WORLD EVANGELISATION

"I AM often told by those who, like myself, study the question how history should be taught: Oh, you must before all things make it interesting! I agree with them in a certain sense, but I give a different sense to the word interesting, a sense which, after all, is the original and proper one. By interesting they mean romantic, poetical, surprising; I do not try to make history interesting in this sense, because I have found that it cannot be done without adulterating history and mixing it with falsehood. But the word interesting does not properly mean romantic. That is interesting in the proper sense which affects our interests, which closely concerns us and is deeply important to us. . . . Make history interesting indeed! I cannot make history more interesting than it is, except by falsifying it. And, therefore, when I meet a person who does not find history interesting, it does not occur to me to alter history—I try to alter *him*."—J. R. SEELEY.

"History is an excellent cordial for the drooping courage."—BP. LIGHTFOOT.

A STUDY OF WORLD EVANGELISATION

BY

DAVID JENKS

OF THE SOCIETY OF THE SACRED MISSION; ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE MISSIONARY COUNCIL OF THE CHURCH ASSEMBLY AUTHOR OF "A STUDY OF THE MIND OF CHRIST," ETC.

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PREFACE

THE title explains sufficiently the scope of this book. It does not attempt to be a history of evangelisation, still less to be a history of modern missions. It is a study of evangelisation in relation to general history, a study of the way in which God speaks through history. *Voluntas Dei in factis revelata historia.* As the subject develops it illustrates the truth that where, and in so far as, the Christian community is awake, it is able to hear His voice. From Chapter XVII to the end it has seemed best to desert the historical method and to select various fields of evangelisation in the nineteenth century to illustrate the conviction that we live in a "To-day" in which God's voice is heard, with the alternative of hardening the heart or of answering the divine call. And in these chapters the writer has thrown off the impartiality of the historical student and has assumed the rôle of the missionary advocate.

The book was undertaken as an attempt to provide a text-book for the Church Tutorial Classes Association. If here and there in the later chapters reference is made to the missions of the Church of England more than they deserve by comparison with the work done by other societies, the writer hopes that this will be accepted as an apology. The rigid limits of space have often compelled the omission of what deserves notice, and a mere string of names serves no purpose.

DAVID JENKS.

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CHAPTER I

THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES

1. "THE Acts of the Apostles" is the earliest Church History, the forerunner of Eusebius and Bede and Burnet and others who have written of their own times.[1] St Paul's letters form the first missionary correspondence. One cannot point to a date when the New Testament times ended and ordinary Church history began; miracles did not cease on the death of the last Apostle, nor was St Paul supernaturally aided by a gift of foreign languages.[2] A study of the evangelisation of the world passes imperceptibly from the days of the Apostles, through the extension of the Church in the Roman Empire and beyond, until one comes down to the modern societies with their staffs of expert workers. In one continuous enterprise from the Day of Pentecost until to-day the Holy Spirit in the Body of Christ on earth has manifested His power.

2. A general knowledge of the missionary work of the Church as recorded in the New Testament is assumed; but attention is called to a few significant points. (*a*) Modern research has put an end to the idea that Pauline evangelisation was haphazard. St Paul used the Roman high roads of travel, and regarded the Empire as a handmaid of the Gospel.[3] If modern missions follow the flag they walk in the

steps of St Paul. The general good government, the safety of travel, and the common use of the Greek language, were of great service to the propagation of the new religion. (*b*) The popular opinion that every Christian was at first supposed to be a missionary has no support in the New Testament. From the earliest days it was realised that the Gospel must be preached everywhere, but only certain Christians felt the impelling call of St Paul's 'Woe is me, if I preach not the Gospel.' The dissemination of the good news was left mainly to natural causes. We read later of itinerating ministers under various names; but for the most part the expansion of Christianity was due to private journeys, the exigences of commerce, and the movements of slaves and soldiers. Thus, to this day, it is not known who first brought the Gospel to Rome, to Southern Gaul, or to England. A Christian brought it in his own person. (*c*) In the early days of Christianity Christians were confounded with Jews. This confusion had advantages and disadvantages. The existence of synagogues where there were Jews and copies of the Bible (*i.e.*, of the Old Testament) was favourable while Christian travellers could rely upon the spirit of inquiry and curiosity.[4] Somewhat later the fact that Judaism was a *religio licita* delayed the inevitable realisation that Christianity was a dangerous explosive. But when the Jews had decided that the Christians were traitors to the traditions handed down from their forefathers, there was the risk of treachery. And the position of the Jews was peculiar. They were respected for their monotheism, and there was a certain interest dis-

played towards their religion. But they were also despised and suspected; they often ranked with pedlars and hucksters, and they were regarded as troublesome. So the Christians might remain hidden among the Jews or share in their unpopularity. The first serious outbreak of persecution illustrates this ambiguous position; but it is difficult to know what Nero really thought.

3. During the first three centuries the progress of Christianity is traced by accidental evidence. The Church was not sufficiently self-conscious to write histories. There is the evidence of persecution, sporadic but increasingly a determined policy. The *Acta Martyrum*, generally embodying earlier tradition, exhibit the same tendency towards pious exaggeration as the later *Acta Sanctorum*. Lists of bishops give information of the progress of the Christian faith; and archæology often gives local evidence of the existence of Christianity. For the most part the early traditions of apostolic foundations are unreliable; the temptation to claim apostolic origin was too strong for resistance. Even when one comes to church historians one must remember that the scientific criticism of documents and traditions was not known.

Towards the end of the second century Tertullian [5] in North Africa wrote that men were made Christians, not born; conversion was still the common experience. Origen,[6] writing somewhat later, said that some parts of the Empire had only been touched, that the number of the Christians was still few, but that compared with the past

they gave promise of universal success. Harnack [7] has made a careful investigation of the existing evidence and thinks that by the end of the third century expansion was almost entirely due to natural causes, and that the places of worship were the common training ground of catechumens. He marks the following stages of advance: Christianity about A.D. 50 was an ellipse with the foci at Jerusalem and Antioch; about A.D. 100, foci at Ephesus and Rome; by A.D. 180 the Christians were to be found in every Roman province and even beyond the borders, and "comprised a great federation which assumed a consolidated shape and policy"; at the opening of the fourth century they were about half the population in one or two provinces, and in several cities formed the majority.

In the second half of the third century rapid expansion was going on. The general teachings of Christianity were widely diffused, and were gaining acceptance owing to the lives of the Christians. But rapid progress of new ideas depends partly on the cost not being too great. It was just then that what is spoken of as the long peace [8] gave such an opportunity. During the last persecution many recanted, and again there was rapid growth after the Edict of Toleration.

4. In a well-known chapter Gibbon [9] has enumerated what he calls the "secondary" causes of the spread of Christianity, and Harnack, with his "external conditions," does not differ greatly from Gibbon. Both writers give the first place of importance to Judaism. Harnack lays great stress

on the spirit of Hellenism [10] throughout the East and partly in the West. To these favourable influences one may add the political unity of the world empire, international traffic, religious tolerance, the philosophical preference for a monotheistic conception of deity, religious syncretism and the growth of mystery-cults. A modern Christian cannot estimate how far Christianity was helped or hindered by miracles.

To give weight to these and other favourable conditions is not a denial of the spiritual forces that were at work, the attractiveness of Christian conduct, the gift of hope, and the power of divine grace. It is a favourite theme of some that Jesus Christ came in the "fulness of time" (see Gal. iv. 4).[11] But the greatest recommendation of Christianity was itself. The cheerfulness of the Christians and their active charity pleaded eloquently for the truth of the Christian revelation. Some of the Christian apologists appealed with force to the lives of Christians, and Pliny's famous letter to Trajan shows the perplexity of a just and tolerant ruler in the face of such evidence.[12]

5. The persecution of the Christians by an Empire that was singularly tolerant is pathetic evidence of the inability of the official world to realise the spirit of the new religion or the force of conviction. It saw danger to the State in a religion that was not national, and yet had the obstinacy of a national tradition and loyalty. It was alarmed at a private cult which was intolerant of the official religious observances that were almost state functions.

The refusal to burn incense before the image of the Emperor (the Augustus) gave to the Christians the appearance of disloyalty, and a political character that was in reality foreign to their ideas.

There were other reasons why the Christians were suspected, and it is hard to decide to what extent popular feeling and public policy played into each other's hands. This new private religion interfered with domestic life; it had a suspicious secrecy about its meetings; its rapid growth alarmed the believers in the old established religions, so that disasters or bad seasons could be attributed to the neglect to honour the gods. There were also occasions when money was to be had by denouncing the atheists, as the Christians were called. Then, too, some Christians courted persecution, and attacked heathen practices with gross indiscretion. Some Christians refused to serve in the army.

It was observed that the best emperors were the chief promoters of official persecution, and some Christian apologists tried to minimise this fact. These emperors realised that the religious basis of society was breaking up, and they were anxious to restore it. In the last and long persecution (from the year 303) it became clear to men of wide experience that the only alternative was the complete destruction of Christianity, especially through its leaders and its books, or the break up of the foundations on which the Empire stood. Diocletian and Constantine present the alternative courses, either of which might be hoped to give unity and a religious basis to the re-establishment of national life which was beginning to crumble.

CHAPTER II

THE DECAY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

1. THE victory of Constantine at the Milvian bridge near Rome (A.D. 312) marked the victory of Christianity. There was a rush of converts into the Church. It is useless to ask whether the Edict of Toleration, and then the official patronage of Christianity, was gain or loss; but it changed the Church's task.

Two important events are directly associated with this reign. (*a*) The Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325) was not the first Church council, but it was the first one of œcumenical importance. Constantine had hoped to find in the Christian Church a new centre of unity and organisation; its strife over its fundamental doctrine was a disappointment. The Arian[18] controversy, which really dates from the council that was called to settle it, lasted over seventy years and played into the hands of court politicians. (*b*) Constantinople, the new capital, was the practical recognition of the overgrown condition of the Empire. Signs of this strain were already manifest in the duplication of Emperors and Cæsars. Rome was essentially a western capital, and the Empire stretched out dangerously towards the East. Time will show that Constantinople and Rome represented two empires, two cultures, and two types of Christianity. The site of Constantinople was well chosen.

It guarded the Danube and the Euphrates; the Rhine could be left to the care of a Cæsar. And Constantinople was a new city, with the advantages of a new start; Rome was essentially the capital of the old traditions, its religion and its republicanism. The new city towards the East could better represent the new religion and the growing orientalisation of the imperial rule.

2. Surveying the whole period of the Empire's decay it is not difficult to find some of the main causes. (*a*) It had already exhausted its strength in a long series of wars, and the population was to be yet further thinned, and replenished by new elements. The armies depended increasingly on foreign supplies, until at last the Western Empire drew so largely from the new sources that it became European instead of Roman. (*b*) The government of this unwieldy Empire was beyond the capacity of the old system and the official classes. The best emperors slaved at the task until the whole system became overbureaucratic, with all the expense and inefficiency involved therein. The existing science of taxation was incapable of balancing the exchequer accounts without damaging the sources of supply.

3. Paganism was dying out. The official religions of Greece and Rome had lost their power before Constantine's day. Julian (Emp. 361-363) failed in his attempt to buttress the old religion of Greek philosophy with what he had learned of Christian organisation; he could not get out of paganism a life that was already dead. It is idle to

ask whether the old Empire, filled with the new life of Christianity, could have grappled with this herculean task, and have created a double empire working in harmony. It never had the chance to put this to the test. The barbarians were at the doors, and man-power and other resources were exhausted in the attempt to hold them back. In the East Julian's attempt to be a new Alexander the Great only resulted in Persia continuing to drain the Empire. In the West, too, new hordes, suppressed at first, then only checked, then satisfied for a time by bribes, then recognised by friendly alliances, were finally accepted as masters. High officials were appointed from among them; their troops were mingled with the varied ranks of the Roman armies. At last it did not look like a conquest by foreigners but as the victory of one of the contending parties. When the long strife was over it was to be seen that the Christian Church had impressed itself on the barbarians and was the means of handing over to them the experience and civilisation of the Roman world.

4. The present concern is the break up of the Western Empire. When later we turn to the East it will be a similar study with other peoples and a different result,—here the Teutons and there the Saracens. It is an experience of history that from time to time an irresistible pressure upon peoples has forced masses of them to migrate. Such movements generally occupy centuries, and their cause is increase of population demanding new supplies of food, or the tempting bait of plunder. An instance is the great

Aryan invasion of India from the plains of Persia and Central Asia, gradually occupying the Punjab and moving along the Indus and the Ganges, and driving before them or exterminating or subjugating the original population.[14]

The Teutonic[15] peoples are another branch of the Aryan stock, and their earliest known home was round about the western extremity of the Baltic, from whence they moved in two directions over Europe, to the S.W. and also to the S.E. and spreading over into Asia. Then very much later they began another movement from the Baltic, and occupied Northern Germany, Denmark and Southern Sweden, and as time went on they wrested other parts of Europe from the Celts. Julius Cæsar checked them and so saved the Celts from destruction. Thwarted in this direction they moved S. and S.E. until checked at the Roman borders. Half a century later they were pressing in the Carpathians, once more to be stopped by the Roman arms.

In the middle of the fourth century another enemy appeared. At some time or other Mongolian Huns had been driven out of China, and had found a home in the southern parts of the Urals. They now began to harass the Eastern Empire, and relief was gained by inviting the Eastern Goths (Ostrogoths) to settle within the Roman borders (A.D. 376). The Western Goths (Visigoths) were not far behind them; the Battle of Hadrianople in 378 left the East to the mercy of the Ostrogoths, and in 410 the Visigoths under Alaric sacked Rome. The terror inspired by Attila, the Hun, was checked by further

concessions to the Visigoths. St Augustine's *De civitate Deo* (the City of God) was his contribution to the settlement of men's minds from these events. It was in effect a prophecy of the coming age in which ecclesiastical Rome would govern the world.

5. The fifth and sixth centuries might well have seemed to be ushering in the end of the world. Actually they do mark the end of an age; the Roman world was giving way to the forming nations of modern Europe. Teutonic Vandals overran Spain, and then moved on bodily to the coast of N.W. Africa, and were besieging Hippo when the great Augustine [16] lay dying. Then they took Carthage, and finally sacked Rome in 455. About the middle of the sixth century they were crushed by the Emperor Justinian,[17] and disappeared from history, leaving the northern African coast a prey to the Saracens.

We must return to the Visigoths, who had obtained the power in Italy against the dreaded Huns. They succeeded to the Vandals in Spain. After the death of Attila the Ostrogoths gained a commanding position, and Theodoric the Great (d. 526) was both King of the Goths and a Roman Consul. He undertook the recovery of the Roman power in Italy, but soon after his death Justinian recovered Italy and the Goths disappeared.

As the terror of the Huns had caused the Romans to make terms with the Ostrogoths, so the Lombards were brought into Italy in 568 by the arrival of another strange people. The Avars left their homes in the Caucasus and occupied the lands of the Lom-

bards. The Lombardians remained in Italy for two centuries, very strongly entrenched in the north under dukes, and less powerfully in the south.

The Eastern Empire was torn by religious strife and exhausted by constant wars with Persia. In 614 the Persians took Jerusalem and invaded Egypt. Heraclius the Emperor was bent on crushing Persia; then Chosroes the King being murdered, his son gladly made terms; and thus the Holy Cross was returned to Jerusalem in 628. All unknown to Persia and to Constantinople Mohammed purged Mecca of its idols in 630.

6. This short sketch of external history has been required to illustrate the break up of the Roman Empire, and to prepare for the conversion of the Teutons and the making of modern Europe. And during these centuries a remarkable development had been taking place in Western Christianity. It has been said that the Eastern and Western Empires were diverging in character; they were also splitting apart in their interests. Each was occupied with its own troubles, political and religious; neither could seriously help the other in its needs. The Eastern court was inclined to look to the West for supplies to maintain its extravagance, and Italy looked in vain for support from the Eastern seat of the army. In these circumstances the Church became the one great power in the Eternal City and throughout Italy. In the middle of the fifth century Leo the Great had been a commanding Bishop of Rome, experienced in imperial duties, able to influence ecclesiastical affairs in Roman Gaul, to

turn back Attila from his approach to Rome (452), and to obtain favourable terms from Gaiseric or Genseric the Vandal (455). In 476 the Vandals put an end to what had become the merely nominal power of a Western Roman Emperor. Then in the sixth century Gregory the Great stood out beyond others. When Rome was suffering from floods and plague, and the threat of Lombardian invasion, he had shown his mettle. In 590, after having served the Emperor in Constantinople, he was made Bishop of Rome. Both politically and ecclesiastically he was supreme. He had a clear vision of the organisation of Western Christendom, and attempted to lift the Christianity of the Western Empire beyond Italy above a federation of city churches into something nearer to the Catholic Church. He died in 604. The papacy was now the great Roman power in the West; the Teutonic leaders might give deference to an Eastern Emperor, but they were the actual rulers of the West, and the only power to which they were amenable was the spiritual authority which was winning their allegiance.

CHAPTER III

CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM

1. MONASTICISM existed in India, and to some extent among the Jews, before the Christian Era. It springs from certain deep aspirations of the heart of man, which may be expressed shortly as ascetical and mystical; that is to say that men have sought ardently after purification of life and union with the deity. It is therefore not surprising that some Christians, shocked at the wickedness of the world, sought to escape from its contamination, and, in solitude or in company with like-minded men, to give themselves to the contemplation and the worship of God. In some cases men and women fled to the deserts to escape from persecution; and the spirit that prompted some to court martyrdom led others to abandon the haunts of men and to practise austerities. If one's sympathy is estranged by the extravagances and the fanaticism of many of the monks, it is only right to realise also how much we owe to these dedicated lives for a literature of prayer and devotion. And throughout the course of Church history the monks have been, and probably still are, the chief source of missionaries.

2. The East was naturally the scene of the first Christian development. To the oriental temperament this form of religious life has always been con-

genial; the corruption of society and the strain of persecution were keenly experienced; soon, therefore, the deserts of Syria and Egypt were occupied by solitary beings, and subsequently by groups of monks and nuns. From the middle of the third until the end of the fifth century the Egyptian deserts were the wonder of Christendom.

St Anthony, although not the first hermit, must be looked upon as the founder of monasticism, when, after many years of solitude, he consented to organise and to guide the lives of those who gathered round him. About the same time—the early years of the fourth century—St Pachomius established a more settled form of life in Southern Egypt. By this time the movement had spread to Syria, where the temperament of the people encouraged the more extravagant forms of asceticism.*

3. In the second half of the fourth century Cappadocia in Asia Minor was a great centre of Church learning and devotion.[18] St Basil had learned the monastic life in Egypt and Syria, and he adapted it to the Greek temper. Prayer and work filled the life, and work included study and the task of education. From now monasticism devoted its energies to the twofold labour of theology and education, and thus became the preserver of scholarship.

Yet further west, and still in the fourth century, St Athanasius † spread the knowledge of St Anthony, and St Martin of Tours [19] introduced monasticism into Gaul. Early in the fifth century the Riviera, as we call it, became famous for its monastic centres

* See Tennyson's *St Simeon Stylites.* † See note 13.

at Marseilles and on the island of Lerins off Cannes.

In the beginning of the sixth century Western monasticism found its proper expression, and broke entirely from oriental influence. St Benedict checked the undisciplined habit of monks wandering from place to place, and organised each settlement under a superior who was himself subject to the rule. He emphasised the Basilian ideal of study.

One need not trace separately the dedicated lives of women. In the earliest days one reads of widows and virgins devoting their lives to God; later, stirred by the same impulse as men, they flocked to the deserts. The time was not yet when they could share with men the life of the missionary.

4. Undoubtedly the growth of fanaticism is one of the snares of monasticism. If the life does not purify the spirit of a man, it leaves him, unbalanced by healthy contact with the world, to become narrow and hard. If to this danger is added the Syrian or Coptic or Greek temperament, the scandalous violence of the monks during the ages of bitter theological strife may be understood. To-day we are accustomed to knock up against every variety of religious opinion, and the bitter experience of centuries has taught Christians something of the principle of tolerance. Yet even now it is common to find those who think that it is natural to act wrongly, but that only wilful perversity can make a man think wrongly. Yet to think as one is told to think is often harder than to do as one is told to do, if, indeed, such thinking can be called thinking. If

there is more excuse for the bigotry and violence of theological controversy in the fourth and fifth centuries [20] than there is to-day, this does not amount to an acquittal of early monasticism. There is a spirit of Christ that should have been manifested by these champions of the faith. Kingsley's *Hypatia* is a one-sided picture, but it is a true picture of that side.

5. St Augustine of Hippo had found an informal monastic life a good preparation for his labours after the death of his mother Monica. St Gregory of Rome had turned his palace into a monastic settlement before he was a bishop. Nearly every leader of thought or action was now spending some years under monastic retirement and rule, and was learning there the life of prayer, of self-discipline, of dedication and of sacrifice. It was this training that made the great missionaries of the mediæval Church.

The time was near when these places of work and study, with their systems of education and of the cultivation of land, were to be the preservation of learning and of the arts, the encouragement of agriculture, the homes of architecture and of music in a period of turbulent strife. Readers of Green's *The Conquest of England* will know our English debt to the ancient monasteries of this country. The missionaries that spread over Europe from these seats of learning were the precursors of the modern missionary, educationist, and industrialist.

CHAPTER IV

EVANGELISATION MAINLY OUTSIDE THE ROMAN EMPIRE (FOURTH TO SEVENTH CENTURY)

1. WITHIN the borders of the Empire the ground that had been sown by the witness of Christian life brought forth an abundant harvest during the fourth century. By 400-450 paganism was illicit, though not by any means dead. Before the end of the fifth century many of the Teutonic tribes had been partially converted through contact with the Empire. But for the most part they represented Arian Christianity, owing to its state patronage. A strong centre for the ultimate triumph of orthodoxy existed in Gaul, where the Romanised parts were Christian. One of the important results of the fall of Rome in 476 * was that it left the Franks [21] free to settle within Gaul; and Clovis, already acquainted with Christianity through his Burgundian wife, was baptized by St Remigius. His people followed his example, and catholic Christianity spread by reason of his conquests.

Spain, too, had received Christianity in its Roman population. When it was overrun by various Teutonic tribes in the fifth century, Arianism and Catholicism were in conflict. But in one or other of its forms the Christian religion gained over

* See par. 6 of chap. ii.

heathenism, and by the end of the sixth century Catholicism was triumphing.

The outstanding figure in the conversion of the Teutons at this period was Ulfilas, rightly called the Apostle of the Goths. The Arian Emperor, Valens (364-378), had sent bishops and priests to evangelise the Visigoths on the Lower Danube. Ulfilas was a Christian from Cappadocia and a hostage in Constantinople; he was an Arian. After working for some time among his own Gothic people in the imperial city he was sent by the Semi-Arians as a bishop to the Goths. After some years his success aroused the enmity of the pagan chief, and the whole Christian body migrated across the Danube. From them Ulfilas trained other Gothic missionaries. Catholic missionaries were also working, and when persecution arose Arian and Catholic stood side by side as fellow-Christians. The greatest gift that Ulfilas bestowed on the Goths was the translation of the Bible. It was the first missionary labour of this sort; he took a barbarian language and with it he made for the Goths a people's book. Thus at the same time they received the civilising power of reading and the higher gift of spiritual character training. Ulfilas anticipated the work of Luther's Bible and one of the greatest enterprises of modern missions.

2. Persia was a sphere of evangelisation from the first. It lay in close contact with the Empire, and the border line varied from time to time. At the end of the third century it seemed as likely to become Christian as did the Roman Empire. Both kingdoms were liable to outbursts of persecution;

both were making increase silently; but Persia had not a Constantine.

