EUGENE STOCK (AGED FOUR) AND HIS SISTER, SARAH GERALDINA

# EUGENE STOCK:

## A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

1836 TO 1928

By

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## AUTHOR'S PREFACE

In September, 1928, the editorial secretary of the Church Missionary Society asked me to write a book about Dr. Eugene Stock, who had just died in his ninety-second year. I hesitated, remembering the volume called *My Recollections*, published by Dr. Stock himself in 1909. But I found that what was desired was not a formal biography so much as an interpretation of Dr. Stock's contribution to the work of the Church at home and overseas, and its significance for to-day. Having known Dr. Stock in his C.M.S. work for nearly forty years, and having been for fifteen years one of his colleagues, I felt it impossible to refuse the request.

A word of explanation on one point seems needful. Contrary to expectation, comparatively few of Dr. Stock's letters at all suitable for publication have been found. He destroyed, some time before his death, all personal correspondence in his possession. Thirteen large volumes, each of a thousand pages, which were in the editorial department of the C.M.S., contained copies of letters—mostly hand written—covering the whole period of his official work. But on examination the letters, with few exceptions, were found to refer only to editorial

matters or to give detailed explanations of questions whose interest is now largely past. Copies of his more important official or private letters are known to have been filed separately, but search has been made for them without success. Whether Dr. Stock destroyed them or not, they cannot now be traced.

There has, however, been no lack of fresh and hitherto unused material. Dr. Stock himself left in writing full record of what he thought and did until within a few months of his death. Through the generous co-operation of Mrs. Stock, whose fellowship and counsel have been unfailing, permission to quote from a number of deeply interesting letters written in recent years to members of her family has been obtained. Many friends, among them members of the C.M.S. staff who either as juniors in the far past or later in positions of responsibility worked with Dr. Stock, have contributed recollections.

It will be only part payment of a long-due debt if through this book there is awakened in other minds an intelligent apprehension of the living issues which well up in the Church overseas, as Dr. Eugene Stock began the awakening of that consciousness in mine long years ago.

While I have welcomed suggestions from two or three of the C.M.S. leaders who have read these chapters in proof, I must be alone held responsible for the opinions expressed.

G. A. G.

LONDON, *May*, 1929

# Part I

## EVENTS OF A LONG LIFE

# I

## OLD AGE AND YOUTH

EUGENE STOCK was nominally moored in the back-waters of life when at sixty-six years of age he ceased to be editorial secretary of the Church Missionary Society.[1] He had "retired," as the newspapers said. But the quarter century which followed was perhaps the most significant part of his life. It is given to many to work hard and successfully, but a ripe old age, in which those qualities of the man which matter remain young and living, is the heritage of comparatively few chosen men.

Length of days, unless disease beclouds the senses, lends a quality of transparency to a man. Freed from the duties imposed by office, he is himself. His characteristics and principles can be discovered. One gets glimpses of the great carry-over of personality towards the spring time which lies beyond the winter days. The things which remain interpret the actions and reactions of the active life now past.

Therefore this biographical study of Eugene

[1] See p. 49.

Stock begins, not beside his cradle, but on the borders of the grave; it seeks to show what in his old age life had made him, and then turns back to see what he made of life.

Perhaps we can best see him through the eyes of some who had intimacy with him in his closing years. The first is a friend of more than thirty years' standing, once associated with him in work.

## I

" During the last few years of his life many walks and talks with Dr. Stock have left a gracious memory. The routine was always the same; I came by the two o'clock train from Waterloo to West Bournemouth station; went across Poole Road to Melita—the house 'commodious to winter in'—for a cup of tea; then followed a stroll with Dr. Stock. By chine and through pinewood we go, until the green cliff drops to the yellow sands and these merge in the blue sea and the limitless golden grey of the evening sky. City-tired eyes feast on the beauty, dust-laden lungs inhale the balmy air, there comes a like refreshment to the spirit from contact with one whose vital maturity triumphs over the assaults of time and of change.

" Beside me stands my host, shorter than in former years, less able to walk briskly, more apt to rest on every wayside seat. His breath fails a little; he likes to pause as he talks. But his eye is undimmed, his

hearing unblunted, his mind alert and straining to slip its leash. He begins to range over the whole field of the Church's work at home and abroad. I know that a set of notes carefully prepared for this talk lies in his study, and that before I leave he will check up to make sure that every point has been touched.

" The questions come tumbling out. What has been done on this or that or the other matter? Have certain contemplated changes been made; if so, what are the probable results? How is A reacting to the plans introduced by B, and is C co-operating? I hesitate when some drastic change has to be reported, some removal of an old familiar landmark set up by himself. But change is not in itself disconcerting to him; a better way has probably been found. Half humorously he remarks that he 'is slipping out of things.' But the old mind throbs with the pulse of youth. He assumes that young people are likely to be right. He is never tempted to distrust a successor or to attribute unworthy motives to the man at the helm.

"When his thirst for information is sated his own budget of news is opened and spread out. The old friends who have made pilgrimage to see him; the meetings he has attended, the addresses given, the sermons preached; the letters received and written, the articles promised to various editors, the parcel of new books received for review. At last we turn Melita-wards, and to close our talk there

comes the quiet reticent reference to home contentment and happiness and to the goodness of the Lord.

" In the evenings—if the topics on that slip of notes have been duly dealt with—he will read aloud. And how well he reads—no print too small for his keen eyesight, the clear well-modulated voice with all its old impressiveness, the quick appreciation of pathos or humour, the old-time impatience—now slightly increased—at inattention or needless interruption. Never shall I forget his reading of two of Anthony Trollope's immortal 'Proudie chapters' on the last family evening spent in his study at Melita. Last of all, comes the simple, brief, personal intercessions for friends and family before we go to bed."

## II

The second glimpse into Dr. Stock's later years is given by the vicar[1] of his parish church in Bournemouth.

" Dr. Stock was in his eightieth year when I first met him. He was the intimate friend of Canon Toyne, my old chief, whom I succeeded as vicar of St. Michael's in 1915, and who remained by my side for twelve years as a kind of much loved vicar-emeritus of the parish. Between these two splendid men, old in years but alert and youthful in spirit and fresh in outlook, a warm friendship

[1] See p. 57.

existed. Into this beautiful friendship between two men of advanced years I, a young vicar, was taken, and from that day Eugene Stock gave me his staunch support in the work of a large church and a busy parish. St. Michael's churchmanship has no extremes either way; it seeks to interpret the Gospel in terms of modern thought, it welcomes new truths on the principle that all truth is of God. It recognizes the contribution for good made by all sections in the Church and in other Christian bodies; it is missionary-hearted to a high degree. In all this Dr. Stock seemed to be in his element. His own contributions from the pulpit and in parochial life furthered the cause. He gloried in the fact that the church attracted to it a wealth of young life. Yet he was full of care for those whose religious training had not been along our lines. His influence generally in our church life was that of a bridge maker between the views and outlook of an older generation and the views and outlook of youth, facing problems in the light of newer knowledge. That the bridge could be built was shown by his own broad-mindedness and his infectious spirit of true Christian charity.

"He delighted in the stream of new church life and activity which followed the passing of the Enabling Act and the coming into existence of the parochial church council in 1920. As a member of the Church Assembly he was, *ex officio*, a member of the diocesan conference, of the ruri-decanal

conference, and of the parochial church council. He regularly attended the meetings of each, and was a member of the last until his death. He naturally brought into our discussions and business a ripe judgment, and a most kindly spirit, and often a touch of delightful humour. He was ready to speak, revealing all his stores of knowledge, or he was content humbly to take his place among us. In the discussions he gladly took part.

"Like all great men, he had a child-like heart. He loved little children and was keenly interested in their religious training, as was natural in one who in his earlier years had done so much for Sunday-school work. About a year before his death we started at St. Michael's a children's church, in addition to the Sunday schools. The children themselves are responsible for everything connected with the services except the address. This is for their training in worship. To train them in the duties of church membership there is an electoral roll for members between ten and eighteen years of age and a children's church council.

"In addition, there is an Order of St. Michael for all members of the children's church, with a motto and a badge. Adults who are interested in the children's movement are admitted as associates. Dr. Stock was one of the first to ask if he might join. The children's council were delighted at his request. The badge and card of the order were sent to him for inspection, and he was to be sworn in on a

Sunday afternoon with several little children. But when the day came, alas ! he was not well enough to be out.

" The same delightful child-like enthusiasm and eagerness were shown on his ninetieth birthday at Melita. I was privileged to be a member of the small birthday party. He enjoyed every moment of it. There was a cake surrounded by ninety candles, all lit. At an appropriate moment, in the middle of our congratulations and good wishes, I had to read out a happy telegram from the Archbishop of Canterbury.

" Until well on in his eighties Dr. Stock would often be at evensong on Sundays as well as at matins. Gradually two services a day became too much for him. Even one became too much in the last year of his life. But the spirit was willing, as the following letter, dated May 17, 1928, shows : ' It has been such a disappointment not to be at church today—Ascension Day. We were ready and quite hoping to go for once to the full service. But it turned out that we were neither in a state to go out. I am not safe out by myself now. . . . In this year I have only twice been at the Sunday service, but nine times to the Holy Communion on Thursdays. It is not our will that fails.'

" We have been privileged at St. Michael's to have among us a great man, a great churchman and a great Christian. With his fine optimistic outlook, looking forward ever more certainly, as the years clustered

round him, to what lies beyond, he has been among us as a faith maker."

III

The third picture of Dr. Stock in his retirement is given by one who was born in his house, and spent there many school holidays during war time. To him,[1] as a young Oxford man, Dr. Stock wrote constantly between 1924 and 1928. One of his letters is signed " Your 'grandfather' and friend"—a perfect summary of the relationship.

" 'Grandfather' is one of my earliest recollections. To my dawning consciousness he appeared to be a permanent and invariable factor of life. I recognized in him, in some sort of way, a perfectly constant and steady influence for good. He seemed always to be occupied with some great and mysterious work, but not too preoccupied to entertain the small boy growing up by his side. The days were to come when he would greet me with the remark, 'I shall have to get a ladder to climb up and see you.'

"When I was older, he would take me for long walks, and talk to me about Gladstone and Disraeli and all the heroes of the nineteenth century and how the Bank of England worked. He told me too about Livingstone and Stanley and Mackay of Uganda. He was my first real teacher, for he first made me think for myself.

[1] See pp. 52, 53.

" As so often happens, those who live nearest to the prophet are the slowest to recognize him. I had grown up to regard ' grandfather ' as no more than a part of the scenery of my limited world. He never made on me the sudden impact of a stranger. ' Grandfather is very good ' was one of the articles of my creed, and, like most accepted facts, it was not really understood. Later, when I saw him less and corresponded more frequently, there grew up a new love and intimacy. His love for me had something of the divine, for he loved me before I loved him, and always better. Gradually I grew to recognize the greatness of this humble man who loved people so dearly. He loved people because he loved his Master more than any one, and his personal devotion to our Lord was such as to transcend all the differences between us. And there were great differences to be overcome. He was old and I am young. He had lived through more than half of the nineteenth century, I belong to the twentieth; he was brought up an evangelical, I am inspired by the Oxford Movement.

" It was only in Christ that such differences could be transcended. He was a servant of Christ; I wanted to be: that was enough. As my sense of vocation to the ministry grew, so grew our conscious intimacy, and he came forward to give me the help, both spiritual and material, which made it possible for me to proceed to ordination.

" From that time onwards his interest in my life

grew more and more keen. He stood to me almost in the relation of a patron. He wanted to know about everything which concerned me from conjuring and morris-dancing to the more serious side of life: my reading for 'schools,' the activities of the Student Christian Movement in Oxford, and my own spiritual life. 'Of course, I am only an old fogey,' he used to say again and again, but that, in point of fact, was what he never became. He was never one of those old men who stopped thinking twenty years ago, but, filled with vital energy and alert goodness, he exerted to the end the powerful influence of a man of prayer.

"Of course, he was more than a patron. He was the friend who told me things about himself I could never repeat to any one, and who wrote me a few letters I could never let any one else see. And he was the wise friend to whom I could write about certain things as I could write to no one else. He said in one of his most recent letters that, having no children of his own, he felt almost as a father towards me, though he had no right to the title. I think the part he played most truly was that of godfather. No one could have had a better father in God."

When Dr. Stock visited Australia in 1892, he stayed for part of his time at Melbourne with the aged dean, the father of his friend, the Rev. H. B. Macartney. His description of the old man, who

was his senior by nearly forty years, gives with curious exactness a picture of what he himself was to be at about the same age. " Until I came to stay in the deanery I had no idea of his activity. He conducts family prayers every morning, and he keeps constantly occupied reading, writing, conversing, teaching, presiding at meetings, until past ten every night. . . . He watches public affairs, both in Australia and England, with keenest interest. He reads the best and latest English reviews. He writes articles in the *Victorian Churchman*. . . . In the few days I have been here there have been in the house [here follows a long list of committees, and lay and clerical gatherings]. The Dean takes a leading part in all discussions, and in the clearness of his mental grasp and the keenness of his language there is not a sign of what we call in England 'old-mannishness.' Then he goes out to diocesan and other committees, councils, and boards; and preaches in his own church on most Sundays and in the cathedral in his proper turn. And always he is the staunch and faithful upholder of evangelical truth, while he is honoured and revered even by those most widely opposed to him in church matters. Certainly he is the most wonderful nonagenarian I have ever met."

So it was commonly said of Dr. Stock in his turn.

This volume is in no sense a full or formal biography. The remaining chapters of Part I record

in outline the events of Dr. Stock's long life—his boyhood, his years in a city office, his service as editorial secretary of the C.M.S., his twenty-five years of home life filled with activity.

Part II contains studies of certain characteristics and policies, showing him in relation to public affairs, to the life of the Church of England, to the growth of larger co-operation, to missionary history and literature, to the advocacy of overseas work in the Church at home, and to the administrative work of missions.

## II

## THE BOY AND THE BACKGROUND

OWING to the lack of family letters, and the fact that through length of days no friends of his boyhood outlived him, there are only two sources from which the story of Eugene Stock's early years can be drawn. One is his own occasional references to incidents and memories. These were made somewhat sparingly to relatives and friends. The other is a series of papers containing some additional material which he wrote when seventy years of age for one of the church weekly papers. These were afterwards further expanded, and published in a volume now out of print.[1] In this chapter use is made of both sources of information; it is not possible to distinguish between them; the volume embodies much that he had previously told.

His picture of himself as he drew it line by line in the memory of his friends was that of a gentle, studious, modest boy, rather apart from the common doings of his kind, but alive with interest in places and people and things. From the first he found his

[1] *My Recollections*, by Eugene Stock (London, Nisbet, 1909).

centre in the world of affairs. There is no material available to supplement the statement as to his parentage given in a few lines in his *Recollections*. "My father," wrote Dr. Stock, "was a gentleman of position and wealth who resided much in France, and whose fortune was entirely lost through speculation on the French Bourse. My mother was a highly-educated and accomplished lady whose own property almost wholly disappeared in the same wreck."

Eugene, the first child of the marriage, was born in February, 1836, in a house in Duke Street, Westminster, long since pulled down. Ten years later his mother, a widow with slender means, was left to provide for her little son and two younger children, Sarah Geraldina and Caroline. There is a charming water-colour sketch of the small brother, aged four, standing by his baby sister Sarah.[1] Already his aspect is alert and full of intelligence.

Circumstances forbade the establishment of a settled home. The boy moved about with his mother as long as she lived. His earliest recollections are of the Isle of Wight, then reached by a sailing wherry from Portsmouth; later on came school life in London, Brighton, and Lowestoft. Education, as he tells us, was casual indeed, but the boy made good use of such chances as came his way. "I was not exactly stupid," is his dry comment on the fact that at a day school at Bayswater he began his

[1] See frontispiece.

first Latin declension in February and was reading Virgil in the May of that year—not bad for eleven years old. Arnold House, at Lowestoft, was his school from 1851 to 1853. He was popular with the boys, who enlisted him to read *The Wandering Jew* to them in the dormitory after lights were supposed to be out at night. To the end of his days he liked to read aloud. Under the influence of the able head master, he steadily developed in knowledge and in character. He made friends in Lowestoft, and looked on the place with affection all his life. In a letter written in his ninetieth year he says: "My whole pile of birthday letters is less interesting than one I got a week or two ago from a man in California who had seen my name in some paper. He wrote to tell me that he well remembered sitting on my knee at Lowestoft in 1852. His father was a kind friend to me in those days, when I was a schoolboy of sixteen."

But, as often happens with those who have in them some urge towards greatness, self-education did most for the boy. Those who worked with him in later years can trace already his characteristics. As he began, so he went on. The future historian, of course, devoured solid histories, making long lists of names and dates and facts. It is quite natural to hear of him in his early teens reading a lecture on Italian history to an audience consisting of his mother and two little sisters—a lecture so long that its delivery took several hours. To the end of his life he liked to

recall a lecture on Pompeii given to the Mutual Improvement Society at Lowestoft when he was fifteen. He always stated that he wore a turned-down white collar. He capped the story by recounting that on his first visit to Pompeii, forty years later, he readily recognized a building whose plan he had copied from a book and displayed to the Lowestoft audience.

The religious reactions of the schoolboy to-day may have little in common with those of Eugene Stock in the middle decade of the nineteenth century. But there is a common note of reality. The lad Eugene had been taught the words of Scripture, and in old age could recite long passages he had memorized in childhood. He could recall the text of a sermon heard when he was seven, and the substance of many heard when he was in his early teens. Those by Dr. Vaughan of Brighton he often wrote out from memory and kept throughout his life. Then there came a day when, as he says himself, "I began in a simple boyish way not merely to 'say my prayers,' but to *pray*." Two vivid dreams of the end of the world and the last judgment had brought the boy face to face with the question of personal religion.

"When I hear men say," he wrote half a century later, "that spiritual religion cannot be looked for in boys, I cannot help smiling, as I remember the books I valued, the hymns I was wont to repeat to myself as I walked, and generally the *appetite*

I had for all teaching of a distinctly spiritual character."

But the fervour of boyish experience paled. The lad essayed for five years to be good without God. Then there was a deep and gradual recall. At twenty-one Christian life was resumed, though with little joy of assurance and a shrinking from a return to the Holy Communion. "But on Sunday, January 15, 1859," writes the old man, looking backward, "while I was on my knees in church during the Litany, it was suddenly borne in upon me that *it was all true*, that is, the redemption wrought out by the Lord Jesus Christ. Of course I knew it was true before, but now it was a real thing to me. That very day I went humbly to the Table of the Lord."

Few men of twenty-one would chart in like terms their own way of approach or return to personal religion. But the following chapters show beyond question two things. One, that Eugene Stock never left the path on which he had re-entered. The other, that it was not an isolating path. In treading it he was quick to find close beside him the eager feet of men of succeeding generations, speaking another spiritual language, but pressing towards the common goal. They and he were one in "the Catholic faith," as he interpreted the term.

It was characteristic of Dr. Stock, in his later years, whether he wrote of epochs in church life or of individuals, to attach importance to background.

He saw that the true environment of a man does not consist so much in what is around him as in what gains his attention; not so much in what is within reach as in what he chooses to touch. As a teacher he knew that the interplay of personality and circumstances, which is always vital, is specially so in the years when character is taking shape. Hence, on the rare occasions when he spoke of the conditions which surrounded him in his formative period and the influences to which he reacted in his boyish days, his friends were attentive to his words. It is interesting, in addition, to examine his *Recollections*, written when, far on in years and withdrawn from office, he is free to let memory explore the past. With incisive clearness the old man marshals places as he saw them, events as they happened, men as they moved out into action—eighty, seventy, sixty years ago.

It is a world incredibly unlike our own. The fascinating thing is that the boy who was part of it lived till yesterday—the flowers of the first summer since his burial have only just blossomed on his grave—and that he was really part also of our very modern world.

Eugene Stock was a Londoner through and through. The great metropolis was his home, and especially those regions of Islington and the lower parts of Hampstead where non-residents fail to discern charm. The boy in his early years took long walks across fields in districts now set solid with

streets. But he could not stroll up the Thames Embankment, for great stretches of mud flanked the well-used waterway, except when at high tide the river lapped against Adelphi Terrace. Nor could he walk up New Oxford Street or Queen Victoria Street, or across Holborn Viaduct—they had no existence as yet. He could not take train from the unbuilt stations of Liverpool Street, Broad Street, Charing Cross, Victoria, Holborn, or St. Paul's near Ludgate Hill. There was no Waterloo Station as yet; passengers from Southampton were deposited at Nine Elms. To get to North London by rail, one had to start from Fenchurch Street and tour round by Stepney and Bow.

In this London the boy, as he grew older, found recreations to vary his long walks. There were cricket matches at Lord's and the Oval—Lillywhite bowling round arm in a chimney-pot hat and white ducks; there were games of chess in a coffee house on the site of old Hungerford Market; evenings were spent—the record has a delicious note of half apology—in seeing Shakespeare's plays and hearing Italian opera. The last was Verdi's *Il Trovatore* in 1857; he remembered some of the arias all his life, and hummed them now and then. His recall to personal religion brought an abrupt change. "From that night," wrote Dr. Stock fifty years later, "I have only been inside a theatre now and again, when it was used for an evangelistic service." But ten years later still there came a further change

of attitude, finely set out in a letter from Bournemouth to his Oxford "grandson."[1]

There were music-halls and concerts in the far-off days of his boyhood, with great singers whose names are still remembered. And there was a medley of other entertainments which stir curiosity to its depths. Would that we could visit the Panorama in Leicester Square and sit undiscovered among early Victorian pleasure-seekers, or the Diorama in Park Square, or the Polytechnic (as it then was, with a marvellous diving-bell) in Regent Street, or the Great Globe which occupied the whole centre of Leicester Square, but was, for all its educative purpose, so oddly disconcerting, for you were seated within a world which arched round you like the firmament, instead of viewing a world beneath your feet. But these attractions fade before the ascent of Mont Blanc shown in a hall in Piccadilly by Albert Smith, the intrepid mountaineer who had dared to climb the peak. To the sound of slow music a great painted sheet showing the ascent moved slowly downward before the audience, with appropriate pauses that verbal descriptions of the exploit might be given. This show made a deep impression on the boy.

Some seventy years later, in reviewing the first volume of the *Life of King Edward VII* he alighted with evident pleasure on a reference to Albert Smith. When the Prince of Wales—as

[1] See pp. 64, 65.

he then was—went for his first continental tour, Albert Smith was detailed to take him over the Glacier des Boissons above Chamonix. The great Exhibition in Hyde Park in 1851, and its sequel, the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, also claimed some of Eugene Stock's rare holidays.

Born towards the close of the reign of William IV, the boy's retentive memory held an almost full-length record of Victorian events. A curious forecast of future historical interests is shown in the frontispiece, where the little boy and his baby sister hold between them one of the popular picture ribbons on which was depicted the wedding procession of Queen Victoria in 1840. The war in China and the visit of the Queen to Louis Philippe in France were only remembered through pictures in the *Illustrated London News*, but at five years old there is direct memory of a visit to a three-decker at Spithead, ready for conflict with France in the Mediterranean over the Eastern Question.

Political events soon became a natural part of his background. The great bazaar in Covent Garden Theatre in aid of the Anti-Corn Law League stirred his interest; the adoption of Free Trade when announced on the street placards impressed him; then his memory fairly sweeps into the French Revolution of 1848, the Chartist rising and the rest. By the time he was fourteen the boy was a regular reader of the daily papers—in particular, the parliamentary debates. His eager interest in

current public affairs deepened through the later days of Palmerston and the earlier ones of Disraeli, Derby, and Gladstone. Every word of the great speeches was conned. Already a mental attitude characteristic of after life had been acquired. He said in after years, referring to this period: "Disraeli inspired a paper called the *Press*, which week by week contained the most brilliant satire on the [Gladstonian] government. . . . I was myself a Liberal and in particular an admirer of Gladstone; but I read the *Press* with unfailing enjoyment. I never was and never could be such a partisan as to read only, and like only, what I agreed with."

When Eugene Stock left boyhood behind him and began his work in a London office, the Crimean war, with its disasters and confusion, was at its height, and the Chartists, paralysing the metropolis with fear, were presenting demands then considered impossible, but nearly all granted long since. Boyhood was past, yet there is a touch of surviving boyish enthusiasm in the impression made by the great display of fireworks in Hyde Park when peace was concluded with Russia in 1856, and the wonders of the great review at Spithead which followed. Fifty years later Dr. Stock wrote of the fireworks as "the most overwhelmingly grand sight I ever saw," but, with mature detachment, said of the review, "I suppose that one modern Dreadnought could in a few minutes sink the

whole company of three-deckers and frigates then assembled."

It is, to repeat the refrain of this chapter, *a world incredibly unlike our own. The fascinating thing is that the boy who was part of it lived till yesterday—the flowers of the first summer since his burial have only just blossomed on his grave—and that he was really part also of our modern world.*

# III

## THE CITY MAN, 1855–1873

BOYHOOD over, Eugene Stock began his working life in a merchant's office in London. He climbed from the bottom of the ladder. He was wont to tell in after life how, when a Greek book had engrossed him in his lunch hour and he returned to his desk five minutes late, his employer would glance at the clock and bring a quick flush to the student's cheek by remarking: "I suppose you went in for a second glass of port to-day, Stock."

But in course of time the young man rose to be chief clerk, and was on the eve of partnership when the firm collapsed in 1873. He was left at thirty-seven years of age with no visible prospect for his future.

Though his employers were men of worth and standing and some of his fellow-workers in the office became his friends, Eugene Stock never cared for the calling he followed for eighteen years. Like thousands of other young men in cities, while he earned his bread in an office, he lived his real life when business hours were past. Like them, too, he

boarded in a family until he set up a home of his own. In his twenty-seventh year (1862) he married Eliza, eldest daughter of Commander Adrian Mann, R.N. No children were born of the marriage, but until her death in 1882 the wife shared her husband's interests, welcomed his friends to their modest home, and was known as a kindly neighbour.

