuine individual freedom which is the gift of the Holy Spirit. Yet Kelly's fellow clergy were suspicious. One attacked his

"harmless and obscure institution on the ground that its members get up too early and spend a long time at their prayers. A Church Association lecturer in my hearing made a definite charge of not taking pay. I asked then, and have asked since, what stipend is required to make a Protestant."²

After the Great War, Kelly had second thoughts about his own original intentions, and we shall have to examine in detail his view of the nature of the Religious Life. In 1920 he wrote, "Perhaps the oratory is nearer to what we meant."³ This is an attractive idea but hardly likely. In 1920 Kelly saw the college that he founded begin to harden and develop a life of its own. Under the circumstances, the thought of a Society made up of a free association of secular priests attracted him. In the 1890's Kelly had a specific job to do and had little time for such speculations. He was a stubborn man, convinced

1. Ibid.

2. Letter (unidentified) 31st August 1899. See also HK's letters to the Guardian, 20th December 1899.

3. HK notes to S. Bedale S.S.M., concerning the College; 31st June 1920.

that the vulgarity of the Apostles might accomplish what the refinement of Oxford and Cambridge had failed to do.¹ Out of this conviction the Kelham system of theological education was born.

There were three aims. First: all men of whatever social standing or financial position were welcome to offer themselves. Many, indeed, did so, but few were chosen.

"The Ritualistic choir-boy, or the young man behind the counter, who wished to become a priest cries off at having to do so much more work than he has been accustomed to."²

Secondly: the education was to be thorough. Kelly realised that he would have to strive for excellence if his men were to be accepted as suitable candidates for ordination by the bishops. Standards for the ordained ministry have always been a problem for the Church and this problem has often been compounded by the confusion in the minds of many churchmen between genuine native intelligence and academic facility. Sanctity and stupidity do not necessarily go together. Nevertheless a lively and active mind is the prerequisite for all clergymen regardless of background and education. A man with a double first can be as inept in fulfilling the duties of the priestly office as any less "qualified" man; and a man with very little "education" may

1. See letter by PB to the Church Times, 22nd March 1901.

2. Cuttings, Vol.II, pp.18-19. HK wrote in his Autobiography p.56, "How you can follow your own ambitions - mediocre and comfortable - and call it sacrifice".

have the potential to make an excellent priest. Excellence cannot be measured only by examinations. This Father Kelly saw clearly. His task was twofold: to impart knowledge, but more important to develop a man's intellectual powers, to get him to think for himself.

Thirdly: men would have to be prepared to give themselves totally to the service of God; to live for others. Heavy demands were made on those entering the Society and the College. Orare est laborare. They had to be prepared to work in a highly organized team, subordinating their own wishes and desires, to live anywhere, in trying places, and in unpleasant conditions. There was no place for a sentimental, or romantic approach to their task. A man had to have tenacity and endurance that could only come from a whole-hearted following of a vocation. Kelly wrote, "I believe sacrifice to be the true gold of the Church... gold in paying quantities requires methodical mining... The S.S.M. is a small mining company."¹

In Kelly's "mining company" there was to be one lecture a day and one free day for the writing of an essay. After each lecture there was to be at least five clear hours for reading and thinking. There was to be no practical training, nothing of what is now called Pastoralia. Kelly felt it was unnecessary. Form the man first then let his first curacy be his "practical training". This emphasis on pastoralia Kelly saw as an attempt to make students run

1. HK, Vindication of Principles, Mildenhall, 1901, p.7.

before they could walk. "Practical work" helped "to prevent the students even getting started on the comprehension of the fundamental Christian principle that faith is a vision."¹

The course was to last four years and not be confined to ordinands. In 1895 boys of sixteen were admitted for preliminary training in basic subjects. At first there were two external assessors for the College: Darwell Stone² and H.P. Currie,³ who examined men on behalf of the Bishop of Korea. Both men were helpful and sympathetic to Kelly's work.

When St. Francis founded his order he offered three texts to the Pope as a basis for the Franciscan Rule:

Matthew 19.21. - "If you wish to go the whole way, go, sell your possessions, and give to the poor, and then you will have riches in heaven; and come, follow me."

Luke 9.1-6 (v.3) - "Take nothing for the journey, neither stick nor pack, neither bread nor money; nor are you each to have a second coat."

Matthew 16.24-26. - "If anyone wishes to be a follower of me, he must leave self behind; he must take up his cross

1. HK, letter to Japan 17th March 1926. But Kelly was not clear in his own mind on this. There were times when he did see a need for "a science of parish work". See NL to his mother, 14th December 1911.

2. 1859-1941, Principal of Dorchester Missionary College, later of Pusey House.

3. St. Stephen's House, later Principal of Wells.

and come with me...."¹

Kelly, a lover of St. Francis, offered two further texts to the Church as a basis for the work of the Society of the Sacred Mission:

"'they shall all be taught of God' and its twin - 'that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die.... but God giveth it a body as it hath pleased Him'. I wonder how many realise the way in which these convictions underlie (a) the Kelham ideal of education (b) the S.S.M. ideal of a society."²

Here we find Kelly's twofold principle: the sovereignty of God and submission to the Divine will.

It was not long before Kelly formulated his ideal into a set of Principles of which there are twenty-two. It will be sufficient to quote from five of them to give the reader some idea of their love and ethos.

I. Concerning the Cause of the Society.

By this were you created - the Will of God, and to this end - the Praise of His glory.....

XI. On Self-Knowledge.

..... Convince yourself first that no-one is more ignorant than you, no-one has acted more foolishly, no-one has sinned more against God's Grace.

Resolutely begin to account yourself at all times the least and most unworthy of all.....

Do not lament the smallness of your capacities. Such complaints come either of

1. All texts from the NEB.

2. Autobiography pp.80-81 Isaiah 54.13 and I Corinthians 15.37-38.

laziness or of affectation, or of ambition.

XIII. On Work

God is glorified when His will is done.....
if you have given your whole life to God why should
you prefer to lose it in this way rather than
that?

XIV. Concerning the choice of work.

..... Many read of washing the disciples' feet
who think themselves above cleaning another man's
boots.....

XXII. Concerning life in Community.

..... Be always cheerful as well in failure as
in success, as well under rebuke as when commended,
for there is not much difference between these
things in God's eyes.

You may have much to bear, most people
have, but it is not well to make everybody bear
it.....

Do not despair about yourself, for that
has ruined many souls and vocations. God who
is infinite Holiness has borne with you a long
time.¹

Practically speaking, Kelly's principles involved
his taking students out of the "world", into the country.
This was the way to make men. A man has to stand naked
and alone before God, he has to find out who and what he
is before he can be of much use to anyone. He has to "die".
The idea of taking men "out of the world" is not fashionable
today. It is thought that this method of training develops
a hot-house culture, unrelated to the "real" world. Kelly
on the other hand saw that leaving the world was not an
escape from it. It was a means to an end -- to foster

1. First edition of the Principles was printed in 1894.

"a life where sacrifice, mutual service, strict duty, affection, worship, go hand in hand, rendered intelligible by wide study and keen thinking."¹ There was no evidence to suggest "that a life passed in close contact with an easy-going world produces men dominated by the resistless vision of the Christian life."² Contact with an easy-going world produced easy-going parsons and the Church of England had an ample supply of these.

Kelly succeeded in killing any notion in the men who came to him that "being a parson" was a nice, pleasant occupation; the sort of job that would provide an escape from the hard and often sordid round of business. "What we want is an enthusiasm which would sell its very soul for the love of God and for the sake of His glory."³ This reflects the intense side of Kelly in his published writings. His letter to his mother on the same subject shows that, although he took his task seriously, he did not take himself too seriously. The boys in the College "are quite good, but they've no SNAP to 'em. They are just going the bad road to be parsons as hard as they can go. I'm go'n to stop 'em."⁴ Thus while Kelly was bent on sparing the English Church the embarrassment of an influx of "unqualified" parsons, others saw him involved in a plot to bring honest

1. HK article in C.M.S. Magazine for September 1911.

2. Ibid.,

3. An Idea in the Working, pp.70-71.

4. NL, to his mother, January 1911.

Churchmen under the domination of a sacerdotal caste. The Protestants not only objected to the S.S.M. style of life, they objected to the curriculum as well. Lady Cornelia Wimborne, horrified, wrote to the Times:

"Their studies are mainly confined to Latin and the history of medieval Christianity, while the method adopted is that of the scholastic authors, especially that of St. Thomas Aquinas, the favourite divine of the Latin Church. The study of Greek is discouraged, if not absolutely neglected, while Hebrew is altogether abjured.... All breathe the spirit of the Romish Church rather than the free air of English life."¹

She deplored "a weak-kneed and meek-spirited generation who are ready to put their necks again under the yoke of the priesthood". There was, however, little or no connexion between this picture painted by Lady Wimborne and the reality of Kelham.

Kelham was able to ride such criticism. The suspicions of many of the bishops, however, were less easy to handle.

"The real danger lies in the fact that the Bishops are so utterly ignorant. None of them knows what we are doing or how it is done.... the Bishop of Oxford's severe

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1. Letter to the Times, 19th November 1901. Kelly humorously recalled the controversy over twenty years later: He once "made some remarks upon the subject of Aquinas -- shortly after that there was a terrific CRISIS! ... S.S.M. taught 'SCHOLASTICISM'. The Protestants shivered at the terrible monster that had been begotten in their midst (of course they did not know what it was, but you never do know what monsters are). The Lux Mundi theologians heard of it; they also shivered. Paget (Bp. of Oxford) implored us not to come into his diocese -- 'we read St. Thomas'. Now Dean Inge, he wrote in the 'Morning Post'. He said Kelham and Mirfield were 'Romanists and bitter Socialists'." NL., 3rd November 1925.

criticism (to me) - 'the men wear crucifixes and they dangle'."¹

Of course, Francis Paget's objections went deeper than that. To him, the crucifix was a sign of regimented and unthinking conformity to an alien discipline. Many English bishops refused to ordain members of the Society, although there was a continual stream of requests for help from overseas.² Even those who were kindly disposed to Kelham found Kelly often abrasive and overbearing. J. Armitage Robinson, Dean of Westminster, wrote kindly but firmly to Kelly on 9th March 1905, "You are really feeling the disadvantages (?) of not belonging to a Latin race. There is something of the old Roman imperialism about you. But we won't be drilled."³

The dean's description of Kelly is a perceptive one. He could be dictatorial and peevish if he failed to

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1. HK to W. Frere, C.R., 14th February 1904.
 2. HK in his talk, The Story of Kelham part III, 5th November 1911 called 1904 "the year of ructions" when "the Bishops refused to ordain S.S.M. men, the House goes to pot, the Cottage breaks up, and Corea chucks Fr. Drake and blames me."
 3. Robinson had visited Mildenhall early in 1903 and gave a favourable report to the Bishop of Ely (6th March 1903) "In the Old Testament the answers were, both in knowledge and thoughtfulness, above average to which I have been accustomed. The men have learned to face some important critical difficulties in a very straight-forward way.... In Doctrine I got thoughtful answers.... A far greater knowledge of Theology in the stricter sense, was shewn, and a much deeper interest in it than our candidates usually display. The men clearly are led to think."
N.B. Robinson to HK, 27th October 1904: "My difficulty is that I believe in you as a teacher and trainer, but not in the system."

get his own way.¹ Nevertheless the thought of turning out ecclesiastical automata horrified Kelly. He fought hard against forming a "Kelham line" in theology. Urging the Society, in 1925, not to catch on to a "Kelham Orthodoxy", he wrote in his Appeal:

"Suppose we do formulate our ideas , and require all future novices to subscribe to our new XXXIX Arts: do you suppose we should be satisfied with them 30 years hence? We scoff at the old-fashionedness of Pusey, Benson and HK. Exactly! and 30 years hence, who will be scoffing at whom?"²

The idea of founding the Christian Faith on Thirty-Nine Articles was a ludicrous one. "The thing would be impossible if there were three hundred and ninety."³

Kelly tried to persuade the Bishops at large that there was nothing insidious or undermining about the Kelham system. The college was not a cancer within the body, or a fifth column within their institution to foster collapse from within. With this in mind Kelly wrote to Randall Davidson on 13th March 1904:

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1. See HK to Walter Frere C.R., 14th November, 1904, concerning the difference between Kelham and Mirfield (the latter formed the pattern of three years at university with two years at a theological college acceptable) "I always knew everyone in general was agin me, but that you people are, I confess, frightens me." Frere felt that contact with a university was important.
 2. p.3.
 3. Letter to Barnet Press, February 1896, in a controversy with the local congregational minister.

"We all feel that we have given up our personal freedom, not for the Society nor a form of life, but for the service of the Church, and fully recognising first, that 'the Church' must mean the Church of England as she now is and as God shall deal with her, secondly that the service of the Church must mean for us the service of the Bishops, to whom God has given the whole pastoral charge over the Church."

This was an expression of Catholicism which the Archbishop could understand, appreciate and admire.¹

In the early days of the college there was little chance for Kelly to develop a "Kelham line" even if he had wished to. He was too busy. The whole burden of administration fell on his shoulders alone. His correspondence is voluminous: letters to the Abbot of Caldey about diet and indigestion;² to F.J. Foakes Jackson of Jesus College, Cambridge, asking him to visit the college;³ to Wilson Carlile of the Church Army;⁴ to a contractor in Newark about a radiator for the chapel. One correspondent wanted to know if card-playing were allowed on Sundays.⁵ Kelly answered every enquiry and complaint. All this was as time-consuming as it was exhausting. Added to this, Kelly was continually worried about finance.

1. See letter of Randall Davidson to HK, 11th August 1904.

2. October 1906.

3. 24th March 1905. Foakes Jackson enjoyed his visit. "Your monkish youths living manly lives in the midst of the tawdry castly vulgarity of the 19th century is a message to our age." (undated 1905)

4. 23rd August 1906.

5. The Rev. C.S. Hawker, 1st May 1908.

In the summer of 1907 he was asked by the organizing committee of the Pan-Anglican Congress to prepare a paper on "Recruiting and Vocation". Kelly wrote to every fund and every theological and missionary college in England in order to find out what was really being done.¹ It is very important that we should not minimize these financial anxieties since they were all bound up with a system of theological training which Kelly was fast coming to realise was inefficient and obsolete. He discovered that there were over thirty-four separate ordination funds. This multiplicity represented a dissipation of energy and the perpetuation of the party system: "The ministry is the ministry of the Church and not of localities nor of parties."² Kelly was certain of one thing: the haphazard diocesan-centred training had to go. It was hopelessly ineffective, a peripheral, ad hoc, individualistic affair without due reference to the necessary theological foundations. Kelly likened the state of theological education to a cathedral about to fall down. The Dean and Chapter "did not feel justified in saying so for fear of alarming people, which they wouldn't have liked to do, still more for fear of alarming themselves which they

1. HK also wrote overseas to St. Paul's Hostel, Grahamstown; Berkley Divinity School. See also HK article in The Living Church, 2nd November 1907.

2. HK, p.23 in Cuttings for 1908 - see also the correspondence in the Church Times for the whole of that year particularly October 16th - November 6th. Planning in the Church of England for theological education has, as yet, made little headway.

would have liked still less."¹

Kelly set out his ideas for a programme of reform, in a letter of 7th April 1908 to Bishop H.A. Montgomery of the S.P.G. There were four elements to be considered.

"(1) Selection. It is very uphill work this. We have first to get rid of that wild notion of the personal call, and to bring the idea of competition.....

(2) Elimination. I do think that we colleges are a whole world too optimistic about ourselves and our work and too easy-going..... It is not enough that we can turn out good men. It ought to be understood that we are not going to turn out anything but the best..... we select very carefully, but we do not bring more than half our men to ordination.....

(3) Testing. The life really ought to be plainer and simpler sufficiently so not to be attractive to men with fake motives.....

(4) Education. It is impossible to get good results without a very thorough education, only that of course you cannot educate where a man's mind is set on higher things, such as his dignity or whether he is going to be first in to look after the 'upper ten'."²

These were and are difficult words to bear, and if at certain points, one would disagree with Kelly, one cannot help but feel his underlying challenge to the theological colleges. His challenge concerns a wider understanding of the ministry. It involves something unheard of then, and

1. HK MS The Cathedral: an Essay on the Study of Theology and the Training for Ordination. Kelly was pleased when C.A.C.T.M. was formed in 1935 to regularize training. He called it CACTUS thinking it "a pretty thorny body". NL, 6th July 1935.

2. There was a plan in which the S.P.G. was to give Kelham a direct grant of money to train men, instead of paying for particular candidates. See letter to HK, 9th March 1909.

only dreamed of now: an unpaid ministry. It embraces a freer view of the Church and the administration.¹

Kelly lived too soon. What he taught over seventy years ago is gradually coming to be accepted today by the Church at large.

One thing was certain in 1907: a central fund was necessary to administer efficiently the resources of the whole Church. Kelly would have been horrified to think of Kelham as a fool-proof system, well-oiled, complete. No theological college exists for its own sake. It exists for the Church as a whole and serves the Church. This Kelly saw more and more clearly as time went by. Ironically, as it turned out, the theological colleges developed and grew largely on partisan lines. Kelly fought long and hard to see that Kelham served the whole Church and not just one section of it. It is, perhaps, difficult for us to realise what a constant and debilitating struggle for Kelly this was for over twenty years. His entry into the ecumenical arena in 1910 confirmed his deepest intuitions. By then the four year course at the college was an established fact: Kelham was a going concern. It was at this point, as we shall see later, that the S.C.M. and Edinburgh showed him

1. See HK correspondence with Walter Frere C.R., July 1907, and Roland Allen's The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the causes which hinder it. World Dominion Press, London, 1949. (first edition, 1927). One person (unidentified) in answering HK's questionnaire concerning theological training wrote, "One should not forget that for many men.....the position of a clergyman involves such a social rise as to tempt men to aspire to it, when perhaps they would be better fitted for some lay office in the Church."

that his brief was no longer Kelham and the Church of England but the world-wide Church itself. Two years earlier he had published a new edition of his History of a Religious Idea renamed An Idea in the Working. This spelled out clearly for all to read the Kelly approach to Theological Education.

Things had changed since Kelly was ordained in 1883, as one contributor to the Church Quarterly Review pointed out.

"Doubts which would have been hardly conceivable twenty years ago, except amongst the most advanced thinkers, regarding the New Testament, the Church, the creeds, are now felt on every side. In 1886 people were chiefly alarmed by the promulgation of somewhat extreme views about the origin of the Pentateuch, whereas now the most vital parts of the Gospel are publicly submitted to the most ruthless criticism... No Encyclopedia Biblica was in our hands; Modernism was as yet unheard of: no ordinary man spoke of Pragmatism."¹

These words make sixty years ago suddenly close and very familiar. Then, as now, was the cry, "Why do men not come forward?"

"It is not because men fear poverty, but because they distrust themselves that they hang back. They ask themselves, 'What do I believe? What message have I to deliver? What do the Bible, the Church, nay Christ, mean to me?' and they not unnaturally refuse to devote themselves to a lifelong pledge to preach that which they fear that as their knowledge increases they may not be able to believe."²

1. Anonymous article in CQR, January 1909, pp.407-8 -- "The Dearth of the Clergy".

2. Ibid., p.408.

Good, conscientious men like William Temple were struggling with doubt. A self-questioning Church showed signs of health, and a lack of harmony with the prevailing mood in England, as she entered into that period of self-satisfied optimism, the Edwardian era. Kelly's passionate questioning of the meaning of priesthood is as pertinent today as it was then. Ordinands in 1910 had to find their vocations against the complacency of a time when war was unthinkable; ordinands in 1970 must see their vocations against a war-torn world where, nevertheless, what Kelly would have called Pelagianism, is still dominant: all that seems to be required to put things right is a little more human effort.

The Church of England, faced with this problem in 1910 and deeply concerned about the shortage of clergy and the quality of ordinands, felt that stronger men were needed to cope with the rapid changes taking place, the scepticism and cynicism about the Church and Christian faith. The answer seemed to be that all ordinands should be graduates and this had led to the Ruling formulated in 1908, which proposed that all ordinands coming forward after 1917 should be required to have a university degree.¹

This smothered for a while any idea of a "native" clergy for England. Such notions were all right for India and Africa, but were difficult to absorb in England. When Kelly wrote, "only Christian Indians can make a life that

1. HK went to a meeting to discuss this very point in October 1911 where the fear of lowering standards was uppermost in men's minds.

shall be Indian as well as Christian",¹ he was drawing on his English experience of training plain men to minister to plain people. In India the situation was such that over half the priestly training was spent in learning English, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, leaving little or no time for Theology. As a result, wrote Kelly,

"no educated or able Indian will enter the ministry.... The Bishops should tell the two silly idiots (C.M.S. and S.P.G. colleges) to put the Prelim, in the fire; think out what the men ought to know for themselves, make up their own course."²

India was in danger of producing a two-tier system of priests, "simple, parish priests" and "those who could really think". Kelly squashed this idea for India as firmly as he did for England: "If they are worth ordaining at all, they can all think, if anyone will take the pains to teach them."³

India needed to be converted by her own people who could think just as England needed to be converted with "her own stuff."⁴ But England's "own stuff" did not necessarily fit into a pattern of life and work set down by Oxford or Cambridge. Kelly, on this issue, had to face one insidious charge. Would he not be educating men above their station? There were still those who opposed any legislation to provide wider educational opportunities and idealised

1. HK in C.M.S. magazine for August 1911, "The training of an Indian Ministry". At the same time Kelly had occasion to meet V.S. Azariah from Madras (who was later to become a bishop and the greatest Indian Anglican of his generation) and they talked over the Indian problem.

2. NL to his mother, 18th July 1910.

3. Ibid.

4. see NL to his mother, 7th August 1911.

"a system in England by which all the hard work is to be done by a proletariat whose duty is to be 'industrious', i.e. to work steadily very long hours at a dull trade and whose minds must be attuned to ask nothing better, while the graces of life are available for men with high collar jobs."¹

To insist that all men training for the ministry should be graduates was unwittingly helping to keep the proletariat in its place. However, the ruling that no man should be ordained without a degree after 1917 was rendered virtually unworkable after the First World War when two thousand ex-army men offered themselves for ordination, many of them eminently suitable for the ministry but not having graduate status.² In 1919 Kelly was all set to continue his battle with the universities, and it is to this battle, begun in 1891, that we must now turn.

1. NL, 19th February 1919.

2. "It is all as simple as ABC so long as you are using service men. The sergeant-majors have done all your work for you." NL, 15th June 1919.

(b) Theology and the Universities.

Kelly was all for improving standards, but, as we have seen, he did not feel a university degree was the panacea required for the Church's ills. He knew only too well that theological education involved more than either Oxford or Cambridge had to offer, and it was certainly more complex than the London B.D.¹ One needed more than a clear head and intellectual ability. Theology as taught and studied at Oxford and Cambridge with the "priest dons who have nothing priestly about them",² was at best

"only a preparatory study of the materials... language, books, historical criticism, and the like... The true theology, the whole meaning of the Revelation of God as it reaches out towards life, cannot be studied in a university."³

Two years simply added to a bachelor's degree was not enough:

"it will not be possible to do more than fill him up with the necessary technicalities - history of the Creeds, dates of Articles (and the saving use of the ~~use~~ word 'Anabaptists'), leading critical hypotheses and the like... a place where people are taught to learn theological facts and opinions without learning to understand them."

Such an education led to a narrowness of outlook. Some clergy

"in sheer terror of this narrowness' content themselves with an easy genial

1. It was customary to fail the London B.D. once. HK felt it would materially increase your chances if you put at the bottom of your paper, "N.B. if ploughed I shall not try this exam again".
Letter to his brother Alfred, 4th July 1911.

2. NL, 9th June 1921.

3. HK letter to Liverpool Daily Courier, 21st December 1908.

and moral influence; but the obvious fact is that all this narrowness comes not of too much theology, but of having too little."¹

Mirfield, on the other hand, could not see Kelly's objections to university theology. Walter Frere C.R., in a letter to Kelly on 15th November 1904, wrote,

"If the Universities are more critical than theological they are entirely in the spirit of the time in being so. It is just the same if you go to France, or Italy, or Germany, and these historical and critical questions having been raised have got to be settled; and this is probably I think the task of our generation. But of course our object as much as yours is to try and make the men seek to be theologians, not critics; or rather perhaps I ought to say only critics in order that they may become accurate Theologians."

The College of the Resurrection was more donnish, more in tune with the Catholicism popular in the Church of England. Herbert Kelly and Walter Frere² were poles apart in approach and temperament, and the Kelham and Mirfield systems came to be known as rival concerns with little sympathy for one another. No doubt the rumour of such a breach was exaggerated; nevertheless it was thought that Mirfield had no time for Kelham. Even Randall Davidson had the impression that "Gore was the great enemy of S.S.M. and was shocked that Gore had not been down to visit Kelham."³ Any serious rivalry, however, was short-lived. Gore preached at the Dedication of the Chapel

1. HK in Manchester Guardian, 26th February 1908.

2. 1863-1938; the Superior of Mirfield 1902-1913 and 1916-1922.

3. See NL to his mother, July 1910.

at Kelham in 1928 and earlier Kelly had been asked to take the community retreat at Mirfield.¹

Kelham was in a class of its own, taking in ill-qualified and difficult men. Mirfield evolved its own style and never attempted to do what Kelham was doing. Kelham, it could be argued, was a far earthier place than Mirfield. Kelly was amused to discover a view of theological colleges so out of tune with his own, while he was in Edinburgh in 1910. A Wesleyan, thinking he would find Kelly in agreement, said that the job of a theological college was

"'just to turn out saints.' ...You can imagine how I squirmed. I did not recognize this as Kelham doctrine and could not in the least imagine where he got it from. I knew I hadn't said a word of the kind. I heard afterwards it was Frere."²

There was a large part of Kelly which would have agreed that this precisely was the job of a theological college. Where, no doubt, there would be disagreement would be over the definition of the word "saint". One suspects that he was self-conscious about Kelham and its role in the Church and in so doing he tended to under-estimate what Frere was doing at Mirfield. Kelly wanted to get away from any kind of "idealism" which would put anything, even the pursuit of the summum bonum, in the place of God. The religious life was not an end in itself. Only God had the right to

1. See No Pious Person, Faith Press, London, 1960, p.80 ff.

2. NL, 2nd July 1910.

be treated as an end and never as a means.¹

The religious communities, Kelly believed, had something the universities did not possess. Oxford and Cambridge might give a good grounding in academic theology but they did not, indeed could not, train men for the priesthood. It is true that at one time Kelly did think the university system ideal but practical experience had shown him that this was not necessarily so.²

Kelly was convinced that theological education is concerned with a whole cultural outlook: that is to say, the training should be "catholic". It is no use having a theological top-dressing if one is left to imbibe a pagan, secular, general cultural viewpoint. He believed, with good reason, that theology as taught in the Universities was of the "top-dressing" variety. It was a point of radical perception that he criticized the superficiality of theological education which tried to add some Christian religion and theology on to a secular education that was largely pagan in content. Catholic theology is concerned with the whole of God's world. It cannot, by definition, be something added as an after-thought. Yet, at the beginning of the century, graduates were required to complete only one year in a theological college (others two years). Kelly wanted more theology. William Temple supported him in totally rejecting the idea that theology was something added

1. See Retreat Addresses II at Evensong, 3rd January 1895.

2. See HK's article in The University Review, October 1908.

to a liberal arts education, and believed that Kelham "provided the stimulus of an idea they had lacked too long."¹ Moreover, the university system is suitable only to one type of ability. Age, ability and actual attainment have to be taken into consideration with each ordinand. The universities were incapable of coping with a man of average intelligence. They might instruct him but they could not educate him. The ordinary student was treated merely as a deficient scholar where "in reality", Kelly wrote,

"he has quite a different type of mind, quite capable of understanding and appreciating wholes, but easily soon lost over the mathematics of the parts.... There is a great deal to be said for the prior study of wholes.... An instance here is the case of languages. In all Theology Schools Latin and Greek are essential.... In some Hebrew also.... I do plead a man can be intelligent, and yet cannot learn languages."²

Kelly was concerned not with what value one puts on a man (since we are in one sense at least all of equal value) but with his particular gift. "Mediocre" ought not to be substituted for the word "average" as Kelly used it.

"Because the country parson has not scholarship sufficient for a fellowship, or for a theological tutorship is he therefore to confine himself to novels from Mudie's with occasional expeditions into hack work, Vernon Staley and the Preface\$ to Lux Mundi....

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1. See report of a meeting on behalf of S.S.M. in Queen's College, Oxford, presided over by Temple, reported in the Oxford Chronicle, 5th February 1910.
 2. HK fragment 9th August 1943. HK adds "Bp. of Glos.: to me once, "Aquinas did not understand Aristotle. He only knew him in translation".

There is a difference certainly between the men who can do things and the men who can't, but there is a really vital one between the men who will and the men who won't. Really considering the multitude of average people God does bring into the world it is worth-while asking what He meant them for.... Learning occupies the greater part of a man's life.... Habits of desultoriness, of amateurishness learnt here will poison you hereafter.... We are to be a help but a help who wants looking after is more trouble than anything on earth."¹

Kelly believed that a clergyman is an "average" man, a Christian with a special function within the Body of Christ. A university degree had little to do with the case.

Kelly had seen too many university men, to be fooled by their paper qualification. One can still gain a degree and remain uneducated.² The brilliant flourished; the mediocre and ordinary scraped through. The average man needs a different approach to training. Kelly used what he thought was best from the university methods: close contact with a tutor he felt to be essential, and marked attention was to be given to properly supervised written work. But where the university stopped, Kelly began. Universities imparted information, but did not necessarily help the student to understand the presented facts. In Coleridge's terminology, Kelly believed that the universities concentrated

1. Retreat Addresses II, 3rd January 1895.

2. When HK was invited to give some lectures at Oxford in 1919 he was pleased to have a seat with the mighty whom he had so frequently criticized. He was delighted but unimpressed. Talbot and Rawlinson both admitted that Headlam's Doctrine Course was "as a tomb-stone would lecture": exactly HK's view of Oxford Theology. NL, 8th September 1919. See also NL 17th February 1920.

too much on "Understanding" and not enough on "Reason".¹
 The Kelham system was consciously trying to combine both these elements in a man's training. A typical student reading theology at an English university (according to Kelly)

"has learned a great deal too much, and thought a great deal too little. The usual result with a successful student is to leave his mind in utter chaos. He is exceedingly well up in the critical examination of evidence for certain past happenings, but has given little attention to their significance, and hardly any to the difference they make now they have happened. He has a very clear idea what Origen, Athanasius and Anselm thought about certain Christian doctrines, but an exceedingly vague idea what he thinks himself."²

This criticism is still valid; maybe it is perennially so? At a recent conference in Winchester it was a common complaint among teachers of theology that many a theological graduate knew what Dodd, Bultmann or Barth said about a passage from the New Testament but few were able to say what they thought about it.³

Kelly believed that lectures could serve only as an introduction to personal reading and study. Genuine theological answers had to be thought. They could not be culled

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1. See S.T. Coleridge, On Constitution of the Church and State, Edward Moxon, London, 4th ed. 1852, p.70: "We live, I exclaimed, under the dynasty of the understanding: and this is its golden age. It is the faculty of means to medial ends. With these the age, this favoured land, teems."
 2. HK in CQR July 1910, "The Training and Examination of Candidates for Orders".
 3. ACCM Conference on Teaching the Bible at St. Alfred's College, Winchester, in April 1970, at which the author was present.

from books. The object of the educational exercise both on the university level and the theological college level is to make a man think. He did not need a thorough scientific knowledge of a few things but an intelligent grasp of a great many. The method was to give the student the sort of questions which could not be answered out of books. It is "when the sharp lines of the tutor get blurred and the student gets confused that he begins to think for himself."¹

To make a man think: Kelly knew how hard this was. "Of course, he [the student] is not willing to think - no man ever is - but he has to do it, because it is made clear to him that there is no other way."² The results, at first, would inevitably be frustrating. It was difficult for students to grasp a method of "learning by understanding". Kelly was determined to foster a richer theology, a theology thought, prayed and understood. He struggled for a long time, virtually alone, in this radical view; support was slow in coming. "I am aware that I am playing a lone hand, and that my views are so unpopular that I can hardly get people to be even interested in them."³ He had the opportunity to put forward his views to the Pan-Anglican Congress which met in Holborn

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1. HK, C.M.S. Magazine article op. cit. As we have seen, it had been suggested for example that it was essential that Indian ordinands learned Latin.
 2. HK, Manchester Guardian, 26th February 1908. HK was asked by H.V. Stanton, Ely Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, to give his criticisms of the University Prelims. in theology: "A really thoughtful man has no room" was HK's reply, 2nd April 1904.
 3. HK letter to Liverpool Daily Courier, 21st December 1908. HK did, however, tend to overplay this point.

Town Hall in June 1908. He was received warmly though his ideas were considered new and revolutionary: "He... demanded a wider conception of theology as concerning all life."¹

In spite of Kelly's appeal for a more catholic conception of theology, it seemed to many that the S.S.M. was self-consciously afraid of the universities.² This was certainly untrue though one can understand why some drew this conclusion. Kelly's real objection was to the imperialism of Oxford and Cambridge. As W.R. Matthews has pointed out, "the meagre funds available for assisting ordinands were administered by men who assumed as a self-evident principle that all the bright boys were to be helped to go to Oxford and Cambridge and other colleges could have the remnant."³

As we shall see, it was the S.C.M. which showed Kelly a wider world and offered him and Kelham friendship and understanding at a time when they had few friends. Through the S.C.M. Kelly discovered

"that there were quite a large body of students outside England - who were every bit as keen about Christianity as they were at Oxford - Japanese students, Russian

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1. Report in The Record for 19th June 1908.
 2. Fr. Martin Knight S.S.M. reports that F.R. Barry, then Bishop of Southwell, remarked on one occasion, after Kelham had begun sending men to Nottingham University, "I am very glad that Kelham is no longer afraid of Universities". Roger Lloyd, in his The Church of England (the 1946 edition, Vol 1) erroneously gave the impression that Kelham had decided "to refuse to take university graduates". (p.194)
 3. Memories and Meanings, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1969, p.116.

students, German students.... They were even beginning to realise the existence in England of a newer body of students in the younger universities - awfully inferior places of course but places where rumour said the examinations were ever harder than they were at Oxford. (laughter). He wanted them to go further now and to realise the existence of huge masses of young men all over the world who might be students, who ought to be students, who were capable of becoming students like themselves."¹

Kelly's views on theological education were not received with open arms in every part of the Church. The Church of Ireland Gazette for 19th August 1910 talked of Kelly's "new and unwelcome alternatives" in theological education and could hardly imagine circumstances under which a Bishop might dispense "with some irreducible minimum of Greek from an ordinand". O tempora O mores! Kelly no doubt would have thought the present generation of ordinands has gone too far in being allowed to drop Greek altogether.

It is difficult for us to appreciate the great chasm that existed between graduates and non-graduates. The abyss was not simply one between literate and illiterate. There were social complications as well. Not all students who went up to Oxford and Cambridge were particularly intelligent. Indeed of the many who read pass degrees very few would have found a place in a university today. Many places, though by no means all, at Oxford and Cambridge were given to those of the "right" class and from the "right" school, and both

1. See report of a meeting on behalf of S.S.M. in Queen's College, Oxford, presided over by Temple, reported in the Oxford Chronicle, 5th February 1910.

places of learning were largely regarded as finishing schools.

Kelham, naturally, saw Oxford and Cambridge as places of privilege. The provincial universities, of course, did not exist as far as members of those senior universities were concerned. Brother George Every writes,

"When Victor Ranford and I wanted a provincial university house, Frs. Tribe and Bedale wouldn't take it seriously. Sending people to Nottingham only became a live issue after World War II. The Mirfield line was different. Their connection was with a provincial university which hadn't got and didn't intend to have any department of Theology..... I think for HHK as well as SF BB [Fr. Bedale] the Oxbridge atmosphere had a certain weight of glory. They never considered the possibility of being a scholar in Redbrick."¹

Kelly's battle with the university was a social rather than an academic one. Oxford for him, was the university. The real issue behind all the abrasive encounters with bishops, behind the controversy over university theology was the social character of the priesthood. Were priests to be drawn from the one class which was predominant in the ancient universities, or would the Church allow for the fact that men unable socially to gain a place at university might have genuine vocations to the priestly ministry?

It must, therefore, be understood that Kelly was not battling against the universities as such but rather against the bishops who seemed to over-value university training. Extreme pressure was made to bear on Kelham to

1. Letter to AWJ 16th May 1971.

conform. Mirfield had already, in a sense, capitulated by sending its students to university. Kelham could not do so since many of its students lacked the background both in the home and in primary and secondary education which would have made a university experience feasible. Since Kelham was doing something which no other theological college even attempted, it was too important to be disregarded. Unlike any other college, it consciously strove to exclude that class consciousness which had been so damaging to the Church of England in the past. That is why Kelham fought shy of the universities: not for fear of theology, but in the knowledge that the universities, though centres of learning, were also foci of privilege and class. The study of theology simply was not open to a man who had not enjoyed a public school education or its equivalent.

In criticising London University theology Kelly pointed out that

"the non-religious man is not only the man to be reached, but the man to be learned from, the man who is far more on the right road than the religious man. Theology is a view of life as a whole, and universities are less and less accustomed to wholes."¹

We are so accustomed to such phrases today because of theologians like Bonhoeffer that it is difficult for us to realise that in 1910 the idea of Christians learning anything from "the non-religious man" was unheard of; to the academic

1. Church Family Newspaper report, 12th August 1910. See also article by HK in CQR for July 1919 p.358, "The Training and Examination of Candidates for Orders".

theologian it was outrageous. We, perhaps, have over-reacted and embrace too easily the ideas of "man come of age" and "religionless Christianity". But Kelly and Bonhoeffer would have understood each other on this, for Kelly did not forget, as we often forget, the need for "the secret discipline", a discipline that Kelham was designed to provide. For men to be truly whole, truly Catholic, they needed the cantus firmus, the ground bass to keep the freer rhythms of life going.

The Christian religion, whatever it is, has something to do with the whole of life.

"Christianity begins from a Gospel or narrative of historic facts summarized in a creed. Christians have believed that those facts somehow or other fit on to our life, fill up what is lacking in it, contain an answer to its perplexities, give it a meaning and a value which it can never have of itself. Theology is an attempt to discover what the real meaning of those facts is, and what help there is for us in them. Religion is, by all ordinary definitions, something that we do towards God, including perhaps, what we feel. But theology does not begin with what we do; it begins from something God did and is doing towards us."¹

It is not difficult to see why Kelly has been called "a Barthian before Barth" with this continual insistence on the priority and "catholicity" of God. Theology as studied in the English universities in 1910 was hardly concerned with such ideas. It was heavily historical. Theology departments

1. HK letter in Liverpool Daily Courier, 9th December 1908.

were not dedicated so much to theology but as to Judeo-Christian antiquities. At best, Kelly thought, it was an uneven, inconsistent system.

"it is no wonder that people of scientific minds, the Germans, the Scottish presbyterians, gaze at us in perplexity and wonder what we think we are doing."¹

Yet Kelly was not content with criticizing the university system. He made certain claims for his own, going so far as to say that where an "Oxbridge" degree failed to give a man a grasp of theology the Kelham system succeeded. The universities on the other hand tended to believe that genuine theology was taught only within their walls. This belief was not borne so much out of arrogance as of ignorance that there could be any other way. Men were meant to go to theological colleges to say their prayers, not to learn theology. Kelly, on the other hand, confidently (some would have said imperiously) asserted that Kelham had rediscovered something essential in theological education. To some it sounded as if he was claiming that his point of view was identical with God's. To be fair, Kelly insisted that universities were not to be despised as places of sound learning. Rather, it was as "theological colleges" that they were disastrous.

1. unidentified cutting in Scrap Book for 1910, p.68. He wrote to his mother 2nd July 1910, "The Scotch theological system was a blaze of perfection. All we could do in England was a pale copy." HK found a little comfort in the fact that the situation in Methodism was far worse than in Anglicanism. He had heard of the situation at Richmond College at Swanwick in 1910. See NL, 18th July 1910.

Kelly had to admit, however, that many of the newly-founded theological colleges were confessed and disastrous failures. But the reason for this was not far to see:

"Take a number of your least educated men with limited money -- for the total cost of the course is about one-third that of the university, and the time allowed about one-half. Obviously you would lay your hands on the most essential things and make sure that at least these were understood, but then we do nothing of the sort. We insist that our men still fill up the entire time learning all the technical scraps of information we can sweep together, the only use of which is to prepare them for an examination adjusted to pass cram work and discourage thoughtfulness. The resultant failure does not condemn the system so much as once more reveal the theological helplessness which could make such a travesty possible."¹

Written over sixty years ago, this criticism has not completely lost its bite for us today. Indeed this describes, more or less, the state of affairs at the time of writing. A non-graduate is still expected to run through a sort of university course in theology. He has only three years in which to absorb twice the amount of material required of a normal undergraduate reading theology.

After the Great War Kelly did try to woo the universities. Yet he dismissed Oxford as moribund; in Cambridge, on the other hand, there seemed more of a chance of encouraging an overdue ecclesiastical revolution. Kelly saw J.K. Mozley and others at Cambridge on 28th October 1919 and spoke of revolution both in terms of the Church's attachment to the

1. HK in CQR op. cit., July 1910, p.365.

State and also of the parochial individualism of the English.¹
 If the English Church in 1971 finds it difficult to deal with such questions, much harder it must have been in 1919.

Cambridge, however, proved to be as disappointing as Oxford. Even Westcott House, where Kelly had hoped for some support, seemed oblivious of the need for revolution: "They're all too fat, things are too successful in Cambridge for revolutions... Westcott House seemed to me the blot on the landscape."² Kelly was totally repelled by the principal's bland liberalism. B.K. Cunningham's form of Christianity was "exceedingly sweet and totally indeterminate"³ representing for Kelly the worst of the English Church. He wrote of Cunningham: "He has a great reputation (a) as a dear old saint, (b) as one of those broad-minded people, who like to have all sorts of ideas because he does not know what any of them mean."⁴ Kelly was not so much bothered by Cunningham's well-attested saintliness as by his lack of theological depth and his woolly latitudinarianism.

Kelly left Cambridge in 1919 even more convinced that his pre-war judgement of university theology was correct. There was a gentle indolence about Cambridge which irked him; a laziness which seemed to permeate everything. Such pleasant middle and upper class young men seemed unsuited to lead a

1. See NL, 4th November 1919.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. NL July 1932. Michael Ramsey in conversation with AWJ described B.K.C. as a "very non-theological Anglican gentleman".

revolution which could touch and inspire the common man. One area of genuine theological education the universities ignored completely. There was no room in the ~~curriculum~~ curriculum for manual work. Without it the education could not be thought of as genuinely Catholic. Through it the student became aware, at first hand, of the stuff of the world.

Kelly was convinced that much could be achieved by sheer hard work, manual as well as intellectual; a somewhat uncongenial combination in a theological college then, as today. He had read and loved the works of Thomas Carlyle and of John Ruskin. The former's Sartor Resartus had taught him the dignity of labour and that work, properly understood, is worship, "where to share in meaningful work is to share with the creator the task of restoring the principle of order in the chaos of this world's meonic stuff."¹

"Meaningful work" then was an essential part of theological education as Kelly understood it, and such labour was present in his system from the beginning; an ingredient which no university could provide or even desired to provide, and which barely existed or exists in any other theological college. Work, manual work at that, was an indispensable part of the training of a priest. It was and is a weakness of the Church of England that she has not been able to realise the essential earthiness of theology, the unity of work and worship. Robert Frost, the American poet, has beautifully

1. Douglas V. Steere's Work and Contemplation, p.61; Harper and Bros., New York, 1957.

expressed this unity.

"But yield who will to their separation,
My object in living is to unite
My avocation and my vocation
As my two eyes make one in sight.
Only where love and need are one,
And the work is play for mortal stakes,
Is the deed ever really done
For Heaven and the future's sakes."¹

Could a university help a man to unite avocation with vocation? Ideally one supposes so, since the idea of a university is all inclusive and essentially catholic. As far as Kelly was concerned, however, the universities provided neither "meaningful work" nor the richness of a strong, united community life.

John Ruskin's Unto this Last taught Kelly to judge a system by what it does to the people who work within it. "I desire", wrote Ruskin "... to leave this one great fact clearly stated. THERE IS NO WEALTH BUT LIFE. Life including all its powers of love, of joy and of admiration."² This "Wealth of Life" (this Catholicism) was another ingredient which only community living could provide. Kelham Theological College was to be not only a place of theological study but also the locus in which a student could work out the personal implications of the kind of theology which is not only read but prayed. Only a college with some community life provides the opportunity of confrontation with persons. Without it theology is sterile.³ The theological college is not the

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1. From "Two Tramps in Mudtime", The Complete Poems of Robert Frost, Jonathan Cape Paperback, London, 1967. p.305.
 2. John Ruskin, Unto this Last, O.U.P., 1934, p.109.
 3. See NL, 2nd November 1926. HK quotes H.L. Goudge, the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, as saying that the "Kelham education for clergy was not only good but the best there is going".

place where a devotional fillip is given to a training in academic theology.

"The idea of splitting personal devotion from the intellectual theology is a pretty disastrous conception.... The student ought to be made to feel that the theology is concerned over his own soul all through... We can look at theology in two ways. (1) Theology is a matter of 'doctrine' to be imparted with explanations and arguments.... (2) Theology is concerned is concerned with a gospel which average commonplace clergy are to preach to commonplace folk as the true redemption of commonplace life. This can only be effective as the clergy have learnt to understand it and think it, first in regard to themselves, but ultimately for life."¹

Kelly wanted to provide both "meaningful work" and "wealth of life". How far he succeeded is difficult to judge; but even if one cannot always be impressed with his results one cannot help but be moved by his breadth of vision. We have seen in recent events concerning the English theological colleges, that Kelly's vision is a difficult one to focus and maintain.²

1. HK, ms, 9th August 1943.

2. See the S.S.M. News-sheet of 12th February 1971 concerning the proposal by the English bishops to close Kelham Theological College. Kelham has since been reprieved. Its future is as yet uncertain, though the prospect is considerably brighter now than at the beginning of 1971.

VI. WORK AND THOUGHT: KELLY'S METHOD OF TEACHING.

Catholicism, to Kelly, is a word which expresses the coherence of things. It asserts the basic unity of all that is, the givenness of the created order, and sees all truth in some sense to be a revelation from God. To be truly Catholic is to search for the Will of God in and under all that is. "Catholic" education, therefore, means not the mere handing on of information but of making men see the connexion between things, the pattern and order in the world of ideas, and events. In Simon Weil's words:

"No connexion is ever formed unless the mind produces it. Two plus two remain indefinitely two plus two unless the mind adds them together and so makes them four. We hate those people who would like to bring us to form connexions that we don't wish to form."¹

To see the connexions between things and their causal relations is the main object of all educational enterprises. The art of being "Catholic" is that of not only seeing but of making the proper connexions between the fragments of reality which are given to us. Catholicism, from an educational point of view, is concerned with giving the student a vision of wholeness, unity and integrity and not with offering him a multitude of unconnected "facts". Education, wrote Kelly

"is concerned with two things...the facts of experience and the theories of reflection, using 'theory' in its

1. Simone Weil, The Notebooks Vol. II, G.P. Putnam's Sons, N.Y., 1956, p.349.

Greek sense of a bird's eye view of many facts, a group of facts, seen in their inner connection.... Its [education's] real substance consists in teaching the habit of generalizing or universalising experience in order to find in it what is of permanent value."¹

There were three primary Catholic principles to bear constantly in mind: the unity of things, the unity of men, and the unity of God "in whom along Truth and Righteousness, Being and Good, or Value, achievement and purpose, material fact and human ideas, are one."² That is to say: in the last analysis Catholicity is a concept which properly only applies to God.

As we have already seen, Kelly wanted theology to be understood

"in a new and deeper sense, as a thing to be thought rather than learnt, with a view to its being understood rather than to its being merely correct; and next, in a much wider sense, with full consideration of every form that God's

1. HK's essay in Essays Catholic and Missionary, S.P.C.K., London, 1928, p.98. (Education was "not so much the possession of information as the powers of understanding. We might explain it as the process of teaching men, not to know, but to find for themselves, causes, meanings, forces, laws at work under appearances and events.... Everyone who has ever tried will be aware that, while it is relatively easy to impart information, it is very difficult to impart a habit of intelligent thought.... The religious man is the man who devoutly recognises it as God's. It is this faith which lends to all life its reverence and consecration. For the layman.... the true order of education is experience, science, religion; and this step from science to religion of some sort is made by every thoughtful man". HK, Manchester Guardian, 26th February 1908.)

2. Ibid. p.104.

will can take."¹

Catholic education, in consequence, was open not only to those who were particularly clever and articulate. It was a form of education to which all men could respond (provided they were willing to make sacrifices). Ordinary men could respond because the system did not call so much for erudition as for dedication. The Catholic view of the world demands genuine vision rather than memory work, because Catholicism, as a way of looking at the world, has nothing to do with academic pedigree. It was nonsense to say that a

"clergyman is only a layman, more pious or more clever than others... He is 'a man sent from God'. It is not by being a better man, but by the very fact that he approaches all questions from the opposite end that he is able to help the layman to keep his direction in life. His science is a science of purpose."²

The clergyman, Kelly would assert, is Catholic in so far as he is concerned with the Will of God. The idea of Catholicity as a way of talking of the Will of God came upon him slowly, penetrating his mind the more and more he tried to teach theology. He called it The Principle of Theological Conception, which

"formulated itself in our minds a little over a year ago, 1907. We put it first

1. HK, Manchester Guardian, 26th February 1908. (See also HK speaking at Pan-Anglican Congress in Holborn Town Hall reported in The Record, 19th June 1908. "Last came 'Father' Kelly with a brilliant paper.... in which he propounded a new philosophy of training demanding a wider conception of theology as concerning all life, and threw overboard regretfully the old idea that the University is the best place for the candidates to begin training.")

2. Ibid.

here because it explains all that we have learnt, felt, practised, observed, during nearly nineteen years experience.... At the beginning we tried to work out the meaning of the Christianity men would have to teach by co-ordinating the ideas of natural theology, much as Aquinas handles them, with the Maurician treatment of the Church and Sacraments - the Incarnation and Atonement marking the points of transition. By degrees psychology, modern philosophy, logic, the beginnings of politics, sociology, and anthropology, the end of natural science, theories of ethics, individualism and socialism and many other things forced their way in, sometimes because one's own ideas had expanded, sometimes because the students would read them and insisted on having them faced. It grew precisely as we believe it will grow wherever men in our position have to work."¹

Kelly's theology and hence his idea of Catholicism can be summed up thus: the Will of God as the Law of the World. As Roger Lloyd pointed out:

"Here was a formula around which all theology, all devotion, all discipline and all work could be grouped, and a principle of interpretation which set all free to play their parts in creative and free organism. But to work it out in an educational curriculum meant to accord to theology a primacy over all other branches of study and knowledge, and this was an exaltation of theology ascribed to by no university in the world."²

The Will of God as the law of the World? Why? Kelly would have answered, "Because of the Incarnation", which turns our longing for God into knowledge of Him, and this knowledge was "catholic" knowledge, that is to say open to all men, at

1. Letter from HK to Bishop of Southwell in 1908 quoted by Roger Lloyd, op. cit., p.187.

2. Ibid., p.188.

all times, everywhere.

