

C.S. Lewis the Churchman: His Work on the Anglican Commission to Revise the Psalter

People don't normally think of C.S. Lewis as a churchman. While his brother Warren was a sidesman¹ and part of the Parochial Church Council in his local parish church, Holy Trinity, Headington Quarry, for many years, Lewis seemed rather uninvolved in the daily affairs of the local church. He worshipped and took communion regularly, but disliked the hymns and was sometimes critical of the sermon. What Lewis did for the local church, however, needs to be balanced by Lewis's role in the larger church. Besides his theological writings, this external role consisted especially in talks to various church meetings, his lectures to the members of the Royal Air Force, his service on the Council of Westcott House² for four and half years, and, preeminently, his participation in the Commission to Revise the Psalter.

One of those talks occurred in 1945, when Lewis read his essay "Christian Apologetics" (God in the Dock [GID] 89–103) on April 1 at the Carmarthen Conference for Anglican Youth Leaders and Junior Clergy in Carmarthen, Wales. Another example is Lewis's "Modern Theology and Biblical Criticism" (*Fern-Seed* 104–125), a lecture given to the students and Fellows of Westcott House in Cambridge on May 11, 1959. His lectures to the RAF have been well documented by Bruce R. Johnson in four articles,³ and Lewis's service on the governing board of Westcott House in Cambridge is described in the *Journal of Inklings Studies* (Heck 101–107). But apart from one article by George Musacchio in *VII*, little is known about Lewis's role on the Commission to Revise the Psalter. This article contends that Lewis's service on the Commission to Revise the Psalter was the crowning achievement of his public church life, which focused on the larger church rather than the local parish. Though his work is little known apart from an occasional reference in the various biographies, his contributions to the Commission show this Cambridge scholar at his finest.

The Task of the Commission

The 1928 Prayer Book of the Church of England contained language in the Psalter which was out of date, so the Archbishop of Canterbury worked with the Archbishop of York and the associated Convocations⁴ (there were two—York and Canterbury) to establish a commission to update the language. Words like "buckler," "leasing" (lying), "reins," and "feigned" needed to be clarified and updated.

Consequently, at the instigation of clergy from the grass roots, who were displeased with the current version of the Psalter, the Convocations decided to ask the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to establish a Commission to Revise the Psalter. They did so, with the following purpose:

To produce for consideration by the Convocations a revision of the text of the Psalter designed to remove obscurities and serious errors of translation, yet such as to retain as far as possible, the general character in style and rhythm of Coverdale's version and its suitability for congregational use. (ACRP/1)⁵

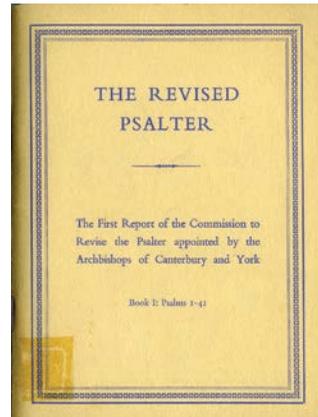
The translation of the New English Bible (NEB) was occurring at the same time.⁶ Archbishop of York, Donald Coggan, chaired the Joint Committee which was responsible for the translation. Professor C.H. Dodd led the translation of the New Testament, and Professor Sir Godfrey Driver—a former colleague of Lewis at Magdalen—led the translation of the Old Testament. When the Commission completed the five books of the Psalter individually,⁷ Driver received proof copies before they were published.⁸ He also shared with D. Winton Thomas the results of the Oxford Panel's translation of the Psalms.⁹ In their concern to cooperate with the Commission to Revise the Psalter, the Old Testament committee hastened their work on the Psalms so that it would be available to the Commission.¹⁰ Copies of the Old Testament committee's translation of the Psalms were made available to the Commission (ACRP/18), and Thomas's presence on the Commission enabled them to incorporate advances in the understanding of the Hebrew language and stay in touch with the group that was translating the Old Testament.¹¹ In addition, the Liturgical Commission was kept informed.¹² Donald Coggan agreed to serve as a liaison between the Liturgical Commission and the Commission to Revise the Psalter,¹³ and the two commissions agreed to exchange minutes.¹⁴

Throughout their work, the Commission to Revise the Psalter was concerned about the use of the revision in local parishes, since the original impetus for the revision had come from the parishes. The Commission was asked to send portions of their revision to the Convocations so that the Church at large could use these revised psalms and provide feedback.¹⁵ The Commission was also invited to consult the Psalter then being used by the Church of Ireland.¹⁶

The work of the Commission was intended to produce a revised text of all the psalms; however, they did not need to point the psalms with markings for singing. A committee would be appointed later to accomplish that task. When the task of revising the Psalter was finished, the Archbishops, the Convocations, and the Church Assembly would receive reports and be asked to approve the final product. At that point, the revision of the Psalter would be sent to Parliament.¹⁷

The Makeup of the Commission

On November 12, 1958, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher (1945–1961),¹⁸ wrote to Bishop George Chase, asking him to serve on the Commission. He wrote similar letters to six other men. Lewis wrote his acceptance on November 14, so he received his invitation at the same time Chase did (*Collected Letters* [CL] 3: 989). The reasons Archbishop Fisher chose these six specific men appear in his letter to Chase: “We trust that the Commission as proposed is wisely balanced. It includes a Hebrew scholar, two scholars of English, one expert in congregational singing, and two Bishops with special abilities in these fields” (ACRP/30). These six people agreed to serve:



C.S. Lewis's personal copy of the First Report on Book 1: Psalms 1-41.