Islington, in which Eugene Stock lived during the whole term of his business life in the city, was already a strong centre of church life and activity.

In 1824 the Rev. Daniel Wilson, a man of breadth and wisdom, became vicar of the parish church. He increased the number of church services and introduced the practice of early Communion. He founded the great Islington Church Missionary Association which led all London in generous giving. He was consecrated Bishop of Calcutta in 1832, and did a great work in India. His son, another Daniel Wilson, succeeded him as vicar of Islington and—the phrase is so exact that it inevitably slips from pen to paper—reigned for fifty years. The first Daniel Wilson began, in the library of his private house in 1827, what was known as the Islington Clerical Meeting. Its annual sessions grew in influence and in size. In January, 1877, when Daniel Wilson the second presided at the jubilee, the fourteen members of his father's original gathering had swelled to many hundreds. Sometimes as many as a thousand clergy were present; a few laymen, not more than a score or

so, were invited—of these Eugene Stock was one. He attended regularly for more than thirty years, and in 1909 read a paper on "Native Churches."

In the period before us, vacancies in Islington churches were filled by outstanding men. Congregations were large, the preaching was sincere and often arresting, systematic teaching was valued, there were week-night lectures, and well-worked Sunday schools. As population increased more churches were needed. The Islington Church Extension Society was formed in 1856—Bishop Tait, newly consecrated to the See of London, came to preside at its first meeting. Ten new churches were completed in less than seven years. The Church Extension Society needed a lay secretary, and Eugene Stock was drawn into the post.

The young city man, his personal life quickened by a deep renewal of religious experience, found himself in the heart of Islington church life. Sundays and evenings were fully occupied. There was the Church of England Young Men's Society eager for lectures on physical science or on Butler's *Analogy*; the Working Men's Institute at St. Thomas's could well use four evenings a week through the winter; and always there were the Sunday schools. Each phase of work became familiar to the young man.

He could do anything with boys. Taking a Sunday-school service one day in a hitherto unvisited parish, the superintendent remarked rather helplessly: "I hope the boys will behave properly,

but no one can do anything with Jones." The visitor silently noted the name. As he began to speak, disturbance started in a corner; some bit of mischief was at work. He paused, and then in a voice of grave displeasure sent the one word "Jones" echoing through the room. Appalled by the omniscience of the stranger, the boys began to listen—and listened to the end.

He was increasingly called to give training lectures and model lessons all over England. He began to write Sunday-school lessons for use. Having become a contributor to its magazine, Eugene Stock was ere long invited to join the central committee of the Church of England Sunday School Institute. He began by criticizing their publications; soon he was editor of their magazine.

Then there came the publication of his Sunday-school *Lessons on the Life of our Lord.* Other series of lessons from his pen subsequently did good service also, but the influence of this particular volume was unique. Its sales were phenomenal; year after year it made its way to all parts of the world. Dr. Stock himself found his lessons in common use in the great Dominions. "No man I imagine has ever," wrote Archbishop Lord Davidson in 1929, "in the sacred craft of the Sunday-school teacher given equipment to a larger number of followers; for he practically inaugurated new plans of teaching, and showed by specimen lessons how to handle them. For many years his

suggestions held the field. We have advanced steadily since those days, and the actual system has now, I suppose, been improved almost out of recognition. But it is largely from the seed he sowed that the plant has grown."

So long ago as 1888, Eugene Stock wrote of these lessons to a missionary friend in Africa: "I am most grateful for all you say about my lessons. I do thank God for permitting them to be useful. Not the smallest idea had I when I wrote them of what they were going to do. I only wish I could get six months' holiday to revise them; they seem to me juvenile and immature now. The authorities quoted are all old ones, the great writers now used having written since me! But I see no chance of ever doing so." In 1925 he wrote to a missionary in India: "As for the Sunday-school lessons . . . remember that they were written more than fifty years ago, and are now quite out of fashion among up-to-date teachers, though they go on even now selling to a few. Through fifty odd years, more than half a million volumes have been sold."

Thus did Eugene Stock in clear-sighted modesty appraise his own pioneer work.

A new and interesting field of literary work opened in 1871 when he was appointed assistant editor of *Church Bells*, Canon Erskine Clarke's magazine. The two men, though differing on many church matters, were big enough to work happily together, and parted with mutual regret.

In recalling this earlier period of his working life, Eugene Stock always talked of his friends—men who had worked with him on committees in Islington or at the Sunday School Institute, teachers he trained to work under him, boys who had been in his schools and who had done well in the world. In 1927 he wrote to a more recent friend : " One of my old Sunday-school boys more than fifty years ago is now of world fame as Sir Ernest Wallis Budge ; another has been a bank manager often appointed to some church committee by the Archbishop of Canterbury ; another had a chief part in bringing electric light to London streets ; another became an archdeacon in New Zealand and father of an Australian bishop." Whether they remained in humble positions or advanced into larger spheres of life, the men and women who had shared in his life and work before he became a C.M.S. official secretary never lost their place in his high regard.

During his Islington days Eugene Stock was drawn into various revival movements which were stirring the Church. They began in London under the inspiration of laymen of good position and intense devotion, but they gradually enlisted the co-operation of many outstanding leaders in the Church. In the winter of 1857–8 Lord Shaftesbury arranged Sunday evening services in Exeter Hall conducted by bishops and clergy, the Prayer Book being used. Then Bishop Tait made the startling, and at first unwelcome, proposal that St. Paul's

and Westminster Abbey should be used for Sunday evening services. After much questioning the services were held. " On Advent Sunday evening, 1858, Ludgate Hill was blocked by people thronging to get into St. Paul's. I myself," wrote Dr. Stock, " found a seat on the second Sunday, and can never forget the scene, then so wonderful, now so familiar."

Meantime in the same year, a revival, influencing in particular large numbers of business men, began in America. In 1859 it touched, and touched deeply, the religious life of Protestant Ireland. The year after London was stirred. Simultaneously there came from a little band of American missionaries at Ludhiana, in India, the suggestion that all the world should join in a week of special prayer at the opening of the New Year. Dr. Stock writes of " the immense gatherings of people in London in the first week of that January, 1860. Churchmen and nonconformists who had never met before appeared together on the same platforms for short addresses and extempore prayer." Multitudes of small prayer meetings followed, some in the vestries of churches in London. Eugene Stock found a large hall in Islington densely crowded at nine o'clock on a bitterly cold morning by men and women who had come to pray for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Less than ten years later there was a great twelve days' mission, led, not as before, by evangelical churchmen who were ready to co-operate with non-Anglicans, but by a group

of splendid men such as Bishop Wilkinson and others in churches "of a definitely catholic type"; then came the first great London mission of 1874, under the leadership of the bishops, in which all churches joined. Later still, running into the period covered by chapter IV, came the American evangeislts, Mr. D. L. Moody and Mr. Ira D. Sankey. With their notable work, both in their first visit in 1874–5 and their second one in 1883–4, Dr. Stock was closely associated. The Rev. R. C. Billing, afterwards Bishop of Bedford, was chairman of the local committee. Eugene Stock stood with him throughout, taking charge of the platform, or of the room to which inquirers were directed. He recalled with interest that one night, being in charge of the inner door which led to the platform, he had to keep Mr. Gladstone waiting until the opening prayer was over and he could be shown to a seat. When Mr. Sankey paid his last visit to England in 1900, Eugene Stock was chosen as the Church of England representative to bid him welcome at a great meeting in Exeter Hall. One outcome of Mr. Moody's meetings was the formation of the Church Parochial Mission Society; the wise evangelist saw in Canon Hay Aitken a man of outstanding promise, and did not rest till he was set free for special evangelistic work. Eugene Stock maintained that these revival movements and the interdenominational conferences in which he also took part not only deepened spiritual life in England and in the English Church,

but in the C.M.S. itself. Writing to a French Protestant pastor and scholar afterwards he said: "I have no doubt that the missions of Mr. Moody and the Mildmay Conference, the Keswick Convention and other similar movements, have indirectly but very effectively tended to the growth of spiritual life in the evangelical section of the Church of England, and have had a real effect upon the Church Missionary Society."

Fifty years later (1909) Dr. Stock was invited to take the chair at a meeting called in London to celebrate the jubilee of the revival of 1859–60.

There are times in the life of every man when events seem to be providentially ordered in an unmistakable way. So it was for Eugene Stock when the door of his city office abruptly closed. There opened before him at once an opportunity hitherto undreamed of, but which claimed the whole man and his gifts. There had lately come to the chief secretaryship of the C.M.S. a man who was moving towards new developments. The future link between the Rev. Henry Wright and his whole family, and Eugene Stock, was to be a close one. Mr. Wright persuaded the Committee to offer Eugene Stock an editorial post. No abler man, take him all in all, was ever called to the service of the society, except perhaps that greater missionary statesman, Henry Venn, who a few months previously had passed to his rest.

# IV

## THE MISSION SECRETARY, 1873-1906

EUGENE STOCK was not without preparation for his new office. No Islington churchman could be ignorant of the overseas work of the Church. The boy at twelve years old attended the jubilee celebration of the C.M.S.; fifty years later he was to take a leading share in preparing for its centenary. He had his first initiation into African affairs at a meeting in the old parochial schools in Islington when he was fifteen. The pioneer missionary Krapf was returning to East Africa—he had gone out first in the year that Eugene Stock was born. It was he who with Rebmann had discovered the snow-capped mountain Kilima-njaro and had sent home the first rumours of the existence of a vast inland sea in East Africa. The boy never forgot the humility and faith of the missionary as he was bidden farewell, or the magnificent sweep of the instructions given him by Henry Venn in the name of the Committee.

In his 'twenties Eugene Stock began to value the annual sermon preached during the C.M.S. anniversary; it was a landmark in the missionary year.

Then, as now, it was preached in St. Bride's, Fleet Street, one of the Wren churches which wear their beauty outside. A great congregation crowded the church, many coming long distances to hear preachers expound and illustrate their theme for an hour. Not until age robbed him of the power to travel did Eugene Stock voluntarily miss hearing the C.M.S. sermon. In 1912 he wrote a series of articles, entitled *Voices of Past Years*, in which he gave brief notices of all the annual sermons from 1801 up to date.

Islington continued to be Eugene Stock's place of residence for some ten years after he joined the C.M.S. staff. From 1873 he lived in Milner Square, in those days a good residential neighbourhood. But its fortunes have changed; Number 12, the house which he occupied, is now let in tenements. He walked from Milner Square to his office in the Church Missionary House in Salisbury Square, off Fleet Street, every morning. His health was then uncertain. The doctors told his friends he might live to be forty, but was not likely to have a longer life. On his way he called at the large printing house—not now in existence—where most of the work of his department was done. He saw the technical expert in charge of the printing himself, and arrived at office in time for prayers.

While still living in Milner Square his wife Eliza died. In 1884 a move was made to Haverstock Hill, a broad thoroughfare leading up towards

Hampstead, in which suburb several of the C.M.S. Committee and secretaries then lived.

The family party in the roomy house—130, Haverstock Hill—consisted of Eugene Stock and his late wife's sisters, Maria and Fanny Mann. They kept house for him for twenty years, and he provided for them till they died. Both were kindly women; the elder managed with success a boys' home in the neighbourhood, now in the hands of the Waifs and Strays Society.

The two Stock sisters also made the house in Haverstock Hill their home. But the four women were seldom there together; Caroline Stock, unselfish and practical, gave herself to Miss Macpherson's well-known work in the East End of London, and was beloved among the poor. Sarah Geraldina, delicate for many years, spent the winters at Bournemouth. Between her and her brother there was a peculiarly close link of affection. She was a gentle, attractive woman with poetic gift. Some of her hymns are still sung.

It is the self-denying custom of many a mission secretary to use his private house as an annex of his office. But the hospitality at 130, Haverstock Hill was never merely official. Those who met there were friends, often intimate friends, of the host. In addition to a large circle gathered round him in earlier years, Eugene Stock, with his ready sympathy and wide interests, was continually making fresh connexions. There were men of standing in the

Church whom he had enlisted in the cause of missions at home or influenced towards a missionary career. There were missionaries on furlough, and among them, as guests specially honoured, were men of Asiatic or African race, gladly welcomed into social fellowship. There were younger men and women about to make final decision as to work overseas. And there was the constantly reinforced group of those who wrote for the magazines. As Eugene Stock spoke more and more at meetings for missions all over the country he made acquaintances who ripened into friends. Every summer an afternoon party was given at his house, and became quite an institution. The guests overflowed into the garden at the back. He was never happier than on these occasions.

Visitors for a night or longer will recall the family prayers in his home. At a fixed hour the household assembled, Bibles in hand. A portion of Scripture, following a regular sequence, was read and briefly expounded with refreshing cogency; a suitable hymn was read aloud—no one was prepared to attempt to sing it—prayer followed, partly extempore, partly from a book. There was thanksgiving for the arrival of a guest or petition for a safe journey as he departed.

The home circle at Haverstock Hill was broken in 1898 by the death of Sarah Geraldina Stock after a very short illness, while on holiday with her brother and sister in North Wales. Her long years of ill-health had been crowned by a period of renewal.

She was healed by faith. Her brother had no theory as to divine healing ; the results he thankfully admitted ; indeed, they could not be denied. The semi-invalid became able to live all the year round in Hampstead, doing literary work, attending meetings, lecturing to missionary students, taking holidays abroad. This well-loved woman was missed by many friends.

Eugene Stock became a full secretary of the C.M.S. in 1881, with duties which multiplied rapidly. But he never narrowed the scope of his interests to a single religious agency. He maintained touch with general evangelistic work, notably that of the American evangelist, Mr. D. L. Moody. He identified himself with the Mildmay Conference begun at Barnet in 1856 by the Rev. William Pennefather, afterwards of St. Jude's, Mildmay. For many years he lectured in the institutions founded by Mr. Pennefather and his wife. He was closely linked with the convention for the deepening of spiritual life which met annually for a mid-summer week at Keswick, in the lovely region of the English lakes. When he went to the continent on holiday he got into touch with evangelistic agencies where such were to be found. From its earliest beginnings he was a whole-hearted believer in the British Student Christian Movement and its work. These interests find place in later chapters, as does his entrance with growing confidence into diocesan and central work in the Church of England.

These varied activities were not, as in his earlier days, auxiliary to an office life of quiet routine. His editorial work was a full-time, exacting task. Guided by his energy and enterprise, the department expanded rapidly. The *C.M. Gleaner*, a monthly illustrated paper, was revived and brought on to what were then modern lines. The larger monthly publication, started in 1849 under the ungainly title of the *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, soon came into his hands, and more than maintained its value as a medium for the discussion of missionary policy. He launched out in the preparation of books and pamphlets. In 1881, and for many years after, he wrote the large annual report of the C.M.S. As the centenary of the Society drew near he began his monumental *History of the Church Missionary Society*, and completed it in two years. Chapter IX deals more fully with these and other literary activities.

Gradually more and more work was attached to the editorial department by personal rather than logical links. Eugene Stock conceived in 1886 the idea of a union which should bring isolated friends into direct relation with the central office of the C.M.S. He founded the Gleaners' Union for Prayer and Work, which grew and grew until in 1916 some 200,000 "gleaners," ranging from archbishops to seamstresses, each known by an individual number, had been enrolled. A room was set apart in the Church Missionary House for the massive registers; a staff of voluntary workers kept them up to

date, dealing with the myriad renewal fees and the special gifts which poured in. In time the enrolled "gleaners" in a neighbourhood expressed a wish to know one another and work together; local branches of the Gleaners' Union were formed and carried on local propaganda—in the United Kingdom there were 1400 alone. The Gleaners' Union became under Eugene Stock's leadership a potent agency in many lands. But at times, in the room where these ledgers exacted unremitting toil, there was a whispered question whether the gain of central enrolment equalled the cost. Ultimately the work of the union was altered; with its founder's consent, it became the Missionary Service League. In like manner a new organization for children was attached for a time to the editorial department. Eugene Stock also took considerable part in the formation of missionary unions for laymen and for women of education and social standing.

In the tradition and practice of the C.M.S. no secretary is tied to his own portfolio alone. Departments are not watertight; interchange of thought and experience is the custom; group work is a commonplace of daily routine. The editorial secretary, for the sake of his periodicals, had to have access to every dispatch and be cognizant of every problem. Being a man of sound judgment, free from personal prejudice, and able to see the many sides of complex questions, he soon won the place of a counsellor valued by colleagues and committee

alike. Mr. Henry Wright, who invited him to the Church Missionary House, trusted him from the first. When, after Mr. Wright's death in 1880, his brother-in-law, the Rev. Frederic E. Wigram, was appointed chief secretary, Eugene Stock had even greater opportunity for the use of his powers. Not only in the counsels of office and committee room had he fellowship with these two men—unlike each other, but equally rich in gifts and grace of character—he was a welcome guest in their homes and the intimate friend of their families. The same thing is true of his relations with the long-time president of the Society, Sir John Kennaway. For some years Christmas was always spent in his Devonshire home. He also had more than mere working relations with Colonel (afterwards Sir Robert) Williams, who, after twenty years' service as a member of the Committee, was appointed treasurer in 1897, and became president in 1917. In the long span of his secretarial service Eugene Stock had many colleagues[1];

[1] The following were some of those most closely associated with Dr. Stock in the later decades of the nineteenth century: the Rev. C. C. Fenn (1864–94) and the Rev. W. Gray (1874–94), respectively secretaries for the Far East and India missions; the Rev. Robert Lang (1881–92) who was secretary for Africa, being succeeded by the Rev. F. Baylis; the Rev. B. Baring-Gould, who came first as home secretary and then succeeded Mr. Fenn in 1894; the Rev. G. Furness Smith, who was first the colleague and then the successor of Dr. Stock in the editorial secretaryship. Mr. Wigram was in 1895 succeeded as chief secretary by the Rev. H. E. Fox, who was in office when Dr. Stock resigned.

he took pleasure in them all. With rare exceptions the team spirit was strong among them, as they worked side by side, year in and year out, at their arduous task. The sense of vocation was a common link; as each man found it in himself and recognized it in his fellows, loyalty to colleagues and committee became the dominant note. A letter of Eugene Stock's, dated February, 1889, illustrates this. It was addressed to a well-known and somewhat forceful missionary.

"Only one of your letters gave me sorrow, *viz.*, the one written from —— about Wigram, or *to* him, I forget which. Dear X——, you were very brotherly and affectionate to me—far more than I deserve—so may I take courage and say how earnestly I hope you will try and recognize the broad distinction between a difference of opinion and a personal alienation? No doubt, Wigram did seriously differ from you on certain matters; but you should really not take that as personal to yourself. Indeed, you don't do justice to him. There is not a more unselfish and loving man on earth; and if he is ardent in his own view of a case sometimes, why he is very like Dr. X—— in that!"

New and still wider opportunities opened before Eugene Stock in 1892. When returning from a time of rest in Italy, he had a serious illness at Nice. His sister Caroline went out to nurse him. On his return, the doctors found him unfit to resume office work at once. So the Committee commissioned

him to go to Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, accompanied by the Rev. R. W. Stewart, a devoted Irish missionary, who three years later laid down his life in China.

There had been a spiritual stirring in the churches in the Dominions, partly due to the visit of the Rev. George Grubb in connexion with the Keswick Convention. For some time Australian churchmen had desired opportunity to share in the C.M.S. work in Asia or Africa. Already one man—the Rev. H. B. Macartney of Melbourne, who became one of Eugene Stock's intimate friends—was raising £2000 a year for work in C.M.S. centres in India. In New South Wales a C.M.S. auxiliary, formed in 1825, wanted help to expand its organization and direct its energies. The Archbishop of Sydney (Dr. Saumarez Smith), acting for the auxiliary, conveyed to the C.M.S. in London a request for a deputation; they responded by sending Eugene Stock.

There were elements of difficulty in the situation. The Australian Church already had its own Board of Missions, formed in 1850. But this, except for some help given to the Melanesian Mission, confined its work to the Australian aborigines, the immigrant Chinese, and the natives of New Guinea. Some feared that the coming of Eugene Stock might lessen the support given to the Board; others imagined that the C.M.S. purposed to raise money in Australia to be spent by a committee in London, thereby

weakening the missionary responsibility of the Church. But Eugene Stock and his companion soon made their intention clear. They were calling the Australian Church to raise, not funds in the first place, but missionaries of their own, whom they could train and send forth and support in C.M.S. missions in the name of the Australian Church.

"The result," says Eugene Stock, "was the forming of a new constitution for the old Australian C.M.S. and the taking of a new and definite share in the evangelization of the world. Moreover, special provision was made, at the suggestion of the Australian committee, for its being free to engage in work in fields other than those of the parent society at its own discretion."

In New Zealand, Eugene Stock had his first touch with a C.M.S. mission field. He rejoiced to find that eighty Maori had entered the ministry of the Anglican Church. Strenuous work in New Zealand led to the formation of an association on the same lines as that in Australia. Tasmania was equally responsive. The visit there was the beginning of a close friendship with Bishop Montgomery, afterwards secretary of the S.P.G., which deepened to the end of Dr. Stock's life. Exactly seven months were spent in the Dominions, numerous meetings were addressed, and the work of the Gleaners' Union was strongly established. The bishops of the Dominions allowed Eugene Stock to preach everywhere. "We cannot complain of not being used,"

he wrote home. Further details of his work are given in chapter X. Throughout the tour, inquiry as to foreign service was made everywhere, definite offers were received from men and women, plans for training Australian missionaries took immediate shape.

As in many other cases, the results of Eugene Stock's work in Australia and the adjacent islands have endured. In 1925 the C.M.S. of Australia and Tasmania celebrated its centenary. By that date, over 170 missionaries had been accepted and sent forth. The money received by the associations and branches from 1892 to 1925 totalled over £445,000. To a large historical volume published for the centenary, Eugene Stock, then in his ninetieth year, contributed a foreword. After recounting the names of some of the men and women who made early response to the call he and Mr. Stewart had sounded, he writes: "While I rejoice over the many others who have gone out since from both Sydney and Melbourne in connexion with the C.M.S., and over the ever-increasing funds raised for their support, I am glad also to see the whole Australian Church responding to the divine call, enabling its Board of Missions to do its most important work, and also largely helping the New Zealand Church's own mission in Melanesia."

A letter quoted on page 61 contains Eugene Stock's record of the recent action of the Australian C.M.S. in taking over the new Diocese of Tanganyika

and providing a bishop, a strong staff of workers, and funds for their support.

On the way home from Australia four months were spent in Ceylon, India, and Egypt. The usual centres of missionary work were visited. The months in the East underlie the fascinating chapters on Ceylon and India in the History; they gave fresh point and colour to future advocacy of overseas work. A summary of Dr. Stock's impressions is given on page 158.

A second colonial tour was taken, with the Rev. H. Percy Grubb as companion, in September, 1895—this time to Canada. Conditions differed from those in Australia, but the task was the same—to open a way by which Canadian churchmen who desired it could serve in C.M.S. mission fields. An association like those in Australasia was inaugurated during the visit. During the weeks spent in Canada opportunities for work were generously given and gladly used. As in Australia, inquiries as to overseas work were many.

The new association proved to be only the precursor of better things. In 1902 the Canadian Church dispensed with its older agencies and formed a missionary society including its whole baptized membership. Of this the C.M.S. association naturally became part. The Canadian Church has now its own dioceses in Japan and in China, and has taken over from the C.M.S. the district of Kangra in the Diocese of Lahore.

Eugene Stock crossed the ocean again in 1900 as one of the C.M.S. delegates to the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York. He visited and spoke at several large centres in the United States, entering with keen interest into the home and foreign work of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He went to Northfield, Mr. D. L. Moody's home. He enjoyed the unbounded American hospitality to the full.

Eugene Stock was always a leader in large spiritual movements designed to stir the Church at home to face its duty overseas. It was at his suggestion that simultaneous meetings were held in February, 1886, all over the country, and in London in the following year, designed not to press the needs of a society, but to put forward the claims of the non-Christian world. Five years later a second series was arranged. Preceding the C.M.S. centenary in 1899, a Three Years' Enterprise was undertaken with the double aim of reviewing existing work abroad and at home, and calling the Church to a bold advance in sending out and supporting missionaries. This effort led to the development of the plan of "own missionaries," individuals, groups or parishes becoming responsible for the support of a worker; it also stimulated the transference of administrative authority from the home office to the mission organizations on the field and to the Native Churches.

The C.M.S. centenary in 1899 was the crown of

Eugene Stock's great life work. For it he had written the wonderful story of a hundred years; through the long preparatory period he expended energy without measure; when the fellowship of the whole Church rose up round the C.M.S. in thanksgiving he tasted the joy to the full.

Not long after, his health showed signs of failure; serious fainting fits indicated need for relief from the pressure of responsible work. No one dreamed that more than twenty-five years of useful life still lay before him. In 1902, under medical advice, the Committee accepted his resignation of the editorial secretaryship, but invited him to retain office as a secretary without portfolio. This he did till 1906, scarcely lessening work.

The terms of the resolution, passed when his resignation was given effect, are evidence of the appreciation he had won:

> The Committee cannot allow Mr. Eugene Stock to retire from the editorial secretaryship without placing on record their high appreciation of the services which, by the blessing and guidance of the Holy Spirit, he has rendered to the Society. . . . Bringing to his work ardent zeal for the extension of the Kingdom of Christ, literary experience and ability of a high order, argumentative power and untiring diligence, he greatly improved the character and increased the attractiveness of the Society's publications, and, as occasions arose, both in them and in formal memoranda, vindicated its principles and practice forcibly, yet with sobriety and due consideration for those whose objections were refuted.