To many Victorian ears Kelly's ideas about God were as revolutionary as his ideas about theological education. In wishing not only to impart knowledge to his students but to share a vision with them, he demonstrated that he was incapable of thinking about Theological Education without thinking about God. At the same time he could not think about God without thinking about Theological Education. For him they were, as always, totally inseparable. Any real thinking about God inevitably involved such catholic questions as evangelism and communication. The trouble was then that many appeared to be able to think of God in a spiritual vacuum, in the same way that many today think about theological education only in terms of patterns set by the secular world. God became identified with the theological slogans of ecclesiastical parties. Catholicism, too, was a party word, sectarian and narrow, whether Roman or Anglican. Yet, as an idea, Catholicism was much wider than that reflected in the Church of Rome, let alone in the feeble pretensions of Anglicanism.

"It seems to me", Kelly wrote in October 1909,

"that the whole picture of Christianity is at stake, and yet that is wholly dependent on reunion among ourselves. It is no use at all our asking others to join with us till we know what it is we have to give them."¹

It has been made abundantly clear that Kelly's renewed enthusiasm for theological education at this time

1. HK's Annual Report in Church Times, 29th October 1909.

was bound up with his involvement in the early days of the ecumenical movement. Extreme Protestant objections, of course, were as vigorous as ever but their very repetitiveness and vehemence vitiated any impact one short sharp attack might have made. These exclamations came too late. Protestants Kelly could handle. Others, however, proved intractable. He was saddened by the attitude of those men in the Church of England he would most willingly have served: the bishops. They were of vital importance to a man who greatly emphasised the centrality and necessity of the sacramental system. Without episcopacy, Kelly's notion of Catholicism had no practical or concrete application. For the most part Kelly felt the Bishops were against him. The Bishops of the Church of England, however, were neither as hostile to him as he imagined, nor were they as encouraging as they might have been. Where Kelly saw opposition for his schemes, the extreme Protestants saw nothing but encouragement.

"If the Bishops think that to provide the Church ... of England with what Archbishop Magee once designated the title of 'petticoated monks' ... by all means let them identify themselves with these eccentric establishments. But ... the identification of themselves by the Bishops with these ugly excrescences on our Church system will simply tend to drive the English laity into Nonconformity or indifferentism."¹

Kelly represented for such people one of the twin evils of the day. "Rationalism and Ritualism". These, it was

1. The Church Gazette, December 1909.

suggested, were the main reasons for "the dearth of the clergy".¹ Years earlier Kelly would have entered the lists against such vituperation. After 1907 he was too busy to bother; too busy because he had met Protestants, Churchmen, and Dissenters, to whom he was ready to listen and who were ready to listen to him.

Kelly, with his advanced views, had placed many Churchmen in a quandary. The revered pioneer in theological education of the 1890's was, a generation later, a middle-aged enfant terrible!² Nevertheless the quality of the Kelham-trained man was evident to those bishops who had bothered to find things out for themselves. Kelham men found the support of such bishops as Winnington Ingram and E.S. Talbot, although it is true to say that the majority of the bench remained hostile and ignorant of the very men who would have served them well. The Kelham system was dedicated to producing "bishops' men".

It was inevitable that the method of theological education raised fundamental theological questions on the nature of the ordained ministry itself. The great unspoken questions were "What is to be the product of theological education? What are theological colleges for?" We have

1. See English Churchman, 1st November 1907, and 19th March 1908.

2. To some he remained the great expert in the field. cf. The Manchester Diocesan Conference, 23rd October 1907 - paper on the Supply of Ordination Candidates: "if you want to know the soundest principles of selection, the scope and difficulties of the situation, and how best to meet them, there is no-one from whom you can learn more than from the Rev. Herbert Kelly."

seen that Kelly loathed the idea of a more pious and more learned layman as the apotheosis of priesthood. Still more he hated the idea of some special sacerdotal caste, shrine guardians, cultic experts who knew nothing of ordinary life and ordinary people. A priest had to be a man who could see that everyday conversations were fraught with theological assumptions and difficulties. Kelly wanted priests who were theologically competent and pastorally sensitive to meet the challenge of "ordinary conversation", since Catholicism, above all, was for ordinary people. He gives a classic example of the locus of theology - the conversation with the washerwoman:

"In any afternoon's visiting, the first old washerwoman in ten minutes' account of her religious experiences and views will have moved, illustrated or assumed, more controversial issues in psychology, theory of religions, doctrine of knowledge, and their resultants in the theological sphere, than four professors will disentangle in three terms. Let us consider the young curate. First he must deal with her himself. She is not acquainted with the professional views and further ... there will be nothing in the treatises which be itself will fit her case. Secondly, fortunately for him, she does not require a carefully balanced answer. She does not go beyond very broad and crude issues.... But, thirdly, there is no possibility of getting that 'adequate knowledge of the facts', which scholars love.... From what is before him he must make up his own mind what she is really driving at, what it means, how he can help her, and then translate his own

notions into a form she can follow,
all within five minutes."¹

This is a seminal passage expressing the core of the matter. If Kelly's analysis of the case is true, what programme of study, what style of life would be best suited to the training of priests? Washerwomen may be rare today but their sophisticated equivalents are as numerous as ever and Kelly's washerwoman is archetypical.

Perhaps Kelly's vision was and is too vast, too wide and unwieldy for anyone to grasp fully? Was Kelly's concept of Catholicism so wide as to be virtually meaningless? Not necessarily, provided it was firmly earthed in the world of washerwomen. But theologians were not, and are not, likely to come across washerwomen. How could Kelly expect "professors" to understand his point of view? - that mere information did not matter half so much as making the connexion between things, between the Incarnation and ordinary human living; that the priest is not an expert in the Creed, till he "'can follow it outwards' to its relation to ... problems in banking, in exchange and currency, in the unemployed."² Catholicism is a simple thing, a view

1. HK, the Universities and Training for the Ministry, printed by Sherratt and Hughes, 1908, p.143. There is an amusing story which emphasises HK's point. It is said that a professor of divinity began his address to the bed-makers of Trinity College with the words: "The ontological argument is, I grant you, in need of restatement...." I am grateful to D.M. Paton for this story. DMP was told it by R.D. Whitehorne, Principal of Westminster College, Cambridge.

2. HK article in the University Review, October 1908.

of life in which pigs and football have their proper place. Could such a view of life be taught? Was not Kelly bound to fail?

Kelly's Appeal to the S.S.M. is both a cry of failure and a moving plea for unity within the Society. Of the 1880's he wrote,

"In those days I ... believed ... that a Society, standing fast in humility and patience, could do an immense amount to bring men together out of this chaos of party to that worship of God which is Faith. These two beliefs I still hold. But I was young then, and I also believed ... that I could teach. This belief I have given up."¹

Could Kelly teach? His teaching method was certainly unorthodox for the day. He wanted to train men for a prophetic ministry: "The work of the priest is the work of the prophet."² Prophecy and Priesthood are inseparable. Just as training for the ministry depended on a doctrine of priesthood, so Kelly's view of priesthood sprang from his doctrine of the Church, as a prophetic sign of God's presence in the world. Ecclesiology was Christology. We are Christ's and Christ is God's. This, for Kelly, summed up Catholicism. His aim, then, was to train priests - to form them for what was essentially a prophetic task: "What you want of the prophet is not work, but vision, sight, prayer."³ This vision is exactly what Kelly tried to share

1. p.7.

2. HK Annual Report in Church Times, for 1st November 1907.

3. HK at 10th Annual Meeting of S.S.M., 1st November 1907. William Temple when Archbishop of York is reported to have said that Kelham is "the one college turning out priests who can teach people how to pray". NL, 8th May 1929.

with his students. But how to do this? If his methods often antagonised his students, he knew that the only way forward was to bring out the hostility in people and deal with it openly. He was too good a psychologist to ignore the hidden animosities and resentments present in himself and in those whom he met. This psychological approach was taken up into his teaching method; to open wounds - to find out what men really cared about, to start not with a prepared thesis, but with the needs of the moment. He had learned from his explorations into the then comparatively new science of psychology that this was the correct order of things in the educational sphere: to proceed from what is known to that which is unknown. He compared his own classes to a study in child psychology:

"The baby stares and stares. With absorbed interest he watches an object change its appearance. You think he sees nothing, but the fact is he has no meaning for anything. Slowly the vision of his nurse, rattle etc. has to disentangle itself from the confused whole background. They, the students, read history as a succession of events, but it never seems to them that anything is happening. They have never in their past lives known anything to happen - except in a family for purely personal motives.

You would have imagined that anyhow they knew something of religious motives and meanings. I thought they did but they don't. They know nothing but the personality of their own parish priest, and what he happens to tell them. Any sort of criticism of what is said - of what they say themselves - is utterly strange to them."¹

1. NL, January 1925.

Kelly's own psychology is interesting. He thought of himself, at one time, as primarily a philosopher. He soon came to see that he was at heart a historian, in that he was not only interested in ideas in the abstract but also with how a man applied his ideas in everyday life. Nor was he interested in a theory as a man states it, but only as he uses it in practical terms. The fact that Kelly, as a theologian, was aware of psychology put him years ahead of his time. There were not many in 1902 who could accept creatively the new insights of psychology and psychiatry. Perhaps it was partly because his ideas were still new to the students of his day, that they did not wholly appreciate them. Many at Kelham, as in Japan, worshipped him rather than understood him.

There are obvious dangers about doing theology in such an ad hoc manner. It presupposes that the student has about him ideas, data, basic information with which he can play the game, and in which he can manoeuvre freely. But this in fact was not the case especially as far as Kelham men were concerned. As we have seen, Kelly's teaching method, such as it was, was to stimulate students to think for themselves. What he failed to realise was that in order to think for himself, a man had to have at least a small amount of basic information. As a result Kelly often frustrated the students by his meandering style of teaching. There was, as often as not, no discernible structure to his

lectures; - a stream of consciousness which left many a student stunned and stranded. Yet, as a charismatic personality, teaching subjectively rather than objectively, he was strikingly successful. Students learned mainly from his questions, rarely from his answers. His was essentially the Socratic method of teaching. Just as Socrates believed that he could teach the wholly ignorant slave boy the principles of geometry by helping him to remember the eternal ideas which were within his mind, but lost in forgetfulness, so Kelly believed he could teach the uneducated office boy theology by a process analogous to that of anamnesis. It is evident that archetypal truths come to us by a method at least analogous to remembrance. Kelly was always saying to his students: "Jump, you little frogs, jump!" He wanted them to see for themselves what, in a sense, they already knew. One wonders, however, how successful this method was with a partially educated man. There were very few men who were "wholly ignorant" and with whom Kelly could start from scratch. Where he was successful, however, was in his ability to help a man internalise the data he had already been given.

His educational method was, therefore, only partially successful. He first insisted on men thinking for themselves but there existed then, as there exists now, a tension between the side of education which provides the student with the necessary facts and the side which helps the student

assess and reflect on those facts. Kelly was hopeless at imparting the former but was brilliant at encouraging the latter. He had the knack of taking the doctrines of orthodox Christianity and making them intelligible and exciting to his hearers. He took theology out of its donnish environment and brought it into the realm of everyday life, by using language that was refreshing, and by employing colloquial and unconventional terms to make theological points. It was in this area that he made his mark on the Student Christian Movement. Of one talk he wrote:

"The liked it enormously. Partly, as usual, because they had never heard theology talked with an easy unconventional slang; I explained to 'em that it wasn't slang, and I would not have it so called; it was koine. Made my reputation for that camp."¹

At the same camp he told one of the C.M.S. secretaries:

"You must deconventionalize your stock phrases. Your nice customary pietism makes 'em feel nice, but don't stick. Their minds must have something gritty to bite on". He gave those who heard him just this: something to get their teeth into. With Kelly you had to begin all over again, to unlearn all that you had ever read or thought. He used to tell his students

"First, you will never learn anything till you have killed your memory; secondly you should never believe a word I or anyone else says till you can see it for yourself."²

1. HK Report on Swanwick, 12th-19th July 1911.

2. Reported in The Treasury for May 1906, p.96.

We must remember that Father Kelly was not addressing his remarks, for the most part, to university graduates, to men at home with conceptual thinking. He was talking to rough material, intellectually speaking. So is the Church of England today: there are far more men in the theological colleges towards the end of the twentieth century who are not graduates, who have little cultural background on which one can draw, than there were at its beginning. Today one can take nothing for granted when speaking to ordinands. In lectures references to Homer or Shakespeare are for the most part lost even on the few graduates that there are. Kelly's method has become, therefore, all the more pertinent. The problem that Kelham had to face in 1900, of training men from all walks of life with differing levels of education and intelligence, is one that all colleges are now having to face.

The intake at Kelham for the year 1911, according to Father George Carleton S.S.M., looked as if the Society "were engaged in the reclamation of the criminal classes."¹ But Kelham students had one thing in common with all other students: the belief that education was something fed into one. All that was expected of the conscientious student were copious notes and hard work. Thinking did not enter into it. This made Kelly furious and so he wrote to his mother:

1. reported by HK in NL to his mother, 17th January 1911.

"There is a section in this House theologically disrumplified. I have never been able to bring 'em up to the mark. There is an odd twist in some folks minds which is difficult to understand. You will say it is because they do not agree with me. But the really curious point is that they do not agree with anything... 'because we must': but they cannot discuss it or give you a reason or anything."¹

There were those who out of "piety" refused to think at all, who divorced thought and prayer, who fled "from the logicians and theologians in order to fall into the hands of the saints and mystics."² Kelly wanted his men to argue, to discuss, to raise questions not to answer them: in short to think. Such questioning was part of the necessary prolegomena to the development of an open and genuine Catholicism. Kelly's method involved a sort of agnosticism which antagonised those who thought in neat categories, and whose realm of intellectual endeavour was strictly in the area of the explicable and manageable. When asked a question, Kelly's reply more often than not would be that of Socrates: "I do not know". What some found curious was his lack of concern over his "ignorance". As we shall see, what earned him the reputation for being a wise man in Japan was his difficult and penetrating questions, not brilliant answers. Students often asked him what they should do: "I have not the ghost of an idea," would be Kelly's reply. "I am always asking myself what do you think you are

1. NL, 30th January 1911.

2. HK in CQR, January 1913, "The Rise and Course of Scholasticism", p.366.

going to do, and have not the slightest notion. To me, of course, it's all a giddy and sarcastic joke."¹ He would not take up a position or advocate a particular theory. He insisted on being dialectic. There was no other way open to him if he were to do justice to the Catholic Faith. Answers were dangerous. They led one into the trap of imagining that a theological issue was settled. Nothing in theology is ever settled in this way, and Kelly was determined to get this much, at least, across to his students:

"Their poor little souls are gett'n into tangles. I know I'm doing my work when that happens. I know I'm not when they go through with their noses in the air."²

"I am sorry for 'em but I can't help it. You can teach the boys orthodoxies and arguments, such as he can reel off. And he goes out thinking he knows everything. He's no use to anyone."³

When it came to the notion of God all one had left were questions.⁴ Kelly's point is not difficult to see. He wanted a man to have the courage to make his own mistakes, to save "his soul by putting his foot in it."⁵ He would not allow a man to get away without thinking for himself and deciding for himself. Of those who wanted stock answers, Kelly wrote:

1. NL, 30th September 1911.

2. NL, July 1923.

3. NL, 7th December 1924.

4. See NL, 6th April 1928: "All I can do is ask annoying questions (like Socrates); for I am talking of the wisdom of God, and they want a programme."

5. NL, 13th November 1911.

"It does not occur to the poor innocent that if his adviser really knew a safe thing he would have found a much better use for his knowledge than writing articles with it. They were not only asking me how they could escape from the rocks on to which I was assiduously driving them. They were asking me to suggest a means by which they could escape from the necessity of taking the remedies I was urging."¹

Cramming students with information, however important that information might be, was not education as far as Kelly understood it. One student who had been at an S.C.M. Camp wrote to a Kelham man: "Your human-ness and sincerity have opened - for me at any rate - the door of a wider world than that of rather provincial nonconformity." Kelly took delight in quoting this in one of his letters:

"It exactly describes what I think we can do for people. You open a door, so that he can see. No use your describing what he might see. He must see it himself. Having done that, it is no use trying to push him through. If he goes through, he will when he is ready."²

Kelly loved a theological row, provided it was about something important and that charity was at the root of things.

"I think Providence must have intended me for a cavalry leader. I love a chance for a charge; the glitter and the thunder of it; the mad rush; the decisive effects and the long patient preparation which you are

1. NL, 25th September 1911.

2. NL, 6th August 1930. It is ironical to note that while some of his students would have preferred a cramming technique (which he staunchly refused to do) his book on Church History was rejected by S.P.C.K. precisely because it was thought to be "a cram book!" NL 10th May 1928.

tempting men into a position where you can get at 'em."¹

Kelly's method was to start with man and the cosmos, not with the Bible, nor with any preconceived notions. The first job of the theological teacher was to get the student by the scruff of the neck and rub his nose in the universe. Kelly deplored any idea of a so-called Biblical theology. The Bible was normative, essential for the Christian, but one did not begin there. One began with the world, one dug around in it to see what kind of questions it would raise, for it was no use trying to formulate answers to questions that were not being asked. Just as in the realm of human experience one began with the world and man, so in theology one began with God, not with Christ, and certainly not with Jesus. God was to be seen at work in the process of history.

It was perhaps as a historian that Kelly was his most inspired and most difficult. He would explore the endless maze of cross fibres which make up the roots of history and leave many who had no taste for such an enterprise far behind. At one point he lamented the fact that all his students did badly in Church History, the subject in which he was most passionately interested. His brother Alfred taught Liturgics, a subject in which he was not at all interested. His students did well.² But Herbert Kelly's aim was not the same as that of the examiners: he wanted his

1. NL, 31st July 1911.

2. See NL, 18th December 1935, on the first G.O.E. results at Kelham.

students to see how other men had used their faith. His students did not do well under examination conditions perhaps because he insisted on leading them deliberately into confusion "and show them why it is impossible to make a consistent theory of knowledge or of morals, so long as we deal with the natural and human side of things."¹ Many students must have mistook his purpose; they were looking for details while he was showing them vistas. "I am trying to show people where the rabbit warrens are and how to catch them, and they only think I am a conjuror who can get rabbits out of my hat."² His weakness lay in his naive assumption that if he gave out duplicated notes, he could trust the students to have absorbed the facts so that he could meander generally through the syllabus.

It is evident that Kelly, for his time, was unconventional. He was no ordinary theological teacher, nor was he an ordinary religious. This confused and even infuriated his brethren. Kelly was in somewhat of a personal and theological solitude after 1920 but even before then, in the very early days, Kelly was thought of as peculiar: "I know that in days of old it (Kelham) was a good deal restless at my theological ideas. I doubt if it really shared my view of things, and very often it resented them."³ Resentment

1. HK in C.M.S. Magazine, September 1911.

2. NL, 6th July 1935.

3. NL, 31st July 1911.

or no, Kelham absorbed more than Kelly realised and, like its founder, was sui generis.

Kelly's idiosyncratic approach had its drawbacks. His teaching style could not be separated from the man; brilliant and effective as it was, it was also inimitable. Indeed he would have no one imitate him, no Kelly School of Theology. His method was such that he insisted men must develop their own style of communicating the Gospel which must come from within. This is made clear in his understanding of the preaching of the Word:

"By 'preaching' I mean this - You have a point. You must not merely make it clear, you must make it live, make people feel it. A sermon must above all impress people. So I always imagined anyhow. I have made up my mind now that it is wholly wrong. You can impress people (or can't, as it happens. I mostly failed). But if they are, they will be mostly impressed by you, or by the sermon, and it will be all fizzle. If you really want to hit, you must stow the 'sermon', stow the impression, think solely of the thing, make it plain, make it practical. It may make an impression (or not) but make up your mind that the sermon mustn't and you mustn't. Otherwise it's all moonshine."¹

This, at least, was always Kelly's aim - to point away from himself to the thing itself. Here Kelly had to accept yet another "failure", for he did not realise how much he was bound up in the "thing itself". The preacher is not only a bearer of the Good News, but in some sense part of it. Anyone who would try to share the Gospel with another cannot

1. NL, from Japan, 2nd September 1918.

separate himself from it. He not only witnesses to, but is the message. In this one instant McLuhan is right. Only in human beings is the medium the message.

Kelly's style, as we have seen, was as tortuous as it was inimitable. The trouble was that as he got older he became more and more incomprehensible; the more enthusiastic he was about a subject the less intelligible he became.

According to one critic his writing

"shows how unintelligible a writer may be who aims at paradox and consciously exploded epigrams. A kind of pyrotechnic performance is paraded before the blinded eyes of men who wish to learn and think in a less restricted atmosphere."¹

There were too many things boiling in Kelly's brain for it to be otherwise. He was as prolific as he was scatter-brained - his desk reflected the mind, an untidy conglomeration of articles, notes, books half-written and rewritten. He was often criticised for his difficult writing style. Many people said that they wished he would not re-write - "Your stuff is always best raw."² This is certainly true, though Kelly would not have agreed. His head was full of great ideas but he lacked the discipline to shape them, to give

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1. The Church of Ireland Gazette, 19th August 1910; see also the Church Family Newspaper, 12th August 1910, "This is too wonderful for us, but no doubt means something to the writer."
 2. NL, 7th June 1932. ADK criticized him often for this, see NL, 1st July 1932. In his NL from Japan, 29th September 1918, he wrote, "A man ought to be allowed to write a book in ten years, an article in two years and a newspaper article... once a year.... Then one would take pains not to say anything till it was thoroughly cooked."

them form.¹

Certainly Kelly thought of this as a weakness and for that reason feared he could not really teach.

"Suppose you could only do one thing in the world. You could have ideas. You could THINK. You were and (thought yourself) quite good at it. Brilliant ideas etc. But you found you could not do anything with them. You could teach them to boys, but neither they nor anyone else could see anything in them. What would you feel like?"²

This form of self-deprecation would be tedious in a lesser man. Here is the problem of the man who wishes to play down himself and let his ideas stand on their own. In Kelly's case ideas and personal charisma were all of a piece. This fact is both the source of his genius and the cause of his frustration.

This too is what makes his writing often difficult. The cold print needs a personal dimension. Longmans and Macmillan both refused a book on the Great War because "the form was hurried and obscure." William Temple thought so too. "Why do people always find my things obscure? Is it that it is unexpected, or the style bad? Oddly enough some folks speak of 'Fr. Kelly's customary lucidity'".³

1. NL, May-June 1933. "I have crowds of the most beautiful ideas you ever heard of - real good ones - they rather crowded things up. Now at just the most critical point, my head will not shape them."

2. Ibid.

3. NL, 10th March 1916.

What conclusions can we draw from this? Certainly Kelly was no teacher in the conventional sense, nor could the text of his lectures have been an inspiration to many. "I always knew I couldn't lecture, i.e. as to method or style."¹ His lecture schemes, though thorough, reveal hard plodding work rather than flashes of imagination. It was as a tutor, on a man to man basis, that he was most effective and inspiring.² Kelly simply could not teach anything about which he was not violently enthusiastic and even the best syllabus has its dull patches. His lectures must have been often boring to the students at least, if not to the lecturer. Then suddenly they would be illuminated by brilliant flashes of inspiration.

"Technically I should say it was true he was a bad teacher. But there was something about what he said and the way he said it which could hardly be anything else but unforgettable.... He brought something in which was unique, and nobody, nobody could, so to speak, pass under his bows without being attracted by something which was totally different from anything else."³

Part of Kelly's unique contribution is in the fact that he thought as he taught. What he communicated were not facts, or even bits of inspired information. He communicated himself as an active searching mind. He refused to make

1. NL, October 1922.

2. This is borne out in many conversations at Kelham with those Brethren who were taught by him, notably Frs. Martin Knight, Ernest Ball, and Richard Roseveare.

3. Fr. Richard Roseveare to AWJ, March 1970.

things easy but sent those pupils of his who would listen off on an adventure into thought of their own. He wrote in his Newsletter for July 1935:

"It is night forty years ago -- about 1898 -- that I began to realise that the work of 'Mildenhall' ... was not so much to make 'clergy of the humbler classes' (as a Cambridge don once put it) but to revive the idea of theology. For 30 years I have been wondering whether it could be possible to get the C of E ... to take Kelham seriously."

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~~We~~ We revive the idea of theology - a theology thought out and lived - this was Kelly's aim.¹ How far was is his achievement? In the following section we shall continue to explore Kelly's devious theological route. We must now leave the realm of theological education and enter than of the then newly-born Ecumenical Movement.

1. See HK's book The Church and Religious Unity, Longmans Green & Co., London, 1913, p.200 f.
"We do take some ... pains to ensure our clergy shall know the correct form of Church teaching, but we take no pains at all to ensure that they have thought out its meaning."

VII. THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT : 1907-1920.

(a) The S.C.M. and Edinburgh 1910:

"Meaningful work" and "wealth of life" - these were Kelly's two great aims at Kelham. It was inevitable that his working and thinking eventually assumed an ecumenical dimension. His vision of wholeness, of Catholicism demanded of him an openness and humility, a willingness to listen and learn. Such was Kelly's view of Catholicism: the "Catholic", by definition, is the person who is characterised by his willingness to learn from others. This concept of Catholicism took years to develop and was brought to birth in a pattern of rejection and misunderstanding. It was not until Kelly was well into his forties that he began to be taken seriously by those in authority in the Church (or even by those who were later to be influential). Up until the turn of the century the only person of prominence known to him was Henry Scott Holland. Kelly's entry into the beginnings of the Ecumenical Movement was to widen his circle of friends and extend his own influence far beyond the walls of Kelham.

Reading his letter to his mother immediately after his resignation as superior, one gets the impression that he had not only jettisoned an enormous burden but had been given new sources of energy.

"I have just been having THE TIME for which I have been waiting and sighing

in vain for ten years, not to say twenty.
All this time I have gone on struggling
to get men to understand and go forward."¹

Just as 1889 had been a turning point in Kelly's life, so was 1910. He was suddenly free of the burdensome responsibilities of being a college principal and a father superior.

In order to understand how Kelly reached Edinburgh at all we must go back four years to 1906. In that year things began to come to a head: the future of the Society and college; the question of mission both at home and overseas; the general indifference or hostility of English Churchmen. All this caused Kelly to write in his diary on 9th October 1906, "I am now engaged in what I take to be - if God shall order things - the crisis of my life."² Kelly was resolved to transform the image of the Society. In the popular mind Kelham existed solely for the work of foreign missions. Kelly had other ideas which he was determined to follow. Mission was always his concern but not necessarily directed to the "heathen" overseas. His eyes were directed towards affairs nearer home.

The Church of England suffered because of its close-mindedness, its patronising attitude towards Dissenters, and its inefficient and narrow parochial system. In short, the English Church suffered from acute individualism. What was to be done? Could the Kelham-trained man give to the Church something unique and powerful? Kelly thought so, but it

1. NL, 31st July 1911.

2. See also HK's Ad Fratres (1906).

needed courage and determination to break free from established pattern and custom, to enter a wider world where all Christians could meet together. Kelly wrote,

"The thing has now grown on me hugely. I stand absolutely committed and can see no way, but to pour out my whole heart to them [the members of the Society] It may rend and shatter the whole tone of the house. Per contra, how can it be avoided?

I appealed long ago to the youth of England... if my own children dare not, - what can be done? Am I to risk the whole real issue because I dare not come to a decision?"¹

In 1907 Kelly took a decisive step. He committed the Society to an alliance with the Student Christian Movement. This action, viewed from today, seems hardly momentous. But the S.C.M. at the beginning of the century was unlike the Movement we know today. Then it was generally and dominantly evangelical in tone and this did not change until the Movement came under the influence of men like William Temple and Father Kelly. In 1907 Kelham's alliance with the S.C.M. was viewed with almost total incomprehension by many inside as well as outside the Movement; but the Society of the Sacred Mission, at that time, needed all the friends it could muster. The Kelham students needed contact with other students who would give them the stimulus to test their ideas and expand their own understanding.

Kelly was hesitant at first. What he did not want to do was to join up with a pan-denominational pot-pourri, where distinctions were ignored or blurred and plain speaking

1. HK Diary - 9th October 1906.

was avoided. Neville Talbot of Cuddesdon, a good friend of Kelly and a frequent visitor to Kelham, tried to allay these fears in a letter of 10th November 1907, in which he urged Kelly to attend a meeting of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union to be held at Liverpool in January the following year:

"I think perhaps I over-emphasised the 'reunion' aspect of the business. This is only quite incidental to the main purpose which is Missionary.... You are not committed to anything whatever by coming - just come and see and dislike it all you wish."

This and the knowledge that Scott Holland approved of the Movement eased Kelly's mind.¹ To the influence of Talbot and Scott Holland we must add that of Baron Von Hügel, whose writings, of such an irenic and generous nature, helped to persuade Kelly that openness to men of differing beliefs or even none at all was not only a Christian duty but also a privilege.²

Talbot suggested that Kelly should come to the S.C.M. Camp at Baslow in 1908 and bring a few of the Kelham

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1. See also Talbot to HK, 20th October 1907, and 26th June 1908. Talbot was anxious to deny that the S.C.M. was merely an attempt to conceal differences behind non-denominational whitewash.
 2. See NL for 2nd July 1924, writing on the subject of Kelham's joining the S.C.M., HK has written in the margin: "Von Hugel had a great deal to do with it."

men with him. With some hesitation Kelly did so. His friendship with Neville Talbot proved to be a formative and lasting one and they corresponded regularly (if not very often) for many years. Talbot was responsible for introducing Kelly to a new world of theological debate. As Kelly wrote in his Annual Report,

"In 1907 Neville Talbot of Cuddesdon had appealed to us to take a share in the Student Christian Movement. I demurred to Inter-Denominationalism on the ground that Church Union ought to come first. Finally I gave in to his pressures on the ground that after all the way to Protestant Churchmen might be through Dissent."¹

In a draft letter of 20th August 1908, Kelly wrote in a more buoyant mood:

"Did you hear of Baslow? I took three young hounds - cassocks and all into that howling inter-denominational mob, - Wesleyans, Welsh and other, Plymouth Brethren, Presbyterians, Mansfield, C.M.S. et hoc genus omne. You should ha' seen 'em - suck their thumbs. Inside o' two days my boys and I mopped up the place. They were picked theologians I confess. Knew their ground to a hair, and they simply raided it. Everyone went wild over them - down to the Welsh."

1: Annual Reports (1908) p.228.

(A less formal account of Kelham's entry into the S.C.M. appears in his NL, 2nd July 1924: "Now here is a nice little study in Predestination. X.Y.Z. were on the S.C.M. exec. They say to one another - "Let's get these High Church in." So Neville Talbot says to him, - "Get those High Church Students in. We'll liven 'em up. Get 'em out of their dogmatic grooves etc..." "Never mind", says they. "O.K." says he. NT to HK and others, - "Come along in". "Don't want," says HK being young and narrow. "Got to," says NT. "O.K." says HK. "We'll come." A lot of us did.")

Kelly was an immediate success at this first Baslow Camp. There was no question of easing the Society into the S.C.M. by degrees. They were an instant presence. "I do not think we ever did anything which so established the power of the House."¹ Things were not, however, at all easy at the beginning. The Kelham presence at Baslow presented problems. Many Free-Churchmen feared that these "Catholics" would begin proselytizing. Indeed, one Swanwick delegate three years later criticized a Kelham man for "hunting" him.² A Kelham man could be aggressive in telling Non-Conformists that they talked too much and that in general they gave God a good deal of superfluous information in their worship.³ But Free-Church fears, though understandable, were, for the most part, unfounded. By 1912 the fact that Kelly was "a true evangelical"⁴ had finally become apparent, and fears of a Kelham take-over of the S.C.M. were soon allayed. Martyn Trafford, the Baptist travelling secretary of the Movement was always welcome at Kelham and he and Father Kelly did much to get the issues between the Anglican and Free Churches out into the open for discussion.⁵ The

1. Ibid., p.229.

2. See correspondence of R.P. Wilder, and S.C.M. travelling secretary, with Tatlow about this, January-February 1912.

3. NL, 17th July 1911.

4. Letter to Tatlow from William Cargin (S.C.M. travelling secretary from Trinity College, Dublin) 2nd May 1912. Refers to one man as "a true evangelical (at any rate in Fr. Kelly's sense of the word)...."

5. See Tissington Tatlow, History of the Student Christian Movement, S.C.M. Press, London, 1933, p.393.

added presence of Canon Scott Holland at the Camps (1909 and 1910) helped to assure many Free-Churchmen that it was possible to remain Anglican and still be Christian.¹

It was at his first Baslow camp that Kelly had been asked to join the Edinburgh Commission on the Training of Missionaries which met in December of that year, 1908. Kelly's presence at the meeting was noted in the press, the Dissenters being more tolerant and favourable than the evangelical Anglicans.²

In that same year William Temple, also, began to be involved in the S.C.M. Neville Talbot introduced Kelly to Temple, and they soon became close friends. When Temple was made headmaster of Repton, Kelly responded with enthusiasm: "Willie Temple has been appointed to Repton. This is a bit of a score for us. We must get a Repton team over to Kelham."³ Temple's personal charm must have been sufficient to overcome Kelly's prejudices. The former had a reputation at that time for "free-thinking" and Kelly had

1. "Scotty" gave some "superb" lectures on St. John at the 1910 Camp. See NL to his mother, 18th July 1910.

2. See the Methodist Times for 13th August 1908 in contrast to the English Churchman, 6th August. The latter regretted this "new departure" by the S.C.M.

3. NL to his mother, 7th July 1910. See also NL to his sister, 23rd September 1912: "a very brilliant star young man ... who has had his share of going badly wrong (the late Bishop of Oxford refused to ordain him).... Also Temple is a great educationalist." Kelly kept in touch with Temple. On his return from Japan HK visited the Temples at Westminster where William was a canon.

no time for what he loosely called Modernism. There is no doubt that Kelly influenced the young Temple. It is said that Temple claimed that he learned all his theology from two people, his mother and Father Kelly.

In the beginning Kelly was not as at home in the S.C.M. as Temple was. He persevered, however, because he felt that this mixing with the outside world could not but be beneficial to the Society. His contact with the S.C.M. was therefore casual and half-hearted at first. Once the initial nervousness had been overcome there developed a deep and lasting relationship. It was the Student Christian Movement Camps which launched Kelly into the Ecumenical Movement, into the world of Edinburgh 1910, and sent him on to the United States, to Japan. What is more important, the camps at Baslow and Swanwick gave Kelly the theological impetus he needed, and his going to Baslow in 1908 did much to overcome the reluctance of other Anglican theological colleges to join the Movement.

Relations between the Church of England and the S.C.M. were lukewarm in the beginning. Indeed the Anglican theological colleges were, for the most part, both ignorant and suspicious of the Movement, fearing that their "purity" would be tarnished by such exposure. As one might expect, the evangelical wings were reasonably well represented. Neville Talbot was the first member of the "High Church element" to be elected to the executive committee of the

Theological Colleges Department. Another influential man belonging to that same element as Talbot was A.E.J. Rawlinson, whom Kelly described as "a clever little Keble don who spread himself rather efficiently at Swanwick. He somewhat belongs to the Modernist camp.... However, he is more or less a Catholic at the same time.... He is a man worth capturing if I can do it."¹ With men like Talbot and Rawlinson committed to the Movement, others were sure to follow.

The principals of the Anglican Theological Colleges met on 11th-12th January 1910. The S.C.M. was on the agenda. Tissington Tatlow, the General Secretary of the Movement, who was asked to be at the meeting, wrote,

"Father Kelly of Kelham was a great help and most amusing. He took a superior attitude on being appealed to once or twice, taking care to explain to the principals that he was not in the same box as most of them since he and his college were part of the movement. He was not a man in doubt!"²

Kelly felt that it was time that Anglicans learned to listen to Protestants for a change. By 1910 Mirfield, Kelham, Ripon, Wells, Farnham and Coates Hall (Edinburgh)

1. NL to his sister, 16th September 1912.

2. Tissington Tatlow, op. cit., p.158. Tatlow acknowledged the help of both HK and Canon J.O. Johnston of Cuddesdon for their friendliness and candour at these early meetings.

were officially associated with the S.C.M.¹

Kelly certainly found the encounter with the S.C.M. stimulating. It energised his Catholicism and tightened his thinking by making him attack impishly and firmly what he believed to be the loose thinking, the futile amiabilities, the plausibilities of "Modernism" then in vogue. For Kelly life began again at fifty.

It is not difficult to see where this alliance with the S.C.M. led Kelly. Baslow was a meeting place not only for all the denominations but for all nationalities. Above all the participants were, for the most part, students. Here three things were completely bound up: mission, ecumenism and theological education, an amalgam that Kelly had long intuitively felt to be essential to a vigorous Catholicism. His whole object of founding the Society was to train missionaries; he had already seen that Church unity was a vital ingredient to fulfil that mission and that the key to both was a new kind of theological education, a new method of theological enquiry. In many ways the Society had met that need, but it was not enough. At Baslow Kelly saw in concrete terms the world-wide implications of his basic beliefs and intuitions. It was logical, it was inevitable that he should have gone on to Edinburgh. A not

1. A point which HK often urged. He did this when he was an official assessor to the Federation of Junior Clergy Missionary Associations meeting in Newcastle in November 1910.

altogether premeditated outcome of his resignation as Director was that he was now free to undertake this new task. He was able to take part in what William Temple described as "the greatest event in the life of the Church for a generation."¹

In 1910 Kelly went as one of the 1355 delegates to the First World Conference of Missionary Societies. On 16th June he travelled to Edinburgh to the anger, confusion and even despair of many of his fellow Churchmen. He was being avowedly ecumenical at a time when the majority of Anglo-Catholics eschewed the idea of mixing with Protestants. It was considered very improper for a monk to mix with such dubious people. What was worse, Kelly was not attending as a mere observer; he was a delegate, a champion of the Edinburgh Conference and a defender of its deliberations.²

He met there many men who were to become the great pioneers of the Ecumenical Movement: among them were J.H. Oldham, the executive secretary of the conference; Charles H. Brent, the missionary bishop of the Philippines; Neville Talbot who was to become Bishop of Pretoria; Neville's father Edward Stuart Talbot (then Bishop of Southwark³). Walter Frere represented Mirfield, and the

1. Quoted by Roger Lloyd, op. cit., Vol. I, p.440

2. See NL, 6th June 1910, referring to his article refuting the absurd attack on the conference by the Church Times.

3. The next year EST became the Bishop of Winchester and wrote a preface to HK's book, The Church and Religious Unity, published 1912. EST was included in the membership of Edinburgh 1910 partly because NST had been in the SCM at Oxford.

young Kenneth Kirk (later to become the Bishop of Oxford) was there too. Kelly and Kirk had met earlier at the S.C.M. Camp at Baslow.

Despite his burning concern for mission, Kelly considered the sessions on Mission and Government boring.¹ His interest was in strategy. How was the Church to be the Church? The discussion held on Tuesday June 21st proved to be stimulating: Co-operation and Unity. For Kelly this was "the most exciting day"² though it set other Anglicans into a great state of perturbation, "sure that the last day had come". On the next day (Wednesday June 22nd) he spoke for seven minutes to Commission V, of which he was a member.³

"First I pitched into theology as she is taught. Christianity was the power of the common life, but it was handled as the mere science of a religious sphere.... My little squirt was fairly well received."⁴

As always, Kelly opened himself up to being misunderstood. A German asked him afterwards if he meant that Christianity had nothing to do with life! Nevertheless, Kelly's enthusiasm and eloquence caused him to be put on the Edinburgh Continuation Committee, a further thorn in Anglo-Catholic flesh.⁵

1. NL, 29th June 1910: "Monday was Mission and Governments. I thought that looked a very stupid subject so kept out of it."

2. Ibid.

3. On The Preparation of Missionaries.

4. NL, 29th June 1910.

5. Kelly was accused of "compromising" with the Protestants in the Church Times, January 1911.

At Edinburgh Kelly met and was attracted to J.R. Mott, five years his junior, and immediately realised that they were allies. Mott himself had had an interesting career. He was converted to Christianity while he was at Cornell by the revivalist preacher J.E.K. Studd. Mott's conversion was both deep and permanent. He remained a layman in the Methodist Church and went on to found the World Student Federation. He created, more than any other single man, the institutions of the Ecumenical Movement. It was he who coined the watchword of the young ecumenical movement: "The evangelization of the world in our generation". Mott believed, as Kelly commented, that

"'Christianity had got nearly as far as it could in its present divided condition'. But there was Unity and Unity. We Churchmen could not give up our faith. Non-conformity had yet to learn from us the reality of Sacramental Grace, but we have to learn from them the meaning of the gifts of the Spirit (I dread a mere union of convenience, still more of surrender; we have both so much to learn)."¹

Kelly's main contribution to the early ecumenical debate was to persuade many Protestants of the vital importance of Sacramentalism without their seeing the shadow of "priestcraft" and "Romanism". Indeed Mott was one of Kelly's first "converts" in accepting the principle of sacramentalism. It was Mott who urged Kelly to travel to the United States two years later to try and persuade the seminaries of the Episcopal Church to co-operate with the American counterpart of the S.C.M.

1. NL to his mother, 2nd July 1910.

At the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh Kelly encountered new worlds, that of the Methodist Colleges, Handsworth and Richmond, and hence the wider world of Methodism; that of South India, and of American Protestantism. Yet some aspects of these were all too familiar. He was able to see some of his own caricatures come alive. One of them was Dr. Campbell Gibson, the Moderator of the English Presbyterians who

"was typically presbyterian, very learned, very able, enormously self-satisfied, portentously solemn. This had struck me in a most curious way at Edinburgh in the portraits of the eminent Dons hung up in New College. They looked exactly alike."¹

There were, however, other presbyterians at Edinburgh. One of them, an American named Gilkey, met Kelly face to face at the camp at Baslow in July and jumped at the idea of Kelly's going to the United States. It was in December of that year that Mott's invitation was made firm. Kelly was able to keep in touch with Mott easily enough since the latter had been elected chairman of the Edinburgh Continuation Committee.

The camp at Baslow in 1910 became inevitably a "little Edinburgh". And it was here that what was later to be called Kelly's Barthianism first came to the fore. Kelly at this time, of course, had never heard of Barth. Kelly believed Christianity to be a Catholic faith, for all men at all times and in all places. This is why he

1. Ibid.

constantly fought what he called "Modernism" within the S.C.M. "What was the good when they had no real idea of God, or of Christ? God is, to them, only a philosophical theory of origins. He is not real enough to get Incarnated."¹ This had been Kelly's theme in 1908. He spoke in the Manchester Marquee on the theme of Morality and Christianity, pointing out vehemently that they are not identical. This caused a certain amount of upheaval in a camp where the assumptions of Liberal Protestantism were still part of the atmosphere. If there were to be mission, if there were to be any kind of Church unity, Kelly insisted that Christians grapple with the central question, "What is Christianity?" It was also important that they come up with an answer that was their own and not Harnack's. Kelly writes, it was

"the thing I had always been telling the camp it had got to face. Now the fat was in the fire with a vengeance. It really created a tremendous impression. ... I hardly like to say it but as far as I can estimate it came on them like an earthquake. Two or three quite leading men -- one a member of the executive -- told me he had been feeling it for years."²

It was the informality of these S.C.M. camps that enabled Kelly to speak more freely than he had done in public before. He was able, perhaps for the first time, to speak for himself. Before he had always represented the Society

1. HK, fragment of a letter, 1940's.

2. NL, 18th July 1910.

or the Church of England. At the camp no-one took offence if one spoke one's mind forcefully because there had to be a high tolerance level in a gathering that included so many different kinds of people. Even there Kelly must have sounded more discordant than many. He hated the easy liberalism and the naive optimism of many of the S.C.M. members who saw the road to Unity as a process of "give and take". Many members of the Churches in South India felt that they would submit to episcopal ordination for the sake of unity. Talking to a South Indian Missionary at Baslow Kelly emphatically repudiated this kind of attitude:

"Episcopacy is nothing but the hedge of the principle of a sacramental gift. If you take it only as a rather bothering requirement it is merely a human re-union, and I think that would not last. You must accept sacramentalism first and Episcopacy for its sake."¹

One can imagine how some Nonconformists at the S.C.M. Camps felt about such sentiments. Many thought that the established Church of England had nothing to compare with the enormous vitality of Nonconformity.² There was conflict and constant talking at cross-purposes. Kelly's method was to get anyone he could into conversation, to talk through differences. Dialogue was essential if there was to be any progress. For this reason Kelly was

1. Ibid. A view less well expressed during the controversy in Barnet in 1896. See his letter to The Barnet Press, 24th January 1896.

2. NL, 31st July 1911.

always urging everyone he met on ecumenical occasions to visit Kelham, to see for themselves that nothing devious or unspeakable went on behind those monkish walls. A visitor, a Swiss Protestant, found that he had been deceived by his informants as to the kind of life led there. He expected to find ritualists; instead he found "Catholics, sacramentalists... evangelicals."¹ Catholics, sacramentalists, and evangelicals: Kelly saw Catholicism as embracing both sacramentalism and evangelicalism. It was a way of talking about God. Kelly wrote some Swanwick Tips² where he sets out this concept of Catholicism:

"Nominally we are going on a crusade on behalf of Church and Sacraments.... The really primary (or ultimate) question is whether the Name of God stands for anything at all: whether we need Him or whether in fact God is not wholly dependent on us, i.e. it's all a question of Pelagianism. There are people who have an idea that the Catholic walks about imagining himself a penny-in-the-slot machine; full of correct answers to all the problems. It is a pleasant surprise to find that he is an intelligent person who is trying to think things out."

Kelly's main quarrel with the S.C.M. was over Pelagianism, to him the antithesis of Catholicism. Over against Pelagianism Kelly set the Sacramental Principle. In 1909 he produced a small brown covered tract stating the sacramentalist viewpoint. This tract became known as the Khaki Dragon. It was addressed specifically to

1. NL, 3rd August 1910, concerning a Swiss called Lauterberg.

2. c. 1909.

the executive committee of the S.C.M. and reiterates the Kelly theme of the reality of God as opposed to our ideas, notions and opinions of God. The camp of 1911 was the first one at Swanwick and the first at which the question of unity and sacraments was openly discussed.

One speaker at that conference deserves special mention. Kelly was told of the coming of R.K. Evans of Mansfield College, Oxford. This Congregationalist teacher was reputed to be an advocate of "the absolute necessity of unity but not on terms with 'Catholicism', Anglican, Greek or Roman".¹ Kelly puzzled Evans by agreeing with most of what he had to say: no other method so disarms an opponent. Their encounter proved to be a moving experience. Kelly, as one would expect, found F.D. Maurice an invaluable ally in his conversations with Protestants:

"I threw Maurice at them: - 'Protestantism had triumphed when it threw down the ladder by which men were trying to climb into heaven i.e. the Masses etc. the works men were doing by proclaiming heaven had stooped to earth; now Protestantism was trembling over its own ladder, experience etc. i.e. the things men were feeling and thinking.'"²

Kelly felt that one does not need to stumble over either of these ladders. Though it is essential to realize that they are there.

"If we only had the courage to spit out our difficulties quite plain, if we loved and trusted one another so well that we

1. NL, 19th July 1911.

2. Ibid.

were not afraid to face one another, we could soon find our way through....Would they all please say all the nastiest things they could in the nastiest way."

Thus Herbert Kelly approached a group of non-Anglicans at Swanwick in July 1911.¹

His resignation as Director of S.S.M. had given him the freedom, and Edinburgh had given him the incentive to spread his net beyond the confines of the Church of England. It seems clear that the ecumenical experience engendered by his association with the Student Christian Movement and his visit to Edinburgh ignited something within him which had been smouldering for years. This fire was to change his approach to all his subsequent teaching. His theological method from then on was solely concerned with the confrontation of persons as against the confrontation of theories. Baslow and Swanwick provided the arena for the beginnings of such confrontations, America and Japan deepened and widened the experience. He wrote to his mother about Swanwick in July 1911. "I told them smack that I had been waiting for this for twenty years; that I had as good as given up in despair over my own uselessness."²

What is remarkable about Kelly's achievement at these camps is not the fact that he was warm and friendly

1. NL to his mother, 31st July 1911.

2. NL, 31st July 1911.

and well loved (on July 18th, Kelly's birthday, "the tent went dotty.... It was a very nice debut as the French say."¹) but that he managed to combine this warmth with a toughness of mind that never faltered. He would not allow anyone to slide out of an argument. On many occasions he sarcastically criticized the "dicky theology" of many of those at the camps.² He was a "phenomenon" at what had been hitherto, virtually exclusively Protestant affairs, and "at Swanwick men stood in rows waiting for a chance to talk to a Kelham man."³

The fruits of Kelly's experience at Baslow, Swanwick and Edinburgh came out in a book published in 1912, The Church and Religious Unity.⁴ It is a remarkable book in that it embraces attitudes now taken for granted but scarcely considered possible or proper then.

Kelly wanted John Mott and the Bishop of Winchester to give the book their formal blessing. Mott quietly but firmly prompted it. The Bishop, E.S. Talbot, who through his son Neville had entered fully into the spirit of the S.C.M. attending the Swanwick Conference in July 1911, was extremely pleased to write the preface. In the preface we read,

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1. Ibid. (The call "we-want-Fr.Kelly" was not uncommon. See NL 25th July 1910)
 2. See NL to his mother, HK's introduction to Vol. I of the letters.
 3. NL to his mother, 31st July 1911.
 4. Longmans Green & Co., London.

"I, at least, have never met a book in which there was so determined and steady and genuinely humble an effort to draw the sting of controversy by recognition of others' merits, and of one's own and of one's Church's shortcomings and blots. Almost to a fault ... he follows the method of saying stronger things against his own people than against opponents, and on leaving them brothers in separation to do the like with equal candour on their own side. This seems to me almost to set up a new standard as to the temper of discussion."¹

This method put Kelly's opponents in an awkward position. His candour and generosity demanded a costly reciprocity. He did not want mere mutual acceptance but a mutual sharing. He did not want peaceful co-existence but genuine unity. In this sense he wrote of a meeting at Swanwick in July 1912,

"I hated toleration (huge glee of meeting). We Anglicans are in sore distress for want of things you (the Dissenters) can give us. We are nigh death for want of them. But we believe we have things we can give you, which are not less necessary. I come to you for and with love and help. Are you going to say, "We'll tolerate you?" I'd rather you bludgeoned me."²

On the whole, the response of S.C.M. members was favourable to this kind of talk. Tissington Tatlow wrote warmly of Kelly's contribution that summer.³ It is interesting to note, however, that Kelly rarely spoke to

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1. Preface, The Church and Religious Unity, p.xiii. E.S. Talbot.
 2. His report on Swanwick, 6th-19th July 1912.
 3. Ibid.

the camps officially. In fact, he spoke only once between 1907 and 1912 in any official capacity. His contributions were usually ad hoc affairs in response to the official speeches. In this way he was more effective; free to criticize the members and the executive when he felt it necessary¹: in the S.C.M. but not always of it.