After the change in the religion of Rome, Christians became suspect in Persia; it was supposed that they naturally favoured the Christian Empire. This suspicion produced a particular consequence: when from the fourth century onwards the Empire was torn by religious controversy, what was a condemned heresy on one side of the border was tolerated on the other for that very reason. The way was thus prepared for a Christianity in Persia that was entirely separated from the rest of Christendom. But centres of learning arose, monastic bodies and schools were founded, and an eager body of missionaries sprang into existence.

Armenia, too, was closely connected with the Empire, and its earliest conquests were made in Persia. Edessa [22] is the mother both of Persian and Armenian Christianity. In the second half of the third century the thorough conversion of the country resulted from the labours of Gregory the Illuminator.* His life cannot fairly be separated from legends and miracles. In the fifth century Armenia became a province of Persia, and contended boldly for the faith. Here, too, a type of Christianity that was rejected by the Empire was politically more acceptable.[23]

3. The evangelisation of Abyssinia is very different. It looks to the peaceful years of St Athanasius, between his exiles by the Arian emperors. By this time certain great episcopal sees had pre-eminence.[24]

* See note 18.

Jealousy, lest Abyssinia should claim to have a patriarch of its own, made the Church of Alexandria limit the number of its bishops, and thereby impede its conversion. It followed Egypt in the adoption of Eutychianism.[23] Thus the whole of the Eastern Church beyond the borders of the Roman Empire, and large parts of the Eastern Empire that were asserting independence, became an isolated outpost of Christianity, and were in a weak position to resist Mohammedanism.[25]

Georgia also became Christian before the middle of the fourth century. A tradition, generally accepted as having some historical value, ascribes the first impulse to a slave named Nina, who made a favourable impression on the queen. The king followed his wife, and asked for bishops from Constantinople. At first dependent on Armenia ecclesiastically, it separated from it by its acceptance of the Council of Chalcedon, and remained independent until its absorption into the Russian Church in 1811.

4. Further afield there is not much to report beyond the existence of isolated Christian groups resulting from the commerce of Christians. Here and there attempts were made to evangelise Arabia, and, but for the rise of the Saracen movement, this district would probably have come within the Christian sphere of influence.

There is, in the fourth century, the interesting case of a hostage from Ceylon in the person of Theophilus, an Arian, who built churches for the Roman merchants at Aden and elsewhere, and founded Christian congregations in Ceylon. And, in the

sixth century, an Alexandrian merchant found Christians on the coast of India and in the Persian Gulf, who were supplied with bishops. Nothing, however, in the nature of evangelisation took place, beyond the rise of a permanent body on the Malabar coast, which claims to be the direct work of St Thomas the apostle, but, historically, must be associated with the Church of Edessa.

5. The evangelisation reviewed in this chapter falls under two heads. Some of it, especially the conversion of the Goths, has been a genuine Christian enterprise, showing that the vital energy of Christianity has not been quenched either by theological strife or by desperate efforts to keep back the barbarians. But Christianity in the Far East has spread, as it were, by accident, either due to commercial pursuits or to escapes from Persian persecution. In the West the work gained solidity by the increasing union of Christendom as Arianism died out, and the later heresies found their permanent home outside the Empire. In the Near East Christianity was divided and rent by evil passions, and the Empire was powerless to coerce its provinces or to protect them. Whatever hope there might have been that Christianity would penetrate Arabia or India was dashed by the rise of Mohammedanism.

CHAPTER V

THE CONVERSION OF THE BRITISH ISLES

1. A BRIEF sketch of the evangelisation of our own country will act as an example of what went on in Europe during several centuries. Here, as there, an unknown foundation had been laid in the Roman occupation. Then came the systematic labours of missionaries, who were generally monks. If conversions were on a large scale they were probably due to the influence of the royal house, and a king's marriage might sometimes favour the cause of Christianity. The times were wild, and the victory of a heathen king or leader might seem to blot out the young Church, which would, however, renew its vigour when another change permitted it to hold up its head. But the quiet work of preaching and instruction, and the advance of the Gospel from house to house, and from village to village, is not recorded; only one knows of holy men who came to be regarded as the evangelisers of a district, and whose names lingered in the memory of later ages as local saints.

Where it has been at all possible to do so, churches have delighted to claim apostolic foundation. In England, as elsewhere, these legends lack historical foundation. In England even the remains of the Roman occupation do not seem to be suggestive of the beginnings of Christianity, except perhaps at

Silchester ; on the other hand, the earliest Christian names are not Celtic. One looks to general contact with the Continent as a possible source of the British Church. There was a certain amount of commerce, and the Cornish tin mines were worked. Lyons and Marseilles had churches very early,[26] and the same circumstances that brought the Gospel to these cities may have brought it to Britain also.

The earliest references to Christianity in Britain are in the writings of Tertullian and Origen (*c.* 200) ; but they are vague. The Gospel spread silently. St Alban is credited with being our first martyr, and is associated with the last persecution.[27] And about this time we read that bishops from York and London and another place, probably to be identified with Lincoln, attended the Council of Arles (A.D. 314). While no name on the list of the Nicene Council represents Britain, we certainly had bishops at Ariminum (A.D. 359) and probably at Sardica (A.D. 345).

Early in the fifth century the British Church was associated with a heresy, not, however, in the sphere of the speculative mysteries of the Person of Christ, but in the practical matter of free will. Pelagius, whom St Jerome [28] calls " that great fat dog of Albion " and describes as " stuffed out with Scotch porridge," was Welsh or Irish ; and to counteract his teaching St Germanus,[29] Bishop of Auxerre, came to England, and with him was Palladius, who passed over to Ireland.

2. Information is not less scanty as one passes from the British Church to the second of the three

strands which later were in union to form the English Church. One must pass to Ireland and Scotland. Ireland and Britain had a certain amount of commerce, and piracy was common. In one of these two ways a feeble beginning of Christianity was made in county Wexford. Then early in the fifth century Patrick, at the age of sixteen, was carried off. After a time he escaped to Europe, and was consecrated by St Germanus and returned to devote his life to Ireland. His method was to concentrate his energies on the chiefs; and, before his death in 461, he had brought Ireland into fellowship with the Church in Europe.

The earliest Christian reports of Scotland are even more vague. The life of St Ninian, whom Bede declared to have been trained in Rome, is doubtful history. But with Columba's [30] conversion of the Picts one has reached a stage from which the continuous history is assured. Argyle had been peopled from Ireland towards the end of the fourth century, and they had brought the Christian religion with them. Columba was therefore allowed to settle in the island of Iona, from whence was to go forth a noble army of missionaries and founders of monasteries. This is the second strand in the history of our conversion, for from Iona were to come the evangelists of northern England.

3. Already our island was suffering from the appalling incursions of heathen Angles and Saxons, and British Christianity was nearly exterminated. It lingered in Cornwall, in Wales, and in the basin of the Clyde (Strathclyde). The work of conversion

had to be begun again; and the third strand in our Christian life has come from Rome. In the year 597, the year in which St Columba died, St Gregory, Bishop of Rome, sent Augustine and his companions to the Kentish coast. The most important ruler in England was then King Ethelbert of Kent, whose wife, Bertha, was a Christian provided with a chaplain. The conversion of the king was followed by that of the men of Kent. There were soon bishops of Rochester and London.

St Augustine has been charged with not exhibiting so broad a tolerance of variations in the British Church from Roman custom as the great-hearted Gregory. Here is, indeed, an example of a great work done by a somewhat ordinary man; but his real quarrel with the British was not about trifles, but that they would not help him to convert the hated English.

In 631, Sigbert, who had been converted while he was an exile in Gaul, returned to rule over East Anglia, and brought with him Felix, a Burgundian, to evangelise his people. He was joined by an Irish monk, Fursey. Edwin, King of Northumbria (d. 633), married a sister of the king of Kent and accepted the condition that Christianity should be tolerated in his kingdom. Bishop Paulinus, who had been sent to help St Augustine, was sent up north, and so long as Edwin lived, and especially after his baptism, the conversion of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire made great progress.

4. At this point a return must be made to the island of Iona, and attention given to it as one of the

three strands of English Church life. The country was in great distress from the various competing rulers, and in particular the Christians suffered under Penda, King of Mercia. But in 635 Oswald gained the throne of Northumbria, and resumed the work of Paulinus. While he had been an exile in Scotland he had been associated with Iona, and now he turned to its monks, and in St Aidan found one of the greatest of missionaries. No justification exists for the partiality that delights to ascribe the conversion of England to Rome, or to exalt the work of the Northumbrian Church to the disparagement of what followed from St Augustine's mission. And the partisans of these two sources of our Church forget the British Church, which was at any rate one of the sources of Christianity in Ireland and Scotland, and so of Iona.

Another important element is often forgotten. In St Germanus, St Paulinus, St Felix, and in St Augustine, the unity of Western Christendom is illustrated. Auxerre, Milan, Burgundy, Rome, joined in the conversion of England. St Patrick received his consecration as bishop in Europe. The connection between England and the Continent was close, and was profitable. By degrees the three strands united, as the conversion of the country went on, and became largely responsible for the union of our national life. Wilfrid, himself a northerner, was the chief evangelist of the West Saxons, the last of the kingdoms to be converted. He was a man of thoroughly continental mind, and the struggles of his troubled life repeated on a larger canvas the problem of uniting Christianity that had baffled

Augustine. The Synod of Whitby, in 664, marked a definite stage. But it was Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury (669), who gave to the English Church its characteristic feature. At an earlier time it had looked as if our Christianity might be mainly monastic, with bishops only loosely connected with jurisdiction and discipline. It was now clear that England was to receive a complete system of diocesan and parochial organisation.

CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF MOHAMMEDANISM

1. THE foundations of the Middle Ages are laid in two great movements: the migration of the Teutonic tribes and the expansion of the Saracens. It has been shown that the Empire was breaking up into East and West; and its history in the West has been traced under the pressure of the Teutons. The East is now to be seen under the pressure of another wave.

About the beginning of the sixth century the Arabian peoples were in ferment; the old kingdoms were dissolving, the old beliefs were in the melting-pot, and monotheistic tendencies were apparent. It was not a new religion that waked up the Semitic mind; it was the reassertion of its life under the pressure of national impulse.* To this new force as it moved westward the oriental temperament of Africa and Asia would make response, because Hellenism was becoming worn out.†

At this critical moment of world history in East and West two new religions seized the two movements. Christianity took hold of the young life of the Teutonic tribes, which did not possess a new religion within their own national existence; and Mohammedanism caught up the force of the reviving assertion of orientalism. The Saracen Moslem

* See chap. ii, par. 4. † See note 10.

world was to make the dominant society of the Near East; the Teutonic Christian world was to form the civilisation of the West.

2. Mohammed is a perplexing mixture and a strange compromise; but neither he nor the religion that bears his name can be understood by any attempt to distinguish between the true and the false in him. He and it are to be interpreted as the product of a restless age in which the old Sabæan religion was crumbling and a certain awakening of religious life was taking place. At Mecca the prophet was not favourably received. Perhaps the first event of fortune was when some of his followers fled to the Christian king of Abyssinia and were well received; it caused the Arabs to fear a renewal of the Abyssinian raids from which they had suffered.

In 622 the flight (=hijra) to Medina took place. By degrees Mohammed organised his own form of monotheism, dropping off some of its Jewish elements, and making men face Mecca instead of Jerusalem. His knowledge of Christianity was vague, and acquired apparently from strange oriental sects. Necessity rather than the impulse of propaganda caused the original raids; he and his followers had to live. In 630 he purged Mecca of idols; in 632 he was dead.

His direct representatives (=Caliphs) took up the mantle that fell; military successes whetted the appetite. As progress was made Persian ideas were absorbed and the movement became oriental rather than Arabian. Persia and Syria were the great fields of ambition. The former was weak and exhausted;

the latter, as also Egypt, was distracted by the ecclesiastical policy of Heraclius which was setting everybody by the ears.[31] Compulsory conversion was not yet practised, and the Mohammedan armies came almost as a deliverance. The Christians were essentially Orientals, and it is a mistake to think of them as Greek Christians. Moreover, they had for the most part lost that contact with the Church of Constantinople which might have caused them to resist an oriental wave.* Nor was the whole population even Christian. By 640, first Jerusalem and then Cæsarea had fallen; Egypt and Armenia followed rapidly.

And now the old rivalry between Persia and Syria broke forth as a quarrel between Mohammedan and Mohammedan, and its issue was the great schism within Islam (=surrender). The Ommayid dynasty at Damascus (661-750) wrested the Caliphate from Ali and exhibited the finest example of Mohammedan tolerance. The Abbasid Caliphate at Bagdad followed; but by this time Mohammedanism was no longer an Arabian religion. The ancient East had conquered, but it was now Moslem, and was divided into rival sects, Persia adhering to the descent within the direct family of the founder.[32]

3. It is idle to look at the distracted condition of oriental Christianity for the success of this wave of conquest. One must seek for the solution in the combination of circumstances. On one side lay the Eastern Empire and Persia, both utterly exhausted; on the other the Saracens were bursting

* See chap. ii. end of par. 5, and chap. iv., par. 3.

with the energy of new life raised to the pitch of the fanaticism and enthusiasm of a new religious call.

A sufficiently serious judgment must be passed on the Eastern Christians without adding that they are responsible for the victories of Mohammedanism. If this charge is to be urged with any seriousness it must be in the form that the Christians of the East should have converted the Arabian world before Mohammed rose in its midst as a prophet; for it cannot be supposed that when the third decade of the seventh century had set in there was any hope of converting the advancing forces. It is presumably this that is meant by the common saying that the Eastern Church succumbed because it was not a missionary Church. But was it not a missionary Church? Chapter IV summarises the evidence, and it does not suggest that Christianity was less evangelistic in the East than in the West. One can no more condemn the Easterns for not having converted the Arabians by the end of the sixth century, than the Westerns for not having done the like among the Teutons of what are now France, Germany, Switzerland and the old Austrian Empire. And the accusation comes with very bad taste from a generation that has frankly shirked the evangelisation of the modern Moslem world. It is generally idle to speculate about the might-have-beens of history; but one is tempted to linger on the thought of what might have happened had Christianity permeated with force into the Arabian world at the time of its ferment. Might Mohammed have been the Ulfilas of the Saracens!

The terrible consequences to Christianity of this Saracen expansion force one to think more deeply of the divine activity. There are elemental forces at work in mankind that cannot be disregarded. One such force was now in full play. The veneer of Hellenism was rapidly wearing out and the oriental framework was being seen. It used to be said, "Scratch a Russian and you will find the Tartar"; the same might be said of the hellenised Eastern, if the names be changed. The society which formed the civilised part of the Eastern Empire was exhausted. The same force was acting on the Arabian world in another way. After a period of quiescence and stagnation it had waked up to a renewal of vigour. What was happening there is what was happening among the Teutons, who also proved to be irresistible by the western half of Christendom.

Another of the primary forces of life has to be understood. Adolescence is the great time of conversion with nations as with individuals.[33] The Roman society, both East and West, was played out. The future lay with the Teutons and the Saracens, and they both came under the influence of religious revival. The Teutons met Christianity and were overawed by it even although they saw it among their enemies. And they had the opportunity to be seized by it because their contact with the Empire was spread over several centuries. The Saracens were in the first enthusiasm of a new religious impulse when they moved forward, and their contact with the Christianity which they may have found in Persia, and which was the predominant religion in Egypt and Syria, lasted only four years. And did not their

ERRATUM.

p. 45, last line, read "for" instead of "four."

military successes prove the truth of their religion, and give to it the basis of its militancy ?

It is not merely a question of the vigour of a new religion being incapable of receiving impression from a religion which we assuredly believe to be a higher revelation. It is not in truth the clash of two religions causing one to ask why the one rather than the other was triumphant. It is the overwhelming rush of a new and vigorous life finding response in the ancient orientalism of people who for several centuries had been wearing a western garb that had only fitted them tolerably. That is why Mohammedanism settled ultimately as an oriental religion rather than as Arabian.

4. There came, of course, a time when the first onrush of the Mohammedan wave was spent, and its initial vigour of religion was exhausted. It is of that time that one may fitly ask why the Christians did not evangelise the East a second time ; for the Christians of Egypt and Syria and Persia were neither exterminated nor forcibly converted, and they did not cease to practise their religion. For some centuries they continued to flourish, and even to exhibit a missionary spirit. First among the reasons to be given is the isolated state of oriental Christianity.* Never in the history of Christianity has the evil of schism been so evident as in contact with Mohammedanism ; this first example was to be followed later by the feebleness of the divided western and eastern Churches in the face of the conquering Turks.

Secondly, the Christianity now ruled over by

* Chap. iv., par. 3.

Mohammedan powers, growing increasingly intolerant, was divided within itself, and spent upon denominational strife the energy that a united force might have turned upon their conquerors when the new religion from Arabia was itself becoming conventional.

Thirdly, the scattered Churches, overawed by the power of the predominant religion, sank into the position of regarding themselves, and being regarded, as people whose religion was identical with their nationality. They came to be tolerated, as Jews have been tolerated, as a people having a national religion of their own. Such a conception of religion is not a converting ideal. And, moreover, Mohammedan apostasy was punishable by death.

But the Christians did not surrender to the attractions of their conquerors. If they did not conquer them as the Greeks with their culture conquered their Roman masters, or as western Christianity overcame the Teutonic religions, it has to be remembered that the cases are not parallel. Rome offered no rival to the intellectual life of Greece; the Teutons possessed no religious impulse to oppose Christianity. But the Saracen invasion had offered the fiery zeal of a new religion to the mixed Christian, Jewish and heathen peoples of Persia and the eastern parts of the Roman Empire; and when in its turn Mohammedanism became the accepted religion rather than a convincing force, both Christians and Mohammedans had reached the stage of acquiescing in familiar facts.

But if oriental Christianity did not convert the Mohammedan world in the centuries that followed,

it saved itself alive. For some centuries Armenians and Copts, and Abyssinians, Eutychians and Nestorians, in Egypt, Syria and Persia and Mesopotamia and Abyssinia, preserved and handed on their isolated life. In later centuries they were thinned out by successive waves of devastation, and by more or less permanent persecution. And if they have not conquered, they have at any rate shown the world how to die for their religion.

CHAPTER VII

THE CONVERSION OF CENTRAL EUROPE

1. The fifth century was a time of great movements among the Teutons, some of which were due to the pressure of the Huns, while others were induced by the withdrawal of Roman troops from Gaul and from the Rhine. But part of their progress was owing to their own military capacity. During this century the Franks were establishing themselves in Gaul and on the Rhine. About the middle of the century Childeric had begun to make himself independent of Rome, and his son Clovis was baptized in 496, and was recognised as leader by the orthodox Burgundians and Visigoths. Where his power increased the Arians passed over into the Catholic Church.* Finally he established his rule in Paris.

2. Slowly and confusedly Europe was nation making. Settled government and the establishment of royal lines were impeded by the custom of dividing up the inheritance among the king's sons, which led to much fighting. And there was the further mischief of powerful supporters of one son or the other, who were able to increase their own importance and to become great landowners, either dukes or counts, and who for centuries retarded the growth of strong central government.

* See parts of chap. ii. and par. 1 of chap. iv.

Another feature of the times was the tendency of subsequent generations to fall behind the founders of a great family in energy and capacity, and thus to give opportunity for the practical power to pass into other hands. In this way the power of the Merovingian Franks, as the line of Childeric and Clovis is named, got into the hands of the hereditary 'mayor of the palace' from the middle of the seventh century. Charles Martel increased the dignity of the office by defeating the Arabs, when they threatened Gaul after their Spanish successes; and his son Pepin, as reward for helping the papacy against the Lombards, was made King, and thereby became the founder of the Carlovingian line of Franks (A.D. 751). And again his son, Charles, was crowned King in Rome on Christmas Day 800, and is known as Charlemagne or Charles the Great. Now the mediæval theory of Christendom was beginning to take shape; the two-edged sword of Peter was in the joint hands of Pope and Emperor.

3. The power wielded by Charles was largely personal, and his successors could not hope for a continuance of his prestige; and the old evils of divided inheritance went on. France was more or less held together by the influence of great bishops; but for some centuries the central power of the monarchy was severely checked by the almost independent dukes.

Other parts of Europe were in no better plight, and Italy was in worse condition. Charles had indeed humbled the Lombards, but his successors had neither leisure nor interest to continue to fight

Italy's battles. North and South Italy drifted apart; the power of the city states increased, and mediæval Italy was in process of formation.

The power of the Emperor fluctuated, and the relation between Pope and Emperor varied also. As the Carlovingian line weakened, the dignity passed to Otto I of Germany in 962, one stage nearer to the long association of the Holy Roman Empire with the Habsburgs.[34]

4. Spain was divided within itself. There were the original inhabitants, the descendants of Roman colonists, Arian Visigoths, and Catholic Franks; to them may be added other Teutonic elements, partly Catholic and partly heathen. Then, in the early part of the ninth century, came the African Moors, welcomed by the Jews and the native population as a scourge for the hated Visigoths.

To complete the picture one must turn to the Slavs and the Scandinavians. The former were in the Eastern marches, harassed by everybody in that cockpit of contending peoples. They increased and spread; they mixed with other races, but they never formed a Slav nationhood. None of the so-called Slavonic peoples is of pure descent, but Slav blood is mixed in Rumanians, Bulgars and Slovenes. The Bohemian group accepted Christianity submissively from the time of Charlemagne, and other portions were merged with the Germans or lost in the Poles.

In the eighth century a new terror was added to life. It was the age of the Vikings of Scandinavia,[35] who threatened Europe and England with the ruin of their advancing civilisation. They were known

vaguely as Norsemen. Only towards the end of the ninth century was their power broken in three engagements: at Paris in 875-7, at the English Battle of Edington in 878, and at the Battle of Dyle in Germany in 891. They were fierce heathen, giving no easy response to St Anskar (826-65) who tried to evangelise Denmark and Sweden. One branch, settled in what was to become known as Normandy, was recognised as a member of the comity of Christian nations when Rollo their chief was baptized in 911. And earlier than this Louis the Pious (d. 840), one of the sons of Charlemagne, had given hospitality to some Danes in the island of Walcheren, and to an exiled King Harold who embraced Christianity.

5. A large part of Europe was still heathen, although the Franks always followed up their progress by a supply of missionaries. We turn, however, to a new source of evangelisation. The monasteries of Ireland were a home of Christian learning, and from them and from Scotland a succession of missionary bands had been going over to Europe since before the end of the sixth century. St Columban and his companions had penetrated into the Vosges to preach to the Burgundians; St Gall and his company had entered Switzerland, and finally had gone on to Italy and founded the monastery of Bobbio. Others followed in their wake, so that after a century the district of the Rhine, as well as Hesse, Thuringia, and Bavaria, was supplied with Churches. Splendid as were their labours, their organisation was weak and their work lacked per-

manence. It was the gift to be supplied by the English in the eighth century.

Wilfrid [36] was the chief exponent in England of the Continental organisation centred in Rome; shipwrecked on one of his journeys of complaint to Rome he began the conversion of Friesland, and was joined by his friend Willibrord in 690. Afterwards Winfrid of Devon, better known as St Boniface, assisted Willibrord in his old age (719-722). The labours of these men and their companions were supported by Pepin and his son Charles Martel, and by the Roman See. An attempt was made to influence Denmark, and Danish boys were brought up in Christian surroundings among the Franks.