In committee his extensive knowledge of the Society's affairs and history and his retentive memory enabled him to bring to its deliberations instructive precedents on the various questions to be decided. In the country many an association has had the advantage of his telling advocacy and familiar acquaintance with the missions and missionaries. He was one of the Society's representatives sent to Australia and Canada and to the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in the United States of America, and in all these countries aroused deep interest in the Society's work, of which the fruits are still being reaped.

Lastly, by his marvellously comprehensive and interesting History of the first century of the Society's life, and incidentally of the Church of England at home and abroad during that period, he has raised for himself an enduring monument, and for the missions of the future a valuable storehouse of missionary principles and experience.

# V

## EUGENE STOCK AT HOME

On August 20, 1902, Eugene Stock was married in London, to Isabella, widow of the Hon. Ivo de Vesci Fiennes, uncle of the present Lord Saye and Sele. As an intimate friend of his sister Sarah Geraldina, Eugene Stock had frequently met Mrs. Fiennes in her Bournemouth home. He had also, in 1884, been a guest at her house in Harrogate, where he went to speak on overseas work.

After their marriage Dr. and Mrs. Stock settled at Glencairn, Bickley, Kent, spending part of each year at Bournemouth, where they finally settled in 1910. On his silver wedding day in 1927, Dr. Stock wrote: "We do indeed thank God for these five and twenty years. . . . I was sixty-six when we were married—and how impossible such a future would have seemed."

Life, outside his work, had been somewhat lonely for Dr. Stock in recent years. His health was uncertain and he needed care. His sister Sarah had died; his sister Caroline was seldom able to be with him, being closely held by the claims

of her work in the East End. His sisters-in-law were growing old and infirm. His marriage changed the whole tenor of his life. He found himself in the midst of a large and genial family who soon learned to know and like him, and whose companionship he appreciated to the full. Never before had his home been enlivened by young relatives passing to and fro.

Mrs. Stock's elder daughter was already married to the Rev. J. C. Wright of Manchester, afterwards to become Archbishop of Sydney. In due time their three daughters, when visiting England, were frequently in the Bournemouth home. The second and unmarried daughter, Miss Eva Fiennes, was at the time of her mother's re-marriage preparing for missionary work in India. But prior to sailing she spent her free time in her mother's home, and returned there for her furlough periods. Finally she gave up her fine work at Rohtah, one of the centres of women's work in the well-known Cambridge Mission to Delhi, in order to live at home and care for her mother and stepfather in their later years. Her kindly, bracing companionship was welcome to Dr. Stock; she enriched his life with many recreative interests and brought a healthy variety of outlook into the home.

Mrs. Stock's son, Major Edward Fiennes, D.S.O., and his wife also gave Dr. Stock their friendship; their only son Geoffrey, to whom, as he tells us himself in chapter I, in later years Dr. Stock

became "grandfather and friend," was born at Glencairn on New Year's Day, 1906. While his parents were in India and in Mesopotamia during the war, Dr. Stock's house was home to the boy. When he went to school he came there for the holidays; afterwards, through years at Winchester and at Oxford, the link between the old man and the young one grew in closeness and strength. Then the baby Elizabeth was born to Major Fiennes and his wife, and in the mother's absence she was left to her grandmother's care. Dr. Stock's letters to the mother of the boy and the baby show him in a light which is new to those who only saw him at work.

There were, in addition, numbers of friends and relatives on both sides of Mrs. Stock's family who brought their human joys and sorrows into the home, finding in Dr. Stock one who entered into both. Within the outer circle of friends gathered round him through his work, which always remained unbroken, there grew up this large, more personal group. He was genuinely happy in it all.

His sister Caroline shared in his new enlargement of life. She frequently brought her band of fellow-workers to spend a social afternoon at Bickley. She went on holiday with her brother and his wife whenever she could, and finally laid down her brave and unselfish life in their home without one moment's conscious illness.

The years at Bickley were far from leisured

retirement. Though he had resigned editorial office, Dr. Stock remained a secretary of the C.M.S. till 1906, going four or five times each week to his office and taking meetings in many parts of the country. He also did a large amount of local work, preaching and speaking at missionary meetings and giving evangelistic addresses in a mission hall. He spoke at several Church Congresses, kept up his links with the Central Board of Missions, and took an outstanding part in the work of the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908. In the Bickley period he continued to attend the Keswick Convention, generally with Mrs. Stock, and still presided at missionary meetings under the famous mulberry tree at Mildmay. He visited Spurgeon's College and addressed the students, and he was one of the speakers at a great meeting in June, 1905, to commemorate the life and work of Hudson Taylor, the remarkable founder of the China Inland Mission, who had died in China. He also served on a commission in preparation for the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910.

During his residence at Bickley he wrote less than in the following decade. His wonted articles and book reviews continued in the weekly church Press; excellent articles by him also appeared in *The East and The West*. The volume of his *Recollections*, to which reference has already been made, and four smaller books, were written while he lived at Bickley.

In 1906, Dr. Stock finally withdrew from official

connexion with the C.M.S. He was at once appointed a vice-president, which gave him the right to attend and take part in meetings of the Committee, which he did for more than twelve years.

But though he no longer sat at the secretaries' table or shared with colleagues the burden of executive work, he still took a leading place in the society's councils, acting on important drafting committees, advising in questions of policy, bringing the experience of past history to bear on modern situations, and constantly representing the cause of missions throughout the country as long as strength endured.

An interesting visit to Germany was paid in 1909. Dr. Stock was one of a group of laymen led by Sir John Kennaway in a party of over a hundred representatives of the English Churches (Anglican, Free Church, and Roman Catholic) who were invited to visit Germany in the interests of peace. The party were taken from Dover to Cuxhaven in a fine steam yacht, and were splendidly welcomed and fêted in Hamburg and Berlin. They were received by the Kaiser at Potsdam. The following year Dr. Spiecker, the well-known and trusted German leader who had made the arrangements, was in England, and the Archbishop of Canterbury gave a luncheon in his honour. Dr. Stock was one of the speakers. The friendly relations thus established were submerged by the tide of war, but they were never broken. To the last, Eugene Stock remembered his German friends. He had already

paid several visits to the Continent, but the weeks spent with his wife and her daughter in Switzerland in 1912 left the brightest memory of all.

To the home at Bournemouth, when Dr. and Mrs. Stock finally settled there in 1910, came many who found the old man with the young mind an inspiration. He received them, for the most part, in the small, book-lined study, where he sat at his roomy, well-ordered desk. The chair on which he sat to write had been in use for over fifty years. It linked his whole life together. Back in his Lowestoft schooldays the vicar and his wife had shown him kindness. They had an adopted daughter, Anna Martin, who married a German missionary of the C.M.S., the Rev. David Hinderer. Eugene Stock was at the wedding. The Hinderers went to West Africa, and, as a fascinating old book now almost forgotten relates, went through exciting experiences. They were shut in for three years in Ibadan, a town three hundred miles from the coast. On one of her furloughs, Mrs. Anna Hinderer stayed with the Stocks in Milner Square, Islington. She went with Dr. Stock's first wife, Eliza, to a missionary sale. It was late, and the remaining articles were being sold off. Mrs. Hinderer bought for 3*s*. 6*d*. a chair made by some Italian boys in an orphanage and gave it to her host. That chair has become a family treasure. It has been reseated four times, but the framework is still as good as new.

Once a week, during the earlier years at Bournemouth, London was re-visited. When staying in town for a night or two, if he was not with friends, Dr. Stock had his head-quarters at the National Club. On one of these occasions, in 1912, a portrait in oils which had been widely subscribed for was presented to him at a meeting at the Church Missionary House by Archbishop Davidson. It now hangs in the committee room. In 1919, Dr. Stock presided at the centenary dinner of the Secretaries' Association, referred to elsewhere. He also spoke at the annual meeting of the C.M.S. in that year. He attended the C.M.S. committees, and the sessions of the Church Assembly. But his visits to London, frequent at first, gradually lessened. "I went to London six times in 1921, five times in 1922, twice in 1923, and not since," he wrote regretfully in 1925.

In Bournemouth his activity was unceasing.[1] He quoted Lord Shaftesbury's confession to having become "a hack chairman," and applied it to himself. He lectured, opened discussions, attended the meetings of the Church of England Men's Society, and often took the Sunday evening address at Sandecotes School. He frequently spoke on reunion. "He often," writes the vicar, the Rev. Edward Moor, "occupied the pulpit of St. Michael's church on Sunday evenings, and sometimes at services on week-days. His sermons were

[1] See p. 148.

always characterized by simplicity of language, but they went right down to the heart of things and were marked with deep spirituality. His love for the Lord and the desire to be obedient to His commands shone out all the time. . . . He preached his last sermon in St. Michael's in May, 1926, that is after he had passed his ninetieth year ; he had an inspiring story to tell of the great work of the Church Missionary Society."

Some fourteen months before, a guest drove with him and Mrs. Stock to Westbourne (a suburb of Bournemouth) to hear him preach. "Mrs. Stock and I sat at the back of the well-filled church. The measure of anxiety which I at least felt as the old man mounted the pulpit stair vanished as he began to speak. Every word was clear and impressive, every point told. It was not a sermon a young man would preach, but it was one to which every young man would listen. The text was St. Luke ix. 51 : 'He steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem.' Why ? A well-ordered answer to the question, illustrated from Dr. Stock's detailed study of the synoptic gospels, led up to the close : 'Christ loved the Church—loved us—loved me.'"

In addition to his fellowship with St. Michael's and other Anglican churches, Dr. Stock found Bournemouth the richer for the presence in it of the great Congregationalist leader, Dr. J. D. Jones. He wrote to Bishop Montgomery in January, 1924 :

"I want to tell you about J. D. Jones, now the

real leader of the Free Churches. He has been in all the recent conversations at Lambeth. . . . He has the biggest chapel and most influential congregation in Bournemouth. His twenty-fifth anniversary was celebrated last year by an immense gathering at our Winter Gardens, almost all our clergy being present. A few weeks ago the Bishop of Salisbury came here for the Bible Society's meeting. As I am president here, I asked him to luncheon, and found he was already engaged to Jones, who is the nonconformist honorary secretary. . . . Jones gives expository sermons or lectures on Tuesday mornings at 11.30. A few months ago I went to one, and was simply delighted . . . scholarship and spirituality and common sense and reverence. He was near the close of St. John's Gospel, and I went two or three times with great enjoyment. Now he has begun St. Luke, and I go when I can. Last week, on the Annunciation and Virgin Birth he beat all I have ever heard or read on the subject."

Dr. Stock wrote constantly and acceptably during the Bournemouth years. "I do not mind being unable to walk much so long as I am able to write," he remarked after one disabling illness. Besides the books noted in chapter IX, he contributed with vigour and knowledge to the larger missionary periodicals, including the *Constructive Quarterly*, edited in America by the late Silas McBee, and the *International Review of Missions*, an outcome of the great Edinburgh conference of 1910. An article

on the second Kikuyu conference was published in the *Contemporary Review*; of the church weekly papers, he wrote occasionally for the *Guardian*, and fairly frequently for the *Church of England Newspaper*, while for the *Record* he wrote almost every week. He filled many columns with an analysis of the *Report and Evidence of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*. He also, later on, wrote at length on the revised lectionary and proposals for the revised Prayer Book. He continued his book reviewing with zest and marvellous industry. In March, 1925, he wrote:

"I have been busy, for me. I had to give the best part of three days to answer the letters (almost fifty) received for my eighty-ninth birthday, and yesterday came the book of the day—the first volume of King Edward VII's *Life*—for me to review. I at once put aside letters and all else, sat at my desk the whole day, read about a fourth part of the book, wrote my review on that part, and posted it. I don't feel like doing that sort of work on Sunday (I am rather old-fashioned), but shall resume to-morrow."

The review, which appeared in two successive issues of the *Record*, reads more like the work of forty-five than of eighty-nine; it moves easily and swiftly, handling large masses of facts clearly, with that quiet note of sureness and knowledge which distinguishes a good reviewer's work.

In the closing years of his life Dr. Stock undertook

difficult editorial work on two biographies. He also wrote the annual report of the C.M.S. for the year 1923. He enjoyed writing for the Religious Tract Society some delightful leaflets and letters for wide circulation, in each of which one Christian idea was simply interpreted.

Innumerable instances show that even when illness was frequent and physical strength was failing, the old grasp of missionary facts retained its hold. A correspondent asked him a question in September, 1927, about "a Canadian bishop in Uganda." Dr. Stock replied: "I have heard nothing of a Canadian bishop in Uganda. Is it perhaps a mistake for an Australian bishop for the Tanganyika Territory? [It was!] C.M.S. has from time to time put Australians (supported by the Australian C.M.S.) in that territory, and lately suggested that the Australian C.M.S. should look on it as their field, so far as Africa is concerned. . . . Well, they accepted the suggestion, and proposed to provide Tanganyika with a bishop of their own. I don't know details, but I know they chose a Mr. Chambers of Sydney, and C.M.S. submitted his name to the Archbishop." Bishop Chambers is now duly at work in his diocese, supported with money and strong reinforcements from the Australian C.M.S., which was the outcome of Dr. Stock's visit to that Dominion in 1892.

One of the very latest letters, dated March, 1928, illustrates the persistence of the mental outlook and

fine spirit which had characterized Dr. Stock throughout his life. His young Oxford friend was about to be ordained for work in the Diocese of St. Albans. Dr. Stock writes: "St. Albans is interesting from a C.M.S. point of view. I see that the diocese last year gave over £9000, of which £7000 came from St. Albans archdeaconry. The cathedral gave £226, the Dean being president of the abbey and cathedral association, and the Bishop subscribing four guineas a year. Two churches in the town give respectively £440 and £330. You will have to stir up the diocese for S.P.G., which ought to be at least equal to C.M.S. Its figures are, diocese £4870, archdeaconry £2180, cathedral £189, largest church £194." Still later—May 29, 1928—comes a letter to the Bishop of Winchester. He and Mrs. Woods had been to call, and found the old man recovering from an illness. They wondered at the youth and freshness of his mind. He afterwards wrote to follow up the talk, commenting on points in regard to the Prayer Book revision and recalling some sentences the Bishop had spoken fifteen years before. "God richly bless our dear Bishop" are his closing words.

It is interesting to note the occupations and recreations for which Dr. Stock found place in his later years. He taught his wife and stepdaughter to read Greek, and they studied the New Testament together in the original. He kept up some general reading to the close of his life. A good novel he

thoroughly enjoyed, whether read to himself or aloud. He preferred the standard authors, and seldom found a modern novel to his taste. His late letters refer, among other books, to Sir E. Clarke's *Life of Disraeli*—" very well done, and softened my dislike " ; to Trevelyan's *History of England*—" that is a real masterpiece, I have been so enjoying it " ; to Dr. Selwyn's *Essays Catholic and Critical*—" rather stiff reading, although extremely interesting —a proof that Christian men are really much nearer together than our partisan friends on all sides acknowledge ; very little in the book (except the last two sections) which an evangelical would not accept " ; *The Inner Life*—" a sort of manifesto of the liberal evangelicals—fourteen writers, especially Canon Vernon Storr of Westminster and Dean Burroughs of Bristol (afterwards Bishop of Ripon), both of whom I have known from their boyhood " ; the life of *Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar*—" splendid " ; and the devotional books by his friend, correspondent, and guest, Bishop Montgomery. He enjoyed with keen zest the meetings of a discussion group at a friend's house, more especially as he was the only Liberal in the party. Political, social, and religious subjects were debated with vigour.

Dr. Stock's sister Caroline gave him a tricycle, and for some years he rode it frequently, even taking it on a Derbyshire holiday, undeterred by the hills. He would have liked—" if younger "—to drive a car. He kept his interest in cricket to the

last; he sat through a match of Hants *v.* Kent at Bournemouth; because of his "grandson," the public school matches were closely noted—he had seen Winchester beat Eton fifty years before. He watched for news of the boat race too. He was given a pianola, and with great taste he played it for his guests. A friend installed a wireless set on his eightieth birthday, which opened enlarged avenues on many sides. In Bournemouth there was abundance of good music, for which he had keen appreciation; he went with his stepdaughter to an occasional lecture or to a good film.

He entered into the lighter side of his "grandson's" life at Oxford, inquiring about his rooms, and, though a non-smoker himself, taking friendly interest in his pipe. While he thought it "quite right to have a pet recreation," he was amusingly perplexed when folk-plays and morris-dancing, of which he knew absolutely nothing, caught the undergraduate's imagination. In letter after letter the old man questions and the young man explains.

Early in 1925, when his "grandson," after a time of spiritual crisis, was fulfilling an engagement previously made to act as stage manager for a young people's village play, Dr. Stock wrote:

"It is the beautiful thing in real Christianity that it can stoop from a mountain-top to a plain—not only to heal a demoniac boy, but to come to a wedding feast and increase the supply of wine. You have been quite right to throw yourself into the

good work of entertaining young and old. You must not think that my sixty-eight years of not going to theatres is any reflection on others. When I took the step [decision to serve Christ] at twenty-one which you have taken at twenty, the universal practice of those who did so was to give up such things. . . . I am sorry, for I should like to see a really good play.[1] . . . Certainly the theatre holds a higher place in the estimation of good people than formerly. So pray don't take my feeling about not in old age changing a sixty-eight years' habit as any reflection on you or any suggestion to you. You will go sometimes rightly, and your consecration to our dear Lord will keep you from giving all your time even to good plays."

Few things will give the friends of Eugene Stock more pleasure than the abounding evidence of the happiness of his closing years.

But at last the long day of life began to darken towards the short night of death. The little diaries still had their regular entries, but the phrase "Not well," "Not out," frequently appeared. Attacks of disabling illness recurred several times in 1928, alternating with return to wonted habits of life and work. But the burden of old age began to grow heavy. Papers and affairs were put in order. His only fear was lest death should linger till he was disabled by weakness and unable to help himself.

[1] He did later go to see one—Jerome K. Jerome's *Passing of the Third Floor Back*—and enjoyed it.

In August he regained some vigour. A short holiday was planned. One afternoon—it was the 17th—he enjoyed a little drive with his wife. He called her and her daughter into the study, and read to them an article on "clerical puns" in the *Church Times* which had amused him. Then, as he was wont, he took a letter to the afternoon post. While crossing the Poole Road outside his own gate a small motor car came unseen round a tramcar and knocked him down. He was taken to the hospital near by, the injuries to his head were dressed, and he was brought home. He lived for three weeks, but never regained clear consciousness. He had not to face the knowledge that he was parting from the wife whose life was so entwined with his own.

In the glorious sunshine of a September day his "tired body" was laid in the Bournemouth cemetery, beneath a marble cross by a pine tree.

# Part II

## CHARACTERISTICS AND POLICIES

# VI

## MISSIONS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

FROM the days of the Apostles onward the expanding Church has found itself in contact with the civil power. The most cursory acquaintance with the history of Christendom shows that alliance and antagonism alternated as points of attraction or repulsion varied from age to age. To deal with these difficult situations missionary statesmen have been raised up in the Church. These are not merely men who bring qualities of statesmanship into the religious sphere. They are rather those who can launch out boldly into the great regions of life where the Church takes action in the sphere of the secular power. Christian aims and motives are brought to bear upon the affairs of human society as a whole. The modern missionary movement has been marked by increase in the number and closeness of its contacts with governments, and has therefore had special need of men in its ranks who could deal with public affairs.

Among such, Eugene Stock may justly be classed. In three and thirty years of secretarial service he had a personal share in dealing with scores of situations involving the relation of missions and the authorities

of the State. As historian and editor he also searched out the record of such contacts since the C.M.S. began. It is well for us that he did so, for the experience of the fathers is the heritage of their sons.

He was plunged straight into the relation of missions and public affairs on his first day in the C.M.S. committee room.

On June 24, 1873, he went to meet the C.M.S. sub-committee, who had it in mind to offer him an editorial post. The interview over, he was invited to remain as a visitor while the main Committee sat. That meeting filled him with expectancy and desire as he silently looked on. This new work would be on larger lines than that in a business office, where one toiled all day for bread and butter and went home in the evening—to be oneself and live. Into the dust and detail of the Committee there came burgeoning that day a great breeze of public affairs.

First, the Shah of Persia was in England; should they approach him with a direct request? The C.M.S. had as yet no mission in Persia, though a pioneer missionary had won the heart of the people by distributing famine relief. That gave them some influence, perhaps; for the rest, their eyes had always turned longingly towards the lands of Islam. They knew already, from experience in Turkey, in Egypt, in Syria, in Palestine, what Moslem rulers could be like. The Christian minorities in Persia lacked civil and religious rights. There were old laws still unabrogated which forbid a Moslem Persian to

profess the Christian faith. Should they draw up a memorial showing that liberty was being conceded in other lands and send it to the Shah? A document, couched in formal terms, with the redundant courtesies of fifty years ago, was prepared for dispatch.

Then, the Persia matter being concluded, Sir Bartle Frere, just returned from an official investigation into the persistence of the slave trade in East Africa, had come to ask for co-operation with the Government in East Africa. He knew, the Committee knew, and the future editor, sitting silent and alert, knew, of the co-operation of the founders of the C.M.S. in the abolition of the slave trade and the social, educational, and religious work carried on among rescued slaves landed from British men-of-war at Sierra Leone. They knew that the C.M.S. had taken active part in government and commercial plans for opening the River Niger to legitimate trade, and in thus cutting off the incentive to traffic in human beings, good precedents had been established.

Sir Bartle Frere stood facing the Committee, pointer in hand, a large map by his side. He recited the cruel tale of persistent shipping of miserable slaves to ports on the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. British cruisers were busy at their work of rescue, but what was to become of the slaves? Would the C.M.S. found a settlement for them on the east coast as had already been done in the west? It was impossible to refuse. After much difficulty with the Native people, land was bought on

the mainland facing Mombasa, roads were constructed, buildings put up, gardens made. Frere Town, as the new settlement was called, was in due course established, and British crews poured in rescued slaves. Referring in his History to this incident, Eugene Stock adds the comment that some years elapsed before the government contribution to the cost of the settlement was paid.

Again, on another and very different occasion, some ten years later, Eugene Stock was a spectator when missions received unwelcome attention in Parliament. A horrible murder had been committed at Onitsha on the Niger by two Negroes, one of whom, a schoolmaster, had previously been dismissed by Bishop Crowther for bad conduct. The London newspapers reported the trial of " two missionaries of the Church Missionary Society " for the crime. The Duke of Somerset in consequence made a strong indictment of the society and its work in the House of Lords. As he sat down, Lord Cairns sprang to his feet and delivered a powerful statement in defence. Then the new primate, Archbishop Benson, rose to make his first speech in the House of Lords—a brief but vigorous repudiation of the charges brought against the C.M.S. The chaplain with him was Randall Davidson, later to be primate himself, and close by the episcopal benches stood Eugene Stock, ready to supply the Archbishop with information if such should be required. Some years before, the Duke of Somerset had made a

EUGENE STOCK, 1860
*(From a daguerreotype)*

*Photograph*] [*G. P. Abraham*

EUGENE STOCK, 1902

similar attack in the same place in connexion with missions in China. On that occasion a magnificent defence was made by another prelate, Bishop Magee. It was his maiden speech in the House of Lords, and established his fame as a debater.

Eugene Stock entered eagerly into the fuller heritage of knowledge which his office as missionary secretary brought within reach. In writing and in speaking he henceforth drew on this store. Even still the old records which he left are touched with living romance. The story of New Zealand is one that will never fade.

Work began there with Samuel Marsden and his "lay settlers" in 1809. Pioneer missionaries followed, only to be disturbed by reckless white adventurers. Then came a rush of settlers—some respectable Englishmen, some run-away convicts from Australia—all wanting land which the Maori were unwilling to give. Serious troubles arose. A British resident was sent to keep order, but failed. At last the islands were annexed as a British colony—how history repeats itself! The Maori trusted the missionaries, but not the British officials. Many of the settlers and the French priests urged the people not to submit. Things were in the balance when Henry Williams, one of the early missionaries, known as "the father of the tribes," brought his influence to bear. As a result some 450 Maori chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi. But the just provisions of the treaty and the purpose of the central

Government were frustrated by other influences on the spot. There were wars and schisms. Missions and Government and aborigines all suffered, the latter most of all. The Maori became a broken remnant in the land. When at last suspicions were allayed and conflicts were over, the fine qualities of the Maori race were recognized. Those elected in after years to membership of the legislature won high esteem; the Maori clergy became a power in the New Zealand Church; the Maori contingent did bravely at Gallipoli in the great war. Eugene Stock was wont to point out that when the Maori troops executed a war dance there the leader was an educated Maori entitled to write "M.A., LL.D." after his name. Is the late discovery of Maori capacity a light or a shadow in the story? Will history again repeat itself?

In India, the relation of missions to public affairs unrolls like a great epic in the chapters of his History. We see the East India Company stiffly and officially closing the door to Christian teachers, while the little group of Baptist missionaries wait in hope in Danish territory at Serampore. United prayer and strenuous effort in England bring release—it is a battle like that over slavery. In 1813 the renewal of the charter of the East India Company is before Parliament. After a huge debate, and at three o'clock in the morning, clauses are carried which cautiously open India to missionary work. A little later the great Christian officials in the Punjab

are inscribing one of the most glorious chapters in the history of the Empire. Hear Eugene Stock:

> They present the one conspicuous instance in Indian history of a body of British rulers and officers going to work definitely as Christian men, scorning to hide their faith in the true God, confessing Christ before the world, and not shrinking from energetic action for the evangelization of the people. Not that they were false to the great principles of religious toleration which the Government rightly professed. Not that they used their official position to press even the Truth upon the heathen and the Mohammedan. Not that they allured men to become Christians by the hope of special patronage. Not that they followed the old Dutch system of inflicting disabilities on non-Christians. But while they remained absolutely just and fair in their dealings with all, while the Sikh and the Hindu and the Moslem received from them all due respect, while faithfulness in any man was rewarded with frankest confidence, the Lawrences and their leading followers were not ashamed to be known as devout Christians, and not afraid to declare that they wished all men to be the same.