In the summer of 1919, when the S.C.M. was re-examining its Aim and Basis, Kelly criticized the movement in no uncertain terms, in conversation, papers and letters. Some members were worried that the S.C.M. was ceasing to be Christian. Kelly denied that it ever was Christian or ever ought to be:

"That was our mistake.... We thought of it as a Mission with a Gospel to preach to students, like the Y.M.C.A. with a Gospel to soldiers. We thought their Gospel inadequate, but we would make shift with it. Now we cannot. But that was all wrong. SCM is a fellowship of students, as they are.... I repeat, - SCM is not a Church (of any kind) with a Gospel, but a fellowship of students trying to hack their way through, and to help others hack their way through to something.... I repeat, therefore, it is not for us to say on what basis students ought to come together but for them to say on what basis they can do so."²

The S.C.M. meant a lot to Kelly on a personal level. Nowhere else, except in Japan, did he feel anything of a success. He felt that Swanwick was the only place in England where he was, at least partially, understood. There he could respond to the informality and relaxed atmosphere: "I was

1. In his 1910 report of Swanwick he says that the executive of S.C.M. was too Ritschlian for his taste.

2. NL, 1st August 1919.

never platformed. I was just ragged. I talked as the boys talked, and as I hit in with my plain stuffing, they revelled in its plainness."¹

Kelly continued to go to the S.C.M. camps until he was over seventy. He was to set down, during these latter years (1920-30), the fruits of his thought and experience in a book published under the title of the Gospel of God in 1928. In it are the ideas he had been trying out on students for decades, a record of the battles he had fought with the Movement because of its amorphous liberalism. For example he could say,

"I think they are getting more determinedly Protestant, Modernist, and godless than ever.... I am told the Non: Conform: parsons asked Swanwick to be more pious and less 'critical'. I am not inclined to help their 'piety', in which I have not one particle of belief. Nor am I inclined to go merely as throwing a veil of 'High Church Orthodoxy' over their proceedings."²

Let anyone, however, attack the Movement from outside and Kelly was the first to defend it. Then he would claim that Swanwick was the most important place in England.³

In spite of Kelly's avowed openness to others, he was often far too ready to dismiss men whose minds differed from his own. He thought the Scottish theologian John W.

1. NL from Japan, 2nd September 1918.

2. NL, 2nd June 1920. HK always criticized those in the S.C.M. who saw Christianity as a panacea for social problems and who were forever wanting to modernize the creeds.

3. NL, 6th August 1921.

Oman was "a solemnly humorous, ponderous, self-satisfied professor of the normal Scotch type."¹ Had Kelly given Oman a chance there seems to be no doubt that he would have found that they had much in common. This habit of making hasty and often fatal judgements on people was a serious flaw in Kelly's make-up. B.H. Streeter fared no better than Oman: "He is a little too silly to be influential."² This narrowness cannot be attributed to the debilitation of age; it seems to have been with Kelly all his life.

Nevertheless the Kelly charisma was still apparent at the later Swanwick Camps in spite of personal flaws, deafness and old age. He could still capture a student audience and many caught a glimpse of his over-riding passion for belief in God.³ In April 1926 he was given the opportunity to address the Conference of Theological Students at Swanwick. Other speakers were F.R. Barry, then at King's College, London; David Jenks S.S.M.; and B.H. Streeter. The subject for the first day was "Belief in God" and Kelly ended it with a powerful address on "The Reality of God and His Purpose for the World". This he repeated for the main camp in the July of the following year - adding his now famous "pigs and proof of the resurrection" story. Present at that Swanwick Conference

1. NL, July 1911. HK was one of the speakers with Oman for the 1923 camp.

2. NL, 6th August 1921. Streeter was a speaker at Swanwick in 1912.

3. See NL, 2nd July 1924, and HK's correspondence with the S.C.M. assistant general secretary, Zoe Fairfield.

and responding warmly to Kelly's approach to Theology was a young undergraduate from the University College at Exeter, George Every, who was soon afterwards to become a member of the Society and eventually take over Kelly's teaching of Church History.

The July Camp of 1927 was, in effect, Kelly's last speaking appearance at Swanwick. One final gesture was made to S.C.M.; an important one which demonstrates both Kelly's openness to others and his steadfast and stubborn refusal to give up anything he deemed important. When the S.C.M. Headquarters were reopened on April 11th 1929, a consecrated altar was loaned to the Annandale Chapel by the House of the Sacred Mission.¹ It was a gesture of love and a witness to the sacramental life.

After this Kelly went to the Camps for the weekends only: "I like to go weekends, partly because it gives me a chance of getting away from these non-conformist services at Kelham.... Otherwise it is no use my going, it's not worth it."² His final appearance at Swanwick was at the second Camp in July 1934. He was urged to come by Eric Fenn on the S.C.M. staff and took the opportunity to see his old friend Neville Talbot once again.

1. See HK's letter to Zoe Fairfield, 25th March 1929. The S.C.M., however, in June 1970, wrote to the S.S.M. saying they had no use for the altar and would Kelham like it returned.

2. NL, July 1933.

(b) U.S.A.

Between 1906, the year of Kelly's crisis, and 1912, the year he visited the United States, Kelly resigned as Director of the Society which he founded. It is important for us to raise this question again in this context as his resignation year 1910 marks such an enormous change in his thought and work. He not only changed his mind but revolutionized his whole vision of himself. It is difficult to appreciate what a tremendous upheaval this resignation was, both for the Society and for Kelly personally. It brought out the best and the worst in Kelly's temperament. He was at first petulant and difficult¹ but eventually came through the ordeal with dignity. To those outside the Society the names Kelly and Kelham were synonymous. The Bishop of Southwell wrote to Father David Jenks, Kelly's successor,

"It is a melodramatic surprise to us outsiders, to whom Kelly and Kelham were almost equivalent words. But that very fact.... makes one partly understand the more, and if you are able to show (and please God you will) that Kelham is not merely an impersonation, but can stand on its own footing, that will be a great step in advance."²

In 1909 there was a growing feeling in the Society that Kelly ought to resign. Father Gerald Murphy S.S.M. told him so quite frankly; and Kelly wrote, "I confess it

1. The Report of the General Chapter 1910 includes a long, involved and often childish statement by HK. HK also wrote a long farewell letter (16th June 1910) which was duplicated and circulated.

2. 11th June 1910.

had never occurred to me, and the moment it hit me rather hard. The next day the sheer joy and fun of it overwhelmed me."¹ The idea of returning to the Society as a novice, though genuine, Kelly saw was a "bit theatrical (is bizarre the right word?)"² It certainly would have been bizarre. This expressed Kelly's foolish side. His wise aspect, shone out in his subsequent appraisal of the situation: "I was never anything more than a boy playing at being grown up, hoping nervously that no-one would find out (I became a man, rather suddenly, after 1910, at the age of 50)."³ It was, therefore, a man and not a boy who visited the U.S.A. in 1912.

The plans for that trip were made in 1911 and on 29th January 1912 when John Mott returned to England, Kelly received his American programme. The main purpose of the visit was to encourage the Episcopal Church to associate itself with ecumenical ventures in general, and in particular to urge them to join in the Y.M.C.A. conferences at Northfield. It was arranged that he and Neville Talbot should go together and that their trip should include visits to Chicago and Montreal, with Talbot going to Toronto as well. In their joint report to John Mott they wrote: "We have had to account for something of a modern miracle, viz. the touring of the U.S.A. by Father Kelly (not without his red-girdle) as a

1. Autobiography p.83.

2. Ibid. pp.78-79.

3. Ibid. p.85 HK adds "I thought, I still think it, the finest idea I ever had."

delegate of Student Y.M.C.A." It was a remarkable assignment for the time, and to some it was more of a grave aberration than a miracle.

Kelly had written to the superior of the Order of the Holy Cross, Fr. Huntingdon, in New York State, telling him of their proposed visit. The latter had visited Kelham in 1906 and had evidently been captivated: "'dazzled by the House".¹ When Huntingdon received Kelly's news, he was neither dazzled not captivated. He must have felt Kelly had taken leave of his senses in getting himself mixed up in half-baked ecumenical ventures. Kelly would be an embarrassment to the Anglo-Catholics within the Episcopal Church; a dubious ally. In fact Huntingdon tried to dissuade Kelly from coming to the United States at all. Even had Kelly been convinced that Huntingdon was right, plans were too far ahead for him to turn back, and he had asked formal permission from the American Bishops. Though some were delighted at the prospect of his visit, the Presiding Bishop felt that his presence would only complicate matters. In view of this, Kelly decided in future to take a leaf out of the Dean of Westminster's book, who was reputed to have said, "Never ask for authority; it only makes people nervous. Do your business first and call on the authorities afterwards."²

1. Annual Report 1906. Huntingdon took the Holy Week Retreat in 1907.

2. NL, 5th April 1911.

Early in March 1912 they sailed for New York and were to return to England in May.¹ No-one could claim that the trip was a resounding success. Kelly's reception by the Episcopalians was, to say the least, lukewarm. Few indeed were able to hear what he had to say; they were simply not attuned to his theology. He was impressed by the tremendous opportunities and resources Americans had at their disposal, but depressed by their lack of leadership in Church matters. Mott, however, was sufficiently American to be an optimist and claimed that Kelly's visit marked "an era".² This was hardly true, though the trip was significant. It tempered Kelly's own optimism without dampening his enthusiasm. He was wearied by the Americans (especially the Episcopalians) for their lack of confidence which was scarcely veiled under their brash optimism. "I say jump and fight. You have a Gospel to America; take it ... big or little, fit or unfit, never get your troops hung up in a fortress. They'll learn to fight if you keep them on the move."³ He could hardly have chosen a worse moment to visit the United States as far as the Episcopal Church was concerned. The Anglo-Catholics were suspicious. Wilford Lash Robbins, Dean of the General Theological

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1. He did not return home until July 1912 landing at Liverpool on the S.S.Celtic.
 2. HK quotes Mott in NL to his sister, 29th May 1912.
 3. NL, 20th July 1912. N.B. HK's continued enthusiasm for military metaphors. "I never can keep off a military book....[it] is giving wine to a drunkard." NL from Japan, 29th November 1914. In 1895 he referred to the efficiency and achievement of the German army in a retreat address.

Seminary and a leader of the "tame High Church party" had suffered a nervous breakdown and was forced to take a leave of absence until December 1912.¹ With the Catholic party on the defensive and the Dean of the Episcopal Church's most distinguished seminary hors de combat it is hardly surprising that Kelly found little enthusiasm among the sort of Anglicans he was most likely to encounter.

Though the Order of the Holy Cross was by no means unanimous in its opinion of Kelly's activities, it gave him no official or active encouragement and decided not to send any of its men to student camps in the United States. To Kelly this was yet another example of Episcopalian lack of imagination.²

He had not been disposed to like the theological teaching in the Episcopal Church, even before he sailed. He had heard in 1910 that the General Theological Seminary "is hopelessly over-lectured, of course, but it is also over-organized. There are a long sight too many dons, and they have all got to lecture in order to justify their existence." His personal visit confirmed his worst suspicions:

"the subjects are over-divided. The result is that each professor has too

1. NL to his sister, 29th July 1912, and P.M. Dawley's The Story of G.T.S., O.U.P., N.Y., 1969, p.310. Robbins visited Kelham July 1912.

2. NL to his sister, 24th June 1912. In fact he failed to visit O.H.C. on his final trip through the U.S.A. (1919). He had little patience with them. In the early summer of 1923, Fr. Huntingdon visited Kelham. "I could see he was a little troubled I didn't call at their place when I was last in the U.S.A." NL 4th June 1923.

narrow a subject and that must be treated wrongly, e.g. there is one subject for historical Doggies and another which they call Apologetics which he makes into philosophical Doggies. It seems to me ruinous to divide them and I hate Apologetics."¹

About Nashotah House he felt even more dubious:

"It's 'igh..... They belong to that rather aggravating breed of Catholics which measures everything by its own standard, and imagines it has tucked the whole business into its own ticket pocket."²

Unfortunately many of Kelly's prejudices were confirmed on this visit. He was frustrated by the Americans because "with all their Christian feeling etc. there was no sense of God."³ Of the Cambridge Divinity School, however, Kelly was able to say "This is the one place on the Continent where I am really convinced I did make a splash."⁴ At the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge he met and was impressed by Professor Hughell Fosbroke, destined to be the new dean of the General Theological Seminary. Fosbroke on his side was captivated by Kelly and a regular feature of his conference with students in New York, was readings

1. HK. U.S.A. Diary 1912. See also HK's Notes on Japanese Theology, 5th March 1934, to Lawrence Rose: "According to your American system there is a professor of 'systematic theology'... philosophical theology... apologetics... I do not know the system well and I may not have got it right, but it seems to me all bosh."

2. NL, to his mother, 25th July 1910. A Canon Rogers from Nashotah visited Kelham in July 1911 to talk about the Kelham system.

3. NL, to his sister, 10th June 1912.

4. NL, 8th July 1912. See also his report to John Mott (now in the S.C.M. archives). HK also loved Kent School, Connecticut. He thought it the best place of all.

from Father Kelly.¹ In fact the General Theological Seminary over the years was well served by Kelly enthusiasts: Frank Gavin, the professor of Church History, used Kelly's history notes; and Lawrence Rose,² the dean after Fosbroke, drew on Kelly's Japanese experience. As was his custom, Kelly, after only a short visit, had left a lasting impression. Something had been achieved. Tissington Tatlow, of the S.C.M., who followed up Kelly's and Talbot's work in the following year,³ learned that Kelly had evidently enjoyed moderate success "in spite of his peculiarities, (which peculiarities are not at all limited to his garb)."⁴

How can we sum up Kelly's visit to America? By this time he was dominated by one idea: Sacramentalism. By this was meant a genuine Catholicism which stood out against the modernist flirtation with Pelagianism. Kelly had begun to formulate his notion of what we might anachron-

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1. I am indebted to Dr. Norman Pittenger for this piece of information. HK in his report to Mott wrote: "I fancy the best man on the faculty (E.T.S.) is Professor Fosbrook [sic]." Kelly had no time for any other American thinker. He dismissed F.J. Hall's mammoth Outlines as "a monument to the dullest orthodoxy." NL, 8th September 1919.
 2. NL, 1st January 1927. HK and Gavin corresponded fairly frequently in 1927-28. Rose was appointed Professor of Apologetic Theology in Japan in 1934 in the post formerly held by HK.
 3. Tatlow in a letter to Randall Davidson, 11th February 1913, concerning John Mott: "Last year he got Father Kelly and Neville Talbot to make a preliminary tour to open up the ground... (Mott) has been enormously impressed by the influence for good that the Church of England has had upon the British Student Movement."
 4. Letter to Tatlow from Silas McBee, the editor of the Constructive Quarterly, New York, 1st March 1913.

istically call "Barthian Catholicism" some years earlier. His contacts with the British S.C.M. had forced him to deepen and order his thoughts. America drove him ever further, and from then on he was dominated entirely in his thinking by his idea of Catholicism.

The intellectual enemy was Germany. Kelly had been told that German Criticism had only reached the U.S.A. in its constructive stage. This was hardly comforting, since he believed that "constructive Germanism was much more unChristian than critical Germanism".¹ America, to Kelly, in this respect, was thoroughly German, as much in educational method as in intellectual approach. American Protestants were particularly given over to Pelagianism, an ethical system posing as Christianity. They desperately needed to be introduced to an idea of Catholicism which was not dominated by polemicists, bullies, or ecclesiastical imperialists. We must remember that Catholicism (both Roman and Anglican) was less irenic and more triumphalist in its approach to Protestants sixty years ago, than it is today.

In spite of Kelly's good intentions he became less and less well disposed to American Protestants. His Japanese experience deepened his prejudices:

"American Protestants live on an exclusive diet of adjectives which constitute their Theological chewing gum - so to speak. There never was a preacher or a thing preached which

1. HK, U.S.A. Diary 1912, p.27.

was not 'strikingly original, profoundly spiritual, with deep insight, and many much-needed warnings to the Churches'."1

Kelly's prejudices were not confined to the religious sphere. He was furious with America's high handed attitude in the First World War. Woodrow Wilson's message to Congress was too much to bear. Kelly felt it was the worst bit of Americanism he had ever seen. How did the President of the United States have the gall "to tell all those benighted nations exactly what they were to do."2 Was America "the new Germany, trying to dominate the world with Americanism in dollar faith instead of Germanism and militant faith?"3 Kelly was perceptive in seeing how much the dollar tended to dominate the American character: "For any philanthropic purpose which can be advertised America will pour out dollars by the handful, but as to giving himself - 'Live with the nigger!' - You bet you no."4 Though Kelly wrote these things with some justification it is a pity he did not allow himself to get to know America and Americans better. Nevertheless Kelly had a genuine and lasting affection for America and Americans. They had "the energy of giants, the affectionateness of children, and the ideas of schoolboys... a most lovable people to one who can love boys."5

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1. HK letter to Miss Georgina A. Gollock, 24th August 1917,
 2. His Christmas NL of 1918 quoting his letter to Manning, Rector of Trinity Church, New York.
 3. NL, 29th September 1919.
 4. NL, 11th August 1928.
 5. HK, U.S.A. Diary 1912, p.35.

VIII. KELLY IN JAPAN : 1913-1919.

Regardless of his feelings towards the Americans, Kelly was destined to spend what he felt was one of the happiest and most profitable periods of his life with them; not on American soil but on Japanese.¹ He was to witness and assist at the birth of a young independent Anglican Church, and he is still remembered today as a "wise old man" who led many Japanese to Christ. He went to Japan when he was nearing sixty, but an old sixty. His deafness was getting more and more of a handicap. He could speak no Japanese and taught under difficult conditions; yet he was a great and lasting success. What was the cause of such an impact from such unpromising material and in such unspectacular circumstances? It is in Japan, and perhaps nowhere else, that we shall learn most about Kelly's theology and his theological method, for he was understood and appreciated there in a way that he never was in England.

From 1913 to 1919 (with a break in 1915 for the Great Chapter at Kelham) Kelly lived and worked in Japan, at Ikebukuro.² His route there was a devious one. He had passed through Baslow and the S.C.M. He had stopped off for "Edinburgh 1910". He had been diverted to the United States in 1912. No man could have such an itinerary and

1. HK fragment c 1940: "My real chance came in Japan".

2. A suburb of Tokyo where the Shingakuin, the Central Theological College, sponsored by the CMS, SPG and PECUSA. See Father Kelly and the Japanese Church by Fr. Barnabas Yokata, SSM Quarterly, March 1960.

not have his mind opened and horizons broadened.

Sacramentalism and Catholicism continued to dominate Kelly's thinking. He was almost obsessed, by this time, to get a hearing for the sacramental question. On that question hung his whole understanding of the Christian Faith. This to him was the central point about Catholicism and hence about the nature of the God whom Christians worship. The missionary demands of the Church, the Ecumenical Movement, the need for theological education all coalesced in one man and became in him one cause. As we have seen in Kelly's earlier career, Church Unity, Mission and Theology were one. England, however, was by no means ready for such an amalgam. Kelly's experiences between 1907 and 1912 had made him seem even more out of place in the English ecclesiastical scene. What should he do? He was a monk involved with both the S.C.M. and the Y.M.C.A. He certainly did not belong in England, nor did he feel comfortable within the S.S.M. He wanted to get out of the way and leave, for a while at any rate, the Society which he felt, in his worse moments, had rejected him.

Four possibilities lay before him in the New Year of 1912: America, India, China and Japan. There had been a plan for Kelly to go out to India the year before to help in theological college education in Madras.¹ This plan fell through. China was little more than a dream in

1. See NLS, 20th November 1911 and 29th May 1912.

Kelly's own mind. He was very anxious that oriental students should be encouraged to come to Kelham. "I HAVE urged that we should if possible try taking Chinese (or if necessary Japanese) students here if we can get them."¹ He had met a Chinese Christian at Baslow and Edinburgh but that was about the scope of his experience, though no doubt his interest in China had been stimulated by his contacts with the Y.M.C.A. which was the greatest missionary power in China at that time. America did not offer tangible possibilities for him. Only Japan was left. "Of all these offers Japan is probably the least interesting and helpful. But then (worse luck) it is just the one which has materialised itself."² Whether this was merely an instance of Kelly's habit of being initially pessimistic about any enterprise in which he was concerned, or whether he felt genuinely disappointed in having to go to Japan, it is difficult to say. He certainly enjoyed complaining. "I am offered £400 a year with a house. I am not going to live in a house, I am going to live in the college with men."³

Kelly wanted Neville Talbot to come out as his understudy and Talbot himself would have liked this, but other work was in store for him. Kelly had to go out alone

1. NL, 5th April 1911.

2. NL, to sister 29th May 1912.

3. Ibid.

and work out his own "system of theology Japanesely thought."¹

The Anglican Church in Japan had three heads. The Americans, initially present in Osaka and Tokyo, the C.M.S. (which was widespread), and the S.P.G., centred in Tokyo and Kobe. The Americans were represented by the Rev. John McKim who had come to Osaka in 1878 and was consecrated Bishop in 1893. English Anglicans representing the two great societies, shared a bishop; which, rather than simplifying issues, confused them, since it involved an issue in churchmanship and the oscillation between high and low church interests. The first English bishop was a former C.M.S. missionary in India, Arthur W. Poole, who was consecrated in 1883 and died two years later. He was followed by Edward Bickersteth of the S.P.G. Cambridge Delhi Mission. He was bishop for twelve years and was instrumental in forming the Nippon Sei Ko Kwai in 1887: the Holy Catholic Church of Japan, a grand title for a church which in 1889 could claim only 2,200 members from a population of nearly forty millions.

Theological education was as confused as the administration of such a tiny church with three wilful

1. Ibid. There was a possibility that A.E.J. Rawlinson might have gone: see NL to his sister, 1st July 1912. Rawlinson decided to remain at Oxford to study more theology: "If he ever wants to be any use, it's about the worst thing he can do. Oxford is a place of learning and cleverness; but the academic atmosphere is frightfully out of touch with all the realities of life, and just because of its cleverness it thinks itself a judge eternal of all things that are."

heads. There was no definite area of jurisdiction until 1895 when Bishops McKim and Bickersteth divided the main island which makes up Japan into four dioceses. The Americans took North Tokyo and Kyoto, the English South Tokyo and Osaka, with Tokyo and Osaka being regarded as common ground. There still remained the question of theological education. Before Bickersteth could do anything about this he died tragically, in England, at the age of forty-seven.

The Americans had founded their own school in Osaka, St. Paul's. The first Japanese Bishops Motoda and Maide were students there. In the autumn of 1907 the Rikkyo Daigaku (St. Paul's College) opened with fifty students and later land was purchased for the college at Ikebukuro. There had been many proposals for one seminary for the whole of Sei Ko Kwai but nothing concrete was proposed until 1908, when the Pan-Anglican Congress in London granted \$150,000 for the establishment of a central theological college in Japan. \$50,000 secured land at Ikebukuro next to St. Paul's College and paid for the initial buildings. The rest of the money was invested. Each of the three Anglican missionary bodies represented in Japan was asked to provide and support one foreign member of the teaching staff. Kelly was one of the first.

Herbert Kelly was, therefore, entering another difficult situation requiring pioneer work. Extreme patience

was required in dealing with division of Churchmanship. Kelly tried to transcend those barriers which stood between "evangelical" and "catholic" Anglicans. He was, as one would imagine, more harsh with the latter. Much of his time was spent in restraining the Anglo-Catholics in Japan. "Some of them are persuaded that the conversion of Japan depends on Benediction and the cult of the Blessed Sacrament."¹

Once he had made his decision to go he was anxious to be on his way. In October of 1912 his mind was made up. He was determined to be settled in Japan by 1st March 1913 and planned to see John Mott in Shanghai on the way.² He arrived at Pekin on Saturday 1st February 1913 and two days later proceeded to Hankow, where he caught a boat for Shanghai. It was a long and complicated journey. He reached Kobe on 19th February, went on to Osaka where there was a "whole air about the place of a comfortable, quiet country parish vicarage run on those sort of lines ... nothing but the old Japanese servant to tell you you were not in England."³ It was with a certain amount of relief that Kelly left for Kyoto, and arrived at Ikebukuro by way of Yokohama on 24th February. Once there he made it clear to the Reverend J.T. Imaš, the first principal of the college, that he would carry out his teaching in his

1. NL, 3rd June 1931.

2. See NLs, 13th October 1912 and 20th January 1913, both to his sister.

3. HK Diary, 20th February 1913.

own way and follow his own system of lecturing.¹

Kelly's appointment was to be Professor of
Apologetical Theology:

"They can call it just what they please, I am going to try to get these boys to know what a Christian faith means. I have not the remotest intention of defending the faith. My faith has got to defend me. I want to be quite sure what it is and what it means, and what it can do for me. Of course I must know all the difficulties in the way, and all the heresies. But they are not somebody else's difficulties and objections, they are mine and yours, the boys; the difficulties of unbeliefs etc., in me, in everybody, which the Gospel has come to meet."²

At first Kelly found the Japanese annoying and frustrating and was horrified by their lack of order and discipline.

"We are an eminently artistic people, and we know exactly how a thing should be said, and how it will sound. Everything in Japan is made to be pretty, and to say nasty things is ugly.... All our amiable self-centred, self-satisfied slacking is not exactly new. I've known theological colleges in Islands washed by other seas than the Pacific, in which to do what you please - when, and as you please - was also regarded as the true mark of a free man."³

Language was an ever-present problem, doubly frustrating for Kelly, in that the men with whom he would

1. According to Bishop Isaac Nosse in a Memoir of Father Kelly, Imai had heard HK preach in London and was impressed when HK said "The Church is most lively at a time of persecution. The Church thrives on sacrifice."

2. HK to Lawrence Roaf, Notes on Japanese Theology, 5th February 1934.

3. NL, 29th November 1914.

have preferred to communicate (the ordinary simple Japanese) could not speak English: those who could were all "high collar, - very western, but, love you, they've never lost the old maps when Japan was the centre of the world."¹ But the problem of language never became a burden; "when you only know about six words, to establish communication is an adventure of joyous interest."²

Language was not his only problem; Anglicanism with Gothic architecture, ecclesiastical paraphernalia, hymns "Ancient and Modern" and a bad harmonium were the ingredients of a religion which appeared to Kelly to be invented to cause the maximum frustration and annoyance. The Church of England had problems enough. Export those problems, mixed with American varieties, and place them intact in foreign soil, and try to preach a gospel. The task is well-nigh impossible!³

The issue for Kelly was that of Catholicity and it was while he was in Japan that the main part of his book Catholicity was written. He laboured the point at all times and everywhere that Christianity is not a religion but a faith. He tried to capture not only the minds of his students but those of his fellow missionaries. Every summer

1. Ibid.

2. NL, 9th June 1916

3. HK tried to reconcile partisan elements in the Church. He and Samuel Heaslett of the C.M.S. were firm friends. Subsequently it was HK who pressed for Heaslett to succeed Bishop Cecil. A fact which impressed Randall Davidson enormously.

they all gathered at Karuizawa, a city of summer bungalows some 5,000 feet up. It was a place to meet people. The Japanese answer to Swanwick. Kelly loved it: "a sort of missionary Brighton where all the latest fashions are on view from New York."¹

Contact with Christians of other traditions kept Kelly alive and ensured the openness of his own Catholicism. He managed to keep informed of events going on elsewhere and his letters refer to everything from the Kikuyu Controversy² to the eschatological dimension of the Great War.

Kelly revelled in these problems and gave himself wholeheartedly to the work. But his time in Japan was hardly "settled". The Director of the Society wanted Kelly back for the Great Chapter in 1915. This was no simple matter. There was a war in Europe and the journey was long and hazardous. He left Yokohama on March 6th 1915, for San Francisco and Vancouver, spent Holy Week in Edmonton, and made his way to New York by way of Chicago and Boston. He talked and preached his way across the continent, visiting the Order of the Holy Cross, for the last time. Father Hughson would have "no dealings with heretics". This sort of attitude Kelly found intolerable and summed up the order

1. HK to Edward Winton, August 1913.

2. With particular interest in the nature of episcopacy in the light of the proposed suggestion of a federation of Churches.

thus: "First, it's most pronouncedly spikey, secondly, it's too rigidly conventional."¹

He saw John Mott on April 27th, had lunch on May 2nd with Manning the Rector of Trinity Church, Wall Street, and a leader in the Faith and Order Commission in the United States. Manning was one of the few American Churchmen Kelly admired. When the former was elected Bishop of New York in 1921 Kelly was delighted:

"Bishops of New York are always blighters They must be wealthy. They must smell of dollars. They must be heathen. N.Y. (it's said) tried to get a toff out of England. Then appointed Manning...he is the very biggest man I know, and the best. N.Y. 'Churchmen' do not love him.... He is a Catholic; he is a great Reunion man. He is a Christian."²

This is praise indeed from a man grudging in his attitude towards Americans. He must have sailed home in a friendly frame of mind. He left New York for Glasgow on May 7th on the Transylvania. The headlines on the day he sailed read, "Loss of the Lusitania".

This itinerary is mentioned for the very important reason that Kelly was a restless spirit and such travels and talks were meat and drink to him. He loved, he needed to share his ideas with others, to stimulate a discussion or start an argument. He remained in England until May 1916, and returned to Japan the way he had come. One person of

1. NL, June-July 1916.

2. NL, 13th May 1921.

theological eminence he did meet in New York on his return was William Porcher Du Bose (1836-1918), whose writings¹ paralleled much of the outlook of F.D. Maurice. It is a pity that there is no record of their conversation, even if it were short: "Du Bose was very old and very silent."²

He landed back in Japan on June 26th 1916, and returned to England for good on March 28th 1919. If one takes into account his many journeys Kelly's stay in Japan was even shorter than one might at first have supposed. In April 1917 he was invited to Brisbane to lecture on "the Holy Spirit Outside the Church - in Religion, in Philosophy and in History". He was on the move again, not returning to Japan until July 18th 1917. On his way to Brisbane he stopped off at Manila to visit Bishop C.H. Brent³ who had been at Edinburgh with Kelly. The following year he visited Korea. The time he actually spent on Japanese soil was very small indeed. His achievement there, is therefore, all the more remarkable.

Kelly sailed for England in "The Empress of Japan" in March 1919, following his usual route. Bishop Isaac Nosse reports: "The only time he (Kelly) wept was when the professors and students held a farewell party for him when

1. The Soteriology of the New Testament (1892)
The Divinity and Deity of Jesus Christ (1911).

2. NL, June-July 1916.

3. 1862-1929.

he was finally leaving Japan."¹ It was a sad occasion. Kelly had never been so happy in his life. He landed back in England on May 7th and was told by his doctor that he was underweight by one and a half stone and that he needed six months complete rest.

What exactly had he done in Japan? Kelly's sister, Edith Mary, wrote some years later that she thought her brother's success was due to the fact that, unlike other teachers Kelly approached the Japanese "with such real affection and knowledge."² His manner suited them: "The Japanese mind is not in a hurry - it quite expects people to talk slowly and deliberately."³ Yet Kelly appeared to have very little sympathy with the Japanese character and temperament and, ironically, their tendency to indulge in hero-worship particularly repulsed him. "There's a blazing sight too much personalism about them to suit me."⁴ American personalism in the life of the Church served only to accentuate and exaggerate what was already a natural tendency in Japanese culture. At any rate Kelly found himself in a small Japanese Anglican Church, predominantly "Liberal Protestant" in outlook, with an Anglo-Catholic fringe. He could identify with neither side. His main

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1. Memoirs 1970. HK wrote in a letter to a Japanese friend, 11th August 1926: "my heart is always in Japan, though my tongue and body are still foreigners".
 2. Edith Mary to HK. 23rd October 1930.
 3. Ibid.
 4. NL, January 1919.

attack was directed against "this curious mixture of American 'Personality' twaddle, racial Prussianism, self-righteousness, accented with self-complacency of sincerity and the Godlessness of their heathen Christianity."¹

This is a typical Kelly outburst, overstated but containing an important truth. The general Japanese outlook taught Kelly "the vital importance of metaphysics. When a man has shaped his mind in a certain line of thought, you fight against it in vain."² The Japanese were too much like the Athenians, eager to learn about new philosophies and new ideas, but unwilling to accept a living faith. Each "new thing" was swallowed indiscriminately. The polite name for such lack of judgement was "simplicity". "Idealism, Modernism (so called): they swallowed them one after another It never occurred to my stupidity that the absence of a critical sense and 'simplicity' were the same."³ Metaphysics was important; the presuppositions of the Japanese needed to be dug out and shown the light of day. But how? Kelly soon realised that a course of lectures in St. Thomas Aquinas was not the answer. Japanese Roman Catholic priests, trained in Rome were, in so far as they were Thomist, ill-equipped to cope with the outlook of their own people.⁴

1. NL, 21st July 1916.

2. NL, 2nd June 1927. Refers to HK's writing to B.H. Streeter about his book on Reality. "It interested me partly as an exposition of what I learned in Japan." Streeter's book, according to HK was "A good deal less heathen than most of his."
NL 2nd July 1927.

3. NL, 2nd September 1932.

4. See NL, 12th September - 18th December 1935.

The Japanese mind is remarkable in its ability to absorb ethical ideas. A personalistic, modernist Christianity was very congenial to them. It was very close and is very close to the embracing and highly ethical outlook of Shinto and the new religion of Soka Gakkai. Christianity as ethics: this is a slogan readily acceptable to the Japanese mind. "The whole Japanese weakness is that they have no sense of God as a reality.... They have dropped the ethics, because it's so overdone in J., not realising that I was attacking Ethics, and that the failure of ethics is the whole pith of the Atonement."¹

Underneath the Japanese liking for "simplicity" and their natural tendency towards an ethical view of religion, Kelly saw a deep inferiority complex. He saw them as an ambitious people but intelligent enough to realise that their abilities were not equal to their desires. "They have" wrote Kelly,

"the self-consciousness of the artistic temperament... I was supposed to have an unusual knowledge of Japanese character. I knew nothing at all except that I prefaced everything with the remark: 'I am only a foreigner'. I said it to myself until I meant it; for it is perfectly plain it is their country; only what they do matters. We have a lot to teach them but they will learn it in their own time."²

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1. NL, 20th September 1917. Later there were problems over Japanese Christians attending a Shinto Shrine. According to the Japanese Government this was a moral not a religious act. See letter of P.M. Sekiya to HK, 28th February 1933.
 2. HK to Lawrence Rose Notes on Japanese Theology, 5th February 1934. See also HK to Rose, 13th March 1934.

Japanese self-consciousness was a great hindrance with regard to education. It tended to encourage a basic dishonesty in students who had more regard for the opinion of others than the pursuit of the truth. It led to a measure of insincerity, the putting up of a bold front to "save face". Kelly had no hesitation in telling the Japanese this. He attacked the Japanese Christians and they loved him for it. He harried them with the Japanese version of his Dogmatics. He preached to them and (much to his surprise) they listened. "Wonder how it is I can always scratch these people though I cannot preach worth a dead cat in England. I never knew any church in Blighty wanted to hear me twice."¹

Kelly's habit of exploding and bursting out caused a great deal of shock to some. He was often thought irreverent because he did not hesitate to say what he thought. In some "pious circles this is considered unChristian."² He wanted to share his ideas and learn from others. Speaking of the smallness and poverty of the intellectual world in Japan, he wrote:

"We foreigners are a very small community. Everybody knows everybody. And we are extraordinarily conventional and second-hand. All our ideas are American, and America is itself very intellectually conventional. I hardly know an American

1. NL 9th September 1916.

2. HK also did what he liked as well. Bishop Isaac Nosse recalls that HK smoked in the library of the Theological College at Osaka - the only person, up until that time, who had dared to do so.

who does not belong to a school, or who does not repeat its formulae. You can always tell what he's going to say. They make up for it by solemnity of utterance."¹

This sort of unthinking approach of those around him made him Athanasius-like: "Kelly contra mundum." This uniqueness explained why he made such an impact. Did they not know they were living in apocalyptic times, that the Great War marked the end of an era? Things would be breaking up, revolution was in the air. Kelly certainly believed the break-up of the Church of England was inevitable. This was a cause for optimism.

"We measure everything by lifetimes, but God works by centuries and millenia. We are gazing at the passing of a world. I call it the world of the Renaissance, and, perhaps of the Reformation. The Medieval world went out in pestilence - the Black Death. This world is being hammered to bits by guns."²

No wonder Kelly was an impatient man. His impatience, however, was tempered by humour. Without a sense of fun Kelly would have burned himself out as a young man: "It was in Japan, I think, that I first really learnt the power of laughing and making people laugh with you."³

What the situation in Japan demanded was not a supply of clever lecturers for the Central Theological College but men who could communicate ideas with fire. Teachers were needed more than lecturers. A theological college teacher

1. NL 2nd September 1918.

2. NL 18th February 1918.

3. Autobiography p.101

should be a man who understands students, their difficulties, their weaknesses, their ways of doing things, who will get to know them, explain to them what their work means and how to do it, explain their temptations, and who will pray with them. In short, must love students. Straight lecturing to men studying for the priesthood was patently inadequate.¹ In Japan, perhaps more than anywhere else, priests had to be formed, not merely taught. Nor do students want "the latest thing" on the theological heap:

"The faith we want (1) must hang together as a unity, and not be an odd collection of bits; (2) it must be a real thing and not a mere theory; (3) something you can learn and understand, not a made-up fancy; (4) the faith of a church and not the theory of an individual."²

Two things out of the four Herbert Kelly gave to the Anglican Church in Japan; a real thing and not a mere theory, and the faith of a Church and not the theory of an individual. In short he gave the Church his concept of Catholicism. In Japan Kelly was forced to make Catholicism concrete and personal to correspond in some measure to Japanese "simplicity" and interest in ethics. "If you say": wrote Kelly to Lawrence Rose, 13th March 1934,

"Boys dear! I am going to talk to you about your souls - and the souls of your people - what God means to you in your life and theirs; why - when men

1. See Memorandum on the Shingakuin Professorships, 10th January 1915.

2. NL, 20th November 1916.

could not come to God, - God came to us; why - by taking the human nature into God - He made a new thing, a new life possible' they will fall for it - in crowds, with that simplicity I referred to."

In a conversation with Bishop Yashiro in Kobe in June 1959 Canon Douglas Webster recalls a stirring testimonial to Kelly's influence. Yashiro, a former pupil of Kelly¹, maintained that the Japanese still needed men like Father Kelly. The call was for missionaries who were "spiritual men" to minister to people in a somewhat over-intellectualized Church.

"We need spiritual men with wide and long experience in the ministry. He gave Father Kelly as an example. He seems to have had a greater spiritual influence on Japan than any other foreign missionary. He spent most of his days having personal talks with individuals usually through an interpreter and merely gave spiritual help and advice. Much of his power was due to his asking clergy and ordinands who talked with him really simple questions. Such as, "Do you really believe in God?" or "Well, what is the difference between the gospel and religion?", and this made them go away and think and it often changed their lives. He was sick of all the theological textbook emphasis and virtually gave the clergy Sunday school talks. In this way he changed the status of the clergy from being slaves to theology and many of them became free men in Christ."²

Canon Webster also records his meeting several middle-aged and elderly Japanese Christians, at the same time, and asking

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1. HK in NL for May-June 1928 refers to "my beloved Yashiro". Yashiro was a student at Kelham, 1926-27. In an undated note HK wrote, "Yashiro is the truly great man of Japan".
 2. Reported to AWJ in a conversation with Douglas Webster, 10th April 1970.

them how they became Christians. "O, I met Father Kelly" was often the reply. This testimony is corroborated by Bishop Stephen Neill. When he asked if a man who had no knowledge of the Japanese language could really help them, the Japanese

"began with one voice to talk of Fr. Kelly of Kelham.... Kelly was able ... to leave on the Church of Japan a deeper mark than I think has ever been left on a younger Church in so short a time by any other man.... 'Give us,' they said, 'another Fr. Kelly. Even if the students don't understand a word he says, they will get from him something that will last them all their lives.'"¹

Father Barnabas Yokata S.S.M. bears witness that the Anglican Church in Japan is still affected by the man who left it over fifty years ago.² In 1960 five of the Anglican Bishops in Japan were Kelly's old pupils. But Kelly's influence in Japan is far more than a personal one. He managed to change the whole ethos and outlook of that young Church. "If you are a missionary priest bound for Japan," writes Father Yokata, "you must know about Father Kelly in order to understand the Japanese Church."³ Kelly's influence there is best summed up in the description of the Japanese Church by Canon Douglas Webster: "a Church Anglo-Catholic in Liturgy: Barthian in Theology."⁴ Here in essence

1. The Cross Over Asia, Canterbury Press, 1948. p.83.

2. see his article "Father Kelly and the Japanese Church", op. cit.

3. Ibid.

4. Conversation 10th April 1970. Canon Webster also noted how much better the Japanese (being naturally graceful and elegant) are at performing the Liturgy than the English.

is the Kelly synthesis of evangelical zeal and sacramental life. In England, though people readily absorbed his ideas, they soon forgot their author and believed in time that they were their own. In Japan the man is remembered, and remembered in such a way that would not have (indeed did not) please him. His sister, Edith, wrote telling him of a conversation with a missionary from Japan who had spoken of "the wonderful Cath.M. in Tokyo, instituted by H.K. I have no sort of belief in H.K. nor in any personal movements, told her so."¹ Nevertheless his influence was such that a Kelly movement of some kind was bound to spring up for a while. Canon R.J. Hammer writes,

"Fr. Kelly exercised a great influence on the students - not that there was much evidence of their having understood either his theology or his desire to restructure the pattern of ministry.² They were influenced far more by his personality and deep spirituality, and the men he trained ... were men of integrity and faith to their understanding of priestly service.... When I was in Japan, a number of the priests were still members of what they called the Kelly-Kai (Kelly association) and a leader of this was the former bishop of Yokahama, (Bp. Nosse).... The older type of Japanese very much revered the Sensei² (the teacher) in a somewhat Confucianist way - and this meant that reverence for Fr. Kelly's memory led to a kind of static conservatism rejecting change. They did not at all

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1. The restructuring of the pattern of ministry was constantly on his mind. He saw the future Church having smaller dioceses and unpaid local clergy. It looks as if heretoo he is being proved correct. See letter to Fr. Martin Knight S.S.M., Waterloo Day 1929. HK also wrote to Bishop Yashiro, 24th April 1946, about the organizing of team ministries and house churches.
 2. The relation between the Sensei and the Deshi (the disciple) was very strong.

appreciate the more revolutionary aspects of Fr. Kelly's thought, and thought that faithfulness to him meant the strict conservatism of past patterns."¹

Canon Hammer's assessment here is a perceptive one. Kelly's main concern was to free the Japanese from their chronic dependence on foreign aid and influence. He would have been greatly distressed by those of his followers who completely misunderstood him.

If the Japanese were to discover a truly Catholic faith they would have to do it for themselves. This is perhaps why Kelly had so much influence. He refused to tell them anything ex cathedra. His teaching was always in the form of searching questions. The idea of a Japanese Catholic Church, founded and maintained by Japanese Christians was a disturbing idea to those who had become over-dependent on English and American support. There were a few Japanese Christians who wished the Church to stand on its own feet. One was Kanzo Uchimura,² a powerful man, impatient with the

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1. Letter to ANJ, 2nd June 1970. When one reads students' letters to HK one can see that some tended to treat him with special reverence. "Father!" wrote E. Kan from Kyoto on 14th January 1918, "Many thanks for your kindness to teach me God. I have understood Christianity quite well now. I am very much afraid that Christianity is taught in Japan in a very dangerous way. I must save Japan, if God wills". Unfortunately there is no trace of HK's reply. Even as early as end of February 1915 David K. Ogura wrote: "Will you say to me, I will remember you as my son forever?"
 2. 1861-1930. See NL 2nd September 1918. Uchimura remained an embarrassment to many. HK wrote to Dr. Motoda, who later became Bishop of Tokyo, 14th September 1919: "I am afraid Mr. Uchimura is a rather violent speaker.... but I feel there is a great deal of truth in what he says. I have felt it ever since I reached Japan in 1913. There seems to me a sort of impression that no country, not even Japan, can create its own Church unless we English or Americans build. The great evil is that N S K K has never quite learnt to believe in herself."

institutionalism of the young Japanese Church. Uchimura exercised immense personal influence and like Kelly he was both independent-minded and intelligently anti-modernist. In this respect he was un-Japanese. He rejected a purely ethical interpretation of Christianity and insisted on emphasizing the eschatological dimension. Kelly was influential in keeping Uchimura within the Church for a time, tempering the latter's anger and impatience. Uchimura wrote in his own monthly paper for 10th July 1919,

"Next to German militarism, nothing I believe, does more harm to the cause of true religion than American money. Woe to the world if it is to be flooded with American Gospel with the push of American money. May God save us from both!"

These are strong words and more or less reflected Kelly's own thoughts.¹ Nothing could be done to mollify Uchimura's aggressiveness, and eventually he went on to found the Mu Kyokai, the "no Church". If the Kelly-Kai had been made up of men like Kanzo Uchimura Kelly would have been content. According to Dr. R.N. Whybray "some of them seem to have believed that for evangelism the only thing needed was prayer! Evangelism in any active sense was not necessary.

1. HK to Uchimura, 16th September 1919. "Germany went to war for Idealism. She was quite sure she knew what the world ought to be. She believed she knew everything and was really determined to make God's world over again in her own way. She believed she could do so by means of force. America has just the same belief in American ideals. She does not believe in force or armies, but she believes in money."

I may be wrong, but my impression is that because they misunderstood him, his influence was in the end, bad."¹

I would agree with Dr. Whybray's assessment as far as the Kelly-Kai is concerned. Kelly's power, however, was far too widespread and influential to be confined to the piety and sentimentality of a few devoted followers. There was certainly a group of Kelly's old students who wanted to make the Nippon Seikokai "Catholic" in a partisan sense. Others had a romantic attachment to Kelly's memory. Timothy Nakamura, one of the Kelly-Kai, wrote to Kelly on Ash Wednesday 1922, "We are very much anxious to have you come back to our N.S.K.K. N.S.K.K. does need you.... I am praying for the day when you and Nosse San will appear in Japan carrying with you the Kelham spirit".

The most critical yet sympathetic assessment I have encountered with regard to the Kelly-Kai and to Kelly's peculiar contribution to Japan is that of a missionary who writes:

"I remember Bishop Michael H. Yashiro talking about the 'Kelly-Kai'.... and saying, 'The trouble is they've all concentrated on Fr. Kelly's strong point

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1. Letter to AWJ, 26th October 1970. Bishop Yashiro who was greatly influenced by Kelly was not touched by the over pious devotion of some. HK taught Yashiro and others to think. See Yashiro's Memoir, 23rd July 1970. HK's points could often be construed to mean a total passivity vis à vis the world: Such was his emphasis on the holiness of God. "We must all realise" he wrote to members of the Shingakuin, 2nd June 1936, "that Japan will come to faith in God, not by lectures, nor perhaps by sermons, but first as the Gospel of Christ is shown by the lives and simple confession of Christian people." This was easily misunderstood as "simple passive piety".

of dependence on Almighty God - but he is so almighty that they don't have to do any work at all, they feel'. This is typical of the Kellyites. They are spiritual samurai letting others go in and out doing the work, while they embody the futility of man's work before God. But for Japanese polytheists - and they are all that, even the Buddhists - to come to believe in the existence of a great God both transcendent and immanent was the achievement of Fr. Kelly. My comment on this is that he brought them from polytheism to monotheism. That was Fr. Kelly's contribution to missionary work in Japan. Some of us struggle for years and years to do this and fail miserably."¹

If the Kellyites tended to misunderstand Kelly, one great man did share the genuine Kelly spirit, Michael H. Yashiro, the late presiding Bishop of Japan. The wisest and most telling testimony to Kelly's work comes from this man who, as we have seen, was more truly Kelly's heir than any of the Kellyites. Michael Yashiro wrote this memoir shortly before he died:²

"The influence of Fr. Kelly in this country is beyond imagination.... To some of us his Theology changed considerably so that he seemed like a bad contractor, building a house this year, and a new one the next year, to take the first one's place. All his disciples felt this: it was natural that some could not follow him simply because they hadn't a sense of psychology....

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1. to AWJ, 30th January 1971. The writer has asked to remain anonymous.
 2. at AWJ's request, 23rd July 1970, and dictated to Miss L.E. Lea. Miss Lea is one of the most distinguished missionaries in Japan. She was born in 1896 and served as a U.S.P.C. missionary from 1927 to 1961. She continued her work in Japan as Headmistress of St. Michael's International School and frequently did foreign secretary's work for Bishop Yashiro.

Fr. Kelly's theology was no concrete building which moves in the wind but does not fall."

In this same memoir the Bishop spoke very highly of Kelly's disciples. Plainly all of them were not unthinking devotees.

"During the War there was an understanding among the secret police that Fr. Kelly's disciples were very dangerous people and against the state policy set up by the military government; the Disciples and Kelly had a subtle way of dealing with the Government and it was hard for the police to know what they were doing; sometimes they were faithful patriots, yet at crucial moments or in a crisis what these disciples said and did was, unexpectedly strong and unshakeable."

It appears that the disciples were as "dialectical" as the master. Yet masters such as Kelly run the inevitable risk of being misunderstood. A disciple is bound to try and simplify and clarify the cryptic and inscrutable utterances of the sage.

Perhaps this is the fate of every charismatic leader? The formation of the Kelly-Kai would have saddened Kelly and the attempt to trap his teachings, like a fly in amber, would have infuriated him. Such a paternalistic view was against his theology of mission, and he was constantly

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1. HK sometime in 1941, received a joint letter from many of his old disciples: "We are just the old disciples of you, dear Father". The names were: Kyoshi Maejuma, Paul Toyoda, Isaac Nosse, Timothy Makamura, S. Okagebe, P.K. Meda, John Sonoke, Peter Takeda, R. Nishimura and Ryo Okumura. HK received a letter from H.F. Sargent of the British Commonwealth Occupation Force, Japan (25th November 1946). Sargent had attended the funeral of Bishop Matsui and after the service had talked with two of the bishops and some clergy: "they said that one of the things which had kept them going and kept them sound was their Kelham Club which met through all the war years for the study of the 'Gospel of God', and which still keeps going."

irritated by the willingness of the Japanese Christians to acquiesce smilingly to every suggestion. Kelly felt yet another failure in his inability to make them stand on their own feet. The dour side of his nature, no doubt, would have been grateful for this failure. This may well have been one of the reasons why he resisted returning to Japan later. He was asked to return as "an inspiration" to the Japanese Church: "But you can't go on being a nuisance. Then you create opposition. I have seen too many anti-Kelly parties."¹ He wanted, above all, to be useful to practical men in a practical way. He even had ideas about a sort of worker-priest movement which would benefit the infant Japanese Church but nothing came of this. One thing did prove helpful: his lecture notes.² Bishop Heaslett used them for instructing catechumens and enquirers and this gave Kelly "wild joy".³

Before Kelly came to Japan the Anglicans there tended to be over-intellectual, "liberal" and "modernist" in a way which Kelly abhorred. When he left they had learned to see that the Church meant something, sacraments meant something, Christianity and Christ and God meant something besides what he called "hai kara talk" (meaning "high-collar, i.e. swagger, up to date".)⁴ For all his deprecation of

1. NL, 3rd August 1920.

2. See NL, 8th May 1929.

3. NL, 3rd August 1924.
See also Heaslett to HK, 8th September 1924.

4. See NL 22nd October 1917. See also NL 6th October 1925. Bishop Motoda visited Kelham, 8th-11th September 1925, and HK then was gratified to learn that his teaching was not forgotten. "You know how nice it is to see your chickens coming home and bringing their eggs with them."

personal success he knew he was making his mark and felt naturally warmed and gratified by it: "I've only my sub-conscious to justify this self-satisfaction, but I do feel from the questions they ask and their attitude that there is a difference, and that they are sorter looking to me for it." So he wrote on October 22nd 1917, half-way through his short time in Japan.

