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The Achievement and the Technique of Missions in the Middle Ages.

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THOSE who study the Middle Ages are liable to be carried along on a swift tide of romantic fascination or else to yield to the strong current of biased criticism. The period presents the student with a vivid appeal, but at times repels him by scenes of corruption. For this reason it is more than usually difficult to view its history with balance and to remain appreciative as well as scrupulous. We see the nemesis of the one assessment in the barren rationalism of the eighteenth century which scorned the Schoolmen and had not heard of Thomas Aquinas, and of the other in the extremes of the later Oxford movement which, influenced by the novels of Scott, regarded our period as the Golden Age, almost infallible in its practices and ideal in its social and ecclesiastical structure.

For the purpose of this paper, we take as our datal terminals the years 500-1500 which Prof. Latourette calls the "thousand years of uncertainty." Though much of it is dark, it was a great millenium which bridged the end of the ancient world of Graeco-Roman culture and the dawn of the modern age, abounding in its widened geographical and scientific horizon, the birth of industry and the development of the liberal outlook on life. It saw the break-up of the Roman Empire, an unprecedented traffic of shifting populations and tribes over the face of Europe and Asia, the rise of a new religion, soon to become almost universal, as Moslem armies advanced in ruthless conquest, and towards the end, it brought in a great revival of learning.

The fortunes of Christianity varied from century to century and in different areas. On the whole it was a period of expansion, though there were severe losses owing to the spread of Islam, some of which were permanent, but the chief characteristic, especially in the west, was integration. There was a reciprocal interplay between Christianity and its environment, but whilst the Church did respond to certain practices pagan in their origin, baptising them into Christ, in much the same way as is being done in S. Africa and parts of India to-day, yet its own influence was dominant. All the main "forms of the Church" (to use Fr. Hebert's phrase)¹ both primary and secondary, had been settled in the first five centuries by Creeds and Councils and in this later era we see them being worked out. Through all its vicissitudes the Church outlived the surrounding social and political decay, it proved itself adaptable to changing circumstances, it propagated the faith, sometimes with reserve but often with zeal, and it retained in varying degrees that spiritual vitality which was the lifeblood of the Body. For, even in the years of lowest decline and indifference, the student can discover some pioneer missionary or group of brethren labouring devotedly in a forgotten corner of the world.

To complete this introductory survey, mention should be made of the changed background against which the Church stood at the

beginning of the sixth century and of the new mainspring of evangelistic power. In the early years the Gospel was spread throughout the Empire and the Nearer East by the Apostles and by itinerary prophets. Rapid and widespread was their success and in less than three centuries the accepted religion of the whole Empire was that of the Galilean Carpenter who had been crucified under a Roman Procurator. When, however, early in the fifth century Rome was sacked and the Empire began to crumble, the Church, whose fortunes had been all too closely interwoven with those of the State, now had to stand independently, and the great Bishops of Rome, Leo in the early fifth century and Gregory at the close of the sixth, set splendid examples of leadership and vision and were surely sent of God for such a time as this. Moreover the Church had to face a situation changed in every aspect, for the invading conquerors were either pagans or (in the case of the Goths)² Arian heretics, and the tribes which had for centuries menaced the eastern boundaries of the Empire, many of them adherents of the Zoroastrian religion of ancient Persia, were naturally antagonised from the outset by the established religion of the power which had kept them at heel. If the Church was to survive, therefore, let alone to spread her message, she had to evangelise; and the statesmanship of Gregory the Great is seen in his grasping this, and consequently sending his missionary band to England under Augustine in 597.