Again in 1854, the great education dispatch, with the influence of Alexander Duff behind it, becomes a charter for the future. Government grants-in-aid are made available for private schools in India, including those carried on by Christian missionaries. Four years later, the ghastly interlude of the mutiny being over, the neutrality controversy fills the air. Voices are raised urging that the missionaries and their teaching caused the outbreak

of unrest. Evidence quickly shows that in regions where officials encouraged missions there was no disturbance and that the partly-Christian regiments remained loyal. The Government is at the same time sharply challenged, by its own officials in many cases and by missions too, for its recognition of heathen observances, for its exclusion of the Bible from government schools, for objecting to the open encouragement of missions by officials. Men like Bishop Tait, Bishop Wilberforce, and Lord Shaftesbury protest in England, the C.M.S. addresses a great memorial to the Queen; from India come memoranda from Sir John Lawrence and Sir Herbert Edwardes, taking what is known as the Christian side; finally Queen Victoria issues a proclamation which disclaims the right to impose convictions on any of her subjects, but avows her own reliance upon the truths of Christianity. The use of the Bible in government schools is not conceded, but Christian officials have won the right to avow their Christianity openly and to promote missionary work. These are but fragments from the great epic which still unrolls. A former Indian government official has recently given in a fine volume[1] a further noteworthy interpretation of the long sweep of events.

[1] *Christianity and the Government of India*, by Arthur Mayhew (Faber and Gwyer). Of Dr. Stock's History Mr. Mayhew says: "I wish to record my special debt to this particularly valuable and comprehensive record."

Once more, in China the pages of the C.M.S. History show the beginnings of those great problems with which the world is concerned to-day—the special treaties which made missionary rights distasteful to the Chinese and wounded their self-respect as a nation, the opium traffic and opium wars in all their long-drawn-out complexity; the Boxer indemnity and other topics familiar in the public Press.

But Uganda was above all others the scene of dramatic relations between missions and governments some fifty years ago. And Eugene Stock was in the thick of it all. He had been two years in office when Stanley's letter roused Christendom and the C.M.S. responded to the call. It was he who introduced the leader of the first missionary party to the society; Alexander Mackay, one of the most heroic of pioneer missionaries, became his intimate friend; the first bishop, James Hannington, heard the missionary call at one of Eugene Stock's meetings. In the councils of the Committee, in correspondence with the missionaries, in stimulating interest in the Church at home, he found himself swept out in a great current of opportunity.

The founding of the Church in Uganda, the burning of the Christian martyrs, the murder of Bishop Hannington, and the great persecution in which steadfast witness was borne alike by missionaries and converts, had bound Uganda for ever to the English Church before there was any relation to the

British Crown. "No one then dreamed of Uganda as a British Protectorate," wrote Eugene Stock.

But the "scramble for Africa" had begun. Already the Roman Catholic mission had ranged itself on the side of France; the weak and vicious king, Mwanga, was ready to respond to German advance. Neighbouring Mohammedans were raiding Uganda; there was anarchy and confusion in the land—even the Christians were in warring camps. Then, in Berlin, where the European powers were engaged in the partition of Africa, it was agreed that Uganda should be in the British sphere of influence. Captain Lugard, representing the Imperial British East Africa Company, arrived on the scene; to the joy of the missionaries and the growing Anglican church a treaty was concluded which brought Uganda under the protection of the Company. Notwithstanding factions and fightings, the settlement of the country went on. Prosperity ceased to be a stranger. But the financial cost was heavy, and trade returns were small. The resources of the Company, unbacked by government money, were exhausted. A financial crisis arose.

Away in the Scottish highlands Bishop Tucker and Eugene Stock were staying in the house of a friend in the early autumn of 1891. Up the loch steamed the yacht of Sir William Mackinnon, chairman of the Chartered Company, bearer of serious news. He laid the Uganda situation before the two men. If the Company could hold on one

year longer the British Government might take responsibility for expenditure in Uganda. But the resources of the Company could not stretch to cover that year. Was there any direction in which help might be sought? It was holiday time, and counsellors were scattered. Money given to the C.M.S. could not be diverted to the Company's coffers. The two men waited as weeks went by to see if a way of escape could be found. The Company's notice of withdrawal actually reached Captain Lugard in Uganda; he was ruefully facing the downfall of his cherished work when a telegram brought news of a year's reprieve. What had happened? Only the annual meeting of Eugene Stock's Gleaners' Union in London, at which Bishop Tucker spoke. As he told of the Uganda situation, showing the peril which the sudden breakdown of law and order would bring on the young and promising church, the great meeting was moved to the depths. One man passed a note to Eugene Stock offering to give £5000 towards extending the Company's administration for a year. Other offers—large and small—poured up to the platform; £8000 was promised in the hall; the sum was doubled within a few days by gifts from other friends. The chairman of the Company gave £10,000 out of his own pocket. A telegram was sent to Captain Lugard, active influence was brought to bear upon the British Government, a Commissioner was sent out to investigate affairs on

the spot; finally, on August 18, 1894, a British Protectorate was proclaimed with the entire goodwill of the people, and Uganda has ever since been at peace, missions and Government working side by side.

For more than thirty years Eugene Stock played his part in establishing and maintaining such relations as these. He worked in London, for the most part behind the scenes, collaborating in the approach to Government with missionary statesmen in the mission fields. He and his colleagues in the C.M.S. and other missionary secretariats were like the permanent civil servants of the Crown who suggest policies which ministers openly advocate, or draft treaties which ministers sign, or put experience, common sense, and knowledge into work sponsored by other and more prominent men. Just as history has scant record of the particular work done by these invaluable servants, so in the annals of the C.M.S. it is impossible to determine the exact measure of Eugene Stock's contribution to the action publicly taken.

But his fitness for such service is easily discerned. He had the right temper of mind. From boyhood he had been attuned to a fine appreciation of public affairs. He steeped himself in history. He might well have represented a constituency in Parliament or held permanent office in a government department. "He belongs by temperament," wrote a well-informed journalist a quarter of a century ago,

"to that race of British statesmen and explorers who have planted the flag of empire in distant continents. If destiny had willed it so, he might have been a Central African governor, and would have known how to conciliate those whom he ruled. He has the calm sagacity, the far-seeing vision which are the statesman's best equipment."

He recognized that situations, however critical, were compounded of facts and of men. He knew a fact when he saw it—a faculty less common than is supposed. Half-truths he rejected as unerringly as a telephone call box rejects bent or battered coin. Every fact claimed attention and frank expression, whether it counted for his argument or against. In his own sphere—and it was a wide one—his clear mind could group facts, sifting and collating evidence, so that his judgment was rapid and generally sound.

He handled men, as a rule, much as he handled facts, with brisk, broad-minded directness. He could allow for every temperament and interpret every political or religious dialect of speech. He was free from jealousy, from suspicion, and from any love of intrigue. He believed in progressing by compromise if it was not compromise of truth. He could enlarge a mere loophole of agreement into a doorway through which two could pass to walk abreast. The permanent relations of the future meant more to him than the temporary ones of the day. And, unlike the proverbial Irishman who had

"a gift agin the government," he started from the supposition that government had duties and responsibilities and was more likely to have some valid ground for its actions than might at first appear. In argument he was patient and courteous, with a refreshing dash of pungency; ready to be convinced by reason, but immovable where he felt principle was concerned.

In the years that have passed since Eugene Stock retired from office, missions have been thrust more and more into the forefront of public affairs. During the years of war he counted himself mainly an onlooker; in reality he had been a precursor of the work then being done. He, and such as he, had blazed a trail for younger men to tread.

There is no greater Christian apologetic than the story of the co-operative action taken by Christian missions in the sphere of public affairs during and after the war. Though the international missionary body which Eugene Stock had helped to bring into being after the Edinburgh conference could not function, an emergency committee was formed to act as opportunity arose. Missionaries long honoured and trusted in African colonies were transformed into "alien enemies," and were alike by the allies and the central powers either repatriated or interned. Then missions of many churches combined to carry on and support the German work as far as means allowed. When churches, schools, and mission houses became "enemy property" by

the mere fact of war there was a call to action too. By the influence of missions acting in co-operation, an article was secured in the Treaty of Versailles whereby German mission property was invested in boards of trustees and reserved for religious uses. Gradually, as years have passed, the joint influence of mission bodies in co-operation has won permission for German missionaries to resume their work and has regained for them possession of their property. The treaties ensuring missionary liberty which were abrogated by the war have been replaced by new safeguards ; in every mandate under the League of Nations an article securing religious liberty is found. Instead of the system of licensing missionaries which was proposed, the British Government agreed to accept the national missionary councils as competent to recommend the admission of workers of recognized societies. Where it seemed as if the liberty of mission schools was likely to be curtailed as a result of the war, there has been won instead a new and enlarged measure of government co-operation and support.

Here are two facts to illustrate this post-war situation. The British Colonial Office set up an Advisory Committee on Education, first to deal with Tropical Africa, but later expanded to include non-African territories in the Empire. One of its members is Mr. J. H. Oldham. Its memoranda affirm the place of religious teaching as essential in education, and welcome the co-operation of mission

schools. Further, the Government appointed as a member of the Commission to East Africa, sent out in 1928, the same Mr. J. H. Oldham who had acted for the missionary bodies through the years of war, who had been their chief spokesman when new labour regulations in East Africa had called for serious protest, and who had come to be known as a man who could weigh truly the responsibilities of the Government, the rights of Native peoples, and the duties of the Christian Church.

All this has transpired since Eugene Stock retired from office. Had he been younger, it is a movement in which he would have had a leader's place. The work begun so well and truly opens out into limitless vistas of possibility to-day. The British Government, for instance, sets no barrier in the way of mission schools in Africa, offering, rather, contributions towards their cost. They impose a high standard of efficiency, but no restriction on the teaching of the Christian faith. Even in Moslem lands like Northern Nigeria and the Northern Sudan the spirit of respect and mutual understanding has drawn missions and governments together and brought abounding opportunities. And this has come to pass through no suppression of Christian conviction or weakening of missionary message.

Noble tasks are awaiting the new generations who follow in the steps of Eugene Stock.

# VII

## EUGENE STOCK AS A CHURCHMAN

When Eugene Stock, then assistant editor of *Church Bells*, first stood before the C.M.S. Committee in 1873, he was questioned as to his views. He avowed himself at one with the principles of the C.M.S. "But there are evangelicals *and* evangelicals," he boldly said. Writing seventeen years later to an Indian missionary, he commented on what had passed. "I remember that when the C.M.S. Committee were considering whether they should appoint me on their staff, I was asked as to my views. I gave them, and I added that there were evangelicals *and* evangelicals, and I wished it to be distinctly understood that my sympathies were not with the narrower section (my theology probably was more theirs, but not my sympathies or temperament). I remember that Henry Wright replied: 'Yes, you are right; there are evangelicals and evangelicals; do you remember that, and don't fail to give due respect and honour to the section you don't so much sympathize with.' I never forgot it; and it has been a useful lesson to me."

The thoughtful student of Eugene Stock's

writings, and of the whole trend of his life, cannot fail to observe that the evangelicalism of the C.M.S. in its early days was a much finer thing than is commonly recognized, and that Eugene Stock was in full accord with its best traditions. Times have changed, of course; much that is a commonplace to-day would be as strange to the fathers of the society as some of their fears and their phraseology are to us. But the deep and living principles on which their work was built remain the strength of modern evangelicals, and are more and more seen to be part of the great central heritage of the "Holy Catholic Church" in which we all affirm belief.

As Eugene Stock marshals the deliberations of the founders of the C.M.S.—the outreach of their thought, the tenacity of their purpose, the daring of their plans, the humble fervour of their prayers, and their loyalty to somewhat unresponsive church authority—the society appears from its birth as a potent factor in the life of the English Church.

The C.M.S. has always gathered into its fellowship a great host of men and women at one with its central principles, but differing on many secondary though not unimportant points. It has room, and always has had room, for them all. It has stood and spoken for a worthy historic school of thought within the Church of England; it has not been, and never can be, the organ of a party on narrow or exclusive lines. At given moments, the society

as a whole, in its full historic proportions, has been finer and more inclusive than members of its own committees, or some among its officers or supporters or missionaries. One of the greater services of Eugene Stock to the Church is his bold delineation of those historic proportions in his volumes, and not only so, but his verbal demonstration of them on occasions when partial views were being urged. Not once, but many times, have ardent champions of some sectional orthodoxy quaffed a draught of cool history at his hand, and learned from the wisdom of their fathers that the whole is greater than the part.

It used to be commonly charged against those who gave themselves to the furthering of overseas work that they had little concern for the work of the Church at home. Rivalry between organizations for home and foreign missions was not unknown. That day is happily passing; by all thinking persons the work of the Church is seen as one. But the charge could at no time have lain against Eugene Stock. From early manhood to extreme old age he gave himself to the whole range of Christian service—"all the world" included England as well as Africa and the East.

The varied experiences of his life in Islington, his connexion with the Sunday School Institute, and the knowledge and status given by his C.M.S. secretaryship, assured him of wide opportunities in the Church at home. His temperament and

gifts fitted him alike for the platform and the committee room.

In London—his own diocese—he was a member of the diocesan conference from its beginning in 1882. For some thirty-five years he represented in turn Islington, Hampstead, and West City deaneries. He was a frequent speaker, and generally a member of the standing committee of the conference. He was one of the first band of eighteen diocesan lay readers commissioned by Bishop Temple in St. Paul's Cathedral in March, 1891. When a lay readers' board was formed to examine candidates and guide the movement, he was on it. He was welcomed as a preacher in a number of important London parishes. When living at Bickley he had the Bishop of Rochester's licence; the Bishop of Winchester licensed him for work during his Bournemouth days.

He was an active member of the House of Laymen of the southern province from its beginning in 1885. When the representative church council was constituted in 1904, consisting of the upper and lower Houses of Convocation and the Houses of Laymen, Eugene Stock became a member of that body and took part in the debates. At the last sitting of the House of Laymen, in February, 1920, only four members, of whom he was one, represented the first house.

The representative church council promulgated a scheme for a National Church Assembly with

statutory powers. This came into operation under the terms of the Enabling Act of 1919. When the first election of the House of Laity of the Church Assembly took place in 1920, Dr. Stock was one of the elected representatives. Thus he was from the first identified with the growing corporate activity of the Church and had his place in the preliminary stages of its self-government under the constitution of the Church Assembly. When the subject of Prayer Book revision was introduced in the Church Assembly, Eugene Stock took an active share in preparing the measure. He tells of this in a letter quoted on page 106. His interest in the subject continued even after his membership of the House of Laity ceased. To the close of his life he followed the work of the Church Assembly with confident expectation. His service for the overseas work of the Church extended far outside the limits of the C.M.S. He always promoted and cultivated friendship with other Church of England societies—he was an incorporated member of the S.P.G. for more than fifty years, and took a share in furthering the interests of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society both at home and abroad.

He was an original member of the Central Board of Missions when it was formed by the union of the Canterbury and York boards in 1908. He had been on the Canterbury board already for ten years. He was a keen supporter of the Boards of Missions, both central and diocesan, seeing in them,

and at a later date still more clearly in the Missionary Council of the Church Assembly, agencies to further the evangelization of the world and unify the work of the societies. When, on the initiative of Bishop Montgomery, the Central Board of Missions put forward proposals for a great Pan-Anglican Congress in 1908, Eugene Stock was at first one of the secretaries of the special committee appointed to give shape to the plan. He retired from that office after a few months, but his part in the proceedings was noteworthy. He was presented with others to the King and Queen and the (then) Prince and Princess of Wales by Archbishop Davidson at the Marlborough House garden party for the congress, and had the honorary degree of D.C.L. conferred upon him by the University of Durham. In addition to heavy committee work, he visited many places to explain the objects of the congress and to enlist the co-operation of church leaders and of the rank and file.

The wide scope of the congress programme gave a special character to its work. The sections were: The Church and human society, the Church and human thought, the Church's ministry, the Church's missions in non-Christian lands, the Church's missions in Christendom, the Anglican communion, the Church and the young. Hundreds of papers—some of them still worth perusal—were prepared before the congress and are published in its report. The assembly in a new and deepened way made

real the significance of the Anglican communion as a great federation of churches—"some wholly and some virtually independent, some with a limited local autonomy, some still in the age of infancy, but all one in the faith of Christ." A Pan-Anglican thankoffering, amounting to about £350,000, was given for distribution among the colonial and missionary dioceses overseas. A special committee, of which Eugene Stock was a member, was commissioned to distribute it. The task proved long and difficult, involving world-wide correspondence. Eugene Stock never missed a meeting of the committee. The final report was not issued for ten years.

He was one of the most regular lay members of the Church Congress year by year. Up to 1908 he had been to twenty congresses, reading a paper or speaking at all but three. In 1909 he read a paper at the Swansea congress on the participation of laymen in the spiritual work of the Church. He also attended the Southampton congress of 1913. When the meetings of the congress were resumed after the war he did not continue to frequent them.

Within the C.M.S. itself Eugene Stock was known as a man of wide sympathies whose loyal churchmanship was above reproach. His knowledge of history gave him a sense of church order which some evangelicals lacked. Though he could, and did, stand up for the rights of a voluntary lay society formed within the Church of England, he knew the

place due to episcopal authority. Few lay church men have had occasion to uphold so steadily episcopal rights, or opportunity to play an active part in furthering the formation of so many colonial and missionary bishoprics.

When men of spiritual views but unsettled churchmanship were attracted to the society, their first approach was generally to Eugene Stock. His letters show that, while he craved to enlist their service, he never minimized the church position which C.M.S. missionaries must necessarily take. He was a layman, he was known to be open-minded, he was responsible for the editing of the periodicals and reports. Hence people desiring to question or challenge, or those faced with criticisms which they did not know how to answer, wrote often to him. He was also frequently put forward by his colleagues to reply to attacks in certain sections of the religious Press.

The innumerable letters which he wrote to those who assailed the Committee as they affirmed in one resolution after another their central evangelical position, or to those who challenged the loyalty of his colleagues to the church principles of the society, or who misinterpreted statements in the periodicals or reports, are models of courteous firmness. Sometimes, indeed, in dealing with newspaper correspondents, his store of patience ran a little low. "I am never happy in controversy," wrote Eugene Stock, yet in controversy, for the

most part, he was at his best. The pity of it is, as he deeply felt himself, that time and gifts and spiritual force needed for the work of Christ's Kingdom in the world should so often have been diverted to justify and to explain actions taken by good men which filled other good men with suspicious fears.

It is worth while to collate the pages of the History and the old half-faded copies of hand-written letters to trace the stories of some of the questions which had to be dealt with. The records throw light on Eugene Stock's churchmanship and on his spirit when subjects causing division among brethren arose.

There is the tragic story of Metlakahtla, on the northern coast of British Columbia, where a splendid work was eclipsed for a time. The mission was begun in response to the appeal of a naval officer in 1856. He escorted the first missionary there himself in his frigate, doubling Cape Horn and taking nearly six months to reach Vancouver. Then William Duncan, the young lay missionary, had still to go five hundred miles northward. He learned the language of the Tsimshean Indians, won many of them to seek baptism, and after a time planned a Christian colony. The Indians chose a lovely spot on the coast, where they had plenty of fishing and room to cultivate land. The Canadian Government approved. Soon there was a thriving village under Duncan's rigid rule. He

was not only lay pastor and missionary, but treasurer of the settlement, clerk of the works, head schoolmaster, and counsellor in general to the people; the Government made him a magistrate with jurisdiction along the coast. He ruled with justice and energy, fair alike to white man and red. Within ten years there were over 270 baptized adults and fifty children of Christian parents.

Three years before Eugene Stock took office, Duncan visited England and learned various trades to help his people. Though the mission was widely popular in the Church, the Committee were not quite happy about it. Five times they sent out ordained clergy to work with the lay leader, but each time he found them outlying work or they got ill and had to come home. At last the reason appeared—Duncan had been influenced by a schism in the church at Victoria in British Columbia; he had failed in loyalty to the Church of England; he was unwilling that the Indian Christians should be confirmed or admitted to the Holy Communion. Knowing the hold of their old fetishes upon them, he feared that the Christian ordinance might become a new fetish instead of the old. "But the society's experience all over the world," writes Eugene Stock as he tells the story, "assured the Committee —if such assurance were necessary—that the Lord can take care of His own ordinance and that the most infantine Christians, if true Christians, can be safely invited to be partakers of its blessings."

None of the ordained missionaries sent out "rightly and duly to administer Christ's holy sacraments" prevailed against Duncan's authority. Meantime the needs of British Columbia had grown; two new bishoprics were formed, one of them—Caledonia—including the C.M.S. missions. Bishop Ridley, who with his wife had already done noble service among the Afghans at Peshawar, was consecrated in 1879 and went out. But all his patient efforts failed. Duncan held his ground. The Christian Indians were still debarred from the Communion. At last, with great reluctance, the Committee had to send an ultimatum. Duncan must come home to England for conference, or allow the Bishop to guide the religious life of the people, or hand over Metlakahtla to the Bishop and leave the place. "On receipt of the ultimatum," wrote Eugene Stock, "Duncan called all the Indians together, told them the society had dismissed him, and asked them whether they would stand by him or whether he should go. Their response was inevitable. Here was their benefactor, their leader, in effect their king; they were no longer poor wandering Indians, but a thriving community with considerable investments at Victoria, and they owed it to him. What was the society, or the Church, or the Bishop to them?" So nine-tenths of the Indian Christians followed Duncan to a new settlement near by, and a long period of testing set in for Bishop Ridley and his

little flock. But truth slowly won its way. " Bishop Ridley's first confirmation," writes Dr. Stock, " was at Kincolith in March, 1883. The Indians there had been warned by Duncan that if ever they went to Holy Communion there would be an offertory and they would have to give money, which he had never asked them to do. They inquired . . . whether the Bible commanded the Lord's Supper. One leading objector to the introduction of a ' church ceremony ' asked the missionary to mark in the English Bible (there was then no translation) any passages about the Sacrament. This was done, and after several days he came back saying he had been to every Indian who had the smallest knowledge of English and could read, and had gradually made out the meaning of the verses ; he ' would fight against God's word no more.' "

Duncan ultimately got into trouble with the colonial authorities, but, by enlisting the sympathy of American friends who knew nothing of the circumstances, he found an asylum in Alaska and moved his Indians there. It is strange to find in Eugene Stock's letter books that the Committee's action regarding Metlakahtla was challenged and misunderstood. Even so good a missionary as Alexander Mackay needed to have it pointed out to him that Bishop Ridley was no " proud prelate," and that no church society could honourably countenance so grave a breach of order even at the remotest outpost.

One of the longest and most acute controversies of the nineteenth century arose in Ceylon in 1876 between Bishop R. S. Copleston and the C.M.S. The Bishop was a convinced high churchman, the mission was strong—perhaps unusually strong—in evangelical tradition and practice. The Bishop withdrew the licence of some of the missionaries on grounds which seemed to them inadequate and unfair. The local Press attacked him, and Ceylon was divided into two camps. The matter became public in England and sides were vigorously taken. The C.M.S. Committee made strenuous effort to clear the situation, but failed. Four bishops of the ecclesiastical province of India and Ceylon prepared a document which was sent to the C.M.S. Committee; the Committee replied with a carefully drawn memorandum. A sub-committee appointed by the Lambeth Conference of 1878 adopted a report which partly, but not wholly, supported the C.M.S. view. At length all parties concerned desired arbitration; Archbishop Tait, undaunted by difficulty, undertook the task and associated four other bishops with himself. "We have good men—really good men—to deal with on both sides," he wrote. "Let us say our say." When Archbishop Lord Davidson came to address the C.M.S. Committee in 1929, he reminded them that as a chaplain he had been present at these discussions nearly fifty years before. On March 1, 1880, the C.M.S. Committee received the *Opinion*

*and Advice of the Five Prelates.* They knelt to thank God for the deliverance it brought. A week later came a letter from the Bishop of Colombo proposing friendly negotiations. There was give and take on both sides; the controversy was at an end.

This controversy shadowed the early years of Eugene Stock's C.M.S. work. The spirit in which, some thirty years later, he wrote of it in the course of his History is characteristic of the man.

"We must now turn to the great Ceylon controversy. In doing so let us review the main facts simply as history, seeking to state them with strict fairness and avoiding every word that might tend to revive feelings long since put aside." Then follow thirteen closely printed pages of record, with this paragraph at their close:

"Readers of this chapter will gather that the opinion of the five prelates is regarded as having, in the main, vindicated the principles and practice of the society. But there has been an honest desire to do full justice to the Bishop and his views, and the avowal is necessary that if all the turns and windings and corners of the controversy had been described, the action of the society, and still more the action of at least one or two of the missionaries, could not in every case have been seriously justified, however excusable in such trying circumstances."

Later chapters dwell on the subsequent kindness and cordial fellow-working of Bishop Copleston,

who became a vice-president of the C.M.S.—a happy ending to the controversy. The claim made by Eugene Stock in the author's preface to his History is borne out: " I have not attempted to conceal what seem to me to have been the mistakes and weaknesses of the evangelical body. Although a writer who essays to be an historian cannot be neutral, he ought to strive to be fair and honest. That has been my unreserved desire and aim; and honesty and fairness are never manifested where a writer has only good words for his own 'party' and only hard words for other 'parties.'"