6. Wilfrid and Boniface are two remarkable builders of Church organisation, helping to extend the power of Rome over the whole West. At this time there was no exact theory of Roman authority. The papacy had stepped into the place of the Western Emperor, and had increased its moral influence by the impression made on the Teutons. Ecclesiastical organisation was loose, but so long as one was not an Arian, he belonged to the great federation of the Church. But bishops acted with considerable independence, and the monastic life was largely independent of episcopal control. This condition of things meant that powerful bishops could support or oppose the rival claims of civil rulers, and that kings could tyrannise over the separate parts of the Church.

The papacy, as it came to be unfolded in history, is largely due to two circumstances, for its theory

has rather followed upon events than caused them, except when now and then a clear-sighted Pope was also strong enough to force events. (*a*) The existence from time to time of a Bishop of Rome so outstanding as to be able to guide the fortunes of history, in union with the Emperor or in opposing him. The unfolding of this into a compacted theory became the work of jurists, philosophers and theologians, reasoning on the basis of a Christendom with spiritual and temporal power emanating from St Peter as appointed by Christ Himself to be Head of the Church. (*b*) The work of the missionaries in fostering a close connection with Rome in the interests of practical Christianity. The old city bishops of Roman imperial Christianity had reverenced the great Mother See; the Franks had extended Catholicism and contributed to the decay of Arianism; but they had not welded the Church into a strongly organised unity.

7. What Wilfrid had been aiming at in England and in Frisia, while using appeals to Rome somewhat for personal ends, St Boniface also was seeking and without the confusion of personal ends. He, too, visited Rome, and was asked to check some of the Celtic customs which the Irish monks had introduced into Germany contrary to Frankish use. Then he sought, with the aid of a great body of missionaries from England, to convert Germany. Right and left he laboured, building up the constitution of the Church and dealing with all irregularities. Wherever he went he counteracted a merely local or national spirit. His last labours, as his first, were in

Frisia ; he and his companions were martyred on the shores of the Zuider Zee in 754. Charles the Great put on the coping-stone to the ecclesiastical building of St Boniface, and provided thereby another argument for later ages to convert from fact into theory.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CRUSADES

1. In every country in which Christianity conquers, the first period of evangelisation must give way after a time to a stage of expansion from within the seed-plot of the little Church. Then is the great time for organisation. Consolidation may sound less heroic than propagation; but it must follow, as the healthy effort of foreign evangelisation produces its fruit in self-evangelisation.

The great missionaries of the eighth century had been evangelists and organisers at the same time. Whatever may be thought of the ultimate form of Western Christianity its unity and discipline were vital in the Middle Ages to the maintenance of that life which had to be asserted over against the turbulence of the age. And the student will realise that the development of the papacy was part of the mediæval attempt to realise the right government of Christian society.

Europe was not by any means completely evangelised; but before carrying on the outline to a later date one may turn to the conflict between Christianity and Mohammedanism, and prepare for a wider than European evangelisation in the next chapter.

2. For the time, Mohammedanism had proved

itself to be a revival of orientalism by its successes and by its failures. It did not gain Constantinople, nor any substantial entry into Italy. Sicily was only a temporary success (660-854), to be repelled by the Normans. The Spanish results were more enduring, because the African Moors gained an entry; but the religion was an exotic growth.

At first a broad tolerance combined with enthusiasm favoured the advance of Mohammedanism. But Christians, alike in East and West, were conscious that it reflected on them that their sacred places, long the scene of pious pilgrimages, should be in the hands of infidels; but they acquiesced in the existing conditions. The Fatimite dynasty in the tenth century * radically altered the conditions; the lot of the Christian subjects became more unbearable, and the Western pilgrims incurred dangers which put an end to their journeys. In the middle of the eleventh century the Seljuk Turks wrested Syria from the Fatimites, and the crusading period began.

3. One may well believe that the energy of the Crusades would have been better spent on direct attempt to convert the Moslems. But to think so is to fail to understand the Europe of the eleventh century. As a matter of fact the crusading impulse started with a genuinely evangelistic aim. Pope Urban II, at the Council of Clermont (A.D. 1095), well supported by Peter the Hermit and other mission preachers, fired Christian zeal. The first crusade was the most successful; Jerusalem was

* See end of note 32.

taken, a Christian kingdom was set up, and Latin patriarchs were established in Jerusalem and Antioch.

The later Crusades were ruined by jealousies between Constantinople and Western Christendom, and between the Western rulers among themselves; the conquests were not unitedly consolidated; bad organisation caused appalling loss of life; there was a lack of common policy. What is known as the second crusade was greatly stimulated by the great St Bernard of Clairvaux; but everything failed. The third Crusade had a brief touch of glory in the conquest of Acre in 1191, and by treaty between Saladin and Richard I of England the Christians were permitted to make pilgrimages to Jerusalem. Exactly a century later the last expiring efforts came to naught.

It is easy to condemn the Crusades; it is easy also to palliate their excesses and shortcomings. One may say that the whole movement is to be judged by the spirit of the age; but Christianity has a spirit of its own, which may vary in expression but is always the spirit of Christ. The Crusades are not to be condemned because they were warfare; a genuinely Christian spirit may animate a people to deliver fellow-Christians from oppression. We may not to-day set much store upon pilgrimages, but they were a genuine expression of Christian devotion. One impulse was at work which is less easily appreciated; many were stirred to expiate evil deeds and to purge life by undertaking a sacred task in the name of God. But baser considerations mixed with purer motives: mere love of fighting, the hope of plunder,

the excitement of seeing the world, the impulse that at best is chivalry and on its vulgar side mere fashion.

4. The Crusades are best regarded as a manifestation of the spirit of evangelisation misdirected in aim and execution.

If the balancing of approval and condemnation be put aside, and the Crusades be viewed as historical evidence of the spirit of the age, they become illuminative of the composite character of half-converted Europe accustomed to warfare as the almost normal condition of life. The Crusades may in this way be looked upon as a mediæval " revival " with the combined elements of penance and excitement.

When the Crusades ended another Europe was coming into being. Edward I was feeling his way to a united Great Britain, France was making itself into an absolute monarchy, and the Habsburgs were making good their position in Austria.

It illustrates the way in which the Crusades are here presented, to make mention of the three great orders connected with the movement. The Knights Templars (early twelfth century) were in their origin a military religious order instituted to guard the roads of the pilgrims. Their end was either the most amazing decay or the strangest libel.

The Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem arose out of an old established hospital for pilgrims to Jerusalem, and the Crusades greatly extended their activities. Like the Templars, they suffered degeneration from wealth and excessive papal favours.

Although they succumbed to militancy they never altogether forsook their first duty; they anticipated the modern missionary doctor and nurse. Later, by occupying the island of Rhodes, they impeded for two centuries the rise of the Turkish naval power in the Mediterranean. When Rhodes fell in 1523, they continued their existence from Malta.

The Teutonic order had its rise in the third Crusade, and soon transferred its headquarters to Germany. Its opportunity came when Bishop Christian called on it to subdue the heathen of Prussia early in the thirteenth century. The crusading interest and the care of the sick were changed into heathen conquest and the administration of a frontier state which came to embrace Livonia and Lithuania. It forced Christianity on some of the most obstinate people of Europe before its end came, early in the fifteenth century, from Hussite raids and a wave of Slavonic nationalism.

CHAPTER IX

EVANGELISATION FROM THE NINTH CENTURY

1. The rapid evolution of the Norsemen into the Normans is an illustration of the effects upon a people of new environment and conditions. The people quickly followed Rollo,* and when the Normans became lords of England and of Sicily in the eleventh century they were already champions of the faith, leaders in chivalry, and in advance of their neighbours in general culture.

It speaks well for the Christians that the Vikings had not put an end to attempts to convert the Scandinavians. St Anskar * from the Rhine had a discouraging task in the ninth century. In the next century Norway had for a time a Christian King, Hakon, who had been brought up in England; and at the end of the century another connection with England was established by Olaf Tryggvessön, who, after having his full share of fighting and plunder, was converted by a hermit in the Scilly Isles and married a sister of the King of Dublin. He is the strangest mixture of a Christian and a Viking. He got Norway to accept him, and, with the aid of English monks, he seemed bent on converting Sweden and Denmark also. His efforts were not successful, although he was popular. He died in the year 1000 in a manner worthy of the Viking traditions.

* Chap. vii., end of par. 4.

In the eleventh century St Adalbert, Bishop of Hamburg-Bremen, exerted his sway over Scandinavia and a large part of Northern Germany, and sent missionaries to Greenland and Finland. In the middle of the twelfth century the Christian religion was organised throughout Scandinavia.

2. For some centuries both the Greeks and the Franks had attempted to convert the peoples of what we now call the Balkan States; the work was mainly a forced conversion. Heraclius had thus converted the Serbians, and the work had to be done over again in the ninth century. The Frankish method had been similar.

But now two brothers became the true apostles of the Slavs. Methodius and Cyril (or Constantine) were probably Slavs by race, but they were Greek Christians of rank, who withdrew from the public service and entered the monastic life. For a short time Cyril went, at their own invitation, to the Khazars, a Tartar people on the north-east of the Black Sea. The life service of both brothers was really among the Bulgars and Moravians. To Cyril is ascribed, probably erroneously, the invention of the Cyrillic alphabet which has taken the place of the ancient Slavonic script. At any rate he provided the people with a Slavonic liturgy.

Charles the Great had similarly forced Christianity on the Avars,* who soon after disappeared from history. Their place was taken by the heathen Magyars, who poured into Hungary at the end of the ninth century. It took them more than half a

* See chap. ii., par. 5.

century to decide that with Eastern and Western Christianity on each side of them they had better come to terms with it. Political considerations finally led them to adopt the Western expression. Stephen I established the Church firmly (997-1038), and after him St Ladislaus (1040-1095).

Russia of the tenth century is not to be identified with the extensive empire of modern times. It is even hard to decide what province should be regarded as Russia ; but history has agreed that the conversion of Vladimir I, who ruled at Kiev, shall be regarded as the birth of the Russian Church. Baptized in 988, he married the sister of the Eastern Emperor. His people followed his example, contentedly or otherwise. With the gradual fusion of principalities Russia absorbed other Christian elements.

Prussia still lagged behind. A certain Bohemian Adalbert attempted the task of its conversion in the tenth century and then turned aside to North Germany and Poland.* The Poles were actuated by motives very similar to the Magyars in Hungary, and became Christians in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

It is not possible even to name the many missionaries of these centuries whose services ought to be remembered before one passes a final judgment on the Europe of the Crusades.

3. In 1181 a son was born in Assisi to Pietro Bernardone, a prosperous merchant, and was named Francis. One might have supposed that after his

* He is not the same as St Adalbert of par. 1. For Prussia see last par. of chap. viii.

conversion his energies were sufficiently occupied in guiding his 'little brothers' and the Order of St Clare. But he had his own crusading spirit. Undaunted by shipwreck, he turned next to the Spanish Moors, and accomplished nothing. In 1219 he went to Egypt and was intentionally taken prisoner so that he might preach to the Sultan. Most courteously he was returned to the English camp and permitted to visit the Holy Land. He had nailed his colours to the mast. One of the chief joys of his last years was to hear of the martyrdom of five of his brethren in Morocco.

If his attempt had been impulsive and quixotic, Raymond Lull's was scientific and practical. A Spaniard, who had lived for a time after the manner of his age, his conversion led him to devote his attention to the heathen and the infidel. He devoted years to the study of Arabic and the spread of its knowledge in the universities of Europe, and to the composition of controversial tracts. In the face of physical danger he was timid; but in 1291 he defied his cowardice and began to preach in Tunis. He was put into prison. At Bougie in Africa he was warned not to return, although he won respect for his skill in argument, his courtesy and his courage. In 1314, when about eighty years of age, he deliberately entered Bougie again, shrinking from, yet seemingly not daring to escape from, the martyrdom that awaited him.

4. The separated Churches of the Far East had received a full measure of the evangelistic spirit, not checked by bitter controversy. They were keen

travellers, looking eastward rather than to the West where they would meet with those who regarded them, and whom they regarded, as heretics. They established contact with the Christians of the Malabar coast.* In the seventh century they evangelised certain parts of China; but they made the mistake of depending on royal patronage, and with a change of dynasty this was apt to be withdrawn and their monasteries were destroyed. In the year 800 there is a canon of the Church of Edessa to the effect that the metropolitans of China, India and Persia, of Siam and of Samarcand, owing to the infested mountains and turbulent sea need only send their reports every six years. So much history has been wiped out, that we may safely assert that sporadic evangelisation was going on until the days when devastating scourge cut off the Christians in the Mohammedan world from all outside contact. In the beginning of the fourteenth century the Nestorians were reported to be in large numbers in China.

It was in the West that the greatest opportunity was lost. In the middle of the thirteenth century the most enlightened of Mongolian rulers exercised sway from his Court at Peking over Mongolians of every part of Asia. This was Kublai Khan, in whose reign literature and art flourished, and tolerance characterised his rule. At that time Marco Polo,[37] a Venetian whose family was addicted to travel, was covering the known world, and was welcomed by the Khan. Had the Papacy been free to stimulate the Franciscans and the Dominicans the history of

* Chap. iv., end of par. 4.

China might have been different. Kublai Khan asked for missionaries, and Marco Polo pleaded for them. But the great days of Innocent III (1198-1216) were over, and the Papacy had fallen on evil times. What is known as the Babylonish captivity at Avignon began in 1305, and was followed by the great schism.[88] The great Khan died in 1294, and his dynasty soon fell into decay. The Franciscan Giovanni di Monte Corvino is the best known of several who made attempts, all of which failed by directing their appeals to the different courts to embrace Christianity as the religion of their kingdoms. The journeys of Giovanni included Tabriz, the Christians of the Malabar coast, and the Court of Kublai Khan.

5. Somewhat earlier than Kublai Khan, another Mongol, Jenghiz Khan had established his sway over a large part of Persia, and involved himself in Persian wars. Then began his meteoric success, which carried misery and devastation over a large part of Asia. When he died, in 1227, his empire extended from the Pacific to the Black Sea. It was then that the Christians of the isolated Eastern Churches sank into despair.

His name has curiously become connected with the strange legend of Prester John, who was believed for several centuries to be a great Christian ruler. Actually the Western rumour was in existence before Jenghiz Khan's days. There are various forms of the legend, and Marco Polo thoroughly believed in Prester John's existence. The probable source of

the rumour was news from time to time of Christians in various parts of the East.

One tragic result of Jenghiz Khan's career is that he started the Osmanli Turks from their settled abode in Northern Asia. It was about 1300 when the Seljukian Turks succumbed to the Ottomans, and even then more than forty years passed before their eyes were opened to the tempting bait of Europe, and the Balkan States trembled. Sultan succeeded Sultan, but the forward policy continued. In 1389 the great Battle of Kossovo brought Serbia into the subjection which had already been the fate of Bulgaria. Not even defeat by Tamerlane (Timur) in 1402, a descendant of Jenghiz Khan, and a second edition of his career, gave the Turks more than a temporary check. In 1453 Constantinople fell. It looked as if not only what we used to regard as Turkey in Europe, but even Naples, Hungary and Austria might also fall. Turkey became a naval power, and the Mediterranean swarmed with pirates.

CHAPTER X

THE NEW WORLD

1. BEFORE the Crusades had ended in disaster, modern Europe was coming to its birth.* The intellectual stimulus created by Charlemagne, supported by the learning of the Irish monks and ably seconded by Alfred the Great, had produced a rich harvest. In the thirteenth century mediæval thought was perfected by systematisation. The Franciscans and the Dominicans shared in the philosophy and theology of the universities.

A new spirit was in the air, manifesting itself first in a revived interest in the remains of ancient Rome and its literature. Hugh Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln, and Roger Bacon were thirteenth century forerunners of modern science, and the former was a leader of the new approach to ecclesiastical reform generated by the dawning sense of national life. The history of the Papacy from Innocent III and onwards † set men's minds on the relation of Church to State. The study of Greek did not make much progress until the very end of the fourteenth century. Readers of *Romola* will know something of the Italian spirit at the end of the fifteenth century. The full glory of Christian art belongs rather to the beginning of the sixteenth century, and Pope Leo X was its great patron (1513-21).

* Chap. viii., middle of par. 3. † See note 38.

Where a conservative attitude has contentedly followed traditional and accepted principles, intellectual awakening must arouse a spirit of criticism. Political and religious thought began to move. After the middle of the thirteenth century the mediæval doctrine of a universal Church and State began to lose favour. The fourteenth century forced questions on men's minds.[39]

The fifteenth century was the age of councils for Church reform. That of Constance[40] (1414-18) succeeded in ending the papal schism, but certainly not in reforming the Church "in head and members" as Durandus had declared necessary a century before. The Popes saw clearly that general councils meant a new master; and with the failure of Basel (1431-49) this method of reform was scotched, and the Papacy had won a victory. So far there was no question of any change of doctrines.

During this century one may also mention three names connected in different ways with the "Brothers of the common life" at Deventer in Holland. Cardinal Nicholas of Cues had studied there, and was a genuine moral reformer, whose *De concordantia Catholica* had been presented at the Council of Basel. The *De imitatione Christi*, written by Thomas à Kempis, and published in 1441, is the finest flower of the spiritual life of the age. And Erasmus was a later scholar in the same school.

2. While this quickening of life may fitly be called the discovery of a new intellectual world, another movement of life was leading to the discovery which was to give a fresh impetus to evangelisation.

The discovery of new lands and the critical acumen brought to bear on all the problems of life are, of course, not altogether independent of one another.

Portugal was engaged in conflict with the Moors in the spirit of the Crusades, and from them was learning to feel its way towards a share in the Oriental traffic. When they captured Ceuta in 1415 a basis was established in Africa. Spain, too, was giving ear to fabulous stories of Bilad Ghana (or land of wealth) supposed to be in West Africa, a name perpetuated in the "Guinea coast." Dom Henry, the Infanta of Portugal, was a combination suited to the times, being both mediæval and modern. His "Order of Christ" was in genuine succession from the Teutonic Order; his spirit was that of a crusader; his military objective was the expulsion of the Moors, and his ruling aim a conjunction with Prester John and the establishment of a Christian Bilad Ghana. But he was also a patron of the new interest in navigation, and before his death (1460) Western Africa was becoming known. Unhappily the purchase and afterwards the capture of African slaves gave him "unspeakable pleasure as to the saving of their souls, which but for him would have been for ever lost." [41] A beginning had been made of what became the sheer horror of the slave trade, in which Protestant and Catholic, England, Holland, France and Spain share alike. It is no palliation that the Christians took over the traffic from the Moslem world.

The Canaries, Azores and Madeira were rediscovered between 1341 and 1431, and before the end of the fifteenth century the greater part of the African coast was known.

3. The Genoese Columbus had larger visions, but they did not appeal to Portugal. Spain forestalled England in using his services, and before 1500 he had discovered the West Indies, and Vasco da Gama had completed the voyage to India, got into touch with the Arabs of Mozambique and Mombasa and was preparing to compete for the Eastern trade. Between 1509 and 1515 Alfonso d'Albuquerque had seized the harbour of Goa and Malacca, had established Christian settlements there, and a Portuguese factory at Ormuz near the entrance of the Persian Gulf. Still pursuing this profitable opening commercial dealings with Japan were begun (1542).

The inspiring motive was commerce. Men were not consciously seeking a new world, but new trade routes to the Far East. Ignorant of the existence of the American continents, and underestimating the world's size, they supposed that by voyaging East or West they would reach India and Cathay (China). As early as 1493 and 1494 the papal authority had bestowed on Portugal the unoccupied lands east of a fixed longitude and on Spain what lay west of it.[42] This secured Brazil to the Portuguese, and left to Spain the discoveries of Mexico by Cortes in 1521 and of Peru by Pizarro in 1532.

If the East and the West were both claimed by the Southern powers, England was driven to seek a new outlet, because of her loss of trade by Turkish advance, and the concentration of European power by Charles V, Emperor, and King of Spain and the Netherlands. It was supposed that an approach to the East could be made by a northern route even more easily than by a southern. The Cabots,

another Genoese family, already settled in Bristol, discovered the coast-line of Labrador and North America, and also that it was not the desired Cathay. But a new and profitable fisheries trade was opened. There remained the north-eastern route, which led to a trading company with Muscovy (Russia) in the reigns of Edward VI and Mary, and which Philip II considered no intrusion on his covenanted sphere.

4. The ideal of Dom Henry may seem to have faded during the seventy years that followed his death, and only his encouragement of the slave trade to have borne fruit. Officially this was not so. It was equally recognised by Spain and Portugal that any new countries must be evangelised. But the cupidity aroused by the immense treasures of Mexico and Peru, the reckless savagery of conquest, the ruthless sacrifice of life in the mines, and indeed the very method of conversion, must have given an amazing impression of the religion of Jesus Christ. The work of conversion was, however, attended to, and there were some who tried to mitigate the lot of the Indians, as the natives were naturally called. Especially Bartolomé las Casas must be mentioned. His missionary career began in Hispaniola (Haiti) in the West Indies. In 1511 he went to Cuba and did his utmost to check the loss of life. In the interests of the Indians he advised bringing in slaves from West Africa. When he realised his error in judgment he both gave up his own slaves, and journeyed to Spain to secure the influence of the great Cardinal Ximenes on their behalf. Through the weight of Charles V he secured Dominican help in Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru and

Guatemala. Not least among his services was a perpetual struggle against a land system which would have reduced all the people to slavery. He died in 1566.

South America is admittedly to-day the least satisfactory example of Roman Catholicism. There is no parallel to the experiences of these countries, which were made inherent parts of the Spanish kingdom, and were partly occupied by a permanent European population and partly peopled by the descendants of mixed marriages. Hence they evolved their own life, arising out of the conditions of the sixteenth century; and, through the decay of the Spanish power, they have not shared fully in the benefits of the evolution of European society.

The Napoleonic Wars completed the exhaustion of Spain and Portugal; the economic advance of the nineteenth century, and the proximity of the democratic United States of America, could not fail to influence South America. By 1824 the long connection with Southern Europe was ended.[43]

CHAPTER XI

THE EARLY JESUIT MISSIONS

1. THE demand for a radical reform of the Church had been resisted, because the Popes would not put themselves under the power of a general council. But men could not continue indefinitely to demand reforms that were refused, or to argue about the relation between temporal and spiritual authority with those who insisted that the answer lay with the Pope.

Moreover, the intellectual revival had led to the criticism of documents and the study of patristic writings; the interpretation of Scripture was mainly with the new learning; and since about 1450 the printing press had enabled ideas to spread rapidly. Men at last began to question the very foundations of the Church's claim in dogma. Luther brought this vital controversy to a head in 1520.

Europe was still far from the idea of toleration; its general mind did not go beyond the transference of responsibility for opinion from the Pope to the princes. This would have been a possible solution for the German princedoms, if the several princes could be trusted to cling to one opinion, and if a prince's subjects could happily be of one mind with him. But the individual conscience is not easily dragooned, and the reformers, because they were necessarily innovators, were a disturbing element in

settled governments. Religious wars passed into wars with other interests, until in the eighteenth century they became a struggle for the new world.

2. The "reform in head and branches," which had been so long desired, was undertaken at last by a greatly diminished Papacy.[44] The progress of the Turks and the Reformation in religion produced what loyal appeals could not accomplish. Paul III was forced by circumstances to become a reformer. He approved the new Society of Jesus (1540), introduced the Inquisition into Italy, and established the Index. His sympathy was never wholly with the Council of Trent (1545 onwards). Pius IV renewed the Council in 1562 and brought it to a successful end. The next Pope, Pius V, was a man of deeply religious conviction, bent on casting out abuses, but also a firm believer in force. His whole heart was with Alva in the Netherlands, and he did what he could to destroy the England of Elizabeth. But he also diplomatically secured the union of Spain and Venice against the Turks and so made possible the victory of Lepanto (1571).[45]

The Counter-Reformation is best presented in the person of St Carlo Borromeo, Bishop of Milan, who devoted himself to the education of the clergy, and set an example of priestly behaviour during the plague. He was mainly responsible for the Catechism of Trent, and the proceedings of the Council, and was the founder of the Oblates, a society of priests under the direction of the diocesan bishop. Therein he inaugurated a development that has some advantages over the system of the Religious Orders.