1. Donald Coggan, Bishop of Bradford, Chair of the Commission (also Chair of the Joint Committee responsible for the NEB); he became Archbishop of York in 1961 (1909–2000);
2. Bishop George A. Chase,¹⁹ 36 Millington Road, Cambridge (formerly Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge, 1934–1946) (1886–1971);
3. C.S. Lewis, Professor of Medieval and Renaissance English, Magdalene College, Cambridge, whose book, *Reflections on the Psalms*, was released in 1958 by Geoffrey Bles (1898–1963);
4. T.S. Eliot, Faber & Faber (1888–1965), poet, essayist, publisher, playwright, and literary critic;
5. Gerald H. Knight, Director, Royal School of Church Music (1908–1979). While he was out of the country from December 1959 until July 1960, Dr. J. Dykes Bower took his place (1908–1979). Bower was later considered a seventh member of the Commission;²⁰
6. D. Winton Thomas, Regius Professor of Hebrew,²¹ Cambridge University (1901–1970).

These men found a camaraderie in their work together, as evidenced by the remarks of both Eliot and Lewis. After the completion of the Commission, Eliot wrote to Bishop Chase. Eliot wanted to express his happiness over Chase's remarks in the Introduction to the 121-page *Companion to the Revised Psalter*. Eliot affirmed the friendship between the members, confident that it would last for the rest of their lives.²² Lewis also wrote to Bishop Chase, stating, “we were a wonderfully happy family” (ACRP/30).

Given Lewis's sense of humor, one also suspects laughter was frequently heard in their meetings, for how else could they have been, as Eliot had written, such a congenial and jovial team of co-workers?

The Coverdale Bible

The Convocations and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York directed the Commission "to retain as far as possible, the general character in style and rhythm of Coverdale's version and its suitability for congregational use" ("The Revision of the Psalter," ACRP/1). The Psalter from the Coverdale Bible had been included in the Anglican Book of Common Prayer since 1662, which made it a historic and traditional favorite of many Anglicans. The general principles of the revision included these words: "Where the words of Coverdale are especially familiar every effort has been made to retain them, e.g., iv.8; xix.14."²³ Only where the text was corrupt or meaningless did they depart from Coverdale.²⁴

Both Eliot and Lewis agreed with the retention of Coverdale, but this was probably true of everyone on the Commission. Lewis states about Coverdale, "We were told to keep his words where possible" (ACRP/30). Lewis also agrees with Eliot "that Coverdale's Psalter should continue to be available and, if possible, to be widely known" (CL 3: 1594). In one specific instance, Lewis writes on Psalm 2:8, "... we can keep Coverdale; therefore we should" (ACRP/30). On a verse in Psalm 10, he considers the change from *wherefore* to *why* "a wholly gratuitous departure from C." In his written comments on Psalms 19, 20, and 21, he writes about "a needless change of C.," "let's keep C.," and "No difference in sense, so let's keep C." Many other examples could be multiplied. But Lewis wasn't merely the churchman; he actually loved the Coverdale translation, which he had come to know intimately. In his *Reflections on the Psalms*, Lewis says of Coverdale, "in beauty, in poetry, he, and St. Jerome, the great Latin translator, are beyond all whom I know" (7).

In addition to retaining Coverdale's translation, however, Lewis recognized the need to revise it in some places: "What I'm fighting against on the Commission for revising the Coverdale Psalter [is] ... the impulse to retain what we know to be mere howlers because they are 'so beautiful'" (CL 3: 1594). Writing a few days later to Clyde Kilby, he states his reason for correcting Coverdale: "I don't think a commission, appointed by the Archb. to *correct* Coverdale, and preserving what they *knew* to be a mistranslation, cd. claim that inspiration or expect that blessing. Wd. this not be 'to offer unto the Author of truth the unclean sacrifice of a lie'" (CL 3: 1228)?

The Coverdale Bible, published in 1535, was the first complete English translation of the Bible and the first to be officially approved by the monarchy (Lewis, *OHEL* 207). Miles Coverdale based his New Testament translation on the work of William Tyndale. Lewis writes a great deal about Cover-

dale in *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* [OHEL] (CL 3: 1222).²⁵ About the foundational nature of Coverdale and Tyndale, which helps to explain why Coverdale remained in use well into the twentieth century, Lewis writes: "It is in a sense true that Tyndale and Coverdale remain the base" (214). Lewis notes that Coverdale's translation of the Psalms was based especially on the Vulgate (Latin) and Luther Bible (German).²⁶ He also writes that there was some question whether Coverdale knew any Hebrew, thereby explaining one of the reasons for the revision (208).