He often looked back to Japan with longing, especially in those periods when his lecturing was not appreciated at Kelham: "Please, may I go back to Japan? What's the good if they don't want me? Life is very sad."¹ His contacts with Japan were never lost or severed. He was in contact with Bishop John McKim, the Bishop of North Tokyo, concerning the future of the Japanese Church² and Kelly was not slow to advise the House of Bishops to develop a worker-priest movement³ The American Bishop H. Tucker of Kyoto also wrote to Kelly, and early in 1921 Isaac Nosse came to Kelham as a student. In this way Kelly maintained continual contact with Japan. One of the first things Kelly

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1. NL October 1922. There was a plan for HK to return to Japan for one term, from mid December 1926 to Easter 1927.
 2. McKim to HK, 14th August 1920. See HK letter 10th May 1921: "I am longing more'n anything to get to Japan to urge a scheme of 6 bps round Tokyo... with an Archbishop at Tokyo and a bishop Yokahama... the villages must provide their own farmer-pastor from their own number." HK was delighted to learn later that year, that the Japanese Christians in Tokyo had pledged Yen 35,000 towards a total of Yen 50,000 to endow the first Japanese Bishopric in Tokyo.
 3. Bishop Isaac Nosse comments, in his Memoir, "Twenty years later, at a General Synod at Sendai, this plan was not accepted."

was anxious to do was to get his ideas on Catholicity written down and sent out to Japan. By 1925 there was already established a movement which advocated "Kelham Theology"¹. As we have seen, it is a matter of debate whether its devotees really knew Kelly's mind.

However complicated and however dubious the reasons, Father Kelly's influence in Japan was enormous and all out of proportion with the little time he spent there. In 1945 a bishop, probably Timothy Makita, of Tokyo, sent word to England, claiming to be a true son of Kelham and a disciple of Kelly, though he had never visited Kelham nor met "the old Man".² After the war three of Kelly's disciples became bishops, and on 14th August 1947 Michael H. Yashiro was elected Presiding Bishop. Kelly was delighted. Yashiro was, without doubt, Kelly's greatest disciple. There is a moving account of an encounter with Bishop Yashiro just before his death on October 10th 1970 which reveals just how much he owed to Father Kelly:

"One day I went to see the Bishop in hospital. Realising that he could not get his words out and that I was failing to catch his meaning, he leant over on his left side with great effort, took my pencil, and indicated to me that he wanted to write on my paper. I held it up firmly. His hand jerked repeatedly, but he drew a circle in the top left corner and wrote 'Personal Soul'... Then he drew a line down the left side of the paper and across the bottom made a series of rectangles with a trembling hand. As each was completed he gave it

1. see letter of M. S. Kakuzen to HK, 12th June 1925.

2. see letter of Albert Sargent to HK, 25th November 1940.

a name (which I wrote in afterwards): 'Committees - slogans - resolutions - policies - you understand? All are secular, secular - ordinary business world - no good in the Church - lead back to the secular world'. And he drew a line up the right side to the top right corner and said again 'Secular'. Then he drew lines from the 'Secular world' across the top of the page to the 'personal soul' and said: 'Only way is to speak straight to each soul - speak to each.... You understand? Tell archbishops, tell all, all, to speak to souls - one soul - bring to Christ - my last message'. He dropped the pen and lay exhausted. Tears poured down his face. 'Tell - everybody'. This was about a week before he died."¹

Perhaps this is a testimony to Kelly's strength and weakness: "The only way is to speak straight to each soul - speak to each".

Kelly is best remembered in Japan for his personal piety, which does him less than justice. His real strength lay in his ideas. Years earlier there had been a possibility of Kelly returning there for a term as a consultant theologian, but nothing came of it. In fact he knew a return was impossible: "language, deafness and Kelham are decisive."² In 1919 he had come home to Kelham for good. Physically he was spent. Even his enthusiasm for climbing began to flag and no holiday was ever complete for Kelly without a good

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1. From the personal account of the last days of Bishop Yashiro by Miss Leonora E. Lea, 3rd October 1970. (See also the C.M.S. Newsletter, February 1971.)
 2. HK to SSM in Australia.

number of difficult crags to negotiate.¹

It would be entirely wrong to give the impression that Father Kelly was a spent man in every way when he returned to Kelham. Mentally he was alert as ever. He was still to write The Gospel of God and influence many hundreds of students both at Kelham and at the S.C.M. Camps at Swanwick. But in many ways much of that new found "1910" fire went out of Kelly on his return to England. Japan was the highpoint of an energetic and distinguished career but he had almost burned himself out as a result. He loved Japan and poured himself into the work. In the month of his death, October 1950, he still referred to Japan as "MY country".²

Kelly's deafness continued to make ordinary conversation with him more and more difficult, and while he was in Japan his hearing had greatly deteriorated. This was doubly hard on a loving and naturally gregarious man. His deafness forced him to retreat by inches into a world of his own into which it was very difficult for an outsider

2. NL January 1925. One other factor loomed over the horizon: the C.M.S. Some members of that Society would not have welcomed HK back in Japan, although HK was always a close friend of Bishop Heaslett.

2. 1. See NL 2nd September 1918. "The worst has happened". ITS TRUE. We went to do a star climb.... I broke down utterly and had to pull out. My nerve seems hopelessly gone. I'll try again next year but I'm afraid it's all over."

to enter. He was now the sage and prophet of Kelham: perforce somewhat of a recluse. His Japanese experience had made him into "a wise old man" and so he remained until his death. He continued to lecture extensively at Kelham, mainly in Church History, but his lectures became more and more tortuous and difficult, disjointed and rambling. But what he had to teach was perhaps more important than an academic syllabus: the fire of his convictions still burned and his students could, if they would, see something of its light.

PART THREE

THEOLOGY:

The Catholicity of God

"Invoked or not God will be present." *

*** the Delphic oracle: Vocatus atque non vocatus, Deus aderit.**

IX. THE ISSUE OF CATHOLICISM.

(a) Catholicism within the Society - the Carleton Affair.

How are we to understand Kelly's approach to Catholicism? There is only one way to search for his mind on this matter. We must see him at work, see him in conflict with others, particularly with members of his own Society, and compare and contrast Kelly's view of Catholicism with that of his opponents.

In 1919 Herbert Kelly was not the only member of the Society to return to England. There were others who had fought in the Great War. In a fragmented and disordered world there was an understandable yearning for an authoritative, all-embracing approach to Christianity. Some members of the Society and several of the new students saw the Catholic Faith, as interpreted by the ritualistic wing of the Church of England, as the answer to the world's ills. After the War the Anglo-Catholic movement within the Church of England gained new strength and impetus. As Kelly later noted, "I came back to a new world. There was everywhere a real vision or feeling for Catholicity.... With reason, sense, patience there might have been a real movement. Within ten years it was dead...."¹ The next two decades were to be triumphant in tone, and expansionist in strategy for Anglo-Catholics. Kelham was not untouched by this new

1. HK, MS on the Proposed Kalendar, 1941.

wave of enthusiasm. There was much in the movement that appeared genuinely Catholic but there was also a good deal in its strategy and tone that irked the founder of the Society of the Sacred Mission.

Herbert Kelly was nearly sixty when he came back to Kelham. He had worked hard in Japan and had loved it, and on his return he was in no mood for controversy. It was not long, however, before he found himself at variance with many in the Society over vital points of principle. The nature of Catholicism in general and the Religious Life in particular were matters of considerable debate for nearly twenty years after the First World War.

The rift between Kelly and the Society has its roots in the year 1910, and the first murmuring of Kelly's discontent with the Society came after the chaotic Great Chapter in 1915. He was extremely critical of Kelham's insularity and parochialism. America and Japan had given him a wider vision of the Church and a deeper sense of Catholicism, which embraced the Low Churchman as well as the High, the Protestant as well as the Catholic. Above all, the Catholic had not only the right to criticise. It was his duty. He ceased to be Catholic as soon as he blindly followed a party.¹ Kelly had not only become an ecumenist but an

1. HK in a Private Memo., 5th October 1919, "I want to keep in touch with the Catholic Party, but I claim for myself and for SSM the right and duty to criticise. I draw the line at following a party."

internationalist as well, and in 1915 recommended that Kelham admit American and Japanese students as soon as was possible. This proposal to internationalize Kelham met with little support among the brethren. In a letter¹ to the Director, Kelly wrote,

"I add Indians, Chinamen, Australians and anyone else. Why not?... Let us state on the Constitution, 'The Society taking the opportunity God offers as a sign of what God wants'.... I am perfectly well aware that one can also pull a Society to pieces by running after everything. We must measure our possibilities - ~~what~~ God lets us do."

At the Great Chapter, Kelly had been accused of always "going after some new thing" and tiring too easily of that which is settled and established. Kelly, on his part, saw Kelham developing into just another theological college. "What is the good of my talking to you about God? All you care about is curacies."²

This argument between Kelly and the Society was merely symptomatic of a deeper division over principles and leadership. It is to this crisis to which we now turn and which centres around two controversial figures in the Society, Gerald Murphy and George Carleton.³ Both men clashed with

1. 31st March, 1916.

2. HK, Fragment. Said to a class, c.1920.

3. David Jenks, S.S.M. to HK, 28th June 1917, concerning Carleton: "I get more and more uneasy about him in regard to the Society's future. I am sure that if we trust him with the future we shall not have the Society you or I know." Carleton only joined the Society in 1902, having written to HK in the June; his rise to power within it was meteoric.

Father Kelly in different ways and both they and he were wounded by the encounter, which revolved round the ideas of Catholicism and the Religious life.

The controversy within the Society formally began on 15th October 1917, with a circular letter sent to all the brethren by Father Hubert, S.S.M.¹ The burden of the letter was the parlous state of the Society of the Sacred Mission. Father Hubert not only suggested certain remedies for immediate ills, but in effect issued a programme for future development. The Society should develop on more "Catholic" lines and abandon the close association with the Bishops. Co-operation with the episcopate had, after all, been merely an unfortunate if necessary expedient while the Society was getting itself established. Nothing could have been further from Kelly's mind yet Father Hubert's letter appeared to be in line with the views of many of the younger and newer brethren. It was not long before there developed a marked division within the House between innovators and incubi.

Kelly's solution was predictably dramatic. The Director should appoint a day early in Lent as Reconciliation Day.

"Every brother being provided with S.S.M. list shall (after prayer and fasting) tick off every brother he feels he is 'off' for any reason

1. I could find no copy of this letter extant but there is ample reference to it in the correspondence of the period.

whatever. And shall forthwith 'open his grief' and confess his sin....
 Q must understand that P is ordered to spit - to say his worst....
 Could we stand it? Are we brethren if we can't?¹

In his own defence, Kelly pointed out that although he was bound to the Church of England he was not bound to a particular "Anglican Line" or approach. Much in the early days was accomplished without the approval of the Bishops, and Kelly had defended what he believed to be Catholic principles in the face of episcopal opposition. Father Hubert's letter evidently suggested that Kelly's position was too narrowly Anglican. This Kelly strongly denied:

"I told men - Catholic tradition must have great weight. Anglican tradition some. Scripture, you must study constantly. But in the end you must think your own way through, and ask what it all means."²

It was this last clause which stuck in the throats of many Catholics who desired the Church of England to exercise an authority like that of the Church of Rome - an Anglican Imperium.

To many Kelly appeared distinctly un-Anglican, and was easily taken for an enemy of the Church. There is, however, no doubt that he loved the Church of England but with a love rather like that of Hosea's for Gomer. The English Church had played the harlot often enough and now

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1. HK's reply to Fr. Hubert's letter, 7th December 1917.
 2. Ibid., HK's sarcasm was also in evidence in this letter: "Possibly I used to put the literal inspiration of the Churching of women on a level with the homo-ousion."

it seemed as if the Society of the Sacred Mission wished to do the same - to pursue its own ends, establish its own programme. As far as the Church of England was concerned Kelly wanted disendowment rather than disestablishment.

"I want persecution. I want a few bishops shot against a wall. Priests in crowds.... You's be astonished if you knew how serious I was in saying that. 'Without shedding of blood there is no remission of sins.' Least of all sins like ours. The sins of 'patronage' cry to heaven for vengeance. The sins of gentlemanliness, the sins of professionalism, the sins of smugness and comfort.... Mere Disestablishment might do some good, but not much. You see it would leave all the dignitaries and professors, all the old gang, with their vested interests to reorganise, as near as might be, where they were before.... I would gladly leave the Dissenters their endowments, and ours, Churches, Cathedrals, Vicarages, and we - what was left of us - would walk out into the streets and talk about God."¹

Many of Kelly's fellow Churchmen can be forgiven for interpreting such a statement as not that of a loyal Anglican. When some members of the Society of the Sacred Mission accused Kelly of taking a rigid Anglican line, they were really taunting him with the fact that he was not sufficiently pro-Roman. Catholicism to Father George D. Carleton,² for example, involved the acceptance of that Catholic system which was the Church of England's heritage as part of the historic Western Catholic Church.

Carleton wanted the Society to develop on traditional

1. HK to SSM, 4th October 1917.

2. See Carleton's Report on the S.S.M. to the Director, 13th June 1917.

monastic lines. There should be a separate life within the Kelham system for those who were full members of the Society. The Society as a whole should declare its freedom and autonomy within the Church of England.

"We should leave the Theological Colleges to look after their own way and heed or fight the bishops as they choose, while we should say calmly that we are a religious establishment, and our College analogous to the old monastic schools, and dare the bishops to refuse our candidates."¹

Here we have the embryo of a controversy within the Society that was to continue even to the present day.²

Kelly's reaction from Japan to Carleton's suggestion was particularly fierce, but Japan³ was far from Kelham and Carleton was at least as powerful a personality as Kelly. Thus the seeds of controversy were planted long before he returned to Kelham.

Kelly marshalled his objections to the partisan Catholicism growing within the Society, in a letter called To My Brethren, 14th October 1918. In it he reiterated the aims and principles of the Society which he founded: "The S.S.M. was founded to serve the Church - the Anglican Church in the 'strict sense'. Kelham teaching not Anglican but theological - open minded.... Partizanship is the danger

1. Ibid.

2. See the Kelham Newsletter, February 1971, on the proposed closure of the college.

3. HK kept in constant contact with Kelham as far as was possible all during the War. He received Carleton's views in a Newsletter, the latter sent from Modderpoort 18th July 1918. HK has marked his copy of the letter heavily in blue pencil.

to be fled from." But Carleton and his followers were determined to maintain what they believed to be the traditional Catholic position even at the expense of becoming an embarrassment, even a canker to the majority of Anglicans. Romanism, Ritualism and Catholicism were all of a piece. Carleton, who had been made Provincial in South Africa in 1916, had instituted a daily visit to the Blessed Sacrament during Lent. "I do not know how we got on without reservation at Kelham."¹

Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament became the key issue in the debate - a test of genuine Catholicity to those who were its devotees. Catholicism came to be judged on outward actions, genuflections, vestments, incense and the like; and Kelly found such a notion of Catholicism both ludicrous and incredible.

How could the Society of the Sacred Mission cohere at all? Could there be genuine unity in a Society plainly divided between those who were "Anglican" and those who were avowedly "Catholic"? Carleton put it this way:

"Is the compromise between an Anglican official religion and a personal Catholic one to be maintained in the Society? Or which of the two is to be the one and only? I have put it crudely. You know what I mean. The crucial point probably is: Are we to insist on Reservation in all our houses, or oppose it, or leave it optional?"

1. Carleton NL, 18th July 1918.

Reservation is the pivot at present."¹

On December 15th 1918 Carleton issued a fourteen page article, The Religious Life in the Society. It was a direct challenge to Kelly and raised two fundamental questions. Was the Society a Religious Society or an organization for specific work?, and Was the Society Catholic or Anglican? The nature of the Religious Life was the central issue in the controversy which too easily was obscured by minor ritualistic questions. What exactly is the Religious Life? Kelly founded the Society with no blueprint in mind; it evolved firstly because of immediate need and secondly by virtue of Kelly's peculiar vision. As time went by, however, there was a growing number of members of the Society who had joined as a result of a vocation to what they understood to be the classical religious life as generally understood in the Western tradition. Carleton was a man who, while being both able and affectionate, was totally different in outlook and temperament from Kelly. The trouble sprang from the fact that Carleton genuinely wished to be a monk in the Catholic post-Tridentine sense and not a member of the Society of the Sacred Mission. In his article, Carleton, in effect, threw down the gauntlet. Uncompromising in his criticism of Kelham, he called for a new rigorism and discipline within

1. Ibid. It should be noted that HK was not against Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament. He was against a policy of deliberately defying and antagonising the bishops.

the Society.

Kelly's reply, Reforms in the Society Life in 1919, denied Carleton's definition of the Society as a Religious Community in the traditional sense:

"SSM is not Religious. I do hold that SSM is an organisation for work. AND thereby Religious, so far as we separate or devote our lives to that purpose.... I believed that a new life might come out of average and mediocre people - organized."¹

Yet Kelham had developed from 1900 onwards, into a Religious Community of the standard Catholic Revival type. Kelly had been away too long. It was almost too late to return to the early simple form of the Society as he had seen it in 1890. There were, however, always some within the Society who shared the Kelly vision of theology and Catholicism.² What he feared most was that the Society should become weird and exotic in its life and worship. What was to be done? He knew how debilitating and damaging controversy was. How to speak the truth as he saw it without

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1. See letter to HK from Fr. Cyril Simpson SSM at the Mkuzi Priory in Tanganyika, 13th February 1922: "The more I read things of yours, especially written years ago, the more I am convinced that you never meant to start a Religious Order, and that SSM has changed and swerved from its original purpose. The more I read you the more I understand that you were trying to supply the Church with a stream of Priests thoroughly disciplined and with great ideals and who for their own sakes and for the sake of efficiency would hang together in an organization called SSM." All through the subsequent controversy HK was told by his opponents that he was not really a religious at all.
 2. Br. George Every maintains that Gabriel Hebert SSM and to a lesser extent Stephen Bedale SSM, shared something of Kelly's vision.

faith suffering an eclipse and love growing cold?

Kelly had strong views on the Religious life even if they were confused and ill-defined. What he lacked in clarity of speech he made up for in singleness of purpose. He was unable to remain silent and watch Kelham drifting steadily into the conventional Religious life, and an equally conventional Anglo-Catholicism. "Can you bear to contemplate a college of 200 (or 300) students turning out good Anglo-Cats by the dozen, year after year?.... I would rather the S.S.M. ceased to be and Kelham were closed down."¹ Yet paradoxically Kelly cannot be understood apart from his vocation to the Religious Life. He was in himself a natural monk, a true monos. He was, in many ways, a born hesychast, a solitary. Yet this very solitariness drove him to be involved with all that the world has to offer. In this respect also Kelly was remarkably like Father Benson of Cowley. Both men believed that the Religious lives not for personal holiness but to the glory of God. "This makes the religious", wrote Father Benson,

"to be a man not simply of the day, but a man of the moment, a man precisely up to the mark of the times. This makes the religious - so far from being the traditional imitator of bygone days - most specially a man of the present moment and its life."²

Kelly was a Religious in this Bensonian sense and his view of the Religious life remains alive at Kelham today. In

1. HK undated fragment: see his Memorandum for the Great Chapter.

2. Instructions in the Religious Life 3rd Series (1951) p.66.

October 1970 the Rumanian Theologian, Dumitriu Staniloae, visiting Kelham with Father A. M. Allchin, seeing one of the brethren preparing to identify with outcasts and criminals, commented, "This is what it means to be a true monk".

It is impossible with such a man as Kelly to dissect into neat categories his concept of the Religious life. As we have seen, he had read Rosmini, but what of the Jesuits?¹ the Dominicans? the Franciscans? the Oratorians? After all, Kelly had wanted the Society originally to be called the Society of the Divine Service.² Service was always the dominant note. Carleton, on the other hand, saw the Religious life as essentially a vocation to personal holiness under the three great Counsels of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience. Kelly argued against that definition. To him the Religious life was a state for whatever motive or purpose it is entered into. The three Counsels are not embraced in the Society of the Sacred Mission for their own sake but for the sake of service, to engage in a specific work. Kelly was certainly not in line with tradition in preferring not to make vows or promises. The idea of renewing vows was meaningless. "I trust you to do it on your bare will that you have made up your mind to do it."³ Carleton wanted to bring the Society into line with

1. HK read Piaget's La Compagnie de Jésus in 1894 when he was framing the Constitution of the S.S.M.

2. See Autobiography p.80.

3. HK ms. 19th February 1930.

his own more traditional view. Kelly's main point was that the members of the Society were not primarily bound to a way of life for the sake of their own holiness but for the sake of the service of the Church. As Kelly wrote to Father H. H. Firkins S.S.M. in South Africa, 13th September 1919, "To my mind that pursuit of your own holiness is Pelagianism, and contrary to all evangelical doctrine."¹ Pelagianism, not Protestantism was the opposite of Catholicism to Kelly. The idea that a man could dedicate his whole life to personal sanctification appalled as much as it baffled him.

The tensions within Kelly, the man, were naturally manifested within the Society; a tension between vision on the one hand and system on the other. It was, in a sense, a battle between the Franciscan and Ignatian ideals. Carleton and others plainly wanted to emphasise the latter at the expense of the former. Obedience to a strict rule was, to their way of thinking, the first requirement of a Religious. Kelly believed in obedience too, but not to a rule - or system, but to God. The Society "is primarily an outlook - or atmosphere", wrote Kelly many years later. "Like all Religious, we have an ideal of obedience, but

1. HK added, "You came to serve God. You...must not make anything of your own an object of pursuit, not even your own soul, or your own piety. You must leave all that to God...you work for the Church and not your own theories. She is in God's hands help her. Don't fight against her. Be content to suffer many things with her." Fr. H. Woodward S.S.M. backed HK's assertion that the dominant idea behind S.S.M. was service. See letter 18th August 1919.

uncorrelated with independence, it does not make obedience.¹
 To say that the Society was an outlook or atmosphere was intolerably vague to some of the members yet this was part of the Kelly vision from the very beginning - the vision of a free Catholicism, generous enough to embrace all men. Carleton wanted to treat the Catholic Faith as well as the constitution of the Society as a book of law. The latter "is not a book of law. It is primarily a guide to an ideal, - to be used by practical men."²

The Constitution of the Society of the Sacred Mission embodied for Kelly much of what he believed to be the nature of Catholicism. We may compare the Catholic Faith with the Constitution of the Society. What Kelly says of one we may apply to the other. Thus Kelly wrote,

"The Constitution assumes a certain spirit. The Principles come first.... The Spirit ..., of self-forgetfulness.... You cannot seek God's way and your own; you cannot love God and have your mind set on your own opinions and on what people say or think of you, or how they treat you.... To my mind, now and ever, a man who demands 'justice' in a religious cause, in a Christian cause, stands self-condemned. In the world let men of the world ask for their personal rights. We seek God and His glory - what have we to do with rights of our own, and justice to ourselves?"³

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1. HK Constitution of a Directors' Council 9pp. typed MS, 20th July 1934.
 2. HK to Fr. Wm. Norton S.S.M., 3rd March 1910. See also HK's approach to the Offices, in a letter to all Provincials, 10th July 1906: "We do not exist to say offices. Rather we say offices that our spiritual life may exist."
 3. HK to Fr. Wm. Norton, 24th February 1910.

In the same way Catholicism is primarily concerned with the glory of God and not with rules, formularies, and hierarchies. Kelly's Catholic vision did not fit into any Catholic Party Programme. His failure to particularise infuriated more traditional Catholics. As he wrote to his old friend Neville Talbot, who became Bishop of Pretoria in 1920, "I have always - long before there was an S.S.M. - dreamt in world terms. I have no particular aims. I want the glory of God."¹ The Catholic Wing of the Church of England, however, had very definite objectives.

Thus Kelly's vision of Catholicism is extremely difficult to grasp. Essentially indefinable, it defies accurate description. To others Catholicism was, and still is, a definable thing, a corpus of tradition and practice which one accepts or rejects. Once accepted the path of the believer is well delineated, perfectly clear. Many prefer the rigid assurance of the latter rather than the apparently chimerical vision of the former. After the 1914-18 War many men were in no mood for vague religious atmospheres. They wanted well-defined programmes and uncompromising rules. It was this unthinking authoritarian side of Catholicism to which Kelly so strongly objected.

Catholics

"say, (Western fashion) - 'Holy Church teaches', as if the Catholic faith was

1. HK to NT, 14th June 1921. Talbot was largely in sympathy with HK over the issue of Catholicism. The Bishop looked with an unfavourable eye on Carleton's activities at Modderpoort. NT wrote to HK, 7th May 1921, "I don't think that a day passes without my thinking of something I have learnt from you....".

a little prescript thing in arranged boxes. I want a living thing with infinite meaning to it. I tell my boys 'By the very meaning of the word, it cannot be a thing you know or possess. Your mind cannot be a universal mind'." ¹

Kelly's view of Catholicism was bound to be at odds with those who looked constantly to Trent and Vatican I for inspiration and guidance.

A Great Chapter was scheduled for 1920. The time was ripe for change. A battle of wills was inevitable. Carleton was an obvious candidate for Director. The South African Province was almost totally in Carleton's hands. There he was supreme and could develop his own plans. ² The English Province remained suspicious. If a man like Carleton were elected would the S.S.M. ever be the same again? His attitude towards Kelly became widely known throughout the Society. As David Jenks S.S.M. wrote to Kelly on 22nd February 1918: "You are to him a bit of an old fogey who does not understand the 'Religious Life' or S.S.M. (G.D.C. understands them.)" By the time the Great Chapter met in 1920 the stage was set for a confrontation between the opposing parties. The issue at heart was the nature of Catholicism. On one side stood Father Kelly and many members of the English Province, on the other Father Carleton and the South African Province. Father Gerald Murphy, the other important actor in the drama, stood somewhat apart from both

1. HK to N. Talbot, 14th June 1921.

2. See Carleton's Report, Easter 1919, in which he mentions HK as the Father Founder who opposed the experience of the brethren in the South African Province.

factions,¹ and although he had done much to "catholicise" liturgical practice and custom at Kelham,² he had little affection for Carleton himself, and certainly opposed the proposal of the latter as director. Both Murphy and Carleton were difficult men to handle, both had little love for the English Church.³ Carleton was dominant, charismatic and overbearing. Murphy, though intellectually brilliant (he lectured in philosophy and dogmatics) tended to be emotionally weak and vacillating. Kelly himself was no less difficult. His main weakness lay in the fact that he failed to take his opponents seriously. He was content to call them all "spikes" and deny that they had any genuine or pertinent points to make. In fact Carleton did have a very important point to make: namely, that the Religious Community should be firmly established first before further work was done on the college.

Neither Carleton nor Murphy were to be taken lightly. Both were strong candidates for the leadership of the Society, the whole future of which hung in the balance of the vote of

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1. Murphy was asked to test the feeling of the Brethren as regards the Society and the College. See Memo., 10th September 1919.
 2. Gerald Murphy and Cyril Whitworth did this while Jenks was away.
 3. HK in letter to N. Talbot, 14th June 1921. "Murphy says, 'The C of E is repulsive'."

the 1920 Chapter.¹ Kelly believed that if either were elected his own future in the Society would be necessarily jeopardized. In fact he had made this perfectly clear to Father Jenks in a letter of August 1918 with particular reference to Gerald Murphy.² This sort of talk on Kelly's part certainly put unfair pressure on his brethren. In effect he seemed to be saying, "If you elect either of these men, I shall leave."³

It is, perhaps, difficult for us to realise exactly how unstable the life of the Society was during the War. Most of the time was spent at Mirfield, and Father Jenks had the difficult task of keeping the Society together. Romanisers were a constant problem. In the middle of the controversy Father W. Denny S.S.M., Curate of St. George's Church, Nottingham, became a Roman Catholic. In Nottingham he had pursued an extreme Anglo-Catholic policy and eventually Fr. Jenks felt obliged to suppress the practice of

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1. See Minutes of Kelham Provincial Chapter 10th September 1919: "On March 19th it was carried unanimously 'That Fr. Gerald Murphy be nominated for election as Director of the Society'". See also the South African Province Report, 19th January 1919: "That this Province desires that Fr. Carleton be elected Director... That this Province is strongly convinced that it is necessary that there should be Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament and access to it.... And that this Reservation and devotion shall be practised, even in the case of episcopal disapproval.... All the above was passed nem. con."
 2. "If Gerald takes Kelham, there will be no place for me there. HK added: "That is the simplest issue. A battle between the influence of G.D.C. and H.H.K."
 3. Yet HK could write in his memo. Re. Fr. Gerald, 26th November 1920: "It is for Fr. Gerald to make the House and through it the S.S.M.... I am blocking the road of the only man who can do it. I have felt for 12 mos. past that I ought to get out." See also NL 5th December 1920, The Catastrophe.

Benediction.¹

Catholicism, far from being an inclusive, unifying thing, was exclusive and divisive, and in the popular mind was essentially a romantic, southern European religion with a strong emotional appeal, highly charged with what passed for the mystical. This view was so common that it seemed irresistible. There was a definite and unhealthy anti-intellectual flavour about this form of Catholicism which appalled Kelly. Carleton seemed to be the arch-representative of an unreflective, dogmatic and emotional Catholicism. Kelly had always maintained that

"the whole hope of Catholicism lay in intellectualism.... a quiet patient, reflective reasonableness, - instead of this dogmatic infallibilism, based half on authority, but per consequens on party instinct.... I should be much less inclined to be sure I was right, if the other side were not so convinced they were. It is their infallibilism and violence, and contemptuousness, above all their contempt for reasonableness and thought which alienate me."²

It seemed that Kelly was powerless to stop the Society embracing what he later called "this Denominational Catholicism".³ One man made the heroic attempt to reconcile Kelly and Carleton: Father H.H. Firkins S.S.M. Firkins was convinced that both the protagonists in the "battle of

1. See D. Jenks NL 13th December 1918. Fr. Denny returned to the Church of England in 1926, married and was Vicar of St. Edmund's, Northampton, from 1932-1970.

2. HK undated c. August 1918 to David Jenks.

3. HK Note, 10th August 1931.

giants"¹ were good and talented men. And so they were. Firkins urged on them a mutual tolerance of which neither was capable.

It is no wonder that the Chapter of 1920 was a stormy and difficult one. It looked as if the battle for the Directorship would be fought out between Carleton and Murphy. The latter, however, was in a very nervous state and under considerable stress. Murphy evidently made it clear that if Carleton were elected he would leave the Society and both Kelly and Jenks at least gave the same impression.² Clearly, neither candidate would meet the needs of the Society. One was nearing a nervous breakdown, and would be incapable of leading the Society; the other, if elected, would inevitably invite schism. What was to be done?

Murphy's solution was the most drastic one offered. The Great Chapter should dissolve the Society. Father Wilfred Hambridge S.S.M. in a letter to Kelly, in April 1920, summed up the situation:

"We had a long talk with Gerald these last few days. I am even more convinced than I was that it would be sheer folly to put him in as Director in his present state. He insists that he has no longer any love for the Society, nor belief in it. I very much suspect he is on the edge of a breakdown.... He says he has :

1. HHF to HK, 8th June 1920. HK remained convinced long afterwards that Carleton was both "false and dishonest" - HK letter 22nd July 1930.

2. See letter of Carleton to HK, 23rd March 1920.

written to you strongly urging that the Great Chapter should close us down and wind up our affairs.... I want to tell you that I think he's right. I believe it would be the very best way out of our present folly. And then some of us would get you to give us a fresh start..... We want to simplify and to de-Religionise.... It seems to me very clear that Carleton-ism and Kelly-ism can't live in the same Society G.D.C. insists that B.S.A. [South Africa] has made your original ideal a living one, as it has never lived before anywhere: I can only reply that I think B.S.A. is exactly the death of our original ideal. Much as the followers of S. Francis killed his spirit and established Franciscanism."

Here was a solution which Kelly totally rejected. The idea of refounding the Society at the age of sixty appalled him. No doubt if he had begun again, he would have done the same thing - "but without cassocks, without offices, and try for a ten year profession to start with 'as a period'"² Perhaps it is a pity Kelly was not given the chance to begin again. What actually happened was neither cataclysmic nor disastrous. A fourth candidate for the Directorship was offered, Father J.C. White S.S.M., and he was duly elected. White put Murphy in charge of the Mother House and made Carleton a Provincial. It was hoped that a few years of peace and quiet would enable the rebuilding of the Society.

The question of Catholicity, however, had merely been shelved by the Society, it had not been answered.

1. Murphy to HK, 14th April 1920. "I find myself hopelessly staring into vacuity".

2. HK letter, 10th March 1922.

Carleton continued as Provincial in South Africa and maintained his own line. The deeper effects of the controversy were still to be felt. Kelly was a stranger in his own house. Murphy was even convinced that Kelly was deliberately wrecking his attempt to run the College.¹ It was not long before there appeared further splits in the Kelham ranks. Carleton was not the only one who appeared disobedient and disloyal to the Church of England. The Priory at Nottingham continued to develop on extreme Anglo-Catholic lines. People seemed content to go their own way. The situation seemed intractable, yet paradoxically the number of applicants to Kelham remained very high all through the crisis.²

Kelly felt even more isolated than before. Anglo-Catholicism, in his mind at any rate, had triumphed within

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1. See S. Bedale S.S.M. to HK, 29th January 1925. Bedale describes HK as the Rock on which Murphy split. HK remained bitter about the whole affair. See Autobiography p.82. See also HK to Fr. H. Woodward, 15th September 1922: "1920 is mixed up with the awful tragedy of G.M. His leadership as Prior was at first inspiring. But first he quarrelled with me because I would not accept that S.S.P.P.* line.... Then came the Great Chapter. The B.S.A. deputation stood solid. The Home Chapter had made up its mind it could not trust G.M. but also it would not accept G.D.C. on any terms. Fr. Joseph was a gift of God.... (G.D.C.'s) critical and unconcealed contempt for the House, his sarcastic comments to novices (most improper) in self-confidence, his pushing his own position, seemed evident..... Please note, we are just riding on the fine edge of a smash..... G.M. cannot go on long."
(* the Society of S.S.Peter and Paul, dedicated to extreme Anglo-Catholic ideals.) - this, in fact, is an unfair judgement by HK.
 2. Fr. Peter Clarke S.S.M. writes in a note June 1971, "Whilst the Carleton Affair was raging, the normal life, for students at least, went on - chapel lectures meals were not impeded. I should say the majority was anti-Carleton..... Gerald's outbursts were bad enough but mostly we liked him, admired him for his power of mind."

the Society. "I do not live at Kelham. I live in B.12 [his room]. I never go to Chapter..... I am simply yearning to get to a place where I need not fight my own brethren."¹ These words express his blackest moods during the twenties and thirties. From 1920 onwards Kelly saw himself as virtually the sole representative of an open and free Catholicism. Indeed he was lonely but not without allies and certainly not as isolated and cut off as he often supposed, in spite of the fact that there were not many Anglican Catholics at this time fighting for definite evangelical principles.

The point Kelly tried to make to his brethren was that Catholicism is not the gospel. It is rather, the appointed way of presenting it. This is why he believed the word "evangelical" to be important because

"the substance of Christianity is a Gospel - just that. Redemption by the Rock of Ages, Resurrection, the power of the Spirit..... To my boys here I am saying:- I do not care what you can do with Christ in a Church (Tabernacle) so much as I want to know what He will do with you in the street. For the Catholic man (the common man) spends most of his time in the street."²

In one sense Kelly can be regarded as anti-Catholic. He loathed the tendency of some to worship the Mass. That is why he is suspicious of the practice of Reservation, though he nowhere condemns it completely. To him there

1.HK to N. Talbot, 14th June 1921.

2.HK to Bishop S. Heaslett in Japan. 25th June 1922.

was little to choose between the "Catholic's" interest in the Tabernacle and the "Protestant's" fascination with his own feelings. Kelly was a Catholic in that he asserted the primacy of sacramental worship: "You will not get the Gospel presented unless it begins from worship. That is (to my mind) the Catholic point."¹

Kelly's correspondence for 1922 is dominated by this topic of Catholicism. He naturally wrote to his Japanese friends about it since it was a theme which he had developed while he was with them. He wrote to the Reverend Timothy Nakamura, on 22nd April 1922,

"What is Catholic must be simple and common. But it must also be scholarly, it must be social as well as individual. It must be modern as well as old and orthodox.... If you make Catholic truth a very small thing, so that you can say:- 'Oh, this is Catholicity', God will laugh at you.

Catholicism was not a thing to be grasped at, to possess. It was something which grasped and possessed the believer. Such organizations as the Society of S.S. Peter and Paul, and the English Church Union, tended to foster a possessive Catholicism. Once you have read some little Catholic manual

"you're all right and anyone else is wrong, and'll go to 'ell. The moment you begin to ask why, or what it's good for, -you can't answer, and no-one will listen to you. R.C.ism is a glorious success and the Salvation Army, and

1. Ibid.

Calvinism. Men die for a possession and only a very small thing can be possessed."¹

Anglo-Catholicism, however, was on the march under the banner of Catholic practice: "Reservation and Benediction".² "God is no more than an excuse for the Mass"³, had captivated many members of the Society. In a letter, probably to Gerald Murphy, 14th May 1922, Kelly berated the Kelham Catholic Party:

".....like the Puritan, Suffragettes, Sinn Fein - like the revolutionaries of America, France and Russia, you have a programme to make good. We had a large faith - and a large tolerance for men of different views - e.g. you and G.D.C. You have a programme. And as the Bolshevik turned on the Menshevik, so you turn on me. 'I am not a Religious'. All right. But what Society did you join?"⁴

The partisan spirit saw Catholicism as all of a piece. Its adherents were not unlike the novice master who "made little or no distinction between belief in the Scapular and belief in the Incarnation, as far as either was a test of orthodoxy; all come to us equally from 'Holy Mother Church!'"⁵ To Kelly the Catholic Party within the Church

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1. HK letter 10th March 1922. See NL Vol.VI for HK on Anglo-Catholic Movement.
 2. On 24th November 1922 the Bishop of Salisbury wrote to HK suggesting that Kelly and others (Gore) should get together and write something theologically sound about such things as Reservation and Transubstantiation.
 3. HK letter, 27th December 1922.
 4. In this same letter HK hints that Carleton was trying to get him out of the Society and that Murphy was trying to counteract his influence in the College. "HK... 'is not a Religious', but he is a member of S.S.M. and he is waiting for God."
 5. George Tyrrell: Autobiography Vol.I, Edward Arnold, London, 1912, p.205.

of England made little or no distinction between "the Deity of Our Lord, and fasting communion".¹ The greatest weakness of partisan Catholics was their obvious contempt for authority.²

It was inevitable that the Romanising Catholics within the Society should come up against the problem of authority. There was, indeed, something strange in a convinced Catholic being contemptuous of the episcopate,³ and something alarmingly irregular in a self-confessed dedicated religious refusing to obey his superior. In 1922 Father George Carleton refused to send aid to Kelham and at first disobeyed the summons of the Director, Father White, to return to Kelham from South Africa. Meanwhile at the Mother House, George Murphy collapsed under the mounting strain. By Easter he had become simply a passenger. In May 1922 Father Stephen Bedale, the novice master, was made Warden of the College. He was only thirty-three. As often happens in times of crisis, a new personality appears, strong and dominant, who is able to restore a sense of balance and order. Father Bedale set out to restore morale.

1. HK letter, 27th December 1922.

2. HK to Fr. H.W. Woodward S.S.M., 15th September 1922: "Please note...as a matter of policy we must work for the Church... one step taken by the Church on her vision, is worth 50 by a party."

3. Bishop of Southwell to Fr. J.C. White S.S.M., 12th July 1922: "I cannot recognize any authority on the part of those at Kelham to depart from the use of the Prayer Book in the Communion Service... Young boys should not be brought up to imagine that every priest can take the law into his own hands. They must learn as a fundamental principle that they must await the decision of the Synods of the Church."

He did so at the heavy cost of hard discipline. He had been told by Father Murphy that the Society needed a Dictator if it was to be saved.¹ Carleton remained in South Africa and first asked to be released from the Society in November 1922.² Murphy did the same in December.

Carleton's disobedience caused Fr. White to send a letter to all the fully professed brethren on 25th February 1923. It contained the following: "I consider Fr. George to be disloyal to the Society and to me both in spirit and in act". Carleton finally returned to Kelham during the Summer of 1923. He appears to have remained unrepentant and troublesome, and finally left the Society, causing great distress both to himself and his brethren.

With Carleton's departure on 5th August 1924, the Society began to settle down to a more or less peaceful routine. Only one man remained discontent and that was Herbert Kelly. His dissatisfaction with the way the House and Society were going, was almost a matter of policy with him. His next opponent was Father Stephen Bedale, the Warden of the College, who epitomized for Kelly that authoritarian Catholicism which he so much opposed.³ The focus of attention

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1. See S. Bedale to HK, undated 1930: people needed to rediscover "the meaning of obedience and recover that military self-respect".
 2. Father H.H. Firkins S.S.M., in a letter to the Director, 24th November 1922, writing on behalf of the South African Provincial Chapter lists G.C.'s good points - twenty-seven of them.
 3. HK was certainly unfair in laying most of the blame at Bedale's feet. The latter, in many ways, was one of the few who really understood what Kelly's original aim was and tried to preserve it. Fr. Reginald Tribe, in a note, 1925, describes HK as "truculent, one-sided, and provocative". It was indeed Fr. Tribe, if anyone, who represented Anglo-Catholicism within the Society.

was now the Chapel and the practices which had become part of the Kelham Use. The Book of Common Prayer was not followed either in letter or in spirit. To Kelly this was a mark of disobedience on the part of a Society that was specifically founded to serve the Church. In January 1925¹ Kelly wrote to Bedale, who was by that time Prior of the House: "I used to be so proud of our Chapel, and its carefully purposed worship. Now I hate to go into it.... Quite solemnly, as things stand, if I were not a member of S.S.M. I would not join it."

Kelly's main complaint was that there was no open and free discussion of differences within the Society. Yet "the Old Man" himself hardly helped matters by making known his own feelings in such a way as to inhibit free discussion. In 1920 he had declared provocatively that he would not stop in the House if priests were allowed to say private masses. His feelings were so strong that his brethren were frankly frightened to inaugurate a discussion with him. Father Bedale replied, on 29th January 1925, to Kelly's letter. It was not calculated to ingratiate the recipient:

"Apart from the fact that you have held a pistol to our heads in the past, and if you are not actually doing that at the moment, are at least fingering your hip pocket again suggestively and you have been, and are in an attitude of public protest against the accepted forms of worship here.... Are you really blind

1. At about the same time HK wrote his Appeal to the S.S.M. concerning the fate of the Society.

to the fact that the greater part of this House sums up the situation (rightly or wrongly) by saying, 'Fr. Kelly means to get his own way'."

Father Bedale makes a good point here (his reply to Kelly runs to eighteen pages) and one which Kelly could not afford to ignore. The Prior was as relentless in his criticism of Kelly as he was accurate:

"When you drop that affectation of extreme misery at having to attend our present Mass - it isn't as bad as all that you know and I cannot help believing that you must realise it. When you succeed in giving your brother the impression that you have made a sincere attempt to see (his) point.... and have not treated it simply as an opposing... 'case' to be twisted and misrepresented, or a schoolboy's essay to be 'corrected': when, in a word, you are more successful in convincing others that those spiritual and moral dangers attendant upon intellectual discussion which you point out so freely and so truly you have also really faced as potential, almost inevitable, dangers for yourself. Forgive me."¹

What are we to say in Kelly's defence? Firstly, Kelly's main point, on the nature of authority, was a valid one, in spite of his cantankerous manner in making it (the Book of Common Prayer was, after all, authoritative for Anglicans); secondly, genuine Catholic principles were at stake and Kelly was one of the few people at the time who fully appreciated the sectarian danger of Anglo-Catholicism; thirdly, Kelly was already exhausted and irritated by controversy with Romanisers on the one side and "Modernists" on

1. Fr. Bedale did in fact ask permission of the Diocesan for the Society to use the Kelham rite.

the other. Kelham seemed to him to have been trapped by the former. The Society and College inevitably became involved in the great Anglo-Catholic Congresses of the 1920's and while Kelly did not condemn all these deliberations he was both distressed and alarmed by their tone.¹

He was particularly angry over the way in which some Anglo-Catholics used the Mass to taunt and whip their opponents, in much the same way that Catholics at the Counter-Reformation emphasized those elements of Catholic worship calculated to offend Protestants the most. As for the Mass, Kelly wrote, "we hold it up, play, expound, enhance it, mass and more mass and daily masses and more, dozens of them, daily masses, and communions, and daily communions. Till the thing stinks."² This kind of Kelly statement shocked many of his brethren. Kelly was angry that Catholicism should be made into an idol and substituted for God.

Kelly was, in the 1920's and 1930's a living and threatening reminder of what the Society stood for

- "A. The Service of the Church
- B. by the organized devotion
- C. of free-minded members."³

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1. Priests continued to disobey their bishops with regard to Reservation. In 1927 the 1300 Group of Anglo-Catholic Priests, though generally in favour of the Prayer Book Measure, produced The Green Book, as Anglo-Catholic Prayer Book. HK rejected it as sectarian and divisive. Fr. Reginald Tribe S.S.M., who was an active supporter of the Congress, came under attack from HK. To be fair The Green Book was a genuine contribution to the debate.
 2. HK to someone in Cambridge, in 1925.
 3. HK Memorandum to Great Chapter 1930. He wrote prolifically, memoranda, notes, articles, lectures and appeals.

This indeed was the essence of Catholicism, Sobornost, loving and free association and co-operation.

Thus ended the Carleton Affair. All that it stood for highlights in a living way Kelly's negative and positive qualities and gives us a glimpse of the two Catholicisms which stood in opposition to one another.¹

1. Much of the controversy was set out years later in HK's Notes on the Proposed Kelham Calendar, 31st March 1941. "Over 50 years ago I gave my life to the Church. I thought then that there could be nothing better than an organized devotion, not official and mechanical as in the army..... I knew the dangers of all organized parties, and the special dangers of a 'Religious Society', as the Jesuits showed in the Roman Church. Since the time of Fr. Whitworth, an avowedly party man, of Fr. Murphy who followed him, and of Frs. Carleton and Davison who outpaced him, I have seen a continuous, at first quite open, departure from the principles of the Society. I will refer to some usages still extant.

1. Communion in one kind....
2. The use of direct Invocation to the B.V.M.
3. I would also refer to the practically indefinite multiplication of priests masses."

(Note: Communion in one kind here seems to refer to sick communion.)

(b) Catholicism in the Church at Large.

Now that we have explored Kelly's life and experiences, both as a teacher of theology and as a daunting controversialist, it is time to look at his theology proper. With a theologian who anticipated and paralleled much of the thought of Karl Barth, it may seem strange that we should begin with his idea of the Church rather than with the doctrine of God. It is not strange, however, if we remember that Barth's magnum opus is, after all, his Church Dogmatics. There is no doubt that the glory and sovereignty of God were uppermost in Kelly's mind. We begin with his concept of the Church, of Catholicism simply because it is in the Catholic Church that we find the workings of the God who was in Christ. By "Catholic Church" we do not allude to any particular institution but use it as a term which more than any other asserts the central sacramentalism of the Christian Faith, and of the God who dwells with his people.

Kelly was a believer in the anima naturaliter catholica:

"Christianity is essentially "Catholic", i.e. a faith for all men. There is something in human nature which intimately corresponds to it since plainly there could be no Gospel of unity tending to brotherhood if unity and brotherhood were not innate principles."¹

The Japanese knew how to use the word "Catholic". Catholicity, collegiality, sobornost, is a way of expressing

1. HK Church History Schemes, Vol.I, p.45. (1925).

a fact of human existence:

"To understand human life we must recognize that (a) there is no such thing as an isolated act, but only an act in sequence, largely a result of what has gone before; so..... (b) there is no such thing as an isolated soul.... This is a sheer matter of fact."¹

As we have seen, Kelly meant by "fact" that which is objectively the "same" whether one knows it or not, whether one even cares about it or not. Kingsley had taught him "the catholicity of facts" - the geological structure of rock. Things "are what they are in spite of all the varieties of our ignorance and theorising or absence of theories".² The common "facts" of Christianity are the Incarnation and Atonement. The Nippon Sei Ko Kwai, the Holy Catholic Church of Japan, was simply a name for the Church "so that Catholic Faith means 'the Faith of the Church', - without any subconscious reference to the view of it held by any particular group."³ It was not partisan, nor was it individualistic.

Men find it difficult, however, to remain learners for ever. Perhaps Kelly underestimated man's need to belong to small groups or even cliques, although it would be unfair to suggest that he ignored man's urge to belong to groups, to communities, to Churches. What he did deny, constantly and vehemently, was the right of these small units to call

1. HK. Church History Schemes, Vol.II, ch.26, p.119.

2. HK to Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass., 9th April 1912. "In religion we must seek reality above everything."

3. NL from Japan, 20th November 1916.

themselves Catholic.

"Plainly, nothing which comes under an 'ism can be in any sense 'Catholic'. An 'ism is a view - a thing possessed My - anyone's - 'ism can only be a factor in Catholicity - it cannot be Catholic simply. It is not an excessive Catholicism which claims to be Catholic. It is anti-Catholic - opposed to its very principle which is faith in the inclusiveness of God. The one real note of a Catholic mind is his willingness to learn and the belief that one has a great deal to learn (e.g. from Prots), even if one also had something to give. It is for this reason that 'Catholicity' belongs to a Church.... The peculiar difficulty with Rome is that it is so essentially a party, i.e. a Denomination. It is just not quite so. There is still some life in it - some faith of the Spirit - but it very nearly crushed out.... To my mind the bottom ground is theological - a matter of unbelief, i.e. in the reality and activity of God and God's spirit. It is Rabbinism and all we have to do with God is keep His rules, 'And my people love to have it so'. This is the fascination of parties.... A programme is a much more delightful thing than a faith."¹

A programme is for individuals, a faith is for everyone.

Salvation consisted in the individual being saved from himself, and not by himself.² This is God's world and it is the world which we share with others. So we begin with Catholicism in this sense, that is to say with a sacramentalist approach to the universe, and the sacramentalist, incarnational approach is the key to Kelly's theology - to his "Barthianism" as well as his "Catholicism". Kelly

1. HK MS. 28th June 1930.

2. HK MS. July 1912. See HK article in S.S.M. Quarterly: The Will of God for our Life. "The problem of all human life is the problem and the relationship of an individual to an order in which he finds himself."

in his own day was called a "rigid Augustinian"¹, a term rather loosely applied to his thought. In general terms it described a person whose theology dwelt on the grace of God and the gifts of Grace rather than on human apprehension. The word "Augustinian" tended to be used at the beginning of the century in the kind of way that the word "Barthian" was used some twenty or thirty years later, to signify God's gifts and God's grace rather than man's theories and man's theologies. Sacramentalism is the vital link between Kelly's "Barthianism" or "Augustinianism" and his Catholicism. Why did he emphasize the Sacraments? "Because we want to have nothing to do with Pelagianism. We are nothing; we can do nothing."² Kelly confused his protestant detractors by proclaiming the priority of God's grace and brutally attacked those supporters of a rigid Anglo-Catholicism who made sacraments into works, and the Church into a community of the satisfied and contented.

