had to admit that something was not right with religious sentiment in Serbia and that "rechristianizing" was needed. Stevan M. Veselinović, director of the Theological Seminary, wrote in 1909: "As a matter of fact, party politics have done visible harm to the purely religious sentiments of the mass of the Servian people. It is everyone's hope that the Church will succeed in purifying the stagnant atmosphere of the Servian nation if she devotes herself to her apostolical mission of rechristianizing the Servian peoples."196 It was almost inconceivable that a simple monk could play any socially or culturally significant role. In the absence of the nobility and industrial magnates, the high society of Serbia on the eve of the Great War consisted mostly of university professors, army officers, civil servants and diplomats. That a monk could surpass them in influence in Britain was not an easy pill to swallow. For this reason, the Serbian Minister in London, Jovan Jovanović, or the Serbian envoys, professors Bogdan and Pavle Popović, were often very suspicious of Velimirovich. The most sympathetic Yugoslav assessment of his work came from a Catholic Slovene, Bogumil Vošnjak, rather than from a Serb. Vošnjak described Nikolai's propaganda efforts as something peculiar, something that made him look like an apostle: "It was not propaganda in the simple sense of the word; it was something reminiscent of the activity of an apostle who influences the masses through the secrets of religion." He deemed his activities in Britain "so comprehensive, so multifaceted, and so universal that it was a veritable miracle". 197 A Dalmatian member of the Yugoslav Committee, the famous sculptor Ivan Meštrović also had a high opinion of Velimirovich and not so high of the other Serbian envoys in London. As recorded in his memoirs: "Father Nikolai Velimirovich, a monk, and a former student in England, has also come. A young man then, but very well-read and unusually gifted as an orator and preacher. These older Serbian gentlemen somewhat look down on him, but he is more useful for the Serbian and general cause than all of them put together. He is closer to us in terms of ideas, is more broad-minded and more considerate. And while they only speak of Serbia and Serbdom, and of some Greater Serbia, the monk speaks both of Serbia and the Serbian people and of Yugoslavs and a future Yugoslavia."198 R. W. Seton-Watson had a similar opinion. His short note accompanying Bishop Nikolai's article written for The New Europe reads: "During the dark days of war and exile no one did more to in-

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Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1908), 48–53. Milan Jovanović Stojimirović, Portreti prema živim modelima (Novi Sad: Matica srpska), 1998, 17–18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> S. M. Veselinovitch, "Religion", in Alfred Stead, ed., *Servia by the Servians* (London: William Heinemann, 1909), 157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> Vošnjak U borbi za ujedinjenu narodnu državu, 177 and 184.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup> Ivan Meštrović, Uspomene na političke ljude i dogadjaje (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1969), 58.

terpret to this country the soul of Serbia and the spirit of the Orthodox Church than Father Nicholai Velimirovic."<sup>199</sup>

Velimirovich's activities during and after the Great War, and Anglophile sentiments were not forgotten in Britain. On 12 March 1919, prior to his departure from England, Father Nikolai was presented with a pectoral cross by his English brethren in Christ. On that occasion, the Archbishop of Canterbury said the following: "During his exile in England he had been regarded with growing affection and respect, as one who was essentially a spiritual guide. By his words and his pen he had taught many lessons, he had gained many friends, and the cross which they were offering him would be the symbol and the reminder of English friendship. Destined to be a leader in Church and State in his own country, it was no small thing that Father Nicolai should know England and English life and thought. There were links between the two countries, but the strongest link of all was the time that Father Nicolai had spent here. Ideas of union were in the air, we knew not to what they would grow."<sup>200</sup>