3. Evangelisation is now for some generations a study of the Counter-Reformation. The papal powers controlled the new world, and the first task of Protestant Europe was to secure its own position. The spread of the new doctrines was not more due to the fact that they seemed better suited to the ideas of the age in political development and the assertion of mental freedom, than to thousands of earnest men and women who were reading the Bible and were striving to lead others into the light. For the time being that was the evangelistic task of Protestantism.

While the labours of the Franciscans and Dominicans continued, a new order arose, more suited to the conditions of the age, and destined to inspire these older orders with new missionary fervour. Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish soldier of good fortune, who thought of religion in military terms, considered the Church to be in a state of siege. His *Spiritual Exercises*, a book which only took its final form many years after its original draft at Manresa, is in constant use to-day by retreatants.

While Ignatius was studying in Paris he gathered together the first companions for his society, with the intention of working in Jerusalem. They offered themselves unconditionally to the Pope, and their peculiar feature is that of direct obedience to him, rather than the recitation of the sacred office. No biographies are richer in human qualities than those of Ignatius and his devoted friend Francis de Xavier. And yet the fact is patent that the society has incurred much odium. Even in the Roman Communion its members have been accused of heresy

again and again, their moral teaching has been challenged, and their missionary methods attacked. As the direct servants of the Pope their agents have been associated with politics in a way that has done harm to the society's name; and its members have often erred through attempting to be all things to all men.

4. Ignatius was kept in Rome as the first superior, and Xavier acted as Secretary of the Society for a few years (1538-41). When the founder died in 1556, there were forty-five professed members and about two thousand in the outer ranks. It was supporting the older Orders in Mexico and South America, struggling to elevate a people demoralised by the Spaniards, and endeavouring to make the European Christians in those parts less unworthy of their name.

Francis de Xavier had sailed for India in 1541. The story of the saint gambling with the sailors on board in the hope of winning the souls of these rough men is in the spirit of the founder, who had danced in his cell, singing the old Basque songs, to rouse a novice from spiritual depression. Xavier's missionary work can easily be criticised as unsystematic and rash. Baptism was administered recklessly; men, women and children were made Christians when there was no possibility of giving them instruction or Christian ministration. The Goanese Christians were tended, and the Malabar Christians largely Romanised, because the labours of the first missionaries were followed up; but Xavier moved on restlessly, first to the pearl-fishers of the Comorin coast,

then to Malacca, and then to Japan. He died on his entry into China in 1552.

The work in India was not allowed to lapse. Robert de Nobili, a nephew of the great Cardinal Bellarmine, adopted a fatal policy in Madura. Neglecting the evangelisation of the lower classes he compromised with the caste system of the Hindus, and his followers made Christianity a caste religion.[46]

5. Thirty years after the death of Xavier, the Italian Jesuit, Matteo Ricci, with his companions, entered China. No permanent results had attended the efforts of the Franciscans and other missionaries hitherto. Ricci paid assiduous attention to Chinese prejudices, and gained favour through his knowledge of mathematics and astronomy. His mission was finally established in Peking. The prospects were at one time favourable; Dominicans and Franciscans were also at work, and, incidentally, were making complaints of the Jesuit concessions to ancestor worship as a mere social custom. But the eighteenth century persecutions wiped out the Christians, and the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773 and then the French Revolution prevented relays.

6. Xavier had spent twenty-seven months in Japan. He was nobly supported by Juan Fernandez of Cordova, a fellow-Jesuit who remained in the island and became a diligent student of its language. Political interests damaged the work, and aroused not only the opposition of the Dutch traders but also the disapproval of the Franciscans and Dominicans. Persecution began before the end of the sixteenth

century; during the seventeenth the Jesuits continued to come and to be put to death until in 1638 Japan was closed to all foreigners after appalling horrors had been experienced by the converts. The Jesuits had urged the Japanese authorities to expel the Dutch traders; and at the last Koeckbacker, the Dutch factor at Hirado, turned his guns on the remnant of the Japanese Christians and contributed to their final massacre.

7. It is not surprising that at this time of missionary enterprise in the West Indies, America, India, China, and Japan, Gregory XIII should desire to found a missionary society. He had been a prominent figure in the Council of Trent, and is best known to-day for the reform of the calendar. Gregory XV, the year before his death, carried out this intention by establishing the *Sacra Congregatio de propaganda fide*, or the Congregation of the Propaganda.[47] Urban VIII, the next Pope, added to the Congregation the foundation of the College of the Propaganda in 1627, for the education of missionaries.

CHAPTER XII

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE NEW WORLD (FIRST PHASE)

1. With the opening of the seventeenth century the commercial competition for the new world changed its character. The Spanish power was rapidly diminishing, although it had learned by experience, from the efforts of the Elizabethan seamen to 'singe the Spanish beard,' how to protect its treasure fleets.

The struggle between Holland and England for sea power was beginning. The Dutch had the advantage of priority; their geographical position gave them access to the seas, and they had a command of the internal trade routes of Europe. Thus they captured the Muscovy trade from us. They knew, too, that their existence depended on the wealth that came from shipping. But in the long run the advantage was with England, which, as the larger nation, had more staying power, and was on the flank of the Dutch fleets as they passed down the Channel; and England had larger and better armed ships.

We were also beginning to learn the value of colonies, or plantations as they were called. So we annexed certain isles in the West Indies between 1609-1632, which became of value when sugar became an important product. And now England paid more attention to the coast-line of North America, partly from an impression that the country was over-populated, and then as a settlement for

those who desired from religious motives to get away from the Established Church.

Elizabeth had formed the East India Company in 1600; but the Dutch forged ahead with theirs from 1603, and obtained the advantage of the Indian Archipelago. While the English ousted the Portuguese from Surat (1612) and Ormuz (1622), the Dutch drove the Portuguese out of Ceylon by the middle of the century, and were establishing a community at the Cape of Good Hope along the Indian route. By 1664 they had nineteen mainland factories in India, when we had little beyond Surat and Bombay,[48] and were only beginning at Calcutta. A prophet might have foretold a conflict between the French [49] and the Dutch in India, but would not have thought of England's possible supremacy.

2. During the sixteenth century the West Indies had been the scene of irregular competition between independent adventurers, who sought their fortunes in a way not easily distinguishable from piracy. Wild rumours of a fabled El Dorado, a desire to share in the slave traffic between West Africa and the new industries, and the tempting chances of capturing a Spanish treasure fleet, brought Dutch, French, and English seamen into frequent collision. Long after all hope had been abandoned of securing the mainland of America from the Portuguese or Spaniards, these islands were the chief colonial prizes; one after another changed hands by treaty, or was occupied by settlement, or was seized during the European wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Dutch were the last to abandon

hope of Brazil, and in 1642 the Portuguese bought them off by withdrawing in their favour from West Africa.

3. Holland was also interested in the trade with China and Japan, where the Portuguese had been established at Macao since 1557. For some centuries this was the commercial centre for all the Western nations, and merchants were only allowed at Canton at restricted seasons. Both in China and Japan the Dutch influence was entirely anti-Christian,[50] while in Ceylon they forced a superficial conversion on the islanders, with the result that, when the British took possession in 1795 and gave religious liberty, the people divided themselves between a return to non-Christian religions and the Roman Catholicism which had been proscribed for more than a century.

It is pleasant to turn from the contemplation of Holland's neglected opportunity to think of Grotius, the father of international law and the friend of Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, inspiring young men to face the dangers of missionary life. One of them worked for twenty years in Abyssinia and was then rewarded by martyrdom.

4. England's record is only a little better than that of Holland. Some attempt was made in the West Indies to supply chaplains for the settlers; Oliver Cromwell sent seven chaplains to Jamaica with instructions drawn up by Milton. It is stated, on the authority of Bishop Burnet, that he contemplated an organisation on the lines of the Propaganda. The

chaplains of the East India Company were charged to instruct the Indian servants of the Company, and the first convert was due to one of the original chaplains, and was baptized in London in the presence of a distinguished company. It was not until the vast conquests of the eighteenth century made the Company alarmed at the possible consequences of arousing the religious fears of interference with the Indian conscience that it showed opposition to the work of evangelisation.

5. The colonisation of Virginia began early in the seventeenth century,[51] and is associated with the names of Captain John Smith and the hypothetical Pocahontas. After about twenty years of miserable failure its prosperity began with the cultivation of tobacco and the importation of negro slaves. The Massachusetts settlement was a safety-valve for the Puritans fleeing from the wrath to come. In John Eliot, a Presbyterian minister, a man was found who deserves his name of the Apostle of the Indians. Fortunately he had published a translation of the Bible before his labours in the vicinity of Boston were brought to an end by war between the English and the Indians. His exertions made an impression at home, and in 1649 "the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England"[52] was founded by the Long Parliament; and Robert Boyle, one of the founders of the Royal Society, was its staunch friend. Nor was his interest limited to America, for at his own expense he printed the Gospels and the Acts in the Malay tongue.

To the Society of Friends belongs the credit of

seeing most clearly the duty to evangelise the negroes and the Indians. Fox constantly pressed it on his co-religionists, and Penn was similarly insistent. In 1696 the Philadelphian Yearly Meeting declared slavery to be contrary to the principles of the Gospel; but it does not appear that the resolution was followed by any action.

6. While the Counter-Reformation was full of missionary zeal, and, as will be seen later, France shared in the enterprise in the seventeenth century, one must ask why the reformed religions in England, Holland and North Germany were so supine. As time went on there is less excuse that these countries were occupied with home evangelisation. The ungarnished fact is that Protestantism had passed into a phase of coldness and formalism; it was concerned chiefly with politics and theological discussions. As late as in 1793 Bishop Horsley, speaking in the House of Lords on a renewal of the India Charter, at a time when better ideas were beginning to prevail, expressed what had been the orthodox opinion for a long time. "Were it possible to do so, which I deny, there is no obligation upon us, as Christians, to attempt the conversion of the natives of India. The command of our Saviour to His Apostles to go into all the world does not, as I conceive, apply to us."

Several elements had contributed to the formation of such an opinion. There was the notion of a rigid distinction between the New Testament times and later; the popular opinion was that gross darkness fell upon the world on the deaths of the Apostles which was only lifted at the Reformation. The

breach of continuity at that time, whereby all connection was lost with the evangelistic labours of Christendom, is another reason. And this apathy continued in spite of most exemplary and fruitless utterances by men such as Erasmus, Luther, and Knox.

The general spirit of Biblical interpretation encouraged an easy conscience in this matter. The Old and the New Testaments were read as if they belonged to the same stage of revelation, and in the former was found a satisfactory justification of the profitable trade in slaves. While men could regard the negroes as given by God to be bond-servants, it was not possible to look upon them as the children of God's love. If the masters ought to see that their native servants were taught the Christian religion, it was rather because it befitted a Christian nation that its servants should respectfully follow their masters' lead.

CHAPTER XIII

NORTH AMERICA AND THE FRENCH MISSIONS

1. THE seventeenth century was a period of European distress. The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) wrought havoc; Spain continued to decay; England was disturbed by religious and political strife; the fate of Italy was decided by the fortunes of the northern powers. But for France, in spite of religious and social disorders, it was a time of great glory. It is associated with the names of Henry IV and of Louis XIV,[53] whose long reign has given its name to the age in which he was the chief figure. His great ministers were the two cardinals, Richelieu (d. 1642) and Mazarin (d. 1661). It was the aim of France to take the place of Spain in Europe; her colonial enterprise dates from the beginning of the century and is centred in North America and the West Indies. Until late in the century India was only a commercial sphere for France.

In 1603 Champlain explored the St Lawrence up to the rapids above Montreal; then he made a new settlement at Port Royal (Annapolis) in Nova Scotia, known then as Acadia. He founded Quebec in 1608. Through the Hurons he was led into conflict with the Iroquois, who never forgave the nation that helped their rival Indians to destroy them. Hence the Iroquois became the constant allies of the

English and Dutch; and, as they occupied the lands in between the competing settlers, their friendship was valuable.

Champlain was a born discoverer, but he regarded the conversion of the Indians as his prime duty. The Franciscan, Fr. Fléché, was soon followed by le Caron and Brébeuf and other Jesuits, who laboured among the Hurons in Ontario. Their firstfruits were almost destroyed in 1649 when the Iroquois had their revenge. The sufferings endured by the missionaries through the severe winters, and from Indian insults, reached now an almost incredible pitch. "I could not believe that a man was so hard to kill," wrote one of the missionaries.[54] Yet they went back to their labours, and throughout the century new missions were begun.

In 1659 François Xavier de Lavat Montmorency arrived in Canada to rule the Church. His zeal and his intentions were excellent, but French Catholics could not tolerate the subordination of the civil power to the spiritual. For twelve years Montmorency put down and raised up governors, until he found his match in the Comte de Frontenac, Louis de Buade, who overawed even the Iroquois. Only the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) prevented a settlement of the question whether the English also had not found their match.

The Jesuits had made a noble effort to save the Indians from the brandy sold to them by the French traders, and in another way also they anticipated the missionaries of the nineteenth century. They did for the rivers and lakes of Canada what Livingstone did for Central Africa.

2. When the Society of Jesus was founded it was not well received in France on account of its political aspect. But Henry IV gave it support after his conversion. It was a time of terrible decay in the priestly life; secularity and immorality were rife; good men almost despaired. The century saw a remarkable revival.[55] Francis de Sales, a Savoyard, became known to Henry IV in 1602, and as Bishop of Geneva the fame of his saintliness spread. Among his close friends were the founder of the French Oratorians, St Vincent de Paul, and Mère Angelique Arnauld, a prominent Jansenist.[56] St Vincent founded the Congregation of the Priests of the Mission[57] (1624). The Ursulines, an old established order of women, gained the practical interest of St Francis de Sales, and in 1639 sent sisters to teach the Catechism to the Indian children of North America. In 1658 the Société des Missions Étrangères was founded in Paris, which acts in close harmony with the Propaganda in Rome. These, together with parochial missions, retreats for the clergy and ordinands, and a revival of the life of prayer and of works of charity, are proofs of the new spiritual life.

Later in the century the disputes over Quietism,[58] another development than Jansenism of the devotional interpretation of the Catholic faith, evidenced in a different form this great revival. Madame de Guyon and Fénelon are familiar names in England. Happily for the human race it is possible to be uncertain in one's theology, whether dogmatic or moral, and yet to be a good Christian; and, although this is less easy of acceptance to-day, to be a bitter opponent and even a persecutor, and also

to be an ardent Christian ready to lay down one's life for the faith. The evangelistic spirit of France was not prominently associated with the Jansenists or Quietists; Fénelon violently opposed Jansenism, and Bossuet was an imperious enemy of Quietism, with which Fénelon sympathised. The moral theology of the Jesuits received great chastisement from the pen of Pascal. But all these men are among the glories of the seventeenth century revival.

3. The founders of the Society of Foreign Missions were François Pallu and de la Motte Lambert. Under advice from the Propaganda they were to go to the East by way of Persia, so as to avoid the jealousy of the Portuguese. They travelled mainly overland, and found Capuchin Fathers in Ispahan and Bagdad. Their ultimate sphere of work lay in what is now French Indo-China. They were favourably received in Siam, where the King was alive to the advantage of European trade. Pallu made several journeys to Europe, and on his travels visited other missions, encouraged trade, and ministered unremittingly to the sick on board ship. He also roused a missionary vocation in others. The sufferings endured in these Eastern labours did not fall short of what their brethren endured in North America.

4. One must call attention to the failures, broadly speaking, of these oriental missions. Similar failures attended other missions that have not been named. Thus, the evangelisation of the Congo was begun in 1491 by the Portuguese, and more than a century later

one of the missionaries wrote that "You can say nothing of these people except that they are in fact nothing else than baptized heathen." Similar accounts are given of work on the Zambesi. Repeated efforts in Abyssinia came to nothing.

A partial explanation is that the Western world was dealing with a new problem in attempting to evangelise a totally different cultural experience, religious background and language. It has taken missions a long time to learn how to present Christ under these strange conditions, and they have not yet learned more than the rudiments. In the missions of the earlier ages there was something of a common culture and language, and where that was lacking the mission was not a success. Christianity spread over the hellenised East but made no impression on the Saracens, and was followed by apostasy where the Hellenism was only a veneer.

Another partial explanation is the superficial character of much of the work. Even the saintly Xavier baptized recklessly, and seemed to think that a few pious sentences sufficed for Christian instruction. This matter has been discussed at some length in the Bampton Lectures of 1843.[59] An example has already been given from Ceylon, where superficiality was combined with compulsion. The same experience was repeated in the Tanjore State in 1701, and later in the century 60,000 Christians of Mysore submitted without protest to the initiatory rite of Mohammedanism.

Other criticisms can be made. There was friction between the religious orders, leading to intrigue; there was the fatal compromise with caste in India,

with ancestor worship in China, with heathen immoralities in West Africa. Political and commercial interests damaged some missions, especially in the Far East. At other times too much reliance was placed on winning over the ruling powers.

The modern student is amazed at contradictions that defy reconciliation. At one moment he is tempted to think that no missions can compete with those of the Counter-Reformation; at another time to cast them aside as merely pseudo-evangelisation. The saintly lives and heroic sufferings seem incompatible with superficial work that calls for no change of heart, as though baptism acted like vaccination. Just when he is tempted to pass a sweeping condemnation with certain glorious exceptions, he remembers the outstanding fact that Portugal, Spain, and France have realised a responsibility for the countries with which they were connected, such as England has been slower to face. We may not condemn; we cannot always applaud without great reserves. When the age of the Crusades was discussed it had to be acknowledged that it was difficult to appreciate its interpretation of Christianity. The same must be said of much of the work from the fifteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. It is always difficult to understand the spirit of another age when one brings to its study the spirit of one's own age. But that is not the whole truth. There is the spirit of Christ, which is not that of an age; and men have too often brought the spirit of their own age into their religion instead of receiving the spirit of Christ from it.

CHAPTER XIV

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE NEW WORLD (SECOND PHASE)

1. An Englishman thinks of the eighteenth century as one of wars. There were European wars, there was fighting in India, the War of American Independence, and the French Revolution. Seeley taught us that "the main struggle of England from the time of Louis XIV to the time of Napoleon was for the possession of the new world." [60] He speaks of the "Hundred Years' War between England and France" for this new world.

Three remarks may be made about the history of Europe from the Counter-Reformation to the nineteenth century. (*a*) With the developing consciousness of national independence came a political dread of the dominance of Europe by any one master. The days of Charles V and Philip II [61] were not to be repeated by Louis XIV or by Napoleon. (*b*) The accepted idea of the times that countries were the private property of their kings, to be bequeathed, or to change hands as a marriage settlement, kept Europe in a state of diplomatic tension and provoked wars from time to time. Especially France and Spain must not be joined, nor must Austria matrimonially upset the balance of power. And the royal houses were all related to one another. (*c*) Increasingly there was the struggle for the new world and for India as commercially valuable.

As we look back on the eighteenth century, Canada and India stand out more prominently than was clear to the view of, at any rate, the earlier part

of the eighteenth century, when the West Indies were the profitable possessions, and men seemed to be fighting European battles with France in Canada and India. Of course in India and Canada the other side was seen; the colonists did not mean to give way, and they were glad to be fighting their national enemy and securing their own position at the same time.

2. The first phase of the colonial struggle had been mainly between England and Holland. So Protestant Oliver Cromwell had fought Protestant Holland at a time when we think that wars were still religious; and Louis XIV was quite ready to have Protestant allies and to fight Catholic enemies. But now Holland was rapidly declining in power, and the struggle was between France and England. In Canada the Iroquois were crushed, and Frontenac was dead; * the stage was clear for the conflict between the French and English settlers. But Macaulay's schoolboy will still tell us that the early part of the century was the age of Marlborough; and only if he has read *Esmond* would he give a passing thought to Virginia. He would not even notice that the Treaty of Utrecht, which closed the "War of the Spanish Succession," secured us in possession of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Gibraltar (1713). But France realised that she had lost heavily in North America and must find compensation elsewhere. Again, when the two countries were at peace in Europe, George Washington drove the French from Fort Duquesne (Pittsburg); and in the "Seven Years' War" (1756-63) Wolfe won his great victory at Quebec (1759), which was followed by the sur-

* Chap. xiii., par. 1.

render of the French Army, and the Treaty of Paris in 1763 ceded the whole of New France.

The American War of Independence (1775-81) seems to us the fruit of an amazing piece of English stupidity. But we are thinking of the United States of America of to-day, and failing to realise that at the time it was the comparative insignificance of the colonies that made their protests so aggravating. What reason had we for bothering about them except that they were profitable? We forget also that the war was really an episode in the century of struggle with France, during which our traditional enemy avenged himself for the loss of Canada by more than a friendly interest in the English colonists.

Now colonial history concerns us in this book only so far as it produces a sense of spiritual responsibility; it is therefore pertinent to notice the rise of a higher spirit in English life against a dark background of society. The change is seen in the tone of the politicians, who at most times represent fairly well the public conscience. In Fox and Burke, and in a less degree in Lord Chatham, a new tone was sounded, which became clearer in the discussions on Indian affairs, when William Pitt's name is to be added.

3. When last we looked at India it was suggested that a prophet might forecast a struggle between the Dutch and the French.* In the middle of the seventeenth century Colbert, the great financial and colonial minister of Mazarin, was encouraging the Indian commerce, and it was the Dutch who hampered him. Early in the eighteenth century India fell rapidly into decay after the death of the great Mogul Emperor Aurungzeb.[62] The French in-

* Chap. xii., par. 1.

terest in India was being revived by Louis XV, and Dupleix made Chandernagore in Bengal the chief European station in India (1730), while Holland continued to withdraw its interests and concentrate them on the Indian Archipelago. The opening of the "Seven Years' War" gave Bourdonnais and Dupleix their chance to drive out the English. Then Clive rose upon the scene.

The Black Hole of Calcutta (1756) began the amazing change of an English trading company into the ruler of India. The Battle of Plassey made the company responsible for Bengal;[63] in 1760 the power of France in the Carnatic (S.W. India) was destroyed.

When the affairs of the company came before Parliament in 1773 for their periodical review, England was astir with rumours of cruelty and corruption, and Warren Hastings was appointed first Governor-General of Bengal. The course of events continued as before, complicated by disagreements between Hastings and his Council. In 1788 Hastings was impeached. One may carry away an unjust impression of the great Governor from Burke's impassioned speeches, and his persistent attacks upon him during the fourteen years of his trial;[64] but one will certainly realise that there was a national conscience. A sense of responsibility had been aroused.

4. These three chapters have dealt with the colonial history of Holland, France and England, and they raise a question of great importance. One desires to know why the Dutch expansion did not stir up a spirit of evangelisation, why the French missions of the seventeenth century were glorious, and why England lagged so far behind her rival. Discovery and colonisation are divine opportunities given to

nations; Spain and France responded, Holland and England did not. The answer is to be sought for in the spiritual conditions of these countries. God speaks to nations through the voice of history, but only those can answer who are sufficiently awake to hear His voice. The Counter-Reformation had opened the ears of Southern Europe: in Italy St Charles Borromeo and the Italian Jesuits are signs of the awakening: in Spain Ignatius Loyola, St Peter of Alcantara, St Theresa, and St John of the Cross.[65] But Holland and England had no revival of life such as is marked out by these names, or by the glories of France in the seventeenth century. It is a mistake to regard opportunity as a blessing. It is a responsibility; the opportunity has to be used if it is to become a blessing.