Was Sacramentalism, in reality, a bulwark against Pelagianism? Kelly believed it could be. The trouble with Sacramentalism as popularly understood in the West was that it had degenerated into being miraculous rather than mysterious, magic rather than communion. The Sacrament of the Eucharist had suffered most. The Mass was seen as the specially covenanted and promised Epiphany of God on

1. William Temple's introduction to Mens Creatrix, Macmillan and Co., London, 1917, p.7.

2. Articles in Church Times by the German pastor Paul le Seur in HK Cuttings, p.70.

the altars of Christendom. There had developed an interest in the exact time and mode of this presence in the rite. Was the crucial moment the Epiclesis, the words of Institution? Theologians were anxious to be able to say categorically, "This is the moment of change, and this is the formula which makes it...." Kelly continues, "I elevate, I genuflect, and all the rest and I find it enormously difficult to think in any other terms... Yet I can see well enough our 'Western' view is not Catholic, it is one view".¹ To Kelly, the Eucharist, whatever else it does, puts before us in fact and in figure the whole mystery of Redemption. This is why the Eucharist is central to Christianity as both Catholic and Evangelical. The Eucharist, like all sacraments, points to the initiative, and prevenient grace of God. It appeared many people thought that they had "trapped" God in the Church, a notion that is in essence as blasphemous as it is absurd. Our ideas about God and the Church can easily degenerate into idols and idols have to be smashed:

"It is the essence of an idol that it is small and can be grasped. God is very great and must be worshipped. You may worship God in the Mass, but God is not comprehended in the Mass, nor is the infinite mystery of the Mass to be comprehended in something yet smaller. It is appalling that the word 'Catholic', which itself speaks of infinity, should be reduced to things like these (outward

1. HK letter 21st June 1924. He quotes Aquinas' non sicut in loco. See HK's Catholicity chs. III & IV: "With Scripture, the sacraments are the essentially Catholic presentation of the Gospel." p.127.

observances). What you can do with Christ in a Church is in any case less vital than what Christ will do with you in the street."¹

Catholics tended to regard the Sacraments as primary to such an extent that God was seen to be bound by them. In a letter to his brother Arthur, 14th May 1925, Herbert Kelly caricatured the Anglo-Catholic Creed as stating, "He came down from heaven in order to institute the Mass".² Yet "not even the doctrine of transubstantiation can take the mystery out of a sacrament".³

Thus, whichever word we use to describe Kelly's theological stance (Barthian, Augustinian, anti-Pelagian) it comes back time and time again to his intoxicating concern with the sovereignty and glory of God. As Kelly put it in his Autobiography: "Catholicity is a faith in the infinity of God - not in a cycle of ideas and devotions."⁴ Man needed to be reminded that God could do without him - he was not dependent on us to get things straight for Him:

"It is absurd to say 'I believe in the Holy Catholic Church', when in fact the Church depends on us. Let us have a revised creed, - 'I believe in Church workers! We are ready to give God everything - except ourselves. And all

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1. NL, 27th December 1922. See also HK's notes at the end of his NLS 1918-1923. HK quotes two "Catholics" as saying: "God is no more than an excuse for the Mass" and "on two points the Catholic party will accept no compromise, - the Deity of our Lord, and fasting Communion."
 2. HK: "Now - I never like the word MASS, the folk seem to think it is 'Catholic'. I prefer to call it 'Communion' - as the Prayer Book does." 5th October 1942.
 3. HK ms notes on 18th Century History.
 4. p.21.

the failure which comes upon us is the lesson of God's love. He will not be served that way."¹

Just as Catholics fail to be truly catholic, so Evangelicals fail to be evangelical. Kelly tells of a conversation he had with an ardent Evangelical who was visiting Kelham. They both asserted their belief in the Real Presence in the Eucharist. Kelly then went on to ask,

"Do you mean on the altar by consecration, or to the communicant by his communion?....

"No, to the communicant certainly."

"To the fit communicant or the unfit?"

"To the fit."

"Then you mean that Jesus Christ comes down from heaven to be your food and life, because you are a nice pious person. You call yourself an Evangelical - nothing in my hand I bring etc. - yet you say it was your fitness which did all this."²

The essence of worship is the total self-offering of the worshipper to God. Everything had to be sacrificed - even ideas of fitness and pious thoughts.

Kelly takes as his starting point the opening words of the Athanasian Creed: "If anyone wants to be saved, it is first necessary that he should hold a Catholic Faith, and the Catholic Faith is that we worship one God.... There are three words - saved, Catholic, faith. Let us see what the writer means by them."³ Salvation means whole-

1. Article in CQR, "Community Work and The Church of England", July 1912, p.268-9.

2. HK U.S.A. Diary and Papers 1912 (ms.in margin).

3. HK, Catholicity, S.C.M. London, 1932, p.49. Dedicated to the Nippon Seikokwai, with a preface by William Temple. The central part of the book was written in Japan.

ness, Catholic suggests its universal applicability, and faith (as opposed to religion) reflects its givenness, the revelatory nature of Christianity.¹

Catholicity involves unquestionable universalism. Science in this sense is Catholic. Heresy, whether in the scientific or religious realm, is the worship of or faith in our opinions. Writing in 1932 Kelly asserted,

"Today we are learning in rather terrible fashions the fact of economic or commercial Catholicity. There have been times when nations could live by themselves, and times when they imagined they could get rich by themselves. That is the way of greed and jealousy."²

Kelly saw the Sacraments as analogous to the objective world which is given to the scientist; they speak of the givenness of God and as such sacramentalism is vital to Catholic principle. It

"touches all the theology (and that means philosophy) since the beginning. It is essentially practical; i.e. it belongs to men's everyday parish work. Therefore it is the sort of thing that must be simply positive, conclusive....

1. See HK's ms on Liturgy at Kelham 1941: "I note three principles:

- (i) All truth of whatever is lies in the unity of God's creative purpose beyond and standing under the difference of appearances....
- (ii) All rightness of life and conduct begin from faith in this unity and continuity which are in God....
- (iii) All unrighteousness comes from a grasping at the immediate under the notion that these separate things or happenings can be forced ...to our advantage and pleasure."

2. Ibid., p.64.

On this subject I have to provide missiles, hand bombs, easy to throw."¹

Before Kelly could provide his men with missiles he had to clear the field for action. Many saw the Church primarily in institutional terms. Kelly believed the institution to be important but as a means of our being the Body of Christ on earth, and not an end in itself. One other great impediment had to be removed, that of partisan Catholicism. "It will mean a great deal if we can only learn of ourselves to keep constantly in mind that

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1. NL, 7th September 1929. Kelly summed up his view on Sacramentalism in a letter to the Reverend T. F. Taylor, 7th July 1937:

- "1. Everything in the universe is a sacrament - outward and visible sign....
2. Wherefore God ordained certain sacraments as types whereby we might know all mysteries, as He explains some parables.
3. All other parables are but variants of the one WORD of God through whom also He made the heavens and the earth.
4. And the Word was made 'flesh' and we beheld.
5. That is sacrament = gospel, the story of events etc. all of which have meaning, significance, res, according to what they express."

See also HK's U.S.A. Diary 1912. The burden of much of what he had to say was the Sacraments are signs of what God does for us. The sacramental system "is an expression...of worship and faith which are looking to something beyond the self, and looking to something hoped for rather than something possessed.... There is abundant evidence that apart from the sacraments, faith in Christ is continually passing off into faith in one's own feelings, - emotionalism, feeling of assurance on the one side or into social service and character-building on the other.... The state of my digestion does not alter my dinner but it does alter the amount of nourishment I get from it. It may make the best food merely mischievous." (HK's comment on Article XXIX) to E.T.S. Students, 9th April 1912.

the Church is Catholic, not because it has lights and vestments, but because it is a true and integral part of the body of Christ."¹

"All the 'Catholicism' I ever paraded was doctrinal evangelicalism."² We have already seen how Kelly regarded Catholicism, Church Unity and Mission as closely inter-related strands of the one basic problem of the Church of God in the World. His concept of Catholicism involved four dominant factors: the belief in the Rule of God in the world; the assertion that salvation was primarily collective and subsequently individual; the insistence that sacramentalism was integral to the preaching of the gospel; and a willingness to learn from others. His insistence on the latter led him to appreciate the vision of the gospel shared by members of other traditions. In 1932 Kelly wrote in Catholicity, "Love of truth is shown less in the courage we proclaim it - for that may be assertiveness - than in the humility of our readiness to learn."³ Some years earlier he had expressed much the same view of Catholicism in a letter to Randall Davidson,

"The essence of a Catholic faith is that you don't know it. You can only be a learner. As that most glorious theological statement says, 'This is the Catholic faith that we worship'.

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1. HK in the Church Times, 11th August 1900. At the Holy Week Retreat at Kelham in 1928, HK, talking of the devil, said "If he comes into this house it will not be with the smell of sulphur. If our aspiration is to wear a chasuble, he will come in wearing a chasuble and waving a censor".
 2. NL, 2nd July 1927.
 3. 1932, p.20. Later, p.25, HK refers to Baron von Hügel as truly catholic in spirit.

The essence of a party is that it has a programme which is known to all its members."¹

This approach made him an outsider if not an outcast of the Anglo-Catholic Movement in the 1920's.² He had seen too much of the movement's destructive side, both ecumenically and evangelistically, to remain patient with it for long.

The Anglo-Catholics were an influential part but not the whole of the Anglican Church. There were the Evangelicals who also demanded to be heard.³ Neither party would listen to the other. The Anglo-Catholics had plagued and embarrassed Kelly at Swanwick by their belligerent treatment of Dissenting Students. He was not polite enough to hide his fury from those "Catholic" students who, in 1912, wanted to put on a special display of a "High" Celebration of the Eucharist. This angered him for three reasons. It would cause dissension among Anglicans. It put "High Church" before the Church, - placing ritualism before Sacraments, the shows of man before the power of God; and it would end up as "a show"

1. 14th August 1919.

2. See NL, December 1922.

3. See The Anglican Synthesis ed. W.R.F. Browning, published by Peter Smith, Derby, 1964. (especially essay by Amand de Mendieta.)

before the Non-Conformists.¹ Kelly loathed this kind of propaganda and he was to become even more adamant in his opposition to it after his Japanese experience:

"Vestments are quite secondary, C.M.S. sympathy isn't. My business in Japan is Christianity, i.e. Evangelism, i.e. faith in God, the atoning death of Christ and the Holy Spirit as taught in Scripture. Nothing else matters."²

The word "Catholic" had come to mean its very opposite. It should suggest openness, universality, freedom, joy; not rigidity, repression, and narrow-mindedness. Kelly described this kind of Catholicism, albeit unfairly, in one of his letters concerning Father Stephen Bedale: "He is a 'Catholic' at heart; i.e. he likes people to do correct things, exactly as they are told; and to believe the correct things exactly as they are instructed."³ There could be no better description of the travesty many had made of Catholicism.

It was the rigidity of the extreme parties in the Church of England that Kelly so objected to; Anglo-Catholics

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1. NL, to his sister, 10th June 1912. HK in the end regretted the Ritualist Movement in the Church of England. It was divisive and a distraction away from the real work of the Church to preach the Gospel. "In Japan, I taught and even the C.M.S. gave sympathy. When I took up vestments (1911) a split began to open because it was a flag. I promptly took it down... We should not win the Church if we made parties." Appeal to S.S.M., p.9.
 2. NL, from Japan, 26th November 1916. See HK to C.C. Bardsley, C.M.S. Secretary, 3rd April 1921: "I hold absolutely to 'Evangelicalism' as a principle - the essence of the whole thing is faith."
 3. NL, 7th September 1929.

and extreme Evangelicals¹ were alike in their "fundamental conviction that they, and they alone have the whole caboodle ticketed, classified, indexed, labelled and made up in bottles. They are incapable of learning because they haven't anything to learn."² It is one thing to have principles, it is quite another to use them as a weapon of ideological imperialism.

Thus it was from the so-called Catholics within the Church of England that Kelly learned the dangers of individualism. Indeed it was the great enemy of Catholicism: Kelly often called it "the great Sin". Individualism was self-assertive "independence, the desire to do and be something of ourselves, which is the very nature of sin, it is the assumption of separation from God. we remain in ourselves always individuals separate from God."³ "Catholics" in unwitting self-contradiction, were just as susceptible to this transgression as their Protestant opponents. Indeed Kelly once sarcastically remarked that many so-called Catholics had no faith in the Church but in

1. HK to C.C. Bardesley C.M.S., 3rd April 1921, made two criticisms of Evangelicals, (a) too "pietistic", psychological, temperamental, (b) lack of sacramental worship: "our sacramentalism is necessary to your evangelicalism".

2. NL, from Japan, 20th December 1917.

3. HK undated ms. See HK Church History Schemes Vol.II, p.59, "Though the Gospel comes to individuals by individuals, yet there is only one Gospel common to all. By accepting it men are drawn out of their individualism into a common fellowship."

"Catholic" parsons,¹ the local parish priest with the "correct" views. These distortions made Kelly insist on loyalty to the English Church and her prayer book and staunchly refuse to subscribe to the narcissistic mentality of many in the Anglo-Catholic party. Sacramentalism, in the mind of an individualist, could so easily be made a substitute for the Cross as if "going to mass" were the whole of Christianity. Because Christianity is a faith, a life of belief in God, it is essentially Catholic or anti-individualistic:

"The work of Christ is not a redemption first of us as individuals, but rather of Humanity as a whole. It lies in the creation of a new and redeemed Humanity. We individuals are brought out of one individuality into this new Society, into actual relation with one another, through the Holy Spirit, the Power of God."²

To Kelly, individualism, pride, self-regard all amounted to the same thing. It was the primal sin. In his Psychology and Logic³, Kelly wrote,

"It was once commonly assumed that human history began with separate individuals, and that men learnt in time to come together in societies. Yet obviously we all started life as children in a family. The most 'primitive' life we know of anywhere is tribal. Individualism is a late development. The Nominalist assumption that things exist separately and that we associate them in a Cosmos, is not fundamentally true of experience

1. NL, 15th April 1918.

2. HK undated ms.

3. p.6, para.12 (1926).

..... EVERYTHING COMES BEFORE US AS
A FRAGMENT OUT OF A WHOLE.... It has
torn edges, which cry to us, as it were,
to put it back in its place."

A Catholic, therefore, is the man, par excellence, who realised that his knowledge is fragmentary. He cannot, therefore, hunt round to worship in the Church of his choice, a sniffer at theologies and ideologies prefabricated for his personal use. If he does this "The Church of God in fact disappears to make way for the Church of his fancy."¹ Where then is the Church to be found? Catholicism is an eschatological concept, the final home towards which all men move. It can never be identified with a particular institution. The Roman Church itself having conceded what appeared then to be a final victory to Ultramontaniam, was, in Kelly's view, little more than a sect.²

The choice confronting thinking men in the twenties seemed to be one between "an enlightened, semi-religionesque Modernism" and "the Roman system". Kelly would have neither of them. "I should call both of them forms of Agnosticism. The first faces the perplexity of life, but denies the answer. The second repeats many answers, but will not face questions."³

1. See HK's letter to Church Times, 11th August 1900.

2. See the Appeal to the S.S.M. p.13. There were, of course, many individual Roman Catholics Kelly admired. One of them was the Abbé Portal, who recognized the validity of Anglican orders. Kelly claims that the Abbé had "a very high appreciation of the Kelham system." See NL to his sister, 7th October 1912.

3. NL, 27th December 1922.

Where did Anglicanism fit in? At its best Anglicanism embodied for Kelly that same open spirit of true Catholicism. Undoubtedly he believed the Anglican Church had an important place in the world-wide Church but it would be of little use while it continued to be a contented Church, pleasant but flabby. It would certainly have no cutting edge while rent asunder by parties and cliques. Kelly, with a few others, wanted to mediate between the two opposing parties and in consequence was disowned by both. Individual Anglicans had been affected by current theological criticism, but the Church as an institution remained impervious to it.

"The critical spirit is everywhere. Nobody whatever wants to take critical theories, least of all people who know anything about them. The people who don't may tell you vaguely that it is now being proved that Episcopacy was a solar myth of the Maccabees, otherwise you will hear nothing of it."¹

The greatest hindrance to the mission of the Church was, to Kelly's mind, one of her greatest gifts - the Episcopate. As we have seen, he admired and valued the office, but had little time for most of the men who filled it. Bishops, on the whole, were Erastian and privileged. We have seen how Kelly had to fight the bishops in the early days. In an unpublished article of 1899 called The Church of England and the Bishops, he wrote,

"The Church has...not by means of, but in spite of, the bishops, once more begun

1. In Swanwick Tips. op. cit.

to awake to a sense of her mission. The difference between the bishops as believing Christian men, and as oligarchic officials, comes out at once."

For Kelly, bishops are of the esse of the Church, and the means by which the sacraments are administered. They are the guarantors of Unity and Catholicity. At least this is the theory. Kelly was enough of a realist to see that

"a bishop is chosen, not as the Father in God of a Christian family, but as the administrator of a big business, - like a General Manager - living a long way off, visible at times on a tour of inspection. A meeting of bishops is consequently not an expression of the mind of the Church, but of the mind of a limited number of important people in the wide areas they rule."¹

Yet Kelly was ambivalent to the bishops whom he felt obliged to accept and obey for the sake of sacramentalism. He saw Church order and ministry as not instituted merely for administrative convenience but in some sense constituted by its own nature to witness to the gospel of a divine gift. In this respect Kelly was strongly Catholic.

The extreme Evangelical party naturally denied the Catholic heritage claimed by many for the Church of England. Kelly found this extremist position tiresome and baffling. The Protestant Party

"confesses its utter disbelief in the Church as a divine or authoritative institution, and in many of the most primary doctrines the Church of England emphasises. It is by a curiosity of one-sided special pleading and quite honest blindness that it claims the

1. HK ms., 21st March 1913.

Prayer Book Articles and history of the Church as peculiarly its own. Its strength lies in its dogged and narrow resolution and violence."¹

The Society of the Sacred Mission was born in the middle of party strife, and although Kelly found party wrangling distasteful, he could never despise or desert the Church. To be a Christian is to be a Churchman. Hence Kelly tried to give his students a wider view of Anglicanism, making them see it could be truly Catholic.

"We want the faith, and the whole faith and we want it for all. Anglicanism does not hold it.... but believing in God we are bound to belief in possibilities. The English Church has had two chances (a) Wesley, (b) Tractarianism. Both failed by failing the Church. One became a sect the other a party. Both went outside the Church for something of their devising or choice."²

Being an Anglican involved certain inescapable obligations. If the first was obedience to bishops, even to ignorant and unhelpful ones, the second was loyalty to the Book of Common Prayer in both letter and spirit; the third was enthusiastic devotion (a quality, Kelly felt, that was singularly lacking in many Anglicans). There was yet a fourth obligation laid upon all Anglicans; to retain an independent mind. It was on this final point that

1. HK 1899 ms. The Church of England and the Bishops.

2. HK Retreat Address, 8th January 1905. HK continues: "We exist for the Church as such. As we serve it we shall do good - as we serve a party we shall do harm."

Catholic Anglicans tended to doubt Kelly's Catholicism. Kelly was of that breed of Catholic who emphasised the value of scepticism. One should be suspicious of that which attracts one most, for it is precisely those attractive things which become a cult. This is where the ritualists were most unprotected from Kelly's criticism.

Many of the problems of the Church of England with these Romanisers could be laid at the feet of Newman and Manning:

"If only humbly and patiently they had [stood firm] as Pusey did - believed in the Church - what might we not have been now? What may we be yet? A Francis, a Wesley - what might we not do? Are we to turn our backs on all that God has done - to leave England to the latitudinarians, the undenominationalists and the unitarians?"¹

Why was Anglicanism so important to Kelly? It was important because at its best it stands by its belief in the sacramental system. Ministry and Sacraments are not to be identified with sacerdotalism and ritualism. The Sacraments were important because they affirmed something about the activity and nature of God. Kelly had learned this in his early days at Swanwick. He quickly realised that behind people's questions about Church Unity and Episcopacy there were far more serious concerns. As far

1. HK to H.S. Dean, 20th January 1902, in regard to the suggestion by the Reverend Spencer Jones that the only way to reunion was for the Church of England to submit to Rome. This inspired HK to take up the question of Reunion himself: See HK's book, The Church and Religious Unity.

as Kelly could see

"All thinking Non-Conformists had lost all hold of the reality of the Incarnation, of Jesus Christ, even of God. The air was full of personal enthusiasms, religious experiences - states of your own inside."¹

In other words God was not considered real enough to be incarnate. Sacramental worship was necessary in order to do justice to the reality. As for the Gospel, Kelly could say,

"Of course it is sacramental. What else could redemption be? I go to Swanwick - as I go to Japan - to preach God (heaven knows they need it, especially the Christians) - i.e. the Incarnation, and of course the Sacraments. But it's no use talking of them where God is too ideal to be Incarnate and Christ too ethically ideal to be 'Present' These Swanwick blighters have no God, no Christ, no faith, nothing but a gospel of pious fussing round verbal idealisms."²

This, to Kelly, was Zwingli's great mistake:

"Does God do anything? So far as the Sacraments are concerned, Zwingli seems to answer, - 'No, nothing. The whole determinative or effective operation is our own'. Perhaps he means this only of the Sacraments, which belong to our religion rather than to our

1. HK letter, 13th August 1913. See HK letter to a Mr. Figgis, 11th June 1913. "I was brought up an extreme Protestant.... I was never taught any sacramental belief. As I grew up I learnt from Maurice to see its necessity. I learned at Baslow and Swanwick to see how fatally the lack of it has affected and is affecting the Free Churches."

2. HK letter, 3rd June 1930.

faith or theology, but can we split worship and faith apart?.... Mystery, like infinity, is the very note of reality."¹

In spite of the abuses and distortions of the Sacramental System, Kelly believed that all through the ages of struggle and ignorance it was the sacraments which had kept the sense of a religious reality alive in men's minds. Nevertheless the dangers in the system are very great and not to be under-estimated. The Ministry of the Word and Sacraments can easily degenerate. Mere observance of rules or customs can so easily be substituted for realities. It is easy to lose the vision Catholicism offers and in its place put aggressive ecclesiastical power and machinery. Kelly refers again and again to the example of St. Francis who was willing to accept and serve the Church in its structures but not willing to identify those structures with the Gospel.

The Catholic Minister is not a gnostic hierophant commissioned to perform certain rites, yet many Catholic priests easily lapse into a form of gnosticism:

"They make me ill - positively sick. And we want to prance in with a gospel of pious and enthusiastic fussing round ritual.... performances.... keep your eyes on the layman, - the engineers, school-masters, business men - what appeals to them will be Christian. It's your young Catholics going for ordination who are a snare and a danger professionals, thirsting for something tweeky to play with."²

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1. HK, Church History Schemes, Reformation lect.7, para.35.
 2. HK letter, 3rd June 1920, to someone in Cambridge.

The ideal minister was the village farmer priest, the father of a family who is ordained to his own people.¹

Kelly was very interested in the development of an unpaid voluntary clergy:² a priesthood of the people for the people. He strongly advised this to the Japanese bishops in 1926:

"Should not the ministry be fundamentally a 'Universitas', collegium, a team? My rule would be (as in the Primitive Church) - never split your towns up. If the towns go to several churches (and priests), give them a Bishop when a Priest Pastor can no longer hold the others together. In the country you must have village pastors. I would make the Diocese on the same lines as you do 'a Mission'. A natural missionary knows how big an area he can hold together, and look after his catechists properly. Make him a bishop with village priests.... I want a farmer-priest of 30-40 - one of themselves, trusted by, chosen by, themselves.... Your farmer won't know much theology. He can hardly know less than most English parsons. He will want looking after. It is in providing these village pastors that I think the much abused Roland Allen's ideas helpful."³

The modern priest had become a professional in the wrong sense. He is more likely to rely on his own competence or expertise than the grace of God. So the Eucharist is changed from being the gift of God into an act of men.

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1. See HK in East & West, October 1916, on the native ministry.
 2. e.g. HK's correspondence with the Bishop of Willochrie, S. Australia, 26th August 1929. cf HK in The Review of the Churches, April and July 1929.
 3. 10th January 1926. Roland Allen (1868-1947) persistently asked the Church whether her priests must be a professional paid class.

"We say offices; the priest says mass; we make our confession; the priest gives absolution. It is quite curious (but is it?) how naturally we fix our minds on our own action."¹

So much for the decline and fall of Catholicism. Yet all problems could not be laid at the foot of the Roman system. The Reformers did little to improve the situation. As F.R. Barry put it to Kelly in a letter, 1st August 1920:

"I have just discovered what the Reformation did. In its alarm of people called priests getting between man and God it invented a new thing called religion, which did so far more successfully, and it invented a new class of men unheard of before to work its system, who were neither priests nor prophets but clergymen."

Catholicism had failed badly because it had developed into an authoritarian bureaucracy which left little or no room for God. Rome was the worst offender. In the place of a living Catholicism was placed a Scholasticism which "was first killed, then the corpse embalmed and crowned was seated on the throne - by Canon Law."²

Could Catholicism be revived? Kelly thought so in spite of the fact that Anglicanism had not become the kind of system that would go to the stake for a principle. Unless Anglicans faced the question "What does the Church stand for?" and then, having faced it, showed themselves

1. HK, ms. undated. (See HK Holy Week Retreat 1928: "What is your vocation? 'To be priests' - but my dear child do take your flap-doodle bottle out of your mouth. What does God want you to do?")

2. Ibid.

willing to suffer the consequences, nothing would be accomplished. "In the name of unity our highest statesmanship consists in dodging the question. Yet till the question is settled we have no Gospel, and we can only hang on persevering in our own particular existence.... The Church never had a better chance or was more needed."¹ Kelly believed that the time through the First World War was a critical one for Anglicanism and it was personally important to him that the S.S.M. thought of itself as part of the Church and not a follower of a particular party line.

What had evolved, then, in both Anglicanism and Romanism was an absurdity: "catholic denominationalism".

"Catholicity is a principle. Its test is history, but Catholicism has become a party programme. I have an immense belief in the principle, but like all principles it wants a cautious and critical mind in application. A party programme must be taken en bloc, and will not bear criticism. That is where Catholicism has lost its power."²

Kelly developed this theme in his book, Catholicity:

- "1. Can there be a catholic party?
I should say: Yes, certainly....
2. Can a party be Catholic?
That is quite a different question, and I should answer: Certainly not. Catholicity is comprehension, and properly speaking, only God comprehends all.... Catholicity is not... an attainment, so much as a quality of mind; it cannot be possessed, but it can be hungered after."³

1. NL, April 1915, on his way home to England through the U.S.A. This is part of his record of a conversation with Bishop Anderson of Chicago.

2. NL, 30th January 1919.

3. p.32.

What had evolved in Anglicanism was a rigid sacerdotalism severed from any vigorous doctrine of the Church. There were those priests who insisted that they were "Catholic" yet individualistically flouted episcopal authority, which, as we have seen, was to Kelly the objective safeguard of sacramentalism. The Church was viewed "as a dead body which the priest - or minister - is to push along according to his own energy."¹ Sisyphus-like, the priest perpetually seeks to heave his people up an endless slope.

This failure of Catholicism was a lesson in God's love. It did not involve the necessity of abandoning the principle of Catholicity but of radically re-examining it, in the light of the whole Church; it must needs be an ecumenical appraisal. Church Unity was of pre-eminent importance. Kelly would have nothing to do with it at the expense of truth. Unity is not merely two parties agreeing to differ: "If a Unitarian say - 'We both believe in one God', I assent. 'We differ about the Son.' Yes. But if he says, - 'We need not argue about the Son', I will not assent. We need to very much."² There were those who believed they could eliminate discussion by declaring that it did not really exist. Canon Peter Green, for example, believed that non-conformity would eventually disappear if

1. HK Appeal to S.S.M., p.13. It is not difficult to see why HK resigned from the E.C.U. in December 1932. See HK The Policy of the E.C.U. 7 pp. ms. (HK officially resigned in May 1933.)

2. HK to F.S. Hughes, 15th December 1918.

Protestants were admitted to Communion in Anglican Churches.¹ Kelly encountered many such liberals in Japan who were strong advocates of Pan-Protestantism. This had very little to do with the Catholic Unity for which Kelly lived. Kelly did all he could to foster the Catholic spirit. In the twenties he was in touch with a Swedish Lutheran woman, M. von Proniewsky, who was interested in the recovering of Catholicism within Lutheranism - the Hochkirkliche Bewegung. There was a suggestion (in a letter to Kelly, 18th December 1923) that a German girl might be trained in England to begin a Religious Community in Germany. Kelly sent books on the Catholic Revival in England to Lutherans in Germany. At the end of the Great War the Lutheran Church in Germany was

"a discredited and dying institution. It had worshipped a 'German God'.... The German Gospel was then of no use to men who were busy with a revolution and a class war. In 1919 masses left the Church to which they had only nominally belonged.... There remains a small group of about 400 in all who are definitely not Pietist, who are anxious to have done with the recent past and to galvanize the corpse that they recognize their Church to be into new life. Of the 400 about half are pastors. The rest are teachers, professors and students."²

There was a danger that these few "Hochkirklers" were merely atavistic in their approach to revival. The cry

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1. See William Temple to HK, 22nd April 1932, and HK's reply (8 pp. typed ms.) 28th April.
 2. To HK from David Pocock, British Chaplain in Berlin, 25th January 1924.

was "Back to Luther" or "Back to the primitive Church". Many believed that the restoration of externals in worship would produce of themselves spiritual results. Kelly's reply to the Germans was the same as his answer to the Japanese¹ and to the English. Individualism and exclusiveness were always the enemies of Catholicism.

"It is quite easy to make a little sect of a few people on any theory you like, and to imagine that that sect will grow, until all Germany belongs to it. Protestants are always doing it. But it is not true and things do not happen that way. You have to take Germany with you, and Germany is a big country."²

Catholicism needed to be unlearned by Catholics and re-examined by Protestants. The weakness of all the denominations was their pathological desire for definition and decision. Rome was particularly vulnerable to attack on this issue:

"The Curia grinds out decisions and sells them in strings like a sausage factory. The Pope is privileged to enforce them. The FAITHFUL are the people who accept them. We all do it. The Modernists start, 'All scholars are now agreed'; the Scientists tell you, 'It has now been proved'; the semi-Scientists, 'Scientists have now come to think'; Catholics, 'Holy Church teaches'; the Protestants say, 'Read your Bible'."³

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1. HK, 31st July 1930, "I said to my boys in Japan - 'never call yourselves 'Catholic'. Only the Church is Catholic. Claim it for C.M.S. and all'."
 2. HK to M. von Proniewsky, 10th October 1923. Kelham's close relationship with continental Lutherans was largely fostered by Fr. Gabriel Hebert S.S.M.
 3. HK to the Rev. Floyd W. Tomkins, Secretary of World Conference on Faith & Order (U.S.A.) 9th December 1925.

In Kelly there met a deep longing for Unity and a stubborn refusal to compromise;¹ a source of inspiration and tension. The idea of undenominationalism suggested to him a vague togetherness that would lead nowhere. The denominations had so much to learn from one another. In Catholicism the Form had stiffened into death. In Protestantism the Spirit tended to dissipate itself in emotion. Kelly was just as critical of the Non-Conformist's dependence on religious experience as he was of the Catholic's formalism.

"If you 'get good' from High Mass, go on; and equally if you find it in sunsets or sermons... whatever makes you feel nice... You can have Reunion tomorrow on these terms, but it will be on condition that everything goes on as it is.... (This would be) to turn the Church into 'an Ethical Society' plus 'mystical experience'." ²

Whatever else the Christian religion was, it was not morality tinged with emotion.

Nevertheless Catholics had the most to learn. They tended to be so absorbed in the correctness of the Faith that they became totally indifferent to its vitality. Protestants might be wrong but they, at least, were alive.

"You have to admit...that their faith is in fact more intense and living if it is less correct. It reminds me of Maurice on the Mohammedan victories. - They believed in the will of God when the Greeks were only arguing about Dyothelitism. These blighters have a

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1. HK was asked to sign an Affirmation of Christianity in Christ put together by the Christians in North China. He refused to sign unless a Confession of Disunion was added.
 2. NL, August 1921: HK reaction to Swanwick and a criticism of B.H. Streeter.

faith we haven't. Now you explain it.
What is it we have to learn from them?"¹

Talk of insisting on minimum requirements before a Catholic could "recognize" a Protestant was the wrong way to go about things. Time and time again Kelly insisted, the Catholic must ask himself if he has anything to give, if he has a gospel at all. Is there anything he would be willing to take or learn?

Yet how could the Church ask modern man to consider the claims of the Gospel when the voices of the Church were harsh and discordant in his ears?

"We...called on the secular world to repent, to reconsider its commercial, social, political ways and ideas. It did not occur to us to reconsider our own religionism.... Are we the least inclined to reconsider our own notions of Catholicism?... Are we preaching a Gospel, or advocating a usage, a 'practice'.... Is our Catholic Movement capable of self-criticism?"²

Apparently not. The Catholic principle involved a universalism scarcely apparent in those churches who believed they were proclaiming it. If the Church would, she could learn from the world to which she was called. Kelly saw in the political arena of 1900 important lessons for the Church. The two wars then raging between the English and the Boers, and the Russians and the Japanese, demonstrated in a strange way the steady growth of the Catholic principle - that is

1. NL Christmas 1918.

2. NL, 27th December 1922. See also NL to his sister, 4th November 1912, deploring the defensive stance of the Catholic minded.

the breaking down of racial exclusiveness.¹ What was happening in the world was happening in the Church: barriers were being broken down. One of Kelly's short stories called the Church illustrates his view of this situation and the vital importance of the Ecumenical Movement. The Church was represented as

"a large and brave woman, wondrous fayre to look upon, yett did shee seem to be in evill straits. For she carried a very great burden, and me thought with some labour.... There were with her many divers chyl dren, who seemed very frolicsome."

She was accompanied by four characters representing the various Church traditions: Rome was an ascetic-looking youth, loving the Church but adding to her burden: "some of the things were exceeding precious, and some were exceeding trumpery". Geneva was an "exceeding fierce" youth who continually harassed the Church. But the Church, like her Lord, would not be owned nor manipulated by man-made laws and institutions. Kelly was the highest of High Churchmen but the claims he made for her were not made for the Church of England or any other Church. Time and time again he insisted,

"Catholicity, Universality, the Infinity of Truth, belongs to God - in quite another way to the Gospel, and yet to the Church, the past and unborn, as well as to the totality of an actual present. To conceive of it as a simple closed system, possessed by some sort of machine - which you hold in opposition to some

1. See NL, 11th August 1900. Remarkable sentiments for an Englishman at that time.

other folk, is to shut God out of this world. A living God and a fixed system do not concur."¹

It is no wonder that Kelly came to be described as "a man who wonderfully combined the virtues of the Catholic and the Protestant."² W. A. Visser t'Hooft in his Anglo-Catholicism and Orthodoxy writes, "Fr. Kelly of Kelham... comes perhaps nearer to combining in his life and teaching all that is best in Catholicism and Protestantism than any other Christian alive."³ A Catholicism which excluded large numbers of Christians was of necessity deficient.

Kelly had come a long way from his earlier views as a curate and pioneer of a young theological school. At one time he too, like the people he was later to oppose, was content to repeat the Vincentian Canon and Extra ecclesiam nulla salus and feel that such utterances were an end to the matter. He could even quote the preface to the Ordinal with regard to the "proof" of the threefold ministry.⁴ As well as being a prophet, Kelly could also be a child of his time and reflect popular opinion.

1. NL, 7th January 1929.

2. see A.M. Ramsey's Address at the HK Centenary, 28th June 1960.

3. S.C.M. 1933, p.174. W.H. Murray Walton, an evangelical working in Tokyo, wrote to HK after the publication of Catholicity: "If there were more of that Spirit abroad, it would mean the winding up of the E.C.U. and the appearance in the bankrupt court of Mr. Kensit."

4. See Lectures on Church History in Barnet January 1896. See also HK's review of the Encyclopedia Biblica in the Church Review, 1st March 1900, for some of his thoughts on Apostolic order.

It was not until his teaching career began that that powerful and passionate amalgam of Catholicism-Mission-Ecumenicism exploded in his mind: belief in a living God inexorably involved a living contact with other Christians, with other men. Once a man had seen this, the denominational barriers became intolerable. If Catholicism were to be really free and inclusive it must first of all be honest. Kelham at its best was, and is, a living testimonial to Kelly's open and free Catholicism. The great library in 1910 carried the words of Harnack, Pfleiderer, Dorner, Darwin and many others. A German Evangelical pastor reported:

"I found students who were fighting hard over modern theology; full freedom reigns here.... In its spirit Rome and Luther are remarkably intermingled.... The old massive sacramental conception of the Church, never was brought so clearly before my eyes and soul."¹

The God worshipped at Kelham did not confine Himself to "Catholics". He was no respecter of persons. He loved all men without exception. From F.D. Maurice, Kelly had learned that God claims all men, and that potentially the Church is the whole human race. Mankind itself is the Body of Christ: "The world is the Church without God; the Church is the world restored to its relation to God."² Maurice,

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1. Paul le Seur - HK, Cuttings for 1910 p.20, probably from the Church Times.
 2. F.D. Maurice Theological Essays, 3rd ed. Macmillan & Co., London, 1871, (p.277, ed. E.F. Carpenter, 1957) See HK in letter 13th August 1913: "As a Maurician I could never accept the pure 'authoritarian' system of many Catholics. I wanted men to see things for themselves". "I am a 'Maurician' Catholic. The Pusey-Halifax Catholicism has never appealed to me in the least." HK to Bishop of Southwell, 2nd November 1929.

by transcending the absurdities of a partisan "Catholicism" and the narrow-mindedness of a sectarian Protestantism, taught Kelly what genuine Catholicity was. Kelly in his own way and in his own time spoke with like voice. F.D. Maurice in a passage (which sums up the view of both men) ~~written when Kelly was only twenty~~, said

"Our reformers claimed for themselves and for us a fraternity with other ages and other countries, with men whose habits and opinions were most different from their own, with those very Romanists who were slandering and excommunicating them.... If they will not have a Common Prayer with us, we can make our prayers large enough to include them. Nay to take the Jews, Turks, Infidels and Heretics, all whose nature Christ has borne. For He is theirs as well as ours. He has died for them as for us, He lives for them as for us. Our privilege and glory is to proclaim Him in this character; we forfeit our own right in Him when we fail to assert a right in Him for all mankind. The baptized Church is not set apart as a witness for exclusion, but against it."¹

What kind of God could engender such a notion of the Church and such a destiny for mankind?

It is now time for us to examine more fully that Doctrine of God, which animated Kelly as a teacher, preacher and Churchman.

1. The Prayer Book, Macmillan & Co., London (1880) Second Edition 1893, p.10. HK: "F.D.M. - the beloved - would never use 'Christianity' - What do people mean by it? Mostly a moral temper... By Christianity - I always want to mean the Christian Faith." Ms. 28th June 1930.

X. THE NATURE OF THEOLOGY

(a) Theology and Life as One

As we have pursued our spiral course, examining Kelly in different situations and in different contexts, it has become abundantly clear that theology to him was not a peripheral subject. It was the "Queen of the Sciences", the glass through which one looks at all other forms of knowledge. So much is glaringly obvious. Catholic theology is concerned with unities, of God, man and the world. It is as earthy as it is heavenly. Spinoza was said to have been intoxicated by God¹ and was accused of being an atheist. Kelly's intoxication with God opened him up to another accusation: he had no adequate Christology. The centrality and sovereignty of God is so dominant in all his thinking, that one wonders whether his Christology suffered. Kelly might have answered that the God he believed in was the one who was in Christ reconciling the world to himself.

It was his belief in the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob which drove Kelly to be a teacher of theology. We have tried to reveal his theology through both his living and teaching, since he insisted that theology had to be thought rather than learned. How can we describe him theologically? Not as a "Barthian before Barth" or an F.D. Maurician. For although he shared certain characteristics of the former and was greatly influenced by the latter,

1. By Novalis (1772-1801: the German Romantic poet).

to place him in either camp would be to classify Kelly too closely and he will elude precise definition.

Father Paul Bull C.R. once described Kelly as "the Bernard Shaw of Theology"¹ and in spite of the fact that Kelly hotly repudiated the title, it is not entirely inappropriate. What Shaw was to the literary and political world, Kelly was to the theological. Shaw was neither predictable nor partisan. It is true that Shaw was a Socialist but an extremely independent and critical one. It is true that Kelly was a "Catholic" but scarcely recognizable as such by many who would have claimed the title. On matters of taste and literature Shaw was "unreliable" - he could not be relied upon to be "proper". Kelly on the question of doing "the right and proper thing" was perverse: he infiltrated a gentlemanly church with ungentlemanly priests. Kelly's Shavian independence allowed him to have friends in opposing camps. Kelly was like Father Benson, who

"was very generally trusted, just because he was not identified with one person or party.... His greatness humanly speaking, lies very much in his many sidedness...and it is also this many sidedness which makes him so difficult to describe. Is he a theologian or a mystic?"²

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1. Fr. Bull told this to a meeting in Cambridge, 1st October 1929. See NL, 5th October 1929. Kelly adds, "I will not put on paper what I think of B.S."
 2. Allchin op.cit. p.190. Benson and HK were very much alike. On the same page Allchin quotes Benson's the Followers of the Lamb (p.13), "We are not called to deal with Theology in the way of massive learning, but we have to handle it effectively as a living power." Exactly HK's sentiments.

Both Shaw and Kelly were Irish. Both enjoyed a fight, an uproar of words. Kelly's method of argument was to undermine his opponent's antagonism and self-confidence by agreeing immediately with all that he felt to be good and true on the other side. On one occasion (at the S.C.M. Camp at Baslow in July 1910) he accused one Scots Calvinist of Pelagianism - hardly a Calvinist heresy: "never attack your enemy in the front, you won't get a move on him till you get him in the rear."¹

Like Shaw, Kelly could converse on anything and everything and was expected to give "expert" advice on all matters theological. In 1912 an Indian visitor to Kelham said to Kelly,

"There are one or two questions which I should like to ask which I do not quite understand, and which I am asked to explain to people who are not Christians. Could you explain to me the doctrine of the Trinity, and (with a deprecatory hand) the Incarnation. Secondly about the infallibility of Holy Scripture in relation to the infallibility claimed for the Koran and the Vedas."²

This kind of question sums up that of all students everywhere and betrays that desire for explanation rather than exploration, in things mysterious and unfathomable. The true nature of theological enquiry will not admit the legitimacy of such questions. It is coming to the subject from the wrong end, treating as one subject many about

1. NL, 18th July 1910.

2. NL, to his sister, 8th June 1912.

which there could be "questions" and "answers". Whereas part of the art of the theologian is asking the right questions, rather than giving answers. If the question is theologically worth asking it is humanly unanswerable. The method is essentially dialectical; the Abelardian tactic of Sic et Non.

Kelly's dialectic is best described as "Theological Football" (his own words); the method of playing ball, tossing ideas to and fro, keeping it always in the air. Kelly saw football (or any other game for that matter) as a demonstration of the use of all a man's faculties, of mind not only over but using matter. It was his way of applying scientific principles to theological study. Science was simply the study of God's laws.

"Scientists are the priesthood thereof - learning God's will, learning to do things as God meant or made them to be done: sometime in 1905 I began to apply it to 'Theological football':- 'Scientific play' is play according to the way God made it to be played; 'Kick and rush' is not. You may **not** have thought of it in that fashion but it is irreverent, even if unintentionally.... To perhaps the mass of 'religious' folk, this seems unreal. To my father, games etc. were harmless amusements.... Nominally an evangelical, his real interest was moral. ...Religion was on side of morality, i.e. a duty...I remember Curry, Principal of S. Stephen's, could see no 'theological' side to football, except moral. God was apparently only concerned over 'fouls', not over style.... It seems to me to be splitting God's world."¹

1. HK ms. 27th July 1940 and probably a reply to a paper by Fr. Bedale. See also HK talk to the Cottage, 12th November 1911, and at Swanwick, 17th July 1911.

Perhaps Kelly read too much into a game of football. (He must have been hard on those who could not or did not wish to play): "'Moral force is to physical as three to one', saith Napoleon the mighty. Most things depend on the state of a man's inside not upon his muscles but upon his mind."¹ Kelly's point is not difficult to see; the fact that we believe in God should make all the difference to the way we undertake any task, be it playing football or learning Latin - "nobody really could learn Latin for an exam or for anything but only because he believed in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit."²

This half-humorous sentiment reveals how much Kelly's own theology is wrapped up in the teaching of it. We saw at the outset that Kelly had a great contempt for "mere theory"; there had to be an incarnation. Theories are important in so far as they are used. To embark on a programme of education with no theory (in Kelly's case no theology) was not only foolish but disastrous. All Kelly's efforts in the world of theological education presupposed a theology. Then, as now, there were those who were intent on cluttering up a theological syllabus with many "good" things: courses in social questions, lectures on economics, practice-teaching in schools, up to date information in the progress of modern science. None of these issues was or is

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1. NL to his mother, 13th March 1911. HK claimed to have worked out a theory of "Christian Football" and the Kelham team won 8-0! He lectured to the college on this subject in November 1911. See NL 9th October 1911.
 2. NL, 17th October 1911.

bad in itself but given a limited time it was necessary to reject a good course in order to pursue a better.¹

Kelly was always asking theological questions about theological education.. What was the end product to be? What doctrine of the ministry was implied in a particular form of training? Kelly was not interested in any of the current stereotypes. "The ministry is, however, not less than the ministry of the Word."²

Theology, of course, was not "scientific" in the sense that all God's truth could be demonstrated by an objective principle of verification. Kelly was "scientific" in that he was ruthless in his pursuit of truth and like the scientist submitted himself humbly to the "facts". Theology, however, unlike science, was concerned with universals rather than particulars. It was essentially Catholic. As a very old man Kelly wrote: "Theology - essentially, a single whole gospel (e.g. Creed) to the whole life given by Christ, once for all... but with a long history... essentially a gospel to common folk.... the necessity of salvation is the common (Catholic) gospel."³

Science needed Christianity as did philosophy. Kelly believed ex animo that only the Catholic gospel could save philosophy from its own emptiness and science from the brutality of its own materialism. But "redeemed by the

1. See HK's article "Training and Examination of Candidates for Orders" in CQR for July 1910.

2. Ibid. p.352.

3. HK ms. 9th August 1943.

gospel, each has its place in the Kingdom of God."¹

The pursuit of truth was a hazardous business. "Suppose one is asked", wrote Kelly,

"....Do you want to know the truth? What is the answer? The universal answer is - of course I do. There is only one true answer:- Lord have mercy upon us. None of us do. The psychology is endless but all things meet at the Cross.... There is the fundamental truth - when men did get their fingers on God, they crucified Him and they always will."²

There is, in the last analysis only one adequate stance before the Truth, unfathomable and ineffable: adoration, penitence, prayer. So Kelly could write, "left to myself I'd have prayed theology knee-deep.... I can't pray anything but theology."³ He offered two texts to those who would be theologians: Philippians 3.8-12 especially verse 10, "That I may know him and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, becoming conformed unto his death": and Luke 24.13-35, the account of the disciples' encounter with Jesus on the Emmaus road, verse 26, "Behoved it not the Christ to suffer these things and to enter into his glory". It was significant for Kelly that this Emmaus Road meeting ended with the breaking of bread in which Christ was made known to those disciples. Truth for Kelly was to be found in the Cross and in the breaking of bread. Theology was the living out of that Truth. The "Lord have

1. HK ms. undated.

2. HK letter, 7th May 1934.

3. HK Hunting the Snark: report on Tutors Conference at Swanwick, July 1911.

mercy upon us" should be on the lips of every theologian, every Catholic, for every theologian knows the fundamental absurdity of his task. Kelly could say,

"the best and greatest theologians... disliked theology... Talking and writing, - words, sounds and paper, - could never give an adequate account of its glory and their inadequacy was merely likely to lead people astray. Their only justification was the unwelcome necessity of making some answer to the opponents of Christianity."¹

Yet theological discourse was, to Kelly, as unavoidable as it was impossible. Two things needed to be kept constantly in mind. The first was sense of perspective. Patience was needed to see that mankind has to grow things; "I give my perpetual cry:- NOTHING COUNTS EXCEPT LIFETIMES."² The second thing that was needed was the scientific respect for the Truth. The glory and tragedy of Theology is that it is concerned with the Truth which is the Will of God.

Truth for Kelly was no mere intellectual matter. It was moral. The Christian studies the truth which for him means trying to learn God's way and God's will. "The essence of Christianity and Science is self-forgetfulness. Once the student starts trying to be clever his own usefulness is dammed."³ Nevertheless Kelly esteemed the intellectual approach to theology a good deal higher than the

1. HK ms. lecture, undated.

2. HK to an American (probably W. Adams Brown), 13th September 1923.

3. HK to an American, a Mr. Schreder, 15th October 1914.

devotional or purely mystical one. He points out in the first volume of his Church History Schemes¹ that although the intellectualist can be self-assertive and over-confident in his own arguments, he cannot ignore other thinkers.

Ex professo he must at least meet their arguments. The man who tends to hide behind piety and devotional practice, however, has nothing by which to qualify his assertiveness.

"Whether people are right or wrong depends solely on whether they agree with us.... The inner point of it all is that by excluding 'enquiry' we are identifying the Christian Faith with our own version, interpreted from theory, thereof."

As one might expect, Kelly wrote this in connexion with his lecture on Tertullian. Kelly had no sympathy with Tertullianism in any form. Credo quia impossibile! could never have been Kelly's cry.

Theological education then has as its central concern the Word of God, and that Word is writ large everywhere one turned in the world. As we have seen, the main task of the teacher is to fight so that the student sees the connexion between the Word of God and the world that was created thereby. Theology was the art of making connexions, an art largely forgotten. Brother George Every's evaluation of Kelly is correct in this respect.

"At no time was Father Kelly an original theologian. He was simply a theological student at a time when nearly all other Anglicans...were concerned with other things."²

1. p.117

2. Memoir in new edition of HK's The Gospel of God, p.22.

Kelly, however, surely was original in his presentation, timely in keeping alive what was then a dying art in Anglicanism. This is why Kelly speaks again with such clarity today. The art of theology has been largely forgotten by many modern theologians who are pursuing other things, the chimeras of sociology and anthropology.

