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**MONASTICISM - ITS INTEREST IN
THE VISIONS OF THE
MIDDLE AGES.**

Respectfully presented to the Faculty

April 1938

Hermann Richard Klann

Handwritten notes:
Dirks
Apr. 28
Klann

"Monasticism - Its Interest in the Missions
of the Middle Ages."

Living as we do in the twentieth century - it is rather difficult for us to think that the missionary activities of the Middle Ages were not parallel to mission work as it is done to-day. Our mission work is individualized. We send missionaries to definite localities and expect them to teach the doctrines of our Lord to the people living about them. It is a tenet of our Western society that the individual person is responsible for any convictions he may or may not have. Thus the missionary canvasses residential districts and tenement houses, teaches Sunday school and gives instruction preparatory to membership in the Christian Church. Heterodox relatives are such a common thing today that the social intercourse between Christian and non-Christian families is seldom broken. To-day a person's religion is his own business. If he should decide to change, no one will question his retention of civil and social rights.

The mission work done by the apostles and their successors in the Roman Empire closely resembled the work our missionaries do to-day. They likewise sought to Christianize the individual. We read of no entire people or tribe coming en masse into the Christian Church. The apostles and their successors did not merely Christianize the population, but evangelized it. The population of the empire did not merely change its allegiance from the Olympic pantheon to the Christian Trinity, but through a rigid system of indoctrination became converts to Christ, in the true sense of the word.

Since missionary interest of the western monks was directed in the main to the Germanic tribes north of the empire, it is necessary to consider the relation of religion to the social system of the Germanic tribes.

When historians consider the conversion of the Germans to Christianity, they grant that two motives were decisive for the acceptance of Christianity: the internal and the external motive. Under internal motive is understood the free and voluntary conversion of heathen people because they recognized and believed the salvation which was proclaimed by the missionaries. It seems to be tacitly assumed by some that the work of missionaries was so embracing and thorough that entire tribes were drawn to Christianity by no other consideration, but that of saving their souls. This view one finds most prevalent among those students of history who neglect to see or to acknowledge the fact that God works through means, and that these means may be interfered with by men. Just as today religion is not viewed to the exclusion of all other consideration, so men in ancient and medieval times were not always guided by the lofty motive of seeking the kingdom of God first when they were confronted with the choice between their old gods and Christ. The prestige and the external advantages of the Christian religion were overwhelmingly decisive. Since the acceptance of Christianity was decided mainly by the tribal leaders, it stands to reason that the causes which motivated these men were preponderately political. We think in this connection of the considerations that

led Clovis to accept baptism, or of the Saxon princes who, like Hasso, the Eastphalian, consented to be baptized, whereas Widukind, the outstanding example of stubbornness, refused and fought Christianity for about thirty years until it was a choice either of seeing his people slaughtered wholesale or of submitting to the God of the Franks, who had helped his enemies so powerfully. (#) With the already stated notable exception of Widukind, the fear of the Frankish king, or the desire to win his favor, or the realization that resistance would be hopeless so that the useless expenditure of effort to resist the Frankish invasion would unnecessarily deplete the resources of their people, motivated most of the Saxon princes to become Christians. The people followed their leaders.

It is not in accordance with the facts as they present themselves to us if we attempt to draw a sharp line of demarcation between the political and religious reasons. They are so intimately united that they must be considered as a unit. We must not allow ourselves to be guided by modern cultural conditions. In ancient as well as medieval times religion, politics, and culture are intimately and inseparably connected. "Fuer die heidnischen Voelker des Altertums war der Zusammenhang von Religion und Politik eine Selbstverstaendlichkeit. Die Religion bildete die Grundlage des politischen und des ganzen kulturellen Lebens. Und die Auffassung, die das Mittelalter beherrscht, laeszt sich in den Satz fassen,

(#) Annales Einhardi 775. Quoted by Walter Paetke in his "Religion und Politik in der Germanenbekenennung." Leipzig, 1937. p. 37.

dasz niemand Puerger des Staates sein kann, ohne Sohn der Kirche zu sein. Das ist fuer die Geschichte der Christianisierung eine sehr wichtige Tatsache. Jene Gemeinsamkeit zwischen Altertum und Mittelalter bildete gleichsam die Bruecke, auf der die heidnischen Voelker in das christliche Mittelalter hinuebergingen. In ganzebesonderem Masse gilt das fuer die Germanen, weil bei diesen - im Gegensatz zu den synkretistischen Zuständen des roemischen Weltreiches - im Augenblick ihrer Begegnung mit dem Christentum noch eine im wesentlichen intakte voelkische Religion bestand. Vom Boden dieser Religion aus haben sie sich mit dem Christentum auseinandergesetzt und den Uebergang vollzogen." (·)

It is equally erroneous to view the conversion of the German tribes 'religionsgeschichtlich'. Under this aspect also the regard is to the individual. The various theories, viz., animism, magic, manism, mythologism, had this in common that they considered the individual person and sought thus to determine the essence of religion. Scholars argued whether the fear of 'higher forces', the fear of death, the feeling of awe over against nature, or a religious experience constituted the beginning of the development of religion, but the discussion always centered about the individual, whether the intellectual, emotional, or voluntary approach was taken. That these 'religionsgeschichtliche' exercises of the students who viewed religion thru the spectacles of evo-

(·) Faetke, W. Religion und Politik in der Germanenbekehrung, p. 4., Leipzig, 1937.

lution were purely proof of the possession of volatile and vivid imaginations becomes apparent when these scholars study the Christianization of the Germanic tribes from the viewpoint of 'Religionsgeschichte'. (#)

We shall not deny the *raison d'être* of the question whether there were not definite causes, purely religious, which determined the attitude of the individual German who thought and felt religiously. No doubt there were such individuals among the Germans who accepted Christianity solely because they recognized it as the true religion. To deny this would be to rob ourselves of many beautiful stories which have as their theme the steadfastness and strong faith of individual Christians. However, the very fact that these incidents were stressed so much even in those days of mass conversions appears to me to be evidence that it was only the exceptional German who was willing to step out of his social environment, his tribe and 'Gippe'. Lacking the prestige of Pepin in Frisia, Boniface had little success among those tribes. The social system of the German tribes was so closely knit that only political considerations were able to incline them favorably towards Christianity. (x)

(#) Baetke says: "Man ging auch hier von der von der Religiosität des germanischen Menschen aus und stellte die Untersuchung auf die Frage ab: Wie hat dieser religiös denkende und fühlende Germane sich mit der Botschaft des Evangeliums innerlich auseinandergesetzt, was hat ihn von seiner Religiosität aus am Christentum angezogen oder abgestossen?" Baetke, op. cit. p.6.

(x) "Without the authority of the king of the Franks, and without the respect which that authority inspired, nothing could have been done either to teach the people, or to protect the priests and monks who were engaged in this hazardous service, or to break up the pagan superstitions or the worship of idols", Boniface, quoted by C. J. Stille, 'Medieval History', Philadelphia, 1882.

It may be objected against the previous statement that the mission work in Iceland during the tenth century was highly individualized, yes, that even during the time of Ulfilas in the fourth century scenes like the preaching of Paul to the Athenians on the Areopagus were not unusual. But again, we can confidently state that that is not to be understood as if those missionaries were not backed by political force. The Eastgoths were "foederati" of the empire when Ulfilas worked among them. And as for Iceland, we find that the Norwegian king, who had become Christian by that time, exerted political pressure upon the 'Allthing' of Iceland, whereupon the heathen highpriest thru an agreement virtually helped to make Christianity acceptable (x).

Thus we can state that the German tribes were faced with Christianity, not as individual persons but as tribes. Even tho the methods employed to bring about conversion differed with the tribes, yet this conversion always was also a political development. Agreements, wars, peace treaties, political marriages, and alliances determined the acceptance of Christianity by the various tribes. Not a single German tribe was Christianized thru the mere proclaiming of the Gospel. One may be inclined to make an exception with the mission work originated by Gregory I. in England. But even tho we would give Augustine and his band of monks all the credit possible, we should nevertheless be compelled to admit

(x) Baetke, op. cit. p. 22-23.

that political factors, such as treaties, conquests, and political alliances thru marriage, did at least speed up the process. (1). Even where individual mission work was carried on among the Germans, viz., the Goths, Danes, Frisians, Swedes, we cannot escape the fact upon examination that conversion to Christianity was always regarded by the people as an ethnic matter which must be decided by the people as a whole or by the ruler of the respective people.

Let us consider the Christianization of some of the Germanic tribes. Fritiger, king of the Westroths became a Christian in order to obtain the assistance of the emperor against his rival Athaneric, and in turn caused his tribe later to accept Christianity. Conversion to Christianity certainly was one of the conditions of acceptance into the realm of the Roman empire of the Germanic tribes who received the status of 'foederati'. It might be asked: Did the tottering Roman empire, which in the West during the 5th century existed little more than in name, actually force the conquering nations into the fold of Christianity? Let us consider this. The fact is that the Empire existed even longer than some of the states founded by the Germans in the West, viz., the Goths in Italy; the leader of these nations always recognized the supremacy of the emperor; their settlement took place after treaties with the emperor. Thus their embodiment in the Empire determined their attitude toward Christianity. Along with their recognition of the Roman emperor as supreme

(1) See H. L. T. Laotuer, Thought And Letter In Western Europe A.D. 500-900. New York, 1932. p. 115-116.

they also conceded the supremacy of his religion, which was quite in line with their own conception of religion, according to which religion was not merely a phase of social life, but the very foundation of it. Their entrance into the Roman empire for them meant their acceptance of a new political and social existence which, therefore, logically also determined their religion. Their religion and political existence always was considered by them as one unit. (1).