From this follows the second observation, about the mainspring of missionary energy. In the earlier part of our period there was much independent missionary effort as we see, for example, in the exploits and ambitions of Patrick and the Celtic mission from Iona two centuries later, but it was inevitable if there was to be order, discipline and regularity in worship and belief that there should be some centre of unity and organisation. This was the supreme role which the Bishop of Rome fulfilled, for the Church which was quartered in the ancient capital had inherited the genius of the Empire it replaced. As Dean Rashdall says, "It was not by theology but by law that Rome ruled the Churches of the west."³ The results were not always all that might be desired, but without that strong arm in those dark, confused centuries of unrest, the faith they inherited and passed on might have suffered more severely. Accordingly in the later years both missions and missionaries kept in ever closer touch with Rome, and usually received encouragement and help. Examples of such contact may be seen in the cases of Wilfrid in his work in the Low Countries (678), Boniface the Apostle of Germany (719) and the Dominicans and Franciscans of the thirteenth century. The verdict of history will probably have to regard such centralisation as preferable to an independence which would undoubtedly have involved isolation and possibly grave irregularities in days when distances were greater far than now, and communications fewer. Moreover we shall see, when we later consider the mediaeval technique, that there was room for much individual initiative and free enterprise despite Papal supervision.

This changed situation with its new demands brought about a transformation of the Monastic ideal. In the earlier period it had been regarded as a salutary escape from a wicked world, and its activities had been entirely confined to the deepening of personal devotion,

mostly in solitude. It was Benedict who at the outset of this period revolutionised its fundamental concept, and embodied a communal ideal in a rule which completed the earlier one of Basil and formed the basis of Monasticism and each revival throughout the whole of this millennium. And many monks instead of being lonely mourners in the desert now became carriers of the Christian message, planting it in lands which at the end of the era were to become the foremost nations of the modern world. On the other hand it must not be thought that Monasticism itself ever became really missionary-hearted. The chief aim of almost all within the walls of a monastery was their own salvation, to attain which was still a lifelong task of personal devotion; and even in the "schola caritatis" of St. Bernard the compassion felt for one's neighbour could only be expressed outwardly in almsgiving.⁴ Nevertheless such missionary activity as there was, and it must not be minimised, sprang from monasteries, and the missionaries were monks living by a rule of life.

For obvious reasons it is impossible even to summarize the course of the Church's expansion during a thousand years within the limitations of this paper. We must therefore content ourselves with following the path only in one or two directions, and noting certain conclusions with interest. The movement in Europe as a whole travels first north-west and then north-east. Thus in the sixth century there is the conversion of the Franks following that of Clovis their king, in the sixth and seventh centuries that of the Angles, Saxons and Celts in Britain, in the eighth the Rhine Valley as a result of the work of Willibrord and Boniface, and in the eighth and ninth centuries came the conversion of the Central European Saxons and Slavs and the peoples of the Balkans. The eleventh century saw Danes, Norwegians and Magyars coming into the Church, and a mass movement in Russia; in the twelfth century mission work was going on in Poland, E. Germany and Sweden, and the following century in the Baltic, during which the Prussians were (somewhat characteristically) forcibly baptised. Finally the fourteenth century completed the conversion of the Russians and the evangelisation of Estonia. Though the pace at which the Gospel spread was leisurely, nevertheless it made its way steadily and established itself throughout the whole of Europe, giving meaning to the later mediaeval expression "Christendom." But hasty critics must remember that these were all uncharted forest lands in much the same condition as Central Africa when the pioneer missionaries set foot there in the last century, and it is unfair to make a detrimental comparison with the Pauline missions which were confined to the Roman civilisation in its peak period, and had the benefit of fine roads, frequent transport and continual commercial intercourse; nor should it be compared with "the great century," as Latourette calls the nineteenth, when communications were very much more efficient both by sea and post.

We will select four phases of the mediaeval missionary movement as illustrations of progress and the type of work and approach: the evangelisation of Britain, missions to the Far East, work amongst the Jews, and the Church's reaction to Islam.