Men could agree with Kelly's "theology" but could not make the connexion between it and the life implied in it:

"To speak of Christ as the light of the world...is irreproachable, for if Christianity means anything it means that; but we yawn, for we have no idea what 'that' does mean. The religion we have in use is not a help in the world, but a refuge from it.... Our faith - such as it is - has not overcome the world, but it does enable us to escape it successfully."¹

It is a sad commentary that there is no more effective protection against the Word of God than "religion", that attempt on the part of man to get to God. Christianity thus destroys "religion" because it dismisses this attempt as futile and proclaims that it is God who reaches down to man. Kelly's great objection to what passed for theological education was that it had little or nothing to do with real theology, was concerned with "religion" rather than Christianity. He complained about ordinands, "The notion that Christianity contains a view of life as

1. CQR, July 1910, op. cit., p.353.

a whole has never occurred to them."¹

If this was true of the theological status of most clergy what did it say for that of the Church as a whole? The average layman is all too prone to reduce Christianity to ethics and he has often been encouraged to follow this travesty of the Faith by those who were supposedly trained ministers of the Gospel. The type of training of priests today, as in Kelly's, has partly arisen from, and is partly responsible for, one's view of Christianity itself:

"Just as the layman regards his parish Church as a shop to supply religious hats (to suit his style). So the priest has been brought up to regard himself (at best) the manufacturer of an improved style, - which he ought to be allowed to supply. He has not been brought up in any effective sense of the Divine rule of a world."²

Theology is about reality, about the love of God, not about "pietism, ecclesiasticism, 'religion'"³ against which Kelly fought an unending battle.

Too much of what passes for theology is in reality prolegomena and it is all too easy to get wrapped up in that and mistake it for the real thing. People still crave for "religion"; that is, ready-made beliefs, packaged and sealed, sanctified by use and easily thrown aggressively at other people. Kelly refused to supply his students with

1. Ibid., p.355.

2. NL, April 1915.

3. NL, January 1923.

packaged orthodoxy.

"I believe in God. I don't disbelieve in these gadgets of theirs (sacraments etc.) - some of them are precious vital. Battles are not won without appliances. No, but they are not won BY them. They are won by the use of them."¹

There was always the danger of substituting the Eucharist for God, of turning icon into idol, worshipping the idea and not the Reality.

Catholicism then is concerned with three interconnected things: the making of connexions, the vision of life as a whole, and the God "with whom we have to do" (not an idea of Him). This kind of theology is open to all men, regardless of educational background and intellectual ability. All that is required is a dedicated willingness to learn and see. Kelly, as we have seen, had a difficult time at Oxford because he could not memorize. He discovered to his joy that there was another way of learning which was open to a wide range of people. He found he could remember things by discovering their interrelations. This way of doing theology, he was convinced, was capable of being grasped by even the least gifted. No ordinand, therefore, had the least excuse for shirking his responsibility to be a theologian.

It is ironic to note that Kelly himself failed to make necessary connexions in his own writings. H.D. Goudge of Christ Church, Oxford, claimed that Kelly wrote

1. Ibid.

splendid and suggestive obiter dicta but nothing that could hang together as an intelligible whole.¹ Even Kelly's great admirer Dorothy Sayers found his style awkward and disconnected:

"The presentation of your argument is obscure to the common reader because it leaps very swiftly from point to point without always distinctly showing the connection of ideas. It's rather like the modern kind of music, which passes directly from one unresolved discord to another, leaving the audience to supply the resolution in his head."²

Many of his students found him equally elusive. He would supply the landmarks but the map reading itself was left entirely to the student.

It was a slow method of theologising but it was thorough. A man's thoughts, once he had struggled, were at least his own. Kelly had a horror of second-hand opinions and potted doctrines. This was not theology. Theology was an art, dynamic and creative, yet it was more than an art; it was concerned with the end in which all meet. Theology was not something one could be "clever" about since one was dealing with mysteries. Kelly talked of Wisdom rather than cleverness, emphasising the grace of God in the theological enterprise rather than man's ingenuity. Only God could help a man see the vital connexions which made any kind of sense of this world.

1. H.L. Goudge to Bishop Cecil, 22nd May 1935.

2. Dorothy Sayers to HK, 7th May 1941. HK noted in his Autobiography p.65: "Someone...believes HK is a profound thinker, but the most obscure, difficult, even muddle-headed writer (and speaker?) known among men."

We may ask, however, whether part of Kelly's obscurity of thought lay not in the intrinsic mystery of Catholic Truth but rather in his own lack of intellectual discipline. One can discern a tendency in Kelly to shoot off in any direction which took his fancy intellectually speaking. Can we say that his vision or his laziness necessitated such a difficult procedure? No doubt it was a mixture of the two. Would a greater degree of intellectual discipline have inhibited the visionary? It is impossible to say. Kelly's mind was overflowing with ideas and he seems to have assumed that this was the case for every man:

"Your mind produces crowds of ideas for itself, far more numerous and better than any in your collection. As you develop an idea, it leads to wholly new results. For example, these lectures are written from an old set, which are very useful for keeping an order.... after that this lecture went off by itself, and left the old behind, - as the young often do."¹

Yet it would be unfair to leave Kelly simply as a muddle-headed and ill-disciplined intellectual. His intellectual appetite had to be satisfied by finding out what everything meant. Life and thought had to go together with him. There was no other way. The connexion was complete and unbreakable.² Kelly's problem was not the making of right connexions, but the putting of his vision into words.

1. HK. Psychology and Logic Lecture Notes, para.19 p.45.

2. Dom Aelred of Caldey, 23rd October 1907, to HK:
 "To you I know and to me in a small way, it is a great joy of life to try and find out what everything means."

life. This strenuous reality is not partial or fragmentary. It is total, and unless theological enquiry is seen to be about a real and living power it will soon degenerate into a few intellectual abstractions. Kelly wrote, "We cannot make progress in spiritual things unless we believe in spiritual reality and spiritual possibility. Note I put those two things together. Reality and possibility!"¹ Once this has been grasped intellectual abstractions are seen for what they are (sometimes they are important) and not mistaken for theology. The acknowledgement of an over-reaching spiritual dimension enables us to see God in all the common things of life. "If we split life into religious sections, moral sections, business sections, it is plain that God does not; nor does he make it possible for most people."²

Making proper connexions is the task of the theologian. A female student at an S.C.M. camp said "I cannot accept the Virgin Birth, or the Resurrection, or the Omnipotence of God". Kelly's reply is typical: "That is all one question". This over-riding vision of Unity dominated all Kelly's thinking:

"Theology I conceive to be the study of the vision, of the great life-purpose, and there is no ultimate purpose except God. If our theology is impractical, it is that view of life-purpose we have missed. It is

1. Retreat Address 1895.

2. ms. 1927.

possible we have missed 'theology'
and are only studying 'theological
subjects'"¹

Kelly would have said that many in his own day had missed theology altogether because they were concerned with other things. This was his quarrel with the Modernists (though he used the term very loosely to comprehend Liberal Protestants, Broad Churchmen, as well as Roman Catholic Modernists) who by their pursuit of other things in the name of theology had reduced Christianity to an ethic, a means of self-realization and self-improvement. Yet Kelly was not so foolish as to condemn all "Modernists" indiscriminately. He confessed that he greatly admired Adolf von Harnack whom he took as a model. Harnack knew that history is a growth of ideas, not a mere sequence of events. Above all Harnack was appealing because he justified his theological conclusion on scientific and critical grounds. Kelly certainly believed Harnack to be heterodox but insisted that the German be met on his own ground. All the more so since Kelly believed that Harnack's method was the right one.² In fact Kelly was very sympathetic to the Modernist point of view. What irked him most was its naivety. For example he found Modernist criticism of the Old Testament on moral grounds impossible to take seriously.

The great error of the Modernist to Kelly's mind had nothing to do with the former's method. Modernism was

1. Ibid., quoted by Br. George Every in his memoir to the Gospel of God, p.16.

2. See HK letter, 23rd March 1901.

to be fought because it tended to foster individualism and that, as we have seen, was the cardinal sin. In one of his short stories Kelly tells of a kingdom in which

"everybody collected doubts - they called them opinions, and said it showed what fine independent people they were - and whoever had the finest collection had to be put on the Council."

The Country also depended on the King's ship for trade until "many of the crew deserted and started ships of their own."¹ A "modernist" to Kelly was both a councillor and a deserter.

It is a pity that Kelly indiscriminately pushed many serious theologians under the modernist umbrella. He was even suspicious of Lux Mundi as representing a theology which tended to drift "away from faith in God to faith in its religious self, experiences, activities, feelings,"² as if the reality of God depended on anything so fragile as our own experience. It is doubtful whether any of the contributors to Lux Mundi would have admitted this charge, least of all Gore. Kelly was over-anxious to register his distaste at any idea of self-culture religion. At root such a religion was anti-incarnational and essentially narcissistic. As far as Kelly was concerned Lux Mundi was too much of a compromise to affect the theological debate very deeply. Worse still he saw the

1. HK in Church Times, 2nd November 1907. "The Complete Story".

2. NL, July 1912.

contributors as late Victoria reactionaries doing their best to come to terms with modern thought. It was a pathetic case of Liberal Catholics paying homage to the prevailing but fading mood in an outdated philosophy. In so far as Lux Mundi represented an intelligent, thoughtful Catholicism, Kelly gave it his grudging approval.¹

Foundations which was published in 1912, Kelly found even more uncongenial than Lux Mundi. It was "a ghastly book...being brought out by Temple, Streeter and all that gang."² Of the three contributors Kelly knew A.E.J. was the least suspect. B.H. Streeter and William Temple were like "Eusebius of Nicomedia playing with the semi-Arians."³ There was a chance, Kelly felt, that Rawlinson might keep the other two on the straight and narrow path of orthodoxy. Kelly refused, however, to hunt down "heretics". He wrote home to Kelham on 26th January 1914:

"Foundations is widely accepted because it seems helpful. It is useless to proclaim orthodoxy the true help, if in fact it is not helping them... A Church which does not allow her teaching to be disputed has no faith in her own beliefs... thinking and questioning are not fatal, but essential, to belief."

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1. See Ad Fratres, p.8, The Lux Mundi Catholicism "has availed to save thousands from that moralist Pelagianism which I take to be the most godless of all heresies... We are bound, therefore, to sympathise with the aims of the Lux Mundi School."
 2. NL, 16th September 1912.
 3. NL, 8th August 1912.

The primal folly of the contributors to Foundations was their assumption that Christianity could be "simply readjusted every five years to every theory that came along."¹ One of Kelly's fables, The Kuruma - Ya (The rickshaw boy) is set in Japan and caricatures the Liberal clergyman who uses the latest in rickshaws, thinking nothing of the poor boy who has to pull it, and from his position of comfort sums up religion thus: "To develop your personality that is the great thing". That might be religion (it has a startlingly familiar ring today) but it is not Christianity.

Eminent theologians such as Newman and Tyrrell were too easily dismissed by Kelly, as "modernists". Referring to their biographies he wrote,

"No-one...can fail to be struck with the attitude of awe wherein the moderate liberal beseeches his more trenchant friends to keep out of the way of the 'theologians' as a class of folk who are playing an extraordinary ticklish game, which no ordinary mortal can expect to understand, and no one wishes he should. What was once a framework of a living mind is now a skeleton in a museum."²

This is an unfair comment to make in relation to both Newman and Tyrrell, though not in relation to Kelly's wider concern with those who would fossilize theology. Kelly was totally unsympathetic to Newman~~z~~ and all that he stood for, dismissing him as "that weird person".³ Tyrrell, had Kelly

1. HK letter, 21st March 1914.

2. HK in CQR, January 1913. "The Rise and Course of Scholasticism", p.365.

3. NL, 5th October 1923.

read him more deeply, would have been more to his liking. It is a pity Kelly did not try to understand him. There seems to be no evidence that he read anything more of Tyrrell's than the autobiography, which he first saw at Mirfield in November 1912. Kelly claimed that Kelham was a copy of Tyrrell's novitiate "with all the absurdities left out."¹ One feels that if Kelly had read Tyrrell more carefully and sympathetically he would have found an ally. Certainly there are sentiments expressed in Hard Sayings and Through Scylla and Charybdis which Kelly would have applauded. No doubt he was grateful for Tyrrell's attack on Harnack in Christianity at the Cross-Roads, but perhaps Tyrrell's "theology" was obscured for Kelly by the former's controversy with the Roman Curia.

At any rate Kelly's real quarrel was with what he thought was the "Modernists" understanding of theology as a rationalization of an ethical system. For Kelly, dogma was important to set over against mere moralizing.

"We do not require an elaborate creed to tell us that morality is moral, and niceness is nice, or that our duty is to be dutiful. Plain it is that we do require something more than these correct but not very helpful platitudes."²

Why then do we need an elaborate creed? Creeds are about the love and forgiveness of God. Morality is the science of human effort and behaviour. Kelly in a speech

1. NL, July 1912.

2. HK letter to the Liverpool Courier, 21st December 1908.

at his old College puts it like this:

"If...a young brother...left
(a pile of leaves)... so that the
wind came and blew them about again,
they did not complain because he
had been idle or careless or slack.
That was a moral affair, and morality
was a horrible thing, a heathen thing.
No they pointed it out as something
which had not the love of God in it."¹

Dogma took the Christian faith out of the realm of sentiment, experience, man, morality, and placed it firmly in hands of a transcendent God. It shifted the emphasis from subjective feeling to ontology. Basic ontological questions have to be faced if Christianity is not to be confused with ethics. Philosophy helps us formulate these questions. The formation of Catholic dogma is the method by which we point towards the mysteries.

1. Reported in the Oxford Chronicle, 5th February 1910.

(b) Philosophy and the Necessity of Dogma

It could be argued that Kelly had no concern for theology at all as it is popularly understood: a systematic reflection on the data of Christian experience. It may even appear that Kelly was an "activist", trying to live out his ideas of Christianity in practical terms. Was he not self-contradictory? At one moment denying the power of reason - at another exalting it as high as he could. Was there no room for intellectual inquiry? Did not Kelly have concern for those "intellectual abstractions" about which he seemed so contemptuous? He emphatically believed in God and God's gifts, and one of God's gifts to man was his intellect which was to be used, stretched to its limits. The worlds of Philosophy and Dogmatic theology were intrinsically important to him.

As we have seen he opposed any kind of Tertullianism in theology. Jerusalem had need of Athens, in formulating a reasoning, dialectical Christianity. Simple faith without a sound theology was an illusion. Not that Kelly was a believer in autonomous reason. Far from it; it was in the exercise of his reason that man, in part at least, shared in the Divine Nature; the Logos of God and the logos of man in creative converse.

An unenquiring mind was something of a mystery to Kelly. His was that of the scavenger, as we have seen, digging into problems, probing critically as deep as it

could. He met Father W.H. Longridge, S.S.J.E. in Oxford soon after returning from Japan. The Cowley Father who was in the process of editing the Exercises of St. Ignatius, was evidently scandalized when Kelly asked if it was to be a critical edition. According to Kelly, Father Longridge asserted that he would never dare to do such a thing. This both irked and amused Kelly.¹ How could anyone be so uninterested in a subject as not to be keenly critical?

In his lectures he was interested in everything that came his way to the point of tedium. He wanted to know. He would chase an idea on Comparative Religion, geometry or electrons, and fuss over it as a dog worries a bone. His main concern in following up every clue was epistemological. How do we know anything?² In order to answer that question, we must first be freed from our own petty notions, opinions and ideals. We begin on the via negativa. This is the first road taken to be beginning of genuine thought.

"We are driven away from notions to the assumption that there is a reality, even for abstract ideas.... Whatever notions people may form about it. It is the very fact of these differences, the 'absurd notions' other people have, which may sometimes lead us to wonder whether our own are any better, and to begin thinking seriously, but it is not at all a popular conclusion, and most people prefer not to face it."³

1. See NL, 15th June 1919.

2. See two HK mss stories, "The Golden Slipper" - some questions on epistemology by a tutor; and "Eden and Babel and their Connexion", Tower of Ideals in the Tower of Babel.

3. HK's Metaphysics, p.10. This theme dominated much of HK's teaching in Japan.

What did Kelly mean by the word "Reality"?¹

In the first of his Japanese lectures under the general title of The Reality of God, Kelly wrote:

"I take the word...as people ordinarily take it. I am writing for ordinary people, or at least about ordinary people, and for that reason I start with a broadly historical method.... There is no better escape from the personal illusion than by looking to see where the things we have thought and felt and the things we have missed thinking and feeling, appear in the great sweep of human progress."²

In the third lecture in this series Kelly wrote,

"Stated logically, reality is neither a substance nor an attribute; it is the presupposition of their possibility.... If you ask the common man what he means by Reality and what he thinks to be the essential character of Reality, of course, he will not know what you are talking about... but you have only to watch for his most emphatic use of words to see that reality is to him primarily something that happens, or at least that is found in what happens.... In substance reality is not so much a thing you come to, as a thing that comes to you."³

So Kelly's first philosophical point is to separate our ideas of opinions from "reality" - to accord to reality a transcendence which is not determined by our apprehension or "absurd notions". He believed the distinction to be of primary moment and appealed to common experience to defend

1. See HK Gospel of God pp.88-89.

2. The Power of Religion Lecture I.

3. Philosophy and the N.T. Lecture III.

it.

"Knowledge of reality, intimacy with it as a whole, may co-exist with an immense ignorance of its details... The fact remains that a farmer knows his own cows better than you do, even if half an hours study of a scientific manual has provided you with a mass of anatomical and other information he couldn't even understand."¹

This is Kelly's insistent epistemological point.

Reality itself was revelatory in that it was something which imposed itself upon us. It could not be invented. Reality and revelation for Kelly are, in a sense, identical. All human language about Reality is limiting, all concepts of Revelation are of necessity partial. We begin with mystery and also end with it, but it is a mystery in which the mind and heart are not strangers. It is not a fog to befuddle the intellect but that incomprehensible certainty by which all living and thinking is comprehended.

"There is a mystery about all and every reality - a collar-stud, a box of matches, a sheep's tail or a boy's soul - which is strictly an unspeakable mystery, for each sentence with its finite meaning, and whole string of sentences, can only state particular concepts appertaining thereto; the reality to which they appertain is not capable of statement."²

Here Kelly, in his own voice, echoes the vision of Julian of Norwich, seeing all Reality in "the quantity of a hazel

1. The Faith of the O.T. Lecture II.

2. HK in JTS July 1912, "The Meaning of Mysticism".

nut". Any apprehension of Reality inevitably demanded worship, adoration. This was the point Kelly made time and time again on his tour of the United States. He wrote to Frederick M. Harris, the Secretary of the American Student Movement, (29th May 1913):

"You must give up the insane notion that everybody can make his own truth. One eternal witness to that is in Sacramental worship of a Presence, given to us in God's own way, just as God gave His Presence in the Incarnation. Here we worship before Him. Ever it is borne in upon me that this absence of WORSHIP is the key of all the loss of REALITY in the sense of God and of the loss of fear of God's judgement which is so appalling to me."

Our task is to seek meaning rather than conclusions, to learn constantly new things and play with new ideas as ideas. As one plays, the realisation that the meaning of life is either "religion" or "suicide" bears in on one - "Intellectual suicide is easy and comfortable. It begins by refusing to ask questions. It requires less nerve than physical suicide, and is equally effective."¹

Reality then, conceptually speaking, is illusory and it is salutary for a theologian to learn this early in his career. Philosophy as the handmaid of Theology stands as a great warning against both theological arrogance and lack of hard thinking. No one ever speaks the final word on any subject - all knowledge is fragmentary, partial, relative:

1. De Deo VI, p.7.

relative:

"Because a position is untenable, it does not follow that people do not hold it, because certain premises involve a certain conclusion it does not follow that people draw it. On paper logic runs very easily; in life it commonly requires a new generation, it may take several, to get to the end of a syllogism."¹

Reality is not to be found on paper, in lectures or in abstract concepts, but in living. It is something we "know" intuitively rather than intellectually. Though the mind is involved in our knowing, it is also transcended in our knowing. It is a "dwelling in Reality" - the experience commonly called Prayer. To Kelly then there is something essentially religious and sacrificial about the philosophical quest. It is humbling and refining. Socrates, after all, knew nothing. Kelly was a philosopher in this sense. He was a sage, cryptic, tortuous but illuminating.

Kelly's own philosophical background and training was both narrow and conventional. He knew his Plato and Aristotle, and had read widely in Aquinas when he began teaching. But that was all. In his early days, he knew next to nothing of German philosophy. In his De Deo, for example, he is content to cite the classical arguments for the existence of God without criticism. It was not until Kelly was well into his forties that he began to read German

1. HK in CQR for July 1909 on "Revelation", p.338.

Philosophy and only in 1910 did he begin to study Kant in earnest. This he did reluctantly and only under pressure from Neville Talbot, who told Kelly that he could not understand his terms and that if he wanted to be heard and understood by modern students he ought to read and absorb Kant.¹ In the same year Kelly read Hegel for the first time. His reading of these two great German philosophers left him unconvinced about the virtues of Idealism, yet forced him to try to find a valid epistemology for himself.

That summer, with the encouragement of his brother Alfred and Neville Talbot's proddings, Kelly absorbed a good deal of philosophy and resolved to recaste his Metaphysics on Kantian lines,² without, he hoped, becoming Kantian himself. He was accused of quoting the "Ding an Sich" as if he did not know what it was really about.³ This is hardly fair since he was constantly distinguishing between our idea of something and "the thing in itself". It was axiomatic to his understanding of theology.

What Kelly does criticise in Kant's use of Ding an Sich is the contention that we cannot know anything in itself at all. For Kelly God was "knowable" but not through philosophy. He believed that Kantian subjectivism logically

1. NL, 18th July 1910. "I have agreed to do it. That must be my holiday job. I must meet the world where the world lives."

2. See NL, 15th September 1910.

3. N.80, p.291.

ended in solipsism. Since we cannot know anything in itself, what "knowledge" we do have is simply a fiction in the mind. The impatience of the empiricist asks: "If we do not and cannot know it, what is gained by saying we know it is there?"¹ Kant was right to assert that our minds "shape" everything but "we are not...justified in inferring that because we find these in our own minds they are not also the conditions of things."² Our minds were "real" too. To be thoroughly epistemologically sceptical was to make a nonsense of human experience, and natural science.

Nor was Kelly content, as we might expect, with Kant's argument for the existence of God. Moral arguments, like the moralist movement, were repugnant to him. From whom did he learn his distrust of moralism? Who convinced him of the superiority of English Empiricism over German Idealism? John Stuart Mill's analysis of "real kinds" in his System of Logic³ was extremely important to Kelly; indeed it was the key to everything. We can know things even if we cannot know them exhaustively. Kelly applauded those elements of Plato and Coleridge that met in Mill's seminal mind. His brother Alfred had introduced him to Mill around 1893 or 1894. This discovery of Mill, Herbert Kelly later described as "momentous".⁴ Mill served to corroborate

1. Metaphysics, p.49.

2. Ibid., p.53.

3. Vol.I, Longmans Green & Co., London, (1872 edition) Ch.VII, sec.4, p.137 f.

4. See HK introduction to his Metaphysics.

what Kelly had learned from F. D. Maurice.

"The real kinds", writes Kelly, summarising Mill,

"[of nature] are those which possess an undeterminable multitude of distinctive properties, more than we need even expect to know, but which form an object of continual investigation. On the other hand, the conventional kinds, possess only such finite and determinate distinctions as we give them, and are not therefore, objects of further investigation."¹

Although Mill was thinking in terms of scientific clarification, Kelly saw that scientific terminology could illuminate the shape of theological investigation. He would take the example of two different frogs,² and following Mill, would insist that the difference between them could not be stated simply in terms of a list of their different properties. What makes two frogs different is something "real" which cannot be expressed in a list of the differences between them. Genus and species are something real.

Mill had taught Kelly that nothing was obvious or self-evident, nothing could be taken simply at face value. Why? Because our knowledge was fragmentary and the fragment we did possess

"was always with frayed edges, not clearly cut and easily defined - the beginning and the end were in eternity. He [Kelly] had a great dislike of the word 'obvious'. Only after you had, by

1. HK Psychology and Logic, p.67 ff.

2. HK's students obviously remembered these frogs:

"We will not this question beg
Can you know the frog's hind leg?
Was the Council right, or Hus?
That will never bother us!"

Verse of song written for HK's 75th birthday.

the sweat of your brow~~x~~ formed your two premises, and respected all the 'real kinds' of genus and species, only then could you, in conclusion, say 'therefore', that nothing was obvious."¹

Kelly realized that men in craving for the clear-cut, the obvious, made an idol for themselves by creating a reality which they could manipulate. Man is the great fabricator, and Kelly created an amusing myth about Lord Kitchener to illustrate his point:

"I see troops of stores arriving at Havre. There seems to be a method about the business, and we attribute it to someone we call 'Kitchener'. But who is this Kitchener?"

Then Kelly provides his own answer to this question in a footnote:

"KITCHENER: commonly believed to be an Arabic war-god or hero, connected with the city of Khartoum... Some assert that he was originally a female deity. He was often called K... and it is well known that K.K.K. was in Germany, the symbol of the essentially feminine functions, of which Kuchen (kitchen) was the first. Khartoum may be a perversion of Kirche which was the second... 'Kitchener's mob', a name subsequently applied to soldiers, may in the original form, have been his children - Kinder."²

Kelly felt that Churchmen were victims of that kind of "scholarship". Mill, among others, had taught him that the epistemological road was both demanding and treacherous. Mill had come to the conclusion that a real kind is a

1. The Reverend John Smith after HK's death, 20th November 1950.

2. HK lecture The Reality of God.

genuine universal, an Idea, and as such is both knowable yet unlimited. It has infinite content, of which we know very little. The merely notional has only that meaning we inject into it. Kelly used it as a means of distinguishing between the idea and the reality. "We call a thing real when it is a cause of results which are independent of our ideas. If I think it is fine when it is 'really' raining, I shall 'really' get wet."¹ Here we have Kelly's understanding of Revelation. All "real" knowledge is in some sense a revelation; it impinges upon us from outside, and is startlingly independent of the categories of our own mind and revolutionizes them. This is that aletheia, truth which is essentially an uncovering which Heidegger has so brilliantly analysed for us.²

Perhaps a brief excursion into the thought of a philosopher Kelly had never read will throw some light on Kelly's own understanding of Revelation. Heidegger's rejuvenation of the word truth by digging deeply into the meaning of the Greek word aletheia is well known. A-letheia involves remembrance and memory as well as uncovering and unconcealedness. Heidegger uses two other Greek words which help to throw light on the meaning of truth which in turn illuminates Kelly's characteristic posture as regards Catholicity. The first word is theoria which is defined as a gazing upon truth which takes truth into its

1. HK in CQR for January 1909 on "Revelation".

2. See Heidegger's Introduction to Metaphysics - Doubleday, New York, 1953.

keeping and guards it. Theory implies both sight and light, and indeed worship. The second Greek word is phainomenon which means the manifest, the self-disclosing. Yet phenomena remain half hidden. Thus some kind of violence is necessary for us to see or be in the Truth. What happens when Truth is uncovered? Man experiences a threat, some kind of dread. To Kelly this was judgement. Care, Sorge, dread, anxiety - there is a variety of names for this basic human experience - turns out to be the means by which man can approach wholeness. It is remarkable how Heidegger's analysis of the word Truth illuminates Kelly's understanding of the word Catholicism, as the means by which man is freed to be himself. "Freedom", says Heidegger, "is the essence of truth".¹ This freedom for both Kelly and Heidegger is something man receives. The Christian would call it the work of grace. So Truth is double-edged; it involves discovering and being discovered. Truth indeed is revelation. One cannot speak of truth apart from some interpretation of all that is. There has to be a Catholic concern for wholeness. With both Kelly and Heidegger we never really arrive anywhere and this genuine yet strangely triumphant lack of resolve seems to make these thinkers ring true. Truth, as far as man is concerned, is indeed dialectic. The last word can never be spoken.

1. Existence and Being. Gateway Books, Chicago, 1949. p.303-4.

Here is where true "knowledge", revelatory knowledge, the philosopher, theologian and man of prayer all meet. Philosophy is a theological concern. This was Kelly's belief which makes him, in the conventional sense at least, a poor philosopher, and a dull writer of Metaphysics.

What Kelly was desperate to do was to get people to see the philosophical importance of direct contact with reality. His debt to F.D. Maurice in this respect is immense. While he was at Oxford, Maurice's Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy had taught him "the vital distinction between realities and 'notions' and so between faith (in things) and theories.... between what can be called a man's method and his system".¹ This was Maurician Platonism. Differences do exist and they matter. "All modern philosophers", Kelly wrote,

"seem to me absorbed in the fascinating pursuit of trying to prove that differences don't exist, i.e. of confusing things instead of trying to explain them. I cannot help thinking that your dinner and the idea of your dinner are different. The presence of my friend, and thinking about his presence, are also different. If that is not so I don't know what the Incarnation means."²

To Kelly's mind too many philosophical theologians were betraying the transcendent, revelatory, real substance of Christianity by concentrating on the importance of their own opinions, their own categories. He was often unfair in

1. HK's preface to his Metaphysics.

2. HK ms. commenting on press criticism of his The Church and Religious Unity (1913).

his polemical accusations. Both Inge and Rashdall come under heavy fire. "It is a favourite theory of Rashdall that Lotze was the most Christian philosopher.... Lotze's philosophy is not Christian. Neither is Rashdall's."¹ -

(a hasty Kelly outburst to be interpreted as such.)

Kelly admitted elsewhere that he had read Hermann Lotze, the Professor of Philosophy at Göttingen, and found him unintelligible.² It was the self-consciousness of Kant, Hegel and the then modern writers that so infuriated Kelly. He was attracted time and time again back to the "unself-consciousness" of a St. Thomas Aquinas, who was also a realist.³

The basic obstacle in accepting the Christian faith is not atheism but idolatry, not the easy idolatry of money or prestige or power but the subtle idolatry of the self, which for Kelly is the unreal, and hence demonic. It is the idol of the self that must be given up and "every fibre of our being cries out against the sacrifice".⁴ At the beginning of the century the self was made respectable by the prevailing Idealism in philosophy. Kelly himself was an Idealist in some sense, though not of the Hegelian variety. His basic philosophical assumption which

1. NL, 28th November 1910.

2. HK, introduction to his Metaphysics.

3. See HK, CQR, "Rise and Course of Scholasticism", January 1913, p.361. HK's Preface to his Metaphysics; after reading Kant, Taylor, Green "I remain...a quite impenitent Realist".

4. Ibid., p.343.

is, in itself, an enormous leap of faith, is that things do, in the end, make sense, and that reason if unreliable at times was all one had and that one should use it fully. He assumes, as we would expect, "a universal intelligibility in things"¹ and argues that "there are no separate things or events. They are all part of one Cosmos, of a single whole order."²

Reason will not go on relentlessly being duped if one has an open mind. Kelly quoted with relish Phineas T. Barnum's famous maxim: "You can fool some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all the people all of the time."³ Barnum is also supposed to have said, "There's a sucker born every minute". Kelly believed a man ceased to be a "sucker" once he had begun to think. Yet he felt that too many "suckers" were being taken in by the philosophical and theological blandishments, mainly at that time emanating from Germany. He fought every form of Idealism he encountered with only moderate success. He was never good at languages and the few German theological and philosophical words he had at his fingertips were not necessarily either helpful or accurate. His knowledge was sufficient, however, to realise fully the danger of Idealism. He knew well enough that the philosophical climate in Europe had been

1. De Deo IV, 6.

2. Ibid., V.2

3. See De Deo IV.

stifling for decades. In 1912 Kelly wrote:

"There has been so to speak, a change of mental routes, leaving the old landmarks, ports of call, distributing centres of mental commerce, far on one side.... 'Mental routes' are not things most of us are given to thinking about. German philosophy which few of us read, German religious constructions which we all know at second-hand, lie at the basis of a new modern mind. The most potent influence of all is the influence of Biblical Criticism which has cut loose the moorings of centuries."¹

This, however, in Kelly is not a cry of despair but a call to adventure.

Nevertheless Kelly was not as sympathetic as he might have been to German ideas. The First World War naturally tended to harden his attitude to German Kultur. He felt he had seen the awful results of an Idea put into practice. Yet he was forced to admit the excellence of German learning and scholarship. Teutonic thoroughness was to be admired; Anglo-Saxon haphazardness to be deplored.

"'Ruthlessness' to a German means simply loyalty in following an idea. It has, of course, nothing necessarily to do with cruelty.... England has no Kultur: in other words we do not know and do not want to know, what we are at. This is the reason for the superiority of German learning."²

1. HK, The Church and Religious Unity, op.cit., p.3. W.R. Matthews in Memories and Meanings, op.cit., p.55, wrote, "In the opening decade of the century, theological discussion was dominated to some extent by the Liberal Protestantism of leading German scholars and among them the great Adolf Harnack stood forth like a Goliath."

2. HK, CQR, April 1916, on "German Idealism".

It is ironical to note that in condemning Anglo-Saxon untidiness, Kelly was inveighing against his own most telling weakness.

Kelly read philosophy as one would read a newspaper, haphazardly and, as one would expect, he used philosophers rather than followed them. If he came across an idea which excited him he would walk the philosopher along the path for a while, and then dart off on a tangent of his own. In 1911 he had read and begun to appreciate T.H. Green's Prolegomena to Ethics¹ but that had been published over twenty years (1883) before. Philosophy was not something on which he tried to keep up to date. The thought of the young Bertrand Russell he knew only through Alfred Kelly.

Kelly's Metaphysics reflects a wide reading but is extremely heavy going today, as large parts of it are devoted to attacking thinkers who irritated him rather than concentrating on philosophical ideas of enduring value. Pure metaphysics, as such, he had little time for. This was the empiricist in him, eager to attack systems of thought and apply the test of usefulness and practicality. Metaphysics was a jungle from which he would gladly have escaped into the high roads of history.

Philosophers tended to be intoxicated with themselves and popular philosophy encouraged a thinking Christian to see his greatest power as the manifestation of his own life and character. Kelly had to attack this view constantly in

1. Read in holidays 1911. Perhaps urged on by H. Scott Holland. T.H. Green 1836-1882.

Japan where the worship of personality was an ever-present danger. On one occasion Kelly said to an audience in Japan: "Ladies, and gentlemen, if you find this lecture dull, it's of no moment. You can gaze at ME."¹ It is ironic he should say this of himself, for, as we have seen, part of his own message was himself. He knew this and hated the idea. The idea that there was a spiritual power, a "part of nature" that was striving to fashion the world afresh from its own centre was, to Kelly, quite literally diabolical: - a sign of people thinking too much about themselves and not about God. Was philosophy trying to turn itself into a practical creed to be preached? It certainly has the means of becoming a creed for some. Philosophy, however, had its own peculiar difficulties. Its terminology deals "essentially with common ideas for which everybody has names already, which therefore we are bound to use - yet we associate them with peculiar theories."² A philosophy might help a man to understand things more fully but it could not save him. Which philosopher should we choose as a guide and mentor? Who is to tell us which parts of the Gospel are acceptable and proper and which parts are not?

"Platonists, Aristotelians, Occamists, Calvinists, Hegelians, Evolutionists, Pragmatists, Ritschilians, and now historical critics have all claimed the right to determine how much of the Gospel may be held, and in what sense....

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1. NL, 12th September 1914. HK attacking the thought of Rudolpk Eucken, 1846-1926.
 2. HK Psychology and Logic, p.41, 9.

these modern theories.... are something superior to the Gospel itself.... I write this on the train for Newark - terrible thought - has not Einstein disposed of space? How can I get there? Is there a there to get to? My fellow passengers seem curiously little perturbed."¹

Kelly's contribution to theological thinking might be better known today had he not obfuscated it with a tortuous and difficult style. The thinking in the Metaphysics is important but marred by lack of clarity. In his De Deo which included both his doctrine and psychology, he speaks more clearly. In it we are introduced to a way of thinking about God which is as stimulating as it is disturbing. It is the reflection of a mind which could reject Hegelian Idealism, deny the scepticism of Nominalism, affirm the Sovereignty and transcendence of God and yet embrace a Natural Theology as Barth was never able to do. Here Kelly the pre-Barthian, came closer to the truth than the man who is one of the seminal theologians of this century; for Barth could find no resting place for Natural Theology in his Dogmatics.

Kelly was a Catholic humanist looking for the One among the Many. Here again he is hardly "Barthian"; "Augustinian" certainly, in so far as he, with Augustine, saw that all truth was God's truth, that "the order of grace" encompassed and sustained "the order of nature" and was not

1. HK letter, probably to Wm. Temple c.1929. HK in the same letter writes, "Someone - was it R. Knox - has a sarc. on the Christian anxious to study the Sanday bulletin to see how much of his Creed he may believe this week. Will Rawlinson let him go to Mass? Will Sanday let him believe in a Church?"

placed on top of it. Kelly would have preferred the Augustinian distinction between General and Special Revelation rather than the Thomist dichotomy between Natural and Revealed Theology.

There was the natural world to be examined. God is not only creator of nature; he is revealed in some measure in his creation. Kelly could never escape the particularity of pigs as proof of the Resurrection or the collar stud as pointing to infinite mystery. The natural order was for him an affirmation of joy. To Barth this would have been the forbidden "heathen" via analogiae.¹ Kelly starts with the realm of nature firmly placed within that of the supernatural, the greater containing the less. Man inhabits both realms.

Kelly was not, however, seduced by the natural world as were many in his day who were influenced by the popular philosophy of Herbert Spencer. Spencer suggested that as man is part of nature, so he ought to submit to her dominion, and take her laws for his guidance, her ideals for his aspirations. Kelly denied this strongly by insisting that such an interpretation was not true to the facts we know about man. There was something more. Man was also above "nature" in the evolutionary Spencerian sense. For Kelly nature was part of the dominion of God. The basic question which had to be answered was, "Do you believe that nature is complete and self-sufficient; or

1. See De Deo II.1.

do you recognize that it implies, demands, and leads up to, something beyond itself?"¹ A popular reply was the former, a reply which both Kelly and Barth, in their different ways, repudiated. Barth did this by denying the whole order of nature as a vehicle of divine revelation, Kelly by re-interpreting it.

Unlike Barth, Kelly agreed with Schleiermacher in insisting that there must be, within man, the capacity for receiving revelation, truth, a contact-point which exists by virtue of man being the imago Dei.

"The first revelation to Abraham like the final gospel of an Incarnation and Redemption which was preached to Jew and Gentile, would be incomprehensible unless there were certain ideas of God already existing to which it was appealing."²

Yet if we bear in mind the revelatory character of Kelly's epistemology, its transcendent givenness, we can see that it is not the Natural Theology of an absentee God against which Barth so violently objected, but rather that of a God in and above nature; the gospel revelation not being "something found, developed, or constructed by natural process, but given supernaturally."³

The natural without the supernatural was not "real"; it had no independent meaning or existence. If we were left with only the natural then all theology would be

1. HK article in JTS, July 1901, on "Miracle", p.529.

2. De Deo II.1

3. Ibid. quoting Augustine HK adds the supernatural "takes up and redeems, it completes and perfects that which is natural." I Cor. 15.46.

shackled to the realm of opinion, to our ideas about reality. Kant would be right; we could know nothing in itself. Kelly asked students at Swanwick in July 1911,

"When you look upon God as knowable only in your own states, are you quite sure that He is very much more than a neural state, especially about the age of 16? All this is pure heathenism. You know God by your own notions, inferences and feelings. Out of it God delivered us through physical mechanism, the materiality, the flesh and blood of the Incarnate."¹

The materiality and objectivity of this was startling to those who believed that God was simply the nicer parts of the self which they would have liked to cultivate.

Through the Incarnation, we escape from the tyranny of our inner consciousness and the nonsense of solipsism and become "real". The process is not so much an irrational as a suprarational affair, using our "unconscious reasoning"²; a mechanism about which we know scarcely anything. Kelly, unlike many of his contemporaries, was thoroughly up to date with psychological theory and the infant psychiatry and was remarkably ahead of his time in this, believing very much in "this psychoanalysis business".³ It was not only a mode of therapy but also a means by which we could distinguish between the acts of God and the acts of man, both conscious

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1. NL, July 1911. HK wrote his first lectures in Psychology in 1902, and had been interested in the subject ever since his Oxford days. See Autobiography p.49.
 2. NL, 2/6th June 1911.
 3. see NL, 6th June 1922, concerning Fr. Gerald Murphy's breakdown. HK wrote in a letter in the late 1940's: "You can understand principles only by logic; you need psychology to understand men".

and unconscious. Kelly saw psychology essentially as an ally that would eventually undermine the position of those who saw Idealism as a basis for Christian belief.

"The time is not far off when the psychologists will show that the God who is known only to religious experience, is merely a name for certain neural states.... Surely if God can do nothing in His own universe, if He has left it to purely human activity to make the best or worst of it, who is He ever to be judge at the last?"¹

At some point in a man's life he has consciously to cross over from the world of ideas, theories, speculations, even beliefs, and enter the realm of "reality, truth, fact, and faith".² Psychology was important for self-understanding. This comparatively new study brought the study of theology firmly into the arena of everyday processes and common things. Without psychology we cannot hope to understand ourselves or our past.

Kelly's approach to history tended to be psychological. Julian, the Apostate, for example, rejected Christianity because it was the religion of Constantius

1. HK report to Mott on his 1912 visit to U.S.A. HK had read William James' Pragmatism in 1909. He wrote in his preface to his Metaphysics, "The really momentous factor of this period (1898 ff) was the Psychology. Newsom directed my attention to it. I think I dabbled with a small manual and with James without getting interested until someone gave me a book by Sides (N.Y. 1898) mostly dealing with subconsciousness, which everyone so far had ignored.... I jumped for it with both hands.... a scientific statement of phenomena which I had watched for years. We Victorians had called it Unconscious cerebration".

2. HK Church History Scheme I (1925) p.31.

and he hated Constantius as "the butcher" of his family.¹ In fact Kelly's history lectures read like a course in psychology and dogmatics. A Polycarp had to be persecuted because the God who meant so much to him was an intolerable intrusion into the common life.

Kelly was concerned with integrity of life. Church History as a whole had much to say about life as a whole. "Church History", Kelly wrote in the introduction of his Church History Scheme (Vol.I 1925) "is the history of attempts made in time to realise what is beyond time, for Churchmen also are men of an age, capable only of its type of thought, even though they are looking for what is beyond all ages."^{*}

As we have seen, wholeness of vision has to do with the making of proper connexions and drawing accurate inferences. Psychological study helped the student in making necessary connexions. Kelly wrote in the preface to the 1926 edition of his Psychology and Logic,

"Psychology has an intimate bearing on 'religion', but you will not understand it nor other people... unless you look first what its ideas mean in reference to common things. How do reason and faith, perception and imagination work, e.g. in lighting a pipe or catching a train....
[Psychology] underlies all history."

Even a smattering of psychology should convince a student of the flimsy quality of his own ideas and notions.

1. HK Church History Scheme II, p.33.

Dogma was essential as a bulwark against the solipsism of self-concern. Paradoxically Kelly pleaded for loving intolerance as far as dogma was concerned. Our knowledge of the truth, however fragmentary, cannot be reduced to matters of opinion. Certain "facts" are beyond dispute. Something is or is not the case and no amount of argument will change a "fact". "Is there a man who by anxious thought can add a foot to his height?"¹

"Personally", Kelly wrote,

"I have a somewhat strong belief that the earth is, more or less, spherical, yet I should not feel bound to eject a member of the flat earth society from my cricket team.... If, however, I am responsible for a school of Geography and Navigation, and this interesting person applied for a tutorial position, I should have to tell him it would not do.... Supposing he then replied that nothing was really known of the earth's shape. All human knowledge was very uncertain. There was more faith in honest doubt...than in my belief of the geographical creed and so forth. In short, that it ought to be left an open question. I should answer at once, 'Your assertion that nothing is known is just as positive, hard, narrow, intolerant, dogmatic, as my assertion that something is known, and I can only allow you to go on teaching by giving up my assertion and accepting yours.'

Christianity began from a perfectly definite belief that Christ was made man, redeemed us, and this Gospel was the true ground of righteousness and hope in life. You may believe or disbelieve it... You may even assert that moral teaching ought to be the essence of Christianity. Yours may or may not be the right view, but a belief that salvation is reached by following a moral ideal is quite different from the belief that salvation is given

1. Matt. 6.27 N.E.B.

by something which God did. Anyone who holds the latter or evangelical view to be the essence of Christianity must hold that the former or moralist view is essentially non-Christian. And whoever does hold a belief must be allowed to exclude its opposite. This is the right of anathema."¹

Dogma, to Kelly, was vitally important. It stood for openness and freedom in the pursuit of truth. It ensured that questions were always open. It is true others taught that dogma was the last word on a subject. Kelly insisted it was the first. It was an invitation to thought:

"Dogmatics, as some people teach it, is little more than a list of formal doctrines with, perhaps, formal arguments, or proofs, or explanations. If you study it philosophically it is a very different business. It belongs and answers to the very structure of your life and you have to think it out and see for yourself how it is so."²

Yet the philosophical method had its dangers. It needed the corrective of history. Historical study is a practice in diagnoses. It is an objective warning against a boldly philosophical approach to dogma. In philosophical enquiry the theologian can so easily be trapped in his own thoughts. Without the historical perspective we lose sight of tendencies, movements. But history needs philosophy too. Without it

1. HK undated ms. on Theology.

2. HK undated rough ms Purpose of History Study. Kelly found an ally in Dorothy Sayers. Both writers believed dogma to be important. D.S. wrote to HK, 20th April 1944: "I've temporarily given up appearing on religious platforms. The amateur theologian soon loses his first surprise-value and becomes "one of the old gang". At first it's a salutary shock to people when a detective novelist bursts out with a defence of dogma - but before long one is only old Sayers again, of course, who's gone pious in middle age!"

history appears to be all movement to no purpose.

"You must play dogmatics and history against one another.... Presbyterianism, Calvinism, Anglicanism, Romanism - we think we know what these mean, and they always meant the same thing. In fact all of them have changed a great deal."¹

The dialectic is maintained between dogma and history, between the constant and the ever-changing. Catholicism itself is dialectical, a tension between the "depositum fidei" and its changing development through history.

We have seen that for Kelly all genuine knowledge comes to us as revelation, something from outside. It is an act of Grace. The place where we can see this revelatory principle at work, crystallized for us, is in history² - the examination of men and events, the Bible being the most important datum.

Kelly's concern with history was, again, to make connexions, to see the relations between things, to try to get inside men's minds. No period of history was more fascinating to him than that of the Middle Ages,³ though all history interested him as the battleground of ideas.

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1. HK undated ms on Theology. HK, in Church History Scheme II p.51, writes on Theodosius and Erastianism: "Few people, anywhere or at any time, look to see where or how a principle does begin; still fewer, perhaps none, can realise what is really significant in their own day."
 2. Kelly's great passion was history but he was no historian. He tends to use history to prove a certain point of view. His History of the Church of Christ (Longmans Green & Co., 1901) is little more than "an apology for the theory of Apostolic Succession" as one reviewer put it (The Critical Review September 1901) although F.J. Hall, in the Living Church, 28th March 1903, called it "The best book they [students] can use". The former critic is the more accurate.
 3. NL, 18th May 1911: "I did two lectures on Medieval History. O si sic omnes. Ah, for the fluid ease with which they run."

"All history worthy of the name, and Church history more than any, is a history of ideas."¹ The historical quest was for Kelly, as we might expect, the quest for Reality. We might ask, "Was Constantine ever really Christian?" Kelly's reply: "I should say Constantine was essentially a statesman. He saw that Christianity was the most real thing."²

Kelly's aim was to highlight the vital points of each historical period and get them right without going into great detail; he set his constellation in an enormous heaven and told his students to look and see the Reality behind events. His Church History Schemes can only be understood and appreciated as accompaniments to a living voice and not as works that can stand up in their own right.³

He pointed out significant events in history to his students and tried to get them to see the kind of world God had made, and within this world to analyse the behaviour of men. The study of history could help us understand what was going on in our own day in the affairs of the nation and in our private lives:

"Read the story of the American Revolution...and you can see how a determined minority forces its policy on a puzzled majority...(if you attend committees you will constantly see it done)."⁴

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1. HK in preface to Volume I of A History of the Church of Christ.
 2. HK ms. Lecture on Persecution.
 3. This was also the opinion of the S.P.C.K. reader when Vols. I & II were sent for publication in 1928.
 4. NL, 4th May 1927.

Above all we can learn from history what men did when they discovered God was real: "they promptly and unanimously crucified Him (and the disciples ran for it)".¹

Kelly's method was to begin with a student's actual knowledge, his present enthusiasms. The English theological student should, therefore, begin with modern history from the Industrial Revolution onwards: "Then you can say: There. That is what you have to account for."² The point of teaching history at all was an apologetic one: a dangerous attitude for anyone embarking on serious historical research. Kelly would take those parts of history which he regarded as the most useful. As we have already seen, he saw no point in teaching Indian ordinands enormous periods of Western history. The most useful thing to teach them would be a history of nationalisms, and all the difficulties they have made. The teaching of history, for Kelly, was certainly not the manufacturing of facts but it did serve as overtly Christian propaganda; God's world, God's acts in history.

Perhaps Kelly over-reacted against the mood prevalent in his day (especially in the S.C.M.) of talking about history solely in terms of the activity of men. "They talk to distraction about their own activities but never of God."³ He and Neville Talbot talked of this many

1. NL, 1st May 1923; see also S.C.M. document on the Relations to the Church.

2. NL, 8th December 1932.

3. NL, July 1912.

times and came to the conclusion that it was due to a "want of O.T. Hebraism".¹ Human history was the realm of God's activity and the place where God reveals Himself most clearly to men. All historians have to begin with certain presuppositions about the nature of the universe, about the nature of man. Kelly's great assumption was that God was behind and in everything that happened.

Dogma, then, is an indispensable means of stating not what men believe but what God has done and is doing in His world. Idealist philosophers tended to assume an Absolute which bore no relation to human experience. This was futile. "Ritschl was at least right in saying that abstract Metaphysics of that kind was no concern of ours, or of 'Religion'."² We can define things, explain them, describe them ad infinitum but "there is no use in having definitions be they ever so accurate, unless the thing is first a reality."³ The Christian Creeds, in trying to put in words what the true state of affairs is, not what we think about it, are a great charter of freedom from the chaos of our own private opinions and judgements. The perversion of dogma into dogmatism occurs only when we "believe something very strongly and never learn quite to understand or trust it."⁴ One cannot trust dogma if

1. Ibid.

2. De Deo, V.9

3. HK in Church Times, 11th August 1900.

4. HK, University Review, October 1908.

one sees it as answering the question, What is God like?¹
 This is unfathomable. If, however, we ask, What does God do? answers begin to emerge, true knowledge of God is possible - non per se sed per suos effectus - through the things He does in the world.

Christian dogma is abused when placed in the role of metaphysics in the abstract sense, just as Catholicism is abused when seen as the practice of a sect rather than as a universal gospel. Catholic dogma is then relegated to the invidious position of satisfying intellectual curiosity and the only datum is a moral energy of our own making. This leads to an understanding of Christianity as moral idealism, a Pelagian travesty of the Gospel. God exists as an ideal, not as effective Being. If we do ask, "What does God do?" there is only one real answer and that is the Incarnation, which expresses both the freedom and love of God. Creeds are the means by which we try to state God's independence of our ideas about Him.

Christian doctrine was thought of as irrelevant because

"Religion got astray from life. The young mind quite rightly wants to get back, but turns to social-problems Idealism as the only road.... Theology has been taught with primary reference to religious 'soul culture'.. and the swerve of the tide leaves it high on the rock. The clergy have no grip on Theology as a doctrine of life....

1. "Whenever a man talks so to my mind he is talking heathenism" - NL, 9th August 1921.