It is not a little curious that the organization which has done so much to develop the colonial and missionary episcopate, and seen so many of its missionaries become bishops, should have had so many difficulties with bishops, or created so much difficulty for them in the past. Even with Bishop Daniel Wilson of Islington fame, an outstanding supporter of the C.M.S., difficulties arose in India in the 'forties. Is one to laugh or weep at such sentences as these from correspondence between him and Mr. Fowell Buxton, afterwards the first baronet of that name? Quoth the lay committee man, " For God's sake, and the sake of the poor heathens, do not let your love of the Church obstruct the diffusion of Christianity." With a shrewd thrust the Bishop meets him: " For God's sake, do not let your dread of the Church obstruct the diffusion of Christianity." Bishops were not yet

ready to welcome a democratic lay voice in the Church, and laymen were apt to be scared by the fear of what was called—with capitals—Episcopal Autocracy.

One gains a fresh impression, in turning over the pages of Eugene Stock's letter book, of the steadiness with which the C.M.S. leaders in times of controversy held to their larger evangelical heritage and refused to take the shorter, narrower view which made for temporary accord. This is specially manifest in the mass of correspondence concerning the C.M.S. subsidy for the Jerusalem bishopric, which was a burning question some forty years ago. To a modern reader the good faith of the Archbishop and of the Committee seems so obvious, the bold adherence of the C.M.S. to their original undertaking seems the only honourable course. But the number of letters which had to be written to explain and conciliate are beyond belief. "Our ancient constitution makes us a church society and we have to recognize the bishop of the country we labour in, whoever he may be" . . . "We cannot ignore archbishops and bishops . . . this is a point many friends forget" . . . "As regards bishops generally, if you are right then Henry Venn and Henry Wright were all wrong, and the Committee for nearly fifty years . . . our view is that the Church of England recognizes three orders, and that it is as right for the C.M.S. to pay a bishop as to pay a presbyter or deacon"—Eugene

Stock writes thus on page after page. The pity of it all, and the smallness, in view of the needs of the world!

When, long after he had retired from active service, the unhappy severance of a number of men and women who had been within the ranks of the C.M.S. took place, Eugene Stock mourned it as a departure from the great tradition of the past. Division had threatened and sometimes been narrowly averted; now it had come. In a fine passage towards the close of the fourth volume of his History he refers to the recurrence of this periodic unrest. He points out that because of its breadth and inclusiveness there has always been room for divergence of opinion within the C.M.S., just as there are sub-divisions in the evangelical school. He recognizes that in questions of Biblical criticism and inspiration differences are inevitable, and may co-exist with loyalty to essential truth. And he deprecates attempts to safeguard the theological position of the society by creeds or articles of its own. "It stands by the Bible and the Prayer Book"—for him that was enough.

The charges brought, in the period after the cleavage had taken place, against the society he loved, and knew perhaps as none other knew it, touched his closing years with sorrow and called out the last efforts to conciliate, repudiate, and explain from the able pen which had so nearly done its task.

As was suggested in the opening chapter, it is in old age, when the burden of responsibility is lessened and faculty is still clear, that a man becomes transparent and reveals his inner thought. Eugene Stock, as an active lay churchman, a recognized leader of the evangelical school, a man able to understand the views of others but vigorous in support of what seemed to him true and just, has left himself on record in his published writings and in the associations and actions and even controversies of his working years. But it is in some of his later personal letters that he best reveals at once the reality of these evangelical convictions which were the spring of his own life and the breadth of Christian fellowship which blends with them.

" I remain an evangelical churchman," he wrote in 1926, " but I certainly have a deeper assurance even than before that in the Holy Church throughout all the world there must of necessity be wide differences both of theological opinion and of modes of worship, caused by varieties both of personal temperament and of education and environment." In another letter he writes : " I am sorry when many good people won't allow a good word to be said of a German. . . . There are many fine Germans quite as truly consecrated to Christ as any of us. In the earlier days of the C.M.S., the majority of missionaries were Germans, and splendid work they did. . . . And I am sorry when some good church people forbid any good word about nonconformists

or when other good church people will say no good word of Anglo-catholics."

When reading, in 1927, *Essays Catholic and Critical*, edited by Dr. E. G. Selwyn, he was stirred with a desire to write comments on two points to the *Church Times* and the *Guardian*, but wrote to his friend Bishop Montgomery instead. "(1) The name 'Protestant' is used, as very often it is now, as if it included all except Anglicans and 'Orthodox.' This is quite a mistake historically. Sixty years ago, all (or almost all) Anglicans, high and low, would have called themselves Protestants—*e.g.*, in 1824, Archdeacon Daubeney, one of the extremer high churchmen, and one of what has sometimes been called the 'Clapton Sect' as opposed to the 'Clapham Sect,' wrote an anti-Roman book, calling it *The Protestant Companion*. (2) It seems to be assumed that evangelicals not only fail to perceive the full meaning of the Holy Communion (which is, of course, a matter of theological opinion), but do not value it or revere its influence for their own lives. Well, I can remember when devout evangelicals were accustomed, in the days of monthly Communions, to give the Saturday evening before that Sunday to prayer and preparation for so solemn and gracious a service. Is it possible that men who now attend it three times a week, or even daily, can feel that profound and grateful adoration which those godly old evangelicals did? I am not advocating less frequent celebrations, but only protesting

that the old evangelicals did not think lightly about it."

Less than a year before his death, Eugene Stock wrote thus of the Catholic faith to his young Oxford friend: "I think you will find as you go on that 'the Catholic faith' is in its essence the joy of every true Christian, learned or unlearned. Thousands who do not have the tenth part of the knowledge you have gained do know the Father and the Son and the Spirit and are walking in the Way and helping others by their example and influence. We must not be surprised at the controversies that so divide Christian men. We are not all made alike. And, besides that, our education and surroundings have differed widely. But the Lord sees the heart, and He can recognize the oneness of those who are outwardly separated. I myself have known and loved very opposite people who are alike in at least having the central truth of the Catholic faith. I have known and loved some who were consistent Romanists and did look on the Pope as the earthly head of the Church; and equally have I known and loved Plymouth Brethren, who regarded all church folk as outside the covenant. On both sides they looked down on me as a lost soul. But I could know they were not lost souls. Of course, I don't mean to imply that it does not matter what we are. I should like to see changes on both sides. I think that both extremes are wrong, but I am sure that God looks at the heart and He sees His own children among

both. Yet still, it is right that we should seek for the right path and follow it. In all our controversies there is a right path, and most of us think we have got it, even when we differ as to what it is. I suppose all will continue so to the end of this dispensation. If only we could draw together a bit in what we do agree to accept; if, for instance, we Anglicans could love and help each other instead of trying constantly to show how mistaken they all are except ourselves, we should certainly be happier."

Perhaps of all the letters to his "grandson" this one goes nearest the heart of things. It is written in 1926, at the beginning of the Michaelmas term: "I have nothing special to write about, but I am constantly thinking of you and lifting up my heart to our dear Lord for His blessing and guidance for you, and I don't like your new term to begin without just a line or two from me. What I ask for you particularly is twofold. (1) That you may be kept very near to Him as your personal Friend and Master. (2) That in these days of controversy you may be enabled to rise above it all and set an example of generosity and sympathy towards others whose Christianity and churchmanship are not quite on your own lines. I don't say this in the least only because your lines and mine differ on not unimportant matters. I should say the same to any dear friend who had strong 'Protestant' tendencies, and call on him to give the right hand of fellowship to Cuddesdon men. Differences on many matters

cannot be helped, but I am sure the nearer we get to the Lord Christ Himself the more ready we shall be to look kindly on those who at any rate love and serve Him."

One of the last and strongest interests of Eugene Stock in central church questions was in connexion with Prayer Book revision. "I myself," he wrote in a personal letter, "had a good share in preparing the book. The Church Assembly some years ago appointed a committee. There were four bishops on it, six or seven other clergy, and a group of laymen, including Lord Hugh Cecil and Athelstan Riley and Sir Edward Clarke, and I was one. We sat many times, through, I think, two years. We had one whole week, morning, noon, and night, at the bishop's palace at Gloucester, and produced what is known as 'N.A. 60' as the result. Convocation afterwards added other things, but the majority of the new proposals were ours. When it came before the Church Assembly in June, 1922, it was opposed. I myself made a speech in its favour [his last speech at his last attendance at a session of the Assembly]. So I have a deep personal interest in the whole thing." The omission of the last four versicles of the *Venite* was originally his proposal. "I disliked singing the Gloria after the words, 'I swore in my wrath that they should not enter into my rest.'"

Month by month in his home at Bournemouth the discussions on the revision of the book were

followed with keen interest. He frequently returned in his letters to the subject. In June, 1926, he wrote to Bishop Montgomery: "I can't follow the ordinary evangelical in opposing reservation for the sick as a special modification of the original rite. It seems to me the one hope of getting a satisfactory arrangement is to allow that. But, of course, that will fall short of what a great many now want, and if the evangelicals will not even accept that they will be hopelessly beaten." Whatever his earlier attitude on the subject of reservation may have been, and his letters show there had been some misunderstanding about it, this was his settled conviction in the end. A year later he writes again: "I am so glad of what you say of the Bishop of Dornakal. When he was here five or six years ago he preached the famous St. Bride's sermon for the C.M.S., and I heard it. I am very glad he could see the real beauties of the new book. We all shall in time. It is such a pity that the one real difference that divides us—reservation—should seem to hide the beauties everywhere else."

In letters written in the last year of his life he weighs first the possibility and then the consequences of rejection of the measure by Parliament. "I confess I do wish to live to see the Prayer Book through. The Assembly is safe, evidently, but I dread Parliament, or at least the Commons. Are there in the House of Commons a hundred men who really care? It would be a tremendous

calamity for the measure to be thrown out. May it please God to avert it." Then after the first rejection he wrote: "I was aghast when at 11.30 that night of December 15 we heard by our wireless of the rejection. . . . I have supported the Prayer Book from the first and am indignant at the vote of the House of Commons. Yet I begin to feel that the very excitement aroused is for good. The Church stands out now as one of the great things in England. Look at that magnificent picture in *Punch* and the words to the Archbishop under it. . . . It has been an astonishment to see day by day in the newspapers —not *The Times* only—the words 'Prayer Book' in largest type as a heading. But I fear the opposition will go on, and the next six months or so will be occupied in discussions—a distressing prospect."

Some who rightly have full place within the broad sweep of the C.M.S. would not be in accord with positions taken in these later letters, especially on Prayer Book revision, but there can be none who does not find in the attitude of the veteran missionary secretary a blending of matured liberty with the truth that unites us all. There are, as Eugene Stock affirmed on the threshold of his C.M.S. service, "evangelicals *and* evangelicals." But what evangelical will dissociate himself from fellowship with the old man who, after his ninetieth birthday, closed a statement of his personal faith, written for a member of his family, with the following words:

"Personal religion—can I write of that? Of

oneself the less said the better. . . . But of our almighty and gracious Father, of our only and all-sufficient Saviour, of our never-failing Comforter—none can ever say enough. Looking back over past years from the standpoint of old age . . . I can only take up Addison's familiar words—

> "Transported with the view, I'm lost
> In wonder, love, and praise.

"My earthly life must now be near its close; and I sympathize much with the old clergyman who, when asked if he feared death, replied, 'I am not afraid to die, but I am ashamed to die.' Not afraid because I know Whom I have believed; and yet ashamed to die, when one thinks of lost opportunities and work marred by self, of mixed motives and the stains of sin. I desire only to express my deepest feelings in the old and simple couplet—

> "I'm a poor sinner and nothing at all,
> But Jesus Christ is my all in all."

# VIII

## EUGENE STOCK AND LARGER CO-OPERATION

IN June, 1919, Eugene Stock wrote from Bournemouth to his stepdaughter in India:

"I daresay you never heard of a certain monthly meeting of the secretaries of missionary societies to have tea together and discuss matters of common interest. I used to attend regularly when I was at the C.M.S. It is held seven times a year from October to April at various mission offices in turn. . . . S.P.G. never joined, whether they were not invited or whether they declined I do not know. . . . The meeting began in 1819, so it is now proposed that its centenary should be kept in October of this year. Dr. Ritson of the Bible Society wrote to me to help him in getting up the history of the meeting, telling me he had got all the minute books for the whole hundred years. I have spent long hours over them with keen interest. All the attendances are recorded, and I find that I was present just a hundred times.

"But I also find unexpected things in the past two or three years of which I knew nothing, as, of

course, I don't attend now—particularly that the S.P.G., the S.P.C.K., and the Jerusalem and the East Mission have recently joined. Bishop Montgomery has been present at several meetings. His first was at the Quakers' House, his second at the Baptists, his third at the Religious Tract Society. Talk of the reunion of Christendom!"

There was a dinner in London to celebrate the centenary of the Secretaries' Association on October 29, 1919, at which a small printed volume summarizing the records of the hundred years was presented. Dr. Stock, as the oldest living mission secretary, took the chair. This event, though small in itself, offers an illustration of the reality, the limitations, and the ultimate advance of missionary co-operation through a long period of time.

Eugene Stock, though unwavering in loyalty to his own communion, had from his earliest working years shared in undertakings which were common to other Christian bodies. As we have seen, he entered into the revival of 1859–60 which stirred new life in many London churches, and later on worked in connexion with the meetings held by the American evangelist, D. L. Moody. He associated himself with the Mildmay Conference. From 1888 onward he took a notable part in the missionary work of the Keswick Convention—up to 1916, which was his last attendance, he had been present twenty-three times. While that great gathering brought spiritual enrichment to his own

life and to the lives of others, he was the means of enlarging both its outlook and its membership. The regular meetings for missionary intercession were begun and generally conducted by him; for years he arranged and directed the great missionary meeting with which the convention closed. At this not only the well-known societies, but free-lance, independent missionaries had opportunity to present their work. Through his influence in part new channels were opened between the Keswick Convention and the mission fields, numbers of tired foreign workers in need of refreshment and renewal availing themselves of the hospitality provided for them. Many inquirers as to overseas service came to him for counsel, and were referred by him to the appropriate societies. When a Keswick Missionary Council was formed he was naturally one of the members. His special friends among the regular Keswick leaders were the Rev. Hubert Brooke, then at St. Mary's, Reading; Prebendary H. W. Webb-Peploe, of St. Paul's, Onslow Square, S.W.; the Rev. Handley Moule, afterwards Bishop of Durham; and Mr. Walter Sloan, then of the China Inland Mission, who succeeded him in his Keswick work.

Eugene Stock would not have found the C.M.S. congenial if in it his wider fellowship had been curtailed. But it was not. The law of the society which enacted that " A friendly intercourse shall be maintained with other Protestant societies engaged

in the same benevolent design of propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ" was no dead letter. His study of past records furnished living proofs of that. Josiah Pratt's *Missionary Register*, which aimed definitely at giving a systematic account of all missions, including, Eugene Stock tells us, those of the Institution for the Propagation of the Faith, which did so much for the revival and extension of Roman Catholic missions, filled him with admiration. The story of how the evangelical fathers, at the suggestion of Cleardo Naudi, a Roman Catholic Maltese doctor, placed their first university graduate, William Jowett, on the island of Malta, instructing him to visit from thence the surrounding Mediterranean shores, was frequently on his lips, and must have solaced him when challenged for taking part, for instance, in the conferences on Faith and Order. Jowett was to survey the religious horizon; to note the condition of the Roman church—"any favourable indications, the means of communicating to her our privileges"; and to study the oriental churches, which, "though far from simplicity and purity of the truth . . . possess within themselves the principle and the means of reformation." Jowett failed. Not through the oriental churches of the Mediterranean littoral were the Moslems then to be reached. A like early endeavour among the Syrian churches of India failed—for the time. But right at the heart of evangelical churchmanship there lies the spirit

of those great endeavours. One day a new Cleardo Naudi may call—this time through an open door.

Decade by decade the continuance of " friendly intercourse " between missionary societies—with a few exceptions—went on. Eugene Stock, in personal contacts, on platforms, and in his periodicals and other writings, took full share. But a new day was dawning; light streamed in from Africa and the East. The young churches overseas began to lean towards each other instead of only towards the mother churches in the West. Bodies administering work overseas were realizing that separate institutions might be wasteful and inefficient. Missionaries were thirsting for wider consultation over common experience than the limits of a single mission allowed. Leaders of far-seeing vision began, like the early fathers of the C.M.S., to talk and to think in advance of their age.

Eugene Stock traces in his History the slow growth of the conference idea. Many gatherings at great expenditure of time and toil, some of them leaving a residuum of inspiration, were held in mission lands. General missionary conferences succeeded one another at measured intervals at home. They attracted important leaders from America rather than on the British side. The Liverpool conference, in 1860, was not specially successful; neither was the conference in London in 1878. At both the C.M.S. was only unofficially represented. To

the latter the chief C.M.S. secretary went occasionally, but declined to sit on the platform, as women were to speak. In 1888, the C.M.S. appointed two delegates to the executive committee of what was called "the centenary conference" meeting in London; the S.P.G. refused to do so; the S.P.C.K. did, but was obliged under protest from some members to withdraw its men. In 1900 there was an Ecumenical Missionary Conference in America to which the C.M.S. sent three delegates, Eugene Stock being one. In 1896 the Student Christian Movement had the first of its revolutionizing quadrennial conferences; in 1908 the Pan-Anglican Missionary Conference, though not ecumenical, showed, as we saw in the previous chapter, a great advance in breadth of thought. Then in 1910 the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh gave shape and utterance to desires hitherto inchoate, and marked out that path of missionary co-operation which now winds onward, always uphill, straight towards the goal of the unity of the Church of Christ.

One curious and significant illustration of the date of the change which has transformed the missionary outlook may be noted here. In the index of the first three volumes of Eugene Stock's History there are many entries under "conferences," but none under "co-operation," "unity," or "union." In the supplementary volume, published only sixteen years after, all three terms appear. Their

connotations vary—some references are territorial, as " Kikuyu " or " union movements in India " ; others are institutional, as " Chengtu Christian University," " Fuhkien Union Theological College " ; others refer to leaders in union questions, such as Bishop Palmer of Bombay, Bishop Whitehead of Madras, Dr. John R. Mott.

The Christian Church has not yet forgotten the resolute purpose with which the leaders of the conference of 1910 approached their task. For two years beforehand eight representative international commissions gathered material from all valid sources on which to base their reports, sifting and correlating it in close group work. Age and absence from London lessened Eugene Stock's share in the work. But he was a member of the commission on " Carrying the Gospel to all the World " ; he was present at the conference, spoke twice at the large meetings in Edinburgh, and presided or spoke at several subsidiary meetings. When the conference, at its close, unanimously decided to take the unprecedented step of appointing a continuation committee, Eugene Stock was one of the three Anglican members ; he was also elected one of the two vice-chairmen. The other was Dr. Julius Richter of Berlin, the chairman being Dr. John R. Mott.

A year later the new committee was to hold its first meeting in Great Britain. Dr. Mott commissioned Eugene Stock to carry through arrangements

as to place. He succeeded in securing from the Bishop of Durham and Mrs. Handley Moule a cordial invitation for the whole committee as their guests at Auckland Castle. Out of the thirty-five members twenty-eight were present at the meeting, including all the American and continental members. The five representing Asia and Africa could not come. "I went to Auckland Castle," writes Eugene Stock, "to help Mrs. Moule in the arrangement of rooms, *etc.* None who came will ever forget the welcome he received. Two important plans were settled at this meeting. (1) The starting of the *International Review of Missions*, which has given Christendom the strongest and most scientific of missionary periodicals. (2) The schemes for Dr. Mott's great campaign in Asia, to promote the co-operation of different missions, which has effected so much in that direction, particularly in India." He goes on: "In 1912 and 1913 the continuation committee met again, but I had retired from it then. Bardsley [then chief secretary of the C.M.S., subsequently Bishop of Leicester] had taken my place. After that, the war stopped international meetings."

In June, 1911, Eugene Stock helped to bring into being another great sequel to the World Missionary Conference. Hitherto co-operation between British missions had been incidental, to meet some emergency, or purely personal, as in the case of the Secretaries' Association. But at Edinburgh it was

realized that in North America and in Germany missions had an organization which united their forces, and that representatives met at regular intervals for consultation and prayer. Eugene Stock met with leading workers at York just a year after the Edinburgh gathering. There the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland was formed. At the outset, certain societies who had been hesitant about the extent of co-operation to which the Edinburgh doings committed them stood aside. A few years, however, saw them all members of the conference, contributing to its budget and cordially appreciating its work.

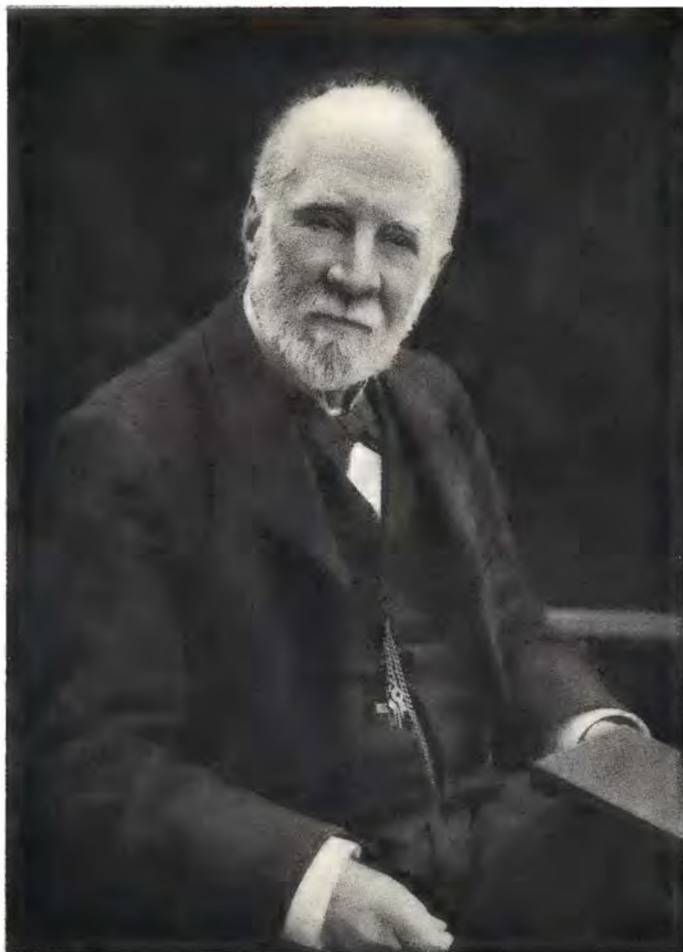
In other continental countries the missionary agencies were gradually grouped into representative organizations; in India and China, and later in Japan, the life of the young churches and of the missions found expression in national Christian councils. These various bodies, and some of less defined organization in Africa and in Australasia, send representatives to the International Missionary Council, in which the original continuation committee was merged after the war. Thus the larger missionary co-operation which Eugene Stock traced through decades of history, and embodied in act and spirit in his long and active life, has ceased to be dependent on the countenance of large-spirited individuals, and has its roots in the voluntary action and voluntary support of missionary organizations and churches representing almost the whole of

reformed Christendom and most of the races to which missionaries have been sent.

Eugene Stock's imagination was fired by another movement which followed the World Missionary Conference. In some unpublished notes which he wrote by request for a relative he says: "There has been another and still greater result of 'Edinburgh.' The whole Faith and Order movement owes its origin to that conference. That brilliant American, Bishop Brent, who made a deep impression at Edinburgh, went back to the United States and reported what he had seen to the Protestant Episcopal Church at its next general convention. It was quite right, he said, that at Edinburgh all controversial questions touching the Faith and Church Order should be excluded, and that Christians of different communions should confer on purely missionary questions affecting them all. But ought there not to be another great conference, still more comprehensive, which should deliberately face the very questions on which the various churches differ? The suggestion was warmly received, and the Episcopal Church at once set about communicating with other churches all over the world, omitting neither the Roman Church nor the Quakers. Our English archbishops, after some hesitation, appointed a committee on the subject, and of this I was a member. At the same time the English Free Churches appointed similar committees. Two Americans who came over to

influence the Free Churches asked for an interview with the archbishops' committee, which took place on January 29, 1914. That interview so affected the archbishops' committee that they proposed a united meeting of Anglicans and Free churchmen, which took place at the Jerusalem Chamber in Westminster Abbey on June 15, 1914. (It was on his way to that meeting that Bishop Tucker of Uganda died in the adjoining deanery.) That united meeting appointed a sub-committee of ten members to 'explore' the questions that stood in the way of reunion. . . . How I came to be appointed to it I have no idea. This joint sub-committee met several times at different places, at the Church House once, the Baptist House, New College (Hampstead), St. James's Rectory, Piccadilly, the Student Movement office at Golders Green, and once at Farnham Castle. . . . A 'first interim report' on the Faith was soon issued, but attracted little notice. . . . The 'second interim report' on the differences about Order was issued in February, 1916, and at once created a profound sensation. . . . reunion instantly sprang into prominence as an urgent question. . . . It has been one of the great privileges of my life to have had a small part in such a movement." In the last year of his life he followed with eager interest reports on the World Conference on Faith and Order held at Lausanne in August, 1927.

Eugene Stock, as time slipped by him, saw as



DR. EUGENE STOCK, 1928

MRS. EUGENE STOCK, 1928

with a prophet's eye the greatness that lay in future days and developments. Unlike most old men, who get enmeshed in memories and reminiscences, he struck out boldly towards what was yet to be. To him the younger men and women were those who would move the world. He found them linked together in the Student Christian Movement. He set forth clearly in the History his belief in them as the most potent force at work. It is a singularly attractive alliance, and it lasted to the very end. "The twentieth century brought with it a new spirit in England. Is it not clear that the chief instrument in introducing it has been the Student Movement? That movement has been criticized as being too broad, but its basis is the right one—whole-hearted allegiance to Jesus Christ as God and Saviour. On that basis the strict high churchman and the broad nonconformist find common ground; and gradually the student meetings, managed by themselves, have come to be the most striking manifestation of Christian unity."

