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## THE STORY OF MISSIONS IN FIVE CONTINENTS.

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DELIVERED ON THE W. D. GAY FOUNDATION, AT THE SOUTHERN  
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## II. SUCCESS IN EUROPE.

The story of Christianity in Asia is one to sadden every Christian, for it is a record of final failure; in Europe we have to study success, rarely checked, and finally complete. In Asia there were great organized religions to encounter, which with modifications remain victorious; in Europe there was no religion with any vitality in it, and though certain relics remain, they are chiefly in customs whose origin is forgotten by those who practice them, and which do not distract from the Savior. In Asia the peoples who have proved so tenacious of their ancient faiths were mainly Turanian, with a few Aryans and Semites in the southwest; in Europe the impressionable peoples who adopted Christianity were mainly Aryans, with a few outlying Turanians.

The story of Christianity in Europe is well known, at least in its early stages, and is probably more interesting than its fate in Asia; but the missionary problems it presents have seldom been disengaged and studied.

To Europe, as we understand the term, is to be added for our purpose the Anatolian peninsula. So thoroughly was this Hellenized before the Christian era, that it has generally since been bound up with Europe, and the holder of Constantinople has often ruled on either side of the Bosphorus.

We can group the facts, numerous as they are, into three sections:

(1) The Greek world, and the contact with philosophy.

(2) The Roman world, and the contact with order and officialism.

(3) The Uncivilized tribes; Keltic, Teutonic and Slavonic.

(I) THE GREEK WORLD.

The Jews had prepared the way to the west, as to the east. As slaves, as colonists, as merchants, they had settled in many leading towns of the Roman Empire, and wherever they went they gathered into little companies which met Sabbath by Sabbath. And whereas in the East there was a reluctance to write down a version of the Scriptures, the Alexandrian Jews had broken down this conservatism, and Greek versions were in general use, not only of the canonical books, but of other religious literature. The early Christian writings, except for the Aramaic Logia of Matthew, were all in Greek, from the letters of James and Paul on to the memoranda of Mark, the prophetic plea of Matthew, the historical work of Luke, and the varied and elaborate productions of John. The early missionaries were subjects of Rome, if not citizens, and forgetting their Jewish origin they showed themselves true patriots with imperial tendencies; they set to work to evangelize their own Empire.

Paul's work among the Jews was quite a side issue; he was deliberately told to leave them alone to go to the Greeks. And in this task, he showed the strategy of a statesman. In a score of years he had founded churches at Tarsus, Pisidian Antioch, Ephesus, Thessalonica and Corinth, besides lesser towns; and he had a great share in building up churches at Antioch and Rome. Thus on the high roads to the capital, he personally ensured that every provincial capital had a Christian church to kindle the province. Granted that as a Tarsian he naturally was drawn to Anatolia, yet it was full of promise that this great peninsula was so early occupied for Christ. Others followed up his work, and Ephesus became the metropolis of Christianity for 150 years and held its own till the Goths destroyed the city in 262.

As for the Jewish Christians, they found their tradition snapped by the two great rebellions of 66 and 135, and the new religion passed promptly into a Greek phase, so far as the West was concerned.

The Greek Christians took over the Greek version of the Scriptures, another proceeding most irritating to the old Jews. Fancy the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of 1789, and the decisions of the Supreme Court, utilized to prove that America would fare best under a Trust, and indeed that this had been in the mind of Adams, Madison, Hamilton and Marshall; then you can have some idea of the rage of the Jews at this paradoxical treatment of their Scriptures.

The skirmish line of attack consisted of penniless missionaries, who deliberately traveled in order to preach. They supported themselves like Paul, or accepted support like Barnabas and Peter, but seldom stayed in one place once they had organized a community; they may be compared to the backwoodsmen of Kentucky in the days of old Vincennes, of Boone and Rogers Clark, restless in a settled society, and eager to push back the frontier of civilization. After the missionaries arose the teachers, resident and paid, in many respects like the professional heathen teachers; Justin, Tatian, Clement and Origen are excellent examples. Behind them rose up the organizing local officers, part of whose business was to see that the ordinary member did his share in propagating the gospel. Paul urged every man to continue in his former occupation, for so he could exert the best influence, his changed life witnessing to his associates the new power that had entered him.

The organization of the Greek converts deserves special attention. All Jewish precedent suggested that Jewish converts should form one great community, ruled from Jerusalem; and in the Jewish stage we do actually read of the Church in Judea and Galilee and Samaria. But Greeks organized by cities, and the Greek converts naturally did the same, taking over even the technical Greek word *Ecclesia*. One city, one Church; such was

the Greek custom. And whereas Jews managed everything by one committee of Elders, the Greeks soon differentiated the committee into two groups, and evolved a single head, on the lines of their civil life. Paul, however, knew the Greek tendency to disintegration and local independence, and set his face against it like a flint. His letters to Corinth smartly rebuke this, and urge co-operation, consideration of others, submission to the general customs. Before long this worked out on the familiar lines, and the Greek city churches conferred together in synods, as Augustus had taught the cities of a province to send their representatives for the yearly worship and business. And thus the pattern evolved by 360 A.D. is due to adopting for religious business the forms familiar in political business, local self-government on the municipal pattern, provincial co-operation on the federal pattern. When we observe the general principle involved, that organization is to be on familiar lines, we can guess why Westerners have made no wonderful progress in modern attempts with Asiatics and Africans.