The conversion of the Franks occurred under somewhat different circumstances from that of most of the other tribes. Their geographical-political position was different from that, e.g., of the Goths in Italy. Clovis followed a different political aim than Theoderic. However, since the Franks had conquered and settled within a domain of the empire which was populated by a Christian people, Clovis also considered his new status, and his conversion to Christianity was determined by that and the relation of the Church as an organization of the empire and his domain which nominally was still considered as belonging to it.

One might assume from the foregoing that the predominant factor determining the Christianization of the heathen peoples of northwestern Europe was politics. But this is not at all the case. Politics in northern Europe was so inconsistent that, had the hope of conversion of the Germanic tribes rested on that factor mainly, it is doubtful whether northwestern Europe would very long have remained Christian, even after Christianity had been superficially adopted. Political expediency could never alone have built so permanent a struc-

(1) Schmidt, L., Geschichte der deutschen Staemme bis zum Ausgang der Voelkerwanderung, Leipzig, 1934.

ture as the Christian Church in Western Europe. As soon as a section of a land or a tribal king was favorable towards the extension of Christianity within his domain, monks entered the field and started to sow the Word of God among the people. It must not be thought, however, that force always was used in order to convince the Germanic freeman of the advantages of the Christian religion. During the period of Charlemagne, when the power politics of the Frankish king dominated Europe, pure force, without much moral or gospel persuasion, was frequently used, almost in imitation of the policies of the Mohammedans. It was against such a policy applied to the Saxons and Avars that Alcuin objected, declaring that rather the easy yoke of Christ and His light load should be preached and that the messengers of the Gospel should finally become 'praedicatores, non praedatores'. (1).

A fairly good example of a tribal king's attitude towards the personal adherence to Christianity of his subjects is furnished by King Aethelberht. He had married Bertha, a Frankish princess, who had taken a Frankish bishop with her as her chaplain. It thus happened that Augustine and his band of missionaries were kindly received by him, the groundwork having already been prepared through the marriage of the king. After the baptism of Aethelberht, no outright force was used to persuade the individual subjects of the king, as to the advantages of Christianity. Aethelberht

(1) Flade, G., Frühmittelalterliche Germanenbekehrung, Article in: Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift, vol. 10, Heft 11. p. 375. Verlag von C. Bertelsmann in Gutersloh.

left that task to Augustine and his monks, altho he did favor those of his subjects who turned Christian. (1). The situation is very well explained by Flade (2): "Gleichwohl, auch ohne hartes Zwingen und Dringen, spielte aber das Verhalten des Koenigs eine Rolle. Ueber Ethelbercht fuegt Fedas hinzu: (3) ".....nur dass er die Glaebigen, als seine Mitbuerger im himmlischen Reiche, mit inniger Liebe umfaszte", ein Ausdruck, aus dem man schon mehr herauslesen kann als eine auf das rein Gemuehlsmaessige begrenzte Zuneigung. Und selbst wenn man jedwede bewusste parteiliche Beguenstigung und Bevorzugung ausschliessen will, nur private Bedeutung konnte das Entschliessen und Handeln des Hauptlings auf keinen Fall haben. Dazu hatte der germanische Stammeskoenig einerseits eine zu hohe theokratische Handelsbefuegnis: gerade er war in den Augen des Volkes berufen, die Beziehungen zur Gottheit zu regeln, gerade er stand und fiel aber auch mit der Einmuetigkeit des Vertrauens seines Volkes (4). Eine koenigliche Entscheidung fuer die neue Religion musste also mindestens Billigung auf seiten der Gesamtheit entsprechen. Das bestaetigt aufs deutlichste der folgende anschauliche Bericht, der uns, gleichfalls durch Fedas (5), aus dem noerdlichen Teile Englands berichtet ist: Paulinus, ein Mitarbeiter Augustins (und spaeter Bischof von York), fand fuer die christliche Botschaft williges Gehoer bei Edwin, dem Koenig Nord-

(1) Cambridge Medieval History, vol. II. P. 516.

(2) Flade, op. cit. p. 376-378.

(3). Fedas, hist. eccl. Angl., ed. Mohler, I 26.

(4). v. Schubert, Fruehmittlelalter, S. 12; Fuchse, Die deutschen Altertuermer, Sammlg. Goeschen, S. 90f. 110f.

(5). Fedas, op. cit. II. 13.

humbriens. Dies um so mehr, als seine Herrschaft durch siegreichen Krieg und persönlichen Taffeng mit einem ausgesprochenen Feinde der Kirche, Ethelfrid mit Namen, errungen war, und da er noch dazu als Gemahlin die bereits christlich gewordene Tochter des oben erwähnten Ethelbercht von Kent heimgeführt hatte. Trotzdem zogerte Edwin mit seinem Uebertritt. Er liesz diesen vielmehr einen "Witena-Gemot", eine Versammlung der Weisen, vorausgehen. Und diese nicht bloss politisch kluge, sondern ganz der gewohnten Ordnung gemäsz Besprechung mit all seinen Vertrauten im Staatswesen und im Heer führte zu dem gewünschten Ergebnis. Erst trat sein oberster Priester, Coifi, auf und gab in ausführlicher Rede seine voellige Enttauschung im Vertrauen zu der alten Religion zu wissen; er habe sich ihr als einer der Eifrigsten ganz vergeblich gewidmet. Dann sprachen zustimmend andere Ratsmaenner: das Behagen des zeitlichen Lebens sei ungewisz und kurz fuer uns - wie fuer einen Sperling im Winter das rasche Hindurchfliegen durch die erwärmte Halle; man solle einer Lehre, die bessere Gewiszheit enthalte, ruhig folgen. Und schliesslich konnte Paulinus auf die Aufforderung Coifis von seinem Uluuben zeugen, worauf dieser mit Erfolg den Antrag stellte, die nichtigen und nutzlosen Tempel und Altaere "eiligst der Verdammung und dem Feuer zu uebergeben", damit die Wahrheit leite, die da "Leben, Heil und ewige Glueckseligkeit zu schenken vermag." Eine hoechst lebendige Darstellung, die uebrigens aus der ausschlaggebenden Bedeutung, die dem Gesamtwillen des

Volk'es zukam, noch etwas anderes deutlich macht: das eigene Empfinden des Germanen fuer die Unzulaenglichkeit seines herkoemflichen Glaubens, seine starke Sehnsucht nach Besserem, seine tatsaechliche Reife fuer den Religionswechsel zum Christentum.

"Etwas das Gleiche, wie aus dem wiedergegebenen Eeda-Abschnitt, wenn auch nicht ebenso anschaulich und eindrucksvoll, besaetzt eine Szene aus der Lebensbeschreibung des nordischen Missionars Anskar (1). Dort handelt es sich, mehr als 299 Jahre spaeter, um einen Schwedischen Koenig, Olaf, in Firkka am Aelarsee. Als Anskar im Jahre 848 diese seine Missionssiedelung aufsucht, kommt er gerade zurecht, um einer Wiederkehr groben Heidentums zu wehren. Man ging schon daran den Zorn der heidnischen Goetter durch erneuten Dienst zu versoeennen, ja, es handelte sich um die Apotheose eines eben verstorbenen Fuersten, Koenig Erichs. Olaf konnte nicht einfach im Gegensatz zu dieser Stimmung fuer das Christentum missionieren lassen. Aber durch die Befehnung mit Anskar in jeder Weise angenehm beruehrt, brachte er die Sache vor seinen Thing. Hier legte ein Gemeindeaeltester mit Beispielen Zeugnis ab von der Macht des Gottes, den die Fremden und die kleine Firkkaer Gemeinde (der Kern bestand aus Kriegsgefangenen* verehrten, das Volk stimmte zu - zumal da auch ein Loswurf entsprechend ausfiel -, und "darum verordnete der Koenig, dasz bei ihnen Kirchen gebaut und Priester eingesetzt werden sollten, und dasz, wer wolle, ohne Widerspruch Christ werden duerfe." Der durch Anskar ordinierte junge Rimbert konnte

(1) von Anskars Schueler und Nachfolger (vergl. c. 9. 10) Rimbert.

dann unter koeniglichem Schutz getrost zurueckgelassen werden, als jener nach etwa zwei Jahren das Land wieder verliesz.
(1).

"Man kann nach alledem sagen: Haltung und Beispiel eines germanischen Koenigs vermochten etwas fuer den Fortschritt der Mission, sofern zu seinem Wohlwollen Anklang beim Volke hinzukam oder erzieht werden konnte. Seine Person und Stellung an und fuer sich hob durchaus nicht die Verpflichtung und Abhaengigkeit auf, in die hier den Einzelnen seine voelkische Gemeinschaft stellte. Denn das starke Gemeinsamkeitswollen ist eine Voraussetzung, mit der die Bekaeher germanischen Gebietes ganz besonders rechnen muessen. (2).

Thus far it has been our point to demonstrate the fundamental difference between mission work of medieval times and mission work in our own times. It was necessary to do this, if we want to obtain a correct perspective of the interest which the monks of the middle ages took in mission work. We believe that it is correct to state, point blank, that no endeavor was successful, unless the ground had been broken previously thru political and commercial intercourse. On the whole, it was the immense prestige and power of arms that stood behind mission work which caused the heathen kings and people to give it a hearing and favorable consideration, even before they were tolerably acquainted with the doctrines

J. W. ...

(1) Rimbart, Vit. Ansc. c. 31.