The early beginnings of the Student Movement were fathered by Eugene Stock. When Mr. Robert P. Wilder, who had been a leader in the beginnings of work among students in North America, arrived in England in the summer of 1891 in response to a series of invitations which Cambridge men had sent to him during a period of four years, of those to whom he brought introductions none was available save Eugene Stock. He took Mr. Wilder to the Keswick

Convention just about to be held, where he met influential people and many students, and was invited to speak at the great missionary meeting which closed the convention. This helped him to take his share in founding the Student Volunteer Missionary Union in April, 1892. This was the effective beginning of the Student Christian Movement in Great Britain. The link with Mr. Wilder was never broken; in one of his last letters Eugene Stock referred with pleasure to the appointment of his friend to important new work—the secretaryship of the Christian Council for Western Asia and Northern Africa. Eugene Stock was a speaker at the first quadrennial conference of the Movement at Liverpool in 1896, and was present at several subsequent conferences. He was a member—"one of the most useful"—of a small advisory committee which was appointed quite early in the history of the movement.

"I remember," writes Dr. Tissington Tatlow, "that when I became travelling secretary of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union in 1897, there were constant references to Dr. Stock as the wisest of all our advisers. I remember Douglas Thornton's affection for him. I was told whenever I wanted to consult somebody who might be counted on to be sympathetic under all circumstances and wise at all times, that Dr. Stock was the man to go to. The friendship which began between us was maintained to the end of his life. He always read our magazine

*The Student Movement*; whenever I met him he showed himself to be up-to-date in Student Movement affairs. He always rejoiced in any new thing we did. I gathered from remarks he made to me from time to time that he was attacked by evangelicals of more conservative views for his sympathy with the Student Movement. With his recital of the criticisms that had come to him there was always a re-affirmation of his belief that young people should be in the vanguard of thought. He rejoiced because it seemed to him that the Student Movement, while going ahead with new ideas, stuck firmly to what he regarded as the fundamental things—namely, emphasis on discipleship to Jesus Christ, a sense of obligation and privilege in seeking to extend the Gospel to all the world, a steady emphasis on Bible study."

A number of interesting references to the Student Movement are found in letters written by Dr. Stock in the closing years of his life to his undergraduate friend at Oxford. In 1924: "I rejoice with all my heart at your joining the Student Christian Movement. Its members do not forget that our Lord is a Saviour, but they like best to think of Him as a Captain." In 1925: "I am glad you have come into touch with Annandale [the central offices of the British Student Movement]. When I (twice) went there I thought it was an example of plain living. The Faith and Order committee were meeting there, and Bishops Talbot and Gore were among

us for the day. I was struck with the perfect simplicity; no attempt to give a better lunch than usual." In 1926: "I am bold enough to consider myself as one of the fathers of the Student Movement: I am sure Tissington Tatlow would agree... I think the S.C.M. is about the best representative of the Church Catholic." In 1927: "I wonder whether you have seen Mr. Seaton's[1] article in the current (February) number of *The Student Movement*? It is a perfectly delightful thing." In 1928: "I hope you will get to the S.C.M. gatherings. What a power it has become! How well I remember its beginnings.... What power it shows regarding men of various bodies coming together. I have known Tatlow from the first, about thirty-five years now."

The attitude of Eugene Stock towards the Student Christian Movement has more than a personal significance. It indicates not only his appreciation of the value of co-operation between Christians of all communions, but the lines along which fellowship between youth and age may transcend the barrier of generations. To quote Dr. Tatlow again: "When Dr. Stock retired to Bournemouth he began to write to me. His letters were always very brief, and generally concerned with some new thing that we were doing. Every letter was delightful to receive because it was always along the line—'The Movement is growing, it is seeing more to do, how good this is—you must be glad about it, and I want

[1] Later Bishop of Wakefield.

you to know that I am happy too. God bless you.' I have again and again reflected how much many old people could do for young people if they were only of the spirit of Dr. Stock. . . . I have known a few old men who could do anything they liked with students—Dr. Stock was one, Bishop Talbot, late of Winchester, is another, Dr. Alexander Whyte of Edinburgh was a third. They all had the same qualities. They believed in youth, they believed that youth must live its own life, they knew that things change and that men's ideas grow; they also knew that life had taught them a great deal. They were always ready in consequence to listen, and to listen almost endlessly to what young people had to say; when they had listened they would offer their advice; because they had listened, their advice was always welcomed. Dr. Stock was one of these men."

"He had," said the Bishop of Winchester, at the first meeting of the diocesan conference after Dr. Stock's death, "that priceless possession, rare in old men, and none too common, I fear, in middle age, an open mind. He could hold his convictions as strongly as any of us, but he never thought that they excluded those aspects of the truth which others might see more clearly than he. He would have seconded Jonathan Edwards's resolution. 'Resolved,' said that famous saint, 'that, as old men have seldom any advantage of new discoveries, because they are beside [*i.e.* different from] a way of thinking that they have long been used to; resolved, therefore,

that if ever I live to years, I will be impartial to hear the reasons of all pretended discoveries, and receive them, if rational, how longsoever I have been used to another way of thinking.' Dr. Stock never had any truck with old Mr. Prejudice and his sixty deaf men. Rather could he be described as Bunyan describes another of the immortals, as 'Mr. God's Peace, a goodly Person, and a sweet-natured gentleman.' "

# IX

## EUGENE STOCK AS HISTORIAN AND EDITOR

EUGENE STOCK will be best known to future generations as the historian of the C.M.S. There are many ways of writing history, some of which appeal strongly to the modern mind. But volumes like those by Eugene Stock hold a place in every generation. His History is a source book in which men find material for the study of opinions as well as of facts. The first three volumes were written in two years, for the centenary of the society in 1899. The fourth supplementary volume was not published till 1916. The mere bulk of the work is impressive.

"History has always been my chief interest," wrote Eugene Stock to his Oxford "grandson" in 1927. "As you may know, my own *History of the C.M.S.* in four volumes has about 2500 closely printed pages. The index of the first three volumes runs to eighty pages of very small type. It is true that length is not everything, but I am told that at the Albert Hall meeting lately, to celebrate the Uganda jubilee, the Archbishop of Canterbury said it was

one of the greatest historical works of recent times. But of course," adds Dr. Stock, with his wonted modesty, " his meaning was merely that it had brought together facts to be found nowhere else—not the sort of splendid comment you find in books such as G. M. Trevelyan's *History of England*, lately published."

His interpretation of the Archbishop's meaning fell short of the truth, for in *The Times* of February 28, 1929, in a letter commending the proposal to promote a permanent memorial to Eugene Stock, Archbishop Lord Davidson wrote: " His full and vivid history of the Church Missionary Society has been to me of quite continuous service in my varied work at Lambeth. In the field it covers I can think of few, if any, books which equal it as a quarry not merely of facts and figures, but of wise and fruitful thought."

The following incident is probably unique as a literary record. " I had been telling Dr. Stock," writes a former editorial colleague, " of a recent visit from Dr. Albert Schweitzer, in which the great missionary told me that the first chapters of his *Philosophy of Civilization* were written out by his own hand some fifteen times in the solitudes of the African forest. This drew from Dr. Stock the statement—incredible if one had not heard it from his lips—that of all the vast manuscript of his History only one single page had been written out a second time. The manuscript as he first wrote it,

complete even to capitals and punctuation, had gone straight to the printers, and come back to him in proof."

It was his method when writing to master his facts, to weigh, often with long deliberation, their inter-relations, to plan the order of their statement, and then, without pause or erasure, to write. One result of his close-knit method was familiar to his colleagues. It was impossible to " cut him down." Whole sections of what he had written could be omitted, but the words were so carefully chosen and the thought was so integrated that to attempt to " shorten " was futile. He found this out for himself. In writing his *Recollections* his manuscript was over length. " I could not," he says, " once they were written alter the whole scale, so there was nothing for it but to omit five chapters altogether."

It is of extraordinary interest to pass from a study of the life and character of Eugene Stock to an analysis of his great History. The book is strangely like its author; from it his personal qualities might be deduced. The habit, begun in boyhood, of seeing the individual in his setting and of studying environment; the fair estimate of opponents and critics; the generous admission of mistakes on the one side and the frank enumeration of faults on the other; the simple evangelical faith joined to sympathetic appreciation of other schools of thought; the industry which gathered facts,

the ability which grouped them, and the teacher's gift which presented them—all are in evidence here. "I am sure," wrote Dr. Stock in 1896, "that it is worth while taking some trouble to produce a book which shall have vivid personal interest as well as a good and faithful account of God's wonderful work."

It has been decided, for two reasons, to attempt to give here some outline of this massive work. First because such an analysis illustrates, as nothing else can do, the way in which Eugene Stock's mind laid hold of detailed facts and ordered them into a sweep of history; second, because it is only by some such rapid survey that any just conception of the magnitude of the cause to which he gave his life can be gained. Those who have no use for this summary can, if they prefer to do so, leave pages 131 to 137 unread.

The title of the work, as the author's preface indicates, is exactly descriptive: *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men, and Its Work.* The history of a society is more than a history of its missions—it includes the relations of a voluntary organization of churchmen to the official authorities of the Church. The environment of a society involves the inclusion of much collateral matter, social, and political. The human factor is a vital element—the author says his History "contains in a condensed form material for a hundred individual biographies." The work

of a society, after all, is the ultimate test, and to the record of it Eugene Stock gives himself with unfailing ardour.

In the original three volumes, the History is divided into ten parts. Part one is preliminary, dealing with the great commission and the measure of response to it in the first eighteen centuries. Towards the close the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel appear on the scene.

Part two contains a record of leading features in the Church of England during the eighteenth century, a survey of conditions in Africa and the East, a study of the events at home which led to the missionary awakening, the founding of the C.M.S., and the sending forth of its first missionaries. The part closes with the abolition of the African slave trade and the opening of India to the Gospel by the charter of 1813, after a protracted struggle.

Part three records developments in the C.M.S. and other societies at home and abroad; lights and shadows alternate in West Africa; work begins in North and South India, in Ceylon, New Zealand, and elsewhere; plans for the revival of the ancient Christian churches round the Mediterranean and in Travancore are projected. The part closes with one of Eugene Stock's broad and effective presentations of conditions at a given date—the year 1824, when Josiah Pratt retired after a secretariat of

twenty-one years, leaving indelible marks upon the society at its most formative period.

Part four—from 1824 to 1841—handles home affairs of large significance. The society, with its personnel, its committees, its candidates and missionaries, is shown in an England of early Victorian days. The condition and progress of the Church of England, the rise of the Tractarian or Oxford Movement, the relation of the evangelical school to other schools of thought are discussed. No less arresting are environing conditions abroad. India in the 'thirties is changing. Bishop Daniel Wilson is struggling with caste; Alexander Duff begins his great work for Christian education. Chapters follow on the attack upon slavery and other undertakings of the time.

Part five covers eight eventful years, up to the jubilee commemoration of 1848. Henry Venn is now the helmsman, steering with statesmanship and insight, splendidly supported in committee room and secretariat. The archbishops and bishops give their adhesion to the society; the stories of the colonial and missionary episcopate, of the establishment of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, of the New Zealand bishopric, and of the Anglican bishopric in Jerusalem are told. The society has a controversy with Bishop Daniel Wilson at Calcutta—by no means the last in its history. Then follow vivid African episodes; Samuel Crowther on the West Coast, the great old hero Krapf on the East. China

for the first time finds place in the annals of the C.M.S. The first volume closes with a review of the finances of the society, its contributions and its expenditure during the first half-century, and with a description of the jubilee commemoration.

The two parts in the second volume—six and seven—cover twenty-four years—1849 to 1872. Part six opens with a chapter on environment, in which Eugene Stock sets the new evangelical movements in what he finds to be their true place in the Church. Bishop Selwyn's plans in New Zealand are reviewed, and the resulting controversies. Matters of varied interest—Henry Venn's efforts to promote industry and commerce in Africa, East African exploration, and the relations of Britain with Turkey after the Crimean war—succeed one another. Then comes one of the most masterly sections of the History—six chapters on India, including—to quote Eugene Stock's own summary—" the great epoch of Dalhousie's governor-generalship, the conquest of the Punjab, the mutiny, followed by the neutrality controversy in both India and England, the remarkable development of missions during the period, both in the North and South, especially in Tinnevelly and Travancore; the work of Pfander and French at Agra, of Noble at Masulipatam, of Leupolt and Long in the North, and, above all, the thrilling story of the commencement in the Punjab and on the Afghan frontier under the

auspices of the Lawrences, Edwardes, Montgomery, and others."

Part seven covers the last decade of Henry Venn's secretaryship. The years 1865 to 1872 show depression, and even retrogression—twelve men less on the missionary roll at the end than at the beginning. Controversies trouble the Church at home, but there are marked developments—the first Lambeth Conference, proposals for central and local boards of missions, and so on. Work at the central office of the C.M.S. is reported. There is an account of the missionary candidates of the society—women are still refused. The turn of the tide is marked by the institution of the day of intercession, at the instance of the S.P.G. A fine study on the organization of Native Churches precedes a series of chapters on the work abroad. Of the five on India, one treats of the Punjab, giving notable narratives of converts from Islam. The other four are topical, introducing the reader to the "galaxy of brilliant Englishmen" who served India in the period, to the Brahmo Samaj and other religious movements, to missionary methods and agencies, evangelistic and pastoral, to some great Indian missionaries who died between 1862 and 1872. After studies of advances and trials in China, the opening of Japan, the establishment of Metlakahtla, and the tragedy of the war in New Zealand, the second volume closes with a record of the latter days of Henry Venn, the ablest and most far-seeing of missionary statesmen.

Part eight, which opens the third volume, covers the ten years from Henry Venn's death to the death of Archbishop Tait in 1882. The four first chapters are a survey of environment—the church movements and leading men of the period, evangelistic and spiritual movements at home, the general situation in the society as to men and money, home influence and organization. Henry Wright is now chief secretary in succession to Henry Venn. Africa, where the tide is flowing after Livingstone's death, is presented, its missions one by one sweep past, until the call to Uganda and the response of the C.M.S. arrest attention. C.M.S. missions to Moslems come forward. Then India has four chapters more; three are diocesan—Calcutta and Bombay, Lahore, and Madras—one tells of the non-Aryan tribes in the forests and hills. Controversies again—pungently but courteously handled—come up in a chapter on "The Bishops and the Society." Chapters follow on the Far East, recording advance in China and Japan, and another on the Far West, with the triumphs of the Cross among the Red Indians. Then the events of the last two years of the period 1880 to 1882 are related, including Henry Wright's tragic death when bathing in Coniston Water, and the changes of personnel which followed. The society emerges from the period of retrenchment into a period of expansion.

Part nine gives precedence to new developments in home affairs, and Bishop Benson's primacy, the rise

of missionary movements at Cambridge—the famous "Cambridge seven"— and in connexion with the Keswick Convention, the many encouragements and the controversies of the period—the Jerusalem bishopric, Canon Isaac Taylor's attack on Moslem missions, and others—all find place. The missionary recruits of the period—at last women appear among them—are introduced. Once more there are detailed records of work abroad—three long chapters on Africa, reporting the great adventure of Graham Wilmot Brooke and his party in the Western Sudan, and the life and death of Alexander Mackay in Eastern Equatorial Africa. One by one the mission fields have their turn. Two chapters on home affairs review conferences and congresses and discuss the "policy of faith" which the society had been led to adopt. This is the period in which Eugene Stock's influence was at its height.

Part ten, in six closing chapters, reviews events and draws from the whole history of a century lessons for coming days.

The fourth volume of the History brings the records down to 1916. It begins with an account of the centenary celebration of 1899 and the outlook after it. A brief survey is given of general topics claiming notice in the sixteen years since the previous volumes were issued, but no attempt is made to include the wider environment of the Church at home, as was done before. The history of the society's foreign fields—Africa, Mohammedan

lands, India, China, Japan, and the missions in North-West Canada—is given at some length. Two strong chapters deal with ecclesiastical problems—Native Church organization and the Kikuyu proposals.

Fourteen chapters are given to the home base—its personnel, the society's central office, missionaries and candidates, finance, home organization, work among particular classes, especially for medical work, and the publications of the society. It is natural to find a chapter on larger co-operation following the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910. The last chapter is based on a couplet written by a C.M.S. worker and made familiar to many by Dr. John R. Mott:

> The work that centuries might have done
> Must crowd the hour of setting sun.

There is an appendix on "War and Missions" noting events up to 1916.

Turning to his editorial work, Eugene Stock brought the periodicals he edited into the first rank of the missionary publications of their day. *The Church Missionary Intelligencer* maintained under him its high tradition of breadth and ability. Its presentation of missionary history, arising out of or bearing upon the work of the C.M.S., was sound and strong; questions of missionary policy and

administration were boldly, sometimes brilliantly, discussed; the editorial notes, generally prepared in collaboration with other secretaries, were authoritative statements covering a wide range of subjects; current news, not of C.M.S. work only, was tersely set forth up to date. Contributions were drawn largely from missionaries past and present; Eugene Stock himself wrote many weighty and incisive articles. Comparing *The Church Missionary Intelligencer* with the line taken subsequently in *The East and The West*, and still later in *The International Review of Missions*, there was in it a curious paucity of articles marked by philosophical thought; little contribution was made to the comparative study of religion or to the interpretation of the cultures of Africa and Asia.

*The Church Missionary Intelligencer* passed through marked vicissitudes after it ceased to be edited by Dr. Stock. He followed its course with generous and sympathetic interest, though his affection clung naturally to the periodical in its older form, and his judgment deprecated the lessening of missionary news in its pages. First it became *The Church Missionary Review*—a happy change of title; then *The Church Missionary Review* and *The East and The West* merged their separate existences and together formed one missionary quarterly, *The Church Overseas* (see page 182).

*The Church Missionary Gleaner* was, of course, in a special sense Eugene Stock's own magazine. It,

too, has changed its name and in part its nature, and does good work to-day under the title of *The Church Missionary Outlook*. It is somewhat baffling now, in examining with a critical eye the back numbers of *The Church Missionary Gleaner*, to discern wherein its influence lay. It undoubtedly, in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, had a notable hold upon the Church. The personal element, fostered by its relation to the Gleaners' Union, gave some of its pages a trivial tone, and no effort of his colleagues, reinforced by his poet sister, succeeded in suppressing the occasional publication of mediocre verses by earnest "gleaners" whose literary gift was small. To the editor almost anything called a hymn appealed. The *Gleaner* probably held its readers by its nearness to the actual work being done. Records from the mission field were "served hot." And they were well edited too —mere verbiage found no place. The expert Sunday-school teacher knew how to teach. He kept his reader ever in mind. Yet space was found at length for the glorious stories which now and then came in. When Bishop Ridley wrote the great epic of mighty Sheuksh the Kitkatla chief, who stripped himself of heathen garments in the face of his assembled tribe, a way was cleared for it as for a royal procession.

The *Gleaner* was popular, but it treated "the man in the street" as a *man*; he was given a partner's share in the transactions of the mission field and the committee room. In the missionary periodicals of

to-day there have been improvements in illustration and in production; changes have been made in accordance with modern taste. But the qualities which made the *Gleaner* of the 'eighties and 'nineties a power lie at the heart of missionary editing still.

Editorial work is always exacting. Dr. Stock gave himself to it with exemplary diligence. He was early and late in office, his work went with him in trains and on visits to friends; even on long deputation tours his close editorial supervision was maintained. He effected large economies by his skilful handling of proofs. His own needed no correction, beyond the removal of printers' errors; his contributors' manuscripts were carefully prepared before leaving his office. He was meticulous as to the accuracy of statements made in print; contributors were asked to verify any points which raised a doubt in his mind. He gave his writers a free hand as far as space allowed, welcoming individualism in style and divergence in opinion. But he ruthlessly cut out a personal attack on a fellow worker or anything that savoured of disloyalty to the Committee. The innumerable copies of his letters to contributors—long and short—show the firmness of his control; even to advertisers he wrote with care. Though the illustrations in the past volumes of the *Gleaner* do not impress us to-day, he took great pains with them.

The members of his departmental staff had full opportunity to express their gifts. "We certainly

know through God's goodness the happiness of working together," he wrote in a letter acknowledging a parting gift. He was cheery, kindly, patient with all who did their best; his own alertness and decisive way of answering questions braced those in association with him. His tireless energy rebuked a lower standard of work. Stories of him are still extant among seniors in the C.M.S. office who helped him as juniors in early days. He frequently took work home in the evening; when books or papers were many he sent for a cab. The wary drivers disliked him as a fare. No horse could go fast enough for him. He would open the window of the cab, saying "faster, faster, please." An amused junior returned from the cab rank one evening. On calling a "growler" for Haverstock Hill he met a direct refusal. "No fear; not for him. Once is enough for me. Never again. Call another cab, young man."

Considering the pressure of his office work, Dr. Stock was a prolific writer on missionary and Biblical questions. Some of his ablest work was published in periodicals; this is dealt with in chapter V. Besides his great History, he wrote several lesser historical studies of C.M.S. missions, and for many years he prepared the large annual report of the society—an arduous task. After his retirement he wrote a number of smaller missionary volumes, all good, but none specially outstanding. Among these are a *Short Handbook of Missions* (Longmans), *The*

*Story of Church Missions* (Nisbet), and a memoir of Bishop French, called *An Heroic Bishop* (Hodder and Stoughton), *Notes on India* and *Notes on Africa* for C.M.S. study circles, *The Story of the New Zealand Mission*, mainly for circulation in the Dominion, and a small book, *Beginnings in India*, for the Central Board of Missions. The book, *My Recollections*, to which reference has been already made, was written in the early years of his retirement.

Apart from missionary books, Eugene Stock wrote for the Anglican Church Handbooks an historical *Sketch of the English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, to which he attached importance. He also prepared with close study and diligent care, resuming again the New Testament work of his early days, *Plain Talks on St. Luke's Gospel* (Religious Tract Society), designed specially for teachers, *Plain Talks on the Pastoral Epistles* (Robert Scott), and *The Story of the Bible* (Nisbet).

No study of Eugene Stock's character and influence which does not take his attitude to the Bible into account can be complete. It is manifest in these books and in many pamphlets from his pen. He could scarcely be called a Biblical scholar, in the full sense of the term, but he was a close, continuous, thoughtful student of the Bible, and especially of the New Testament, both in English and in Greek. He was ever seeking further knowledge, and welcomed it when it came. Extreme modernism repelled him. "Were I driven to a choice, better

extreme Anglo-catholicism than that," he once wrote to a friend. The younger evangelicals of the liberal school were many of them his friends from their boyhood. He did not always see with them, but he held them in love and honour, believing in the reality of their search for truth. He was an interested member of the Anglican Evangelical Group Movement, and took part in its deliberations. His mind was not adapted to enter into the philosophical or scientific problems of the hour, but to him the Bible was so vital, its voice so full of arresting power, its message so clear, that he was not afraid to let the light of the best modern thought play upon it. The Book was alive and would defend itself. In the volume of his *Recollections*[1] he wrote:

> I have learned to take a very different view of the Bible from what I did in my younger days. It is dearer to me than ever; it is to me the Word of the living God. . . . But I have learned to see something of the extraordinary interest attaching to inquiries as to the date, authorship, sources of the various books, and their immediate purpose and meaning in the eyes of their authors and first readers. . . . I do not doubt that much of modern Biblical criticism is wild and unreasonable. But there is much also that is cautious and reverent, not afraid of the most vigorous inquiry and yet absolutely loyal to the truth of God. For this latter class of study I am grateful, and from it I seek to learn more and more. . . . What is wanted now is not so much

[1] Pp. 397–9.

an elaborate exposure of the disagreements of German critics as a reverent yet fearless inquiry into the facts of the case, in the certain assurance that whatever human interpretation may prove untenable, the Rock of Holy Scripture will remain, as Gladstone said, impregnable.

One who had passed with Eugene Stock through the waters of controversy and knew his mind both in middle and later life, found in the following verses a summary of his attitude towards the Bible :

" Thy words were found and I did eat them ; and thy words were unto me a joy and the rejoicing of my heart. . . . More to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold, sweeter also than honey and the honeycomb. Moreover, by them is thy servant warned ; in keeping of them there is great reward."

# X

## EUGENE STOCK AS A SPEAKER

Few men have spoken in a larger number of places or over a longer period of years than Eugene Stock. In 1925, in his ninetieth year, he wrote: " Yesterday I gave an address at St. Michael's church. I spoke from the pulpit and stood over half an hour without feeling it. But when I got home I almost collapsed. . . . I fear my speaking days are over. But I have had a long spell of it, nearly seventy years."

Preceding chapters show that in his Islington days Eugene Stock was already a practised speaker, his work being mainly evangelistic or in connexion with Sunday schools. As early as 1866 he spoke at his first great meeting at Birmingham for the Sunday School Institute—three thousand people were present. When he joined the staff of the C.M.S. every year added to his experience and knowledge. Notwithstanding exacting editorial and committee room work, he found time to go all over the country, and became popular as a speaker.

It was varied work. There were the meetings arranged annually by C.M.S. friends in large centres to which some official speaker was sent, and lesser

meetings in parishes or country parts. Local branches of the Gleaners' Union felt they had a claim upon him. The unions formed for clergy, laymen, and women wanted to be informed and inspired. Diocesan festivals, conferences of various sorts, periodic congresses and conventions, and occasional combined mass meetings called to face the missionary duty of the Church, found in him an effective speaker. Anglican missions other than C.M.S., non-Anglican bodies such as the Scottish Churches, the missions of the English Free Churches, and interdenominational agencies sought and received his aid. Even when he went on holiday, meetings sprang up in his path. He once told a colleague that he had spoken in every large town in England, to say nothing of smaller places. And he frankly enjoyed his meetings as much as his audiences did.