The details of the evangelisation of our own land are too well known to need repetition here. There had certainly been a flourishing Church in Britain during Roman times, presumably an offshoot of that in Gaul,

for there is record of the martyrdom of St. Alban in 304, of British bishops at the Council of Arles in 314, and of help given by Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes in stamping out the Pelagian heresy a few years later. But Christianity must have been throttled by the heathen invasions of the fifth century. It was soon to return, however, with very great force in two almost concurrent waves which eventually became united. The first was the mission of Augustine, who landed at Thanet in 597. This was official and organised. The party was received by King Ethelbert, given a house near the stable-gate at Canterbury and allowed to build a church which they dedicated to St. Martin. The king was baptised the following summer, Augustine was consecrated Bishop of the English by Virgilius of Arles, and according to Bede, 10,000 were baptised at Christmas. In 601 Gregory sent reinforcements, of whom Mellitus was consecrated Bishop of London, Justus Bishop of Rochester, and later Paulinus missionary Bishop of the North.

The other wave was more mobile and not in the least continental; its origin was Ireland which had been evangelised by Patrick in the fifth century. One hundred years after his death, Columba, who had been born in a Christian home of royal stock, and had founded many monasteries in his own land, set sail for Britain and in 562 founded that renowned monastery and training centre for missionaries at Iona. From it went missionaries to England, and henceforward link after link is swiftly forged on to the long chain. First there was the conversion of Oswald who eventually became King of Northumbria and sent to Iona for a missionary bishop to teach his people. In 635 Aidan was consecrated at Iona for this purpose and given his headquarters in the island of Lindisfarne. At first Mercia remained closed to the Gospel, but after the death of King Penda the Faith spread rapidly in central England and Essex, inspired by the leadership of Finian, Aidan's successor, and Cuthbert, also from Iona, later bishop of Lindisfarne.

Agreement with the Roman Church in the south was reached after some difficulty at the Synod of Whitby in 664, the great benefit of which was the organisation and consolidation which came about under Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury 668-90. Thus was completed the conversion of England in less than a century without force or interference from abroad, and in an even shorter interval England had become the spring-board for missions to the Continent. There was a purity and vigour about this primitive "Anglicanism" which expressed itself evangelistically, sending forth bands of missionaries continually. And it is interesting to note that when the Scandinavian kings at last became Christian, it was from England that they accepted the Gospel, because from England they had no political fears. It would be well to bear this in mind when examining the success or failure of many missions to the east in a later period and in forming missionary policy for our own times. The people of other lands cannot but connect the religion of the west with its political, social and economic system, particularly if they themselves experience its injustice.

The second phase we have chosen concerns the spread of Christianity to the Far East. In earlier centuries this had been partially accomplished by minority groups with no endorsement of the government. The great stronghold of the Faith was the Tigris-Euphrates valley, but the heads of Churches were always under the control of

non-Christian rulers. Wars between Rome and Persia had weakened both sides and prepared the way for Arab conquest and the expansion of Islam which was to play havoc with this area. Most of the missionary effort had come from heretical bodies, the chief being the Jacobites, Monophysite in their doctrine, and the Nestorians, whose missionary energy was considerable ; but more than in the west, they depended on the initiative and ability of the Catholicos, the Nestorian Patriarch. Their main opportunities came through contacts on the trade routes, especially among the mercantile classes - hence their journeys to the Far East and the foundation of Monastic schools, partly for training missionaries. In the ninth century there were Christians in Chinese Turkestan and in 1009 the Metropolitan of Merv wrote to the Catholicos about the conversion of " the king of a people called Keraites ", reporting the belief of 200,000 of them.⁵ This is supposed to be the factual origin of the Prester John legend.⁶ The Catholicos instructed the Metropolitan to send " a presbyter and deacon with furnishings for an altar. " This is one of the many depressing episodes of the Middle Ages which show up what appears to be almost indifference and the extraordinary lack of proportion in distributing man-power, in recognising a need, and by meeting it enthusiastically transforming it into an unprecedented opportunity.

In India Christianity was established before the close of the 5th century but it had unfortunately grown into a distinct caste with little influence. Marco Polo mentions Christians in charge of a Church of St. Thomas at Mailapur in the thirteenth century, and on the west coast ;⁷ and we have sparse accounts of Franciscan baptisms a few years later. Apparently the Church there endured, but with no permanent vitality.