It was in this Greek phase that the question first arose as to the relation of the churches to the missionaries. Paul himself found a decided disposition to question his authority, and Corinth seems to have flouted him at times. Then he tried the experiment of detaching aides-de-camp like Luke, Timothy, Tychicus, Titus, vested with his authority; and we find Ephesus declining to recognize the delegate, so that Timothy was recalled from the scene of his failure. A generation later, Diotrephes brought matters to a crisis in one congregation, refused to give a hearing to the messengers of John, and expelling those who sympathized with them. In one aspect this was officialism resisting the spiritually gifted members; in another it was a self-contained church refusing any status to missionaries, and sending them on to preach to the unconverted. Thus early emerged the question, which in the East was solved by withdrawal of the missionaries and the formation of national churches; which

Rome settled for awhile in the West by the claim to rule everywhere through her missionaries; which the Methodists settled by the missionaries appropriating all the power of any importance; which is arising again by the formation of a National Missionary Society of India, or the consolidation of the Japanese churches without regard to the nationality of those who brought them the gospel. The experience of revolts against Rome and Wesleyan Methodism seems to prove the wisdom of the Greek settlement, and show that the missionaries should watch for the signs of readiness in their converts to assume all responsibility, and then gradually transfer their energies to fresh fields.

The opposition to the missionary efforts was of various kinds, philosophical and political, but in the Greek world hardly religious.

But first the State had measured itself with Christianity. As early as the days of Peter the principle was announced that Christianity was illegal, but no general conflict arose till Decius gave the simple alternative, recant or die. Foreign affairs drew off the attention, but Maximin Daza went further next time, created an atmosphere in the schools unfavorable to Christianity, procured treatises against it, and condescended to copy the organization, erecting a pagan hierarchy of priests. All failed, and Constantine saw the need of coming to terms with Greek Christianity; he shifted his capital into the Greek provinces, and tried to patch up a peace between the halves of the largest sect, concentrating his persecution on the other sects. This step marks the acknowledged success of the mission among the Greeks; and Harnack sums up that even before Constantine set the State imprimatur on it, Christianity was the standard religion in Asia Minor and Thrace, and was of weight in Syria, Cyprus and the Greek coast; he estimates that about 800 bishops could be mustered in the East.

What, then, was the reaction of the Greek world on Christianity? For success has to be paid for, and the

Greek Christianity that now held the field was another thing from the preaching of the apostles.

The emphasis was shifted from conduct to creed, and the whole tone of the morality had sensibly declined. This had not come to pass without a struggle, but the Montanists and Novatians who upheld the old standard of living found that Constantine did not think them worth patronizing, and he continued to oppress them; so that the dominant sect was one from which all the purest element had been filtered off. The average result may be guessed when we know that even the bishops at Nicea charged one another with crimes that Constantine was politic enough to ignore. It is true that creed must underlie conduct, but it must be a creed that commands the assent of the will as well as the intellect. The Greeks were dialecticians, and they now threw themselves on the philosophy of the Person of Christ just as their predecessors had attacked cosmology, and as their intellectual heirs in Germany and elsewhere have rushed at the literary dissection of the Bible, in a spirit that has nothing Christian about it. Every Council led to an exclusion or suppression of the minority, and though there were sects enough before Constantine, the next few centuries saw the rise of Arians and Nestorians and Eutychians and Monothelites, further to split the Greek world. While the main body chose to define its position merely by contradicting all these, and while the formula of Chalcedon was dictated by and accepted in the Roman world, yet we must not forget that all this thought is cast into Greek moulds. In so far as we have been trained on the ancient Greek classics, we can appreciate and adopt these Greek Christian definitions; but the thought of Asia is not cast in Greek moulds, and it may well be necessary that the great truths as to our Lord's Person must be fused afresh and assume quite other forms to be valued or even comprehended aright by Chinese or Hindus.

Again, Christianity became polytheistic; for such is the real meaning of saint-worship. This began with commemoration of the martyrs, hymns in their praise, the

reading of the story how they died, an oration in their honor, and the old feast of the Ancestors slightly transformed, sometimes even with dances and pantomimes to conclude with. Then came in speedily the practice of invoking the help of the saints. And before long it was hard to distinguish the crowd of saints with God in their midst from the former Greek pantheon with Zeus over all. As an instance of this Christianized paganism, take the worship of Demeter, the Latin Bona Dea, at Catania in Sicily. Twice yearly, at the Greater and Less Eleusinia, was her festival held. A horse-race was followed by a procession, when with torches and bells the statue of the goddess was escorted, her veil was shown, and her fertile breasts. Today exactly the same ceremonial is enacted at the same time, in honor of Saint Agatha, whose name is simply the Greek version of Bona.

With polytheism naturally came idolatry. The bones of the martyrs and the wood of the true cross were revered everywhere. Then followed pictures of the saints, and although the Greeks did draw the line deliberately and emphatically at statues, yet Muhammad contemptuously brushed away the refinement, and termed all of them plainly idolaters.

Add to this the sacramentalism taken over from the Mysteries, and the sacerdotalism, which, if justified from the Old Testament, was yet founded on and carried over from Greek ideas, and we see that the contribution of Hellenism to Christianity was indeed great.