The Work of the Commission

The Commission first met on January 22, 1959 at Lambeth Palace. Everyone was in attendance except for T.S. Eliot, who was traveling abroad. Not only did the Commission hold several meetings at Lambeth Palace, they also held multi-day meetings at the Royal Foundation of St. Katharine in East London (three of their residential meetings that each spanned three days were held there), Addington Palace, Croydon in South London, the location of the Royal School of Church Music, Bishopthorpe (the home of Chairman Donald Coggan), Church House (the location of the Church of England headquarters next-door to Westminster Abbey), and Selwyn College, Cambridge (since Bishop Chase had served as Master of Selwyn between 1934 and 1946).

The Commission agreed that the revision could not be done effectively at meetings of the entire Commission. Professor D. Winton Thomas suggested that members take a group of psalms between meetings, compare the Prayer Book version with the revision suggested in the Pink Book²⁷ (as well as other revised versions), and that they note where alterations needed to be made. The Commission agreed; proposed amendments were to be sent to the secretary, Miss Doris Allan at Church House, as soon as possible for duplication and circulation among Commission members before the next meeting.²⁸

After Bishop Chase moved to Cambridge in 1959, three key members of the Commission lived there: D. Winton Thomas, C.S. Lewis, and Bishop Chase. They formed a sub-committee, then known as the Cambridge Sub Committee, or Cambridge Committee, to do much of the work in advance of the full meetings. The fact that this sub-committee did much of the work makes Thomas and Lewis important to the Commission—especially if we can trust Lewis's parenthetical comment in a letter to T.S. Eliot: "Dear old Chase has no feeling for language at all." (CL 3: 1346). They worked through most of the psalms line by line prior to the various meetings of the entire Commission. In his Foreword to Bishop Chase's *Companion to The Revised Psalter*, Donald Coggan affirmed the importance of this sub-committee: "Any measure of accuracy which *The Revised Psalter* may have is largely due to [Chase's] care and skill, exercised especially in conjunction with Professors D. Winton Thomas and C.S. Lewis" (vii).

The Cambridge Committee was also tasked with preparing a Preface to their work, dealing with principles upon which the revision was taking place, the Hebrew text, the relation of this new work to Coverdale's translation, an Index of difficult or doubtful words, and numerous other points of interest.²⁹ For example, the Index included "Sheol," which they decided to translate as "land of death," and "Pit," which they translated as "grave."³⁰ The word "its," when "his" made no sense, had come into use shortly after Coverdale, so they thought they could use that word and include an explanation in the Index.³¹ Bishop Chase had originally penned a Preface, but Lewis was later asked to write a new one,³² although it is unclear how much of the final product belonged to Lewis. This further illustrates the importance of Lewis to the work of the Commission. He was fully engaged, submitting his reaction to various translation proposals and making many of his own suggestions. His understanding of language was extremely helpful. For example, in one note on Psalm 15:5 (verse 4 in the English) he writes about promises: "In plain masculine Modern English the only two things you do with a promise are to *keep* it or *break* it. (*Implementing* be damned!)." ³³

While the revision work continued, the Commission arranged for earlier portions of the work to be made available so that the clergy, theological colleges, and musicians could use the proposed revisions in their congregations and assess their impact.³⁴ The Preface to the revision states, "We have given special consideration to the needs of congregations and choirs both in the saying and the singing of the Psalms" (Draft Preface ACRP/3a).

In addition, the Commission met with the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace on December 30, 1960, to report to the Archbishop and to receive his feedback on the nature of their work. Such feedback would enable them to proceed with confidence that they were on the right track. If they needed to make adjustments, changes would come early enough to be incorporated. They received that assurance. The minutes read:

His Grace [Geoffrey Fisher] said that he was very impressed with what had been done, and also with the Commission's expectation of completing the work so soon. He had no hesitation in saying that he and the Archbishop of York would approve of what had been done, and would authorize the Commission to go ahead.³⁵

Since the Convocations had set up the Commission to Revise the Psalter, the Commission brought Book I (Psalms 1–41) of the revision to both the Canterbury and York Convocations for their approval in May 1961.³⁶ The publication date of Book I (Psalms 1–41) was April 21, allowing enough time for clergy to purchase and review Book I before the May Convocations.³⁷

Although many revisions were challenged by the parish priests, of special concern was Psalm 23:4, which contains the familiar phrase "the valley

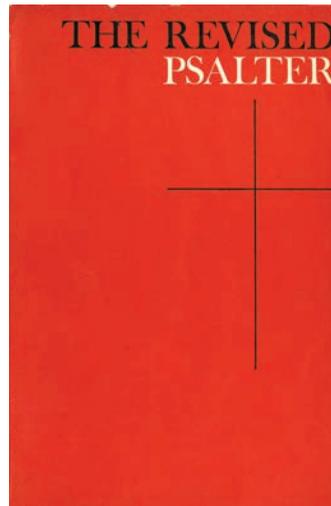
of the shadow of death." In September 1962, at the urging of Professor D. Winton Thomas and after discussing the merits of retaining the well-known phrasing, the Commission decided to replace "valley of the shadow of death" with "darkest valley."³⁸ The proposed change met with resistance, as demonstrated by a letter from Canon H.E. Hopkins, Cheltenham. His concern expressed the sentiments of many when he wrote,