(2) Dr. Wade proceeds from here to announce: "...dasz man sich fuer den Anfang einzelne Menschen als Missionsobjekt herausgriff." This must be understood that it was the method of the monks to train native missionaries first for that actual indoctrination of the people after Christianity had been made acceptable to the tribe under circumstance which we have so far discussed.

of Christianity.

We have made a statement before which relegated the monks into a somewhat different place than popular accounts of mission activities generally assign to them. Since the acceptance, ^{or} rejection of Christianity was decided usually on the basis of gain and expedience by the tribal leaders the monks really came into their own only after the main issue had been decided. Then they became the teachers of the people. Only after the dominating political force within the tribe had become favorably inclined towards the new religion were they able to build monasteries, erect churches and schools and distribute their leaven among the masses. This work of slowly, often painfully, suffusing a people with Christianity constituted their real interest and contribution towards the missions of the middle ages. The people became genuinely converted to the religion itself after they had been able to observe the lives of the monks, learn the saving doctrines which they taught, and observe the emergence of good results.

The work proceeded slowly - it took over three hundred years after missions were begun until the Church felt sure that the Scandinavian North would not be tempted to revert back to heathenism. In Germany it was by no means a pure type of Christianity, but was often much diluted with heathen practices and superstitions. As the centuries passed the Church of Rome - at first the pillar of orthodoxy--herself had greatly veered from her straight and narrow path. There-

fore, it is no surprise to us to find that in many places of Germany, Poland, the Baltic provinces, and the Northern Europe the prevailing Catholicism had compromised with heathenism. It took the Reformation to establish Europe on a genuinely Christian basis, causing a purge of persistently remaining heathenism among the common people. (1).

In order to evaluate the interest of the monks in the missions of the middle ages properly it is also very necessary to consider some aspects of monasticism. Several questions suggest themselves to us: What is its program or 'Content' (Inhalt), as Hilpisch terms it? (2). What is its relation to the Church? How did monasticism translate its interest in missions into action? What was the extent of its interest?

We know that monasticism is a development of the asceticism which arose in the Christian Church early as a protest against increasing worldliness. Harnack sarcastically says (3): "Distress and disgust with everyday life started the movements as if with an irresistible natural force; and the Church of Constantine drove into solitude and the desert those who wished to devote themselves to religion. About 340 A. D. the movement had already become powerful. There must have been thousands of hermits by that time." Men strove after the perfect life by retreating into solitude. As the

(1) Evidence of the deplorable spiritual neglect of the masses can be found in the statements of Luther, viz., when he visited the schools and churches of Saxony, which was counted among the most progressive states. See also the book by Ellen Scott Davidson, Forerunners of St. Francis and Other Studies, N.Y., 1929.
(2) Hilpisch, S., Geschichte des Benediktinischen Mönchtums, Freiburg i. B., 1929. p. 13
(3) Harnack, A., Monasticism: Its Ideals and History. Translation by E.E. Kallett and F.H. Marseille, London, 1913, p. 43.

persecution ceased it was found that a certain type of men wanted to demonstrate their heroism in other ways, viz., by renouncing the comforts of the world, and by inventing certain painful disciplines, as spending their days sitting on a pillar. Incidentally, their perverted notion of satisfaction was highly admired, but not imitated by the common people.

The hermits who wanted to spend their days in the service and contemplation of the mysteries of God away from the highways of the world were another manifestation of the spirit of the times. However, these hermits did not always live alone, but quite often in communities which numbered as high as 5000. Each one lived independently of the other, it is true, but nevertheless, they lived in many respects an ordered community life, viz., with the respect to the baking of bread, marketing of products, church, hospice or inn, community doctors, (1). The hermits did not live according to rule, but each one determined for himself how he could accomplish a union with the divine which was the object. The ancients considered Anthony (d. 356) as the archetype of hermits (2).

From the hermits it was but a step to monasticism. They formed inclusive communities, and subjected themselves at first also to the authority of the Church. The trend was more strongly towards an organised and integrated community life.

(1) Hilpisch, op. cit.

(2) Hilpisch, op. cit.

Thus we see the Zenobites develop, and Pachonius and his monastic order. The whole movement was purely of Oriental origin, and therefore also sought the contemplative rather than active life.

In order to become effective in Western Europe monasticism had to put on a more sober and orderly garb, for the Western European is a man of action in contrast to the Oriental. Thus we find that there was a crisis in the fifth century. Altho pious Christians at the time widely recognized the worth of monasteries for the age in which they lived, they were nevertheless forced to acknowledge the fact that worldliness had also entered the monasteries with the result that a rapid decay set in. It was about this time that the influence of Benedict appeared (ca. 500 A. D.). His principle was: *Nulla in monasterio proprii sequatur cordis voluntatem*. In 529 A. D. he founded the monastery at Monte Cassino which became the pattern for practically all the monasteries of the Western Church. In a series of seventy-three rules covering all phases of monastic life, forty-eight prescribed at least seven hours of daily labor and two hours of reading 'for all who are able to bear the load'. The Benedictines, however, were not a monastic order, but a great number of monasteries which were independent, but lived according to the regula of Benedict of Nursia.

The purpose of the monks of those ancient times is very well explained by Hilpisch, (1), himself a Benedictine

(1) Hilpisch, B., op. cit. (a) p. 17, (b) p. 13, (c) p. 18.

monk: "Der Inhalt des Mönchtums, dessen Wesen im Heroismus und im Geistestum lag, machte ein Dreifaches aus. Der erste - und es ist dasjenige, was am stärksten bei dem früheren Mönchtum auffällt - war die Abkehr, die Entauszerung. Sie besaßte Abkehr von allem, von den Dingen, von den Menschen, von ihren Lebensgewohnheiten, von ihrem Denken und Tun." (a). Secondly: "Mit der Flucht vor allem Geschaffenen ist aufs engste verbunden die Asteiung. Denn Mönchtum bedeutet stetz Muehsal, Arbeit. Auf die Frage: "Was ist Mönchtum?" antwortete Abt Johannes Aertus: 'Est labor - es ist Muehsal.'" (b). Thirdly: "Weltflucht und Asteiung, sie stehen im Vordergrunde des Lebens der alten Mönche. Sie fallen zuerst in die Augen, und doch waren sie nicht die Hauptsache. Sie waren lediglich Vorbereitung, sie waren die notwendigen Mittel zur Erlangung eines hoeheren Zweckes. Sie waren nur der Weg zum Ziele. Denn Mönchtum besaßte letzten Endes: die Einheit mit dem Goettlichen, das 'Vacare Deo'. Durch die Flucht vor den Dingen und den Menschen und durch die Zucht des Leibes sollte die Freiheit der Seele, die Reinheit des Herzens, die Einigung mit dem Goettlichen erreicht werden." (c).

The monastic ideal was at first identical in its essentials both in the East and in the West, and it remained so during a thousand years - absorption in God, or the undisturbed contemplation of God. The means of attaining to the desired goal were the absolute denial of the good things of

life, the practice of virginity (1) which in the West as in the East ranked as the first condition of a consecrated life. To many, indeed, it was neither more nor less than the very essence of Christian morality. They even went so far as to separate themselves from Christ's communion. Not only was the world, in every sense of the word, to be avoided, but the secularized Church as well. Not that her teachings were held insufficient, or her ordinances inappropriate, and her divine gifts indifferent; but they regarded her foundation, which permitted worldliness to filter into her body, as insecure, and men doubted not that they could make up for the loss of her sacramental advantages by asceticism and the unceasing contemplation of what was holy, or was so regarded by them.

Harnack has a unique description of the attitude of the Church towards monasticism which is well worth quoting: "And what is the attitude of the secular Church herself to the movement? Could she permit her sons, even if they did not directly attack her ordinances, to cast on them the shadow of suspicion? She did not, and she could not, hesitate for a moment. She did one thing left to secure her safety, in expressly approving the movement, nay, in bearing testimony that it realized the original ideal of the Christian life. The dread of inevitably losing themselves in the whirl of life, the disgust with that life, so empty and common,

(1) Harnack, op. cit. p. 67.

the prospect of a lofty good, had driven these men out of the world, and the Church made a virtue of necessity. Nor could she help doing so; for the more deeply she became involved in the world, in politics, and in culture, the more loudly and impressively had she preached "that monasticism now practiced." (1). Thus, "If we ask either the Greek and the Roman Church wherein the most perfect Christian life consists, both alike reply: in the service of God, to the abnegation of all the good things of this life - property, marriage, personal will, and honor; in a word, in the religious renunciation of the world, that is, in monasticism. The true monk is the true and most perfect Christian. Monasticism, then, is not in the Catholic Churches a more or less accidental phenomenon alongside of others, but - - it is an intuition based on their essential nature: it is the Christian life." (2). But there is one characteristic of monasticism which prevailed until the time of Francis of Assisi. Intense as its asceticism was, heartfelt as its religion was, it did not drive its disciples into solitude or into the desert but brought about somewhat the reverse. Christendom and the whole world was to be won for this new, and yet old, Christianity of repentance, renunciation, and love. A Christian world became the great aim, but this conception at the beginning of the thirteenth century had quite a different meaning than in the five or six previous centuries, not only because the geographical horizon had extended itself for the

(1) op. cit. p. 45.
(2) op. cit., p. 10.

rest at this time due to the Crusades and commerce, but because the poor and ordinary men were now to be reckoned as part of that world. Western monasticism down to the end of the twelfth century had essentially been an aristocratic institution. The privileges of monasticism were in most cases conditioned by the descent of their inmates. The monastic schools were as a rule open only to the nobility. To the coarse and common people the monasteries remained as inaccessible as the castles. There were no popular orders and few popular monks (1).