For the missionary it is all-important to recollect that these accretions are not essential to Christianity. To Primitive Christianity they were unknown, if indeed not alien. To Asiatic Christianity they never found an entrance to any extent, a fact generally neglected by those who bid us study the actual development. Whatever may be said about progress among the Aryans, it is needful to remind the workers among Semitic and Turanian races that it is not their business to transplant the Aryan shrub, but to plant the gospel seed.



(2) THE ROMAN WORLD.

Christianity reached Rome in the year of our Lord's resurrection, but it remained of the Greek type for many generations.

Even in Rome the Greek tendency to faction was most marked. When the tide was turning about 200, we find the same state of things that was shown in Paul's letter to Rome, numberless little churches and not one united body. We can identify a Montanist, a Theodotian, a Modalist, a Marcionite, several Gnostic churches, besides the Greek church presided over by Hippolytus, and the Latin church under Victor. Louisville is no worse with its Baptist churches, its Methodist, its Presbyterian North and Presbyterian South. But the Roman dynasty which began with Victor introduced a new state of affairs and within fifty years we find an emperor declaring he would as lief have another emperor beside him as a bishop at Rome, for we see that members of the proud Fabian and Cornelian families were now filling that enviable post. Fifty years more, and we see a disciplined clergy ministering in forty public basilicas, with the whole city districted out for them, as if there were no laws against their very existence. In church circles, Roman order and officialism had triumphed, and the dissenters had all but vanished.

But how did Christianity spread outside the one city? Italy, Gaul, Spain and Britain were the Latin provinces, besides Africa which must be considered separately. Progress in Italy was slow and disappointing; the south was still Magna Grecia, and Hellenic Christianity held the field; the basin of the Po in the north also was evangelized from Greece, while Ravenna, Milan and Aquileia were for long more Greek than Latin. In central Italy, little is heard of the new religion; the historians of the fourth century write as if outside Rome itself Christianity was almost negligible in the West, and such prominent men as Ambrose and Augustine, Hilary and Jerome, were permeated with Greek thought rather than

Latin. Indeed, when Benedict of Nursia began his work after 500, he found idolatry still practiced at Monte Cassino, not a hundred miles from Rome.

In Gaul again the progress was slow. Irenaeus wrote in Greek, but preached in Keltic, which suggests that among the Latins or Romanized Kelts little was doing even in the south. A century later there were only twenty bishops who could be mustered from all Gaul. Britain was worse, and we hear only of one native and two Latin bishops. Spain, indeed, which had been diligently Romanized by Augustus, produced the great statesman-bishop Hosius; by his efforts the south was well won, but at the cost of much compromise and falling off from the ideal purity. Along the military frontier of the Danube and the Rhine, we find when Constantine declared for Christianity only four or five feeble churches at the chief posts. The fact is that in the west, Christianity met with a formidable opposition from another religion, that of Mithra. This was an importation from Persia, which itself had been transformed on its westward journey.

The attraction exercised on the emperors seems due to the theology justifying the deification of the living Emperor, and upholding a doctrine of Divine Right. The lower classes were conciliated by its astrology and magic, while another large section was fascinated by its secret ritual, its passwords and degrees.

Its inner weakness was its lack of culture and its idolatry, untouched by the Greek spirit; nor had it any message for women; so when the barbarians sacked the frontier towns and destroyed the temples, the crisis came. Christians believed that the Mithra priests incited Galerius to the last trial of strength, but Constantine, though emperor in the West, had been bred in the East, and judged that Christianity was the better religion to patronize. Yet he brought into his state religion from Mithra the name of Sun-Day; and from the same source the Christian ideas of Hell were modified and made more definite. Mithraism did not die at once, Julian fostered

it as the only alternative to Christianity, and the Roman aristocracy at once rallied to it, but on the Christian victory fierce persecution of the rival religion followed, and the temples were widely destroyed. For awhile the Mithraic worship of the rising sun was adopted by Christians, but this has long been left to the Parsis. As Mithraism fled, its mantle fell on Manicheism with a double portion of its spirit, and the struggle was renewed, with a nobler antagonist.

Mani was a widely traveled thinker, who wrought out a system on the foundation of old Babylonian thought, with elements added from Zoroaster, the Buddha, and Persian Christianity. Dropping all the barbaric idolatry, he introduced a spiritual worship; his doctrine was the old Persian dualism, his morality the high ethics of Christianity and Buddhism. While Manicheism never had a chance against Christianity backed by the power of the State, yet it held its own intellectually, almost capturing Priscillian and Augustine. On into the Middle Ages it wrestled in Gaul, at Orleans, in Languedoc the priests of Rome feared it, and at length the Albigenses accused by them of Manicheism in the thirteenth century were only stamped down ruthlessly by a crusade. And now in 1907 an Albigensian congregation registers itself under the new French law, claiming to be of the old stock!

But Greek Christianity became Romanized in the West, and the great contribution was the Imperial uniformity gradually exacted. The heathen emperor had judged aright, the bishop of Rome became an Emperor of the Church. If Justinian at New Rome codified the civil law, Dionysius codified the canons of the councils, adding to them the decretal letters of the Popes. At the time this meant nothing for missions, but once a man with a missionary spirit became Pope, it meant the deliberate extension of Christianity, and the Romanizing of all the West.

(3) THE UNCIVILIZED TRIBES: KELTIC, TEUTONIC AND SLAVONIC.

