

CHRISTIAN HISTORY

Issue 150

Anniversary
of Protestant
Missions
Zinzendorf and
the Moravians

Inaugural
Issue

Issue 144

CHRISTIAN HISTORY

christian history
in images

Stories worth retelling

Our readers' favorites
from 150 issues

CHRIST



Did you know?

How could we possibly narrow down the most memorable "Did you know?" facts from 150 issues of CH? We did our best! Here are only a handful of our favorites.

#2 Benjamin Franklin printed John Wesley's sermon "On Free Grace" and several sermons by Wesley's friend and fellow preacher George Whitefield. In turn Wesley read everything Franklin wrote on the physics of electricity, then wrote his own treatise on electricity. The two men never met!

#5 Facing arrest as an Anabaptist, Dirck Willems fled for his life across a frozen lake. When his pursuer broke through the ice, Willems gave up his chance to escape by turning to save his persecutor. He was then captured, imprisoned, and burned at the stake in 1569.

#8 As part of his daily devotions, Jonathan Edwards rode his horse into the woods and walked alone, meditating. He would write notes to himself on scraps of paper and pin them to his coat. On returning home he would be met by his wife, Sarah, who would help unpin his notes.

#15 Augustine set part of his written campaign against the Donatist heresy to verse. Around AD 394 he composed a song he titled "An ABC against the Donatists" and encouraged it to be frequently sung by the orthodox churches in his diocese. It became quite popular.

#40 BY CAROLINE T. MARSHALL

Crusades were outrageously expensive. King Louis IX spent more than six times his annual income to finance one Crusade.

SCATTERBRAIN This caricature of Chesterton does not seem far from the mark. He supposedly telegraphed his wife on a lecture tour: "Am in Market Harborough. Where ought I to be?"

SILENCE IS A VIRTUE This illustration from *The Tiberius Psalter* shows monks using sign language to communicate during meal times.

#45 BY TIMOTHY K. BEOUGHER

Peter Cartwright, long-time circuit rider in Illinois, was twice elected to the Illinois legislature. His one defeat was in the congressional race of 1846, when he lost to Abraham Lincoln.

#59 Children in Jesus's day played games similar to hopscotch and jacks. Archaeologists have found whistles, rattles, toy animals on wheels, hoops, and spinning tops. Older children and adults found time to play too, mainly board games. A form of checkers was popular.

#69 BY ELESHA COFFMAN

Charles Wesley could sympathize with today's caffeine addicts. He tried to give up tea, but writes, "my flesh protested against it. I was but half awake and half alive all day; and my headache so increased toward noon, that I could neither speak nor think.... I could hardly sit my horse."

#73 Thomas Aquinas did not even live to see his fiftieth birthday, but he produced an enormous body of writing: more than 10 million words in some 60 works. If he had written them, no one would be able to read them (he had notoriously bad handwriting). Instead he dictated to secretaries—sometimes several at once.





TEA TIME? John Wesley was given this teapot, but wrote against obsession with tea, perhaps inspiring Charles to attempt to quit caffeine.

Strasbourg. Ursula did not stop him, but the magistrates did; they put him in an insane asylum.

#134 Are therapy animals, aromatherapy, the mind-body connection, and healthy gut bacteria all inventions of modern science and psychology? No! Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179), an abbess, botanist, medical writer, and composer, wrote about these topics in the Middle Ages.

#136 BY ROBERT G. TUTTLE JR.

After his conversion E. Stanley Jones tried to convert his friends by reading the New Testament at the barbershop where they had once played cards. After he led one to Jesus, he said that instead of a hand of poker, he had played “the pierced hand of Christ” to win his friend.

#140 ADAPTED FROM JAMES COMO, C. S. LEWIS AT THE BREAKFAST TABLE

In his essay “On Three Ways of Writing for Children,” Lewis recalled announcing “I loathe prunes” very loudly in the dining room of a hotel. A little boy nearby announced just as loudly, “So do I.” Lewis showed similar empathy in writing to children. In a letter written the day before he died, he noted to one boy, “All the children who have written to me see at once who Aslan is, and grownups never do!” **GI**

#87 Indian Christians claim an ancient heritage. According to tradition, the apostle Thomas landed on the Malabar coast of southwest India in AD 52. He healed the sick and demon-possessed and converted people from various castes.

#93 Robert Lacey and Danny Danziger describe a Benedictine sign language manual from Canterbury listing no fewer than 127 hand signals, such as for “pillow” (“Stroke the sign of a feather inside your left hand”) and requests such as “Pass the salt” (“Stroke your hands with your three fingers together, as if you were salting something”). “One gets the impression,” wrote Lacey and Danziger, “that mealtimes in a Benedictine refectory were rather like a gathering of baseball coaches, all furiously beckoning, squeezing their ear lobes, meaningfully rubbing their fingers up and down the sides of their noses, and smoothing their hands over their stomachs.”

#113 As a journalist G. K. Chesterton wrote over 100 books and 4,000 newspaper articles, often dictating two articles at once to his secretary while waving a swordstick for dramatic effect. Yet his absent-mindedness is legendary. One day he misplaced his pajamas while traveling. When his exasperated wife, Frances, asked, “Why did you not buy a new pair?” he replied plaintively, “Are pajamas things that one can buy?”