After the Church had achieved the pinnacle of her power - world dominion - however, which was attained with increased secularism, there was again a need for imitation of Christ and His apostles. "A society of brethren was to be formed which, like the apostles, should possess nothing but penitence, faith, and love, and which should own no other air than to serve others and to win souls." (2). St. Francis did not break down the walls of the noble monasteries but raised alongside of them huts for poor and rich. He thus restored the gospel to the people, who had hitherto possessed only the priest and the sacrament. Thru his influence the dying interest of the monks in mission work was revived again for some time.

However, if we would have a good survey of the interest of the monks in the spiritual welfare of the people of the

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- (1) Harnack, A., op. cit., p. 94.
(2) Harnack, A., op. cit., p. 93.
(3) Schaff, Philip, History of the Christian Church, vol. IV, p. 383-384. New York, 1918. (*Reference belongs to next page*)

world at their time we must turn to Philip Schaff (2): "The monks were the spiritual nobility of the Church, and represented a higher type of virtue in entire separation from the world and consecration to the kingdom of God. The patristic ideal of piety passed over into the Middle Ages: it is not the scriptural nor the modern ideal, but one formed in striking contrast with preceding and surrounding heathen corruption. The monkish sanctity is a flight from the world rather than a victory over the world, an abstinence from marriage instead a sanctification of marriage, chastity outside rather than inside the order of nature, a complete suppression of the sensual passions in the face of its purification and control. But it had a powerful influence over the barbarian races, and was one of the chief converting and civilizing agencies. The Eastern monks lost themselves in idle contemplation and ascetic extravagances, which the Eastern climate made impossible; the Western monks were, upon the whole, more sober, practical, and useful. The Irish and Scotch convents became famous for their missionary zeal, and furnished founders of churches and patron saints for the people.

"Convents were planted by the missionaries among all the barbarous nations of Europe, as fast as Christianity progressed. They received special privileges and endowments from princes, nobles, popes, and bishops. They offered a quiet retreat to men and women who were weary of the turmoil of life, or had suffered shipwreck of fortune or character, and cared for

nothing, but to save their souls. They exercised hospitality to strangers and travellers, and were a blessing in times when travelling was difficult and dangerous. They were training schools of ascetic virtue, and the nurseries of saints. They saved the remnants of ancient civilization for future use. Every large convent had a library and a school. Scribes were employed in copying manuscripts of the ancient classics of the Bible, and the writing of the fathers. To these quiet literary monks we are indebted for the preservation and transmission of all the learning, sacred and secular, of ancient times. If they had done nothing else, they would be entitled to the lasting gratitude of the Church and the world."

Such was the setting of monasticism. Thus only can we understand what kind of interest they took in mission work and why they chose certain peculiar methods, viz., that of living among the heathen tribes, erecting monasteries among them, and even teaching them not only the doctrines of Christianity, but also better methods of agriculture, forestry, and manufacture. Credit must be given to the monasteries for being beacon lights of Christianity and culture among a people that lived in a rather benighted world.

It is not at all the purpose of this thesis to give a complete history of the extent of the mission work carried on by the monks of the West, but rather to evaluate their interest in the mission of the middle ages. But in order to do that properly we must needs also consider the work of some of the outstanding missionary monks.

It appears that Ireland had received its Christianity from England already during Roman times (i. e., sometime before 410 A. D.). Since already then the ideal of monastic life and aims had been accented by the Church within the Roman Empire, it is only natural that the people of Ireland also received this ideal along with Christian doctrine. The organization of the monks in Ireland was along tribal lines. The abbot was the chief of the tribe also. A bishop had the spiritual direction in his hands. In spiritual matters the bishop was superior to the abbot, who was in charge of all temporal matters. Later it became common practice to combine both offices.

The great anxiety of the communities was to support themselves by the work of their hands, so as to depend as little as possible on the charity of others. And this laudable custom was followed not only at home, but also on the Continent by those emigrant Irish monks who founded monasteries there. When the founder of a monastery had determined on the neighborhood in which to settle, and had fixed on the site for his establishment, he brought together those who had agreed to become his disciples and companions, and they set about preparing the place for residence. They did all the work with their own hands, seeking no help from the outside. While some levelled and fenced-in the ground, others cut down, in the surrounding woods, timber for the houses or for the church, dragging the great logs along, or bringing home on their backs bundles of wattles and twigs for the wickerwork

walls. Even the leaders claimed no exemption, but often worked manfully with axe and spade like the rest. When St. Patrick was journeying thru Connought, one of his disciples, Bishop Cleon, wishing to found a church for himself, and having obtained his master's consent, 'went forth with an axe on his shoulder', ready to begin his work with his own hands." (1)

This policy doing mission work by colonization proved to be quite effective. Not only did the Irish monks become quite favored by the people for the practical endeavors, but it so happened that towards the end of the sixth century the great body of the Irish were Christian, and the monks were able to turn their attention to the conversion of other people.

"There arose - almost suddenly - an extraordinary zeal for spreading the Gospel in foreign lands, and hundred of devoted and determined missionaries left our shores". (2). Fede (3) also states that the Irish at this time evinced a very remarkable missionary spirit. The first efforts at converting other peoples were made early in the fifth century by Mission who attempted to convert the Picts and Britons of Galloray and Stratclyde. But the evidence from St. Patrick's letter points to the fact that the inhabitants of those regions had soon relapsed again into paganism (4).

A more permanent work was effected by Columba. When he crossed over to Scotland ca. 565 A.D. he received the island of Iona from a native chief and founded his famous monastery

(1) Joyce, P.W. A social History of Ancient Ireland, London and Dublin 1920.

(2) & (3) Fede, Hist. eccles., 3, 4. Quoted by W.L.T. Laistner, Thought And Matters In Western Europe A.D. 500-900, New York, 1931.

(4) Laistner, op. cit. p. 108.

there. Already at that time the adjacent islands and the coastal strip had been settled by Scotti (1) from Ireland. The work of conversion among the northern and, somewhat later, among the southern Picts progressed rapidly. Many monastic settlements were made. But in marked contrast to the Irish system at home, where each was independent and self-governing, the religious houses in Caledonia were all, so to say, colonies of Iona, and its abbot wielded authority similar to that of a metropolitan over all monasteries, churches, and clerics of every degree. (2).

Aidon, who had been consecrated a bishop, chose the little island of Lindisfarne as his place of residence. There he also founded the monastery that became so illustrious in later times. For thirty years 634-664 A. D. this monastery was governed by him and two other Irish bishops - Finian and Colman - in succession. Aidon, assisted by a number of his fellow-countrymen, labored zealously and with a wonderful success among the Northumbrian pagans whom we shall have cause to mention again.

"The intrepid Irish missionaries found their way even into Iceland; for we have the best authority for the statement that when the Norwegians first arrived at this Island, they found there Irish books, bells, crostiers, and other traces of Irish missionaries, whom the Norwegians called 'Papas'. (3).

(1) Scotti or Scotus always means Irish in the early Middle Ages.

(2) Cambridge Medieval History, vol. II. p. 148.

(3) Joice obtained his material from the Essay of Drs. Tattenbach and Keller, translated and annotated by Dr. Reeves in Ulst. Journal Archeol., VII and VIII.

Monasteries that had been founded in Gaul independently of the system evolved by Benedict of Nursia were merely places of refuge or great households of those who had been wounded in the battle of life. They were not centers of religious life which radiated an influence beyond the walls of the cloister and exercised a direct action upon the Church.

This type of monastic life was the creation of an Irish monk, Columbanus, who landed on the Continent about the year 585. He settled in the kingdom of Guntram and established in the neighborhood of the Vosges mountains three monasteries—Annegray, Luxeuil (known even in Roman times for its baths), and Fontaines. These houses were under his direction, and he gave them a common rule which was remarkable for its severity. Obedience was required of the monk 'even unto death' in a rather perverted imitation of Christ, who, after all, resigned His will completely to God, not to an abbot. The slightest transgression, the least negligence in service, was punished with strokes of the rod. The monk must have no possessions; he must never even use the word 'my'. (1).