As a parish priest who has the responsibility of trying to help the man in the pew in the difficult art of worshipping by means of what are often archaic and oriental metaphors, I cannot refrain from a plea that your scholars stretch a point in Psalm 23 and allow us to retain "the valley of the shadow of death". I do not deny that "the darkest valley" is clear and understandable, but the present version is so well-known and well-loved that to change it may well prejudice the popularity of the whole new version. I feel strongly about this because, apart from the Lord's Prayer, this is the most familiar passage in the whole [Prayer Book] and Bible to the ordinary worshipper and the occasional attender, particularly at funerals, and a change at this point will only make one further difficulty at a point of pastoral opportunity when the parish priest is anxious to touch some cord of familiarity with those he only sees on such occasions. Not only so, but these words have a strong emotional content and have brought to so many passing through the darkest valley a freedom from the fear of death. To deprive our people of this very familiar and loved text needs a great deal more justification in my opinion than scholastic accuracy.³⁹

Eventually, when *The Revised Psalter* was printed, the traditional reading was set aside in favor of "darkest valley." That decision may have been one of the major reasons for the less than enthusiastic acceptance of the revision.

When the revision and the various reports of the Commission were published, the Commission worked with Cambridge University Press, S.C.P.K, and Faith Press. Under the direction of Rev. Noel Davey, S.P.C.K. printed *The Revised Psalter* in early 1963.⁴⁰ It was approved by both Convocations in October 1963.

Despite the work done by the Commission over four years, *The Revised Psalter* was not well received. This is surprising, since the Commission took pains to get a mid-course evaluation from the Archbishop of Canterbury and to provide to Anglican parishes the proposed revision of Book I so that the Commission could receive early feedback. Nevertheless, Brenton Dickieson writes that it "never became the popular replacement of the Coverdale translation in the Book of Common Prayer that it was envisioned to be." Having read the revision himself, Dickieson states that it "is not a striking



C.S. Lewis's personal copy of A Companion to the Revised Psalter (1963) [left]; Clyde S. Kilby's personal copy of The Revised Psalter (1964) [right].

literary work. Others who have read it delighted in it, but I felt like it kept the awkwardness of an older translation while losing the beauty of Coverdale." Furthermore, Dickieson notes that it is like the New King James translation of the Psalms, which "could not rise to the height of the original and did not throw itself into the language of contemporary culture" (Dickieson).

C.S. Lewis

C.S. Lewis was nearly indispensable to the work of the committee because of his command of the English language and its history.⁴¹ For example, in their discussion of Psalm 102, he comments, "In [Coverdale's] time *secure* usually meant *securus*, not 'safe' but 'feeling safe'. cf. *Macbeth* 'security is mortals' greatest enemy."⁴² Elsewhere he argues that they ought not to state in Psalm 11:3 that the foundations are cast *down*: "We can't have what is already the lowest (foundations) cast down: it's like talking about falling off the floor." His comment was accepted. *The Revised Psalter* contained this translation of Psalm 11:3, "If the foundations be destroyed: what can they that be righteous do?" On another occasion, Lewis comments playfully on the translation of Psalm 104:26: "Suggest 'to take thy pastime with them' (If the Hebrew is equally tolerant of either, don't let's miss this delightful picture. Quite topical, now that we're teaching dolphins to talk!)." The suggestion was accepted, since the final revision reads, "There go the ships upon their course: and Leviathan, which thou hast made to take thy pastime therewith."

Lewis was also concerned about laypeople who might use this revision in their devotional life. The minutes of the Commission's meeting in February

and March of 1961 record his concern: "Professor Lewis hoped that the needs of those who used the Psalms chiefly for devotional reading would not be overlooked."⁴³ The final paragraph of the Preface to *The Revised Psalter* reflects this concern for the layperson's devotional life:

We realize that for many, whose devotional life has been fostered by the familiar language of the old Prayer Book Psalter, any change must involve a measure of distress and loss. But we are convinced that there are very many for whom the difficulties of the English text have made the Psalter largely a closed book. Our hope is that a more easily intelligible version of the Psalms will lead to a fuller understanding and appreciation of them and will restore the Psalter to the place it has for so long held in public worship and private devotion. (ix)

For health reasons, Lewis missed some of the later meetings of the Sub Committee.⁴⁴ On one occasion, Bishop Chase wrote to Miss Allan about the meetings of the Cambridge Committee, stating that "... it won't be worth much without Prof. Lewis!" (May 12, 1960. ACRP/4). Later, when Lewis rejoined the work of the full committee, Bishop Chase wrote, "I am glad to say we had Prof. Lewis with us for it. He can't get about much, but his brain is as keen as ever" (May 15, 1962. ACRP/4). Although Lewis was not able to attend the meetings of the full Commission, he was better able to attend the meetings of the Cambridge Committee, which met locally.