#118 Despite being the main author of Anglicanism’s famed Book of Common Prayer, Thomas Cranmer was a modestly talented student, ranking 32nd in his Cambridge class of 42.

#131 Ursula Jost, Anabaptist prophet from Strasbourg, was married to a butcher, Lienhard, also a prophet. Both had their visions published. Lienhard reported receiving a message that he should prophesy “stark naked” throughout



PIERCED FOR CHRIST This relic, a spearhead, can be found in San Thome Basilica in Chennai, where the apostle Thomas died at the hands of hostile Brahmins around AD 72.

Senior editor's note

How do you tell the story of Christian history? And what makes *Christian History* Christian history?

The first time I ever had to think about those questions from an editorial standpoint was in 2012, when I wrote my very first editor's letter for *CH*, introducing our issue #104 on Christians in the Industrial Revolution. I went back and reread that letter before I wrote this one, and it proceeded much the same way I often have proceeded in these letters: a summary of the articles in the issue coupled with some thoughts about how all of this applies to us today. I concluded:

The articles here are intentionally varied; we may not agree with, or endorse, all those who brought the resources of the Christian faith to bear on economic change. But this range of articles shows how many, many people tried to apply Jesus's teachings to the world they lived in, during strange and confusing times.

Obviously, these stories are also relevant to our own day. We also live in a time of tremendous economic and technological dislocation. We also wonder which way to turn. Let the voices in this issue help remind us that Jesus is Lord; the same yesterday, today, and forever.

In so concluding, I was stepping (faithfully, I hope) into a mission that was already long at work.

Since the very beginning of *Christian History* in 1982, the magazine has tried to do something that—though we hope it looks easy on the page—is very, very hard. It's very easy to tell the story of Christianity from "outside": through purely naturalistic eyes, as something caused and acted out by humans sociologically, economically, and culturally. (Trust me on this: I survived getting a PhD at a secular university.) It's also very easy to tell the story of Christianity from "inside": as a story of triumph, conversion, and purity,

with clear heroes and villains and with no one ever being allowed to have mixed motives. (The technical word for this kind of history is "hagiography," and you can trust me on this too, because over the past 11 years I've read a fair amount of mail from people who want hagiography.)

MAKING CHRISTIAN HISTORY

But what Ken Curtis set before us as a mission, and what we've tried to do for 41 years and—as of this issue in your hands—150 issues, is neither of those things. We have tried to tell a story that is "intentionally varied"; that takes into account social, cultural, and economic forces; that recognizes mixed motives and disagreements; that acknowledges the dead ends and detours the people of God have sometimes been led to; that criticizes where criticism is necessary and challenges the myths we may have cherished—all while affirming that God is still in control.

Can we point to any single historical act and say that we absolutely know the will of God on the matter? I would say that the answer is almost always "no." Can we point to the history of the church as a whole and say that we perceive the Holy Spirit at work, even at times when it seems an absolute mystery as to how and where? I would say that the answer is always "yes." As you read the articles in this issue, drawn from the most popular and most important we've published in the previous 149 issues, let the voices in *this* issue help remind us that Jesus is Lord; the same yesterday, today, and forever.

And that is what makes Christian history. And also *Christian History*. **CH**



Jennifer Woodruff Tait
Senior editor

The articles in this special 150th issue of *Christian History* are adapted from past issues and have been modified for the purposes of this particular edition of *CH*. To read each adapted article featured in this issue in its entirety, access our website. Select back issues and all issues from 100 and up are available to read and download in full color for free. We also offer downloads of the text of every back issue of *CH* at no cost.



Managing editor's note

When I started with Vision Video in 2012, my husband had to convince me to take the job.

I graduated from college in late 2010, right in the middle of an economic recession, and I could not find a job in any writing-adjacent fields. In fact the only positions available were the sort I had been told to go to college to avoid: low-paying, high-stress, customer-service-related ones.

Two years later I had found the opportunity with Vision Video that promised growth and work with Christian History Institute. It started, however, as a customer-service position—and hesitation welled inside me. Was I setting myself up for disappointment?

Thank the Lord for wise counselors who can see the forest for the trees.

MISSION MATTERS

What I found at Vision Video (VV) and Christian History Institute (CHI) was a culture I never experienced in any other work environment. Every week President Bill Curtis met with staff to share a devotional and prayer. Though we all came from various faith traditions, we found in common our brotherhood and sisterhood in Christ. During high call-volume times, we rallied, united, and encouraged one another; sure, customer service can be stressful, but we had great customers who loved and supported what our organization was doing. You'd be surprised at the difference that makes.

It's been over a decade since I took a chance on CHI, and I've been here through a lot: two babies, my spouse's ministry changes, a major move, and more. People ask me why, and I think it boils down to one thing: Mission matters. It is reflected in the way an organization operates, in the content it produces, and especially in the way it cares

for its people. VV and CHI have changed over the years and so has my own role, but the vision that Ken had from the very beginning lives on at the organization's core.

I have partnered with *Christian History* for 45 issues in various roles, learning, growing, and changing the entire way. It is now my joy and honor to see that vision continue as managing editor. I am so grateful for the leadership and direction that Jennifer Woodruff Tait has provided for *CH*; I have learned so much from her and expect I'll be picking her incredibly knowledgeable brain in the future. I am also thankful for Dawn Moore, my mentor and predecessor at CHI; for the continued counsel and expertise of Chris Armstrong, senior editor; and for the steadfast commitment of the *CH* team. Please be sure to look back at past issues of the magazine to get to know them in our "Meet the team" feature on the "Letters to the editor" pages!