During his first post-war visit to the UK, at the end of 1919, a series of honours and praises were bestowed on him. This visit, which he made in his capacity as Bishop of Žiča,<sup>201</sup> provides evidence of the respect he had gained in Britain. In November 1919, shortly before his departure for Britain, he had been awarded an honorary D.D. degree by the University of Glasgow.<sup>202</sup> He arrived in Britain on 12 December and, four days later, was received by British King George V.<sup>203</sup> On 18 December he delivered his second sermon at St. Paul's Cathedral. Finally, on 9 January 1920 he delivered a lecture at King's College, London. The Vice Chancellor of the University of London, Dr. Sydney Russell-Wells, felt obliged to say before his lecture that Velimirovich was "the type of man the University of London delights to honour. Had it been our practice to confer Honorary Degrees I have no doubt that, long ere this, had he been willing to accept the title, he would have been numbered among the Doctors of our University."<sup>204</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> Nicholai Velimirovic, "Freedom's Reality and Delusions", New Europe (1 Jan. 1920). The article was republished in Velimirović, Spiritual Rebirth of Europe, 61–80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> "A Parting Presentation", Anglican and Eastern Churches: A Historical Record, 20. The Archbishop's words in this report are not in quotations marks but have been paraphrased. Before this presentation, it was thought that Father Nikolai should be awarded a Lambeth D.D. or an honorary Oxford D. D., but Fynes-Clinton soon learned that only British nationals were eligible for the former, and only priests of the Anglican Church for the latter, see M. Heppell, George Bell and Nikolai Velimirović, 12–13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> He was elected Bishop of Žiča in April 1919.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> "Glasgow Honorary Degrees", Evening Telegraph, 18 Nov. 1919, p. 4 d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> "Court and Personal", Yorkshire Post, 17 Dec. 1919, p. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> Velimirović, The Spiritual Rebirth of Europe, 13.

In 1921, the Anglican and Eastern Churches: A Historical Record 1914–1921. A substantial part of the report bears the heading "Our relations with Serbia", of which more than a half is devoted to the activities of Father Nikolai. It becomes evident from the report that relations between the two churches during the Great War essentially were relations between the Church of England and Nikolai Velimirovich. As far as the "close intercourse" between the two churches is concerned, the report assesses that he was "the chief personality in this rapprochement". <sup>205</sup>

In 1940 Harold Buxton, Bishop of Gibraltar, recalled Nikolai Velimirovich who "made impression on all of us by his serious commitment and his Christian sermons, but also by his efforts to offer young Serbian seminarists a necessary theological education". He also mentioned other bishops who had co-operated with the Church of England in the interwar period, such as Irinej Djordjević, Bishop of Dalmatia, Dr. Irinej Ćirić, Bishop of Bačka, and Dr. Dositej Vasić, Metropolitan of Zagreb, and the Serbian churchmen Kosta Luković, Dušan Stojanović and Branislav Kovandžić. This Anglophile current in the interwar Serbian Orthodox Church was undoubtedly something for which Nikolai Velimirovich had paved the way with his activities during the Great War.

In his obituary *The Church Times* called him a "friend of Britain" and pointed out that he had been "an outstanding figure in the *rapprochement* between the Church of England and the Serbian Orthodox Church". <sup>207</sup> Bishop George Bell echoed the respect that Nikolai Velimirovic had earned in England in his lifetime but particularly during the Great War when he said in his eulogy at the memorial service held in the Serbian church in London in September 1956: "In the midst of all the noise and traffic, the conflict of politics and the wars of nations, he always stood for the eternal... He was a prophet of God, not only of God's mercy, but of God's judgment." <sup>208</sup>

He was still remembered in Britain at the beginning of the twenty-first century. In 2001, Rowan Williams, Archbishop of Wales, subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote in his foreword to M. Heppell's book: "Bishop Nikolai Velimirović was, for several generations of British Anglicans, one of that group of unmistakeable moral and spiritual giants who brought something of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> Anglican and Eastern Churches: A Historical Record, 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> Harold Bakston, "Odnosi izmedju Engleske crkve i Srpske pravoslavne crkve", *Danica* no. 7 (1 Jan. 1941), 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> "Death of Bishop Velimirovic. Friend of Britain", *Church Times* no. 4,859, 29 Mar. 1956, 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> Heppell, George Bell and Nikolai Velimirović, 92–93.

the depth and challenge of the Orthodox world in the West."<sup>209</sup> Finally, in 2016, during his official visit to Serbia and the region of the Western Balkans Prince Charles delivered a speech in the Parliament of Serbia and made special reference to Velimirovich and his sermons at St. Paul's: "1916 is also the centenary of St. Nicolai Velimirovic's visit to England where he became the first Orthodox Christian to preach at St. Paul's Cathedral."<sup>210</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> Ibid. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> "Speech by HRH The Prince of Wales at the Parliament Building, Belgrade. Published on 17th March 2016", https://www.princeofwales.gov.uk/media/speeches/speech-hrh-the-prince-of-wales-the-parliament-building-belgrade

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