In addition to missing some meetings of the Sub Committee due to his failing health, Lewis also missed meetings of the full Commission. He became ill in late 1961 and wrote to Miss Allan in August that he could not attend some of the meetings (ACRP/4). In fact, after the April 1961 meeting, Lewis never again attended any of the full Commission's meetings, although he was able to contribute his expertise by reviewing documents at home. Even in that letter, he displayed his sense of humor. He wrote that his household had been told that he must not be crossed and then stated, "A delightful treatment but obviously dangerous to the soul!" (August 19, 1961, ACRP/4). The Commission thought so well of him that they sent him a letter, to which Lewis responded, "Please thank everyone on my behalf for their cheering joint letter" (September 8, 1961, ACRP/4). In one letter, Miss Allan wrote to Lewis about, "the results of the Commission's deliberations at Addington Palace in September," noting that, "there were several points on which we missed your guidance and would be glad to have your comments" (October 13, 1961, ACRP/4). While one could argue that these were simply perfunctory polite comments, the more likely explanation is that Lewis provided important practical and scholarly contributions to the work of the Commission. On those occasions when he was unable to attend, he was missed.

One example of his continued contributions, even while illness plagued him, was his two-page letter in January 1962 with comments on various proposals from Psalms 42 to 83 (ACRP/30). Another four-page document in Lewis's hand, undated, covers his comments on Psalms 1–30 (ACRP/30). This document seems to be separate from the previous letter, since the comments deal with psalms revised much earlier in the work of the Commission.

The completely revised psalms all seem to have been read aloud during the meetings so that they could assure that the reading appealed to the ear,⁴⁵ probably at the instigation of Lewis. Not only is Lewis well known for wanting to write both for the eye and the ear, but he once wrote a letter to Bishop Chase, stating about Psalm 83:3b, "I suggest 'and taken counsel against *them* that thou lovest.' Certainly *them* rather than *those* in all such sentences. This matters more, to my ear, than the presence or absence of the relative" (January 19, 1962, ACRP/30; *italics added*). Another indication of his concern for the ear comes in his various comments about the musicians. For example, regarding Psalm 106:11b, he writes, "I expect the musicians will object to this. We cd. add *alive* at the end if it wd. help them" (ACRP/3a; *italics added*). But this was one of the principles upon which the revision was founded, so his concern was shared by all members of the Commission.

How much was the final product affected by the service of C.S. Lewis on the Commission? A comparison of the 1928 Prayer Book with the finished product, in the light of the notes that Lewis himself penned, gives us insight. A conclusive judgment about Lewis's influence is impossible, since we don't know what comments others made that were similar, nor can we account for the subjective element involved in a revision done by a Commission of six people. Nevertheless, we have the actual comments from Lewis for several dozen psalms and can compare the changes made and the extent to which Lewis's comments and suggestions showed up in the final revision. For this purpose, four psalms were selected for which Lewis made various suggestions: Psalms 12, 23, 26, and 41.

Lewis made four comments on Psalm 12, two on Psalm 23, five on Psalm 26, and eight on Psalm 41. Those comments appear in the charts in Appendices B and C. They show, in parallel columns, the 1928 Psalter, Lewis's comments, and the *The Revised Psalter*. As one might expect, the Commission adopted the recommendations of Lewis in several instances, but not in all. For about half of his comments (ten out of nineteen) the Commission goes its own way and does not follow Lewis. In five instances, they adopt his suggestion entirely or almost entirely. The Commission follows Lewis to varying degrees the remaining four times.⁴⁶ Thus, we conclude that Lewis was significantly influential in the work of the Commission, perhaps more than any other member; his contributions were received at the level one might expect—not all were accepted, though many were—however, all of his work was received positively by the Commission.

On August 7, 1963, Lewis wrote his letter of resignation from the Commission and sent it to Miss Doris H. Allan (CL 3: 1595). The letter was not written in Lewis's hand; Walter Hooper was the scribe. Lewis's death was less than four months away.

C.S. Lewis and T.S. Eliot

The Commission met nineteen times between January 22, 1959, and September 13–15, 1963.⁴⁷ Lewis attended ten of the meetings, including the first six. Lewis and Eliot were both in attendance at six meetings. Their second meeting on April 13, 1959, was the first time they had seen each other since 1945. The absence of either man at some of the meetings was not problematic, since Lewis was involved in the work of the Sub Committee, and since both men were easily able to communicate via correspondence with the rest of the Commission.

That meeting in 1945, over tea at the Mitre Hotel in Oxford, is not remembered as particularly cordial.⁴⁸ Eliot is reputed to have stated, rather rudely, that Lewis "looked older than his photographs" (Measels 31). Perhaps Lewis had it coming. Their differences of opinion on the nature of poetry are well known, especially Lewis's dislike of Eliot's use of free verse. Yet during their time on the Commission to Revise the Psalter, Lewis and Eliot became friends, working together on the task of revision and dining together at various meetings. Their spouses joined them on at least one social occasion in conjunction with a meeting of the Commission. Replying to Eliot's letter on June 29, 1959, Lewis writes, "Your kind letter has, as you see, followed me to the world's end—or one of its ends. My wife and I would like nothing better than to dine with Mrs. Eliot and yourself, and since you leave us a choice of dates, we prefer Tue. 21st. Thank you very much" (CL 3: 1063). Since the Commission was to meet July 20–22, 1959, Lewis was undoubtedly referring to July 21. The date of their meeting was later changed to Thursday, July 23.⁴⁹

The respect that Eliot had for Lewis's contributions to the Commission is evidenced in a letter from his secretary, Jane Mozley. She wrote to Doris Allan about Eliot's schedule, "... he is at present on a long visit to the United States, but will be interested to see the comments of Professor Lewis upon his return in March."⁵⁰

If there are any lessons we can draw from their original animosity and their later friendship, they are these—one seldom knows the full story about another person until you meet, and working together on a common project for the good of others often leads to a camaraderie between the two. Those qualities were evident among all members of the Commission, which helped to assure that the Commission to Revise the Psalter did its work well.