As you will see on the following pages, we have adapted some of the most popular stories *CH* has told throughout the years. Most are condensed, and we have updated some language and scholarship to give you the most accurate historical picture we can, but the heart of each story remains the same. And though we couldn't retell them all, we sought to capture the stories of the faith that you, our readers, have found most impactful throughout the years. With this 150th issue, one of milestones, capstones, and new beginnings, I hope you will celebrate with us what makes *Christian History* the unique publication that it truly is—its

mission, yes, but also its people, who love and believe in that mission and bring it to life with every issue. **CH**



Kaylena Radcliff
Managing editor

Find *Christian History* on Facebook as ChristianHistoryMagazine, or visit www.christianhistorymagazine.org. Read daily stories at www.christianhistoryinstitute.org/today. For Twitter, use @christiaHistory, and for Instagram, @christianhistorymagazine.

Don't miss our next issue, the second in our Revival series, focusing on the Great Awakenings.

We thank the many readers who support this ministry, making it possible for us to provide *Christian History* in print. Please visit www.ChristianHistoryMagazine.org to renew or begin a subscription to *Christian History*.

Letters to the editor

Readers respond to *Christian History*

A LITTLE SPICE MIGHT BE NICE

Instead of always doing general surveys of topics in generalized terms (with all articles connected), it seems to me the magazine would be more interesting if you did several in-

depth articles in each issue on unrelated subjects. Also, [you should] address some of the controversies in detail, giving both sides. Also getting away from just covering evangelical histories, but the entire spectrum of Christianity, even the cults and heresies. I say that as a conservative evangelical myself. The magazine gets boring after a while.—Dan Tyree, Elizabeth, AR



Thanks for the feedback, Dan, and we'll keep working on ways to make CH a delight to our readers and a better telling of the full story of the church. I hope we gave you a little of what you were asking for here by covering many aspects of Christian history in one issue!

LILIAS LEAVES AN IMPRESSION

I'm a subscriber that discovered your publication through enrollment in Christian Leaders College. The school uses some of your articles as required reading for some of their courses such as Christian History. So far, I have received 3 of your issues. I've only briefly read through them. However, today I received your latest issue and was intrigued by your coverage of Trotter. I had never heard of her before. I thought it was interesting that she was a missionary, painter, and author. So, I began reading the issue. I cannot put it down!

What an amazing individual. Her art is breathtaking, her life and mission amazing, but her spiritual writings have me in tears. . . . I had to write down some of the quotes from the excerpts you printed of hers. Thank you so very much for making this issue. Now I've got to get her books. I love her message and how she viewed the world and saw God within it all.—Joseph Peter Mills, Defuniak Springs, FL

I've been meaning to send a note like this for a long time, and receiving the recent issue on Lilius Trotter has finally prompted me to do it! I've been receiving *Christian History* for many years and I've always been so impressed with the aesthetic quality of the issues, in addition to the high-caliber scholarship of the articles. Thank you for all of the effort you've invested in these publications. What a pleasure to read.—Jennifer Jesse, Kirksville, MO

Wanted you to know that your Lilius Trotter issue was a great inspiration. As I am preparing to run a Catholic history conference and preparing and editing various papers, I was running dry. Writers need to read—more than they write. Trotter appeared and I read it cover to cover, something rarely done. Many of your pages are covered with green highlighter and gel pen notes in the margins. I'm good now for a few more papers. Also glad to see a mention and striking picture of one of my favorite Catholic saints (canonized last summer) Charles Eugène de Foucauld (Charles of Jesus). His Ignatius biography by Jean-Jacques Antier is a page turner.—Stan Williams, digital subscriber

We were also delighted to learn about the life of this little-known missionary and artist. It quickly rose to become a favorite issue for some of our team too!

ANCIENT PRACTICES FOR TODAY?

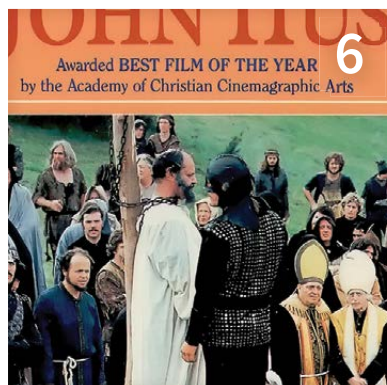
I enjoy every issue that examines the various facets of an aspect of the theme. I've learned so much about the early church and the cultural environment of the times. I'd never before heard an in-depth exploration of the monks and their ministry in the wilderness. I found the explanation of the early church's strict church discipline something the church today should adopt. If nonbelievers were banned from worship and communion services with Christians evangelizing their communities and teaching the doctrine before admitting them, I doubt there would be so much dissension in the church today. Christians are too willing to negotiate with nonbelievers or those not committed to discipleship.—Wanda Barrett, Bedford, PA

A SPIRITUAL BALM

I was just released from incarceration in September '23 after 21 years. Through most of that time I received *Christian History* magazine. It was and is a balm of spiritual encouragement. The enclosed gift is a small thank you for CHI's dedication to historical truth. P.S. Ever thought of doing an issue on ministry to and by Native Americans?—Doug, Indianapolis, IN

Thank you for sharing how CH has ministered to you through the years. We are blessed to be able to send the magazine to many incarcerated individuals, thanks to the generous donations of our subscribers. We also thank you for your topic suggestion—we have it on our list of potential issues.