With the winning of the Greek and Roman world, one great victory was won by missionaries in Europe. Now we look into the lands to the west and north to see the progress among other nations. Observe first the religion that prevailed in Gaul, Ireland and Britain, the homes of the Kelts.

The great missionary in Gaul was Martin, who after a soldier's career in garrison at the north, and a stay in a monastery off the south coast, was chosen bishop of Tours in 371, and gave himself for the rest of the century to evangelistic journeys with enthusiastic monks. He could combine deeds of violence on the idols with Christianization of the heathen customs; of this a good example was his taking over a pagan festival still known after him as Martinmas. Other survivals are the Breton Pardons or the Cornish Patterns, watchnights at the sacred wells, hanging rags on the bushes around these with prayers for cures.

The great wave of missionary monks of which Martin is such an illustrious instance, was felt in Britain, where the old civilization was being wrecked by the heathen Angles, and the surviving Christians were being crowded back to the west. Thence they sought a refuge across the channel, landing near Wicklow and Wexford, which long remained the headquarters of Christianity, though they pushed up the coast and leavened all the eastern population. Two points we must attend to in this invasion of a new heathen field; the monastic character of the workers, the compromise with local customs.

Martin of Tours and his disciples now asked what nobler work there could be for monks than mission work in heathen lands; and he gave a new turn to monastic ideals. The monasteries became schools to train Foreign Missionaries, libraries and publishing houses to equip them with books, hospitals for them to retire to on furlough. Thus about 400 a Briton called Ninian, trained

at Rome, settled on the coast of the Irish Sea and built a stone church near Whithorn, which he dedicated to the famous Martin, with a monastery which became a center of propagation as far as the Grampians. The work of Ninian was more lasting in the vales of Cumbria; at Penrith was a well sacred to the pagan British, which he took over, so that it was dedicated to him. Even today the maidens go to Ninian's Well and drop pins to see if their lovers will be true to them; and on the four Sundays in May, festivals are held here in which the archeologist traces the old pagan worship which the Christian missionary allowed to remain as an innocent diversion.

The same policy was pursued with the Irish by the many nameless or obscure monk-missionaries; they utilized what they found, and did not make a point of introducing Gallic or British or Roman methods. They conciliated the Druids, wrote on the old idol pillars the three names of Christ in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, Jesus, Soter, Salvator; and so strove not to beat down the ancient civilization but to win it for Christ. And so from the first, Irish Christianity was a learned Christianity. The Bards were won, and induced to attach their schools to the monasteries, to tune their harps to Irish Christian hymns. In return their custom of shaving the front half of the head was adopted and became the distinguishing mark of the Irish missionary. The kings were won, and a relative of each was installed as head of the monastery for the clan, and consecrated as bishop. The old holy wells were not filled up, but when the people followed their chiefs, they were led to the familiar scene of worship, there to be baptized. If open defiance of old customs was occasionally shown in lighting the sacred fire on Easter eve, the more usual plan was to take over and Christianize an innocent habit.

Columba settled on the isle of Iona, where arose a dwelling for the missionaries, another for their visitors, a kitchen, a dining-room, a chapel, all woven of osiers and plastered with clay; these were grouped around a grassy sward and sheltered by an earthen rampart, outside

which were the farm-buildings. This settlement became the center whence the missionaries sailed in their wicker canoes all through the archipelago. At first they needed interpreters, and it took nearly three centuries before the Scots from Ireland subdued the piratical Highlanders and replaced the Pictish tongue by the Scottish or Gaelic. But the missionaries were eager to civilize and Christianize; round the Hebrides they sailed, up the lochs into the heart of the land, and as soon as a few disciples were gathered by preaching, they were taught to weave a wicker church with a room for the missionary. One or two pupils were left to instruct the new disciples, and were cheered by frequent visits from Iona. Before long a stone cross was carved, and sometimes the alphabet would be added round the edge, that the natives might be taught to read. For though as early as Caesar's day the Druids used to write, they kept their knowledge as a treasured secret; but the Christian missionary sought to spread the art everywhere, and many beautiful copies of the Scriptures were produced in the wattled huts. In such work Columba spent his life, and when he died in 597, the Highlands were occupied for Christ.

Nor did his followers confine their labors to their own race. From the Hebrides they sailed on to the Orkneys, the Shetlands, the Faroes, and even to Iceland. Before the Norse pirates arrived here, the Scottish missionary had pushed out with his crozier, his bell and his Bible. But all this is not preserved to us in detail, and at the best the work was isolated and died out. For abiding results we must turn from Ireland to the Southeast of Europe.

Before the death of Columba, a namesake of his, born in Leinster and trained at the monastery of Bangor in Ulster, had sailed with twelve helpers for the continent. They settled down in the Vosges mountains, where all civilization had been trampled out by repeated invasions, where the bear and wolf roamed through dense forests. Here they built their wattled home, and spent their time felling the trees and tilling the land, copying Bibles and

praying. The example won hundreds of the heathen tribes, and other settlements were planted out in the neighborhood, to which even the nobles of the Franks and Burgundians brought their sons. Indeed within fifty years all the north of the country, which had relapsed into paganism, was won by fresh Irish immigrants, or by colonists from this center. But the jealousy of the worldly bishops, and the anger of an adulterous queen drove away Columban after twelve years. Spending a mournful vigil by the tomb of his great predecessor, Martin, whose work he had really done over again among the invaders with their nominal Christianity, he went up the Rhine into Switzerland. Here at first his burning heathen temples and flinging idols into the lakes hindered a new start, but on the lake of Constance he found an old church which he made the center of fresh work. This he placed under his pupil Gallus, who taught the people to garden and fish, and so won them where the denunciations of Columban repelled. Ere long Gallus saw one of his converts bishop of Constance and he moved on to found another missionary center still known as St. Gall, which in 300 years grew to be one of the most celebrated schools of Europe.