A difficult question is proposed when it is suggested that Holland declined because the Dutch did not use their opportunity. The question is like the popular assertion that the East fell before the Saracens because its Christianity was not evangelistic; and it savours of the tower of Siloam,* confusing spiritual things with material. Holland fell back because it was too small a nation to endure ultimately against France and England. What Holland suffered from not hearing God's voice in its colonial expansion was deterioration of character, as England was also suffering, although it was forging ahead in other ways. When the Non-jurors went out, the best life remaining in England since the silencing of the Non-conformists was withdrawn.[66]

* St Luke xiii. 4.

CHAPTER XV

THE BEGINNING OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS

1. In a most fitful and feeble way England was doing a little for the care of its colonists, and for their native servants. Dr Bray,[67] who had been appointed Commissary in 1698 for the organisation of the English Church in Maryland, founded the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The general apathy of England is illustrated by the fact that for the first hundred years the average income of the latter society was only about £2250 from subscriptions and donations. And it is significant that the earliest missionary agents of both societies in India were not Englishmen. So, too, in New York it was a Frenchman who was employed "to teach the negroes and Indians and the children of the town." But in the West African factories the S.P.G. employed an English clergyman, whose first convert, Philip Quaque, was trained in England, and laboured among his own people from 1765 to his death in 1816. A substantial work was begun among the Mohawks and the Indians who had been transferred to Wisconsin, whereby their evangelisation was secured.

In the eighteenth century Connecticut produced in David Brainerd a worthy successor to the Presbyterian John Eliot.* It is amusing to recall that his student career had been cut short at Yale because it was reported that he had said privately of one of the

* Chap. xii., par. 5.

professors that "he has not more grace than this chair." He died in 1747, his feeble frame exhausted by unwearying labours among the Indians. In the West Indies the care of the slaves was due to the Moravians, Methodists and Baptists. The first acted at the instigation of some English absentee proprietors; the second were invited by the Speaker of the Assembly of Antigua, who had become a "member of the society" through personal contact with Wesley; the work of the third was begun by a coloured deacon who came from Virginia with a body of loyalists.

2. Rather before the end of the seventeenth century a movement began in Lutheran Prussia, to which the name Pietism has been given. Its leaders were Spener and Francke, who were associated together in founding the University of Halle. The King of Denmark had acquired some possessions during the seventeenth century both in the East and West Indies and on the Gold Coast, and later Frederic IV of Denmark had for his Court preacher a follower of Spener. Thus were founded the Danish-Halle Missions. Francke's interest was aroused by reading Leibnitz's [68] preface to a collection of letters published by him under the title *Novissima Sinica.** The great philosopher had had intercourse with the Jesuit missionaries of China. But more powerful than the influence of Leibnitz upon Francke was that of the Count von Zinzendorf, who was related to Frederic of Denmark.

To understand the origin of the *Unitas Fratrum* [69] or the Moravian Church (or Brethren) takes one back to the days of John Huss. In 1722 they had

* Sini is China.

found a refuge on the estates of Zinzendorf, and had established a colony at Herrnhutt near Dresden. A fruitful fellowship was now formed between the Court of Denmark, German Pietism, and this colony. A study of evangelisation has to give a place of distinction to these 'Moravian Brethren,' whose influence upon the birth of Evangelical missions cannot be ignored. It has been calculated that "from reformed Christendom as a whole, out of every 3500 communicants one goes out as a missionary; from the Moravian Church one in sixty goes." [70] Norway was at this time under Danish rule, and so Hans Egede, a Norwegian pastor, went to Greenland (1721-36) as chaplain to a Danish mercantile company, and the Moravians opened up a mission, which in 1899 they handed over to the Danish Church, regarding their special task of evangelisation as completed. They still work in Labrador. They have penetrated into many parts of the world, generally choosing the hardest and least attractive spheres.

A Danish Mission was founded at Tranquebar in Tanjore in 1706, at the Danish factory. The first missionaries were followed by Schwarz, who was afterwards supported by the English societies.

3. In the late twenties of the eighteenth century people who were in touch with Oxford might have heard young men speak of the New Methodists and couple with them the name of Charles Wesley,[71] as in Berlin and Halle men spoke of the Pietists. The Oxford group were High Churchmen; the German Pietists were Lutherans. In 1735 John Wesley, the elder brother, went to Georgia as an S.P.G. missionary to the Indians, and met some Moravian

missionaries on board ship. His mission was not very happy, and after his return in 1738 he visited Count von Zinzendorf.

It was after this that the movement arose in England from the labours of John Wesley and Whitefield, the effects of which were not limited to the Church of England and the rise of Wesleyan Methodism. While everywhere this revival was frowned on by authority, it is literally true that the common people heard gladly; and as the century drew towards a close the whole life of the country was affected by it.

The life-work of William Wilberforce was connected with this movement. He was the leading member of an influential group, which came to be known as "the Clapham Sect," from the neighbourhood in which they lived. Wilberforce's *Practical Religion* (1797) created an impression comparable with that which had been aroused by William Law's *Serious Call* in 1728; and his intimacy with William Pitt gave him his support in the long struggle for the emancipation of the slaves which began in 1786. That magnificent battle of light against darkness stirred by degrees all the Evangelicals, and thereby directed their attention to the evangelisation of the world. The Moravian Missions were being supported in England and America; India was on everybody's lips, and to the Evangelicals it meant missionaries. In 1787 an attempt was made to establish a colony at Sierra Leone for negroes discharged after the American War, and for runaway slaves who escaped to England. In 1807 the settlement was transferred to the Crown, and increased by slaves rescued by British vessels.

4. Charles Simeon was one of a group of Evangelicals who composed the Eclectic Society, which discussed foreign missions among other subjects. At Cambridge he was in close touch with the Church of England Evangelicals, and his heart was on fire for India. Perhaps at no time would one look to a trading company, and least of all to one glutted with wealth, to interest itself directly in missions. But by this time the Evangelical movement was hated because it was feared; the battle of the slave-trade was known to be nearly won;[72] the company was also seriously afraid of the effect of religious propaganda upon the peace of India. So Simeon worked by indirect methods, and sent forth a succession of company chaplains, men of learning and of deep piety, and whose hearts were actually more set on the conversion of the Indians than on the disappointing English flock for whose sakes their salaries were paid. One of these was Henry Martyn.[73]

5. This great revival was also characterised by fervent devotion to popular education and to philanthropic work. The industrial population found among the members of all Christian bodies an army of adult teachers; prisons and workhouses were visited, and the then appalling traffic in spirits aroused strong feeling.[74] There never was any substantial ground for the charge that the "saints" cared more for the slaves overseas than for those at their own doors.

6. While Simeon was using the Indian chaplaincies another missionary enterprise was beginning. William Carey, who grew up under the influence of Law's *Serious Call* and the great revival of the Wesleys and Whitefield, was the son of a village

schoolmaster. He became a Baptist minister, and in 1792 he preached at Nottingham to the Baptist gathering of ministers on Isaiah liv. His words bore fruit at Kettering, where, fifty years before, Philip Doddridge, the leading Independent of his day, had failed in a similar appeal. The life of Carey is as inspiring as that of any missionary throughout the ages, and the debt of Indian Missions to him is incalculable. At last the flame was lighted; society after society came into being between 1792 and the end of the Napoleonic Wars.[75] Within twenty years of the foundation of the British and Foreign Bible Society it is roughly true to say that similar agencies were established in every part of Europe and America.

7. The French Revolution had a great effect upon English life and thought, producing greater breadth and also working in a reactionary direction. It was not only in the West Indies that men conceived the idea of brotherhood;[76] in circles where missions were discussed, men were helped to realise that there was a brotherhood of man other than was being preached in France. Then and throughout the Napoleonic Wars thoughtful men were conscious of living in great and dreadful days, wherein it behoved them to set forward the Kingdom of God; and they were stirred to rise above the littlenesses of commonplace times.

While this was the effect upon the best of English life, the history of France necessarily brought almost all European missionary work to a close, not only on account of the anti-religious condition of France, but because of the disturbed condition of Europe.

CHAPTER XVI

THE PRESENT TIME

1. Dr Eugene Stock has written that "England, therefore, at the end of the seventeenth century, and a hundred and fifty years after the Reformation, had done a very little for the Red Indians and negroes in her infant colonies, but nothing at all beyond their narrow limits. A nominal and worthless Christianity had been enforced on the colonies of Holland. The only missions in the great heathen world were the missions of the Church of Rome." [77] Actually England's contribution did not begin seriously until the end of the eighteenth century, when the revival of spiritual life had permeated the religious life of the country.

As soon as France was relieved of European wars its missionary work revived. A little society founded in 1817 has worked chiefly in the Pacific Isles and is famous for the life of Father Damien, a Belgian, who died in 1889.[78] In 1822 the Society of the Propagation of the Faith was established at Lyons, and in its first year collected about £2000 from the shopkeepers and artisans of the city. Its income before the Great War was more than £300,000. In 1843 it started an auxiliary branch for children.

To-day the Roman Catholic Missions advance at least in equal pace with those of the Reformed Churches; and although the majority of their

agents are French, there is an internationalism of spiritual fellowship which finds due place for Belgians, Italians and other nationalities, apart from the American Missions. Their activities extend to every part of the world, and they are largely staffed by the Religious Orders. In many places their educational work is of a high standard.

2. The year 1822 saw also the establishment of the Société des Missions Evangeliques, which is best known in England for its admirable work in South Africa ; [79] but it has missions also in the French dependencies and settlements.

In the Danish-Halle Mission the ground was made ready for the Protestant Missions of Germany, which took root as the nineteenth century advanced, especially under the impetus of colonisation. Dr Warneck writes that " it is beyond doubt that the colonial movement has quickened a new missionary movement in our Fatherland." [80]

The United States of America were at first mainly concerned with their own non-Christians. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was founded in 1811. Its first great missionary was Adoniram Judson in Burma. To-day America holds a place throughout the mission world worthy of its size and world position.

3. In the five chapters that follow some outline of the present work of evangelisation in various parts of the world will be found, together with certain reflections. The purpose of this chapter is to bring together some of the main features of the century

and the influence of them upon the growth of missionary work. The most acute problems arising from the history of that century, as they affect the work of the twentieth century, must be the subject-matter of a final chapter.

(*a*) When men went overseas in the early part of last century they travelled in wooden vessels, and were dependent on the wind; they might be becalmed for some weeks, and then be wrecked by storms. A journey to India round the Cape of Good Hope was fortunate if it were only a matter of months where now one reckons weeks. Something of the revolution in travel may be understood from studying two contrasted dates.* The gross tonnage of vessels (excluding warships) built in 1860 was:

	Wood and Composite.	Iron.	Steel.
Sailing-ships .	154,130	14,290	..
Steam-ships .	7,050	86,540	..

and in 1900:

Sailing-ships .	8,718	420	8,598
Steam-ships .	3,809	16,375	1,102,890

And now within a short time we look for propulsion through the air which shall render the most distant place as near as was Italy to England in the days of the family coach or the diligence.

Navigation and aircraft are only one way of regarding the fact that for practical purposes the world has grown very small and is getting smaller. It is linked together by cables, and now communication passes

* *Ency. Brit.* Art. "Ship."

by wireless, so that what happens in any known part of the world may be reported almost at once in any city of Europe. It is difficult to realise that the interest aroused in the revolutionary movements in France in 1848 encouraged the first news-agency (Reuter's Agency), and that in the Crimean War it was for the first time in history possible to direct a military engagement from the War Office in the capital. Further, the increasing cheapness of paper, improvements in the machinery of printing, and the removal of stamp-duties from newspapers, brought in the halfpenny paper. While, therefore, distant nations and their strange ways remained until last century almost beyond the imagination of the people, the publishing houses realised, as the nineteenth century was getting on, that the public was interested to know everything about everybody. The averagely intelligent person to-day knows more of aboriginal tribes in Central Australia, of the ways of the African black, and of the habits of the Chinese, than any but savants knew at the end of the eighteenth century. The scientific study of ethnology and the comparative study of religion has further opened the minds of the educated.

(*b*) With increasing facility of travel, and with the rapid growth of industrialism, an enormous increase in world commerce has taken place, far beyond what was dreamed when in earlier centuries the nations of Northern Europe contended for the available parts of the earth. Contacts are established everywhere; industrial problems are already serious in China and Japan, and are beginning to arise in India. It is a commonplace to-day that, even if it be allowed,

for the sake of argument, that peoples were best left to the enjoyment of their old religions, it is impossible to maintain that, when commercial contacts have of necessity broken down old tribal organisation with its religious sanctions and taboos, the Western world can refuse to lay the foundation of a new religious society to take their place. Cotton, rubber, oil, rice, tea, cocoa, bananas, gold, diamonds, sponges, spices, pearls, and dozens of raw materials are so many arguments for evangelisation.

(*c*) The political changes of the nineteenth century are closely related to commerce. It used to be thought that kings made wars; it is certain to-day that the causes of war are economic. No Western country can regard with equanimity the monopoly of a raw material by any other nation, whether it be a material essential to the science of warfare, or to the success of commercial competition. If one nation establish relations with any part of the world, the others must follow with demand for equal treatment or for compensating advantages. Under this politico-commercial consideration we may regard the opening of China and Japan.

When Robert Morrison was sent by the London Missionary Society to China in 1807 he was the first Protestant missionary who had entered the country. When he died, in 1834, Lord Napier had just arrived as superintendent of British trade, on the withdrawal of the monopoly of the East India Company. Disputes over the opium traffic led to war, and four more treaty ports were opened, and Hong-Kong was ceded to the British (1840-42). In 1857 the Tai-ping rebellion led to war again, and the European nations

were granted diplomatic representation, and the right of travel and of residence in the interior was forced on a reluctant China. Russia and Japan added to the anxiety of a nation that desired none of our gifts of commerce. From time to time local trouble arose against the missionaries out of an anti-foreign feeling, culminating in the Boxer Rising of 1900. At the present time the permeation of China by European ideas and by Soviet doctrines has aroused a people, no longer separated into disconnected provinces by the lack of railways, into a suspicious frame of mind, nervous of European intentions, and not knowing what it really desires.

More remarkable and very different has been the opening of Japan. In the middle of last century the one European agency was a Dutch factory in Nagasaki, and the U.S.A. was insisting upon the proper treatment of its whalers. In 1852 two Japanese ports were partly opened for trade. French and English pressure in China made America demand other treaties with Japan, which practically opened the whole country to Western commerce. Internal trouble followed, and an attempt was made to exclude foreign shipping.

In 1866 the foundations of modern Japan were laid, and since 1878 there has been almost complete tolerance of foreign missionaries. The rapidity of Japan's assimilation of Western ideas is the miracle of the last half-century. The crises mark the rapid strides. In 1872 the courageous and honourable action of Japan in dealing with a Peruvian ship gained for her the moral support of Europe.[81] In 1899 extra-territoriality, which is one of China's

grievances to-day, and which existed until yesterday in Turkey, was voluntarily surrendered. In 1904 the Russian policy in Manchuria and Korea led Japan to declare war, and the world discovered a new military and naval power of first rank.

4 (*d*). Another side of the activity of the century, closely related to economic competition, and leading to political complications, has been the exploration of unknown tracts. In 1770 and the following years James Bruce had discovered the source of the Blue Nile on his famous journey through Abyssinia; and between 1795 and 1806 Mungo Park was the chief explorer of the Niger. His voyages aroused great interest and the opening up of Africa was begun. Attention was directed to the continent also when the Dutch yielded Cape Town (1806) as an episode in the Napoleonic Wars. The C.M.S. employed two Lutherans for a mission to the Susas in 1804, and then three more Germans in 1806. French and German explorers became interested in Africa, the German missionaries, Krapf and Rebmann, employed by the C.M.S., were also discoverers, Heinrich Barth was in British employment, and finally Dr Livingstone, another famous missionary of the L.M.S., opened up the heart of Africa. Commerce stepped in and began thereby the education of the 'raw black.'

In South Africa the discovery of diamonds in 1869, and of Transvaal gold in 1885, vitally affected the European population. In all parts of the continent great railways began to open the country for commercial purposes. From 1884 dates the scramble for

Africa, following upon the German explorations by Dr Lüderitz and Dr Paul Peters. In 1876 King Leopold of Belgium had made his bid for the control of the Congo. From the Berlin Conference (1878) and onwards, Portugal and Italy were also claimants for a share in Africa. The most recent change has been the distribution of the German colonies by "mandates" at the Treaty of Versailles.

To turn to another part of the world, where again the enterprise of discovery has opened up missionary work, we may call attention to Captain Cook, who, in 1772, brought to the memory of England the almost forgotten New Zealand and Australia. On his next voyage he explored the isles of the Pacific. In 1794 Samuel Marsden, another disciple of Simeon, went as chaplain to Botany Bay on the advice of Wilberforce. Before his death, in 1838, he had begun the conversion of the Maoris. The L.M.S. in the ardour of its youth faced the dangers of Tahiti (1797) and soon extended its work over large parts of Polynesia, and John Williams, who went out in 1816, and was murdered in 1839, is in the front rank of missionaries.

CHAPTER XVII

THE MODERN EVANGELISATION OF INDIA

1. SCHWARZ * was the greatest of the first Protestant missionaries; but his labours of nearly fifty years in South India suffered from lack of concentration. He died in 1798, soon after Carey's † arrival. Carey knew the value of concentration, and his idea of preparation for the task of converting India may be gauged from the fact that Lord Wellesley appointed him professor of Bengali, Sanscrit, and Marathi in the new Government College. That indeed was a change from his first experience, when he had sought Danish protection at Serampore, near Calcutta.

In 1813 the new Charter of the Company provided for an Anglican bishop and three archdeacons. From that time the organisation of the episcopate has steadily advanced, and has always shown the liveliest concern for evangelisation.

The next great name is Alexander Duff (1830 onwards) of the Established Church of Scotland. He laid down the lines of higher education with a strong Christian influence brought to bear on it. His converts were few, but were of outstanding influence. He was fortunate in his time. Lord Macaulay's famous minute led Lord William Bentinck [82] to publish the resolution of 1835 that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and

* Chap. xv., end of par. 2. † Chap. xv., par. 6.

science among the natives of India, and that the funds appropriated to education would be best employed in English education alone."

From these beginnings has grown up a magnificent system of higher education, administered by missionaries, and supported by the Government, which supplements the Government institutions. To this system must at least in part be ascribed the fact that to-day Christ is broadly accepted in the vernacular press as the standard of corporate and individual life. But the main purpose of all evangelistic work must be to build up an Indian Christian Church able to evangelise India; and it may be that Duff has lessons of intensive work that should be applied anew. On the other hand the times are so changed that quite probably Duff could not do to-day what he was able to do in his time in the way of creating Indian Christian leaders from the educated classes.

The Indian Mutiny of 1857 was a tremendous challenge. There are two responses to such tragedies: when one sees red, another sees the call to evangelise. The Queen's Proclamation of the next year declared the religious neutrality of England. A very great impetus was given to evangelisation by the Mutiny, there being then among outstanding Englishmen in India an unusual number of men of the deepest evangelical piety.

2. *The World Missionary Atlas of* 1925 has been compelled to confine its statistics to the Protestant Missions. It gives 1,300,000 as baptized or under instruction in India. Many of these are Baptists,

others are Lutherans or Methodists or Presbyterians. The existence of a complete system of Episcopal dioceses must not blind one to the fact that probably not 400,000 of these Christians are " C. of E." The *Encyclopædia Britannica* (edition 1910) reckons rather more than half the Christians to be Roman Catholics, including among them a large number of Syrian Christians and the Goanese.[83]

The main problems of Church organisation are in the south, where more than two-thirds of the Christians live. The union of all the Protestant congregations is discussed, and in 1908 the Presbyterian Church and the Congregational Union merged in the South Indian United Church. The process is bound to go further.

In the Madras Presidency forty-three foreign missionary societies are represented, apart from Roman Catholic Missions. In Burma, India, and Ceylon there are about the same number of Protestant missionaries from America (including Canada) and from Great Britain, making in all more than 5000 men and women.

3. A serious problem is whether evangelisation is to proceed from above or from below; and it looks as if conversion were likely to advance mainly from the outcastes and aboriginals.[84] In the first place, India is predominantly a land of villages, and the peasants are of low caste. The Christians of to-day mainly belong to the illiterate 300 million and not to the two million educated Indians of whom Englishmen are generally thinking when they speak of India. The importance is educational. If the

Indian Church is to convert India it must be an educated Church, with leaders capable of self-government and of impressing higher Indian society. It is true that among the Christians the standard of education is somewhat higher than among the non-Christians; but it is not so high as it ought to be. The reasons for their indifference are natural, but nevertheless present a grave problem. There is first a lack of public opinion in favour of education in a country that is largely illiterate; then economic conditions force the children to the fields at an age when elementary school learning soon disappears entirely; there is also local caste opposition to the education of peasants and outcastes; to some extent faulty methods of education are responsible.

4. This outstanding matter of education becomes greatly more acute when one passes from the peasant to the hopeful prospect of mass movements [85] among the aboriginals and particularly among the outcastes. The outcastes are below even the lowest caste; they are untouchable or even unapproachable by men of caste. They are people, that is to say, who at present have everything to learn, including a decent standard of living. One's first impulse is that such appeals must not be rejected, lest the desire pass away. But the matter is not so simple. The day of wholesale baptisms is over; one cannot now receive these people unless one can give them a sufficiency of trained Indian pastors and catechists. And the children must be educated; the people must be lifted up to a standard of economic life, however low from a Western point of view, which will satisfy the growing desires of a Christian mind.

A missionary has to consider very carefully what he is doing, if he receive 5000 outcastes.

It is of course a direct challenge to the home Churches, and the answer at present seems to be that the home Churches are not prepared to provide the men and women educationists who will train Indian teachers, supervise an educational system, and inspire and educate Indian pastors.

5. There is throughout the whole of evangelistic work one duty of supreme importance; the ideal to be kept in mind is a compact Indian Christian Church, self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating. Of these three requirements the last is the most urgent. And to secure this the Indian teachers must be themselves filled with evangelistic fervour. To make such teachers, to make such pastors as will befit a self-propagating religion, there is required a graduated system of education, with catechists' colleges and pastors' institutions, animated throughout by an ardently Christian spirit; and the system should be such as will create a spirit of leadership.

The evangelisation of India is still almost in its first stage; and the task of this century calls for an overhauling of aims. Everywhere to-day the missionary societies are overwhelmed by the prodigious success of a hundred years of labour, and not least is this evidenced by the fact that the time is come to consider the readjustment of work to meet the particular needs of the second stage of evangelisation, the passing over from the first evangelisation to the education of a Christian community that will do its own evangelisation.

CHAPTER XVIII

AFRICA

1. UNTIL the middle of the nineteenth century Africa was a coast continent; its interior was unknown. Vast plateaux, unapproachable by the rivers, blocked the way. "Nobody knows what is going on in the heart of Africa" aptly expressed the vague impression of a horrible slave traffic in the hands of Arabs.