CHRISTIAN HISTORY



Stories worth retelling

6 The history of *CH*

Chris A. Armstrong and Bill Curtis

10 The whole story

Bruce Shelley

13 Missions and martyrs

Edwin Yaumachi, William G. Bixler, and Warren J. Smith

16 Last at the cross

Catherine Kroeger

17 The emperor, the healer, and the teacher

David F. Wright, Timothy S. Miller, and Dan Graves

20 When Jerusalem wept

Robert Louis Wilken

21 Conquests and convents

G. R. Evans, Ann K. Warren, George T. Dennis, and Daniel V. Runyon

25 Severe salvation

Richard Fletcher

26 Moments that mattered

Elesha Coffman, Bill Curtis, David Neff, Jennifer Woodruff Tait, and James D. Smith III

28 Sparks and trials

Brian H. Edwards, Scott H. Hendrix, and Peter Matheson

32 Luxury meets Christ

Katie M. Benjamin

33 Johns worth knowing

E. Beatrice Batson, J. D. Walsh, and Aubrynn Whitted

36 The golden age of hymns

Vinita Hampton Wright

37 Founding fathers

James E. Johnson, Patricia Stallings Kruppa, and Timothy George

40 Chained bodies, freed souls

Albert J. Raboteau

41 Surprised by Christ

Lyle W. Dorsett, Matt Forster, and Kaylena Radcliff

44 Russian Christianity and the revolution

Andrew Sorokowski

45 Why read Christian history?

Chris Armstrong

46 Witnesses of an unseen world

Dan Graves

Also: • Did you know?, inside front cover

- Editors' notes, p. 2
- Letters, p. 4
- Recommended resources, p. 51

Founder
A. K. Curtis

Senior Editors
Chris Armstrong
Jennifer Woodruff Tait

Managing Editor
Kaylena Radcliff

Publisher
Christian History Institute

Executive Editor
Bill Curtis

Contributing Editor
Edwin Woodruff Tait

Design Editor
Doug Johnson

Proofreader
Meg Moss

Layout
Dan Graves

Image Researcher
Max Pointner

Editorial Assistants
Grace Bert
Melody Schwartz

Circulation
Sara Campbell

Print Coordinator
Deb Landis

©2024 Christian History Institute. Cover: Books and magazines, Douglas Johnson Photography.

Christian History is published by Christian History Institute, P. O. Box 540, Worcester, PA, 19490 and is indexed in *Christian Periodical Index*, ISSN 0891-9666. **Subscriptions** are available on a donation basis. **Letters to the editor** may be sent to editor@ChristianHistoryInstitute.org and **permissions requests** to info@ChristianHistoryInstitute.org. **Credits:** We make every effort to obtain proper permission to reproduce images. If you have information about an image source that is not credited, please let us know.

www.ChristianHistoryMagazine.org • 1-800-468-0458



The history of *Christian History*

WHAT MADE CH WHAT IT IS TODAY? OUR UNIQUE BEGINNINGS GUIDE OUR MISSION

Chris A. Armstrong and Bill Curtis

Christian History magazine started from unlikely roots. As a young man in the 1960s and 1970s, New Englander A. Kenneth (Ken) Curtis (1939–2011) trained in ministry and mass media at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary and Boston University Graduate School. This preparation led Ken into student ministry at a large Boston church and work in radio and TV.

In time Ken's twin enthusiasms for film and faith led him to join a partnership that created the film *The Cross and the Switchblade*, which eventually led to the formation of Gateway Films. Gateway tried out various films in the Christian market, not finding much success until the company put one out on protoreformer Jan (or John) Hus. Ken related being "surprised and appalled" to discover how little people in evangelical Protestant churches knew about the faith's historical heritage.

With John Hus, Gateway had found its niche. The company went on to coproduce the award-winning *Shadowlands*—the story of C. S. Lewis's late-life love affair with Helen Joy Davidman—and many other quality films with historical themes. Ken's films eventually garnered more than 30 awards, including an international Emmy. In 1981, during the explosive early years of the video industry, Ken founded a distribution company called Vision Video to make edifying, spiritually themed videos widely available. The company now carries over one thousand titles.

When the team began providing guidebooks with their historical films, starting with a 16-pager for the Hus production, they hit upon the formula for *Christian History*. The following year, as the young company developed a film on the eighteenth-century nobleman Nicolaus Von Zinzendorf and his far-reaching Moravian missionary movement, the guide concept became a full-blown magazine—and *Christian History* was born in 1982 with issue #1.

Ken jumped into the new magazine with the creative energy of a true entrepreneur. Remembers his son, Executive Editor Bill Curtis, "Dad would have these ideas in the morning—by the afternoon he'd write it up and off it went."

After the issue on the Moravians came treatments of John Wesley and the Methodists, John Wycliffe, Huldrych Zwingli, the Anabaptists, and more. The magazine quickly settled into a quarterly schedule.