It is not at all surprising that a person of such strong will and temper soon was in conflict with the secular rulers. Columbanus felt himself constrained to criticize the morals of the court with the result that Queen Brunhild soon felt about him as did Herodias about John the Baptist. He wisely left Luxeuil and wandered about in the Champagne, "And under

(1). Cambridge Medieval History, vol. II. p. 148.

his influence a monastery arose at Rebas, and convents for women at Faremontier and Jouarre. Later he found his way to the shores of Lake Constance in Alemannia where his disciple Gallus founded the monastery which bore his name, St. Gall. Loyal disciples of Columbanus had reformed or founded a large number of monasteries; in no similar period were so many founded as between the years 610 and 650. We can only mention the most famous - Echternach, Pruess, Etival, Semones, Novemoutier, St. Mihil-sur-Meuse, Almedy, and Stavelot. Many of these monasteries received from one hundred to two hundred monks." (1)

All these abbeys obeyed the same rule and were animated by the same spirit; they formed a (sort of) congregation. In general they declared themselves independent of the bishop - ad modum Luxovensium (2). They chose their abbots and administered their property freely. Moreover these monks did not confine themselves within the walls of their monasteries, but they desired to play a part in the life of the Church and people. St. Wandrille claimed that the monks should not merely be allowed to count the years which they spent in the cloister, but those also in which they travelled in the service of God (3). The disciples of Columbanus were preachers like himself; they proclaimed the necessity of penance, the expiation of every mistake according to a fixed scale, as

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- (1) Cambridge Medieval History, vol. II. P. 148.
(2) The Monastery which Columbanus had founded. He did not belong to the Gallic Church, but to the Irish.
(3) Cambridge History, vol. II. p. 149.

was the rule at the monasteries. It was at this time that penitentials began to be widely circulated, and they multiplied gifts to the Church in order to atone for their transgressions. (1)

The monks also became missionaries, and each abbey was in reality the headquarters for a mission endeavor. St. Gall completed the conversion of the Alemans, Eustacius, the Abbot of Luxeuil, converted the heretical Varasci in the neighborhood of Besancon and also went to preach the Gospel in Favia. But the very number of these monasteries caused the defect of the rule of Columbanus to be quickly perceived. That rule had made no provisions for the administration of the monastery; it did not prescribe, hour by hour, the employment of monks during the day; and finally, it was found to be too severe, too crushing, so that it often reduced men to despair.

Now Benedict of Nursia, who knew the laxness and the abuses of eastern monasticism and was acquainted with the Basilian Rule, which Jerome's secretary Rufinus had translated into Latin, had drawn up for the regulation of his own monastery at Monte Cassino a splendid set of rules, known as the Benedictine Rule, perhaps the most famous ecclesiastical constitution of the Middle Ages, and the model for every succeeding order (2). As had been mentioned, its cardinal features were self-abnegation, obedience, and labor. However, Benedict's

(1) In this connection it is well to remember that the official doctrine was not that the sins themselves were forgiven by these gifts, but merely the offence they caused to the Church. However, in practice confusion often was prevalent.
(2) Thompson, J. W., "History of the Middle Ages, p. 108, New York.

rules so regulated prayer, silence, discipline, manual labor, and study that there was designedly no room left for pride, gossip, vice, and indolence.

This Rule of Benedict was not known in France until about the time of the death of Columbanus and that remarkable growth of monasteries which was connected with his activities was in full flower. But once it was known the merits of that Rule were quickly recognized. All the questions which Columbanus had left unsettled here received a practical solution. It regulated the relations of the abbot with the monks and that of the monks with one another. Mystical speculation was left aside - the legal spirit of Benedict's Rule had little place for it, and the monks engaged more zealously in the practical affairs of life and missions. At first Benedict's Rule appeared side by side as a rival of that of Columbanus. However, after the great ecclesiastical reforms associated with usually with the name of Boniface it reigned alone, and a little later Louis the son of Charles the Great imposed it (817) upon all the monasteries of his realm (1). The impetuous torrent which Columbanus had turned loose was thus turned into a wide channel, in which its waters could flow calmly.

The conversion of the English by the Roman Church is a very interesting chapter in the missions of the monks. Gregory I, himself a monk before his ascent to the papal

(1) Cambridge Medieval History, vol. II. P. 149.

throne, was said to have become interested in mission work among the English when he saw some fair-headed blue-eyed English boys sold as slaves on the market of Rome (1). While this is a very moving story, one thing remained a fact: Gregory was a very energetic pope and felt responsible, as the head of the Church, to extend the frontiers of Christianity again into a territory that had once been Christian.

The time was favorable when Aethelberht of Kent married Bertha, the aforementioned Frankish princess, who took with her a Frankish bishop as her chaplain. But from other indications little seems to have been known in the Rome of that day about the heathen invaders, and the English invasion had cut off the British Christians from intercourse with the Continent.

As we know, Augustine, a monk, was deputed with a band of scouts to convert the heathen Saxons to Christ. The mission left Rome early in 596; during the journey its members wished to return from the perils in front of them, but, encouraged by Gregory's fatherly advice and admonitions and knit together by his giving their leader Augustine the authority of an abbot over them, they went on and landed, most probably at Richborough, 597. Aethelberht received them kindly, and gave them an interview - in the open air for fear of magic. Augustine - taller than his companions - led the procession of forty men (possibly including Frankish inter-

(1) Laistner, op. cit. p. 115.

(2) Cambridge Medieval History, vol. II. p.515.

preters), chanting a Litany as they went, carrying a silver cross and a wooden picture of the crucifixion; Aethelberht heard them with sympathy, and met with an open mind. He gave them a home in Canterbury in the later parish of St. Alphege: here they could worship in St. Martin's church, and they were also allowed to preach freely to the king's subjects. By Thitsuntide the king himself was so far won over that he was baptised. The king used no force to lead his subjects after him, but he naturally favored those who followed him, and soon many were won by the faithful lives of the missionaries, shown so easily by the common life of a brotherhood.

Throughout the story of the conversion it is indeed to the lives rather than to the preaching of the missionaries that Bede assigns their success, and the tolerance of the English kings at Kent and elsewhere gave them a ready opening. If here and there the missionaries met persecution, it never rose to martyrdom." (1)

After the word of the first quarter of the seventh century only Kent retained its Christianity. But when Honorius became Archbishop of Canterbury a change came about (ca. 627-653). Upon Raedwald's death the supremacy among the English states gradually passed into the hands of Edwin of Northumbria. This prince married as his second wife Aethelburga, daughter, of Aethelberht of Kent, and sister to Eabald, who now was a Christian and also succeeded his father. Upon his marriage Edwin promised his wife liberty for her religion,

(1) Cambridge Medieval History, vol. II. p. 512.

and even hinted that he might even consider the faith for himself. Paulinus, one of the second band of Roman missionaries, went to the North with Aethelburga, but was consecrated a bishop by Archbishop Justus ca. 625. A year after the marriage Guinele king of Wessex sent one Eomer to Edwin to assassinate him, but the devotion of a thegn, Lilla, saved Edwin's life. That same night the queen bore him a daughter, Eanfled, the first Northumbrian to be baptized. In double gratitude the king vowed to become Christian if he defeated his West Saxon foes.

Then later on he returned victorious he therefore submitted himself to instruction by Paulinus, and slowly pondered over the new faith. A mysterious vision, which he had long seen before at the East Anglian court, when a stranger promised him safety and future power, giving him a secret sign for remembrance, was now recalled to him by Paulinus along with the secret sign which the messenger in the vision had given him.⁽¹⁾ Edwin, at least, was convinced for himself and called his Witan together in eastern Deira to debate with Paulinus over the new faith. Hitherto there had been no sign of life or strength in the English heathenism, and now Coifi, the chief of the king's priests, showed its weakness by his speech. Bede gives us an account of the debate, probably from some old tradition, embodying truth, but not to be pressed for detail; Coifi gave his view that the religion they professed had absolutely no virtue, and no usefulness. He had

(1) Bede who records this story is frequently unreliable with respect to details. This incident may have been an embellishment of the story of Edwin's conversion inserted by some investigation from whom Bede obtained his material.

been its diligent servant, and had gained no reward. A chief-tain spoke next of more spiritual things; the future life of man seemed dark and mysterious as the night outside might seem to a bird flying thru the fire-lit space where they sat; perchance this new faith could penetrate the darkness. Coifi thereupon took the lead in profaning and destroying a neighboring temple at Goodmanham, by Market Weighton. Afterwards Edwin was baptised (627) at York in the little wooden church he had built during his preparation for baptism." (1).

Paulinus taught and preached both in Deira and Bernicia for about six years, but he was most successful in the latter, due to the influence of Edwin. He journeyed and founded congregation and built churches from Gatterick southwards as far as Campodunum. The pagan Mercians during one of their invasion destroyed some of the churches he built, but Christianity survived. A great beautiful stone church was built by him in Lincoln in which he also upon the death of Justus of Canterbury was consecrated Archbishop of York as successor to Honorius. In these labors Paulinus was helped by others, especially James his deacon, who was a man of zeal and very skilful in song, which made a very favorable impression on the pagans among whom they worked. (2).

East Anglia was brought into the fold of Christianity thru the influence of Edwin, the king of Northumbria, on Erpwald, the king of East Anglia. However when the latter was assassinated the kingdom reverted into idolatry until his

(1) Cambridge Medieval History, vol. II. p. 522-523.

(2) Cambridge Medieval History, vol. II. p. 527.

brother Siegbert after three years of anarchy became king. Siegbert had been educated in France, and as a matter of fact, had been a monk. The result was that he exerted his influence as king for the propagation of the Gospel. He was helped by Felix, a Burgundian, and also by Fursey from Ireland, and the founder of the monastery at Crotheresburg, who like many of his time was torn with desire both to propagate the Gospel and to live a hermit's life. When his East Anglian monastery was well founded, he handed it over to his brother, Fullan, who was a bishop, and to the priests Gobbanand Dieul. Later than Penda of Mercia was restoring heathenism, he passed to the land of the Franks and there under Clovis II (638-658) he founded the monastery of Ligny on the Marne. When he was on the point of leaving his new home for a visit to his brethren he died (ca. 647). His life is significant not only of Celtic restlessness and devotion, but also of the many influences now working on missions: in East Anglia as in the larger field beyond impulses from Rome, Burgundy, Gaul, and Ireland all worked together: national and racial antagonisms were overcome by the solvent of Christianity. A new unity was growing up in the West as formerly in the East. That happened in East Anglia, and has been recorded almost by accident, must have happened elsewhere." (1).