Conclusion

As to his contributions to the work of the Commission, Lewis made valuable suggestions to the revision itself, as demonstrated throughout this article. Both the concern of the Commission for his declining health as well as the quality of his comments indicate his important role on the Commission. That role served as his culminating contribution to the ministry of the Church of England, the crowning achievement of his public church life.

JOEL HECK

Notes

¹ A sidesman is very similar to an usher in the US system. On March 12, 1935, Warren was invited to be a sidesman and to attend the next Parochial Church Council.

² The governing board of Westcott House, a theological college, or seminary, of the Church of England. In the United States, we usually call such a group the Board of Regents.

³ See Johnson, "Answers that Belonged to Life," "C.S. Lewis and the BBC's Brains Trust," "C.S. Lewis at RAF Abingdon," and "Scripture, Setting, and Audience ..."

⁴ Regular gatherings of clergy.

⁵ Archbishop Commission to Revise the Psalter [ACRP] / Folder 1.

⁶ The New Testament was published in 1961 and the Old Testament in 1970.

⁷ The 150 Psalms are divided into five books: Book 1 (Psalms 1–41), Book 2 (Psalms 42–72), Book 3 (Psalms 73–89), Book 4 (Psalms 90–106), and Book 5 (Psalms 107–150).

⁸ Minutes of the Commission. Item 74, February 28–March 1, 1961. ACRP/2.

⁹ Letter from D. Winton Thomas to Miss Allan, 12 November 1961. ACRP/4.

¹⁰ Minutes of the Commission. Item 35, January 8, 1960. ACRP/2.

¹¹ Minutes of the Commission. Item 55 (b), July 7–9, 1960. ACRP/2.

¹² The Liturgical Commission was under the leadership of Bishop Dunlop.

¹³ Minutes of the Commission. Item 116b, July 9–11, 1962. ACRP/2.

¹⁴ Minutes of the Commission. Item 6, January 22, 1959. ACRP/2.

¹⁵ "The Commission is asked to take into consideration the revised version of the Psalter now incorporated in the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of Ireland. It is also asked to consult with the scholars engaged on a New Translation of the Bible, so far as questions of textual scholarship and interpretation are concerned. It is suggested that the Commission, taking the Psalms in their numerical order, should from time to time transmit their proposals in convenient sections for consideration by the Convocations and by the Church at large." "Revision of the Psalter," November 26, 1958. ACRP/1.

¹⁶ ACRP/20 contains a copy of the hardcover of *The Psalter*, the Church of Ireland book consulted by the Commission to Revise the Psalter.

¹⁷ Minutes of the first meeting of the Commission. ACRP/2.

¹⁸ Michael Ramsey succeeded Geoffrey Fisher as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1961, so the Commission completed its work under Ramsey.

¹⁹ George Armitage Chase, Bishop of Ripon, 1946–1959, who moved to Cambridge during the time of the Commission, i.e., April 8–9, 1959. ACRP/4.

²⁰ Because of Gerald H. Knight's need to attend to his duties, J. Dykes Power, Esq., Organist of St. Paul's Cathedral, was appointed in 1960 as a seventh member of the Commission (Chase, *A Companion to The Revised Psalter* 1).

²¹ Regius Professor refers to a university professorship that was originally established by the monarch and is appointed by the current monarch. The Latin word *regius* means royal.

²² Letter from T.S. Eliot to G.C. Chase. November 6, 1963. ACRP/30. The last sentence of Chase's Introduction reads, "The bond of friendship and happiness established between ourselves was never broken or even strained" (10).

²³ Minutes of the Commission, June 7, 1960, Section 54 (c). ACRP/2.

²⁴ Minutes of the Commission. Item 37.3, January 8, 1960. ACRP/2.

²⁵ Lewis's letter is dated January 5, 1961: "I said lots in my *OHEL* vol. ... about the time of Coverdale." See also *OHEL* 14ff., 205, 207–211, 214–216, 838.

²⁶ "Coverdale used the Pentateuch, Jonah, and New Testament of Tyndale; the residue of the Old Testament he translated himself with help from the Vulgate, Pagninus, Luther, and the Zürich Bible" (*OHEL* 208).

²⁷ The Pink Book contained those translated psalms that the committee producing the NEB had already completed (ACRP/4).

²⁸ "Method of Procedure." Minutes of the first Commission meeting. ACRP/2.

²⁹ Minutes of the Commission. Item 37, January 8, 1960. ACRP/2.

³⁰ Minutes of the Commission. Item 54 (g). July 7–9, 1960. ACRP/2.

³¹ Minutes of the Commission. Item 54 (c). July 7–9, 1960. ACRP/2.

³² Minutes of the Commission. Item 21, July 9–11, 1962. ACRP/2.

³³ ACRP/30. Psalm 15:4 reads, "who despises a vile man but honors those who fear the LORD, who keeps his oath even when it hurts" (NIV). Lewis is commenting on the phrase "who keeps his oath."