During his official tours in the colonies his amazing energy found scope. And be it remembered that he was sent by the Committee because he was not able to face the strain of office work. Of seven months spent in Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand he writes: "One month in the aggregate was spent in travelling, chiefly to and fro and in New Zealand. In the remaining six months I spoke 267 times. . . . I preached fifty-two sermons at regular services and ten children's sermons in six cathedrals and forty-one other churches. In two other cathedrals and forty-one churches I spoke

at special meetings. The addresses at various meetings it is not possible to classify in a small space. There were ordinary missionary meetings, drawing-room meetings, juvenile meetings [Dr. Stock never quite abandoned the phraseology which called a children's paper the *Juvenile Instructor*], Sunday-school gatherings, meetings of teachers and workers, Bible readings (thirty of these, some of which were, I think, specially useful), addresses to lay readers, lady visitors, theological students, boys and girls in upper-class schools, set lectures on particular mission fields, short addresses at prayer meetings, and several miscellaneous engagements."

A few years later in Canada his output was no less. Having taken a day off work to go with four missionaries to Niagara Falls, he wrote: "I had perhaps earned this little bit of holiday. I have been six weeks in Canada, and have already given eighty-one addresses, besides attending committee meetings. I have preached two or three times each Sunday." Really close educative work was done. "At one small place," writes Dr. Stock, "I addressed the people at six gatherings, and found even that was insufficient for the instruction I wished to give. Two sermons, an address to the Sunday school, a prayer meeting, a Bible reading, a 'gleaners'' meeting, a lecture on India or on the Uganda mission, and one meeting of a general kind, still leaves one with heaps of valuable material not used."

His resignation from office brought but little relaxation of his work as preacher and speaker. During the eight years at Bickley he was absent from home on an average one night a week over the whole period in order to speak or preach. His sermons in local churches were frequent, and he often helped in a neighbouring mission hall. His vicar has already (page 57) written of his work at Bournemouth in later years. Dr. Stock in his private notes records that he presided at Bournemouth over the meetings of fifteen different societies and preached seventy-two sermons there up to 1920, and six in the succeeding years. With characteristic exactitude he calculated that between 1902 and 1920 he visited eighty-two different places, generally, but not always, for the C.M.S. And many of these were visited more than once. To Cambridge, for instance, he went thirteen times (making, with previous visits, a total of forty-three, with more than a hundred addresses), to Birmingham nine times, to Brighton, Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester, five times each. Southampton, Reading, and Tunbridge Wells were visited four times each.

What was the secret of Eugene Stock's popularity as a speaker, or, better, of the lasting influence which his words exercised over those whom he addressed? The question is worth consideration, for his secret, if he had one, needs to be recaptured for use to-day. It may be frankly admitted at the outset that he was not eloquent; gifts of oratory

were not his. He objected to being sent where an "attractive speaker" was asked for; he felt he could not play the part. Nor did his mind move freely in certain regions where younger thought was eagerly pushing its way. The limitations of his mental outlook were those which ordinarily lessen a speaker's appeal. Yet—things happened when he spoke.

In search of a clue, close examination of available material has been made. The notes of some seventy sermons, for the most part brief enough to fit on one side of a small page, easily legible even in their abbreviated form, show that passages from the Old and New Testament were about equally used. The matter is full of interest, like that in the notes of the *Lessons on the Life of our Lord*, whence more than one great preacher admittedly borrowed material for pulpit use. There is close exegesis, fresh but never fanciful, plain application to human situations, and apt illustration from current life. They are the sermons of a man who studied the Bible alike in its textual details and in the broad sweep of its history. There is neither defence of the Bible nor admission which would weaken its authority. Eugene Stock could utilize the devout comments of some ancient divine and the reverent research of the modern scholar. And, through some indefinable difference between them and the product of the clerical mind, the sermons are refreshingly lay.

Besides the sermon outlines, there are an unbroken series of small, multi-coloured notebooks—the only diaries he ever kept—in which are daily records of callers, weather, health. They contain, besides, for one year after another, note of the places he went to, the meetings he addressed, the subjects selected. For the most part only the title of the address is given, sometimes a terse entry showing main divisions, and perhaps a phrase to recall an illustration used. There is a wide variety of topic, but a few subjects recur time after time.

To follow up one or two of them is worth while. The entry "six questions" appears again and again. What questions did Eugene Stock so often ask and answer? When tracked down through one entry more expanded than the rest, they prove to be only simple interrogations—such as the "what," the "why," the "who," the "where" and the "when" of foreign missions—used as pegs on which to hang explanatory statements as to the divine purpose and plan for the world.

Still more frequently comes the entry, "common sense." What seemed to him so obvious that he urged it everywhere? At last an amplification of it is found in a letter advising as to how Indian students at Oxford—of all possible groups the least likely to respond to it—might be approached. The old man, stirred to sympathy with new conditions, falls back upon the old presentation, so convincing to himself.

"I am not surprised at your being fascinated by those wonderful Indians. My attitude to them would be this: It is a matter of *fact*. Either a divine Person came into the world or He did not. If He did, it was not to bless Jews or Greeks or Englishmen only. It was to bless all mankind. If He did come, we who know it are bound to tell those who don't know it. That is missions. You see, it is a question of historical fact. You and I know it as a proved fact. An Indian may fairly say that he does not believe Jesus of Nazareth was divine in our sense. Then I should reply simply, 'But I do, so my duty is clear, to try to show you.'"

On many pages of the diaries the entry "Japanese editor" recurred. He proved to be a variant of "common sense." To give the incident in Eugene Stock's own words: "I had a visit one day from a Japanese newspaper editor who was in England to study our political and social and religious life. I asked him what was the attitude of his paper towards the religions of his country, Buddhism and Shintoism. He replied that his paper had nothing to do with them. Presently he went on to say that he agreed with many of his brother editors that Japan would have eventually to adopt Christianity. 'Why?' I inquired. 'Oh,' he replied, 'because when we have adopted so much that is western, we shall naturally take the western religion too.' 'But,' I rejoined, 'what is the good of adopting

Christianity if it is not true ?' He was completely 'taken aback' if I may so express it. It had never occurred to him to ask whether a religion was true or not. 'But,' I resumed, 'it is a question of fact. We Christians believe that a divine Person came into the world some 2000 years ago to bless mankind. If He did not, then Christianity is a delusion and no good either for Japan or England. But if He did, surely it was a tremendous event, and must concern you as much as it concerns us.'"

These instances do not at first sight go far to answer the question: Wherein lay the secret of Eugene Stock's power to hold and influence men by his words? They suggest rather a mind remote from the normal expression of thought of to-day.

But, looking deeper into these subjects in his notebook, there is more than at first appears. In "six questions" and in "common sense" he struck back into the regions where the Christian mission has its abiding springs. Behind the purpose of the missionary lay the purpose of the Church, behind that the immutable divine purpose of the ages: the Gospel is God in action. To be a missionary is to enter into the plan of redemption as a fellow worker with God. Re-stated in terms of each succeeding generation, that is what captures men.

There is clearly another reason why in his missionary speeches Eugene Stock "got home." He told no pointless anecdotes. He was masterly

in his presentation of facts. He handled them as living things with reverent skill. The Church was at grips with issues as real as life and death. In a definite place, at that moment, things were happening which in cause and in effect moved in the region of eternity. He would draw a foreign letter "received this morning" from his pocket, and from its faintly written page prove his point. He would group recent speeches, *acta* of the Committee, a challenging letter in the newspaper, to set out some two- or three-sided problem in a way that made men's minds alert. Or he would dive into the treasures of the past and find some stimulating parallel to a happening of the hour.

Thus, though not eloquent, he was cogent. He spoke of what he knew. He told what had been done. He was a lover of great men and women, or of lesser ones who had risen to do great things. And how he told their stories, one and all, as from India so from the Far East and Africa and the Islands of the Sea. Sentiment he eschewed entirely, but he used the flame of other men's sacrifice to fire his hearers' conscience and will. He caused men to know, with the steadfast confidence that, knowing, they would inevitably do.

For the supreme fact about Eugene Stock's advocacy of missions was that he brought men and women to the point of offering themselves. The question of service overseas was raised in their minds. They were impelled to personal decision

by the force of what he said. It did not pertain to his office to receive and deal with offers of service, yet for years a large proportion of the offers received came through him. His sympathetic temperament and broad outlook doubtless encouraged approach. But the real secret lay elsewhere. The bold simplicity of his presentation and the reality of his conviction arrested men. He made them see God in Christ really reconciling the world of to-day, and calling them to the ministry of reconciliation.

In order that Dr. Stock may himself illustrate what has been written here, four quotations are given. The first is from an address on experimental religion given at the Church Congress of 1899.

Experimental religion is no question of high church or low church. I am quite sure that the evangelical system, if I may call it so, produces such a religion the most naturally; but God forbid that I should claim for it any exclusive patent. You may see experimental religion in the mediæval monk in his cell; you may see it in the Primitive Methodist in his bare little village chapel. But one thing is essential to experimental religion—the being in touch with God; and the greatest of the many blessings brought to us by the Reformation was the restoration to the Church of the grand truth that in Christ we have direct access to God, without an earthly intermediary. It is the realization of that truth, and the acting upon it, each man for himself, that produces experimental religion.

The second illustrative extract is from "A Layman's Thoughts on the Church and the World," written for the *Constructive Quarterly*, edited in New York by the late Silas McBee. It sets forth with point and freshness Dr. Stock's great theme of the place of human agency in the divine plan.

Let us imagine a party of angels looking down upon the earth at this present time. They know that their divine Lord and ours, some nineteen centuries ago, laid aside His glory, "emptied Himself" of much—we need not speculate how much—of what was His as the Son of God, and came into this lower world "in the likeness of man." They know what His purpose was, to bring back a rebel race to its allegiance to the one God, and to lift it up to a height of blessing as yet unknown—doing this great work by the sacrifice of Himself. They watched His career among men, and they welcomed Him back to His throne as the King of Glory, now in His twofold nature as both Son of God and Son of Man. They noted that when He returned to heaven, He left a work yet to be done, a mission to be accomplished. It was a simple mission, but obviously a necessary one. It was to tell the whole human race what He had done, and to invite all to share the untold blessings ready to be poured out upon them.

With these recollections, the angel visitors—let us imagine—inquire how far this mission has been accomplished; and they find that after nearly nineteen centuries it is not accomplished yet. Can we not, then, imagine them saying to one another, "Why did He not give it to us angels to do? For, after all, who could wish for a happier work to be engaged in? . . . If only"—we can imagine one saying to another—

" He had let *us* do the work, we would have finished it long ago ! "

But this was not God's way. Very significantly is this shown in the book written by that Greek physician Lucanus which relates the earliest history of the attempt to proclaim the divine message, and which we are accustomed to call " the Acts of the Apostles." In that book there are at least seven cases of angelic interposition in the affairs of men ; but not once does an angel preach the Gospel. . . . So, although it was an angel who, on the night when the Son of God became man, did, for that one and only time, proclaim the " good tidings of great joy " that a Saviour had been born, yet when that Saviour had finished His work on earth and re-ascended to the throne of God, it was not to angels that the task of telling the good tidings was entrusted.

Why not ? May we not reverently say that the Lord wanted for this purpose not heralds, but witnesses ; that to those who had received and believed the good tidings for themselves must be committed the duty and high privilege of passing them on to others ? And is not this the whole meaning and purpose of the formation of the Church ? Man is a social being ; he is not made to stand alone. Christ chose out the Twelve as the nucleus of a great Body to which He would entrust the completion of His sacred design ; and when, on the Day of Pentecost, the Holy Ghost descended to endue that Body with " power from on high," for what purpose was the power given ? Our Lord Himself had given the answer to this question ten days before, in what were apparently His very last words before the Ascension : " Ye shall receive power, when the Holy Ghost is come upon you ; and ye shall be my witnesses . . . unto the uttermost parts of the earth."

On that same Day of Pentecost three thousand souls were—were what ? Individually converted ? individually forgiven ? individually " saved " ? Such answers would be true enough, but they are not the words used. What we read is this : " There were *added* . . . about three thousand." Added to the Body. They joined the community of which the Apostles were the nucleus ; and we read on. " And they continued steadfastly in the Apostles' teaching and fellowship," *etc.* The Church's foundations had been laid, and the building was already rising up.

The third passage is from the final chapter in his History, called *Respice, circumspice, prospice.* He has gathered up, in fact-laden paragraphs, lessons of the past. He moves round the world in imagination to see what missions are doing or have done. He comes to India, and memory overpowers imagination ; he condenses into a brief page or two what his own eyes saw. The paragraphs are charged with self revelation. They are an epitome of what he found in India and of what, as an advocate, he afterwards said. They show with curious fidelity the things he missed, and the splendid things he found.

The harvest of missions so held him that he scarcely gave thought to the soil in which the seed had grown. The age-long quest of India for God did not arrest him ; the relation of the Gita and the Gospel was not present to his mind. To him India, with all its greatness, framed itself in three pictures—the men who had opened the land to the Gospel

and summoned the Church to its task ; the missionaries who had responded, their love, endurance, and faith ; and the Christian converts, whether simple village believers or outstanding leaders in whose hands lay the future of the Indian Church.

We come to India. We recall how . . . men of faith saw its doors fast shut by English hands against the messengers of Christ, and we praise the Lord for the contrast now. We travel night and day by the great railways constructed by British enterprise, and view India north, south, east, and west. We visit the splendid capitals, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay ; the historic cities of the North, Agra, and Delhi, and Lucknow and Benares, and many others ; the banks and plains of the Ganges and the Indus ; the Afghan Frontier, and Kashmir, and Sindh ; the hill recesses and forests, with their aboriginal inhabitants, Santals, Kols, Gonds, Bheels ; the sandy plains of Tinnevelly, and the groves of Travancore. We find almost all societies represented, and every variety of missionary work going on—bazaar preaching, village itineration, lectures and conversations, zenana visiting, vernacular schools, high schools and colleges, orphanages and boarding schools, hospitals and dispensaries. We find C.M.S. men and women engaged in all these.

We are met at every place we visit, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, by bands of Native Christians, headed by their own clergy ; we worship with them in their own churches, we kneel with them at the Lord's Table, we join them in their simple prayer meetings. We may spend months in one district of Tinnevelly, and, travelling each

night across the plain by bullock cart, worship *every morning* in a different village, yet in a church with its full congregation—the fruit of either C.M.S. or S.P.G. work. If we go all over India, and are privileged to address the Christians everywhere, we must be interpreted, at C.M.S. stations alone, in sixteen different languages.

We shall never forget the 1200 dark faces in Trinity church, Palamcotta; nor the fifty Tamil Bible women in their graceful *saris*, sitting on the floor with their Bibles open on their laps while we talk to them; nor the Mission College at Calcutta or Madras, with its couple of hundred keen, bright-eyed lads drinking in our words as surely no English boys ever did; nor the assemblage of patients, men and women and children, in the veranda of the Amritsar Medical Mission, waiting their turn to see the doctor, and meanwhile listening to the gentle words or soft singing of the helpers; nor the mud-built prayer room in the Santal village, and the little company pouring out their hearts in simple supplications; nor the oriental-looking church at Peshawar, lifting up the cross amid the minarets of that most bigoted of Moslem cities; nor the thirty Christian lepers in their little chapel, squatting against the wall, a sad and piteous sight, yet their mutilated faces brightening at the name of Jesus. And we feel it a grand moment in our lives when we grasp the hand of the once famous Mohammedan divine and saint, now for thirty years a faithful champion of the truth; or of the accomplished Calcutta barrister, graduate of his university, and influential leader among his fellow Indian Christians; or of the half-naked, aged fakir, now giving his latest years to telling others of the Saviour he has found; or of the village pastor with his long white garment, and the black scarf round

his waist which tells us that he is ordained, guiltless of shoes or stockings and innocent of English. . . .

At last we sail away from India, wondering at the blindness of our fellow passengers on the P. & O. steamer who have never seen any of these things, and who honestly believe there is nothing to be seen !

Here, once more, is the old man with the teacher spirit using his long experience for a younger man. " Dr. Stock," writes his Bournemouth vicar, " was a great judge of sermons. Many, if I can infer it from my own case, must have been his letters written to clergymen, in that clear, firm hand which he retained to the end, in appreciation of their sermon work. And in his own kindly way he would point out how a sermon might be added to or improved. Here is part of such a letter written in his eighty-second year commenting on a sermon on ' Increase in us true religion.' After some words of warm appreciation, Dr. Stock goes on :

" . . . and may I add that to complete its [the sermon's] impressiveness I thought it needed three minutes more at the end. Let me put it this way : In comparing Christianity with non-Christian religions, one is struck with the fact that while some of them give excellent rules of life, and an example, they all (Buddha, *e.g.*) fail in two things : they suggest no power by which men may be able to keep the rules and follow the example ; they suggest no remedy in case of failure. Christianity does both. It tells of the Holy Ghost, Who alone can give the power to live the true religion ;

it tells of the Son, not as an example merely, but as a Saviour and Mediator, through Whose atoning death is the remedy for failure. Is not this correct? Well, as you said, to live the true religion we are to pray, 'Graft in our hearts the love of Thy Name.' Who is the Grafter? The Holy Ghost. What is the 'love of Thy Name'? Not merely admiration of an Example, but loving gratitude for a redemption. I am sure that the gospel which is embodied in the maxim, 'Try, try, try,' is no Gospel, no good tidings, at all. And to me it seems that the Church as a whole, while not altogether forgetting the work of the Saviour in its preaching, does almost entirely forget the work of the Holy Ghost, the absolute essential for 'true religion.'"

These samples, taken from among many, may serve to give a clue to the success of Eugene Stock as speaker and preacher, a success based, as he himself would have urged, not upon eloquence, but upon close adherence to the realities of truth and life.

# XI

## EUGENE STOCK IN MISSION ADMINISTRATION

BIOGRAPHIES of missionary administrators are rare. Romance is supposed to pertain to the broad ranges of the mission field rather than to the office or committee room. It is easy to make this true. A man may knot himself up in red tape and put his own ideas—and those of others—into dusty pigeon holes; he may degenerate into a slave of precedent and routine. He may become the cork which seals up the bottle rather than the corkscrew which makes a way for the outpoured wine of life. The old quip which avers that missionary societies are often called "boards" because "they are very narrow and very hard" has not always been unjustified.

But not all men engaged at the home centres of foreign missions have thus seen their work. Many among them believe—and it is not vain delusion—that without the central service of office and committee room at home the Church of Christ would rise less surely in distant lands. These men—Eugene Stock was one of them—magnify their

office till it grows large before our eyes. It is worth while to present to the Church at home the world-wide triumphs of the Gospel, to gather prayer and men and money for the support of the work abroad. It is worth while to weld scattered missions into one coherent whole, substituting intelligent policy for mere opportunist work. It is worth while to explore and make available the resources of government for those who are grappling with educational situations, to further the founding and upkeep of mission hospitals and all that makes for the welfare of the Christian community, to see that men and women, boys and girls, are led forward together for the proportioned life of Church and home. It is worth while to enter into partnership with the leaders and administrative bodies in the younger churches overseas. It is worth while to shoulder the Cross alongside missionaries working at the outposts, and to enter into fellowship with men and women of Africa and the East who are moving uneasily towards self-expression. Opportunity for all this—and more than this—is in truth bound up in administrative work for overseas missions, whether one be official or committee member, salaried or unpaid.

It will be clear to all who have read thus far that Eugene Stock had marked capacity for work on administrative lines. At the memorial service held at St. Bride's, Fleet Street—where he had so often gone with Committee and staff to celebrations of the

Holy Communion—attention was called to this aspect of his service. " Nowhere was his strength more felt," said the preacher, the Bishop of Leicester, " than in his work on committees. Nothing passed him unheeded ; he was always alert. His speeches were models of lucidity and he had a rare gift of exposition. If he had not been such a good man he would sometimes have been critical. Sometimes he may have seemed to be masterful—he liked to get his own way, as many of us do. But he was always sweet-tempered and courteous, and ready quietly and carefully to discuss any questions with those who differed from him."

Eugene Stock was aware of the snares of the committee room, and humble about himself. The following paragraph,[1] written eighteen years after the incident had happened, showed how he could take a rebuke. "Mr. Webb-Peploe once fulfilled the highest function of a true friend. Walking under the trees at Dingestow Court, Monmouth, in August, 1891, he gravely told me of a fault. He said that in the C.M.S. Committee I took too much upon myself; which was perfectly true, and I hope I learned the lesson, though no doubt I often sinned after that."

One gift Eugene Stock exercised to an unusual degree. In the midst of heated debate or in some brief interval in a discussion he could draft resolutions which served to reconcile conflicting views.

[1] *My Recollections*, p. 265.

He attained this end not by shirking issues, but by proper representation of the interests of all. Some of his colleagues recall one day in particular when, after a tangled debate on a specially critical subject, the Committee adjourned for a hasty luncheon, with no agreement in sight. At a table in the committee room, flushed and eager, Eugene Stock sat on, pen poised in hand, thinking hard. Some one put a cup of coffee beside him; he nodded thanks, drank it quickly, and turned to thought again. Presently, with head bent forward, he wrote rapidly, without erasure or pause. When the Committee, still baffled, returned, the chairman read aloud the resolution Eugene Stock had drafted; it was discussed, amended somewhat, and accepted by all. A way through had been found.

One of the staff of the editorial department writes: "It was a constant surprise that immediately after the close of an important meeting of the Committee he would hand to me a series of paragraphs, for one of the periodicals, embodying the resolutions of the Committee; the matter thus written was seldom altered in proof." "All through his active editorial days," continues the same correspondent, "he was responsible for the published memoranda of the Committee. He was the compiler, and mainly the writer, of the C.M.S. memorandum of 1901 on Native Churches—a most important document. The memoranda on the Ceylon controversy, the Jerusalem bishopric, the

Niger difficulties, all passed through his hands. The first big piece of Dr. Stock's writing I had to handle was in the course of the controversy following Canon Isaac Taylor's paper on Mohammedanism, read at the Wolverhampton Church Congress in 1887." These powerful letters were not committee memoranda, but were an able and convincing repudiation of an attack made upon the whole policy of missions to Moslems.

Another remarkable piece of drafting work was done by Eugene Stock in August, 1895, when terrible news from China broke into the quiet of holiday time. A party of missionaries, among them Mr. Robert Stewart and his wife, and two young Australian missionaries who, with their mother, were intimate friends of Dr. Stock, were massacred at Kucheng in the Fukien Province. It fell to Dr. Stock to take action. A great meeting for prayer—one of the most moving ever held—was summoned in London. The Committee met, and passed a series of noble resolutions drafted for them by their editorial secretary. There was not in them one bitter word. Dr. Boyd Carpenter, then Bishop of Ripon, called attention in the *Saturday Review* to the spirit in which so heavy a blow had been borne and the attitude of Christian charity towards China. No compensation, it was decided, would be claimed.

One might traverse the whole range of missionary administration and find everywhere traces of the active influence of Eugene Stock. But four aspects

of the subject stand out as having had his special attention: the development of Native Churches, the place of women in the missions of the Church, especially on its administrative side; the raising of funds at home; and the relation of the missionary society to the central organization of the Church.

In the C.M.S. Committee, and indeed in the wider circles of the Church, Eugene Stock was recognized as an authority on matters concerning the organization and administration of the growing churches in the mission field. In the pages of his History, in magazine articles and in addresses all through the country, he spared no pains in his persistent effort to clarify thought in the light of old experience and new situations. He resisted the tendency to slur over problems with platitudes and generalities; he poured out a rain of challenging questions—many of which he himself could not answer—to drive men out of temporary expedients to shelter on the rock of truth.

He has caused us, now by recording the discussions and utterances of the committee room from Henry Venn's day onward, anon by describing some experiment in the nascent churches in Asia or Africa, to see the fathers of the C.M.S. in partnership in the age-long building of "the visible Catholic Church." We follow with him the shaping of individual converts into groups, under the paternal, or rather patriarchal, control of the early missionaries; the joyful welcome given to the plan for Native Church

councils—until it was found that in many places they were valuable as scaffolding, but not to be mistaken for the very walls of the House of God; the gradual discarding of one fallacy after another as they were tried out in life. How many years—or rather how few—is it since a belief that no church should have self-government until it had wholly attained self-support was buttressed by the proverb that " He who pays the piper calls the tune" ? He has made us enter into the committee room of our fathers as they think out the memoranda which marked their advance from stage to stage—Henry Venn's first paper on Native Church organization issued to missionaries in 1851; another in 1860, urging that church organization should begin from the bottom and work upward; a third in 1866, based on an experiment which worked well in Sierra Leone; and so on up to the great *Memorandum on the Constitution of Churches in the Mission Field*, drafted by Dr. Stock himself and adopted by the C.M.S. Committee in 1901. Eight years later a notable memorandum was prepared dealing with the relation of the foreign mission to the Native Church; four years later still there was another official statement on the development of self-support. He quotes from the C.M.S. official *Regulations* the following paragraph: " It is agreed on all hands that Asiatic or African Christians ought not to be permanently subject to European churches; that, having regard to both the varied characters and the

varied circumstances of different nations, independent churches or branches of the Church are indispensable; and that these churches or branches, in order to be independent, must have their own constitutions, and become self-contained and self-governing, able to perpetuate their own ecclesiastical life."