The success of this mission called forth others, and up the Rhine sailed many more Scots, planting monasteries among the heathen tribes. Belgium, too, was evangelized, and the archbishop with his three helpers sealed their testimony with their blood. North Holland and Friesland excited the concern of Wilfrid, and of Egbert, abbot in Connaught, so at length Willibrord who had for twelve years been in training there, went with eleven others. We hear of his being wrecked on Heligoland, where he slew some sacred cattle, and baptized converts in the holy well. We hear, too, of his buying boys and training them to be missionaries, of his stirring up Christians of the continent and of England to generous help, and of the Christianizing all the lowlands by the coast.

Such work could not pass unnoticed, and in those dark ages Rome was still the center of all civilization for the

West. The story how monks were turned missionaries and were reviving the duty of evangelizing the heathen, was calculated to fire any ardent soul. And one such had God raised up in Gregory, himself a monk in Italy. The monks of Benedict had hitherto labored in the fields and prayed, and it was no part of Benedict's scheme that they should be foreign missionaries. But the Keltic monks had now shown what could be done for the spread of the gospel. Gregory wished to go to England in person, but God had other work for him, and placed him at the head of the Christian forces in Rome.

In the last year of Columba's life in Iona, Gregory sent out a mission band of Italian monks, who were extremely reluctant to undertake this novel enterprise. He compelled them to go forward, and they broke ground among the English in Kent and Yorkshire. Although they failed, all but utterly, the Keltic monks of Iona at once took up the friendly challenge. An exile from Northumbria had been at their island home where he was converted, and when he fought his way to his father's kingdom, he sent north for missionaries. Soon he installed Aidan on the isle of Lindisfarne, where arose a church of split oak thatched with grass. And till Aidan learned the English speech, the king himself did not disdain to interpret his sermons. Converts were soon gained and one of the earliest, Cuthbert by name, did grand work at Melrose and Ripon, Lindisfarne and York; as simple monk or prior or bishop he was earnest in his travel and preaching, till Northumbria rang with his fame, and Cuthbert was one of the most popular names for centuries.

From Lindisfarne missionaries went to the Midlands, and at Lichfield the name of Chad is justly honored. His brother became the apostle of Essex, while Wilfrid of York much later evangelized Sussex, winning his way by teaching the natives how to fish. We hear of the missionaries riding in bands from place to place, beguiling the way with chanting the Latin psalms. The bishop became the king's righthand man, the fount of culture;



training preachers, planting them out, itinerating to evangelize and to encourage the lonely workers, he was probably as busy a man as could be found. At Whitby arose a great missionary college presided over by the abbess Hilda. New converts, men and women alike, were often brought here for training and instruction, then sent back again to be points of light in their homes and villages.

Meantime the Italians returned to the charge in the south, and won Wessex. Within fifty years from the death of Columba, four English bishops had been appointed. Two conferences took place between the churches of the English, which resulted in their abandoning many Keltic customs and falling into line with the Italian; presently they bowed out all the missionaries, and organized themselves as a national Church, in communion with Rome.

The program laid down by that great missionary statesman, Gregory, was full of wisdom; he directed that not all Roman ways were to be transplanted, but that Roman and British and Gallic usages were all to be considered. He advised that the old pagan temples might be cleared of idols and used for Christian worship, and that as the people were accustomed to sacrifice oxen to their gods, they might still be encouraged to come on the day dedicated to some martyr or saint, build their wattled huts around the church, and hold the feast as of old, but now in honor of the saint. And in Yorkshire, stronghold of the Keltic mission, may still be seen an old menhir at which the heathen had worshiped, on which the missionaries carved a cross, and beside which grew up a church. But the Keltic influence is not to be seen in churches and abbeys; their humble dwellings of wattle and daub have long been replaced by stately English or Norman fanes; they believed that mighty as is the trowel, mighty as is the sword, mightier yet is the pen; and from the first they spent their energy in giving the people the Word of God. Splendid copies of the psalms and gospels were made at Lindisfarne, Jarrow and Whitby, and if these

were still in Latin, for that nothing English was yet in writing, yet two pupils of the Irish missionaries, Caedmon in the north and Aldhelm in the south, versified the Bible story and sang it by the roadside in the abbey; while presently the native Church produced a Bede who set himself to translate the gospel into plain English prose.

The work of the Keltic missionaries had latterly lain among the great Teuton races. These had been evangelized already in two fashions. When the Franks had broken into the Empire, the Christian clergy there had seen to the newcomers. And eastwards when Wulf the Goth, sent to Constantinople as a hostage, had been won for Christ, he returned north of the Danube to tell his people. This work he made permanent by making the first European version of the Scriptures, a generation even before Jerome began to revise the Latin for Western Europe. For awhile the Goths resisted the gospel, banished Wulf and his converts, sought out Christians everywhere and insisted on their eating meat sacrificed to idols, or being burned in their households. But being themselves attacked by the Huns, they accepted Christianity as the condition of being granted an asylum in the Empire. And now with their own vernacular Bible they became missionaries to their kin; and wherever these settled, in Austria, Italy, South France, Spain and North Africa, the gospel was carried in Teuton guise. It deserves notice that the Teutons were at first bitterly hostile to monasticism, and everywhere forced monks back into social life. The two mission agencies, monks and the Bible, are seldom associated, though indeed Jerome shows that for an established church a monk can do good work in revision, and Theodore and Hadrian rendered good service in organization.