³⁴ Minutes of the Commission. Item 43, 18 March 1960. ACRP/2.

³⁵ Minutes ... "Discussion with the Archbishop." December 28–30, 1960. ACRP/2.

³⁶ Minutes of the Commission. Item 81, April 10–11, 1961. ACRP/2.

³⁷ The publication was printed by S.C.P.K. Minutes of the Commission to Revise the Psalter. Item 82, April 10–11, 1961. ACRP/2.

³⁸ Minutes of the Commission, Item 55c, July 7–9, 1960. ACRP/2. See also Minutes of the Commission, Item 127, September 13–15, 1962. ACRP/2.

³⁹ No. 2, Extract of letter from Canon H.E. Hopkins, The Rectory, Cheltenham. June 1963. ACRP/8.

⁴⁰ Letter from S.P.C.K. Production Manager, J.F. Maddison, to Miss Allan, November 5, 1962. ACRP/4.

⁴¹ Note that his work, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* [*OHEL*], was published in 1954 by Oxford University Press, and that his *Studies in Words*, in the later stages of writing while the Commission was doing its work, was published by Cambridge University Press in 1960.

⁴² Four pages of handwritten notes from Lewis on Psalms 102–106. ACRP/3a.

⁴³ Minutes of the Commission, February 28–March 1, 1961, 1. ACRP/2.

⁴⁴ Letter of November 15, 1961 from Bishop Chase to Miss Allan: "I am very glad Prof. Lewis is well enough to write. I will send him what W.T. and I have done, in case he feels able to comment on it."

⁴⁵ Minutes of the Commission. Item 111, April 3–5, 1962. ACRP/2.

⁴⁶ Using a five-point scale, I have assigned five points to complete acceptance of Lewis's suggestion, four points to mostly accepting his suggestion, three points to a halfway acceptance, two points to a little amount of acceptance, and one point to no acceptance at all. My evaluation, seen in my comments in Appendices B and C, results in the following: Psalm 12 scores at 5, 1, 4, and 5 for an average of 3.75. Psalm 26 scores at 5, 2, 1, 1, and 5 for an average of 2.8. Psalm 23 scores at 4 and 1 for an average of 2.5. Psalm 41 scores at 1, 1, 1, 1, 3, 1, and 2 for an average of 1.375.

⁴⁷ See the list of meetings, with dates and locations, in Appendix A (below).

⁴⁸ The precise date is uncertain, but it occurred prior to May 15 since Charles Williams invited both men and was himself present. Williams died on May 15, 1945.

⁴⁹ CL 3: 1069. Another invitation in 1961 had to be turned down with these words, "This knocks out the very attractive idea of dining with you and your wife, but very many thanks to you both. It would have been fun...." (CL 3: 1251).

⁵⁰ The date of the letter is December 15, 1961. ACRP/4. In reply to a letter in 1962 from Eliot, Lewis writes, "Thanks for all the kind things you say" (CL 3: 1346).

Appendix A: The Meetings of the Commission to Revise the Psalter

<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>In Attendance</i>
1. January 22, 1959	Lambeth Palace	C.S. Lewis
2. April 13, 1959	Lambeth Palace	T.S. Eliot and C.S. Lewis
3. July 20–22, 1959	Selwyn College	T.S. Eliot and C.S. Lewis
4. September 22, 1959	Lambeth Palace	T.S. Eliot and C.S. Lewis
5. December 9, 1959	Church House	T.S. Eliot and C.S. Lewis
6. January 8, 1960	Lambeth Palace	C.S. Lewis
7. March 18, 1960	Lambeth Palace	
8. July 7–9, 1960	Selwyn College	
9. October 7, 1960	Lambeth Palace	T.S. Eliot and C.S. Lewis
10. Dec. 28–30, 1960	Royal Foundation of St. Katherine	C.S. Lewis
11. February 28, 1961	Lambeth Palace	C.S. Lewis
12. April 10–11, 1961	Lambeth Palace	T.S. Eliot and C.S. Lewis
13. September 6–8, 1961	Addington Palace	
14. Dec. 28–30, 1961	Royal Foundation of St. Katherine	
15. April 3–5, 1962	Lambeth Palace	
16. July 9–11, 1962	Bishopthorpe, York	T.S. Eliot
17. Sept. 13–15, 1962	Addington Palace	
18. Dec. 27–29, 1962	Royal Foundation of St. Katherine	
19. Sept. 13–15, 1963	Lambeth Palace	