TRANSITIONS, ON EARTH AND IN GLORY

By 1989 *Christian History* had grown to such proportions that it was becoming unwieldy for Ken's small,

RECOVERING OUR ROOTS When Ken Curtis (*right*) learned how little many in the evangelical Protestant church knew of their own Christian heritage, he set out to change that with *Christian History*. 150 issues later (*opposite page*), his vision lives on.



Pennsylvania-based staff. He decided to transfer it to a company specializing in Christian magazine publishing: Christianity Today International (CTI). Though Ken remained involved in some aspects of *CH*, CTI took the reins for three decades.

When in 2002, as I (Chris) was finishing a PhD in church history at Duke University, I learned that the *Christian History* managing editor position was opening up—and then when I was chosen to fill it—I was as excited as I have ever been. In my travels I have met so many people who have been profoundly impacted by this magazine. I remember visiting a Mennonite archives in Lancaster County while working on our *Anabaptists in America* issue. There they prominently displayed *Christian History*, and an aging and bonneted archivist shared warmly about her love for it.

During my time as editor, I got to meet Ken and Bill and tour the red barn 30 miles outside of Philadelphia where *Christian History* was born. Ken struck me as a person of tremendous energy and vision with a pastor's heart. I told him how, because he had followed his vision where it led him, he had changed my life. Discovering the magazine and seeing that our faith heritage could be communicated through a combination of vibrant storytelling and scholarly integrity led me to study church history academically. And I think a lot of readers are drawn into the magazine by that same combination of narrative power and historical accuracy.

Ken then shared with me the challenge he faced. In December 2002, he had been diagnosed with lung cancer and given less than two years to live. Most doctors he spoke with believed six months was a more reasonable estimate. Miraculously, however, as late as spring 2010, he was still living in what he called "bonus time," even as his medical situation continued to mystify his doctors.

Meanwhile, as Ken considered how to best use his limited time, *Christian History* was facing its own limits. In 2008 the financial crisis hit, leaving CTI with some difficult decisions. CTI halted the print edition of *CH* at issue #99, along with half of its other magazines.



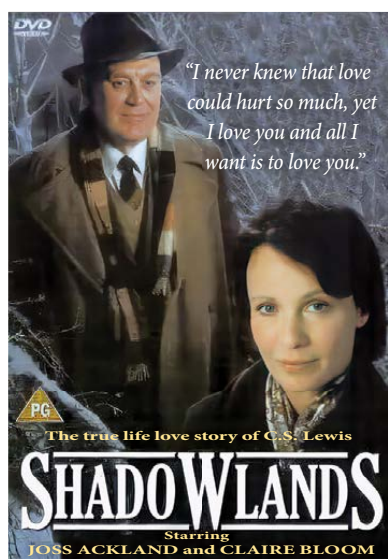
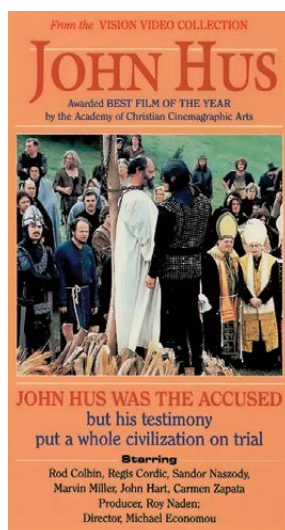
Ultimately in 2010 CTI dropped the print edition, but an arrangement was made to transfer the magazine back to Christian History Institute.

In December of that same year, Ken's doctors recommended he discontinue treatment and enter hospice care.

Ken's dying dream was to publish issue #100 to recognize the 400th anniversary of the printing of the King James Bible.

After Ken's passing on January 2, 2011, his son, Bill, picked up the torch. In spring 2011, through the efforts of the team in Pennsylvania working with me (Chris) and some new, talented editorial and art specialists across the country, *Christian History* was reborn with the long-delayed issue #100.

The issue went out with a letter explaining that the magazine was restarting under its original management and asking readers to consider providing feedback and a donation for future issues. What came next shocked and delighted us: an incredible outpouring of support in the form of prayers, gifts, and encouraging, enthusiastic letters. Such unprecedented support enabled issue #101: *Healthcare and Hospitals* to go to press later that year. It was no accident this topic was picked as we all thought



BREAKOUT FILMS *The Cross and the Switchblade* (far left) was released in 1970 to popularity but not much financial success. Gateway Films, formed afterward, produced the surprisingly successful *John Hus* (left) in 1980. *Shadowlands* (below) was released in 1985 to critical acclaim.

about Ken's eight-year journey with traditional and integrated medicine.

Two issues and the history of worship mini-guide were printed in 2012, and the year after that, the magazine began printing on a quarterly basis. Since then *CH* has published 49 more issues, continuing with the quarterly schedule that also included special and bonus issues, two additional guides, and two devotionals—all without a traditional subscription model but entirely through donor support.

WHY CHRISTIAN HISTORY?

Ken and the *Christian History* team wanted to address a sore lack in modern American Christianity. "Christians are handicapped by a lack of knowledge of the story of those who have preceded us in generations past," he wrote in a "publisher's note" in *CH*'s first issue. "An awareness of Christian history is one of the most neglected but necessary ingredients in the spiritual diet of Christians today."

In other words Ken believed we need to read Christian history

because the modern American church has cut itself off from the power and nourishment of its spiritual heritage (for more on "Why Christian history?" see p. 45). From the beginning, *Christian History* has tried to fill this lack, ministering this power and shared heritage to an amnesiac church, through stories told with integrity and care and filled with memorable details.