But now the question was of Teutons outside the Empire, and again a converted Teuton was successful, again was the success maintained by a vernacular Bible. The great organizer of missions now was an Englishman, Winfrid by name, but renamed Boniface by a second Pope

Gregory. Born on the borders of Cornwall, where he saw Keltic and Benedictine monks rivalling one another, bred at Nutcell near Winchester, he went to see what Willibrord was doing in Friesland. He recognized his life-work plainly, and with a letter from his bishop won the Pope's commission. Kelts and Franks and Scots had planted, he now took up the watering. Somehow his predecessors had no gift of organizing, which is not strong among Kelts, but he had something of the English genius, and his labors gave stability to the cause. He did not slavishly follow old precedents, but instead of bidding the converts vaguely renounce the devil and all his works, he bade them renounce Wodin and Thor by name. He thought life too short to be divided between mission work and farming, and drew supplies of money and food and clothes from his friends at home. He sent for women to labor among women. He would brook no opposition to his plans, once he had won the confidence of the Pope and was made archbishop of Mainz: one recalcitrant helper he at last imprisoned! And in the same drastic spirit he went once to the sacred oak of Thor, and before a crowd of pagans hewed it down with his own hand, causing a Christian church to be built of its timber. Within fifty years the old Diatessaron of Tatian, the composite life of Christ, was turned into German poetry, and became the popular epic of the people as the *Heliand*, Healer.

Another style of mission was inaugurated by Charles the Great, who had seen something of the success attending the Muslim campaigns. He set out to conquer the Saxons and force on them the gospel, so behind his armies or warriors came the armies of monks. If the soldiers hewed down the sacred groves, slew the sacred horses, destroyed the idols and the caldrons, the monks had the harder task of dealing with the home religion, the wishing wells and trees, the village heroes, the belief in fairies and elves. With this they seem to have dealt wisely, planting the good seed in hope that the tares could be rooted out after awhile. If in this they were too san-

guine, at least the survivals everywhere in Germany and England do not detract from the glory due to Christ. It is no defacement of religion to call our days after Tiu and Woden and Frigga and Saeter, nor to scour the White Horse on the Berkshire Downs, nor for the royal family to be drawn by white horses—all of them relics of the old Aryan worship. A single exception is known to the general destruction of idols, and at the present day one may be seen outside an Antwerp church, often decked with flowers by wives desiring children. This must be a step beyond what Pope Sergius contemplated when he ordered that festivals should be adjusted to the old heathen holydays, a policy that accounts for much of the Belgian Mayday celebrations. It is pleasant to find that at a synod in Frankfort missionary matters were discussed and on the one hand the policy of cutting down pagan trees and groves was approved, while on the other it was emphatically declared that “there is no tongue in which prayer may not be offered”.

Then came the problem of the Teutons across the Baltic, the fierce Norsemen, whose pirate barks threw them on every coast to harry or destroy. All around the shores of Britain they practically eradicated Christianity, and the story of how they were won for Christ there is part of the Home Mission tale, with which time does not allow us to deal. But the slaves they captured brought among them some knowledge of the White Christ, and in their later Eddas we note a leaven of Christian thought, a recognition that Baldur must die and the gods pass down to the twilight, while the world is prepared for better gods.

Ground was broken in their homes by Anskas, a monk from Corbey, near Amiens, given the honorary title of archbishop, of Hamburg, but really leaning on a missionary abbey in Flanders. He ransomed Scandinavian slaves, and trained them there before dispatching to their kinsmen. The Northmen were defiant of the Christ. If the settlers in the English Danelagh and the Normandy of France came to terms with the local god, not so they.

If their kings were converted and tried to force them to destroy the idols, to bestow the sacred ring on some favored queen, to burn the brush that sprinkled the blood on the worshipers, to forswear horseflesh—then they fought their king, and when worsted sailed off to Iceland or Greenland or south again to a Wineland that might be a refuge for these persecuted pilgrim fathers.

One sketch must suffice to show the difficulties of the task here; the winning of Iceland, last stronghold of the Norse faith. Olaf the White, king of Dublin, learned Christianity from his Irish subjects; and on his death his widow came to end her days in Iceland. So long as she made no attempt to force her religion on others, the established church of Odin tolerated her dissent, and allowed a cross to be erected. But after her death it was thrown down, and Christianity faded out as it had done a century earlier. Next came a Saxon priest and labored four years quietly preaching. A graphic account is given of his contest with a demon inhabiting a holy stone, how his prayers availed nothing for two days, but on the third a sprinkling with holy water split the stone to pieces, and the doubting bonder gave in his adhesion to the White Christ. Next came Thangbrand, scorned as the drunken priest, setting back the infant cause. But the times were against the old paganism, and at last in the annual Al Thing the whole matter was debated. The pagan leader proposed a compromise:—The old temples should be abolished and national sacrifices should cease; the Lord's day, Easter and Yule should be observed; but there should be no prohibition of eating horseflesh, nor any enquiry into the worship at home, and immersion should be not in the cold lake but in the hot springs. The terms were accepted, and soon the Icelanders were gathering around the Table of Peace.