The rule of Edwin in Northumbria had been effective beyond anything known before among the English. However, there arose a combination against him, formed by the kings of Mercia and North Wales. Edwin was defeated and slain. The peace-

(1) Cambridge Medieval History, vol. II. p. 524.

ful state of the kingdom now gave way to lawlessness and a revival of paganism. Paulinus and Aethelburga fled. Even the sons of Aethelburga who ruled sections of the divided land fell away to heathenism. However, after some internal struggles both finally attained the supremacy. Again peace ruled and missionary work progressed. Monasteries were rebuilt and churches erected.

Paulinus, traces of whose work long remained, had fled southwards in 633 (as we know), and there he became due to the translations so common in those days, bishop of Rochester. After his departure the Christianity of Northumbria passed into another phase. During his long exile, Oswald the new king, had been sheltered among the Scots, and also had come to know something of their enthusiasm and learning which made them the best teachers and missionaries of their day. He had been baptised at Iona, and there he also now sent for a bishop. Under the circumstance we could hardly expect him to do otherwise. One was sent, but he despaired of the tremendous task and returned home. Then Aidan was consecrated and sent to be bishop. After the custom of the Scots he took up his seat on an island, Lindisfarne - as has been stated before-, near the Bericlian capital Bamborough. Here there grew up a monastery on the Keltic plan, like that of Iona. However, Aidan himself ruled as abbot and bishop. Lindisfarne was a very effective missionary center for the land. Thru it Scottish (1) influence reached north-

(1) Scottish in that age meant the 'Irish' of our day.

eastern England, and changed the land as much almost as it had changed western Scotland. It spread far southwards, but its center always was regarded to be Iona. Keltic monasticism and the work of Columba around Iona have previously been described.

"The hermitic tendency of Keltic monasticism never disappeared, and just as the original monasteries in Ireland themselves were mission stations for the tribes among which they were placed, so Iona became a mission station not only for the Dalriadic Scots but also for the Picts. Irish monasticism, however, underwent some changes outside of Ireland: the love of wandering, the restlessness which Columba the soldier of the island showed by his inability to be idle even for an hour, drove the monks to travel: on the Continent they aimed to live as strangers, but at Iona Columba and his successors strove to learn the Pictish tongue, and mission work seems to have been esteemed even more highly there than the life of quiet devotion. Learning, however, was never forgotten: not only Columba but his successor Faithne copied manuscripts. And where Iona led Lindisfarne followed. But more than all other characteristics the enthusiasm and simplicity of the Irish monks appealed to their hearers and neighbors. Above all it was in Aidan, the apostle of the north, that these spiritual gifts were seen, and on his long preaching tours he won the hearts of all. Oswald himself often went with him as interpreter (from which we may infer that Aidan did not gain the same mastery of the language that Columba did), and

as a king Oswald answered to Aidan's ideal: frequent in prayer, fruitful in alms, the first English king to have, or indeed to need an almoner. But again the kings of Mercia and North Wales broke into the kingdom and killed Oswald in battle. In the succeeding disturbances Aidan died, but his work lived on. Finan was Aidan's successor at Lindisfarne.

(1). From the preceding section we are able to obtain a rough understanding of the intensity of the interest of the monks in mission work in the British Isles. Their methods were best adapted to that day and age. However, they lacked organization as we understand the term to-day. Mission work, by and large, it must be admitted was mainly done by some heroic souls. When conditions were sufficiently settled in the region in which such a leader of a band of monks had decided to work, the monks built and developed their monastic center, and from these headquarters penetrated the district around them teaching the populace not merely religious truths, but also certain phases of Christian culture, as well as practical knowledge, such as agriculture or craftsmanship. It is thus very much to the credit of the monks that we learn that England under the influence of kings favorable to Christianity became Christian by about the close of the seventh century.

Let us consider the work of the monks in France. After the conversion of Clovis, and that of many Frankish nobles, he was able to reckon with the help or at least with the

(1) Cambridge Medieval History, vol. II. p. 52.

sympathy of the "Catholic bishops everywhere: the wars that spread his power took somewhat the character of crusades against the heathen tribes, and for three centuries this was the policy of the Frankish kings." (1). Broadly speaking with the power of the Frankish kings went the power of the Church, altho the friendship between the two was sometimes closer, sometimes looser. A distinction also must be made between the new missionary bishops and the type of bishops already found in the Romanised cities. Up to the settlement under Boniface or even later we have a time in which both types appear side by side. As a rule the city bishop owed his appointment to the state, and the missionary bishop owed his to the Church. Another significant feature for us is the fact that the missionary bishops invariably were monks. However, it is not a question of differences between Roman and Celtic clergy, but merely between lands in which Roman traditions survived, and those where missions were started quite fresh. Again it should be pointed out that the extent of the mission activities of the monks would not have been as great, if it had not been for the policy of the Frankish kings to combine Christianization with the extension of their own power and influence. This will especially become clear when we consider the work of Boniface.

The difficulties and problems the monks had to face in their battle with heathenism were manifold. Local differences

(1) Cambridge Medieval History, vol. II. p. 532.

were many and strong. For instance, in Austrasia heathenism was more general to begin with and lasted longer after the Frankish conquest. Due to the successful invasion of the Franks both Christians and heathen were often driven together, so that in some places heathenism even gained strength. However, on the whole, the leading families and the towns were more Christianised than the country, which remained mainly heathen. In some places like Mainz, Cologne, and Tongres Christian communities, sometimes chiefly oriental or foreign, may have lived on since Roman times and sometimes bishops were firmly established. In others - like Trier - Christianity was just becoming general when the Frankish conquest brought in new conditions. Everything depended upon the centers to which Christianity had only begun its growth the Teutonic invaders could be but little affected by it.

The Celtic missions came to these places and infused them with a new and active spirit, and by a monastic framework guarded their power. There are some indications (2) that Celtic priests, some of whom caused him trouble, were more widely spread than we might suppose. And as Celtic monasteries became stages in systematic pilgrimages to Rome a steady stream of Christianity was brought to bear upon the Teutons. The Celtic missionaries were for the most part led to travel by the wish to live amid new surroundings. They set out to live among their new neighbors as strangers, but the evils around

(1) Such as Augstburg, which until about the year 800 was connected with Aquileia.

(2) In the letters of Boniface and elsewhere.

them forced them to become missionaries. "Although Celtic Monasticism was ascetic and rigorous, Celtic monks never feared to plunge into the world and to play a part there when it seemed good. Frankish Christianity, with its comparative strength, and neglect of penance, seemed to the great Columbanus merely superficial: he stood outside of the Frankish Church: his altar at Luxeuil was consecrated by an Irish bishop, and he had no episcopal license for his foundation. Hence the Celtic monasteries besides being centers of learning strengthened the tendency already shown to exempt monasteries from episcopal control "(1).

The Celtic monks travelled for the most part in bands of twelve, but there were other single teachers, such as Rupert, a Frank who towards the end of the seventh century came to Regensburg, the ducal court of Bavaria, and from there passed into the wild Salzkammergut where a monastery, a church, and a nunnery were founded. A similar work was accomplished by Willibrord at Regensburg, altho his first hope had been to preach to the Avars. These isolated endeavors yielded new centers of learning and Christian missions and civilization, but in later years few traces of them were left. Work on a larger scale and more considered plans were needed.

Frisia, with its unknown coasts and wild heathenism, soon began to attract missionaries. The growth of Christianity here had been due to the Franks and varied with the state of their church. The hitherto careless appointment of bishops

(1) Cambridge Medieval History, vol. II. p. 533.

had been somewhat checked, and the influence of Columbanus had reached even northward of the Rhine. A new and differently trained generation had grown up, and when the union of the kingdoms under Chlotar Ist gave the land rest, the Church thus strengthened, broke fresh ground among its neighbors east and north. Chlotar had encouraged Amadud, a hermit of Roman descent from Aquitaine, who felt himself called by Peter to distant lands to do mission work. After Chlotar had procured his consecration as a missionary bishop he worked from Ghent as his center. Hitherto Frisian merchants had come to the Franks, and Frankish rule had gained ground upon the borders, yet despite ~~of~~ that, even Maastricht and Novon, altho bishoprics, were still partly heathen. Quarrels with King Dagobert, and banishment for a time turned him to other fields. But both around Ghent and at Maastricht where he was afterwards bishop he was unhappy in his work. As a matter of fact, he was unsuccessful, for he tried to obtain by legalism and thru force what he should have achieved thru the preaching of the Gospel. Later he did a little work in the Danube basin, in Carinthia, at the mouth of the Scheldt, and among the Basques - a strange career which was marked by much energy and restless wandering. After his death a little more ground was gained under the direction of Cunibert of Cologne. A church was built at Utrecht, and under the well-known Eligius (1) a better foundation was laid. But the task was left unfinished until the following century. Missions in Frisia were constantly

(1) Bishop of Novon, 541, and also renowned as a silversmith. Epist. 23. Quoted from Cambridge Medieval History, vol. II. p. 534.

affected by the changes in Fran- ish politics. Also, in general it can be said that Christian missions were both altogether too fitful and too disconnected. It is a wonder that as much was accomplished as history teaches us.

In England, as the letter of Daniel, bishop of Winches- ter, to Boniface shows, the methods of missions had been carefully thought out, since local conditions not only aroused enthusias: to call forth missionaries but also gave them a training ground for their wor . Englishmen were learning at this time what careful organization and ordered work could do. They had felt the benefit of fellowship with Rome and its traditions while they still had the fresh energy of youn- ger tribes and growing states. This is the reason why in the eighth century English missionaries take the place of the earlier Celts.