China presents a scene more interesting and encouraging. An inscription of 781 tells how Alopen had brought the Scriptures in 635 and how the Gospel had spread under the patronage of the Emperor.⁸ The eighth and ninth centuries produced a Christian literature in Chinese, but Buddhism, Taoism and especially Confucianism were pre-eminent. In 987, however, a foreign monk found no Church there at all, probably the result of the proscription of Christian and Buddhist monks by the Emperor Wu 'Sung in the previous century (845). But the sweep of the Mongol hordes over the whole of Asia brought a religious crisis to China and the greatest of all opportunities for the Christian Church had she been united and eager and strong enough to seize it. Whilst the Great Khan at Karakorum in the north had scornfully dismissed the mission which the Council of Lyons had sent in 1245 under the Franciscan John of Plano Carpini, very different was the open-minded attitude in China itself, and Khubilai Khan showed great respect for Christianity. Nestorian monks were active in his dominions ; in 1287 / 8 they sent a diplomatic mission to make contact with the Christian powers of the west, visiting Rome, Paris and Bordeaux, and indeed as Latourette remarks " Christians were so important in the China of the Mongols that a government bureau was established to supervise their monasteries and rites."⁹ But here again, an opportunity of incalculable significance was frittered away carelessly. In 1269 Maffeo and Nicolo Polo arrived at Acre with letters from Khubilai Khan to the Pope, asking for one hundred teachers in the science and religion of Europe. Two Dominicans were spared from the vast regiment

of the west and they turned back frightened before they had been long on their journey.¹⁰ In 1278 a rumour that Khubilai had been baptised led the Pope to send a group of five Franciscans to China, but all trace of them is lost, and it is not known whether they even reached their destination. In both his books, "Then and Now" and "World Church", Prof. John Foster draws poignant lessons from this tragic failure of the Mediaeval Church. For despite the glamour which surrounded the Church in the west in the thirteenth century, her weakness through lack of unity and lack of zeal was becoming apparent in the east. Thus the Mongols became followers of Islam, when they might have been, and indeed wanted to become, disciples of Jesus, had the Gospel been brought to them by an enthusiastic and undivided Church. Moreover the effect of the Great Schism of 1054 on missionary expansion in the Middle Ages can hardly be over-estimated.

The most thrilling part of the story is the advent of John of Montecorvino,¹¹ a Franciscan, and the first missionary of the Roman Church to reach China, bearing letters from the Pope to Khubilai. By 1305 a Church was built and in the next year another; the New Testament and Psalter were translated into the language of the Tartars; soon there were 6,000 converts and John was made Archbishop of Calambruc. Other bishops also were appointed but few arrived. In 1342, a Papal legate and a party of clergy visited Calambruc, were given a great State welcome, and found a Cathedral and many flourishing Churches. But the fruits of this harvest were not to remain long, and with the break-up of the Mongol Empire, their expulsion from China (1350-75) and their replacement by the Native Ming dynasty, the great Church in that country perished and all further Christian efforts failed until the Jesuit missions of the next era.

Thirdly, we will glance briefly at the work among the Jews. It is well-known that their lot was unhappy in the extreme, and Scott in "Ivanhoe" gives a true picture of the average Jew and his treatment by Christian prelates. In Gaul they had been faced with the alternative of Baptism or banishment, and they had suffered violence in Visigothic Spain and often enslavement. But above the popular clamour and the expressions of hatred there were occasional voices sounding a more Christian note, and successive protests against cruelty were made by Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville and Bernard of Clairvaux, the supreme figure of the twelfth century. It is perhaps surprising to discover that converts were both numerous and persistent. Thus we read of the opposition of William Rufus to Christian Jews, and in 1232 we hear of a House of Converts founded by Henry III in London.¹² In the fourteenth century there was a Dominican mission to Jews in Oxford, and from 1408-16 Vincente Ferrer, also a Dominican, won thousands to the Faith south of the Pyrennees. The thirteenth century attitude seemed to hover between severity and tolerance. In 1245 a Papal edict empowered the Friars to enter Jewish (or Moslem) quarters and compel them at least to listen to Christian sermons. At the same time, St. Thomas Aquinas distinctly taught that the Church should not interfere with the property of unbaptised Jews, though she could prevent them from corrupting the faith of Christians. But the end of the fourteenth century saw the end of toleration in