[But] you need not scratch very deep to find that hunger for God."¹

The hunger for God, however, cannot be satisfied with definitions, because definitions have to do with our ideas and not real things. Too many dogmatists were mere conceptualists. Kelly rejected nominalism in any form as a trap into which "mere conceptualists" had fallen. He criticised Abelard's De Trinitate for being shared in its own concepts, in that "the separate and particular things are only joined in one so far as the mind includes them under one universal idea or conception of its own and calls them by a common name."² This is why Kelly sided with St. Bernard against Abelard: "What on earth have syllogisms to do with God, with loving God or knowing God? 'Faith is not an argument but a certainty'... to St. Bernard faith was the surrender of a life."³

Yet a Church cannot survive without principles, without convictions, otherwise believers wallow in a "comforting sensation of broadmindedness" which in time becomes "extremely intolerant of positive convictions."⁴ The cry for the simple Gospel is understandable if naive, but any simple statement is capable of complicated expansion. Is "I believe in Jesus Christ" enough? It sounds like the

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1. NL, Swanwick Report, 9th August 1921.
 2. HK in CQR January 1913 - "The Rise and Course of Scholasticism", p.353.
 3. Ibid., p.354.
 4. The Church and Religious Unity, pp.28-29.

most primitive creed of all but does it mean belief in love and Jesus' teaching or does it mean belief in Christ the Logos, God, who saves us from our sins? The value of a creed, as Kelly understood it, depends on how we use it - as a means of expressing our own ideas or as an expression of the acts of God? If creeds were merely the former then each generation needs to abandon ancient formulae (they were, after all, merely an expression of Alexandrian theology, drawn up in much the same way as as today would compose a manifesto) and write new ones.

For Kelly the answer to the right use of a creed is stated at the opening of the Athanasian - "The Catholic faith is this that we worship". We worship; this saves Christianity from the conceptualists, the merely clever, the narrowly intellectual. The creed becomes "the charter for the liberation of the stupid, ordinary, the 90%!"¹

Kelly's attitude to dogma, to credal formulae, is best summed up by Michael Ramsey:

"The weight of his influence was this distinction between the living God and man's thoughts about him. Thus to Father Kelly dogma mattered enormously, but not as something to be sort of idolized as a kind of utterly rigid system because dogma is merely a necessary for inadequate witness to the living God."²

1. Oliver Tomkins, HK centenary sermon, St. Peter's Eaton Square, 4th May 1960.

2. Address at Centenary, 28th June 1960.

XI. THE DOCTRINE OF GOD

(a) The Truth of God revealed:

God reveals himself to us in events, in history, and those "normative" revealing events are recorded for us in the Bible. Nevertheless, Kelly is in no sense a supporter of "Biblical Theology". As we have seen, he was an advocate of his own peculiar form of "Natural Theology". The Bible was important in that it bore witness to the reality of God as opposed to man-made philosophical systems. The Bible was "normative" in the sense that the history recorded therein was "a particularly explicit example of what is always happening."¹

The God of the Hebrews would not be shackled by human conceptions, reduced to human proportions (which is exactly what Kelly thought the Modernists and Broad Churchmen had done). In this Kelly felt he was following his early friend and guide Henry Scott Holland in discerning in the New Testament witness to Christ not the revelation of a human life but the revelation of God himself.

Kelly had little patience with the Biblical critics because he felt that they saw things simpliciter, flat on, with no contours, curves, dimensions. Truth to them appeared something easily identifiable. This was both a weakness and strength in Kelly: a weakness because the Biblical critics were saying important things about the nature of the Christian tradition which no one could afford to ignore, a strength

1. HK article in CQR January 1915 op. cit.

because Kelly was able to transcend their findings and point to the essential Gospel. Biblical critics in 1900 were perhaps more confident than they are now, giving the Christian community "the assured results" of their researches. We know now that these "assured results" have the habit of changing and in consequence Biblical scholars today are more cautious in their pronouncements.

One of Kelly's joys was to point out the pre-suppositions of others, especially the Biblical critics. On one occasion he chose to criticise B.H. Streeter's essay in Foundations, "the Historic Christ", and Albert Schweitzer's Quest for the Historical Jesus.¹ He did not dispute their scholarship or even question their conclusions. He attacked most strongly their pretensions; did they really think they knew exactly what Jesus meant, or the precise significance of the events which surrounded him? The truth of the Gospel was such that it would not bear only one interpretation but several. The revelation of God in Jesus Christ was too rich and diverse to be understood in only one way and not in any others: "Shall we make out interpretation contemporary, Futurist, or Eschatological? I remember wondering (over 30 years ago)...perhaps under the influence of Maurice, why anyone should want to separate them."²

There was no one exclusive meaning to Scripture. Kelly would not dispute the fact that a Streeter's or a Schweitzer's was not a valid interpretation among many.

1. See CQR for January 1915, op. cit.

2. Ibid., p.377.

What was wrong and absurd was the attempt of anyone to fix the true meaning exclusively down to one interpretation: "The modernist insists on a contemporary interpretation. I cheerfully include that interpretation but I refuse to exclude any other."¹ The modernist relied too much on religious experience and moral actions. Christianity could not be manufactured out of these two elements. They were its products; not its basic ingredients.

Kelly was characteristically unique in his attitude to the Bible; he refused to take sides.

"The Fall of Adam and the Tower of Babel seem to me much more living as parables than as facts. The ancients took them as facts (sometimes) and took the parable. The difference never struck them."²

He would neither capitulate to the critics nor would he embrace the narrowly and unimaginatively orthodox. He saw himself as orthodox enough, often as not as the only one in step, but still orthodox. But orthodox Christianity needed to be grasped with both hands, allowed a daring liberty and not left "in an ultimate cupboard of the mind labelled, 'Dogma - not to be touched.'"³

If the Catholic Faith were true then it had nothing to fear from any amount of enquiry and criticism. If it were not true then the sooner it is abandoned as false the better. All the discoveries of Modern Science should be

1. Ibid., p.389

2. HK probably to William Temple c.1929.

3. CQR., January 1915, op. cit.

faced honestly, and indeed revelled in. There were those "orthodox" who were over-protective as regards the Christian faith, anxious to save their faith rather than help to save others by that faith. Meeting modern man on his ground did not necessarily involve capitulation or compromise. What was required was openness and honesty. Faith is necessary both in "the study of natural science as in the study of Divine revelation."¹

Kelly was afraid of nothing and was stubborn in refusing to take the contemporary, the view of the present, too seriously. He would acknowledge the competence and scholarship of his contemporaries. He admitted that Dr. Swete knew much more about the Greek text of St. Mark's Gospel than did St. Augustine but he also felt that St. Augustine might tell us more about the meaning of St. Mark than Dr. Swete.² In other words Kelly was quite willing to be instructed by modern scholars if they in their turn were willing to be instructed by tradition. He would have agreed with the statement recently made by Charles Davis: "When attempts are made to shame us into agreement by some such phrase as 'No one today can hold such and such a view', the appropriate answer until some reasons other than unfashionableness are given, is 'Why not?....'"³ Kelly was certainly willing to accept what

1. HK in Church Review, 3rd May 1900: article "Science and Faith".

2. See HK in The Church Review, 5th July 1900. His review of The Gospel According to St. Luke by Arthur Wright (Macmillan & Co.).

3. Studia Liturgica Vol.7 (2-3) 1970 "Faith and Worship in Modern Society."

were then fairly new theories about the Synoptic Gospels (that their basis was not a written document but oral tradition) but also insisted that the Fathers could teach us a great deal as to the meaning of these things.

Critics were far too free with their inferences, and failed to ask themselves some pertinent questions. Some then (and now) inferred, for example, that the Virgin Birth was a later legend imposed on the primitive Gospel, or that early Christian belief was in effect quasi-Arian. There may be logical inferences about the belief of the early Christians, but did the critics ask "(a) what was the real content of that belief (b) how far did men hold it without realizing its fulness."¹ Some of the reconstructions of the critics were very shaky indeed. The Biblical message did not rely on such insecure things as reconstructions and inferences. Was the Virgin Birth, for example, a thorny problem in connexion with a criticism of the second chapter of Luke's Gospel or did it stand for something more profound? Was it an instance of mythology, freak biology or what? Was there any theology under it? The Bible, in spite of its being debased by Christians looking for pious or moral edification, still vibrates with Reality. Familiarity has dulled our senses to the Scriptures but once "we direct our attention to this question of the reality of God, we cannot read a dozen verses of the Old Testament anywhere, without that shouting at us."²

1. HK, "German Idealism" in CQR, April 1916.

2. HK's Japanese lectures The Reality of God, part II, op. cit.

The Bible, however, is not to be thought of as sufficient grounds for belief in God. Far from it. To utter such a belief is to affirm an act of faith in the Bible and not in God.

The meaning of Scripture, for Kelly, lay simply in the one fact that the Revelation of God is essentially contained in an event and not trapped by any category or conception in the mind of man. This, in essence, was what the traditional Evangelicals believed and Kelly admired them for it: "At bottom they loved and trusted God. That was very largely due to the old Bible-reading faith... in the written Word. So long as that anchorage held there was always something more than the self."¹

Revelation was not, however, confined to Scripture. The stark simplicity of this truth, William Temple learned from Kelly: the understanding of Revelation as bound up with events which are not strait-jacketed in Scripture.² Temple himself was a far better apologist for revelation -in-events than Kelly and this view was propagated in Temple's name rather than Kelly's, though Temple was always eager to acknowledge his source.³

Revelation-in-event is Kelly's way of emphasising the freedom and reality of God. The exodus and the Resurrection are events of the revelation of God, free and

1. HK: U.S.A. Diary 1912.

2. See Temple's 12th Gifford Lecture, Nature Man and God.

3. See Iremonger, op. cit. p.352. Dorothy Emmet's chapter.

independent of man and his many interpretations. The Biblical God, whatever else He is, is not a figment of man's imagination. Man could not have invented Him.

Man is capable, however, of inventing propositions about God and then believing in them. These propositions, in their turn, are confused with the Revelation which is then understood as a body of doctrine or teaching, a set of authorized opinions. The Bible, however, is written in such a way that it always points to the real object of our faith, who is God and not our concept of Him. In this sense the Bible is essentially iconoclastic, a smasher of the idols we have substituted for God. This, after all, is the pattern of Israelite history, as recorded in Scripture.

Kelly in his own idiosyncratic way illustrates the two kinds of faith involved in our understanding of the Biblical revelation: faith in our ideas and faith in the reality towards which our ideas point.

"The Holy Bradshaw teaches (p.80) that 'the first train for Sebastopol starts from Newport (Mon) at 4.55.' If I go to catch it, that is, so far, faith in Bradshaw, but that is secondary. My basic faith is in the train and the railway system to which I surrender myself that these (not Bradshaw) will carry me there. This is sound theology."¹

Both kinds of faith are necessary: the one which leads reason by the hand, the other which transcends human reason.

"All sensible beliefs rest upon reason.... But though it [faith] is because of reason

1. HK in a letter to Iremonger quoted in the latter's Life of Temple, p.532-3.

it is not in reason, but in a thing.
 I believe that the rope is sound through
 syllogisms starting from a reel of
 worsted thread (alpine club mark),
 but it is the rope itself that takes
 my weight, manilla hemp, not syllogisms..."¹

For Kelly a necessary precondition of "all true faith is the recognition that it consists in a belief in something already existing which we did not make".²

Our mistake is not in having the two kinds of faith; both are important. The error lies in our mistaking one for the other. There is no doubt that we need a prior concept of "God" before any revelation becomes intelligible. The Old Testament revelation itself involves a modification, albeit a radical one, of a concept already held. Kelly rejects totally a fundamentalist idea of the Old Testament as a simple primitive revelation of pure monotheism.³ Nevertheless, once the "God" of whom we had some idea reveals himself, we at once realise how inadequate our concept or any concept of him is. Revelation by its very independence is the beginning of salvation; in its very essence it begins to save us from ourselves by its self-authenticating power.

The authority of revelation is the authority of a fact, stark, devastatingly there, not the authority of an opinion or a private judgement. There is nothing private about it. It is that which men have in common. This is

1. NL, Swanwick, July 12th-19th 1911.

2. HK letter in Church Times, 11th August 1900.

3. See De Deo III.3.

true Catholicity.

Kelly reminds one of Kiekegaard in this respect:

"There are and can be no Catholic opinions.... Only facts are Catholic. Authority is therefore the authority of a fact, and not of the opinion of clever people, useful as these latter may be. The real point is that the mass of common, not trained, people, upon certain common methods, does constitute a fact. The cleverest theorists on ethics want listening to; but the real authority are little kids, and mothers and fathers who actually love, while professors are only talking about love."¹

Which has the greater authority: an act of love, or a theory of love? Which is the bearer of revelation - the event of the Exodus or the latest theories relating to that event? The revelation of God for Kelly was always to be found in the common man and in the common life.

Revelation gives an objectivity which is at once liberating and terrible, for in it we are not confronted with an IT (as we are when we try to produce a God out of our own inner consciousness) but with Personal Reality. The dangers to the believer are constant because one of the occupational hazards of belief is that there is a tendency for us to make

"the sense of God's presence the same as the presence.... The next step is to take the feeling of God for God Himself We find men of the deepest religiousness - all the more because they are religious - hunting feelings, nursing feelings, smoothing them out, chuckling and pleased with themselves

1. NL for the July 9th-16th 1912 Swanwick Camp. HK goes on "Authority is the experience of unnumbered common men as opposed to clever people".

under the notion that they are getting God by hands-full.... Many mystics have been good Christians. St. John of the Cross was one. I know that - not by his being a great mystic, but because he was sure that his brother (who was a gardener and thought a great deal of his cabbages) was a better Christian than himself."¹

The Christian Revelation and faith in the One revealed make all believers iconoclasts; all ideas, concepts, feelings have, from time to time, to be pulverized. Faith in the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the one who was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself, involves not a fixed state of suspended animation, but rather a pilgrimage of the spirit, a holy insecurity (to use Buber's phrase). Kelly had faith in this kind of God. It is to Kelly's specific doctrine of that God to which we must now turn.

1. HK in JTS July 1912 on "The Meaning of Mysticism".

(b) The Divine Transcendence

Jean-Paul Sartre in his Being and Nothingness describes the reality of an oak tree and the awfulness of its simply being there. It exists with no reference to us, independent, - just there. Kelly believed in the "thereness" of God in rather the same way. He plunged into the terrifying depths of the assertion, "God is" - not God is Love or Power; simply God is. All else may fall, opinions change, men suffer and die, but God is: in Carlyle's words (a writer whom Kelly loved) "The universe is full of love, and also of inexorable sternness and veracity; and it remains forever true that 'God reigns'. Patience, silence, hope!"¹

It is true that the universe is full of love but it is a wild and terrible love. It is the love of God in which there is to be found that "inexorable sternness and veracity". Kelly's was a God to believe in, a God to worship. Transcendence was a vital category which Kelly refused to give up. Take away that and the word "God" is rendered meaningless and useless. Without the transcendent dimension God is simply the name we give to our ideals, our highest aspirations.

Two things in Kelly's thought stand out as beacons, throwing light on the Divine transcendence. The first, Revelation, we have dwelt with briefly. The second beacon

1. Journal, 28th March 1897. Quoted in God in the Heart of Things by Hughell E.W. Fosbroke, collected writings published by the Seabury Press, New York, 1962.

is that of the miraculous. Revelation and miracle go together in pointing towards the freedom of God to be God. Our deepest intuitions insist that God is a He rather than an It. He is Personal and even on a human level personality has something of mystery about it, something also of the transcendent. To say that God is personal is another way of saying that God is unique. If we examine the idea of personality we see that

"There are properties common to all men, but the appearance, action, words, of each person are first his own, being the product they are also the revelation of himself... The sign by which the personality of each man is revealed differs from one another. The signs (miracles) by which God reveals Himself differ from those by which a man is revealed in just such ways as God differs from man."¹

Persons need to worship more than a natural abstraction and in consequence the revelation of God "can only be had in ways and forms which are apart from, or beyond, or which transcend nature."²

The miracles in the Gospels are not important themselves but are there to bear witness to the transcendent dimension of Christian Faith. Without that dimension Christianity is reduced to "religion". "Take away miracles and you have ethics, but the ethics are not Christianity, but only a consequence of it." Christian ethics only make sense as the context of a "transcendent view of human nature, which view can only be reached or maintained by faith in a

1. HK The Reality of God II, op. cit.

2. HK in JTS, July 1901, on "Miracle", p.518.

revelation."¹

This is not to say that Kelly wished to defend, or "prove" as true every miracle story in the Gospel record. He was arguing for the category of the miraculous not for particular miracles. A miracle, for Kelly, was essentially a sign of the transcendence of God and not wonder working. It was not to be "hawked about as evidence"² or proof for any dogma or event. "All miracles alike are not only 'inserted into doctrine', are not only 'parts of doctrine', they are the doctrine, and the essential whole of it."³ For Kelly then, the unveiling of reality is essentially miraculous in that what is thus signified is the power, freedom and unpredictability of God.

Where revelation and miracle meet together in a dogma is in the Resurrection itself, in which human event and human meaning are one. Kelly's point about miracle, then, is that it is a sign of and not a reason for belief in Christianity. A Christian "thinks Christianity is true on intrinsic grounds",⁴ not because his reason has been battered down by miraculous proofs. Sceptics through the ages have falsely assumed that miracles are intrinsic to Christianity (Kelly cites Hume, Mill and Huxley) and Kelly

1. Ibid., p.520.

2. Ibid., p.510. HK goes on, "We, All of us, us Christians, resent the words magical and thaumaturgical as applied to our Faith; but if so I venture to think we ought also to drop the magical and thaumaturgical arguments."

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p.508.

admits that the fact that miracles were used at one time as evidence for the truth of Christianity has proved a positive hindrance to the Christian apologist in a scientific age.

Kelly wrote down his views on miracles in an article in the Journal of Theological Studies for July 1901.¹ Considering the year in which it was written it is remarkably "modern" in tone and content. Kelly did not wish to be totally sceptical about miracles. They still happen on occasions but when they do we should feel uneasy about them and not use them as the flag by which we proclaim the Christian Faith. The miracles in the Gospels, then, are an integral part of revelation and not the credentials of Christian belief. They do not in any way guarantee or authenticate revelation, they actually constitute an essential element of revelation.²

This was extremely "radical" talk in an age still dominated by the ghost of T.H. Huxley. Huxley asserted that miracles do not happen.³ Kelly replied:

"Miracles are always happening. What is a miracle? Something contrary to nature?.... But contrary to what nature?.... But does this nature include my mind in the same unity? If the name of God is worth using at all in relation to the physical universe, we must mean by God an intelligence and will capable of producing effects which are not explicable in terms of purely kinetic causality.... Our nearest analogy is

1. "The Relation of Miracles to Christian Doctrine", p.505 ff.

2. See HK article in CQR July 1909 on "Revelation".

a business office, following the routine of the Manager. Deisen presents us with a picture of an office rigidly confined to the rules of an absentee manager. If, however, the Manager constitutes a real factor in the business, it must be that he is prepared to vary the routine, and to deal with matters not provided for by the rules."¹

Kelly's point is simply this: if one refuses to acknowledge the possibility of divine activity and interference in the universe, one ends up with an immanentism which allows God to operate only in the human soul while the material world remains autonomous.

Time and time again Kelly gives us examples of his refusal to abandon the rational while at the same time insisting that the whole context of Christianity is supernatural; there is a matrix of grace in which the whole of Christian truth is set. The rational side could not be abandoned because reason was all we had; but it could not be loved for itself because on its own it trapped what it thought was "God" within its own narrow compass. Reason, like every other human faculty, was the gift of God. We must use it "not to say what we ought to do, but to learn what He is already doing. That makes a great difference. The former is a human device."² The latter, one might add, marks out the Catholic from the heretic and schismatic, who both follow something the self has chosen in opposition to

1. HK The Reality of God II, op. cit.

2. HK to H.S. Dean, 20th January 1902.

that which God has given.¹ But who are the Catholics and who are the heretics? Kelly would have told the enquirer to look at the history of Christianity. Origen was one of the greatest intellects the Church has produced yet he knew the limits of reason. He was Catholic in this sense. Of Origen, Kelly writes:

"The heretic is a speculator, a theorist; Origen was both. But then the heretic is a man who stands on a theory. Origen had no theory at all. He was trying to explain a Faith... Some of the most promising [theories] he worked up with books, but he had no care for his own status, his reputation, for his consistency, or for anything else his own. To understand Origen, we must recognize that he was fundamentally as simple-minded as any of Palladius' monks... God gave Origen an amazing subtlety and fertility of intellect. But the monk had no wish to be a hero, nor did Origen try to be clever. Just as they loved God, each plainly enjoyed, thoroughly enjoyed, seeing what he could do. They were running great risks... But then God loved them and took care of them."²

Why then is this belief in God so difficult? - the most difficult thing in life to keep to? Kelly replies,

"Because it is so central and universal. By God we do mean the centre of all things, the one Reality of all; that is the basis of religion. But our thought of God is of an ideal, no doubt the highest and most inclusive ideal, nevertheless an ideal, framed by man's mind like any other ideal. That is the essential basis for idolatry; for an ideal is just that which the imagination shapes for

1. HK Church History Scheme I, p.55. "Heresy does not consist in making theories of one's own for that is an inevitable process of human thinking. It consists in the assertion of their adequacy; i.e. in the substitution of what we comprehend for the incomprehensibility of the whole truth."

2. HK Church History Scheme I, p.135.

itself. Whether we carve it in wood or let it rest in the mind, or explain it on paper under the title of 'My religion'...."¹

This truth which consumed Kelly was the source of his frustration as a teacher. Such things cannot be taught. All he could do was prod, encourage and annoy his students. On one occasion a student rebuked him with the words,

"The trouble with your view is that you would bring God into everything.' The real trouble is that he gets there whether you 'bring him in' or not. Very troublesome - very - but one did not expect a would-be parson to put it that way."²

A God who would not be trapped by concepts could only be glimpsed in dialectic. The "intellectual" way to God was through questions and never answers. Men were willing enough to discourse learnedly on the doctrine of the Trinity but Kelly asked did the God under discussion make any possible difference to the world.

"Does God mean anything? And when you have asked that, you have asked, is there anything for us to mean?.... We are really asking, Does God care? Does God do anything....?"³

Father Martin Knight S.S.M. recalls,

"The Old Man was always pumping questions out, 'What does God do?' 'What was God doing on the Somme?' Then one of his great questions, 'Who are you? Who are you?' One of the young men replied, 'I am what I am!' 'Oh! You take on to yourself the Divine Name.' That kind of reaction was very

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1. HK Essays Catholic and Missionary, S.P.C.K. London, 1928, p.104.
 2. NL, 6th July 1935.
 3. HK in S.S.M. Quarterly, "Nicaea", p.67.

exciting."¹

This sort of dialogue is typical, one instance among hundreds. Everything in the dialogue referred to God.

Kelly appealed to all types. For Father Richard Roseveare, who was to become Bishop of Accra, Kelly was the mediator of an exciting way of understanding the Christian revelation. "You could not sit at the feet of Father Kelly without getting a totally unique idea of who God was and what he did."² Brother George Every, one of the distinguished scholars in the Society, was introduced to "another way of thinking about theology altogether which I have never abandoned."³

Yet to some Kelly was perplexing and annoying. This perplexity reflects that of Pilate when confronted by the truth of Jesus, (Kelly does not claim the parallel for himself): "Truth!" said Pilate, "what does truth mean?"⁴ Kelly sees in this an anticipation of what

"we find repeated in the Acts of the martyrs - the perplexity of well-meaning men who had never heard or dreamt of religious ideas as other than a way of thinking, when they had to deal with

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1. MK in conversation with AWJ March 1970. The question "What was God doing on the Somme?" is significant. The Great War for HK was fraught with eschatological significances. Was the Fall of Jerusalem of "bigger moment historically than the Fall of Europe?" NL, 12th September 1914. See also HK, The Gospel of God, p.92.
 2. RR to AWJ, March 1970.
 3. GE to AWJ, March 1970.
 4. John 18.38, Moffatt translation.

those to whom religion was a certain truth... [Marcus Aurelius] was considerably annoyed at people who by the mere joy of a faith, without any of the proper discipline of character, had passed at once out of themselves into a new life."¹

Kelly had this joy; religion was a certain truth, Christianity was a new life. He would nag at people to see that which was so abundantly clear to him. People believed in God. He asked them why. Many came to see it was not by their own wit, or intelligence or powers of reasoning but because for them, as for Kelly, God was first and foremost simply there.

It might well be argued that the preceding paragraphs rightly belong to a chapter dealing with his teaching style, and not in a chapter dealing with his doctrine of God. In the conventional use of the word "teaching" and even the word "God", the argument would be a conclusive one. It is abundantly clear that Kelly's "teaching" and Kelly's "God" are of a piece.

To start where a man actually is was Kelly's teaching style and no doubt it is God's way of dealing with men too.² Begin by looking at yourself and the world around you. What do you infer from your observations? Then critically question what you infer as to the nature of reality. The philosopher, perhaps becomes a monotheist

1. HK in CQR, January 1909, op. cit., p.332.

2. See De Deo, p.3.

by this process of inferences but finds a mere abstract unity does not quite fit the case.

"Monotheism became Pantheism, and Pantheism is only distinguished from Atheism by the magnificence of its rhetoric. Whether we worship everything or nothing, is a difference of language only."¹

Thus by the struggling of a stumbling inferential method one comes to admit the bankruptcy of human logic and reasoning on its own. Philosophical enquiry is important because it clarifies, through painstaking thought, the issues which all men have to face. This painful path cannot, must not be avoided. Nevertheless paths are not ends in themselves. They lead somewhere. The philosophical quest is important as a means not an end. Only if we have trod that path do we really know that God and an idea of God are not the same. Kelly asked a Japanese student

"whether God was logic. Whether a sugar biscuit was logic?.... I said, if you want ideas about God's character, try Hasting's Dic. Then say to yourself, - 'Who for us men and for our salvation etc.' That is reality. The children can sing that, but they don't sing Hasting's Dic."²

The Gospel of God is something to sing about but we are to sing it with an adult and mature voice, no less joyful than a child's but the voice of one who has asked

1. JTS, July 1901, op. cit. Monotheism was philosophically sound but unreal. Polytheism was philosophically unsound but real.

2. NL, January 1918.

certain questions and trod certain paths. One path was the via crucis:

"The world is an excellent place to get crucified in. So far as you and I are concerned, that's what it was for, though I daresay God has other meanings for it.... Did you ever hear the leaves rustle in the wind? I have a notion it's the angels chuckling over the big things men think they're doing. If you will go on loving God, you will chuckle over them yourself someday when you get home."¹

Kelly pointed to patterns and structures in the world and asked a man to look for himself, to see everything as it really was. Too much of contemporary religion only saw the pleasant and congenial. Kelly believed in a Gospel which could "redeem and glorify the nasty and annoying things",² that could take genuine notice of the pain and suffering in the world and do something with it.

1. S.C.M. Magazine, December 1911, "The Power of Unworldliness". HK makes a similar point in the final address of his 1930 Holy Week Retreat: "In the heavenlies you will learn to laugh at the things which seemed so big and were yet so small, and at the things that seemed so little and were really so vast. In the infinite spaces of God all size is lost in love."

2. Ms, Three Stories.

(c) F.D. Maurice and Karl Barth

Those who know even the smallest amount of the theology of either Frederick Denison Maurice or Karl Barth cannot fail to see that the thought of Herbert Kelly parallels that of both these theologians. Nor is the juxtaposition of Maurice and Barth as fanciful as it might seem. Dr. Ellen Flesseman-van Leer, in her recent F.D. Maurice Lectures¹ has found remarkable unity of thought in these two great theologians, separated in time and space, neither one knowing the works of the other. She does not deny their differences but points out the considerable areas in which their theologies overlap. Kelly sits, unknown and unrecognized between them, stimulated by Maurice, ignorant of Barth, and dependent on neither.

Great Themes run through all three theologians; the sovereignty, transcendence and majesty of God; faith in him and not in our own theories; a repudiation of "religion" as an escape from or a substitute for God. This is what gave Kelly the title of Barthian, a title which Kelly himself modified in a letter to Lawrence Rose, one of Kelly's successors in Japan and later Dean of the General Theological Seminary in New York;

"If you want a name, I am called a Barthian, N.B. I never read Barth - I am an F.D. Maurician - I have been preaching that for forty years or more - long before Barth."²

1. Grace Abounding: A Comparison of Frederick Denison Maurice and Karl Barth. The F.D. Maurice Lectures at King's College, London, 1968.

2. 14th February 1934.

Kelly, as we have seen, was "God intoxicated", all "the oddities of history, all the varied medley of this material world were wildly exciting to him as evidence of the living God."¹ This joyful intoxication with God plants him more surely in the world of F.D. Maurice than that of Karl Barth. Maurice's ability to transcend party barriers and stand for a free and independent Catholicism parallels Kelly's position more exactly than anything Barthian.

It was Kelly and Kelham who kept Maurice's theology alive during a time when the latter's influence was on the wane. It was not until comparatively recently that F.D. Maurice's thought began to be appreciated once more, due to the work of such scholars as Alec Vidler.² Kelly was greatly influenced by reading Maurice's Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy and The Kingdom of Christ, works which he first came across in the 1880's. When he was 69 Kelly wrote, "I re-read Maurice, Kingdom of Christ, after all these years (about 45 years, I believe). What a holy terror he is! Wonderful in his suggestiveness past all whooping."³

1. Oliver Tomkins' Centenary Sermon, 4th May 1960.

2. See his F.D. Maurice and Co., S.C.M. London, 1966, p.8.

3. NL, 7th September 1929. HK had just read Brillioth's book on the Eucharist which Fr. Gabriel Herbert had translated. HK wanted to send Brillioth Maurice's Kingdom of Christ and his notes on it.
 HK ms. 27th March 1949: "Low-Church-Broad-High-Catholic, finally Maurice. I looked in on them all. It took just over ten years to learn my utter uselessness."

It was Maurice who first cured Kelly of any rigid Anglo-Catholicism from which he might have suffered, in making him realise that the Reformation was a genuine religious revival and not an aberration. In a characteristic Maurician mood Kelly wrote:

"A certain prominent Anglo-Catholic is accused of saying that 'to us' I believe in the Holy Catholic Church is the cardinal doctrine of the Creed ... It sounds like sarcasm... The cardinal article of the Creed is, 'I believe in God'.... the Church is a result of faith in the Holy Spirit.... So the Holy Spirit is CATHOLIC, and the Holy Spirit is SENT of God."¹

A study of Church History shows us how easily men can obscure the truth by "religion". "We have been dosing the people with religion when what they need is not religion but the Living God:" - a sentence written by F.D. Maurice which might well have been Kelly's own. Maurice taught Kelly to dig behind appearance, to look for the meaning of explanations:

"In that single phrase there are two sides. In the first place an explanation is a verbal statement. Now when Maurice had done it often enough for you, you may begin to see what a multitude of these explanations are merely verbal formulae which may, or may not, have once meant something, but are now simply counters which have, quite probably, ceased to mean anything, but are still handed about as the correct reply to arguments or questions. Maurice taught me to go back to what the question really meant, and what the formula really meant, in order to see whether one answered the

1. HK notes on Anglo-Catholic Congress, October 1929.

other or not.... Cash for verbal paper money."¹

Br. George Every claims that as Coleridge was to Maurice, so Maurice was to Kelly. Maurice stimulated Kelly by introducing him to a whole universe:

"I not only read him, I absorbed him, thought him, built my whole mind on him.... Maurice has always been the bottom stratum, the true foundation of all I have tried to do.... The greatest of all teachers since Augustine... He saw the essential truth of the theological interpretation of human life."²

"The greatest of all teachers since Augustine": This may seem a gross exaggeration until we contemplate the fact that to Kelly a teacher was not one who gave one thoughts but who made one think for oneself.

"When I have read two pages, I never think what he thinks; I am thinking so furiously myself.... It is not so much that Maurice had a message, something which could be put into words. I have called it the vision of a road. I might call it the secret of a method. No doubt it is just this which makes him to most people so difficult to understand."³

Exactly so. Kelly learned from Maurice that questions were just as important as answers. Of Maurice, Kelly wrote: "It was not his doctrines....it was the way he reached them and the use he made of them."⁴ The nature

1. Autobiography p.23.

2. HK in S.S.M. Quarterly, 1910, reprinted September 1959.

3. Ibid. Also in Autobiography p.24.

4. Autobiography p.25.

of God required a certain frame of mind, a shape of mind, open, critical yet reverent before one could begin to penetrate that mystery. Nowhere was Kelly's similarity of mind to that of Maurice more apparent than in the former's approach to the Bible. Kelly, in 1913, had been accused of failing to do justice to Scripture in The Church and Religious Unity. He wrote,

"In this sense I never do. Appealing to Scriptures is the beginning always of an endless discussion of interpretation and contents... I learnt from Maurice always to quote the Bible en bloc. Is not the Bible full end to end of this 'Presence'?"¹

The Bible, for both Kelly and Maurice, was a record of "the almighty acts of God". It revealed the way in which the universe was constituted and opened up new avenues for our understanding of man. In this respect Kelly admired Maurice's psychology. It appreciated how men actually thought and lived. There was nothing merely speculative about it. Naked intellect or conscious reasoning was never seen in isolation. There were ever present the emotions, the strange reasoning of the subconscious. Kelly, while on holiday in Snowdonia, wrote to Father Reginald Tribe S.S.M., 1st August 1919,

"To my mind - all actual thinking - qua movement - is sub-conscious. Only fragments - as finished results, - appear in consciousness. Only in consciousness can you get at them. But I have an immense distrust of consciousness and argument. People are always inclined to handle it as

1. HK letter, 13th August 1913.

a process. In fact it is only the static representation of a process.... Men imagine their arguments (logic) are real thoughts. They are not. They only indicate possible lines of thinking.... Have you never read Maurice's Kingdom of Christ? Can you have read it and not seen its - I call - realism or objectivism? - i.e. that he is trying to get behind men's opinions to their real thinking, showing the inadequacy of their opinions to enclose, 'comprehend', the effect the reality is having upon them, and how their opinions cramp their grasp of reality."¹

Maurice helped Kelly to see that men were naively prepossessed of propositions about God's reality. Others made use of the Bible to prove points, to cudgel enemies, to justify prejudices. To some it was the Revelation of a Faith, to others it was a compendium of ethical teaching. Kelly once told the story of an old Boer woman who pointed to her Bible and said:

"'If we are defeated I shall burn that book'. Is that belief? Is it not unbelief? Ask yourself for a moment - lest we lose ourselves, what belief and unbelief are. Do they not differ only in their objects? Belief in God is belief: belief in self is unbelief".²

Maurice, Kelly and Barth all point to the essential distinction between religion and faith. To Kelly religion was nothing more nor less than the things people do or feel in order to please or satisfy an unknown power we may call the god. In seeking to find God in "religion" men merely

1. HK continues, "Have you not read HK's psychology lectures and not seen that they are an attempt to explain why (e.g.) the Mass is so much more than theories, or ideas, or beliefs about it".

2. To H.S. Dean, 20th January 1902.

find themselves and so identify God with their own ideals. "They are worshipping their ideals, they are worshipping themselves. They began with a belief in God; they end with belief in religion."¹ Religion, then, is essentially a human activity directed towards some supernatural being or beings men think of as God. The study of religions is properly an anthropological not a theological study. Perhaps Kelly's own position is best summed up in his Gospel of God (p.103):

"And now - what is religion? A worship of God? But what is God and why should we worship? Is religion of the nature of a sport, and are we to worship God, not because God can do anything, but because it gives us such beautiful feelings, and so much uplift, to talk as if he could. Is this sarcasm? I mean it as a warning. We have every need to test what we are saying and what appeals to us, by trying what it can look like in blunt and vulgar language."

If Kelly and Maurice shared that "shape of mind" then so did Karl Barth. Those who had learned anything from Herbert Kelly either at Kelham or at the many Swanwick conferences were the better able to understand Barth when he became more widely known in England in the 1930's. One of those who had met Kelly at Swanwick, Oliver Quick, wrote to him, saying,

"You and Barth both insist that 'God is greater than religion', but what I find in your book [the Gospel of God] and miss in Barth is the complementary insistence that 'we can only understand our life by reference to the whole order

1. HK lecture The Reality of God, op. cit.

of things' and that all must be intelligibly (tho' not of course within the compass of one intelligence) related to God. The trouble is that if you emphasise merely the irrational, eschatological, transcendent, other-than-human, and other-than-natural aspects of the Divine Being, you represent Him just as a tremendous irruptive cataclysmic force; and for that very reason confine Him after all to one section of experience and render valueless in the end the distinction between 'God' and 'religion' from which you began. This is the same snare into which Barth seems to me to fall."¹

This evaluation of Kelly in relation to Barth by a very distinguished theologian demonstrates how much he was appreciated in his own day. Quick's first point in seeing in Kelly and Barth a passion for God, and finding a natural theology in Kelly which is absent in Barth, is a very perceptive one. The second point seems to me to be justified in connexion with Barth in his early period but, as Quick realised, totally unjustified in relation to Kelly, even judging him on that one book, the Gospel of God. What saved Kelly from falling into the "eschatological, wholly other snare" were "pigs and collar studs", his doctrines of creation and of man. There is no total depravity there, no denial of man's capax divinitatis. Indeed Kelly in 1928 seemed more like the Karl Barth of the post war period, modified and humanized.²

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1. Oliver Quick to HK 4th August 1930 quoted in Br. George Every's memoir of HK in The Gospel of God, p.32.
 2. For example Karl Barth's revised anthropology in his magnificent The Humanity of God (German 1956) Fontana Library, London, 1967.

Two elements of "religion" which both Barth and Kelly reject, are immanentism, which Kelly laid at Hegel's feet, and ethicism which he laid at Kant's. For both theologians immanentism and ethicism in "religion" came under the umbrella of Ritschlianism. Kelly and the early Barth, however, had only certain traits in common, things which at the beginning of the century were characterized as "Augustinian". They both fought anything that smelled of Pelagianism or of Hegelism Idealism. Let it be noted again that "Augustinian" was used at the beginning of the century as loosely as "Barthian" was used some three decades later. Kelly

"has been called the most distinguished Augustinian of our day, and if one of the marks of an Augustinian is to match dreams with carefully thought-out principles, so that every movement in pursuit of the vision is governed and checked by the prior discovery and quite ruthless application of the appropriate principles, there can be no doubt about his Augustinianism.... In Kelham the generosity of the heart and hardness of the intellect have been combined in creative synthesis."¹

So wrote Canon Roger Lloyd. No doubt this is an aspect of "Augustinianism" which Kelly shared but it is not the most important. The title, Doctor of Grace, is a much more pregnant sign of Kelly's indebtedness to Augustine. The hard doctrines of Grace and Predestination, forged to combat Pelagianism, are the ones which attracted Kelly most. They expressed Augustine's belief in the overwhelming reality of

1. Roger Lloyd, The Church of England 1900-1965, op. cit., p.180.

God. This is what made Kelly appreciate the strict Calvinist line which he called predestinarianism. "These old rascals did believe in God, if they believed in nothing else."¹

We have already dealt with Pelagianism with regard to the necessity of Sacramentalism. In our spiral progression we now look at it from a different aspect. Pelagianism,² like Augustinianism was a word loosely applied to much of modernist Liberal thought at the beginning of the century. Kelly, first, rejects the notion of Christianity as a philosophy of life: "Its primary and distinctive element is the Gospel, a story,

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1. NL report on Swanwick July 9th-16th 1912. One of HK's chief delights was to wax hot against any kind of Pelagianism in the S.C.M.: see NL, Swanwick Report, July 1911. In his Church History Supplement Vol.IX (second ed. 1939) in Lecture 4 on the Seventeenth Century entitled the Road to War (p.13), Kelly writes of the development of Calvinism. There was opposition between those who saw man's fall as the first act of God's decrees and those moderates who argued that God could not be responsible for sin. "If... we think of sin in its Pauline and Augustinian sense - of man in himself as an independent will apart from God - the first position is essential Christian Doctrine. It is only because and when we take it, as the Calvinists did take it, with the crudeness of Renaissance positivism, as meaning acts voluntarily, i.e. deliberately, in rebellion against God, that the doctrine becomes intolerable. The 'moderate' view, however much of a relief it seems to offer, is nothing more than a feeble attempt at a moralising compromise."
 2. See HK The National Mission and the Church, Longmans Green & Co., London, 1916: "the Pelagian Godlessness of our religion; of the self-centredness which concentrates all our attention upon our own doings, ideals, pieties and personal character."

not of how men thought, but of what God has done."¹

Secondly Kelly asserts the reality of God by beginning from Augustine's exposition:

"Esse, Nosse, Velle - ibi est Trinitas. First as in God: Being, Reality, Truth: 2. Word, Wisdom, Thought - Idea... In God these are One. In men they are different... For men, 1. Aims; 2. Methods; 3. Results... (cf. 1. Holy desires; 2. Good Counsels; 3. just works - Collect)."²

Thirdly, Kelly affirmed the priority of the Will of God as over against what he considered to be the heart of Religionism - self-will. He saw a subtle semi-pelagianism in the Protestantism of his own day

"To a modern Protestant.... profoundly convinced of the reality of conversion, but sceptical about sacraments, it is easy, while admitting that conversion is of God, to affirm that progressive sanctification depends on our own efforts."³

Pelagians were men who were prepared to bargain with God, to lay down certain conditions of service, to enter into a covenant with the Almighty as if with an equal. "You cannot", writes Kelly

"sue God for breach of contract if He lets you down.... He promises you his love, nothing more. He knows what you are and has a use for failures, but mostly He will not tell you what it is, nor which are the successes. But one thing is clear. Big things or little things, believing that they are of God,

1. HK: Church History Schemes Vol.I (1925) p.48.

2. HK ms. 27th March 1949.

3. HK: Church History Schemes Vol.II p.103.

we must believe that they are filled with the infinity of His glory."¹

It is arguable that Kelly may have over-played his anti-Pelagianism at times, but it was always as a polemical device rather than as a point of principle. This is the character of Kelly as we have come to see him: dramatically and dialectically Shavian. To Kelly the doctrine of Grace is part of the Good News and though it does not excuse the believer from working as hard as he can it does make him realise that it is all God's work. It does not lead to that caricature of Barthianism which so emphasised the glory of God that man becomes so small as to be insignificant:

"Sit down O men of God
You cannot do a thing."

Kelly insisted that a man has to do something, not because God needs a helping hand but because this is the way God has ordered things. At an S.C.M. retreat Kelly put this point beautifully and poignantly. "You must do things - or you might miss being crucified. And that would be a pity."² The object of the Christian life is the crucifixion of the old self which is God's rival and the enemy to the true self. One has to work, to get crucified because "here is the law of life. You can't crucify yourself. You can bear your cross bravely; you can hang on it gracefully; but someone else will have to knock the nails in."³ The words of

1. Ibid. para.17, p.125.

2. Quoted by Oliver Tomkins in his Centenary Sermon op. cit.

3. Ibid. Professor A.R.C. Leaney recalls HK as saying: "You can lie down on your cross, if you like; and some people have rather fancied themselves in that position. But you cannot drive in the nails."

A.H. Clough sum up Kelly's sentiments:

"Strive once more, and then be dumb:
Let the victors, when they come,
When the forts of folly fall,
Find thy body by the wall."¹

The Grace of God is the means by which a man can get through that crucifixion knowing all his work is God's work too. Kelly was an Augustinian in this sense. But what of his Barthianism? In 1934, as we have seen, Kelly claimed that he had not read a word of Barth and indeed made fun of his newly acquired, unasked for title of Barthian.² "Please forgive my stupidity, but I never read Barth. I hear tell he has made an awful row in Germany by saying there really is a God, and he is not a name for nice ideas."³

Dr. Kathleen Bliss in her Centenary Address of 6th August 1960 reported that W. A. Visser t'Hooft came to Kelham to lecture on Barth and found Kelly sympathetic. "Quite certainly Father Kelly was the first man in England who understood what Barth was really talking about."⁴ But Kelly could not know consciously that he understood Barth; it was rather that Kelly had been saying in his own way what Barth was saying. They were twin yet unrelated

1. Arthur Hugh Clough, 1819-1861. I am indebted to Canon D.M. Paton for this quotation.

2. He wore a battered, dirty old hat for some time which he found on the ash heap, calling it "my Karl Barth hat".

3. NL, 4th March 1932.

4. Visser t'Hooft came to Kelham in 1930 and lectured on Karl Barth to the seniors, and on Christianity among Students to the whole House.

theologians thinking the same thoughts. It was natural that people should have compared the two. William Temple did so in his Preface of Kelly's Catholicity. Kelly's Barthianism could well be summed in such phrases as: There really is a God and he is not a name for nice ideas, and "The Gospel does not speak of men climbing up to God, but of God coming down to man."¹ To imply that Kelly was Barthian in anything more than a general sense would be misleading. Kelly's refusal "to spell God I-m-m-a-n-e-n-c-e"² is certainly, in the broad sense, "Barthian". He did share with Barth a deep sense of God's transcendence and there is something of the passion, even suppressed anger of Barth in Kelly. Reacting against "Japanese Individualism" Kelly wrote in exasperation,

"I would rather be a devil and believe in wickedness, - I cannot finish this sentence, because I cannot find any word or analogy to express my contempt for people who have no belief at all, except their own comforts."³

Kelly was angry at a doctrine of man without God; there was for him literally no sense to it. Christianity met the world's ills not with morality, or "nice thoughts" but by love, but it was the kind of love that was humanly impossible. It could only be a divine gift. Again the question: Cur Deus Homo? Christ was the bearer of that gift of love which no mere human being (that is man-without-God) could bear.

1. HK in Essays Catholic and Missionary, op. cit. p.107.

2. HK in Camp Religion op. cit.

3. NL, 12th September 1914.

The awful mystery of the Christian faith was something that haunted both Barth and Kelly. In a letter to a friend Karl Barth wrote,

"During the term when I keep talking I am able to preserve the sweet illusion that I indeed know something.... To make you acquainted with my spiritual condition I will report to you what Berthold von Regensburg A.D. 1272 once said: "A man who looks directly at the sun, into the burning radiance, will so injure his eyes, that he will see it no more. It is like this also with faith; whoever looks too directly into the holy Christian Faith will be astonished and deeply disturbed in his thoughts.'"¹

This sums up Kelly's point of view and approach entirely. Kelly may not have been a Barthian but both Kelly and Barth were emphatically Christian, and, in Kelly's sense at any rate, Catholic.

Kelly's Catholicism, and hence his so-called Barthianism, is summed up in a statement he made concerning the Aim and Basis of the Student Christian Movement. Crises over Aim and Basis in the S.C.M. seem perennial. One such crisis occurred in 1919 when the position of the S.C.M. was under review, and a draft revision was sent to all interested parties for their comments. Kelly found three grave omissions:

- "(1) There was nothing about God's RULE. Is the world in our hands or His? In the face of our utter helplessness today, can we not ask whether God is leading us by a way we know not?
- (2) There is nothing about the fear of God or His judgement. I got in pretty hot about that....

1. Quoted by Maurice Wiles in his Inaugural Lecture, 16th January 1968, King's College, London.

- (3) They had references to deliverance, evil, life, - all which appear in the heathen thinkers, but why nothing at all on sin, pardon, or the Cross of Christ, and so forth; on self-will and self-confidence on building God in our notions and worshipping our own ideals - the which is idolatry."¹

Can we legitimately call Kelly a Barthian for emphasising truths which are self-evidently Christian, for saying "the Gospel is about God".² There is a futility in trying to label Kelly at all: neither Barthian nor Maurician quite fits. Perhaps one could say Kelly was a Bensonian? R.M. Benson summed up and foresaw all the elements of the Kelly position:

- "1. Faith in God as Reality, Life, Power;
2. its relation to technical theology;
3. the consequent absorption over secondary questions;
4. its results in the decay of Christendom."³

Yet Kelly was neither Barthian, Maurician, nor Bensonian. They, with him, shared that supreme Christian quality - "the secret of humility, of gentleness, of patience, and teachableness: ... of courage and persistence."⁴ It is these things which hold the secret of power. Kelly, if not excelling in all these virtues, certainly possessed the last two. It is one of the mysteries of the theological debate that from time to time the Church needs a theologian

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1. NL on the Aim and Basis question, 1st August 1919.
 2. De Deo, p.2.
 3. HK on R.M. Benson, mss 1916-1929.
 4. HK paper On Retreats, June 1938.

who will be brave enough and stubborn enough to go on reiterating the crudely obvious: that the Gospel is Catholic, preached not to the spiritually select but the poor in spirit. This is exactly what Kelly did, and in consequence is better known for his timeliness than for his originality.

XII. THE DOCTRINE OF CHRIST

There is very little we can say about Kelly's Christology which is not already contained in his doctrine of God. Cur Deus Homo? It was in the nature of things that there should be an Incarnation. The "isness" of God demanded incarnation and atonement as its complement. Nevertheless for Kelly the doctrine of God was primary. Christology brought that doctrine down to earth. As far as man is concerned it is the Incarnation alone that gives "the doctrine of God any basis of real value."¹ Christology had real value in so far as it said something about the reality of God and not Jesus worship, Jesus the ethical teacher, Jesus the Führer. "Christianity is not a mere Jesus-worship; it is solely concerned with the Revelation of God to man, and the Reconciliation of man to God in Christ."² So Kelly wrote of Athanasius,

"By the word homo-ousios...he meant first this, that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is a story about God, of what God did, of how God himself came to man. It is from that centre, from faith in God, in what he has done, that all religion, all morals, and all thinking must start if they are to be worth anything. If with religionists, moralists, intellectualists, we put religion, morals, or philosophy first, though we take God as their object, the end only can be heathenism."³

Christ is not a substitute for God, a demi-god for human

1. NL, 2nd May 1926.

2. HK's Report on U.S.A. 1912 to Mott.

3. HK: S.S.M. Quarterly, Michaelmas 1925, on Nicaea, p.68.

consumption only. He is God.