The explorer was followed by the engineer, and Africa has been opened up. Modern missionary enterprise has widened the conception of evangelistic service, and nowhere is this seen better than in Africa. The missionaries, with Dr Livingstone as a prince among them, have been discoverers, engineers, openers of the roads, builders. George Grenfell, the Cornish apprentice to a firm of hardware and machinery dealers, putting together the 800 packages of his steamer on the Congo, Alexander Mackay, the engineering student, with his anvil in Central Africa, and with whom had gone out to Uganda an ex-lieutenant of the R.N., an architect, a builder, an artisan and a doctor, serve as illustrations. "O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord." Distance of time gives a certain enchantment, but only the most unimaginative can be blind to the truth that some of these, with such others as Mary Slessor,[86] ruling as a queen among the savages, and

Robert Moffat, will go down to history as do the names of some of the English who faced the terrors of heathen Europe.

2. The point of departure must be the arrival of the Dutch. Van Riebeck and some of his followers tried to convert their slaves in the seventeenth century. Feeling, however, was so strong that the Moravians had to withdraw for a time. The Cape passed permanently into English hands in 1806, and the London Missionary Society was soon on the spot. In Robert Moffat (1826-70) they found a great man, and in Khama, a Bechuana chief, has been seen the possibilities of an African Christian personality. More than thirty societies, representing the great missionary forces of the world, are now concentrated within the Union of South Africa. The Scottish Missions should be noticed for their educational and industrial work; the Paris Evangelical Mission has been one of the chief agencies among the Basuto; and mention ought to be made of the Missions of the Dutch Reformed Church,[87] because hitherto the references to the Dutch have been necessarily unfavourable. The substantial work of the Roman Missions dates here from after 1860, but has grown apace.[88]

Before the arrival of Bishop Gray of Cape Town (1847-72) the Anglican effort had been minute, but included an abortive attempt of Captain Gardiner in Dingaan's territory.* In 1841 the Colonial Bishoprics Fund had been started,[89] from which date the organisation of Church of England Missions,

* See note 43.

after the manner natural to the episcopal system, was able to forge ahead. This is not the fitting place to enlarge upon the immense importance to all the Colonial Churches of Bishop Gray's episcopal government; but he established five other sees, and since his time the number has increased to fourteen.

3. In Western Africa the S.P.G. had attempted something as early as in 1751 on the Gold Coast.* Other experiments had been made in Sierra Leone and Nigeria.[90] The climate was injurious to Western missionaries, and Bishop Crowther was consecrated the first black bishop of modern times. He did not prove strong enough for a task of peculiar difficulty. The Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone is an admirable institution of the C.M.S., which trains many of the West African clergy and schoolmasters; the English Methodists were also early in the field here as well as in South Africa. It would be easy to give glowing descriptions of native Christianity and evangelisation in West Africa, but it has to be confessed that these efforts have shown the disadvantages of leaving the African Churches too soon to their own control. In Nigeria there is a promising work among the Hausas, which opens up the prospect of the evangelisation of the Mohammedans of the Western Sudan.

Within recent times the Congo has been the sphere of Belgian Missions, and has attracted various bodies of workers.

4. In 1857 Livingstone appealed to the Univer-

* Chap. xv., par. 1.

sities to carry out the work which he began in opening the path for commerce and Christianity. The Universities' Mission to Central Africa resulted from his speech in the Cambridge Senate House. In its early years it suffered greatly from the ravages of malaria, but the enthusiasm that it aroused was increased rather than daunted by its death-roll. An outstanding feature of the mission, which has already expanded into three dioceses, is the organisation, as in the neighbouring Diocese of Uganda, of a genuinely African Church. In Mombasa Diocese, as in the Union of South Africa, the problems are more complicated. In Nyassaland the agencies calling for special mention are the Church of Scotland, with its work at Blantyre, and the Livingstonia Mission of the United Free Church of Scotland. The industrial training of these missions, as also at Lovedale in South Africa, are examples of work that has to be multiplied if the African people is to be trained for mature citizenship.

5. Dr Livingstone's appeal to the Universities was followed by Stanley's call in the *Daily Telegraph* (1875). He had formed a favourable opinion of the Baganda. Fitly the C.M.S. responded, whose missionaries had already contributed to discovery.[91] As at most times and in most places, the will to win nations for Christ overcame obstacles that threatened the early years of this venture. The Royal Chief was treacherous and cruel; African Christians of the Roman Communion and of the Anglican, and Mohammedans, took sides in the risings. Then there were the struggles between the British East

African Company and the German claims represented by Dr Karl Peters, which were settled by European diplomacy in 1890. In 1894 the whole country was made a British Protectorate, owing very largely to the supporters of the C.M.S.

The foundation of the Church has not been laid without blood. The first baptisms were in 1882; in 1885 three Christian boys went to the stake; within a few weeks Bishop Hannington was murdered before he had entered into Uganda, and fifty offers were immediately received by the C.M.S. During the following years there were 200 African martyrs, while others were mutilated and banished. Pilkington translated the Bible before he was killed in the local strife in 1897. In 1891 Bishop Tucker ordained the first six Baganda, and in 1893 the Church began to produce its own missionaries,[92] and slavery was voluntarily abolished at the impulse of the African Christians. From that date the progress has been astonishing.[93] Splendid testimony is borne by H. R. Wallis in the *Handbook of Uganda*.[94] "To them (the European missionaries) it owes its first European occupation, the first industrial work, carpentry, brick-making, printing, also the cultivation of coffee and other products. By them the language was first reduced to writing, and almost all available literature in Luganda is the result of missionary labours. To them, too, is due the earliest organised medical work. The entire work of education has been, and still is, in the hands of the missions." Such a statement sends back one's imagination to play upon the similar service in earlier centuries rendered by the monastic houses in England.

6. Racial problems are a source of great anxiety in those parts of Africa, East and South, which are suited to a permanent European settlement, and the form of the problems differs according to the relative number of the black and the white. In some places it is complicated by an immigrant Indian population. The problem is mainly economic, and it becomes therefore political.

Outside the Union of South Africa the Secretary of State for the Colonies has in 1925 taken an important educational step. A memorandum [95] states that the policy of the Government " welcomes and will encourage all voluntary educational effort which conforms to the general policy." The greatest importance is to be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction. " Both in schools and in training colleges they should be accorded an equal standing with secular subjects. Such teaching must be related to the conditions of life and to the daily experience of the pupils. It should find expression in habits of self-discipline and loyalty to the community. With such safeguards contact with civilisation need not be injurious, or the introduction of new religious ideas have a disruptive influence antagonistic to constituted secular authority. History shows that devotion to some spiritual ideal is the deepest source of inspiration in the discharge of public duty."

CHAPTER XIX

THE FAR EAST

1. By this term ought properly to be understood the Asiatic area bordering on the Pacific. The Southern Pacific will be thought of in the next chapter. The limits of space force consideration to be confined to China and Japan. What has to be faced is that, situated where these two countries are, and considering the enormous area and population of China, and that Japan is one of the great nations of the world, to a large extent the progress and peace of the world depends on the future of these two countries.[96] Industrial life becomes increasingly international; if conditions injurious to human life are allowed in either country, whereby the value of labour throughout the world is lowered, or if either country develops a ruthless spirit of self-aggrandisement, the world suffers. If the revelation of God in Jesus moulds their national spirit, and also the national spirit of the nominally Christian countries of to-day, the progress of the world is made sure.

2. China.* Robert Morrison died in 1834. Between then and 1850 seven American societies, the C.M.S., the English Presbyterians and the Rhenish Mission had made feeble beginnings. To-day 138

* See chap. xvi., par. 3, sec. (*c*), and for earlier history of attempted evangelisation, chap. ix., par. 4 and chap. xi., par. 5.

societies are at work, apart from the Roman Catholic Missions: seventy of these are the contribution of the U.S.A. and Canada, and twenty-four are British. Australia and New Zealand are also represented. Unitedly they supply nearly 2800 men and 5000 women, including married women. And it is stated that in 1911 there were 1365 European Roman Catholic priests and 643 nuns.[97]

Numbers make different impressions, according to the divergent tendencies of men. To some these numbers will seem very great; to others, thinking of what China will be in the near future, these 9000 agents among 400 millions spread over about 1,500,000 square miles suggest that we are still playing with missions. Either extreme is an extravagance. It is a large army, but not sufficient for the task. On the other hand, it is a false impression that foreign Christians are to convert China. The work of foreigners is only to build up the Chinese Church that will undertake this task.

3. An interesting missionary experiment is that of the China Inland Mission, founded in 1865. It draws upon America as well as England; it has no organisation for the collection of funds; it is interdenominational, and yet recognises groups of denominational stations. Thus the late Bishop Cassels had been for years a member of this mission without severing his connection with the Church of England.[98] It is still remembered by those who have passed middle life that in 1884 "the Cambridge seven" went out with this mission.[99]

If it is realised that the Anglican Church does not

contribute more than an eighth of the evangelistic force—less than the Presbyterians or the Methodists, and very much less than the Roman Catholics, an apology for any mention of its missions must be the formation of the Chung Hun Sheng Kung Hui (Sino Catholic Church) in 1912. It is a Chinese corporate fellowship for the eleven Anglican dioceses. Its vitality is seen by its having set aside the province of Shensi as a missionary diocese entirely maintained by itself, and having faced the spiritual care of its nationals in Malaya and elsewhere, so far even as North America and Australia.

4. New China is inevitably self-conscious and sensitive; the new Republic is still in its birth throes, provincial armies still represent the struggle of the old ideas against united centralisation. That which makes us despair of understanding China is our inability to grasp the forces of its political and national renaissance. As one would expect, the student class takes a prominent place in all that stirs the intelligentsia; and the foreign missions are largely in touch with this element through educational and medical work, and through the services of the S.C.M. and the Y.M.C.A. Peculiarly sensitive is China to anything that implies the inferiority of China to other nations, as, for example, extra-territoriality. China's mentality towards non-nationals has changed; it is actually feeling its way towards Western things. But it seeks ardently to absorb them into itself, and not to become westernised. It is this strongly national sense that from time to time comes up against the missionary; and

the task of missionaries is, both as educationists and as evangelists, to offer a Christian gospel that shall not be foreign in its influence, or unnational in its culture.

The Christians of China are seeking keenly after an interpretation of Jesus Christ for the unfolding of China's well-being; they are alive to the social and economic implications of His teaching. When the competing armies have exhausted their energies, and the new China is seen, the evangelists of many countries and many denominations will have to face the fact that Christian China seeks for a Chinese Christianity, and not for Roman Catholic or Anglican or Presbyterian Christianity. How this is to be is beyond the little schemes of men; but those whose minds are illuminated, Chinese and foreigners, can co-operate with the will of God.

5. Japan.* The modern missionary history of Japan has presented two phases. The first was unduly optimistic. It is well that in the rapid assimilation of Western ideas Japan did not adopt a superficial national Christianity. The second and present phase is unduly pessimistic. China has proved more attractive in recent years than Japan. Among the results of the rapid evolution are the evils that elsewhere have attended a period of great industrial expansion; they call for the spirit of Christ to exorcise them before they have produced ineradicable evils. Missionaries have perhaps concentrated in the centres of industry somewhat to the neglect of the farming classes.

* See chap. xi., par. 6.

And Japan, like China, will not receive a foreigner's interpretation of Christianity. Her people seek for the Christ who will show them the way of national honour, who will be the Fulfiller of their inheritance of culture and character, the Supreme Interpreter of their art; and not less, the Christ who shall show to them the ideal of their unfolding life, the development of national character, the reformation of their industrial life, and their way of response to Japanese opportunities.

6. In 1913 it was said that there were 66,000 Japanese Roman Catholics, with 152 European and thirty-three Japanese priests.[100] To-day there are fifty-three Protestant Societies at work. Three societies from the U.S.A. date from 1859. There are in all about 2250 European missionaries, and 1000 American. The Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists each exceed the Anglican converts, and the total number of Japanese Christians may be to-day about 320,000, excluding Korea.

As might be expected Japan is sensitive about the self-government and independence of its Christianity. The many separate bodies of Japanese Christians, belonging to missionary societies whose loyalties are of little concern to the people of Japan, have amalgamated into four Church unions, of which the third in order of formation is the Nippon Seikokwai (Catholic Church of Japan), embracing all who are in communion with the Anglican Church. Here the end in view is definitely clearer, since two Japanese bishops were consecrated in 1923.

7. Since 1920 Korea has been incorporated into Japan. Its earlier affinities were always with China, with which country its Christian history is associated. It was part of its effort to repulse Japanese invasions in the sixteenth century that led to the exclusion of foreigners. The nineteenth century saw long and severe persecutions of the Christians, and only in 1882, after the signing of a treaty with the U.S.A., did any other missions venture among them [101]; the long roll of martyrs is the glory of the Roman Church. In this light it is strange that apparently the Romans are progressing less rapidly to-day than other missions.[102] In 1907 a remarkable stirring of spiritual life was experienced by the Christians, more especially by the American Protestant converts, leading to a great increase of the Christian community.

CHAPTER XX

THE ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC

1. THE universality of Jesus Christ is seen in the response of many peoples to the Gospel. In the Pacific Isles and among the aborigines in Australia the Christian faith has been justified in its conviction that He is Lord also of the most primitive aboriginals and of those who exhibit degeneracy, head-hunters and cannibals.

For the most part the least advanced in the human scale seem incapable of bearing the strain of Western contact, and even to-day, when paternally protected, are still vanishing. And the cause is not solely extermination by reckless colonisers, nor the vices that generally follow in the wake of those who first establish contact. Such diseases as measles, leprosy and smallpox have wrought havoc, and the adoption of European clothing has caused the scourge of phthisis. But it is said that " where missionary influence and relatively few contacts with the commercial world are present, the decay is less noticeable, and occasionally gradual increase in population is reported." [103]

One experiment deserves notice. At one time early in last century the missionary societies were impressed by the importance of industrial teaching. It was thought that with people of the Pacific Isles it was needful to civilise them to some extent before they could receive the Christian revelation to their

profit. The experiment was worth making; but in all cases it was found that civilisation follows the Gospel, and that industrial enlightenment only takes root when the people have become Christians.

2. The white population first introduced into Australia was not easily controlled. In New South Wales "troubles with the natives increased, though in most instances the Europeans were the aggressors." In Western Australia "ticket-of-leave men or freedmen from Tasmania found their way to the new colony and produced the same trouble with the inhabitants which darken the pages of early Tasmanian history." [104] Under these difficulties the evangelisation began. The earliest missionaries were necessarily from England, while to-day the societies represented are for the most part rightly Australian.

The Maoris of New Zealand are the finest race in the Pacific. The C.M.S. at the request of Samuel Marsden * sent missionaries in 1814. The work was most encouraging, until the annexation of New Zealand in 1840 alarmed them about their ownership of land. This question, especially after the great immigration, brought about the disastrous wars of the sixties, together with outbursts of religious fanaticism and very serious apostasy. The Wesleyans began work in 1822, and *The World Missionary Atlas* numbers the Presbyterian and Anglican Churches as about equal in membership. Bishop Selwyn's episcopacy is remarkable both for his equal devotion to the Europeans and the Maoris, and his opening up of work in the isles.

* Chap. xvi., par. 4

3. The beginning of the evangelisation of the Pacific Isles goes back as far as 1668, and in 1726 the Viceroy of Peru sent priests to Tahiti. The Roman Missions have increased as time has gone on, and have specialised in the French possessions.[105]

Captain Cook's voyages and the glowing reports of the beauty of the islands, and the first very false impression that the people lived in a paradise of innocence, aroused missionary zeal. The ship *Duff* made its first attempts at Tahiti in 1796. Most famous of the missionaries was James Chalmers, first at Raratonga and then in New Guinea (1866-1901). He was killed by cannibals.*

The Wesleyan Mission in the Fiji Islands has been most striking in its results. The Anglican work among these islands is the consequence of Bishop Selwyn's conviction that "where a trader will go for gain, there the missionaries ought to go for the merchandise of souls."[106] The Melanesian Mission is a joint work of Australia, New Zealand and England. Bishop Patteson's death in 1871 was directly due to the fact that the inhabitants of that island had recently been disturbed by the bad conduct of some traders.

The Presbyterians are also well represented, and J. G. Paton's name is associated with the evangelisation of the New Hebrides. The Americans are occupied principally among the Polynesian and Micronesian islands.

4. The evangelisation of the Pacific Islands is an acid test of Christian spirit and of the power of the

* See also John Williams, chap. xvi., par. 4.

Gospel. The climate is trying, the work involves constant journeys among the islands; there is still danger when first attempts are made; numerous languages have to be learned and reduced to writing. A cold Christianity might question the value of labouring under such conditions among a diminishing population. The Gospel has been brought to head-hunters and cannibals by the white people who have been guilty of the grossest treachery and misconduct. And it wins. Where it is received the transformation is beyond imagination. The testimony of Darwin, R. L. Stevenson, and the Government Agents cannot be disregarded. Two illustrations will suffice. The L.M.S. in its New Guinea Mission has made use of native volunteers from Lifu, Samoa and other islands. On one occasion every student in the theological college and every teacher volunteered, and of these missionaries 120 died of fever within twenty years. In Hawaii it is said that 30 per cent. of the native ministry are foreign missionaries, and that 22 per cent. of the Christian contributions go to these missions.[107] Where such things are happening we have the evidence before our eyes that Jesus Christ is the Saviour of men in whatever condition they may be.

CHAPTER XXI

THE MOHAMMEDAN WORLD

1. MOHAMMEDANISM is the only great religion of the world that is younger than Christianity. It is a universal religion, it is propagandist, its members exhibit an ardent loyalty. The writer cannot escape from the conviction that something has remained in Christendom of that spirit which was felt in earlier centuries by some of the crusaders, and by all Europe broadly when the Turkish pirates swarmed over the Mediterranean. Whereas the Christian heart warms towards the heathen, it freezes somewhat when the Mohammedan and the Jew are mentioned. They are regarded as having rejected Christ. The spirit has quailed before the fanaticism of the one, and before the obstinacy of the other, as loyalty is termed by those of other religions.[108] It is in India that one is most struck by the absence of any determination; and it is difficult to avoid the thought that missionary friends have not been so ready to support a large outlay upon work where results were less encouraging than in other fields.

Since Raymond Lull's heroic service in the thirteenth century there has been no attempt to renew this work until recent times. The only contact through the intervening centuries was a Portuguese effort to wrest the trade-route to India from Mohammedan hands. The missionary opportunity

was misdirected into a fruitless attempt to transfer the allegiance of the Abyssinian Christians from the See of Alexandria to that of Rome (1507-1633).

In modern times we come to those who must be called Sowers: Henry Martyn and Bishop French in Persia, Ion Keith-Falconer[109] at Aden, Douglas Thornton at Cairo. In a quiet way something has been attempted in Persia, and undoubtedly in Egypt and Palestine the ground is being prepared.

2. The total Moslem population of the world is estimated as 235 millions: 70 millions are in British India. While 47 millions are under Moslem rule, including Egypt and Iraq, 188 millions are under the rule of the Western Powers.[110] Another way of visualising the extent of Mohammedanism is to look at such a map as is found in *The Moslem World in Revolution*.[111]

This is a sufficiently large problem to arrest attention, and might be made more serious by suggesting the possible extension of Mohammedanism across the centre of Africa. The Arab trader is a missionary, and the Sudan lies near to heathen Africa. Other missions might do well to copy the U.M.C.A. and to give their students instruction in the faith of the Moslem.

3. The World War has changed the whole relation of the Mohammedan world to Western and therefore to Christian outlook. Formerly its mind was closed; it was content to remain illiterate; it associated the material civilisation of the Western nations with the ruin of its world influence. It is

this mentality that has broken down under the pressure of facts.

(*a*) So long as a powerful Turkish Empire ruled in Constantinople as a religious centre, Mohammedanism proudly regarded itself a ruling power. To-day that Empire has been shorn of Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Arabia and Mesopotamia ; the Caliph has been deposed, the dervish monasteries are dispersed, the Islamic calendar abolished [112] and Constantinople is secularised. The centre of Government has been shifted to Angora,[113] and Mustapha Kemal is a nationalist who aims at *real-politik*.

(*b*) The Mohammedan world is intellectually awake.[114] Everywhere there is desire for education. Newspapers abound in Persia ; [115] translations of scientific works, as well as of novels, the publication of news, political propaganda, attempts to reconcile Islam and science, and a large supply of erotic literature, are together breaking up the old mentality.

(*c*) 'Accessibility' is the dominating word in a recent and important report.[116] It reckons that about four-fifths of the Moslem world are accessible to Christian approach, by ease of communication, by favourable political conditions, and by the startling readiness of men to talk of religious matters reasonably. "It has been found possible to distribute the Gospels in the Azhar University" of Cairo.

4. There are also considerations that suggest a possible crystallising of the Moslem mind if the present opportunity is not seized. The Wahhabis are the conservative aristocracy of the faith of Islam ; in 1924 they took Mecca, in 1925 they entered

Medina and the King of the Hedjas abdicated. Abdel Krim's revolt in North Africa has lately borne witness to new aspirations to political and religious prestige; the Druses and Arabs are more than restless under the French mandate in Syria; the Arab population resents the British attitude towards the Jews in Palestine; the Angora Government, at heart probably most concerned about the attitude of the Kurds, long delayed its acceptance of the division line of the Mosul Vilayet; the Moslems of India are torn in two directions between new Indian nationalist aspirations and ancient animosity towards the Hindus.

5. It would seem safe to predict that if the Moslem world finds a religious reunion, it will be very different in character from anything that has been known hitherto. The intellectual renaissance means, at any rate, Mohammedan "modernism." Can the Christian religion be presented persuasively before such a settling down takes place? The evangelistic forces are not equipped and ready for the task. As illustration only of what will require very great forces one may name some important agencies. (*a*) Literature—it calls for linguists; for trained apologists who understand the mentality of the Moslem; for a secular press to provide healthy reading, popular books and children's stories; for a large supply of positive Christian writings in place of controversial tracts. (*b*) Education, secular as well as religious, and including social, domestic, and moral teaching and industrial crafts. It is not a student class that is to be thought of, but the educa-

tion of a whole people, including the women, who are mostly illiterate, and who are only attaining to emancipation. (*c*) Medical work—not only doctors and nurses, but provision for such domestic training as one associates in England with district nurses and maternity institutions. (*d*) Evangelists—there is a very large field for such enterprises as village lantern meetings, Gospel story-tellers who know how an Eastern likes to hear a story, methodical village visiting.

Although the Christian world is caught almost unprepared, it must not meet the challenge with panic policy. Men and women have to be trained, and as the pioneers go out to complete their education on the spot another and larger army will be preparing at home. It is perhaps enough at the moment to grasp that if Islam is left to itself to satisfy its thirst for education, the day of opportunity will pass, and that the challenge is not to Great Britain alone, and still less to one body of Christians alone, but to the whole forces of Christendom.

6. Over this study of evangelisation has been cast the shadow of Mohammed. It has to be known that where the Christian world has seen a menace it may see to-day a glorious opportunity. If it is awake it will be like the women on the day of the Resurrection. "Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre? And when they looked they saw that the stone was rolled away."

From time to time reference has been made to the Christian Churches still existing in Turkey and Persia. If any force attaches by reason of this study to "the

purpose of God," one asks for the meaning of this remnant. "The Moslems have not failed to study with care the spirit of these Christians. There have been happy instances in which Moslems have been attracted." Said a Moslem not long since to a native Christian in Turkey, "If all the Christians had been like you, these events (1915-19) would not have happened." It was a Moslem, attracted by the Gospel, who said years ago, "If the Christians lived the Gospel we all should be Christians within fifty years." [117]

Europe at one time seemed to have become frozen into a fixed mentality based on the scholastic theology. Its fervour of evangelisation was exhausted; the crusades were its last unhappy expression. It could not attempt the conversion of the Moslem world because it had hatred in its heart. To this European world came a renaissance, a stirring of intellectual life; there followed a religious revolution producing radical changes. A new world in every way was a condition of this upheaval.[118] We are to think of the Moslem world in this way. The results are bound to be so revolutionary that no one can foresee what chapters will be added in 2026 to the history of world evangelisation. But the Western nations have the European renaissance to quicken their imagination. Will the Christian community mould it, or leave it to run its course? The voice of God is heard to-day. Is the heart of Christendom hardened, or can it join with the Psalmist: "O come let us sing unto the Lord; let us heartily rejoice in the strength of our salvation." *

* Ps. xcv.