Spain. This, however, was not so everywhere and the judgement of Foakes-Jackson is that they were no worse off than other members of Feudal society.¹³

Before considering the missionary technique of the period, one further paragraph must be added about the Church's reaction to Islam, though the larger part cannot be called evangelistic. The Arabs out-grew the original prodigious strength of their new religion in less than a hundred years, and their threatening advance was checked at the Battle of Tours in 732 when they were utterly defeated by Charles Martel. Luxury, moral decay, disunity and inter-marriage brought a steady decline in the eighth and ninth centuries and at the same time, as Latourette points out, Christianity was displaying remarkable powers of recuperation, all the more remarkable when we recognise the tremendous losses of territory the Church had suffered through the Arab advance. But Latin Christendom met Islam with its own weapons and stemmed the incoming tide by three military campaigns. The first followed up the victory of Tours and took Charlemagne into Spain. Mediaeval legends are full of tales of his Knights and their contests with the Moors—that is the setting of the famous *Chanson de Roland*, the first great poem in French. But not until the capitulation of Granada in 1492 was the power of Islam finally driven from Spain. The second campaign was in Sicily. There had been toleration under the Normans (1061-91) and under the sceptical Emperor Frederic II, friend of Moslem and Christian alike, but towards the middle of the thirteenth century the Arabs had disappeared as a distinct race. The third and greatest campaign was the Crusades. These were not for the spreading of Christianity or for the re-conversion of Islam, but for the rescue of Holy Places and the defence and protection of Eastern Christians against the Moslems. Their contemporaries cannot be blamed for not recognising the fact, but the judgement of history must be that the Crusades were more of a hindrance than a help, not least because they were organised by the Church, manned very largely by ecclesiastics and initiated by a Pope, Urban II. The Moslems naturally identified Christianity with Imperialism, forgetting their own manoeuvres of previous centuries, and were shocked by the dissolute lives of the Templars in their midst. It was not until the thirteenth century that a new attitude was born towards Moslems and they were approached evangelistically by St. Francis and his followers. He organised three missions; shipwreck spoiled the first, and illness the second, but in 1219 he came to Egypt and achieved his life's ambition by preaching before the Sultan. He had great influence with the immoral army, but little success among the Moslems themselves. His followers persevered, preaching in Syria and Tunis, and a little group was martyred at Morocco in 1219. The Dominicans likewise responded to a worldwide call which they recognised to include the Moslems also.

We are now in a position to examine somewhat briefly the missionary technique, which of course varied very widely at different stages in the era. But the supreme emphasis of the Middle Ages was corporate; unlike our more recent forefathers they wrestled with the problem of community and related it to the presentation of the Gospel in a way almost forgotten and ignored until the present century and the con-