It has never been hard to find these stories—they are as many and as diverse as the global church. Categories of our issue topics reveal the values expressed in that very first publisher's note. Always anchored in evangelical Protestantism with its care for the gospel and scriptural orthodoxy, *CH* has explored Paul and his times, how we got our Bible, the Bible teaching of various church fathers, heresy in the early church, the Council of Nicaea, the King James Bible, the Bible in America, and modern Protestant retrievals of ancient faith and practice.

With evangelicism's care for the missionary impulse and the global church, the magazine has also tracked the spread of the gospel through the centuries, giving our



THERE . . . The production and oversight of *Christian History* moved from CHI's red barn (below) in Worcester, Pennsylvania, to Christianity Today International's headquarters in Carol Stream, Illinois (left), where CTI took the reins for 30 years.



Christ—as well as frank and honest accounts of controversies and missteps. Among those conflagrations treated in our pages have been the American Revolution, the Civil War, the Industrial Revolution, Christianity and Judaism, and World Wars I and II.

Overall, *CH* has sought to uncover the story of the church around the world and in the places we don't always look. While we love to tell the well-known and well-loved stories, we have also often uncovered episodes many readers have never heard of—stories that may surprise, inspire, and challenge us to think more deeply about our faith.

A MISSION AND A MINISTRY

We have always seen *Christian History* as a ministry to the church. Alert to both the good intentions and the flawed execution of fallen humans, and attending carefully to historical integrity, our scholar-authors have explored “the rest of the story”—unearthing vivid and sometimes surprising accounts of lives that were given to passionate service to God and neighbor, events and enterprises that changed lives, and movements that shaped and reshaped the world. With colorful details and dramatic twists, *Christian History's* articles and features have shown us Christians trying to live faithfully here on earth even as they have anticipated the Lord's return.



. . . AND BACK AGAIN When the magazine returned to Christian History Institute, Bill Curtis (right) helped his father, Ken, bring issue #100 to life and continues *CH's* legacy today.

readers windows into the conversion and faith of whole people groups, from the Roman Empire in which the faith was born, outward to the early medieval Irish and Vikings, and beyond to Latin American, east Indian, African American, African (especially the twentieth-century church explosion on that continent), and Chinese Christian movements.

Since *CH* takes the gospel's spread as often involving what Jonathan Edwards once called “the surprising work of God,” we've also attended to movements of renewal, faithfulness, and church growth that emerged early and often in the church, including monastic movements, Pietism, Puritanism, various American revivals, and “the camp meetings and circuit riders” that sparked expansive growth in Baptist, Methodist, Stone-Campbell, and other American evangelical church bodies.

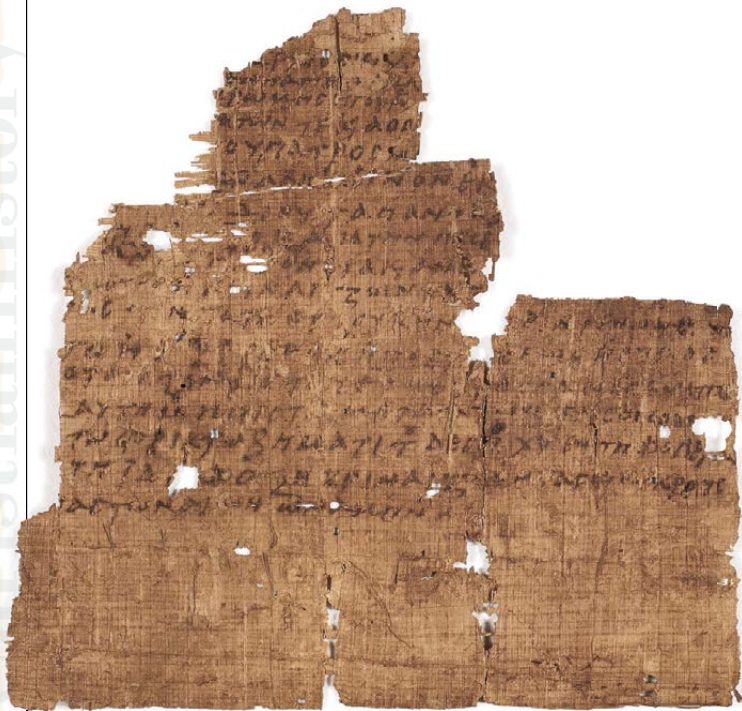
The magazine published special issues on those remarkable leaders whose teachings and lives propelled the church forward as well: John Chrysostom, Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux, Francis of Assisi, Thomas Aquinas, Martin Luther, Thomas Cranmer, Phoebe Palmer, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, to name just a few.

We have also told the hard stories—about times of conflict and upheaval that have sometimes brought out the worst, and often the best, in those who have followed

As Dr. Ken Curtis said in his first publisher's note,

Understanding of Christian history will help us in many ways. We will uncover precedents in the past of how God has worked. We will gain perspective that will help us see our current situation in a new light. We will develop a sense of continuity and see how the unfolding of God's purposes transcends any single generation, century, denomination, geography, or ideology.