Eugene Stock tells in his History many stories of the organization of the Church overseas: such as the story of failure, like the setting up of an African church under an African bishop on the Niger—a great gesture of racial confidence for which the time was not yet ripe; the story of success, like that of the Native Anglican Church in Uganda, which, having reached its jubilee, knows well that its testing lies in front; the story of the movement towards what Henry Venn called the *euthanasia* of a mission —a great consummation not yet fully attained—in both Japan and China by the grouping of Anglican work in the Nippon Sei Ko Kwai and the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui; the story of a bold incursion on debatable ground, as in the Kikuyu Conference and its sequel in a controversy which swept round the world.

Eugene Stock knew well that great regions of problem remained to be explored, adventures of faith for the Church in every land. But progress had been made. Referring to two papers he himself had written, he says:

In these our aims in building up Native Churches are thus stated: The future church in any country must be

self-supporting, self-governing, self-extending. It should continue "in communion" with the English Church. It should enjoy wide liberty within the well-understood limits of the Anglican communion. It should be comprehensive in regard to races. It should be constitutionally governed by bishops, clergy, and laity. Then the steps towards achieving these aims should be: Starting self-support, *etc.*, in the earliest stages of a mission. Combining the mission and the church as much as possible. Uniting Christians associated with different church societies. Promoting an early ative episcopate. At length the day would come when the connexion of the churches abroad with the church at home would be expressed in Mr. Kipling's line, "Daughter am I in my mother's house, but mistress in my own."

Eugene Stock was one of the first to recognize the need for the co-operation of women in the administrative work of missions at home and overseas. This, for his open mind, was the inevitable sequel to the facts which emerged as he worked on his History. From the outset women, though little place was outwardly given them, had been active supporters of the new society at home. The notable work and heroic endurance of missionary wives, even when they were only indicated in official lists by the letter (*m.*) after their husband's name, was chronicled again and again. Every mission field knew that the Christian Church could not be built of one sex only; that the men converts needed wives not only Christian, but educated, for the life of the home and the growth of the Church. Separate agencies for

sending out women missionaries developed gradually for India, working either in part or wholly side by side with the C.M.S. In 1861 the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission took definite shape, though not yet under its now familiar name. In 1880 the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society began its separate existence, adding South China to its Indian fields. Eugene Stock gave unwavering support to these two fine organizations, but, taken together, they were unable to meet the need for women's work in the whole wide range of C.M.S. mission fields.

Already, decade after decade, a few women—generally the widows or daughters of missionaries—had gone out under the C.M.S. The names of twenty-two women were on the roll in 1887. But offers of service were being repeatedly refused. Then, without any formal resolution on the part of the Committee, women began to be accepted for overseas work, in view of needs urgent and unmet abroad. In the next eight years the names of 214 women were added to the roll. All this Eugene Stock actively promoted; many of the offers of service came through him.

Long before others realized it, he saw that if women converts were to have full place in the life of the Church of their own country, women missionaries must lead the way. This was impossible while they lacked due recognition in the administrative work of the mission. He expedited as much

as he could their slow admission first to consultative bodies, and finally to full executive work. The days when women missionaries sat in one room to send advisory recommendations across to an executive body of men sitting in the next room are not so very long past. That they are wholly out of date now is owing not a little to the steady influence of Eugene Stock.

On the home side his policy was the same. His was the first C.M.S. department to offer central work to a woman. In days when it was not unknown for a clerical member of the C.M.S. staff to leave the room if a woman rose to speak, even in a semi-public meeting, he put forward women speakers in Gleaners' Union meetings both in London and in the provinces. He took a leading part in the formation of the C.M.S. women's department in 1895, which had a share in both home and foreign work. Long before official action was taken he was among those in favour of giving women voting membership on all the C.M.S. committees and opportunity to serve as full secretaries of the society.

In the fourth volume of his History he records the slow approach of the C.M.S., with its "conservative instincts," towards the admission of women to administrative work on equal terms with men. The Pan-Anglican Congress, the commissions of the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh and the continuation committee of that conference (now the International Missionary Council) led

the way; the boards of missions followed suit. A committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland drew up an able report in 1911 taking the full modern line as to the status of women. A C.M.S. sub-committee considered the report and gave it a cautious semi-endorsement, weighted with a strong minority report from those who feared to go too fast. At last the daring step was taken of admitting women to vote on the home committee; later still, eight were admitted as voting members of the foreign committee. "Whether the further step of putting women on the General Committee will ever be taken lies in the womb of the future," wrote Eugene Stock in 1915. It was taken, and taken generously, in 1917. In the reconstituted administrative system of the C.M.S. to-day women are voting members of the Executive and all other committees, and are eligible for full secretarial posts. The first woman secretary was appointed in 1927.

It was a final endorsement of the position long before taken by Eugene Stock when the National Assembly of the Church of England completed the enfranchisement of women by making the membership of its House of Laity open without restriction alike to them and to men. This gave the old man real satisfaction at the close of his life.

He paid constant attention to the raising of money. Though it was officially no direct concern of his, he took in the financial discussions of

the Committee a part at least as prominent as did the officials in charge of that branch of the work. He was a bold and fearless financier, making up for lack of technical actuarial training by the clearness of his mind and the painstaking accuracy of his researches. It was good sport to see him tackle the experts on their own ground, and sometimes it proved good business too. Not once, but many times, was a financial statement clarified in consequence of his challenge, so that it appealed to the man in the pew. There was no one more practical than he. Many large gifts passed through his hands, but he believed also in gathering the twopenny fees of the Gleaners' Union and the humble offerings of the poor. He opposed—almost with ridicule—the use of a black boy as a bait to capture the missionary response of a Sunday school; his ideals of teaching were far too true to rest satisfied with setting children to raise a small annual contribution for the support of one boy. Yet where a parish, or group, or individual was already caring and contributing, he advocated the adoption of an "own missionary" in addition to ordinary gifts. And he had large part in carrying through the scheme for "appropriated contributions," whereby those who wished to do so could earmark their gifts for some particular work approved by the Committee.

While others read the text of the annual report, he read the contribution lists with equal interest. To him they bore the mark of life. He noted

advance and retrogression, cause and effect. He could almost dramatize the situation in regard to missionary giving in a diocese or a parish. He could hold ordinary men and women spellbound when he talked or wrote of these things. No apology for asking for money, no reference to "filthy lucre" ever passed his lips. He believed in the sacredness of money as God's gift to be used for His work.

He was very happy when the society stepped out undeterred by financial threatening. He rejoiced greatly when in 1887 what was known as "the policy of faith" was adopted, that is, the determination arrived at, after long thought and prayer, to refuse no candidate, or keep back no missionary ready to sail, merely on financial grounds. He constantly referred to an earlier decision on these same lines taken by the Committee in 1853, when, under the leadership of Henry Venn, it had been agreed "to accept and send out any number of true missionaries," trusting the Lord "to supply their treasury with funds for this blessed and glorious undertaking." In 1890 a letter was addressed to the Committee by a number of its leading friends who met at the Keswick Convention, suggesting that an appeal for one thousand new missionaries be issued in view of the pressing needs abroad ; Eugene Stock supported the proposal. He tells, with a glow of thankful fervour, the story of a conference held at Swanwick in 1913, at which

he was present, when three hundred leading supporters from all over the country bade the C.M.S. advance, in the face of recurring deficits, and themselves gave 120 sums of £100 each towards the £100,000 required. The whole amount asked for was, in a wonderful spiritual responsiveness, given within six weeks.

But Eugene Stock knew that the faith which moved men at these and other epochs, though genuine, had not yet found the channel for the steady maintenance of its flow. Advances to some new high-water mark alternated with ebbing tides. He had a deep conviction that the question of financial support lay in a spiritual region, and that giving depended on the spiritual life of the whole body of the Church. "Missionary advance depends upon spiritual life," he wrote in his History. "Evangelical orthodoxy is powerless in itself to spread the Gospel. Unimpeachable Protestant teaching in the pulpit, and the plainest of church services, may be seen in combination with the entire neglect of the Lord's great commission. But let the Holy Ghost Himself stir the heart and enlighten the eyes, and the conversion of the unconverted becomes a matter of anxious concern. . . . We have seen in these pages how much the modern development of missions owes to the spiritual movements of the day. In a word, consecration and the evangelization of the world go together. The latter depends on the former."

There is a passage towards the close of the third volume of his History which is worthy to rank as a C.M.S. postscript to Hebrews xi:

> If the work is God's, that is the reason why faith is the secret of success. For faith is dependence upon Him Who is the one real Worker, and true faith necessarily blossoms out in fearless obedience. We have seen something of the blessing God has graciously given to what has been called the "policy of faith"; but this policy, after all, is but one rather conspicuous example of the great principle. It was faith that inspired the original establishment of the Society; it was faith that led Simeon to send as chaplains to India the godly men so sorely needed at home; it was faith that, in the early days, sent German brethren to West Africa, the English artisans to New Zealand, the Cambridge Wrangler to the Levant; it was faith that took Krapf to East Africa, Townsend to Abeokuta, Noble to his college, Baker to the Hill Arrians, Horden to Hudson's Bay; and, in later days, Bruce to Persia, Mackay to Uganda, French to Muscat, Bompas to the Arctic Circle. It was faith that enabled Wilberforce and Buxton to bear obloquy and to toil on patiently in the cause of freedom till they triumphed; and Peregrine Maitland to resign his command at Madras rather than honour the idols; and Lawrence and Montgomery and Edwardes to encourage missions to the fanatical Moslems over whom they ruled. It was faith that sustained Pratt and Bickersteth and Venn and Wright and Wigram in their incessant labours. It is faith that has kept the Church Missionary Society true to its divine Master and His pure Gospel; for it is faith that mistrusts self and leans upon Him. There have been occasions when faith has been

weak ; and then have come times of depression and retrenchment, of "the failing treasury" and "the scanty supply of men." Anon faith has revived ; the eyes of the Society have ceased to "see the wind boisterous," and have been fastened upon Him Who walks on the sea ; and then God has raised up the needed men, and sent in the needed money. "O taste and see that the Lord is good ; blessed is the man"—and the society—"that trusteth in him."

Eugene Stock took less administrative part in the spending of money than in raising it. But one point of interest may be noted here. While he had a sober and unfluctuating regard for the older work, the stations and institutions with history behind them, he often stood in the committee room as the champion of new causes, the sponsor for men of whom others were somewhat in doubt. He befriended the more daring and adventurous men. In Africa it was Alexander Mackay, as heroic in courage as he was vehement in speech, his penetrating mind working on solutions for problems in the Church at home or suggesting policies for Indian missions ; and Graham Wilmot Brooke, with his dauntless enterprise and scathing purity on the Niger ; or Douglas Hooper with his recklessness of self-sacrificing fervour at Jilore. In Japan it was Barclay Buxton ; in China it was the somewhat erratic but saintly Heywood Horsburgh. There is a sigh of relief in Dr. Stock's letters when he has shepherded the Horsburgh

party safely through the intricacies of the Committee and seen them off for inland China.

In dealing with the relation of the missionary society and the Church, Eugene Stock, as always, saw both sides. And he saw them in combination, not in conflict. He had a conception of the Christian Church which was bold and lofty, a great inclusive ideal which dwarfed all lesser loyalties and loves. He would have emphatically dissented from the dictum of an ardent supporter who declared, "The C.M.S. is my church." None the less, he entered deeply into his heritage in the C.M.S., believing that the combination of churchmen of one school of thought for some great common purpose was not only lawful, but good. He maintained that such a body within the Church had rights as well as duties, and he was prepared temperately, but without hesitancy, to defend them. This he did throughout his lifetime, as many a bishop knew.

He had some brief contacts with churches, such as the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland and the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, which dispensed with missionary societies and administered their overseas work through committees of the church. He was not favourably impressed with the result; it seemed to him that the C.M.S. as a society got ahead faster and more effectively with its work. He did not think so prompt a response to Stanley's call to Uganda could have been made by a church. As a matter of fact, further experience

of the two methods shows that the difference is less than has been supposed. There is little perceptible difference in the staff required—though they are differently appointed; or in the nature of the committees set up; or in the general approach to men and women for service overseas, or to the home congregations for funds. The same sort of work is done in most cases in much the same sort of way. The gain does not lie in the elimination of the society, but in the possibly fuller inclusion of the Church.

Of the importance of this inclusion, Eugene Stock, with his far-sighted vision, was conscious from the first. He cherished every reference to the courteous deference of the C.M.S. to church authority in the early days. He was loyal in his comments even when conflicts arose. He made a steady contribution to all overseas work undertaken directly in the name of the Church and outside the sphere of the societies. He championed the Board of Missions, though he did so at first in oddly unenthusiastic terms. "Personally I don't believe in the Board of Missions doing us any harm," he wrote in 1888, "nor can I see why the Archbishop of Canterbury should not have one if he likes." He had travelled a good deal farther in his appreciation of their value when he wrote of the Boards of Missions in the fourth volume of his History in 1916.

In previous chapters his ready service has been noted in speaking to diocesan board meetings or

diocesan festivals or at church congresses year by year. But when the National Church Assembly brought its missionary council into being, the great synthesis after which his mind was always seeking had arrived. Few have yet realized, as he did, how great an experiment is being worked out. The council was created and is financed by the act of a self-governing Church. A proportion of its members and all its officers are appointed by the Church Assembly. The missionary societies, both large and small, have strong elected representation upon it—in so far as that goes the council may be described as the missionary societies acting in concert, and this concert is one of the great ends the council has attained. The work of the societies goes on as before, they forego nothing hitherto theirs, but they gain, and gain infinitely, by being no longer many unrelated voices; they are caught up and harmonized in the one far greater voice of the Church. The "world call to the Church" could never have been sounded out without the co-operation of every missionary society, generously and ably given. But it finds the highest measure of its power in the further fact that it went out not merely from all the societies put together, but from the constituted assembly of the national Church, with the force of that Church's support behind it.

All this Eugene Stock saw, and of it he was glad. He welcomed one great gesture significant of the new and still undefined extent of co-operation, even

though it brought to an end the separate existence of a cherished piece of work. The S.P.G. and the C.M.S., during the course of the world call movement, merged their two principal periodicals into a single quarterly journal, to represent the whole overseas work of the English Church, whether done by missionary societies or not, and to be edited, under the direction of the Missionary Council, by the editorial secretaries of the C.M.S. and the S.P.G. The life-long trend of Eugene Stock's genius had been in the direction of co-operation. Here was co-operation indeed.

What of mission administration to-day? Is the work still as vital as Eugene Stock found it to be? Several bulky foolscap packets, each sheet closely typed, lie beside the four massive dark green volumes of Eugene Stock's History as these lines are penned. The packets are the official *précis* of the foreign dispatches received by the C.M.S. They are duplicated for the members of certain committees. They are "private and confidential," but it is permitted to make some reference to their contents here. They thrill the comparatively small group of people who see them as they are issued at short intervals, because they come straight from the heart of the need abroad, simple unvarnished statements of problem and urgent necessity, questions about plans in the making and issues still *sub judice*. The best-written illustrated missionary volumes pale in interest beside these terse, condensed,

prosaic statements charged with purpose, at grips with actual life. Can there be a better source from which to answer the question just asked?

Here are three summaries of letters and documents received at the C.M.S. head-quarters during March and the first fortnight of April, 1929. Africa dispatches number 126, India 79, Persia 11, Palestine 20, the Far East 45. Who writes these dispatches and what are they about? Fourteen bishops are among the correspondents, one of them a Japanese; conference secretaries send minutes and reports; a few government officials write about schools; the rest are ordinary missionaries. Some of the letters can be run through quickly, and deal only with matters of routine. There was routine when the world was in the making; it is inevitable in the making of the Church. There are letters on personal affairs—sudden death, illness necessitating operation, family bereavement, persistent weak health, children claiming their parents' care at home, retirement on account of age, temperamental differences which complicate fellow working, inability to master the language, an unexpected vocation to married life. Such things account for many of the letters; the missionary has a right to the ear and the aid of those who sent him out.

But the *précis* are pregnant with issues which will pass out into the life of the Church. Take the Africa *précis* first. Three great elaborate documents which must have taxed the skill of the *précis* clerk

and the patience of the typist are full of meat for the ardent secretary and committee member. Here are the minutes of the executive committee of the Niger Mission, with twenty-seven paragraphs. There comes, besides, from the Bishop the draft constitution of the synod of the Niger Diocese. The Tanganyika minutes contain forty items and a covering letter from the secretary which in closest summary fills two foolscap sheets. The Kenya minutes take up forty-two topics, and have an appendix with nine heads.

Nor is that all. We study proposals for the co-operative training of women teachers in Nigeria and for a teachers' training institution at Buwalasi, in the new Diocese of the Upper Nile, where there are literally masses of untaught Christians, where the Government is pressing for more education, and where ninety per cent of the teachers in the mission schools are untrained. We note that a new hospital is about to be built at Kaloleni, in Kenya, and that the doctor at Omdurman is getting his house. A draft of the revised basis of agreement between the alliance of missionary societies in Kenya brings up memories of " Kikuyu " vividly again. Tanganyika has a fascinating budget from the Australian mission there, which is a fruitage of Dr. Stock's work. There are letters from all the Africa missions about school work, especially in relation to government grants. A report, drawn up by the Bishop, of the visit paid by the Rev. W. W. Cash, general

secretary of the C.M.S., to the Sudan shows an enheartening result in the opening of fresh centres for mission schools and generous grants-in-aid from the Government. Crowning all this is a dispatch from the government secretary for education in the Sudan, enclosing a cheque for £1076 18*s*. 6*d*. as the government contribution for a year to the new work being taken in hand. That Africa *précis* leaves one a little breathless. We have two more.

The China *précis* records situations in the union Christian universities and union theological schools. But the arresting items are minutes from two dioceses which give vivid illustrations of the advance of Chinese church organization. The diocesan board of missions in the Diocese of Victoria, Hong Kong, records its first meeting. Good business was done, but the glory of the thing lies in a single statement. "The Ven. Mok Shan-tsang was unanimously elected secretary; the Rev. C. I. Blanchett was asked to act as assistant secretary." The Kwangsi and Hunan Diocese fills several *précis* pages with minutes of its conference, and of the four committees of the diocesan synod—the standing committee and the boards of finance, education, and missions. The notable thing is that the final stage of devolution from the mission to the Church has been reached. All the missionaries, except two, were present, and all the Chinese clergy and laity. After long discussion, "full of consideration" on both sides, and silent prayer, it was

unanimously agreed by a secret ballot to propose that all matters relating to the C.M.S. missionaries in the diocese, except only personal matters touching finance (such as furlough and travelling), be submitted henceforth to the diocesan synod instead of to the missionary conference. The missionaries and the Chinese were alike happy in the decision taken. The *précis* contains the translation of a letter written by the Chinese clergy and secretary to the Chinese Christians in the diocese. They say that devolution is now complete. The people of China and western workers are now on complete equality, and all will be appointed in the same way by the synod. "This spirit of sacrifice and love thus brings about a full completion of our diocesan organization. . . . The future progress of our church now will depend entirely on our own zeal and earnestness."

The India *précis* raises point after point with which committees will have to deal, but the four pages which contain the report of the C.M.S. mass movement conference at Bezwada last November, and the summary of needs which it presents, dwarf all the rest. The home Committee have not yet discussed it, nor have they seen Bishop Whitehead, late of Madras, now of the C.M.S. Executive Committee in London, who drew it up on the spot. But when he presents the report to them in person he will know how to endorse its overwhelming claims for men and money, based on still more overwhelming

opportunity and need. Directly following it in the *précis* comes a brief, restrained, carefully balanced note from the India secretary, prepared by the direction of his committee, indicating the minimum number of men urgently required for work in India—for theological colleges, for district work, for educational work, and for certain special services.

Numerically, the India claim for men and for money is the most impressive in the letters which recent mails have brought. But on almost every page of the *précis*, whether from Africa or Palestine, from China or from Persia, there are calls no less urgent, set forth by men who can scarcely stand up under the strain of things undone—closely reasoned statements showing the need for doctors—men and women ; for nurses ; for educationists, either for general or specialized work ; for ordained men for pastoral and evangelistic work in certain areas, and for the training of clergy for the Church overseas.

The *précis* show that over the whole range of work to which Eugene Stock gave himself, missions are still engaged. They set their faces steadily towards the goal of his endeavour and tread the paths he trod. How he would have revelled in the news from the Sudan, or the synod of Kwangsi and Hunan. But how he would have used the mass movement situation to point his wonted call for men. For, in the last resort, the call is not for the best methods merely, but for enough of the best missionaries, both women and men.

# XII

## 1836 to 1928

No thoughtful reader of the preceding chapters can fail to recognize that the missionary situation of to-day differs as widely from that of 1836 as did the environment of Eugene Stock's boyhood from that of his later years. But our concern has been with something deeper than outward changes. We have thought rather of certain characteristics and great ideas in the person of one churchman who gave himself to world evangelization, and their persistence and development in the long sweep of his life.

Having sought to trace them through the past, we pause on the brink of the future, where it seems as if in the modern world, with the awakening of racial consciousness, the changes of a single decade might equal those of a former generation. We ask ourselves: Have the conceptions which dominated Eugene Stock in the past played themselves out? Does the chronicle of his days make its lodgment only in the memory or does it fling out a challenge for the new time to come? The externals and accidents of his earlier life belong obviously to an

irrecoverable past; are the attitudes and convictions which went to the making of the man, and the making of the work he accomplished, obsolete, or even obsolescent?

Take only three of his dominant conceptions and test them for a moment against forthgoing thought to-day.

Take the Gospel as he saw it; its simplicity, its Christology, its breadth; the vitality of the Scriptures; the efficacy of the sacraments; the immediacy of the relation between God and the soul of man; the work of the divine Spirit in awakening conscience and revealing the redemptive power of the Cross of Christ. Lay what Eugene Stock meant by the Gospel alongside the statement on "The Christian Message" put forth by the International Missionary Council at Jerusalem in April, 1928. No note that Eugene Stock sounded is silent there. Deepened, enriched by modern scholarship and the mind of Christians of many races, stated, of course, in terms not of the nineteenth but of the twentieth century, the Gospel Eugene Stock knew in the past rings out in that great statement for the future.

Take the Church as he saw it; his own communion in the richness of its inclusiveness, the reality of its evangelic faith and the wide span of its rule and practice; its extension in the sister churches of North America and the great Dominions, and in the daughter churches moving

towards self-government in the mission field; its relation to other Christian bodies, older or younger, in many lands. When great assemblies like the Lambeth Conference deliberate on questions of mutual toleration and agreed action within the English Church, and on the converging claims from Christian communities overseas for guidance in regard to reunion, there will be no other policies to guide the leaders than the range of principles that shaped the churchmanship of Eugene Stock.

Take once more his attitude to human society. The point is less apparent, but it bears widely on the problems of modern life. Eugene Stock was little concerned with sociology as a science; he was content as a rule to support agencies which relieved distress. Yet he saw the larger issues when they were put before him. He stood, for instance, almost alone among senior missionary leaders in approving the action of the Student Christian Movement when at their conference in 1912 they gave social needs at home an equal place with overseas work. Nor was he, though a born teacher, attracted to study the psychology of education, yet he actively endorsed the modern line taken by the Phelps-Stokes educational commissions to Africa, with its emphasis on the uplift of the community.

His supreme contribution to the reform and upbuilding of society lay in his recognition of the rights and the value of the individual. And this

specially in the region of opinion, where individual rights are most frequently curtailed or disallowed. In politics a Liberal, he was a true democrat in affairs. He claimed for himself no rights he did not accord to other men. He was silent or spoke with great modesty where his knowledge was small; he claimed a hearing where he was sure of his ground. He gave, with respect towards all, exactly what he asked. He made no racial distinctions which cut across individual rights. He did not estimate a man's value by the colour of his skin. As we face the aggregations of human beings forming and re-forming themselves to-day, is there hope of building a future democracy of liberty on any other foundation than this, whether the norm be a nation or a village community, whether the building be at home or overseas?

There is not one of the dominant conceptions in Eugene Stock's whole life of service which, as it passes through the period of his old age, does not overleap the grave and speed onwards into the future.

Those who set out to follow his leading in the missionary service of the Church will find their goals transformed into starting-points. He was glad to merge the "good" of his own generation —whether it expressed itself in a religious dialect, or a limited objective, or a church custom, or a missionary periodical, or some special piece of organization—in the "better" of the next generation, believing that both would one day be included

in a " best." The future meant more to him than the past, even in the days when the latter was long and the former was for him rapidly shrinking from years to months. As the young were those to whom belonged the future, he dared not spoil that future by doubting them or hindering their way. They had not only vocation, but a binding obligation to work it out. Once he too had been young and daring; he got his chance and took it; it was their turn now. The lines of their building might be bewilderingly new to him, but he bid them a glad God speed.

Looking backward over the life and work of Eugene Stock, one distinctive characteristic stands out as perhaps the most noteworthy of all. In situations which thrust men asunder his mind could find the unities which underlay conflicting views. All down the ages, throughout all the world, in history and in personal experience, opposites were seen by him as complementary rather than contradictory. There was for him no final clash between election and freewill. He had no affinity with the fallacy of *entweder-oder*— " either-or "; the breadth and sanity of his practical mind demanded " both." He could see the truth in differing theological conceptions, though one of them was definitely his own. He could hold the balance between two sides of a controversy, though his interests might be involved. He could acclaim the " faith policy " of a Hudson Taylor,

yet see no less reality in the " faith policy " of the C.M.S. He could befriend and champion the free-lance missionary, the man who was a law unto himself, and yet honour and give place to the veteran who forswore all but well-worn paths. It was not a question of looseness, but of largeness. He did not swing from side to side like a pendulum ; he revolved like a sphere between two poles of truth.

God, in the great antinomy of His creative energies, spake of Himself : " I change not " ; " I make all things new." By a miracle of grace He can catch men up out of their belittling separations into the great alternations and combinations of His truth. Eugene Stock, with wonted humility, would have hesitated to claim that he knew much of this. But he knew more than most.

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