The field of labor was already fixed for them. The Angles and the Saxons had not forgotten the land from which they had come. Wilfrid landed in Frisia (878) on his way to Rome (in order to avoid the enmity of Ebroin, the wavor of the palace of the king of the Franks) and stayed there for a whole winter because of the friendly welcome by Adelf's the king (who refused to sell his guest) and also his people who all together did not exactly entertain friendly feelings for the Franks. But this was only an episode. Eogbert, a Northumbrian who was afterwards to go to Iona, and who had also lived long in Ireland, but who had pledged himself to make a pilgrimage was hindered by visions and storms to make

the long journey to Frisia. Instead he sent Wiobert, his pupil, who stayed two years and then returned home again. This signal failure caused Fogbert to send another mission of twelve monks.

The leader of it, Willibrord, was a Northumbrian whose father Wilgils in his old age became a hermit. Willibrord had been educated up to the age of twenty at Ripon - Wilfrid's old monastic home. He landed and went to Utrecht, now held by Radbod the Frisian king, who must have regained territory, for Utrecht had formerly been a Frankish town. But Frisia beyond was lost to the Franks as a result of a war which was just ended and which had naturally left ill-will behind it. The defeated Radbod was little likely to favor the faith of his Frankish enemies, and Willibrord saw a chance of securing work under Frankish protection. He therefore journeyed to Pepin who also promised him help for this work which held the interest of both of them. Willibrord shared the enthusiasm of Wilfrid and Boniface for Rome and indeed others, the Irish Adamnan and Fogbert, for instance, were turning towards Rome for unity. Accordingly Willibrord went to Rome to get consent for his mission, thus beginning the policy which Wilfrid afterwards carried out on a larger scale.

Success soon made organization desirable, and the monks elected one Suidbert as their future bishop. He was consecrated in England by Wilfrid. After his return real difficulties seem to have arisen, and the new bishop left Frisia in order to preach to the Bructeri. A little later we find

Pepin taking the organization into his own hands and sending Willibrord to Rome for his consecration as archbishop of a province to include both Frankish and independent Frisia. Willibrord assumed Utrecht as his seat (695), where he also built a cathedral and a monastery. A native church began, and soon he felt able to devote to the Frisians in Radbod's territory since Radbod himself now was friendly to the Franks, and since his daughter Theutsind had married Pepin's son Grimoald. But here Willibrord's success was small. Radbod was indifferent, altho not hostile, and Willibrord went on further to preach to the Danes. Their country too he left, and when upon his return to Frisian coast he awoke the anger of the heathen by venturing to baptize some converts, so that Radbod had to interfere to save his life, Willibrord left Frisia disappointed and retired to Utrecht. After Pepin's death the quarrel between his sons enabled Radbod to regain the part of Frisia held by the Franks. The Church had gained no real hold upon the natives. Willibrord had left, the priests were put to flight, and the land once more under the sway of a heathen king became heathen too. This incident demonstrates again that the monks needed the power of the secular government in order to do successful mission work.

The most famous of the missionary monks is no doubt Winfrid, later called Boniface. He was born near Crediton (ca. 680) of a noble family. After receiving his education at the monasteries of Exeter and Nutshill. Despite bright prospects at home he determined to become a missionary.

From London he sailed to Frisia (716), where he labored for several months until the outbreak of the Frankish war forced him to retire to his West-Saxon monastery. Upon the death of his old master Winbert the monks wished to make him abbot, but he saw his future work plainly before him and so refused. In 718, after having obtained letters of commendation he went abroad again. This time he passed thru France and endeavored to visit Rome. He became acquainted with Pope Gregory and also received the name by which he was henceforth known - 'Bonifatius the religious priest' (1). Boniface and Gregory became good friends, and the pope also furnished him with much authority for his future work. Incidentally, the papacy was just in a state of reorganization at this time.

Accepting this new line of organization under papal guidance Boniface went to Thuringia where the natives, pressed upon the Franks and Saxons alike, had partly received and then lost Christianity. To win back their leaders was Boniface's new task. "The boldness he showed in felling the sacred oak at Geismar led the heathen to think that their gods had lost their power, and from these successes in Hesse Boniface passed into Thuringia. In each district he founded schools of learning and of training for his converts: Manaburg and Fritzlar in Hesse, Ohrdruf in Thuringia; for women, Tauberbischofsheim, Mitzingen, and Cönsfurt, three foundations on the main river. These were founded before his organization of Bavaria, and his favorite house of Fulda was especially planned to foster Christian civilization and to be a monastic model.

(1) Cambridge Medieval History, vol. II. p. 535.

This side of Boniface's work is sometimes overlooked in comparison with his ordering of dioceses, but the two were really complementary: on the monastic side he entered into the heritage of the Celtic monks to whom, when there was no question of disorder or irregularity, he was by no means an enemy. At Fulda Sturm, a Bavarian of his own training, ruled: there and elsewhere helpers from England, some of them bound to Boniface by ties of blood, and all by kinship in devotion, made new homes for themselves: Furchar, Lul, Denehard, Willibald, Tliebert among the men: Lioba and Walpuris among the women.

With England a lively interchange of letters was kept up." (1)

After a visit to Rome in 738 Boniface again returned to Bavaria which now had a new duke who was a generous patron of the Church. There he assumed the position of a Roman legate. A synodical meeting shortly after this took place during which the duchy of Bavaria was divided into four dioceses: Passau, Regensburg, Salzburg, and Freising. Boniface also founded a similar group of three dioceses for Hesse and Thuringia: Fulda, near Fritzlar, Würzburg, and Erfurt.

Thus Boniface the missionary monk gradually became a statesman in the service of Rome, eagerly and zealously extending the dominion of the Roman Church. For his new plans and office he constantly leaned heavily on state support. Since the policies of the Frankish king were favorable to his plans Boniface obtained letters from Charles Martel, who as mayor of the palace was the real ruler of Frankia. Boniface also

(1) Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. IV. p. 538.

states this in his letter to Bishop Daniel of Winchester:

"Without the patronage of the Prince of the Franks (1) I am able neither to rule the people of the church nor to defend the priests and deacons, the monks or nuns: I am not powerful enough to hinder the very rites of the pagans and the sacrileges of idols in Germany without his order and the dread of him."

In his old age after he had regulated affairs in Germany more or less satisfactorily, Boniface retired to Fulda, which, by an act unusual in the Frankish Church was placed directly under the authority of the pope. Knowing that his end was near (2) Boniface decided to carry out the wish of his early years, namely to work among the pagan Frisians. From 753-754 Boniface worked among the people living around the shores of the Zuiderzee. His success was not so very great, for he lacked the authority which would cause the pagan Frisian to give proper heed to him. But he did make some converts who were willing to leave their 'Gippe' to follow Christ. After about two years of work the end came. While awaiting a band of converts who were to be confirmed at Dookum a band of savages attacked him and his followers. All were slain. Then the robbers found that he did not carry with him any treasures, they scattered his books and left. Boniface's body and possessions were returned to Fulda, where he was interred.

The many activities of his busy life must not hide his great services to learning. Sometimes when the "vineyard had been dug brought forth only wild grapes, and disappointments from half heathen converts and wholly unworthy priests came

(1) This really meant Charles Martel.

(2) Cambridge Medieval History, vol. II. p. 541.

thick upon him, he turned to study ~~and~~ for rest and peace.

(1) Even when he was an old man, "buffeted by the waves of the German sea" he nevertheless kept up his desire for learning and its dissemination. His heart was literally on fire to carry the news of Christ into the darkness of Germanic heathendom." The greatness of his work was seen even more in its endurance than in its variety or its extent. He had visions of what he was to do, and he also saw the lines upon which it could be done. The Frankish Empire, monastic foundations, and ecclesiastical organization, were perhaps the great features of the times. Each of these was built up by Boniface into the works of his life." (2).

During the latter years of his reign Charlemagne had advanced as far as the northern part of the river Elbe, and even established forts on the river Eider which formed the Danish boundary. It was during these years that the influence of Christianity first made itself felt in Scandinavia. The earliest knowledge of Christianity probably came, as is so often the case, with the extension of trade. Danes and Swedes settled in Frisland and elsewhere for the purpose of trade, and either they or their emissaries must have made the 'White Christ' known to their heathen countrymen. The first definite mission to the North was undertaken by Willibrord at the beginning of the eighth century. He was favorably received by the Danish king Ongendus, but his mission was without fruits. (3). In 822 Pope Paschal appointed Ebbo, Archbishop

(1) Cambridge Medieval History, vol. II. p. 542.

(2) Same as (1)

(3) Cambridge Medieval History, vol. III. p. 313.

of Rheims, as his legate among the northern peoples. He undertook a mission to Denmark in the next years and made a few converts. But it was in 827, when King Harold was baptised and prepared to return to Denmark, that the first opportunity of preaching the Gospel in Denmark really came. With the opportunity came the man. Harold was accompanied by Ansgar, who more than any man deserves to be called 'Apostle of the Scandinavian North'. Leaving his monastery at Corvey in Saxony, and filled with zeal to preach the Gospel to the heathen, Ansgar made many converts, but Harold's failure to regain the sovereignty injured his mission in Denmark. Thus we find him two years later, at the request of the Swedes themselves, preaching the Gospel in Sweden. After a year and a half of mission work in Sweden Ansgar was recalled. He was made Archbishop of Hamburg and received, jointly with Ebo, jurisdiction over the whole of the northern realm. Gauthbert was made first bishop of Sweden and founded a church at Uppsala, but after a few years of work he was expelled during a rebellion. Meanwhile very little progress was made in Denmark. No churches were established, but Ansgar did accomplish a good deal in training Danish youths in Christian principles at his school in Hamburg.