temporary reaction from individualism and humanism. Thus all missionary effort was the outcome of the Monastic system, whose ideal was re-shaped and broadened by Benedict, purified but narrowed half-way through the period by the Cluniac revival, and finally adapted to a new situation by the Friars of St. Dominic and St. Francis in their rather different spheres of work. The Friars still lived a communal life as brethren, fratres, and worked communally, but now their primary aim, indeed, their *raison d'être*, was evangelistic. Dr. M. A. C. Warren quotes Hubert de Romanis who, writing in 1277 a commentary on the rule of St. Dominic, says :— “ Our Order has been founded for preaching, and for the salvation of our neighbours. Our studies should tend principally, ardently, above everything, to make us useful for souls.”¹⁴ Each Order was a community itself, as was each monastery, but unlike the Desert Fathers of an earlier age, their concept of community was in ideal, at least, an inclusive, not an exclusive one, and their work was creative. Thus it was that the monasteries and the Cathedrals became centres of Christian community life, round which sprang up towns and cities. And throughout the whole of Europe there was the sense of belonging to a yet greater community, that of the Catholic Church, gloriously visible and indissolubly united in the person of the Bishop of Rome. The importance of the Papacy cannot be exaggerated in this respect because, whatever its failings, it fought valiantly to maintain the independence of spiritual authority, and it was the symbol of a community which surpassed national and racial frontiers and of ideals above the control of the State. Nor should it be forgotten that in the Middle Ages the Papacy was not the monopoly of those of Italian birth ; there was a long run both of German and French Popes, and in 1154 our own Nicolas Breakspear became Adrian IV. There was therefore no room for individualism whether on the part of the preachers or the converts ; no newly baptised neophyte could fail to realise the greatness of the Church into which he was being admitted.

But the centralisation and control which we have noticed was not altogether totalitarian, and there was room for individual enterprise and experiment. Gregory the Great gave Augustine much freedom both in organizing the English Church, distributing his subordinates and even in adapting the liturgy. He tells Augustine he need not feel himself slavishly bound to every detail of the Roman rite, and instructs him in these words :— “ If you have found anything in the Roman, Gallican, or any other Church, which may be more acceptable to Almighty God, carefully make choice of the same, and sedulously teach the Church of the English, which as yet is new in the faith, whatsoever you can gather from the several churches. For things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good things.”¹⁵ How different is this from the spirit of certain twentieth century Anglicans in their attitude to India, for example, and to the rigidity of our inherited forms of worship ! A second illustration of such freedom may be seen in the methods of Boniface, one of the greatest missionaries of all time. In his labours in Germany he was the first to use the services of women, a surprising innovation at such a time ; and he succeeded in gathering a very gifted band of helpers around him. (But except in the case of the Moravians, we hear no more of women missionaries until the nineteenth century.) All the time, however, he was in official touch with the Pope, with English Bishops and Abbesses

interested in his work, A third example of initiative comes from the work of Ramon Lull, who was converted from an immoral, amorous life in 1263, by a vision of the agony of Christ on the Cross. He established a missionary school on the island of Majorca where he was born, learnt Arabic in order to evangelise the Moslems, lectured on it at Paris, and urged the Pope and Cardinals to found similar schools for that purpose.

Another point of technique was the indigenous Church with its own native ministry. Once the Church had been planted the influence of the foreign missionary was usually kept at a minimum, as for instance in Ireland.¹⁶ The prevailing conditions in each Province and Diocese were the responsibility of the Bishops concerned. This system certainly gave rise to some of the corruptions which detract from the glory of the Middle Ages, but there were those who were far-seeing, and England can boast of Bede who urged the Archbishop of York to teach the clergy more thoroughly,¹⁷ of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (1235-1253) and of Archbishop Peckham whose manual was published in 1281 and is full of ideas for disciplinary reform and improvement.¹⁸

Two further points remain in connection with technique. The first relates to the manner in which Christianity spread. The movement was normally geographical and the Gospel passed from frontier to contiguous frontier, to use Latourette's phrase. This is what one would expect, as travel was arduous. The carriers of the message were generally the people most recently won, and the means were, as we have seen, monastic. The share of the Papacy seems to have diminished roughly in proportion to the distance from Rome. The monasteries, moreover, had a smaller share in the conversion of Scandinavia than in that of England or Germany, but the reason for this was that the revival associated with St. Dunstan did not lead to the type of monastery which nourished the missionary passion. When the Gospel first reached some pagan area, the usual process was the response of a few individuals to the preaching of the monks, or the tales of the merchants; these minorities would often be persecuted for a time, but in the next generation there would follow a mass movement when conversion would be largely by groups and whole tribes or kingdoms would become Christian corporately.¹⁹ Some missionaries cultivated the technique of going to the leaders first; Patrick, Columba and Augustine all approached the king, and Boniface formed the habit of addressing the upper classes first because the masses would follow their leaders. We must remember however, that at no stage in this period did conversion have quite the emotional and individualistic significance which it has since acquired, chiefly through the preaching and experience of Wesley. In our period the outward was expected to precede the inward, whereas to-day the reverse is the case and baptism has accordingly lost much of the significance it once had. A detailed study of the meaning and implication of conversion at different periods would be of great interest and value.