CHAPTER XXII

THE MEASURE OF THE TASK

1. If one looks out upon the world, the most noticeable feature is the spirit that rejects the supremacy of the European system. The expansion of England and the world position of the United States of America are the least startling evidence of the European dominance, for their population is broadly homogeneous. Latin America, adding immigration to the experiment of independent republics, has constructed "outlying members of the European brotherhood."[119]

South Africa, after the chequered history of a century, has been brought definitely within the orbit of European society through the union of the Boers and British, but here, as in surrounding parts which are directly or by mandate under European control, anxiety marks the determination to maintain the higher culture amidst a much larger indigenous population incapable at present of sharing in the life of European society. More remarkable is the distribution of practically the whole of Africa among the European powers. The Franco-German War directed French attention again to colonial expansion, and indirectly changed the policy of Germany. The British occupation of Egypt dates from 1882, and the conquest of the Sudan was made in 1896-8. Belgium, Portugal, and Italy share in the distribution. "Almost the whole of Africa has thus become an annex of Europe."

The Asiatic continent presents this dominance in varying forms. India is the extreme experiment of the western system superimposed on orientals.[120] Japan came late within the orbit of the European system, and made it her own, while in India, as in Egypt, there is a strong current of resistance against a system felt to be inimical to her inherited culture. China has persistently rejected any interference with her inherited traditions. Like Persia she has escaped the diplomatic snares of Europe by reason of the mutual jealousies of the Powers.

Through the influence of commerce, the dominance of the European system extends yet further. Beginning with a trade in oriental spices, it extended rapidly when the gold and silver of the Americas were discovered. To-day there is no corner of the world that escapes, no part from which an insistent enterprise does not demand the services of the people, willingly or reluctantly.

2. The rapid changes of 170 years, with their increasing velocity, raise the gravest questions for those nations that recognise their moral responsibility. The child races are being educated by contact with commercial enterprise ; a paternal government must see that their labour is not exploited nor themselves robbed of their land. In many places what is called "the colour question" is a violent expression of economic jealousy and fear, which presents grave difficulty. Sometimes it is a land question also ; it is always a difference of culture. The desire to keep back the black races lest they should compete successfully with the white, and on lower wages,

is only one element of this question of the twentieth century. It offends the national self-esteem of Japan that her nationals should be differentiated against; the Indians are subjects of the British Empire and yet are not regarded as equals in all parts of the Empire; the West has forced open the doors of China and has gladly utilised its labour at times, but is unwilling to face the consequences.

3. The Christian society that is indissolubly involved in the European system has the responsibility of the proper exercise of its power. By world evangelisation one has to think in larger terms than that of the supply of missionaries. Direct evangelisation is only one part of the task. A more difficult part is to educate the conscience of those who compose the European system; to watch lest in the scramble of commercial enterprise essential injustice be done by the modern creed that the surface of the globe is for those who can make the most use of it. Slavery came into existence in Christian Europe a few centuries ago, without reflection, because it was economically profitable. Governments can never be far in advance of the general conscience, and it is the task of the Christian corporate society in any nation to raise its general tone. It is not long ago that Englishmen saw more clearly the evils in Belgian Congo than the harm done by a profitable opium trade between India and China. The liquor traffic is another illustration of the need of an educated Christian conscience.

4. Education is of paramount importance The

Christian realises that the science, the political thought and the economic life of the West are not to be withheld from others; he regards them as held in trust for mankind. But he does not believe that mere efficiency or knowledge apart from collective self-control and a sense of corporate well-being is education. He sees many people receiving as a by-product of commercial contact a wider experience that, apart from moral self-control, will be a source of danger to all men, and he desires to give them education in character.

The Christian is also moved by the contrast between his own blessings of modern scientific healing and hygiene, and the unnecessary sufferings of others who are in the bondage of fear and at the mercy of superstition. He is not content to bring to them Jesus Christ other than in His fulness. He cannot regard these people as souls without bodies.

5. One of the most urgent questions arising from the supremacy of the European system is national self-consciousness. Increasingly it perplexes the evangelist. He is no longer the agent of his country; but he is a national, and he may at any time find himself a divided being, and he may have to run the risk of being regarded as a firebrand. He certainly has to think deeply to be sure that he is thinking as a Christian and not merely as an English or French or American Christian.

He has undoubtedly to face a situation that demands a spiritual education of himself. In many countries the beginnings of evangelisation almost inevitably assumed the form of " westernising " the

converts to some extent. They were incapable of organising their corporate Christian life, and by conversion they became aliens from the society to which they had belonged. But increasing reaction against European dominance [191] is producing a sensitiveness that cannot be ignored. Sometimes the education that comes through the missionary is felt to be inimical to national culture. Elsewhere the growing Christian community is not content to be under the tutelage of foreign missions; in other places, or in the same places, a strong sense of nationality produces political aspirations with which the foreigner does not know how to cope. In large areas the achievements of the past century have led Christian societies from infancy to the independence of adolescence and the man's interest in political affairs. The missionary of the twentieth century has to learn in these countries to efface himself, to hand over, even it may be to watch, without interference, blunders and errors of judgment which he longs to prevent and should not.

6. It is certainly the aim of the intelligent missionary to build up a Church that will be the evangeliser of its own nationals. And one can never expect that result so long as the Christians are representatives of the ecclesiastical traditions of foreign countries. Baptist Chinese, Anglican Indians, Roman Catholic Japanese will not convert China, India, and Japan. The missionaries' loyalties have no deep significance to the converts so soon as they can stand on their own feet. If the missionary must not think as an Englishman, so neither must he think as an Anglican

or a Presbyterian. He has to see his denominational convert pass into a new loyalty. But when the question is of loyalty to a deeply spiritual conviction ? How can one ask the Roman Catholic Mission and the Friends' Mission to contemplate their converts being caught up into a national Christian life in which the particular loyalties of these missions have no significance ?

7. The rise of Protestant Missions, and the supremacy of the European system, have vitally changed the character of world evangelisation. But also the expansion of the western outlook upon life has altered the approach of missions to their task. The duty is realised now of giving to every people who have contact in any form with the European system the gift of Christ in the fulness of His incarnate life. The Christian cannot give less than he has received, and he does not confuse civilisation with Christianity, or assume that all Christian civilisation must be western in character. He believes that the Gospel of Christ is the life of any civilisation, is corporate in expression, and will find itself active in social, economic and political life. He desires to learn how to present Christ as the Builder of a culture inherently national in character, yet of a society which harmonises with the whole Temple of God. He realises that the nations are to bring the honour and the glory of their own life to adorn this Temple.

It does not satisfy him to be told that the alternative to evangelisation is world chaos, or that without Christ there will be wars arising from the

clash of colour, and economic rivalry and the growth of national self-consciousness. He does not preach Christ because he is a pacifist, but because he believes Him to be the goal of man and of the human race. He preaches Him because he cannot stifle the conviction that whenever a people is brought to his notice it is that they may be raised to the maturity of life. And he believes this because he believes that the world was created through the Word of God, and that therefore man is destined to find his fulfilment in His incarnate life. And for this same reason he believes that the course of history is the call of God to co-operate with His will in the fulfilment of man's destiny.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

[1] Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, is known as the Father of Church history (d. about 340). The Venerable Bede, of Wearmouth and Jarrow, wrote an ecclesiastical history of the English nation (d. 735). Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, wrote a history of the Reformation in England and a history of his own times (d. 1715).

[2] See almost any commentary on "the speech of Lycaonia" (Acts xiv. 11); or Ramsay's *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 57 f.

[3] See Rom. i. 13; xv. 22, 23. Bishop Lightfoot has pointed out that in 1 Cor. xii. 26 and Eph. iv. 16 St Paul is using illustrations already applied by Cicero to the Empire. See also Rom. xiii. 1 ff. Broadly the government of the Empire at this time was thoroughly good.

[4] Read Acts xxviii. 17 ff. as an illustration.

[5] Tertullian (*c.* 155-*c.* 222) is the father of Christian Latin: previously nearly all Christian writings had been in Greek.

[6] Origen (*c.* 185-*c.* 254) shares with St Augustine the reputation of being the greatest of early theologians. He is the founder of Christian philosophy and of Biblical criticism. He is associated with Alexandria and Cæsarea of Cappadocia.

[7] *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*—translated. 2 vols.

[8] The old reckoning of ten great persecutions is not scientific. They were not all widely spread or of long duration. Broadly the Church had rest from 259-303.

[9] Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XV. The chapter has been unreasonably attacked because the author is supercilious, and is not a believer in the supernatural force of Christianity.

[10] By Hellenism is meant a Greek influence that spread over the East more especially from the time of Alexander the Great. It did not permanently alter the Oriental mind. From the fusion of

East and West there sprang a common form of the Greek language, in which the New Testament is written. A great deal of religious fusion (or syncretism) took place; Oriental cults found their way into the West; Oriental deities received Western names. Thus Diana (Acts xix. 24) is really the Oriental Artemis.

[11] Thus attention is called to the exhaustion of Hebrew prophecy, the universal use of the Greek language, and the peace and order of the Roman Empire, together with its wide extension.

[12] H. M. Gwatkin's *Selections from Early Christian Writers* has an excellent extract from an anonymous letter to Diognetus about the middle of the second century that illustrates this paragraph. He also gives Pliny's correspondence with Trajan. Pliny (known as the younger, to distinguish him from his famous uncle) was Governor of Bithynia for about fifteen months (111-113).

CHAPTER II

[13] Arius denied the equality of the Son with the Father in His Godhead. Athanasius was at this time a deacon of Alexandria. He is the great exponent of the Nicene faith. Subsequently he was Patriarch of Alexandria. He endured five exiles from Arian Emperors, and died 373. The formula known as the "Athanasian Creed" was not composed by him. The Nicene Creed is in framework older than the Council of Nicæa, and in its exact wording it is later. The vital words "of one substance with the Father" are intended to mark that the Son is "of the very being of the Father—so that the Father Himself *is* not, does not exist, is not conceived of as having being, apart from the Son" (Bethune-Baker).

[14] The original population of Southern India is Dravidian. There are aboriginal tribes also in other parts of India. The Aryans or Indo-Germanic stock are also the origin of the Greek, Roman and English races. The Aryans of India are the source of the Hindu religion, and therefore of caste. These migrations may have begun as early as 2000 B.C.

[15] At this early stage they should be called Indo-European peoples. Teutons is the name of that group that had a common linguistic stock known also as Germanic or Gothic. From the fourth to sixth century A.D. various movements were taking place, and different branches are known as Vandals, Goths, Suabians (or Sueves), Franks, Lombardians, etc.

[16] St Augustine of Hippo is the greatest theologian of the Western Church. He died 430. His *Confessions* are well known, and from them one learns the beauty of a Christian mother's life in the fourth and fifth centuries.

[17] Justinian the Great was either a Teuton or a Slav by descent. He became Roman Emperor in the East in 518 and died 565. In almost every branch he was remarkable: a great legalist and administrator; he played a great part in ecclesiastical controversies, and he fought great wars in Persia, and with the Vandals and the Goths. His victories were only temporary, and still further exhausted the Empire of men and money.

CHAPTER III

[18] By the middle of the third century Christians were numerous in Cappadocia, and included the parents of Ulfilas (see Chap. IV), Gregory Thaumaturgus, Alexander, Bishop of Cæsarea and afterwards of Jerusalem, and Firmilian, who corresponded with Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage. In the fourth century there is the famous family of brothers, Naucratius, a great Christian jurist, Basil, Bishop of Cæsarea, Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, Peter, Bishop of Sebaste, and their sister Macrina, revered for her sanctity. Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzen, and friend of Basil, whose mother Nonna is also one of the famous Christian mothers, shares with Basil and his brother Gregory the distinction of being one of the four great theologians of the Eastern Church. Gregory the Illuminator (see Chap. V) was rescued by his Christian nurse and carried to Cæsarea in the middle of the third century. Thus Cæsarea has the glory of being the founder of Christianity among the Goths and in Armenia.

[19] St Martin is equally famous as a missionary. He was ordained by St Hilary of Poitiers, a great theologian of the Arian controversy.

[20] After the Arian controversy came others, making together what are called the Christological controversies. Certain Councils are known as œcumenical, because their dogmatic decisions have the general assent of Christendom. Of these the most important are Nicæa (325), Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451). The Church not only outlived heathenism (see middle of page 17), but also out-thought it. And it had also to think out the meaning of Church fellowship.

As an illustration of the violence of the monks, reference may be made to the life of St Chrysostom (baptized about 370, died 407).

CHAPTER IV

[21] The Franks are a branch of the Germanic or Teutonic stock. The Salian Franks became the most important of them. The Emperor Julian had defeated them and made them enter into relations with the Empire. Henceforth, although virtually independent, they often fought in the Roman armies, and especially they helped to destroy Attila the Hun. Clovis succeeded in 481, and became master of almost the whole of Gaul.

[22] An important city in N.W. Mesopotamia, with an early and scholarly Christian history. It was sometimes in Persia and at others within the Empire. It became the centre of bitter theological strife.

[23] Armenia refused to accept the Council of Chalcedon. The two forms of Christianity that contended with one another outside the Empire were Nestorianism and Eutychianism (or Monophysitism). The former was condemned at the Council of Ephesus and the latter at that of Chalcedon. Both turn on the abstruse mystery of the incarnate Lord being one Person, yet possessed of both divine and human natures.

[24] The great bishoprics became patriarchates and exercised much control over small sees. The chief patriarchates were Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. Ephesus and Cæsarea had the rank of Exarchates.

[25] Egypt, divided between Orthodox and Monophysites, was in a constant state of insubordination, and from 616-626 was in the power of Persia. The Eastern Empire left Egypt and Syria to fall a prey to any enemies.

CHAPTER V

[26] St Irenæus came from Syria, and was Bishop of Lyons towards the end of the second century. He is mainly the source of the conversion of that district; but he did not found the Church. He seems not to have known of any British Church. Probably both at Lyons and in Britain the Gospel was first brought by sailors or traders.

[27] The earliest reference is somewhat late. Some think that he

should be connected with an earlier persecution, when Decius was Emperor (*c.* 250). He was a Roman soldier.

[28] St Jerome's language does not seem very refined for one of the most learned scholars of the early ages; but it is not so abusive as was frequently used in the heat of controversy. His description of Pelagius is copied from Kidd's *A History of the Church to* 461, Vol. III, page 55, note 8. St Augustine calls Pelagius "a man of holy life and no small attainments as a Christian."

[29] St Germanus' name should be honoured in England. It occurs in some Church dedications as Germain or Garmon. He laboured for the conversion of the country. There is a story that he led the British to battle on Easter Day 430 against an attack of pirates, and that the shouts of Alleluia by the Christians caused a panic.

[30] St Ninian is dated towards the end of the fourth century. Irish Christianity was flourishing and full of learning when Columba was born in County Donegal in 521. He passed over to Scotland in 563. His conversion of the Picts was wonderfully successful.

CHAPTER VI

[31] Heraclius between 622 and 628 pulled the Empire together. But his attempts at theological comprehensiveness displeased all parties; and he alienated the Jews. In his last years he was not in health to resist the Moslem advances, and his Empire was not united, d. 642.

[32] The word Caliph represents the Arabic Khalifa, which means Successor or Representative. The first four Caliphs were elected from the Arabian tribe of which Mohammed was a member, and the fourth was Ali. In 661 the seat of the Caliphate was moved to Damascus, and the office was made hereditary. To secure this, Husain, the son of Ali, was murdered at Kerbala in 680. The adherents of the Prophet's line divided from the Damascene rule, and henceforth the great Moslem schism has continued. Persia is the chief country of the Shiites, the followers of Ali and Husain: the Sunnites represent the series of Caliphate lines which began at Damascus, then were set up at Bagdad (from 750), then in Egypt (from 1258), lastly at Constantinople (from 1517-1924). There was also a Fatimite Caliphate in Egypt and North Africa from 908-1171.

[33] The consideration of national adolescence is of great importance to the missionary student. Teutonic Christianity is inseparable from the self-realisation of national unity. In England the conversion of the whole country contributed to the formation of national unity. The evangelist to-day has to face similar processes and to recognise the relation between a conquering Christianity and its instinct towards national realisation and expression.

CHAPTER VII

[34] For some centuries to come the Emperor was to play a great part at times in European history. In theory he should be the conscience of Western Christendom in harmony with the Pope as the supreme spiritual head. But Emperors and Popes are human, and it was natural to Emperors to think of their own interests before those of Christ, and to Popes to do the same. Sometimes Pope and Emperor were at daggers drawn, sometimes they worked in harmony for selfish ends. From 1273-1556 the Empire was in the line of the Habsburgs and bore a closer relation to the Germany of the Middle Ages than to the papacy. After this period the Reformation had wrought such changes, and the sense of nationality was so strong, that the Empire might have been dissolved. But the Austrian Habsburgs clung to the dignity, and it served certain quite other purposes than those for which it had first arisen. Finally, in 1806 the Emperor Francis of Austria resigned the title to prevent Napoleon from appropriating it.

[35] Norway, Sweden, Iceland and Denmark were peopled by those who shared more or less a common Scandinavian culture-language. From about 789 their rovers began raiding various parts of the English coast, and around Scotland and Ireland. They were known as Vikings (=rovers). Their course was always the same: raids, partial settlement, terms made with the country. In the ninth century they were penetrating the Rhine and the Somme, and then later the Seine and the Loire.

[36] See last para. of Chap. V. Consecrated Archbishop of York at Compiègne, after the Council of Whitby. But St Chad had been installed. Theodore of Canterbury secured him in his see through the saintly character of Chad. For nine years his life was one of ceaseless activity. But when Theodore divided the northern see into three, Wilfrid went to Rome with his complaints; the last years

of his life were spent in splendid service and in perpetual strife, d. 709.

CHAPTER IX

[37] "The period of European history which extends from about the middle of the fourteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth witnessed the rise and development of several great commercial families, whose fortunes became so vast, and whose transactions so multifarious and far-reaching, that, from the influence they wielded in commerce and from the splendour in which they lived, they justly earned the appellation of Merchant Princes." (Foreword to *The Fugger Newsletters*.) The journeys of the members of the Polo family illustrate this side of European life. For an interesting sketch of Marco Polo and his relations with Kublai Khan, the reader may like to see Mrs Oliphant's *The Makers of Venice*, Part II, Chap. I.

[36] Innocent III had raised the papacy to its highest pitch of prosperity, and he was practically the founder of the papal states, which feebler Popes could not control without the aid of the Kings of France. It was a dangerous position; it made the Pope like any other King, and it put him in the power of France. Boniface VIII (1294-1303) tried to be both Emperor and Pope, and so Philip IV of France took him prisoner. During the whole period since the Popes had become secular rulers they were losing respect. In 1305 the Pope moved to Avignon under French protection, to be safe from the disorders in Italy, and especially in Rome. This was the "Babylonish Captivity." The extravagance of the papal court at Avignon brought the papacy into deep contempt. The spiritual influence of St Catherine of Siena had much to do with the papal return to Rome in 1377. But things still went from bad to worse, and in 1378 the Cardinals elected another Pope, and so began the long schism, the new Popes living at Avignon and the old ones in Rome. This schism was not ended till 1417.

CHAPTER X

[39] The systematisation of mediæval thought reached its climax with St Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), whose *Summa Theologica* remains a masterpiece of theology. Scholasticism "marked the culmination of an epoch in civilisation." Early in the fourteenth century

Pope Clement V had ordered Durandus to write on reform. Dante's *De Monarchia* has been called an epilogue and a prophecy. Marsilius of Padua, ten years later, wrote *Defensor Pacis*, which became a classic with all the papal writers who attacked clericalism in the government of the state. John Gerson was the intellectual leader of the Council of Constance.

[40] The Council condemned Huss to death. Wyclif had died in 1384. See further in note 69.

[41] Quoted from *A Short History of British Expansion*, J. A. Williamson.

[42] Foolish language is still used about this division, as though the Pope was making an unheard-of claim. It was entirely in accordance with accepted ideas, and everybody recognised his division.

[43] As there is no later reference to S. America it may be noted that there are still non-Christians. Captain Allen Gardiner devoted himself to their evangelisation especially in Patagonia. He died of starvation in 1851. The South American Missionary Society continues his work. Charles Darwin wrote in 1870 that " the success of the Terra del Fuego mission is most wonderful, and charms me, as I always prophesied its failure." (Quoted from Eugene Stock's *Short History of Missions*.)

CHAPTER XI

[44] A modern French writer has written that Adrian VI (1522-1523) determined to work seriously for reform, beginning with the Holy See. He desired to hold a General Council in Germany, and while preparing for it told his legate that all the evils of the Church came from the Roman Curia. " He died prematurely. Dutch in origin, he is the last Pope who has not been Italian" (Albert Houtin).

[45] After the capture of Constantinople the Turkish power continued to increase, and there was constant war in Eastern Europe as well as in Persia and Egypt. Under Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566) the Turks attained their greatest power. Hungary lay in their grip; attempts were made to take Vienna; their sea-power was regarded as invincible. After his death the slow process of decay set in, until in 1606 there was European peace. The naval battle of Don John of Austria at Lepanto still left the Turkish fleet powerful, but its reputation was broken.

[46] No one has criticised the success of the Roman missions more

severely than the learned Abbé Dubois, who lived in South India from about 1792-1823. But even he almost conformed to the Brahminical rules. It is honest to add that his strictures upon the lives of Europeans in India as putting up a fatal barrier to its conversion are yet more severe.

[47] By " Congregation " is meant a Council of Cardinals.

CHAPTER XII

[48] The island of Bombay was ceded to Charles II as part of the marriage portion of Catherine of Braganza, and was regarded as of no value.

[49] For the French in India see more in Chap. XIV, para. 3.

[50] The Dutch had every reason to hate the Roman Catholics from whom they had suffered such abominations while they were part of the Spanish Netherlands, and during their struggle for freedom in the middle of the sixteenth century. And they were amply justified in bitter resentment of the Catholic missionary policy in China and Japan. But they made no effort to counter their work by the establishment of Protestant missions, and they did what lay in them to prejudice the native Christians in the eyes of their Governments by insinuating their disloyalty.

[51] A native of Virginia had been baptized in 1587, and Sir Walter Raleigh gave £100 to the Virginia company for the prosecution of this good work.

[52] This Corporation changed its name to the New England Company. After the American War of Independence its activity was transferred to Canada. Its affairs have always been in the hands of twenty-five laymen; its resources are derived from the investment of its original income from collections made by the Long Parliament in the Churches of England and Wales.

CHAPTER XIII

[53] Henry IV was assassinated in 1610. Louis XIV was born in 1638. He became King in 1643, ruled personally from 1659 and died in 1715.

[54] The authority for these missions is Francis Parkman's *The Jesuits in North America.* See Mrs Creighton's *Missions* for a short reference to them.

[55] Albert Houtin, a French modernist, writes that the Gallican Church reached its apogee in the seventeenth century; and he names sixteen persons as among the most illustrious (*Courte histoire du Christianisme*). English readers are generally familiar with Mrs Sydney Lear's popular books on the great French Churchmen. One of them is on the priestly life in France in the seventeenth century.