Ansgar's position became very difficult when the lands from which his income was derived passed into the hands of Charles the Bold, and still more so when the seat of his jurisdiction was destroyed by an invasion of the Danes in 845. Louis the German afterwards made amends by appointing him to the bishopric of Bremen, afterwards united with the

restored archbishopric of Hamburg. Ansgar now set himself to the task of gaining influence with King Horic, and later with his successor, Horic the Younger. He was so far successful that the first Christian church was established at Alesvik, soon followed after by one at Ribe. He also concerned himself with Sweden once more, gaining authority for his mission by undertaking embassies from both Horic and Louis. He obtained permission for the preaching of Christianity and continued his activities to the day of his death in 835. (1).

Ansgar had done much for Christianity in the North. His own fiery zeal had, however, not been well supported ~~by~~ even by his chosen followers, and the tangible results were thus rather few. Christianity had found a hearing in Denmark and Sweden, but Norway was as yet untouched. A few churches had been built in the southern part of both countries, a certain number of adherents had been gained among the nobles and trading classes, but the masses of the people remained untouched. The first introduction was too closely bound up with the political and diplomatic relations of northern Europe for it to be otherwise, and the episcopal relation was far more elaborate than requirements demanded (2). The Church did not as yet possess the necessary prestige to make Christianity seem important to those people. The empire was discordant, and even the Church was in an unhealthy condition - all of which these northern tribes did not fail to notice. Ansgar's period was not so very conducive to the propagation of the Gospel as it was carried out at that time.

(1) & (2) Cambridge "Medieval History, vol. III. p. 314.

However, the desire to Christianise the North never died. After conditions became more favorable, viz., after the Normans finally became settled, and the connections of the Scandinavian peoples with Europe became more intimate commercially, Christianity was also carried by the monks into the interior of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

About the year ¹⁰⁰⁰ thousand A. D. when the Hungarians were settled in the Danubian plains and their king, Stephen, became Christian along with his people, interest in the propagation of Christianity lagged. The wild and disordered times since the death of Charlemagne had left their mark upon Europe. The monasteries themselves degenerated and very frequently became altogether political institutions or cut themselves off from effectual intercourse with the territory in which they were situated. During the time of Otto I the state forced some reforms upon the ecclesiastical body, for the condition of the church had come to such a pass that the state could no longer tolerate the prevailing conditions. The Clunian reforms at the time of Alexander and Gregory gave the monasteries a new spirit. However, monasticism was far too much concerned with its own affairs to have much time or energy for missions among the heathen lands.

The Crusades revived the desire for missions. However, it was only isolated monks that actively engaged in mission work proper. The Crusades were too much of a political struggle to ward off the threatening Mohammedans. The monks that went out during the first few Crusades found that their endeavors

were discouragingly unsuccessful.

However, something of a change came about after Francis of Assisi personally preached and engaged in the Fifth Crusade. He was the founder of the Black Friars, and is regarded as the founder of modern Missions. For that particular Crusade he started two bands of missionaries, one to Morocco, and one to Syria, accompanying the latter himself. As the destination of the Crusade was Egypt, he left his companions in Syria and proceeded to Egypt alone. The story is told that in Egypt he boldly marched into the Saracene camp, and making straight for the headquarters of the Sultan Meladin, to whom he said, "I am not sent of man, but of God, to show thee the way of salvation!" "The spirit of love which animated Francis so won the heart of the Sultan, that he allowed him to preach the Gospel to the Moslems, and begging him to entreat God to reveal in some way the best religions" (1).

In the years 1291 Acre, the last stronghold in Syria, fell, bringing the Crusades to an end. However, there was a semi-monastic order, the Teutonic Knights, who, deprived of their hope to serve the Church in the Holy land, looked about for some employment useful to the Church. They were invited to conquer and Christianize the heathen Prussians, or P r s s i a n s , as they were also called. This people had hitherto offered a most stubborn and successful resistance to all attempts at Christianization. King Ottokar of Bohemia assigned to the order all the land that the knights would

(1) A Brief History of Missionary Enterprise in Ancient and Modern Times. Lecture Memoranda World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910. London 1910.

conquer. A fierce struggle began. It was not until the end of the fourteenth century that the order was firmly established in East and West Prussia. In order to keep the land subjugated the Knights studded the countryside with fortresses. The land was Christianized by blood and sword, but it was not evangelized. These monks in armor found the task of instructing the heathen in the doctrines of our Savior not at all suited to their wild temperament. They found it easier to colonize German immigrants whom ordinary monks and priests followed, thus establishing the land on a Christian foundation.

The Knights of the Sword, a minor affiliate to the Teutonic Order, conquered Curland and Estonia. As a missionary agency they did not attain importance. The commerce established by the Hanseatic League was followed by German settlements, which in turn produced monasteries. It was the ordinary monk and priest, not the Knight, who Christianized those territories.

In order to combat the heresies of the early thirteenth century the Dominican Order was founded. This became a very energetic missionary agency. However, the Dominican monks expended most of their energies on the suppression of heresies and home mission work. It is only the exceptional monk that ventured beyond Christendom. For all practical purposes we may state that the period for energetic foreign mission work passed. The monasticism fell into decay during the subsequent years, and the active interest of the monks in mission work did not revive until Reformation times.

It was a period when the monks were merely an arm of the papacy for the extension of secular power thru the exertion of spiritual pressure upon the consciences of the people. The monks became the spiritual shock troops of the papacy. Their interest in missions at this time had become secondary to their desire of strengthening and extending the power of the Church. It was with this aim in mind that in 1245 a pope sent two embassies of monks to the Mongol princes to charge them to desist from desolating the lands of Europe, and to attempt to win them over to the Christian faith. This effort was repeated by a Franciscan monk in 1253.

After Marco Polo returned from the East with his sensational report of Oriental conditions, the pope of that time was intrigued at the prospect of keeping the advancing Mohammedans in check by Christianizing the Mongols, and having them attack the Mohammedan dominions from the East. Towards that end he sent two learned Dominican monks with a message to the Mongol Emperor in Peking. Hoping to obtain their necessary supplies on the road, these monks walked the entire distance to Peking and delivered their message. Of course, their effort to convince their Chinese of the merits of the Christian religion failed. However, it is of interest to know that these two intrepid men returned safely.

"Among the pioneer missionaries and travellers of the East, a conspicuous place is due to the Friar Ordrico de Pordenove, commonly called Il Beato, the blessed." (1) He entered the Franciscan Order early and, driven by an in-

(1) Cp. note of following page.

curably "wanderlust" proceeded to the remote countries of the East, proposing to convert the infidel and idolator. He is believed to have been absent from Italy for the space of sixteen years. These wanderings took him to the Mesopotamian territories, to Persia, the Caucasian mountains, to India, and Ceylon, where he was so appalled by the degraded condition of the people that he attempted to preach to them, but, as he frankly admitted, without success. After this he sailed down the Indian Ocean to Sumatra and Java, whence he appears to have reached the Islands of Japan, which he calls Zapan. He next entered the empire of China, and then turned west, reaching Tibet after long and dangerous wanderings. He returned to his native land about 1330, when he was forty-four years old, but he died within a few months (1).

Europe was passing through a period of spiritual stagnation. The Great Schism had weakened the secularized Church. The missionary interest of the monks was at a very low ebb. The laic interest in missions, to be sure, did not die, but actually nothing was done worth recording. Monasticism had outlived its usefulness. A new age was about to dawn, and mission work was to undergo a radical change. The day was to dawn when foreign missionaries would again endeavor to evangelize individual men, instead of Christianizing entire peoples. What are our conclusions about the interest of monasticism in the missions of the Middle Ages? Monasticism evidently filled a great need in that chaotic and insecure period which we call

(1) "A Brief History of Missionary Enterprise in Ancient and Modern Times." Lecture Memoranda World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910. London 1910.

the Middle Ages. The monks due to their organization were the spiritual shock troops of the Church, extending the dominion of Christianity in a manner which appears to have been best suited to the age. The great aim of monasticism was union with the Divine, however, they did not fail to be a haven to the peoples among whom they built monasteries, which were not only a place of refuge for the shipwrecked, but also a source of culture in a period during which barbaric practices had gained the upper hand. It was the monks that held up the lamp of learning when incessant warfare caused the warrior to have the greatest value in society. It was the intrepid monk that broke the path for the parish priest. The monks were the only effective agency willing to convert those whom the Church had not yet reached.

The monks belonged to the aristocracy of the Church. Their relation to the secular powers was at times quite intimate. Indeed, their attempts at mission work were never successful unless the prestige of secular allies had opened the door for them. Monasticism was never satisfied with the mere propagation of the doctrines of the Church, but always intended to suffuse the barbaric and heathen peoples with the cultural background of Christianity. Social service and Christian instruction were regarded as one unit by them.

The extent of their endeavors consisted of central and northwestern Europe. These territories they dotted with their settlements. Closely combined as were their missionary efforts with the extension of secular Christian authority, it may

also be said that it is doubtful whether Christian princes could very long have maintained their position in the newly-conquered territories without the missionary efforts of the monks. Much of their work was fitful and lacked organization and thoroughness, yet none dare deny the fact that they doubtless were an effectual means of our Lord to extend His Gospel. The Church forever owes this debt to monasticism.

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