When at last Knut reigned over an Empire that included Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Britain, when Danes became archbishops of Canterbury, and Englishmen bishops in Denmark, then we may reckon that the victory was won, and that the Northmen at

home as abroad were accepting Christ, though it was 1075 before Thor and Wodin were outlawed in Sweden. Let us not forget that it took more than 200 years from the time when Ebbo the primate of France began by baptizing Harald Elak, till the time when Knut went as pilgrim to Rome; while if we look back to the time when Augustine and Aidan began in England, more than four centuries were taken to win for Christ the tough Teuton race. And shall we be daunted if a single century of Protestant work among the hard thinkers of the Orient has accomplished so little?

Long before the Teutonic races were won by the gospel, this was preached also to the last great section of the Aryans in Europe, the Slavs, comprising the Bulgarians, Moravians, Bohemians, Poles, Prussians, Wends, Russians, etc. Three specimens of the work may be glanced at, the mission of Cyril and Methodius in Moravia, the search of the Russians for God, the conquests of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia.

Moravia was a borderland suffering from rival missions; the wars of Charles the Great had introduced compulsory baptism and the Latin services, but the rulers strove for independence, and pleaded with the Emperor at Constantinople for missionaries to teach them in their own tongue. Two Thessalonians were sent them with the order to translate. Out of Greek and Armenian and Hebrew letters, eked out with some original shapes, they concocted an alphabet of forty letters, and proceeded to render into Slavonic the gospels and Acts and psalms. At this the Pope interfered, but after long argument he was persuaded to sanction their work, only with the restriction that service was to be in Greek or Latin. The Moravian nation was soon absorbed into others, but the Slavonic Bible remained only too well, for despite changes in the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries, it still is the official Bible of the Russian Church.

Turn to see how this Church arose. By the tenth century a great kingdom was ruled from Kieff, and many attempts were made to win the ruler. Muslims and Jews

were rebuffed at once, German Christians failed, but a Greek Christian induced him to send deputations to study all these in their homes. On their report, he adopted Greek Christianity, captured Kherson in the Crimea, was there wedded to the emperor's sister and baptized by her clergy. His courtiers and sons followed suit, the national idol was destroyed and the temple replaced by a church, while the people came by thousands at his bidding to be immersed in the Dnieper. After this sensational beginning, the work was followed up steadily, and all the civilization of Constantinople was imported with its religion, schools arising, the Slavonic Bible and a Slavonic liturgy being introduced. True that the Mongols, who wrought such harm to Christianity in China and Central Asia and Persia, did grievous damage here for over two centuries; but the Church held its own, and once the State rose again, the Church spread quickly till printing gave the revised Bible by 1581 as the best means of completing the victory.

Long before then, the Slavs between Russia and the Germans had heard the gospel. Here there was strong opposition organized by the heathen priests, and missions on the simple evangelical plan failed utterly. An imposing deputation with a bishop at its head, well equipped with all manner of impedimenta, fared better, having the countenance of the duke, and on one day 7,000 Pomeranians were immersed in three huge baptisteries. As the pagan hierarchy and the stately temples captivated the people, an even more arrogant Christian clergy erected even more splendid cathedrals, and gradually established a footing. More forcible methods were employed on the Baltic islands, and on the capture of Rugen, bishop Absalom himself hacked down the enormous idols revered by the people far and near. But it was found wise to let the isle retain a privileged state, with numerous churches, kept up at no cost to the islanders. So at last the very Pope of paganism, in Prussia, could be attacked. Peaceful methods failing, two bodies of crusaders united with the blessing of Rome, and pro-

ceeded to conquer the land, colonizing it with Christians from Germany, reducing the natives to slavery, but offering some remission of hardship to any who would be baptized. With the pagan priests extirpated, their temples razed, their divine serpents and lizards killed, their sacred fires put out, their holy groves hewn down, the people passed over by degrees to Christianity. And so in Prussia and Lithuania the victory of the cross was assured by 1400, just about the time when we saw its defeat in Asia accomplished.

While Christianity had been spreading to the north of Europe, it had suffered severe checks to the south. The armies of Islam conquered Spain while Charles the Great conquered the Saxons; subdued Anatolia by the time the Norse were won, and pushed up to the upper Danube to counterbalance the Letts. Nowhere did they forcibly suppress Christianity, for always the People of the Book might retain their religion by paying a special tax. But all propagation of Christianity is forbidden under Muslim rule, and any attempt to win these new peoples had to be from without, by the strong arm breaking the power of Islam.

The kings of Leon, Castile, Portugal and Aragon slowly fought their way forward, checked twice by two great waves of African Muslims. In the time of success, small mercy was requited for the tolerance shown to the Christians, and the lot of the subject Moors was made so hard that either they retreated to the independent Muslim states, or accepted baptism which was all but compulsory. Crusades were organized, an Inquisition founded to verify the genuineness of conversions, and when the last Moorish state fell nobly two rival missionaries attended to the Muslims. The local archbishop learned Arabic and compiled Catechism, Liturgy and Lectionary for his new flock, promising even a whole Arabic Bible. But the cardinal Ximenes proceeded to bribe converts and buy up all the Qur'ans and religious books for an Auto-da-Fé. Soon these drastic methods



provoked rebellion, and on its suppression the Moors were either baptized or banished. Thus by 1500 no other religion but Christianity was tolerated here.