"In very professedly orthodox circles, 'Our Blessed Lord' is treated as the special object of devotion, rather as if He were a substitute for than as if He were One with the God of Heaven and Earth."¹

There was no point talking about "our Blessed Lord" unless we were talking of Divinity. Otherwise what possible difference could a few platitudes from a long dead Jew mean to us? Nevertheless many people, particularly students, in Kelly's day, as in our own, were attracted to the person of Jesus. Kelly interpreted this interest as an ethical attraction, a cult of the human Jesus which had only moral value. At Swanwick in July 1912 he complained:

"I never heard anyone in Camp talk about God, except incidentally, though it did any amount about Jesus Christ ... For my part I began with God. I had to live in a world; seeing what sort of world it was, I was desperately concerned to know whether it had got a God. When I looked at the world I could not find more than the abstract ideas of a God... Somebody bursts in 'Hae ye hearrd the news? We have been looking for God, and God has found us. We try to reach Him, He has taken us to Himself.' There are pain, sin and failure. God took them. Now I can believe that or disbelieve it. But plain to goodness I can't start discussing who it was who did all this. For if it wasn't God there is no Gospel in any sense that

1. De Deo, p.2.

interests me... All their talk of the Person of Jesus Christ...bored me to distraction."¹

As we might expect, Kelly does not allow us to ask a speculative question such as, "Do you believe in the Divinity of Christ?" He insists on "shift off to reality - does God mean anything in your life? What does God do?... - bother knowledge. Does God know you?"²

Because Kelly ~~has~~ no separate Doctrine of Christ apart from that of God, he asserted the being of Christ as identical with that of God. Christ is there and is far greater than any notion we might have of him. In the same way the Church, the Body of Christ, is there and Christians can live together not because they like each other but because Christians believed "the Church was so much more...than the opinion we had of it."³

Christ is the final thwarting of man in making God a concept or an abstraction. Because of Christ Christianity "has, what nothing purely human can have, all Humanity within itself."⁴ God took the highest that we know, humanity,

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1. HK, Swanwick Report. NL July 9th-16th 1912. On 14th October 1937 Kelly wrote to Dorothy Sayers, referring to the S.C.M. in 1912: "There is more Godlessness to the square foot here than anywhere in England. You are all talking of the 'Personality of Jesus', and it is merely admiration, not faith - Saint worship, as of a magnified S. Francis. I am talking of GOD - and a Gospel - news. We are struggling to come to God - and God has come to us.
 2. HK to Fr. R. Tribe S.S.M., 1st August 1919.
 3. NL, 17th November 1910.
 4. CQR, July 1909, op. cit. p.342.

and revealed himself to the utmost of human capacity. No-one had ever been as human before. Yet all human beings possessed something of that transcendent quality:

"Your cook is not an abstract of cookery even if you add on the abstract 'of an education', and 'of femininity'. You will not reach the woman, because her personality transcends all the abstractions you can put together."¹

Each human being, in his totality, contains infinitely more than can be inferred. "To be content with the best that is in me is a self-contradiction, when the best that is in me is palpably formed for something that transcends myself."² Think of this kind of anthropology in connexion with the humanity of Christ and a Christology begins to form, where divinity and humanity meet and are one, where, as in the later Barth, it makes sense to talk of the humanity of God.

Sin is precisely a contentment "with the best that is in me" with no reference to the transcendent element. It is the self becoming the sole criterion of judgement, and not that which is beyond and above the self, its origin and source. "Self sufficiency, which is an essential character of an Ultimate, is a horrible thing in men."³ Kelly told a student at the Swanwick Camp of 1911:

"our inevitable individualism was the

1. JTS, July 1901, op. cit. HK objecting to Spencer's 'Naturalism'.

2. Ibid., p.517.

3. De Deo, V.2

essence of original sin, of all sin.
 ... Of course he didn't know what sin
 meant, other than naughtiness...
 Consequently he had no notion of
 Salvation from the self."¹

Jesus was sinless in this sense, that the self
 was totally surrendered to God and in Christ

"the reality which lies at the back
 of nature and constituted humanity
 declared itself...(so that) ... the
 whole Christian idea is addressed to
 our conformation to the likeness of
 Christ, not an evasion of it."²

One cannot help coming to the conclusion that
 Kelly's Christology is casual. It is completely over-
 shadowed by his passion for God. He took Christology for
 granted, as if he is saying that it flows naturally from
 his doctrine of God. Cur Deus Homo? "The teaching of
 the Church runs that Christ took our nature upon Him and
 where man could not reach God, God reached to men."³
 All Christology must be comprehended within the doctrine
 of God. That there is a mighty gulf between man and God
 Kelly had no doubt. The Incarnation as the means by which
 the gulf is bridged seemed to him self-evident. He wrote
 to his sister Edith in November 1925,

"Is God a big thing, or a little thing?
 God is great, infinite; he is unknown -
 far off and adamant. So heathen
 religions have made God a little thing,
 such as little things like us can play
 with... If God is small then fate is
 far and adamant; and your little God

1. NL, 16th July 1911.

2. HK's review of R.C. Moberley's Atonement and Personality
 which he liked. Church Review, 17th June 1907.

3. HK ms. Japanese Catechism.

is not worth believing in. It is not God but fate that matters... Bethlehem, Calvary - these are neither remote nor adamantine."

No further explanations are necessary.

Kelly saw Jesus Christ, not as the best of men, but the very ground of goodness and because of this all men are divine. If he were merely a good man then that would be the end of the matter. There would be no Gospel. We could then follow our own opinions, our own ideals, and be victims trapped by our own fad.¹ But Christ is God and therefore an object of our worship, not the victim of our speculation. We return once more to Sacramentalism. Christ is, to use a modern phrase, the primordial sacrament and the place where we meet the God who was in Christ is in the sacrament of the Eucharist, a mystery and sign which also liberates us from the chaos of feelings, and mere experience.

Indeed worship is the key to all our striving. Without it "all that is most valuable alike in feeling and action must disappear into an un-Christian self-consideration and self-assertion."² Sacramentalism saves us from this in the end. How else can we distinguish in prayer between our consciousness of God's Presence and the Presence itself? Christ, Man as well as a man, is there sacramentally independently of us.

1. It is interesting that the Japanese word for 'fad' which Kelly knew as O-hako, translated literally, means 'honourable box'!

2. HK report on 1912 trip to U.S.A.

"To us Churchmen the Holy Communion is the key of the whole situation, just because there is NO confusion between the two. The action of the priest at the altar goes on quite independently of you, of what you are thinking about. You may go to sleep, but it doesn't alter what has been done to what was there. Your appreciations etc. are of course of tremendous importance, but they do not as in Medders [Meditation] MAKE the Presence; they only make the effects upon you."1

Kelly wrote this fully conscious of the prevailing doubts many of his contemporaries had concerning the Incarnation. "The absence of Sacramental worship", he wrote to Randall Davidson,

"was the explanation of the subjectivity of these doubts. Before the book [The Church and Religious Unity] I had learned, first in America, that the real reason was that God had become too unreal to be worth incarnating.... Sacramental worship is the key to all religious reality."2

1. NL, 17th July 1911.

2. 14th August 1919.

XIII. CONCLUSION: THE FAILURE OF CATHOLICISM

The failure of Catholicism is a failure, first and foremost, of communication. Christianity, defined as "that way of thinking which encompasses all that is", cannot be explained simply because no words can be found to describe it. Once we lapse into language, we particularize and the universal escapes us. Yet Christianity, above all else, is a gospel, Words of Good News. The incommunicable has not only to be communicated, it has to be proclaimed. Kelly searched for a credible Catholicism and was reduced to "words of silence", to a dialectical breaking of words in the hope that meaning would speak, if not in the words themselves then in between them. The search for Catholicity is, therefore, no less than the search for meaning, a search which many theologians today seem to have abandoned. The quest for meaning, for wholeness, for Catholicity is left to the psychologist who at least understands (if occasionally in a debased way) that in order to function in the world a man must know who he is and what life is about. The over-secularized theologies tend to forget or even reject this.

The crisis over communication today is not one of method or means. It is a crisis of content. We certainly have sophisticated means at our disposal but we do not know how to handle them. With telecommunication we can communicate virtually instantaneously with all parts of the world. War,

poverty, crime can enter into the poorest of homes (at least in the West) at the turn of a switch. Yet this very immediacy of communication today dulls our capacity for compassion, for wholeness and, paradoxically, in a shrinking world, pushes Catholicity farther away, beyond our reach. Catholicity, coherence, wholeness in one sense is not a pious hope, but a vital necessity if mankind is to survive on this planet. Why then this lack of nerve on the part of Christians to communicate their News? Charles Davis writes:

"...if we are to see the problem of religion in the modern world correctly, we must grasp that to state faith and worship are outdated is not to say anything about their validity or truth. It is to state the relation between them and modern society, but modern society is not an absolute criterion. To make the modern the criterion of ultimate truth or validity has been the mistake of much liberal theology, a mistake in my opinion perpetuated by some so-called radical theologians today. Liberals and radicals are anxious to relativize the past and refuse any absolute authority to the traditional. But they overlook the need to relativize the present as well...."¹

While we may say that Truth itself does not depend on fashion, yet its acceptance by men, in particular places and at particular times, does. Such acceptance relies on philosophical, sociological, and theological fashions which attempt to speak in contemporary language. Only fragments of the truth come to man, its frayed and jagged edges

1. "Faith and Worship in Modern Society". op. cit.

revealing a larger, if hidden, Truth. Thus it is through the particular we catch a glimpse of the universal, the catholic. The fragmentary nature of our experience forces us to understand Catholicism, or rather Catholicity in essentially eschatological terms. It represents a wholeness not yet attained, a complement which is elusive yet the promise of which is ever present. It is a state which the now hackneyed theological terms of "the even now" and "the not yet" describe.

Kelly had such view of Catholicism and he was torn in his attempt to do justice to both his vision and his fundamental appreciation of the ambiguities and anomalies of existence. He was able, in a startling way, to integrate his own failure and forgottenness into his theology. His life as failure and his theology as failure, are inseparable. He certainly failed as a teacher in the conventional sense. The student either caught something of the master's vision or he did not. If he did not then what was communicated was not a vision of catholicity but one of eccentricity, abstruse, confused and disjointed. However, there were very few who came into contact with Father Kelly who went away untouched in some way. The words may have been wasted on many men but Kelly's personality could not fail to leave its mark. Yet we cannot ascribe Kelly's failure as one of technique. His failure, as we have said, was his theology. He was an educator who knew that the proper sphere of teaching is the teaching of ideas. Kelly was determined to talk about

reality and here we find his failure built into his theology because he knew that reality was not an idea. Paradoxically, in so far as Kelly communicated the failure and bankruptcy of human ideas and ingenuity, he felt himself to be a success. He felt he was being true to that vision of Catholicism which had gripped him from the beginning. Catholicism was a faith in which one walked, not a programme which one followed.

"I am wondering", wrote Kelly to an American correspondent (W. Adams Brown) 13th September 1933, "whether we are meant to know where we are going, whether in this job God has not very emphatically taken it into His own hands." In this light Kelly could see no point in talking about either success or failure. All is in the hands of God. Essential to the health and integrity of the Catholic Faith "is the sovereignty of God's grace and of the gospel over the Christian 'religion', and over the institutional structure of Christianity."¹ This is exactly what Kelly stood for. Success, failure, happiness or misery had nothing to do with it. As Kelly wrote in his Autobiography,

"Is there anything in life so morally disastrous as the claim to happiness? I read it afterwards in Carlyle -
 "O vain mortal, what is there in the constitution of things why thou shouldst be happy?" What difference does it make? Happiness and enjoyment are factors, but nothing ever gets done if one contemplates the state of one's own feelings as of primary moment, or

1. E. Amand de Mendieta, "From Anglican Symbiosis to Anglican Synthesis" an essay in The Anglican Synthesis p.136, op. cit.

allows them to dictate action... the habit of endurance is worth paying a good deal for. I have paid for it pretty heavily - as God knows."¹

Kelly did pay heavily, and his "failure" still cries out to us.² Kelly was poor yet "making many rich". His is the unspoken name in the list of Anglicans who were able to transcend the pettinesses of the institution and stand for a free and open Catholicism. F.D. Maurice is perhaps the greatest; William Temple also stands firmly within that tradition. Kelly deserves to be included with these two giants. If Kelly knew his debt to Maurice, he also realised the extent of his own influence on Temple: "You labour for twenty years - and nothing comes, one day you get one man and in him you make history. It may be that my influence on Willie Temple may mean (more) to the C of E than anything I've ever done."³ Exactly how far Kelly did influence Temple is a matter of conjecture. That Kelly did influence Temple to some degree is beyond dispute. When one reads, for example, a passage in Temple's Corporateness in Education, one cannot help discern the Kelly touch.

"When... I praise the English traditional education, I am praising education by means of a corporate life... Our intellectual training has often been very amateurish in

1. p.11.

2. A small but significant example of Kelly's anonymity can be seen in the glaring omission of his name in the Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church. Gore and Benson are there.

3. HK to DJ (the Director) 31st March 1916.

method and very feeble in result. We most undoubtedly need strengthening here. But you will observe at once that it is first here, and here alone, that German education has been strong; it has not aimed at the sub-conscious mind, as ours has done, moulding the whole personality by the silent appeal to imagination and sympathy which a common tradition embodied in a social life is alone able to make."¹

Kelly's success was the success of silence. His genius lay in his "silent appeal to imagination and sympathy". Catholicity in so far as it can be communicated at all can only be communicated by and through silence. This was the underlying message of the Gospel of God - before the living God man is reduced to silence or, if he must use words, to words of adoration. William Temple himself saw this when he wrote to Kelly on 31st October 1928 about the book: "Quite splendid. Some people will be puzzled by some of your mental leaps but it will do them good.... Is not the first verse of the Benedictus the best summary of essential Christianity?"²

Kelly's "silent" teaching, his Catholicity of method, took many years to germinate. The fruits sprang up in odd places and many learned from Kelly second-hand without realising that it was he who had planted the seed. Oliver Quick in a letter to Kelly, 28th July 1933, bears witness to Kelly's silent influence:

1. quoted Iremonger, op. cit. p.60.

2. HK received complimentary letters from many people including C.C.J. Webb, 4th November 1933, and O.C. Quick, 4th August 1930.

"I appreciate your commendations¹ more almost than those of anybody. If you have felt lonely in maintaining some of the things I stood up for in this book and other books, no doubt a great deal of the reason for you feeling less lonely now is that much of what you have been teaching for years has at last filtered through to people like me by many different channels and intermediaries. A good many of us have learned more from you indirectly than either you or we explicitly recognise."

Above all, Kelly's silent witness to Catholicity can be seen in his foundation of a community where personalities are moulded by the corporate life. Kelham was founded as "a community in which ultimate questions are always raisable"² and perforce silence bears in upon those who ask such questions. Yet the "silence of Catholicism" is not an empty silence, a void. It is the silence of "sobornost" - "the quiet testimony of the common people who love."³

Could Kelly have achieved anything without being a monk, a religious totally given over to a vision? Can the Society of the Sacred Mission survive today unless it makes explicit what was implicit from the beginning in the mind of its founder? Kelly's spirit is still alive in that community. What still matters to the members of the Society "is that somehow they want to witness to the reality of God, a reality which is not encompassed in a number of approved

1. HK had written to Quick about the latter's new book, The Gospel of Divine Action.

2. A phrase of D.M. Paton's.

3. A phrase of A.M. Allchin's.

theological tomes, but can be expressed, if at all, only by a life lived to an end not one's own". These words written by Father Dunstan McKee S.S.M.¹ accurately express Kelly's ideals. The quest for a credible Catholicism leads one to embrace a faith which demands everything - "a life lived to an end not one's own". The quest for Catholicism for Kelly was the quest "for faith not piety, for understanding, not the right words, for obedience not sentiment."² It was above all open to all men at all times and in all places.

Kelly's failure is not his own. It reflects the proper failure of all human effort to do justice to the God who made heaven and earth. This is the failure of Catholicism. The success of Catholicity is in the joy of silence. Where, one may ask, was Kelly most successfully silent? To find the answer one must return to Japan. What made Herbert Kelly a unique theologian and teacher was not his sense of joy, his intoxication with God, nor even his ability to change his mind.³ Indeed his uniqueness, what

1. "No Separate Life" in the Australian Church Quarterly, September 1969.

2. Ibid.

3. One item Kelly did change his mind: women. In 1895 he advised the House (at Sext on January 3rd) "Let all your relations [with women] be marked by gravity and restraint. Meet with them, talk with them, even look at them as little as may be... Maintain a grave and ~~and~~ formal politeness." Seventeen years later he wrote "I have been longing to get in at the she-males, who think more, and are in far greater theological distress than we men." (NL, July 1912).

greatness he did have, lay in nothing English or Western. Kelly was his most successfully silent in Japan. He was unique in so far as he was "Japanese", a sage, a holy man. In the Zen Buddhist tradition a saint is known by the searching depth of his hard questions, and the awful silences which follow them. Indeed the basic aim of Zen Buddhism was very close to Kelly's heart; to perceive purely. The Zen master would tell his pupil cryptically to hear the noise of one hand. This is not unlike the sort of requests Herbert Kelly made. Simone Weil in her Notebooks tells a Zen story which helps us to understand Kelly's uniqueness and charisma as a teacher and theologian:

"The master orders the disciple to cut down some branches. The latter hasn't got a knife. The master tenders his own knife, presenting the blade. The disciple asks him to present the other side. The master replies: 'What d'you want the other side for?' On hearing this the disciple is illuminated. The teaching lies in the relation and the contradiction. One needs a blade, yet one wants to grasp the handle."

This method of illumination is not congenial to the Western mind; the inscrutable East remains inscrutable. Kelly, however, found a true home where silence was forced upon him much of the time by the language barrier. All the Japanese could do was to watch Kelly. Miss Leonora Lea bears telling witness to Father Kelly's eloquent silence.

1. Vol. II, op. cit., p.395.

Talking of Kelly and his sister Edith, Miss Lea writes,

"From what I saw of her and her brother, I came to the conclusion that they were a certain type of English person, whose dignity and reserve, and whimsicality the Japanese could admire. Since no communication could be made because of the language barrier, the only thing to do was to watch them. And this the Japanese people had ample opportunity of doing. Their unhurried repose in the overall power of God made them imperturbable. Their humour and wit came through their faces, hands and gestures. The wit of their words was lost as intranslatable but could only be guessed at."¹

Kelly's theology, partly as a result of his Japanese experience, is profoundly monastic and mystical even though he undoubtedly would have repudiated such adjectives. For his mysticism we must look to his life. It was a life dedicated to poverty, chastity and obedience, to human failure which in turn was transformed by the transcendent God towards whom that failure constantly directs our gaze. From Kelly we learn that all quests for meaning, for Catholicism, ultimately end at the Cross, and lead men to listen to the silence.

It is fitting that this exploration should end with a story of silence about Father Kelly and the man who was perhaps his greatest disciple, Michael Yashiro. The story reads like one from Zen Buddhism, and sums up all that Kelly was and all that he taught. It is set at Kelham in 1926 or

1. Letter to AWJ, 30th January 1971.

1927, and begins with action and ends in the love and wholeness which can only be experienced in silence.

"Fr. Kelly liked chopping wood. He used to take a big piece of wood and chop round and round the edges till he had chopped the whole. Never did he give the axe to Yashiro. Something happened one day and he handed the axe to Yashiro and said, 'You have a go'. Yashiro took the axe and a log, chopped it straight through the centre, then through the centre of the halves and so on and had it done in a few seconds. Fr. Kelly looked in astonishment and said, 'When did you learn to chop wood?' 'God gives special skill to those who are so poor that they have to chop for a living', said Yashiro. Yashiro, son of a Samurai who had been turned out of his house for becoming a Christian and a priest, had had a very terrible childhood suffering from hunger and cold because the Christians brought his father little money or food. The boy had learned the hard way how to face life in the cold northern island of Japan. Fr. Kelly said nothing. He went into retreat after that, but it may not have been any connection. To me it is remarkable that these two great men respected each other in silence and each for the other's silence."¹

1. Ibid.

A P P E N D I X

James Kelly (an Irish labourer who moved to Glasgow c. 1800)

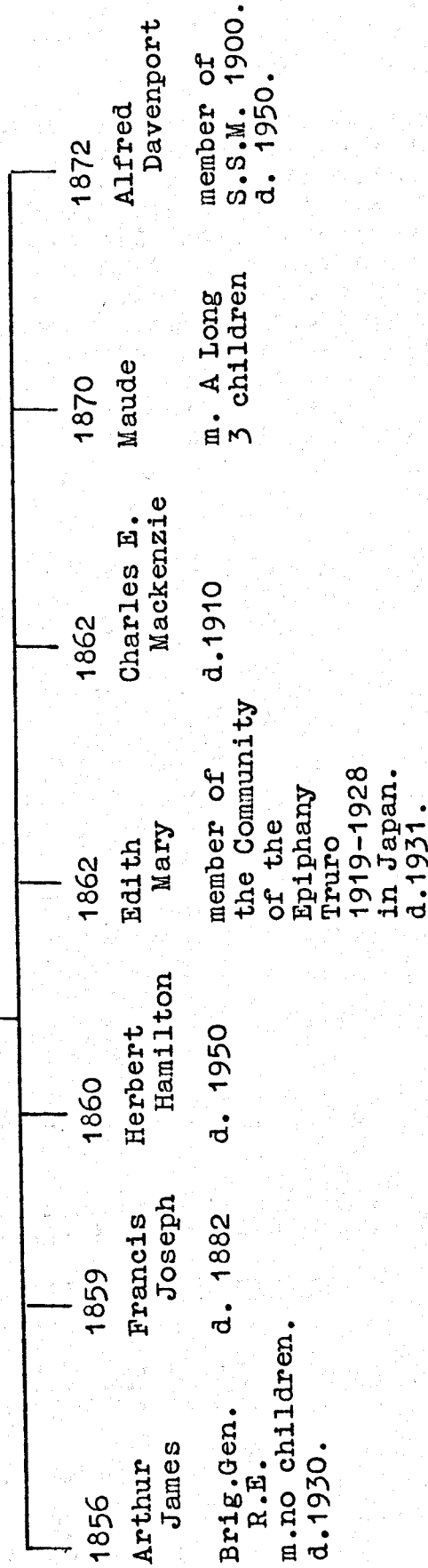
m. Mary (daughter of a Westmorland farmer)

James
(d.1889)

James
(1829-1912)

m. Margaret Alice Eccles
(1835-1912)

second son
who died young



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Compiling an accurate and full bibliography for such a work as this has proved an enormously difficult task. Kelly himself wrote few books and there is very little published about him. The bulk of the material for this thesis is unpublished and I have tried to catalogue and list as much of it as possible. Kelly wrote copious notes on margarine paper and other scraps, and although there has been a considerable amount of work done on the Kelham Archives much still needs to be done. It is hoped that this Bibliography will, at least, give some idea of the scope of Kelly's interests and writings. His works are arranged both alphabetically and chronologically.

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"The Universities and Training for the Clergy", University
Review, October 1908. Reprinted
Sherratt & Hughes, London.

"A Vision", SSM Quarterly, 1907. Reprinted March 1960.

"Vocation", Goodwill, February/March 1899.

"Vocation and Recruiting of Candidates for Holy Orders",
Pan.Angl. Paper, June 1908.

"What the Monk Saw", The Student Movement, SCM, October 1930.

"The Will of God and our Life", Worcs. Dioc. Convention:
(reprinted in SSM QP.)

Unpublished Articles and Papers by HK:

Ad Fratres, address to Brethren, 1906. Vindication of SSM
vis a vis its relation and possibilities
for present state of religion in England.
Life SSM VII (Annual reports).

Appeal to SSM on the relation of SSM to the Church and its
authority. 1925.

Autobiography 1860-1919. Vol.I, typed Ms (102 pp) written 1927.

Autobiography Vol.II SSM to 1929. Typed Ms (24 pp).

Catholicity - the Religious Life of the Country. Paper to
E.C.U. Nottingham, 6th Nov. 1912.

Church History Schemes Vols. I to IX. (Scheme began 1891-95
with 2 vols. printed at Mildenhall
1901-2).

The Church of England & the Bishops. Handwritten Ms.
c.1899-1900. Reply to the Lambeth
"Opinion" on incense etc.

The Cultus of the Reserved Sacrament June 1925. Bound
Ms. typed.

Cuttings 6 vols. 1887-1906. Press Cuttings.

De Deo, unpublished lectures in Dogmatics, 1929. Duplicated
edition. (first edition completed in
September 1911).

Diary April-December 1906 and February-August 1913. (Japan)

Eccles. 11.9. Sermon at Oxford to undergraduates.
(19th September 1904, report in
Oxford Times)

The Great Chapter 1915. Ms. The Director's Report.

The Great Pass Exam. - divers candidates, together with
some views on Eschatology - the basis
of Ethics. One of HK "parables".

If Thou hadst known - A study in the Meaning of War.
c.1920's - unpublished. 76 pp.

F.D. Maurice on the Sacraments. June 1932.

Metaphysics. Unpublished lectures, first edition 1903,
and revised 1920; duplicated edition
1931.

Newsletters - Vols.I,II,III,IV, Letters 1910-1912 to his
mother; Vol.V, September 1914 -
December 1918, Vol.VI, 1919-1922;
Vol.VII, February 1923 - May 1930.

New Year Retreat. Notes, 1905.

On Reservation. Ms letter to Bishop at Pretoria 16 pp.
(in Varia: 1916-1929)

On Retreats, June 1938.

On Unity, 13 pp. Duplicated paper.

On Vocation's Work, 1899. 118 pp. mostly handwritten.

Priests' Masses. Letter to Brethren, 5th May 1901. Ms.

do. Paper, June 1919. Ms.

do. Paper, February 1937. Ms.

Psychology & Logic, duplicated notes, Michaelmas 1926;
new edition Christmas 1934.
Reprinted Trinity 1945.

The Reality of God, the Pringle Stuart lectures, Keble College, 1920.

I: The Growth of Religion.

II: The Faith of the O.T.

III: Philosophy and the N.T.

(see NL, 17th February 1920)

Report to Mr. Mott on American Visit 1912. Duplicated.

I: General Observations on Young American Religion.

II: Comment on the Invitation to Ourselves to undertake the tour.
Written with N.J. Talbot
(SCM Archives).

Re. Fr. Gerald (7 pp) 26th November 1920.

Report for Director SSM: Work in Japan March 1913 - March 1914.

Reports of Visits to Missionary Colleges - 1909. (exercise book)

Report to Great Chapter, 1905.

Report to General Chapter, 1910.

Retreat Addresses. Mss three exercise books; one January 1894, two January 1895.

Retreat Notes. New Year 1905.

Review of Logic - bound Ms completed 26th August 1934.

A Statement of the Aims and Methods of Theological Training at Kelham. Undated Ms.

Summer School Addresses June-July 1913. Privately duplicated and collected. Seikokwai Shingakuin Ikebukuro.

Swanwick 1911-1912: bound duplicated reports, including:

- (a) Narrative of the Connection of S.S.M. with S.C.M. 1st August 1912, written for the Archbishop of Canterbury.
- (b) Swanwick Tips - 1912. For use of men going to camp.
- (c) Report of a conference of students - Calver. Jan.1910.
- (d) The Penrith Conference - Jan. 1911.
- (e) Hunting the Snark, a report of a conference of tutors to discuss doubts and difficulties. Swanwick 1911, July 4th-7th.
- (f) Swanwick 1911. 12th-19th July.
- (g) Swanwick 1912. 9th-16th July.
- (h) A Prayer - On Camp Religion.

To a Lapsed Religious (1915) Ms obviously to a particular person - harsh and uncompromising in tone.

Training Candidates for Holy Orders, paper at Lincoln Diocesan Conference reported in Nottingham Guardian. 13th October, 1904.

U.S.A. Diary & Papers 1912, bound and typed.

THE WORKS OF HERBERT KELLY IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

BOOKS

- | | | |
|------|---|--------------------|
| 1898 | The History of a Religious Idea | Simpkin, Marshall. |
| 1901 | A History of the Church of Christ Vol.I | Longmans. |
| 1902 | do. | Vol.II Longmans |
| 1902 | England and the Church | Longmans |
| 1908 | An Idea in the Working | Mowbrays |

1909	The Universities and Training for the Clergy	Skerratt & Hughes.
1913	The Use of the O.T.	Japan.
1913	The Church and Religious Unity	Longmans
1928	The Gospel of God	SCM
1929	do. (2nd ed.)	SCM
1932	Catholicity	SCM
1959	The Gospel of God (with a memoir by G. Every S.S.M.)	SCM
1960	No Pious Person	Faith Press

BOOKLETS AND PAMPHLETS

1895	The Training and Selection of Missionaries (A letter to Dr. Cust, Sec. of Sub-Committee of Board on Missions)	(privately printed) S.S.M.
1896	The Office of the Religious Life in the Church (Sermon preached at St. John's Kennington) at SSM Festival, 28th Sept. 1896).	Mowbrays.
1901	A Vindication of its Principles.	SSM.
1901	Training for Ordination	SSM
1906	The Aims and Methods of Theological Study (1st ed.) (2nd ed. 1913 - revised)	SSM
1907	The Church and the Ordination Question (Supplement to <u>England and the Church</u>)	SSM
1907	Syllabus of Lectures on 'The Christian Faith' (<u>Derby Lectures</u>)	SSM
1909	Christian Unity and the Church (<u>Khaki Dragon</u>)	SSM
1909	Memorandum on Theological Education (Kelham System). By HK and others.	(privately printed)

1909	The Continuation of Study	SSM
1911	F.D. Maurice on "the Doctrine of Sacrifice".	Guild of the Epiphany
1912	The Training of an Indian Ministry.	SPCK (Madras)
1913	The Aim and Methods of Theological Study. (2nd ed.)	SSM
1916	A Statement of the Christian Faith.	Longmans
1916	The National Mission and The Church.	do.
1916	Early Church Organization.	Printed in Brisbane.
1916	Training for Ordination	do.
1916	Principles of Worship - for a conference of the Nippon Sei Kokwei with a foreword by The Archbishop of Brisbane.	R.S. Hewis & Co.
1920	Principles of Reunion	SPCK
1925	The Social Teaching of the Mediaeval Church.	SSPP (Congress Book)

ARTICLES AND ADDRESSES PUBLISHED IN PERIODICALS (excluding QP)

1890	A Study of precedents for the development of the English Liturgy. (HK's first printed paper.)	Proceedings of St. Paul's Ecclesiol. Soc.
June 1893	The Society of the Sacred Mission.	Church Times
Sept. 1896	The Religious Life and the Mission Field.	Church Times
Aug. 1898	St. Thomas Aquinas and the Doctrine of Transubstantiation.	At Home and Abroad (SSM)
Feb/Mar 1899	Vocation	Goodwill
April 1899	Interpretation of the Psalms (also in SSM 'Early Papers')	New Quarterly

April 1899	Prof. Fairbairn on Catholicism.	New Quarterly
Aug. 1899	Brotherhoods in the Church of England.	Church Review
Aug. 1900	Catholicism - in Fact and Fancy.	Church Times.
July 1901	The Relation of Miracles to Christian Doctrine	J.T.S.
Mar. 1902	St. Philip Neri.	Church Times
April 1903	Methods of Missionary Work in South Africa	East & West, S.P.G. Q.mag.
May 1903	Missionaries and Colonists	The African Review.
Feb. 1905	The Ordination Question	Guardian
1907	A Vision	SSM Quarterly (reprinted March 1960)
Nov. 1907	The Complete Story	Church Times.
June 1908	On Theological Education (no title given)	Pan-Angl. Offic. Reports.
Feb. 1908	The Theological Training of the Clergy.	Guardian
June 1908	Vocation and Recruiting of Candidates for Holy Orders	Pan-Angl. Paper.
Oct. 1908	The Universities and Training for the Clergy.	University Review.
Oct. 1908	The Training and Supply of Clergy.	Manchester Church Congress.
Jan. 1909	Revelation and Religious Ideas	C.Q.R.
July 1910	The Training and Examination of Candidates for Orders	C.Q.R.
1910	Frederick Denison Maurice - a Personal Appreciation	reprinted in Q.P. Sept. 1959.
Nov. 1910	Co-operation and Unity in the light of the Edinburgh Conference.	Report of Junior Clergy Missionary Asscn. Proceedings 33rd Conference.

July 1911	Community Work and the Church of England.	C.Q.R. (SSM reprints)
Aug. 1911	The Training of an Indian Ministry.	Madras Diocesan Quarterly. See also CMS mag. Aug. 1911.
Dec. 1911	The Power of Unworldliness.	S.C.M. (SSM reprints)
July 1912	The Meaning of Mysticism.	J.T.S.
Jan. 1913	The Rise and Course of Scholasticism.	C.Q.R.
Jan/Mar 1913	The Religious Position and Movements in America - especially among students.	Living Church
June 1914	The Kikuyu Conference	Japan Evangelist (Also in QP)
Oct. 1914	The God-idea of a modern Christian.	Japan Evangelist
April 1915	The Object and Method of Conference.	Faith and Order Commission (Prot. Episc.Ch.of America)
June 1915	Eschatological Interpretations and War (written Nov. 1914)	C.Q.R.
Dec. 1915	The Clergy and Combatant Service.	Church Times
Feb. 1916	The State of Religion (Army Evidence)	Church Times
April 1916	German Idealism	C.Q.R.
April 1916	The Pattern of a Missionary Church.	The East and West
Sept. 1916	Faith or Folly (National Mission).	Challenge.
Oct. 1916	The Pattern of the early Church (The Formation of the Ministry)	The East and West No. 50
Oct. 1916	The Daily Chapel	North American Student
Feb. 1917	Church Systems - Primate & Modern.	Japan Evangelist
Sept. 1917	The United Church of Canada (also "reply" in Dec. issue)	Constructive Quarterly (New York).

Mar/Apl 1918	Pessimism and the War.	The Japan Magazine (Also QP 65) Whitsun 1918
Aug/Sep. 1918	The Church and the Times (Hereford Appointment)	Challenge
Feb. 1919 (7th, 14th, 21st, 28th)	Christianity and Japan.	Rikkyo Times
June 1919	Proposals for an Approach towards Unity.	Living Church
Nov. 1919	Faith in God (some thoughts on the new basis)	The Student Movement
Nov. 1920	Idealism and the Church (preached at Ch. of Annunciation, Marble Arch)	Church Times
Sept. 1923	The Conditions and Needs of England.	Theology
Oct. 1923	Faith and Love (Sermon)	Newark Advertiser.
Oct. 18th 1923	Typescript for Book of Stories, with Epistle Dedicatory to Neville Talbot, Bp. of Pretoria. A few published in - Q.P.	Q.P.
May 1924	The Parish	Theology
Oct. 1924	The Priest	Theology
Dec. 1924	Some Notes on the Doctrine of the Trinity.	Bishop's Hostel, Lincoln.
Sept. 1926	Reservation	Church Chronicle
Sept. 1926	Two Modern Creeds	Church Chronicle
Oct. 1926	The Faith and Mystery of Conference	Christian Union Quarterly.
June 1927	Monophysitism and Transubstantiation	Theology
1928	Christianity & Education, essay VI in <u>Essays Catholic & Missionary</u>	SPCK, London.
July 1929	The Shortage of Clergy: Ministry and Church - their relation	Review of the Churches

May 1932	F.D. Maurice on Sacraments.	Q.P.
Oct. 1930	What the Monk Saw.	The Student Movement
March 1933	St. Bernard.	The Student Movement
Jan. 1934	The Time Factor.	The Student Movement
June 1934	The Church: the Laity: the World.	Journal of the Fellowship of St. Alban & St. Sergius
Sept. 1934	The Universal Church.	do.
May 1935	The Theology of Annoyance.	Theology
March 1960 (Written June 1926)	Ad Gloriam Dei in Eius Voluntatis.	SSM Quarterly

VARIOUS ADDRESSES: 1916-1918, JAPAN

1916	Christianity & the National Life - Ikebukuro, S.S.
1916	The Gospel & the Preacher, Dzushi S.S.
1917	Holy Spirit in Philosophy & History - Ikebukuro, S.S.
1917 Jan.	The Question about God (Sekiya Saw).
	The Word of the Prophets (for Shingakuin students' entertainment at Christmas).
1918 July	Two Sendai Sermons on the Gospel.
1918 July	On God.

VARIOUS PAPERS

1911 July	<u>The Doctrine of Sacrifice</u> by F.D. Maurice, Guild of Epiphany Paper. Address, St. Mary's College, Lancaster Gate, 17th June 1911.
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- | | |
|------------------|---|
| 1913
Aug.13th | <u>A letter to a Protestant who asked after my personal positions.</u> |
| 1913
Dec. | <u>Notes on Re-union</u> , a summary of some recent facts. |
| 1914 | <u>Modern Theological Ideals & Needs</u> (given at Dashisa). |
| 1914
Mar.18th | <u>Unity & Federated Missions</u> . Protest against Undenominationalism to Dr. Mackenzie - introductory letter. |
| 1914
May 24th | <u>Suggestions re topics referred for consideration</u> .
Rev. Newman Smyth - explaining the Catholic position. |
| | <u>Worship</u> . Paper at Yokosuka Summer School on Eucharistic Worship. |
| | <u>Suggestions for Conferences</u> (with introductory letter to Mr. Gardiner |
| 1930 | <u>Catholicity & Authority</u> , 40 pp. |
| 1934
Dec. | <u>A Challenge to Students</u> , December 1934. |
| undated | <u>Fr. Tyrrell & the Jesuit Society</u> , (undated). |

HK FABLES (published and unpublished)

- The Abbot and the Boy Q.P., March 1951.
- The Boy in the Garden Q.P.; S.C.M. Sept.1924.
- The Cathedral (Study of Theology, & Training for Ordination).
- The Coachee
- Eden & Babel, and their Connection.
- The Five Burning Houses Q.P.
- The Golden Slippers S.C.M..Oct.1925
(also Metaphysics Supplement 1939)
- Great Pass Exam.
- Ky's Ship (= Complete Story)
- A Parable (revised version)

The Perowne Tourist.

The Pious Old Gentleman

S.C.M. Feb. 1925.

The Story

S.C.M.

Story of the Lion

Part of "Two Stories about Lions".

Two Stories about Lions
(& a Hero)

Q.P.

Three Stories

Tommy and the Good Fairy

Q.P. June 1951.

Two Japanese Stories

A Vision

Q.P.
(also Student Movement
1st May 1926.
Supp. to Ad Fratres
2nd Jan. 1939

What the Monk Saw

S.C.M. Oct. 1930.

Q.P. March 1951.

Ye Vision at ye Church

UNPUBLISHED : FILED PAPERS

1902 Jan. Reunion with Rome.

1910 Feb. Communion: Essence of the Sacrament.

1912 Aug. Atonement (to Rawlinson).

Oct. Missionary Studies.

Nov. Catholicity, and the Religious life of the Country. (ECU Nottingham)

1915 Feb. Suggestions for Conferences.

1916 National Mission.

'If thou hadst known'.

World Conference on Faith & Order
(comments on proposals).

1917 March	Emil Busch
May	Labour Problems (Australia)
	Australian Diary
Sept.	Australian Proposals for Reunion
	East Australia
Oct.	Revised Psalter
1918 March	Unity (Letters)
1920	Reunion (Mansfield Coll. Conf. - letters)
May	Classics & Theology
	Lambeth Conference
1921 May	Short 'Church History'
1922	Ethics (letter)
1922-4	Purpose of Conference (corresp. with R.W.Brown)
1923 Aug.	Apostolic Succession
1924 March	Intuition
Oct.	De Trinitate
1925 Mar.	Concerning Rome
	Theology & Priesthood
June	Cultus of the Reserved Sacrament
	C.T. leader (party methods)
Nov.	Objections to belief in God (SCM questionnaire)
1926 Jan.	Present Situations
Jan.	Authority (Foundations)
June	Invocation of Saints (esp. B.V.M.)
Sept.	Reservation (Farnham Conf., letters)
	Unity (Personal Thoughts on)
	Unity (Speiser art., letters)
	Parties

1926	Sept.	The Two Creeds
1927	March	Revised P.B.
1928	Nov.	On Rome (letter)
1929	Apl.	A local ministry
	May	A Shortage of Clergy
	Sept.	Maurice
	Nov.	Fr. Vernon
1930	June	The Trinity
1931	Feb.	Pain & reparation (R.H.T.)
1932	Apl.	Faith in the Church
	July	Validity & efficacy
	Sept.	History
1933	Jan.	Nationalism
	Sept.	National Churches
	Oct.	Original Sin
		God & Sin
	Nov.	Karl Barth (H.K. & others)
1934	May	De Deo (to Headlam)
1935	Feb.	The Now and Moment
	March	Problem of Religion
	July	Canon Law
1936	May	Spirit in the O.T.
	Oct.	Knowledge and the Cat
1937	Apl.	Problem of the 10%
1939	Apl.	Place of the Ablutions (correspondence)
	May	Suffering
	Oct.	Prayers - apocalyptic.
	Dec.	Problem of the 10%

1940 June	The Lay Challenge
July	War Questions
	On the War
Sept.	The Generations
1943 March	Some studies in ethics
1946 June	The mighty atom
Sept.	Holy Spirit & Confirmation
Oct.	A treatise on undogmatic theology
1947-48	"Saints & Heroes".
1948 March	Idolatry
Oct.	Synoptics
Dec.	Confession
1949	Penance (letters)
March	Nationality; resistance to aggression.
1950 Feb.	B.V.M.

UNDATED FILED PAPERS

Authority of the Church

British Theology, Critical Appreciation of
(Interview with HK)

Canon of the Mass

Catholicism (notes of address - E.C.U. nation)

Catholicity & Authority

Cats & Prots.

Church & State

A Scheme of Church History

Personal History of my Ethical System

Gossip (Ms)

Lay Evangelists

Man's Work & God's Help

The Modern Mind

Ontological Argument

Parties in the C. of E.

Presence & Personality

Priests' Masses (History)

Religion & Civilization (Black & White)

Reservation (Conference)

Retreats (Ground work of)

South India Reunion

Tyrrell & S.J.

Trinities & Dualisms

Truth & Reality

Values, Modern Doctrine of

HK ARTICLES IN THE S.S.M. QUARTERLY PAPER

(in chronological order)¹

(1) Papers to 1903

"The Selection & Training of Missionaries" (a letter to Dr. Cust) - Printed by Stephen Austin & Sons 1895.

"The Office of the Religious Life in the Church" - Preached in St. John Divine, Kennington, Monday 28th September 1896. (Mowbray)

"Training for Ordination" - Mildenhall 1901.

"S. Thomas Aquinas and the Doctrine of Transubstantiation" - article in 'At Home and Abroad', August 1898, No.1 Vol.1.

"The Interpretation of the Psalms" - article in 'The New Quarterly' April 1899 Vol.1 No.1 ed HK. also Book review Critique on 'Catholicism: Roman & Anglican': A.M. Fairburn.

1. I am indebted to Mr. Jeremy Cooper for help in compiling this section.

S.S.M. Quarterly
Paper -

April 1902	Vol.1	No.1	} Notes etc. by Fr. Kelly as Director
July 1902	1	2	
Oct. 1902	1	3	
Jan. 1903	1	4	
April 1903	2	5	
July 1903	2	6	

(2) 1903-1908. N.B. Fr. Kelly Director during this period:
'articles' definitely written in that capacity
(i.e. reports, finance etc.) are omitted.

Vol.	No.		
2	8	1904 January	Originality Thinking aloud
3	11	October	On Candidates
4	13	1905 April	Theology and the Arts
	14	July	The Society and its Aims
	15	October	Lay-work
	16	1906 January	The Daily Services pt.I
5	17	April	The Daily Services pt.II
	18	July	The Daily Services Conc.
	20	1907 January	'The Church and the Ordination question' and other publications by SSM: also, quote, "At the end of 1902 Messrs. Longman & Company published 'England and the Church'". At the beginning of 1907 Fr.Kelly supplied a Supplement.
6	22	July	Defects of the Will.
	23	Michaelmas	Mysticism.
7	28	1908 Christmas	English politics & English Christianity.

(3) 1909-1912.

Vol.	No.		
8	30	1909 Midsummer	Devotion 1 - its meaning and its effects.
	31	Michaelmas	In Memoriam - Eva Jameson
	32	Christmas	Devotion - In relation to the Church.
9	33	1910 Easter	Devotion (III) - In relation to the Ministry.
	35	Michaelmas	The Edinburgh Conference and the Church position.

Vol. No.

- | | | | | |
|----|----|------|------------|--|
| 10 | 37 | 1911 | Easter | The Will of God & our life
(address to Worcester Diocesan
Convention and reprinted from
Worcester Diocesan Magazine). |
| | 38 | | Midsummer | The Earliest Christian Writing III
(I,II & IV marked as O.T. in
adjacent numbers). |
| 11 | 42 | 1912 | Midsummer | A Journey to America. |
| | 43 | | Michaelmas | Modern Movements in Theology
(A Paper read to the Fraternity) |

(4) 1913-1918.

Vol. No.

- | | | | | |
|----|----|------|----------------------|---|
| 12 | 45 | 1913 | Easter
Michaelmas | Establishment
Impressions of Japan
(Reprinted from Guild of S.Paul
magazine, July 1913). |
| 13 | 49 | 1914 | Easter | The Use of the Old Testament I -
on the Reality of God. |
| | 50 | | Midsummer | The Kikuyu Conference (Reprinted
from 'Japan Evangelist') |
| | 51 | | Michaelmas | The Use of the Old Testament II
- God and his World. |
| | 52 | | Christmas | The Use of the Old Testament III
- God and Morality. |
| 14 | 54 | 1915 | Midsummer | Mere Questions. |
| 15 | 57 | 1916 | Easter | Studies in the Apocalypse pt.I |
| | 58 | | Midsummer | do. Section III ch.8 2-11. |
| | 59 | | Michaelmas | do. pt.II |
| | 60 | | Christmas | do. pt.IV |
| 16 | 62 | 1917 | Midsummer | do. pt.III |
| 17 | 65 | 1918 | Whit. | Pessimism. |

(5) 1919-1924.

Vol. No.

- | | | | | |
|----|----|------|------------|---|
| 18 | 70 | 1919 | Christmas | 'On the meaning of Church History'
written in Japan 4th April 1919. |
| 19 | 71 | 1920 | July | The Mind of Two Centuries |
| | 72 | | Michaelmas | Lambeth Conference & Reunions |
| | 73 | | Christmas | Lambeth & Reunion |
| | 75 | 1921 | July | (Note about a paper on Society
for Associates 'Ad Filios' by HK
"The Corporal's Story") |

20 76 1921 September PUBLICATIONS BY HK - on SSM -
An Idea in the Working (Mowbray)

Theological Study

Aim & Methods of Theological Study

Continuation of Study

Modern Movements in Theology

General

England and the Church (Longmans)

England and the Ordination Question

Community Work and C of E (Reprinted
from Church Quarterly Review)

The Power of Unworldliness

The Word of God and our Life (Reprinted
from Worcester Dioc. Mag.)

Principles of Reunion (S.P.C.K.)

English Politics and Christianity

The Edinburgh Conference & the Church
Position 1913.

The Church and Religious Unity (Longmans)

The National Mission & the Church. do.

21	79	1922	July	Retreats	pt.I
	80		Michaelmas	do.	pt.II
	81		Christmas	do.	pt.III
22	83	1923	July	Is God a person?	
	84		Michaelmas	Mediaevalism & Modern Times	
	85		Christmas	The Reformation	
23	86	1924	Easter	The Counter Reformation & after.	
	88		Michaelmas	The Authority of the Church	pt.I
	89		Christmas	do.	pt.II
24	92	1925	Michaelmas	Nicaea.	

(6) 1927-1931.

Vol. No.

27	98	1927	Easter	Legendary History	
	99		June	Political Economy - Science, Morals & Religion.	
	100		Michaelmas	God, his World, & the Self (An address to students at Swanwick)	
	101		Christmas	The O.T. - History and legend pt.† History.	
28	102	1928	Easter	The O.T. - History & legend pt.II Legend.	
	104		Michaelmas	A Study of Greek	pt.I
	105		Christmas	do.	pt.II

Vol. No.

29	106	1929	Easter	The sense of fun pt.I
	107		June	do. pt.II
	108		Michaelmas	The love of God (an address at Swanwick on 2 Cor. 13.14.
	109		Christmas	The Gospel and social life pt.I
30	110	1930	Easter	The Gospel and social life pt.II
	111		June	Conditions of modern business
	113		Christmas	Newman pt.I
31	114	1931	Easter	Newman pt.II
	115		June	do. Conclusion
32	116		Michaelmas	The five Burning Houses
	117		Christmas	Confirmation

(7) 1932-1937

Vol. No.

33	118	1932	Easter	'The Times of the Prayer Book'
	120		Michaelmas	'Anglicanism'
	121		Christmas	do. pt.II
34	122	1933	Easter	Two stories about lions.
	123		June	The Group Movement pt.I
	124		Michaelmas	do. pt.II
	125		Christmas	do. pt.III
35	126	1934	Easter	do. Conclusion
	128		Michaelmas	Some ideals of Education
	129		Christmas	The idea of theology pt.I
36	130	1935	Easter	do. Conclusion
	131		June	'Christian belief or faith'
	132		Michaelmas	do. pt.II
	133		Christmas	Detective Stories
37	134	1936	Easter	Crime Stories
	136		Michaelmas	Concerning Personal Influence pt.I
	137		Christmas	True Success
38	139	1937	June	The Conversion of Constantine
	140		Michaelmas	The Kelham Course pt.I
	141		Christmas	do. Cont.

(8) 1938-1941

Vol. No.

39	142	1938	Easter	The Kelham Course - Concluded.
40	149	1939	Christmas	God and the War.
41	150	1940	Easter	do. II
	152		Michaelmas	Power Politics and War in principle & in History.
42	154	1941	Easter	Industrialism & the Individual
44	161	1943	Michaelmas	The South India Scheme

(9) 1942-1949

Vol. No.

47	167	1946	Michaelmas	The World and the Faith
48	168	1947	Easter	Wholeness - Knowledge - Faith.
	169		Michaelmas	Knowledge & Revelation.
49	170	1948	Easter	Structure of the modern age.
50	172	1949	Easter	A Study of Greatness pt.I
	173		Michaelmas	do. pt.II

(10) 1950-1957

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51	174	1950	March	Words & Meanings
	177	1950	December	OBITUARY - 'Gospel of God' 1928 SCM Catholicity
				'Diamond Jubilee of the Mousehole' 31st December 1890 to 1st January 1891 beginning at Vassall Road, written from notes by Fr. Kelly (Revising them at time of death, i.e. last work he did).
52	178	1951	March	Two stories by Fr. Kelly (first time in print) 'What the Monk saw' and 'The Abbot & the Boy'.
	179		June	Another Story by HK - 'The Tommy and the Good Fairy'.
54	183	1953	March	'The Five Burning Houses' - (Reprinted from Michaelmas number for 1931)
				'On Retreats' HK June 1938.
55	185	1954	March	'Concerning Vocation' - Unpublished booklet (first two Chapters) written by HK in 1899 primarily for boys.
	186		September	'Concerning Vocation' - Continuation.
56	188	1955	September	do.
57	189	1956	March	Detective Stories HHK (From Christmas Numbers of Quarterly 1935)
	190		September	Concerning Work - 2nd part of unpublished booklet, as above, 1899.
58	191	1957	March	do. - Continuation.
	192		September	do. do.

(11) 1958-1968

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| 59 | 193
194 | 1958 March
Michaelmas | 'Concerning Work' - continued
do. - concluded |
| 60 | 195 | 1959 March | The Will of God & our Life -
(Address given by Fr.Kelly at
a Diocesan Convention and first
published in Quarterly in 1911).
NOTICE - of new Edition of 'Gospel
of God' to be published in April
by SCM Press. |
| | 196 | September | Frederick Denison Maurice -
A personal appreciation by
Fr. Kelly written in 1910. |
| 61 | 197 | 1960 March | 'A Vision' - written by Fr.Kelly
and first published in Quarterly
in 1907. Reproduced twice in
the 'Student Movement'.

'Ad Gloriam Dei in Eius Voluntate -
June 1926 (HHK) |
| 62 | 200 | 1961 September | 'Confirmation' - article by
Fr.Kelly first published in 1931. |
| 65 | 205 | 1964 March | 'Conservation & Sacrifice'
(The Religious Life & the Secular)
HHK, 28th September 1896. |

Editions of:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| <u>The Principles</u> of S.S.M. | 1894
1909
1930 with one change of
text in No.XX |
| <u>The Constitution</u> of S.S.M. | 1894
1905
1915
1935
1952
1967 |

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