Appendix B: Psalms 12 and 26

<i>The 1928 Psalter</i>	<i>Lewis's Comment</i>	<i>The Revised Psalter</i>	<i>Comments</i>
12:2a, They talk of vanity every one with his neighbour:	12:2a, They speak falsely everyone to his neighbour:	12:2a, They speak falsely every one with his neighbour:	Lewis's recommendation is almost entirely adopted.
12:6, I will up, saith the LORD; and will help every one from him that swelleth against him, and will set him at rest.	12:6, I will up, saith the Lord, and defend him: I will give him peace as his heart desireth.	12:6, 'I will up' saith the Lord: 'and will set them in the safety that they long for.'	The recommendation of Lewis was not adopted.
12:8, Thou shalt keep them, O LORD; thou shalt preserve them from this generation for ever.	12:8, O Lord preserve and save us: from a corrupt and evil generation.	12:8, Preserve us O Lord and save us: from this perverse and evil generation.	The recommendation of Lewis is largely adopted.
12:9b, : when they are exalted, the children of men are put to rebuke.	12:9b, : wickedness is exalted among the children of men.	12:9b, : when wickedness is exalted among the children of men.	The recommendation of Lewis is almost entirely adopted.
26:1b, : my trust hath been also in the LORD, therefore shall I not fall.	26:1b, : my trust also hath been steadfast in the Lord.	26:1b, : and my trust hath been steadfast in the Lord.	The recommendation of Lewis was almost entirely adopted.
26:2b, : try out my reins and my heart.	26:2b, : try out my inward parts.	26:2b, : try out my heart and my mind.	The Commission follows Coverdale more than Lewis but changes "reins."
26:4, I have not dwelt with vain persons; neither will I have fellowship with the deceitful.	26:4, I have not dwelt with sinners: neither have I fellowship with the hypocrites.	26:4, I have not sat with wicked doers: neither will I have fellowship with the deceitful.	The Commission prefers "wicked doers" and "deceitful" to Lewis's "sinners" and "hypocrites."
26:9, O shut not up my soul with the sinners, nor my life with the blood-thirsty.	26:9, O let me not be numbered with the transgressors: neither accounted as one of the blood-thirsty.	26:9, O take not away my soul with the sinners: nor my life with the blood-thirsty,	The Commission largely rejects the recommendation of Lewis.
26:10b, : and their right hand is full of gifts.	26:10b, : and their right hand is full of bribes.	26:10b, : and their right hand is full of bribes.	The final revision is exactly the same as that of Lewis.

Appendix C: Psalms 23 and 41

<i>The 1928 Psalter</i>	<i>Lewis's Comment</i>	<i>The Revised Psalter</i>	<i>Comments</i>
23:3a, He shall convert my soul,	23:3a, He shall renew my soul:	23:3a, He shall refresh my soul:	The comment of Lewis is accepted but replaced with a synonym.
23:5a, Thou shalt prepare a table before me in the presence of them that trouble me;	23:5a, Thou shalt prepare a table before me in the sight of them that trouble me:	23:5a, Thou shalt prepare a table before me in the presence of them that trouble me:	The Commission makes no change.
41:2, The LORD preserve him, and keep him alive, that he may be blessed upon earth; and deliver not thou him into the will of his enemies.	41:2, The Lord preserveth his life and maketh him mighty in the land: neither suffereth he his enemies to eat him up.	41:2, The Lord preserve him and keep him alive, that he may be blessed upon earth: and deliver not thou him into the will of his enemies.	The Commission makes no change and does not follow Lewis.
41:3, The LORD comfort him when he lieth sick upon his bed; make thou all his bed in his sickness.	41:3, The Lord comforteth him when he lieth sick: he maketh all his bed in his sickness.	41:3, The Lord comfort him when he lieth sick upon his bed: and minister unto him upon his bed of sickness.	The first half is very similar in all three columns. Lewis's suggestion for the second half of the verse is not followed.
41:5, Mine enemies speak evil of me, When shall he die, and his name perish?	41:5, Mine enemies account me as one that is at the gates of death: they ask, When shall he die and his name perish?	41:5, Mine enemies speak evil of me: 'When shall he die and his name perish?'	The Commission follows Coverdale.
41:6, And if he come to see me, he speaketh vanity, and his heart conceiveth falsehood within himself; and when he cometh forth, he telleth it.	41:6, If they come to see me, they disseemble with their talk: of very malice they foretell the things that I fear, and when they go from me they spread the same abroad.	41:6, And if any come to see me he uttereth empty words: his heart conceiveth falsehood within himself, and when he goeth forth he telleth it.	The Commission follows Coverdale with slight variation.

<i>The 1928 Psalter</i>	<i>Lewis's Comment</i>	<i>The Revised Psalter</i>	<i>Comments</i>
41:7b, even against me do they imagine this evil.	41:7b, : they prophesy that my end is near.	41:7b, : even against me are they devising evil.	The Commission follows Coverdale quite closely.
41:8, An evil disease, say they, cleaveth fast unto him; and now that he lieth, he shall rise up no more.	41:8, They say, this sickness is unto death: now that he lieth, he shall rise up no more.	41:8, 'A deadly thing hath got hold upon him: now that he lieth on his bed he will rise from it no more.'	In the second half of the verse, Lewis follows Coverdale. The Commission is also similar to Coverdale.
41:11, By this I know thou favourest me, that mine enemy doth not triumph against me.	41:11, Then shall I know that thou dost delight in me: and that mine enemy shall not triumph against me.	41:11, By this I know thou favourest me: that mine enemy doth not triumph against me.	The Commission makes no change, setting aside the comments of Lewis.
41:12, And in my innocency thou upholdest me, ...	41:12, Because of mine innocency thou upholdest me.	41:12, And as for me, because I am undefiled thou upholdest me:	Lewis is close to Coverdale, but the Commission follows neither.

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