When we look over this long story, we see that the winning of Europe was the accomplishment of two distinct tasks: The capture of the great Empire with all its machinery and prestige; the civilization of the barbarians who were beyond its borders or flocked in from the unknown.

#### THE EMPIRE.

To capture the empire was the work of 300 years, a fact that may show us the magnitude of our task even now in China and India.

The spread of Christianity in the Empire was the easier because no other religion at first had any vitality; and when Neo-Platonism, Mithraism, Manicheism appeared, they found the Church already well developed, and not averse to using force to complete its victory. Such a consideration may again give us pause in contemplating the modern situation, in China and India where there are religions very much alive, and actively propagating, indeed winning converts perhaps as fast as Christianity.

Professional missionaries were few after the first century of effort, local jealousy almost suppressed them. The spread took place from the strategic centers occupied by the wisdom of the earliest missionaries, and by the influence of purely indigenous churches.

The indispensable tool was the Bible in the vernacular. The Greek Scriptures were at once appropriated from the Jews and gradually enlarged by the writings of the earliest Christians. In the west arose Latin versions, and when these seemed too many and too rustic, a revision was deliberately ordered by the Pope from the finest linguist in the Church; the Latin Bible was in the hands of every missionary from the west, and even holds its own long after Latin has ceased to be a vernacular.

## THE BARBARIANS.

For new races in a new age, there was a revival of apostolic measures. The finer elements in Christian circles were fleeing from the corruption of nominal Christianity, and were lights hiding under bushels. Martin and Gregory upset the bushels, and compelled the lights to lighten the Gentiles. The evangelization of the barbarian races was accomplished almost entirely by men in communities, pledged to obedience, untrammelled by family cares. Seldom do we hear of one man or of two men isolated at a station, and when that policy was adopted in the thirteenth century, for Latin missions to China, it failed.

These missionaries reversed the selfish plea of the church at Jerusalem, that the mother Church should be supported by the converts, and drew heavily on the resources of the mother-church for support and for all the material they needed such as books, vessels and wagons.

Much work was artistic and industrial. A leading Roman chorister went out to teach the barbarians how to sing; farming and building were introduced by the missionaries.

Not only did they settle in groups, so that the work was never crippled by the illness of one, and the eccentricity of one was always liable to correction by the wisdom of the many or the authority of the head; but also they regularly gathered in conferences from overlarge areas, to encourage, to compare progress and to consult on future steps.

Two causes contributed largely to their success; accepting the political divisions, training aboriginal converts for the ministry. Every king in Ireland claimed to have a bishop beside him, so that it has been said that the bishops were more numerous than the other clergy. And in Britain to every English king was allotted a bishop. The kings were the object of special solicitude; often they sought civilized wives, and often the wives bargained for the free exercise of their Christian reli-

gion, and so opened the way for a new mission. Again and again it was found that the conversion of a king led promptly to the conversion of his clan or sect or tribe or nation.

The missionaries seem always to have had the wisdom to recognize that their work was transitional, and that a permanent church must be staffed by natives; and so arose theological seminaries. In many cases there was hardly any center, and we read of the whole band riding about, relaxing into races, but generally chanting as they ambled along, with schooling at the halts for meals or sleep. Charles the Great had such a peripatetic college at his court. But as monasteries arose, cloisters were set apart for regular training, or scriptoria where pupils were taught to multiply the books needed. Sometimes the first supply of pupils was secured by ransoming captives, but soon there was no lack of volunteers or of Samuels left by their pious mothers. And so as native Churches arise, foreign superintendents disappear. England was evangelized by Scots, Italians, Franks, Burgundians; but when after only eighty years a Greek organized the national Church, it was staffed chiefly by English, who before the century ran out were beginning an English version to be sung at feasts or by the wayside.

But as to barbarian versions, two opinions were held; the Greeks favored them, the Romans never could quite reconcile themselves to the fact that their own tongue was not universal. We can readily understand the difference, for the Greeks respected nationality, while the Romans tried to suppress or absorb; but we must deplore the Roman attitude. While the Greek missionaries furthered native versions for Armenia and Georgia, for Goths and Slavs, the Roman missionaries never undertook a single version for their converts. At most they allowed Mystery plays, when sacred story was dramatized in the vernacular.

We must not overlook the existence of missionary strategists who themselves free from distraction in petty de-

tails at the front, could think out at home the true principles of foreign work, and send instructions to those on the field. Even today a laborer in the South seas or in Africa or to the lower tribes of America and Asia might read with advantage what Augustine of Africa has to say about catechizing, what Gregory the Great wrote to Austin of Canterbury, how Daniel of Winchester counselled his pupil, Boniface, when busy in Germany, and how Alcuin of York presided over the great training college of Charles, and planned for missionaries to follow up the armies of the Franks.

Eleven hundred years were occupied in winning the barbarians of Europe, though they had no organized scheme of thought to overcome, and as a rule no powerful priesthood to persuade or to crush. The work was slow, but it has endured.

Eleven hundred years to win the barbarians of Europe! With the experience of nearly nineteen centuries, how long should it take the children, the leaders of the world, to win all other barbarians?