The last point of technique which we have time to notice is that the Christianity which was propagated in strangely diverse ways was always creative. Not only did it create and weld together new communities all over the changing surface of Europe and Asia, but it related itself to every aspect of Mediaeval life more completely than we can readily imagine to-day. There was not the minute division of labour we now

know; the monks themselves living under the rule of Benedict, and later the Cistercians, had so much manual work each day; they dug, they built, they read, they wrote, and in Ireland, they became famous for their illuminated manuscripts. Their study likewise was of all knowledge, free from artificial divisions into branches or faculties. At Iona learning and scholarship were encouraged alongside of missionary work, and it was because of the intellectual attainments of certain Christians nurtured in the monasteries that such strong Christian influence was brought into the court of Charlemagne, and that of Alfred on a smaller scale. And it would surely be true to suggest that it was because of the Christian influence on labour in monastic circles, that Christian principles pervaded the commerce and the guild system of the later middle ages. The Gospel was creative in other directions also, and we read of the Pope in response to Charlemagne, sending experts from Rome to found schools of music at Metz and St. Gall. Centuries later, the Franciscans, who of all the Orders were least concerned with the intellect and gladly left scholarship for their Dominican counterpart, were not long in recognising its indispensability and produced from their ranks Bonaventura, afterwards known as the Seraphic Doctor, professor at Paris, and a little later Roger Bacon of Oxford, who spent £2,000 on research and became the first great modern scientist. Thus the Gospel made its impact on every branch of life and labour, learning and art, as well as on each section of the community. Christianity in the West at any rate had become the basis both of society and culture, and had brought into being what we have since called Christendom. This was the magnificent achievement of what I think may only questionably be termed "the thousand years of uncertainty", and the gains which were made in that indeterminate millenium were to become the basis of the unprecedented expansion which still lay ahead.

1. See "The Form of the Church": A. G. Hebert.
2. Illustrated, for example, in Kingsley's "Hypatia".
3. Cambridge Mediaeval History, vol. vi. p. 585.
4. "The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard": E. Gilson, p. 74.
5. "World Church": John Foster, pp. 73, 75.
"The History of the Expansion of Christianity" K. S. Latourette, Vol. 2, p. 276.
6. Legend tells of his appearance at Rome in 1122. See Encyclopaedia Britannica, Art. "Prester John".
7. Latourette *op. cit.* p. 283.
8. *ibid.* p. 277.
9. *ibid.* p. 331.
10. "Mediaeval People": Eileen Power (Pelican edition), p. 50. She adds: "The Dominicans may have been profound theologians, but they were somewhat chicken-hearted adventurers. . . . Assuredly St. Francis crows over St. Dominic somewhere in the courts of Heaven; his friars never feared for their skins".
11. *ibid.* p. 65.
12. Latourette *op. cit.* p. 217.
13. "Introduction to the History of Christianity, A.D. 590-1314": F. J. Foakes-Jackson, p. 342.
14. "The Calling of God": M. A. C. Warren, p. 56.
15. Bede's *Eccl. Hist.* xxvii. Quoted in "Then and Now": John Foster, p. 115.
16. Latourette *op. cit.* p. 18.
17. *ibid.* p. 350.
18. See "Church Life in England in the 13th Century": J. R. H. Moorman, *passim*.
19. Latourette *op. cit.* pp. 15-17.