[56] Pascal, the great mathematician, was a devoted friend of the Port Royalists who were influenced by Jansenism. Bishop Jansen of Ypres had published a treatise on St Augustine. In 1643 his friend Antoine Arnauld had made some of the views expressed therein more popular in a book called *Frequent Communion*. Pascal's *Provincial Letters* on the questions in dispute between the Jesuits and the Jansenists are still read by everybody.

[57] Familiarly known as the Lazarists. They were first housed in Paris in a former leper hospital.

[58] The leader of Quietism was Molinos, a Spaniard in Rome. It was a counter-reformation reaction against ecclesiasticism in the spiritual life, and allied to mysticism. In spirit it had elements in common with the tenets of the Quakers. See Lilley's *Prayer in Christian Theology*, Chap. VI.

[59] Archibald Grant's *The Past and Prospective Extension of the Gospel by Missions to the Heathen*. A cheap edition was published by the S.P.G. in 1910.

CHAPTER XIV

[60] *The Expansion of England:* see especially Course I, Lect. II.

[61] Charles V had been ruler of Austria and Spain together with Portugal, of the Spanish Netherlands and of parts of Italy, as well as exercising great influence over the German states in his position as Emperor. He also held enormous possessions in the New World. His son, Philip II, was not Emperor, nor did he have his father's Austrian possessions. But as ruler of Spain and Portugal, the Netherlands and the New World, and as one determined to fight for the supremacy of Catholicism, his power had alarmed all Western Europe. He is the Philip of the Spanish Armada, and the determined opponent of any reformed religion in the Netherlands. He sent Alva to subdue them.

[62] The Mogul dynasty (1526-1760) began with the invasion of India by Baber from Persia, and by 1556 had established a powerful

Mohammedan rule over a large part of the country. Akbar (1556-1605) was the greatest and most enlightened of these rulers. In the middle of the seventeenth century some of the most famous buildings in Delhi and Agra are dated. Aurungzeb marks the beginning of the decline, and the rise of the Marathas under Sivaji (d. 1680). Then followed a disastrous struggle between these two rival powers, Mohammedan and Hindù; and all Southern India was breaking up. The French fished in these troubled waters; first Clive at Arcot (1751), and then Eyre Coote at Wandiwash (1760) so acted that there was left "not a single ensign of the French nation avowed by the authority of its government in any part of India."

[63] Bengal revolted against the decaying Mogul power, and through the actions of Surajah Dowlah (Siraj-ud-daula) became a scene of wild disorder. He coveted the wealth of the English Company, which he greatly exaggerated. Then it was that the English prisoners were locked up for a hot June night in our police barracks, a room less than 18 feet square. Next morning out of about (or nearly) 148 persons, only 23 were living. Clive hurried up from Madras, and next year (1757) at the battle of Plassey, settled the fate of Bengal.

[64] Nor is Macaulay's essay to be trusted for a fair judgment on Hastings.

[65] See Lilley's *Prayer in Christian Theology*, Chap. V. St Theresa died 1582. A century later Miguel de Molinos is a sign that spiritual life was still prospering. *The Mystics of the Church*, by Evelyn Underhill, Chap. IX, may be consulted for these Spanish mystics. "Mysticism only thus becomes articulate when there is a public which craves for the mystic's message" (p. 54).

[66] Many godly men had gone to the Colonies. John Bunyan was put into prison. The Church of England as a whole was revelling disastrously in the Restoration triumph. There were, as there always are, two strains in the English Church. The best life had been influenced by the Puritan spirit, and languished by reason of the repression of Puritan Nonconformity. The other strain was "High Church," and lost its vitality when the Nonjurors went out at the Revolution of 1688.

[67] Dr Bray is an interesting man, who not only, with the aid of a few friends, founded these two Societies, but also established and endowed libraries. "Dr Bray's fund" still does useful work by its grants for books. Maryland was a grant of Charles I to the Baltimore family. It became a predominantly Anglican settlement.

[68] Leibnitz was a German philosopher, mathematician, theologian, man of science, and one who played a part in politics. "A man of almost universal attainments and almost universal genius," d. 1716.

[69] Huss was a distinguished Czech scholar of the new University of Prague, a devoted adherent of Wyclif and a keen reformer of papal abuses. He was the chief link between Wyclif and the Continental Reformation. He was burnt at Constance in 1415. Many of his followers—like the Lollards in England—carried their tenets into the economic and social sphere. Hence the Hussite wars. Some of these people moved into the neighbouring Moravia and founded the Unitas fratrum (Moravian Brethren). The beginnings of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) nearly exterminated them. When next heard of they had collected together a remnant on Zinzendorf's estates.

[70] On the authority of Mrs Ashley Carus Wilson's *The Expansion of Christianity*, Part II, Chap. VIII.

[71] Charles Wesley is the great hymn-writer. John Wesley is really the founder of the American Episcopal Methodist Church. It is useless to-day to produce earnest statements showing that Wesley did not approve of the separation of his followers from the Church of England. It is certain that he made such organisation of his followers that the separation was inevitable; and indeed his own acts were ecclesiastically quite irregular. The strange fact is that in some respects he remained a "High Church man," and his brother's hymns are strongly sacramental. Whitefield was Calvinistic, and Wesley was not. Whitefield's great work was done outside the Church of England.

[72] The trade in slaves was abolished in 1807, and they were emancipated throughout the Empire in 1834.

[73] David Brown succeeded Kiernander (a Swedish missionary of the Danish-Halle Mission) in 1787 in charge of what came to be

known as the Old Mission Church in Calcutta. Claudius Buchanan went out in 1797, and among other labours collected a great deal of information about the Syrian Christians of India. Henry Martyn went out in 1806.

[74] The popular form of the temperance movement reached England about 1830, and for a time was a pledge to abstain from spirits. About 1850 the "teetotal" movement became prominent.

[75] Baptist Miss. Soc., 1792. London Miss. Soc., 1795. Scottish Miss. Soc., 1796. Church Miss. Soc., 1799. British and Foreign Bible Soc., 1804. London Soc. for promoting Christianity among the Jews, 1808. Wesleyan Miss. Soc., 1813.

[76] The French Revolution gave rise to most dreadful scenes in Hayti, the French part of Hispaniola. A short account may be read in *The Story of the Nations* Series, volume on West Indies: Chap. XII. Robespierre is the author of "Perish the colonies rather than sacrifice one of our principles."

CHAPTER XVI

[77] Formerly Secretary of the C.M.S. *A Short Handbook of Missions.* He has written a large history of the C.M.S.

[78] "The Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Mary." R. L. Stevenson defended Father Damien from the aspersions on his character.

[79] *François Coillard*, by Edward Shillito, is one of a good series of missionary biographies now being published by the S.C.M.

[80] Dr Warneck's *History of Protestant Missions* is a storehouse of information; but it lacks the charity that is so pleasing a feature of Dr Eugene Stock's books.

[81] A Peruvian boat engaged in kidnapping Chinese coolies had to land in Japan. One of the coolies escaped to shore and complained of the treatment they were receiving. Japan, with the moral support of Great Britain, insisted upon her right to give them freedom. *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XII, pp. 554 f.

CHAPTER XVII

[82] Bentinck (Governor-General of India, 1828-35) suppressed Suttee (the voluntary burning of the widow on her husband's funeral pyre) and Thuggism (a semi-religious and organised society

of murder). Macaulay was President of the Board of Education and a strong advocate of English against the champions of Sanskrit. The word "alone" in Bentinck's resolution was subsequently corrected by grants for vernacular and Sanskrit languages. Bentinck also established the Calcutta Medical College, a remarkable achievement, if it is remembered that it was considered a heinous pollution to touch a dead body.

[83] A recent calculation suggests that out of about four million and a half Indian Christians, more than two million one hundred and fifty thousand are Roman Catholics, including the Roman Syrians; about three hundred and eighty-eight thousand are Anglicans, more than one million six hundred thousand belong to various Protestant denominations, and about three hundred thousand are Syrian Christians.

[84] By aboriginals one refers to the primitive people who were in India prior to the arrival of the Indo-Aryan stock, and who have retained their separateness from it.

[85] By mass movements is meant the movement towards Christianity by whole villages or groups of villages.

CHAPTER XVIII

[86] This remarkable woman came from the weaving sheds of Dundee.

[87] Their missions extend to Mashonaland, Rhodesia and Nyassaland, as well as being within the South African Union. Their combined income is about £80,000. (*World Missionary Atlas*, pp. 54 f.)

[88] They have important work in Basutoland, and the Trappists are in Natal and elsewhere. They have in all more than three hundred European priests ministering to Europeans and Africans.

[89] An account of the growth of the Anglican Episcopate may be seen in Eugene Stock's *History of the C.M.S.*, Vol. I, Part V, Chap. XXVII. Chap. XXVI deals with the inauguration of the Colonial Bishopric Fund.

[90] For Sierra Leone see Chap. XV, para. 3. The Liberian Republic was established as a free colony for American freed negroes in 1821. There are to-day about forty thousand Christian negroes there beside those of Americo-Liberian origin. The evangelisation of the Yorubas was begun by Christian Yorubas returning to their people from Sierra Leone. The attempt to convert Lagos by native

missionaries was not successful. To-day the Church in Lagos is self-supporting and evangelistic.

[91] See Chap. XVI, para. 4. In 1843 Krapf had reported rumours of the great inland lake: in 1855 Rebmann and Erhardt confirmed them. It was because of these reports that Speke in 1860 and then Baker (afterwards Sir Samuel Baker) made their journeys. In his report Speke wrote that "the missionaries are the prime and first promoters of this discovery."

[92] The first Uganda missionaries chose for their sphere the country in which Bishop Hannington had met his death. Canon Apolo is a fine example of a black apostle.

[93] The White Fathers began in 1868 under Bishop Lavigerie: the Mill Hill Mission in 1894. In 1916 it was estimated that there were 200,000 Anglicans, 186,000 Roman Catholics, and less than 240,000 heathen, and under 52,000 Mohammedans.

[94] *Handbook of Uganda*, by H. R. Wallis, C.M.G.

[95] Government paper. Cmd. 2374. Price Twopence.

CHAPTER XIX

[96] See *The World Call to the Church—The Far East*, Introductory Chapter, for a presentation of the importance and variety of this area.

[97] Ninety of the 138 Societies have some medical work, with a total of 381 male and 118 female doctors and 320 nurses (*World Missionary Atlas*). The Roman Catholic statistics for 1911 are taken from C. H. Robinson's *History of Christian Missions*.

[98] This particular is not entirely peculiar to the C.I.M. The Bible Zenana and Medical Mission makes similar provision.

[99] Among them were the Captain of the University Cricket Club and the stroke of the 'Varsity Boat.

[100] From *History of Christian Missions*. The *World Missionary Atlas* gives 165,000 Christians, exclusive of Roman Catholics. The *S.P.G. Atlas* gives 292,000 Christians of all sorts for Japan and Formosa at the end of 1920.

[101] This is not literally true. The L.M.S. sent a missionary in 1860 who, together with the whole ship's company, seems to have been murdered.

[102] At the time of annexation there were 450 missionaries, of whom the largest bodies were the American Presbyterians, the Methodists, and after them the French Catholics. An Anglican

Mission dates from 1889. The *World Missionary Atlas* gives 598 foreign missionaries, of whom 450 are from the U.S.A. The *S.P.G. Atlas* (1921) gives approximately 300,000 Protestants, 80,000 Roman Catholics, and 5000 Anglicans.

CHAPTER XX

[103] On the authority of the *World Missionary Atlas*, p. 198. The smallness of the contact and its special character will account for this without suggesting the conclusion that commercial contact is always injurious.

[104] Quotations are taken from *The Story of the Nations, Australian Commonwealth*, pp. 91 f., 281. For Tasmania, see p. 184; see further on pp. 195 ff.

[105] The Queen Regent of Spain sent priests to the Ladrone Islands at the time when superficial conversions were accepted. When Protestants have been working on islands subsequently annexed by France, their missions have usually been handed over to the Paris Evangelical Mission.

[106] Mrs Creighton's *G. A. Selwyn* gives a short account of the foundation of Anglican work among the Maoris, and the start of the Melanesian Mission.

[107] *History of Christian Missions*, p. 447.

CHAPTER XXI

[108] Jews are only partially neglected; there are some excellent missions. Their scattered condition helps to explain the comparative neglect of them.

[109] Arabic Professor at Cambridge, and founder of the United Free Church of Scotland Mission at Aden.

[110] *The World Call to the Church—The Moslem World.* Another way of presenting the facts is this: 44 per cent. live in British possessions; 15 per cent. in Dutch; 12 per cent. in French; 7 per cent. in Russian; 10 per cent. in other parts; and 12 per cent. in independent Moslem states.

[111] By W. W. Cash, Secretary of C.M.S.

[112] Whatever religious associations surround Angora are Christian, but they are not of a character to strike the popular imagination. Angora is Ancyra. There is no reason to think that St Paul ever visited this part of the Roman province of Galatia. Several Councils

were held here. It was at one time a strong centre of what is known as Montanism, a curious expression of early Christianity, which won the allegiance of Tertullian among others. Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra, is an important name in the evolution of the creeds.

[113] The Moslem calendar dated from the year of the "flight" (Hejira) from Mecca. The year was a lunar one, and consequently about eleven days shorter than the western year. The year A.D. 1923 was the same as 1341-1342 A.H.

[114] Abundantly illustrated in *Christian Literature in Moslem Lands*, an American survey.

[115] "To-day the busy journalism of Persia includes at least one women's journal, edited by a Persian woman, and a large output of patriotic literature." (*Christian Literature in Moslem Lands.*)

[116] *Conference of Christian Workers among Moslems*, published 1924.

[117] *The Moslem World of To-day*, p. 113. Published 1925.

[118] The comparison is taken from Chap. II of *The Moslem World of To-day.*

CHAPTER XXII

[119] Much in this chapter is suggested by the *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XII, and unless otherwise stated the inverted commas indicate direct quotations from it.

[120] It is one of the commonest of mistakes to regard India as a nationality. It is a congeries of nations, and owing to that fact the conquest of India in the eighteenth century was made without diverting British troops from the European wars. It was conquered largely by Indian soldiers. So, too, the Mutiny was the rising of only one of the parts into which India is divided. In 1857 troops could be landed much more rapidly than in 1757: yet even in 1857 the Suez Canal only existed in the brain of Ferdinand de Lesseps.

[121] The reaction against the European system may perhaps be dated from the great defeat of the Italians at Adowa, in 1896, by the Abyssinians. The Russo-Japanese War gave it greater impetus. The last war (1914-18), with its manifestation of the Western nations destroying one another, with its political cry of "Nationalism," and by reason of the European experiences of many Orientals, damaged the prestige of Europe. It was in 1905 that China recognised the necessity of European education, if she was to follow in the steps of Japan. The nationalist movements in Egypt and India, and the Ethiopian movement in Africa, have been encouraged by the War.

A SHORT LIST OF DATES

(*To illustrate the text of the book*)

64. First persecution of the Christians (Nero).

112. Pliny's letter to Trajan about the Christians.

250-1. Decian persecution.

259-303. "The great peace." Beginnings of Eastern Monasticism.

303-12. Last persecution (Diocletian).

312. Victory of Constantine.

325. Council of Nicæa.

c. 340. Beginnings of Greek and Western Monasticism.

361-63. Emperor Julian.

376. Ostrogoths settle within Roman Empire (protection against the Huns).

378. Victory of Ostrogoths at Hadrianople.

381. Council of Constantinople.

c. 383. Death of Ulfilas.

410. Visigoths under Alaric sack Rome.

430. Death of St Augustine of Hippo.

431. Council of Ephesus.

440-61. Pope Leo the Great.

451. Council of Chalcedon.

452. Attila (Hun) approaches Rome.

455. Vandals sack Rome.

461. Death of St Patrick.

476. End of the Western Empire.

493-526. Theodoric the Great, Emperor (Ostrogoth).

496. Baptism of Clovis.

527-565. Justinian.

544. Death of St Benedict.

568. Lombards arrive in Italy.

590-604. Pope Gregory the Great.

597. Death of St Columba.
St Augustine reached England.

A SHORT LIST OF DATES

610-42. Heraclius.

circa 600 and onwards. Irish, Scottish and then English missionaries evangelising Central Europe.

c. 638. Rapid advance of Mohammedan conquests.

c. 700. Viking power begins. 664. Council of Whitby.

751. Pepin (first Carlovingian King).

754. Death of St Boniface.

800. Charles the Great crowned.

801-865. St Anskar.

860 onwards. Methodius and Cyril among the Slavs.

875-77. Viking power broken.

911. Baptism of Rollo, the Norman.

988. Baptism of Vladimir I at Kiev.

1066. William I ("The Conqueror").

1072. Death of St Adalbert (evangelist of Scandinavia).

1096. Beginning of Crusades.

1198-1216. Pope Innocent III.

1210. Foundation of Franciscan Order.

1215. Foundation of Dominican Order.

1227. Death of Jenghiz Khan.

1272-1307. Edward I of England.

1291. End of Crusades.

1294-1303. Pope Boniface IV.

1305-77. "Babylonish Captivity."

1314. Death of Raymond Lull.

c. 1340. Turks arrive in Europe.

1358-1405. Tamerlane flourished.

1378-1417. "The great schism."

1414-18. Council of Constance.

1431-49. Council of Basel.

c. 1450. Printing press.

1453. Constantinople taken by Turks.

1460. Death of Dom Henry of Portugal.

1492. Discovery of America and West Indies by Columbus (first voyage).

1509-15. Portuguese seize Goa (India) and Macao (China).

1520. Luther's challenge to the Papacy.

1521. Discovery of Mexico.
1526-1760. Moghul dynasty (India).
1532. Discovery of Peru.
1540. Foundation of Jesuit Order.
1542. Opening of trade with Japan.
1545-63. Council of Trent.
1558. Death of Charles V (Emperor).
1566. Death of Suleiman the Magnificent.
1571. Battle of Lepanto.
1598. Death of Philip II of Spain.
1603 onwards. French exploration in North America.
1618-48. " Thirty Years War."
1638. Japan closed to foreigners.
1658. Société des Missions Étran-
1659-1715. Personal rule of Louis XIV. gères.
1697. Treaty of Ryswick.
1702-13. " War of Spanish Succession " (actually the war of France and Spain in union to monopolise the trade of the new world).
1713. Treaty of Utrecht. 1738 onwards. Wesley preaching.
1751-60. French being driven out of India.
1756-63. " Seven Years War."
1768-79. Voyages of Captain Cook (Australia and New Zealand).
1775-81. War of American Independence.
1789. Beginning of French Revolution.
1807. Slave-trade abolished.
1815. Battle of Waterloo. 1834. Emancipation of slaves in
1851. Discovery of gold in Australia. British Empire.
1857. Indian Mutiny : Taiping rebellion.
1866. Beginnings of modern Japan.
1869. Diamonds discovered in South Africa.
1870-1. Franco-German War.
1882. Beginning of British occupation of Egypt.
1884. Germany's colonial interest begins.
1885. Gold discovered in South Africa.
1896. Battle of Adowa.
1896-98. Conquest of the Sudan.
1904-5. Russo-Japanese War.
1914-18. The Great War.
1919. Treaty of Versailles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

For general reading :

A Short History of Our Religion. D. C. Somervell (Bell & Sons. 5s.).

For single chapters :

History of the Church to A.D. 325. H. N. Bate (Oxford Church Textbooks. Rivingtons. 2s. 6d.). For chap. i.

Mediæval Europe. H. W. C. Davies (Home University Library. Williams & Norgate. 2s. 6d.). For chaps. ii, iv, vii-ix.

The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal. H. B. Workman (Kelly. 5s.). For chap. iii.

Elementary History of the Church in Great Britain. W. H. Hutton (Oxford Church Textbooks. 2s.). For chaps. v and xv. Useful also for following the course of English Church History side by side with the other chapters. *Nonconformity.* W. B. Selbie (H.U.L.). Should be read side by side with it from the Stuarts onwards.

The Story of Islam. T. R. W. Lunt (Edinburgh House Press. 1s. 6d.). For chaps. vi and xxi.

The Crusades. E. Barker (The World's Manuals. Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d.). For chap. viii.

The Papacy and Modern Times. W. Barry (H.U.L. 2s. 6d.). For chaps. ix and xi.

Master Mariners. J. R. Spears (H.U.L. 2s. 6d.). For chaps. x, xii-xiv.

Missions. Mrs Creighton (H.U.L. 2s. 6d.). For chaps. x-xvi.

The Student's History of India. V. A. Smith (Clarendon Press. 4s.). For chaps. xiv, xvii.

The Opening Up of Africa. H. H. Johnston (H.U.L. 2s. 6d.). For chaps. x and xviii.

The Expansion of Britain. W. R. Kermack (The World's Manuals. 2s. 6d.). For chap. xx, as well as covering the same ground as some of the other books.

Europe Overseas. J. A. Williamson (The World's Manuals. 2s. 6d.). For chap. xxii and for all chapters dealing with the discovery of the New World and with English, French and Dutch struggles for supremacy. Also for chap. xxii, *The Cost of a New World.* K. Maclennan (Edinburgh House Press. 2s. 6d.).

The following are also recommended :

Several volumes of the H.U.L., e.g. *Canada ; Central and South America.* Also volumes of *Everyman's Library* (J. M. Dent & Sons. 2s. 6d.), e.g. *Travels of Marco Polo ;* Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac ;* Captain Cook's *Voyages of Discovery ; Travels of Mungo Park.* Also Prescott's *Conquest of Peru ; Conquest of Mexico* (2 vols.).

II

For those who have access to public libraries :

Periods of European History, edited by D. Hassall, are of great value. For more advanced reading, the volumes already published of *The Cambridge Mediæval History*, and the different volumes of *The Cambridge Modern History.* Some parts of vol. xii of this latter ought certainly to be read with chap. xxii. Reference should be made to Parkman's *The Jesuits in North America ;* J. A. Williamson : *A Short History of British Expansion ;* Ramsay Muir : *The Expansion of Europe ;* Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire ;* Seeley's *The Expansion of England.* Several volumes of *The Story of the Nations* may be consulted, especially *The Crusades.*

Numerous articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* may be consulted ; see those on different countries of the world under their respective headings, in the sections on history or religion : also short articles on very many saints and missionaries ; as well as such general headings as Missions, Monasticism, Jesuits, etc. See classified list of articles at end of vol. xxix under various headings of Religion and Theology.

III

Where this book is used as a textbook for lectures, it is recommended that from lecture xvii and onwards a book-stall be provided, at which the published works of the United Council of Missionary Education (Edinburgh House Press) should be exhibited. Also suitable books of the S.C.M., and " The Pathfinder Series " (Livingstone Press). The books should be varied from week to week to suit the subject of the lecture. Care should be taken to avoid making the book-stall a mere collection of popular missionary papers.

Attention is called to a life of Anskar translated by C. H. Robinson (S.P.G.), and inquiry can be made from different missionary societies for short lives of such men as St Gregory, St Boniface, Raymond Lull, St Francis Xavier, and outstanding modern missionaries. " Handbooks of English Church Expansion " (Mowbray), " Handbook Series " (S.P.G.) are useful for various countries.

It is always possible to borrow books from the lending libraries of the missionary societies ; and a lecturer could probably arrange to borrow books for his stall.

INDEX

It is not desirable to provide a complete index with page reference to every name and place. In a course of outline chapters that are only a starting-ground for fuller reading, proper names are too naked ; they lack the clothing which would justify an index reference. The following substitute for an index may be of some use.

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Dependent on a strong spiritual life :

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