We hope you have learned and grown in some of these ways through *Christian History* over the years, and we look forward to continuing to bring you edifying accounts from our shared heritage for many more years to come.
—Chris A. Armstrong and Bill Curtis **CH**



The whole story

Bruce Shelley

How does CH bring the story of the church to the people of the church? Sometimes, we tell you as much as we can! This accessible bird's-eye view of the last 2,000 years of the church, originally published in 1990, updated here with recent scholarship, continues to be the top article on our website.

After 2,000 years Christianity is the faith, at least nominally, of one-third of the earth's population. From a handful of fishermen, tax collectors, and youthful troublemakers in an obscure province of Judea, the faith spread over the globe to almost two billion people.

JESUS AND THE APOSTLES (0–70)

The way forward usually meant a studied look backward, back to the image of God revealed in the story of Jesus. Christians have always considered the age of Jesus and his apostles a kind of model for all the other ages. It gave to the church its faith in Jesus, the resurrected Messiah, and the hope of forgiveness of sins through him. The age demonstrated, in the life of Paul, that the gospel of grace recognizes no boundaries of nation, race, sex, or culture.

CATHOLIC CHRISTIANITY (70–312)

The catholic (universal) Christianity that accepted this truth spread rapidly throughout the Mediterranean world (see pp. 13–15). It confronted the ideas of Gnosticism, Marcionism, and Montanism and called a lie a lie by appealing

GOOD NEWS The apostles (with Mary, above) received the Holy Spirit and preached with power. Later, creeds such as the Nicene (left) further articulated the faith.

to the apostolic writings and to the orthodox bishops who guarded them. At the same time, Christians faced the persecuting power of Rome and dared to die as martyrs, witnesses to other believers to follow in their train. This seed of martyr's blood, as Tertullian called it, eventually bore abundant fruit in the empire's conversion.

A CHRISTIAN EMPIRE (312–590)

The imperial age began in 312 when Constantine had a vision of Christ (see pp. 17–19). Before the fourth century closed, Christianity became the official religion of the sprawling Roman state. A church in the catacombs was one thing, but what does Christianity have to do with palaces?

Under the emperor's tutelage, the church learned to serve the seats of power by formulating the faith for the masses. Hence emerged the age of great councils. Those Christians who had no yearning for palaces headed for the wilderness in search of another way. Revered hermits soon found themselves in the vanguard of monasticism, the wave of the future.

MEDIEVAL CHRISTENDOM (590–1517)

Most Christians, however, saw the hand of God in the happy wedding of Christian church and Roman state. After the fifth century, when barbarian Germans and Huns shattered the empire's defenses and swept into the eternal city



of Rome itself, people turned to Augustine's *City of God* for explanations. They found a vision for a new age. We call these centuries "medieval." The pope stepped into the ruins of the fallen empire in the West and proceeded to build the medieval church upon Rome's bygone glory. As the only surviving link with the Roman past, the Church of Rome mobilized Benedictine monks and deployed them as missionary ambassadors to the German people. Christian rulers expanded their domains, eventually converting the continent. Centuries later Christendom extended through all Europe.

Cultural and theological tensions between the East and West led to the Great Schism of 1054 (see pp. 22–23), launching each church on different trajectories. In the Eastern Empire, Orthodoxy and mystical piety flourished for a millennium. In 1453 invading Muslim Turks brought the Byzantine Empire to its final ruin. The fall of Constantinople meant the rise of Moscow, the new capital of Eastern Orthodoxy.

By the tenth century, winds of spiritual renewal brought new life into the Western church. It started in a monastery in central France called Cluny and spread until it reached the papacy itself. The greatest of the reforming popes was Gregory VII. His zealous successors carried the papal office to the zenith of earthly power. The twelfth-century church was itself a kind of empire, a spiritual and earthly kingdom stretching from Ireland to Palestine, from earth to heaven. The Crusades and scholastic philosophy were witnesses to this papal sovereignty.

The Roman Catholic Church experienced all the challenges and blessings of a Christian empire. Popes both



HOLY EMPIRES Rulers such as the Byzantine kings (left) and Western emperors Christianized the world in political ways. Calls for reform in the West eventually sparked sweeping change. This curious painting (above) places Pope Leo X between John Calvin and Martin Luther, suggesting all three catalyzed reform.

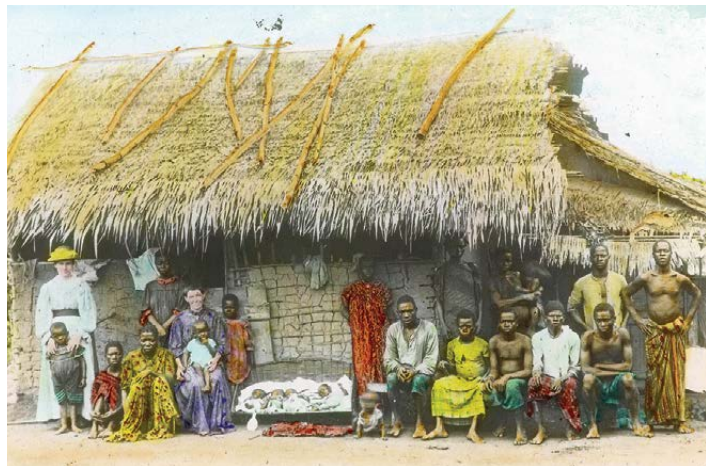
resisted and manipulated the powers of nation-states. Protoreformers like the Waldensians, Franciscans, and Albigensians spurred change and sparked conflict. Waves of plagues and wars diminished the population. Still, contrary to modern misconceptions, intellectual and spiritual life flourished, and the seed of believers seeking fresh vision and renewal would lead to a new era in the West.

SPARK OF THE REFORMATION (1517–1648)

Reform came with a fury. Martin Luther (see pp. 28–31) sounded the trumpet, but hosts of others rallied to the cause. This period marks the mobilization of Protestantism: Lutheran, Reformed, Anglican, and Anabaptist. By the mid-sixteenth century, the Reformation had shattered the traditional unity of western Europe and had bequeathed to modern times religious pluralism. The Church of Rome responded with force but also with reform, leading to the Society of Jesus (see p. 32). Missionaries went to Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Catholics and Protestants alike warred in France, the Netherlands, and Germany. The denominational concept of the church arose, which allowed modern nations to treat the churches as voluntary societies separated from the state.

REASON AND REVIVAL (1648–1789)

Novel schools of thought filled the seventeenth century. None was more powerful than Reason itself. It asked, "Who needs God? Man can make it on his own." Christians screamed objections, but the idea spread until secularism filled the public life of Western societies. God remained only as a matter of personal choice. Christians



RISE OF REASON, DAWN OF MISSIONS Reason was literally idolized in 18th-c. France as a supreme ideal (*above left*), but its application in modernity opened the door to Nazism's ideological horrors (*left*). Rejecting secularism, missionaries such as Mary Slessor (*above*) carried the gospel overseas.

could no longer appeal to the arm of power to suppress such heresies. So many of them turned instead to the apostles' way—prayer and preaching. The result was a series of evangelical revivals: chiefly Pietism, Methodism, and the Great Awakening. Through preaching and personal conversions, evangelicals tried to restore God to public life.

TECH AND SECULARIZATION (1789–1914)

The age of progress saw Christians of all sorts wage a valiant struggle against the advance of secularism. New efforts to carry the gospel of Christ to distant lands began, as well as many social service ministries in industrialized Europe and North America. From the ramparts of Rome, a defensive papacy fired a barrage of missiles aimed at the modern enemies of the Catholic faith. Despite best efforts, however, Christianity was slowly driven from public life in the Western world. Believers were left with the problem we recognize in our own time: how can Christians exert moral influence in pluralistic and totalitarian societies where Christian assumptions about reality no longer prevail?

IDEOLOGICAL IDOLS (1914–1990)

The depth of the problem was apparent in the age of

ideologies, when new gods arose to claim the loyalties of secular people. Nazism exalted the state; communism worshiped the party; and American democracy revered the individual's rights. Supposed enlightened, modern nations waged two global wars in an attempt to establish the supremacy of these new deities. When no single ideology prevailed, a cold war of coexistence settled upon the once Christian nations. Through these troubled times, the denominations struggled over orthodox and liberal theologies, sought fresh ways to recover a lost unity, and reflected a new hunger for apostolic experiences.

After World War II, vigorous new Christian leadership emerged in the Third World, offering fresh hope for a new day for the old faith. Had missionaries from Europe and North America succeeded in giving Christianity a stake in the future by carrying the gospel to Africa and Latin America? Only time will tell.

But Christians can hope because faith always reaches beyond earthly circumstances. Its confidence is in a person. And no other person in recorded history has influenced more people in as many conditions over so long a time as Jesus Christ. The shades and tones of his image seem to shift with the needs of people: the Jewish Messiah of the believing remnant, the Wisdom of the Greek apologist, the Cosmic King of the imperial church, the Heavenly Logos of the orthodox councils, the World Ruler of the papal courts, the monastic Model of apostolic poverty, the personal Savior of evangelical revivalists.

Truly he is a man for all time. In a day when many regard him as irrelevant, a relic of a quickly discarded past, church history provides a quiet testimony that Jesus Christ will not disappear from the scene. His title may change, but his truth endures for all generations. —Bruce L. Shelley, *from CH #28* **CH**



Missions and martyrs

Along Roman roads came both Christians bearing good news and persecutors suppressing it. These excerpts from favorite CH articles tell some of the story of the early church.

ALL ROADS, THANKS TO ROME

What would it have been like to travel with the apostle Paul? According to historian Lionel Casson, not too unpleasant: “He could make his way from the shores of the Euphrates to the border between England and Scotland without crossing a foreign frontier. . . . He could sail through any waters without fear of pirates, thanks to the emperor’s patrol squadrons. A planned network of good roads gave him access to all major centers, and the through routes were policed well enough for him to ride them with relatively little fear of bandits.”

Thanks to the Pax Romana (Roman Peace) of Emperor Augustus (reigned 27 BC–AD 14), such conditions prevailed when Paul traveled the Roman world. Their marvelous road network (over 53,000 miles by AD 300) made fast travel possible. The average traveler could walk about 20 miles per day.

Travelers often faced dangers from the elements, such as snows, flooding, and wild animals, as well as robbers in isolated areas. Paul no doubt had some of these problems in mind when he wrote to the Corinthians, “I have been in danger from rivers, in danger from bandits . . . in danger in the country” (2 Cor. 11:26).

Those with access to a horse and carriage—typically only the wealthy, military personnel, or government officials—could cover 25 to 30 miles per day. Paul used

ROMAN ROADS, TAKE ME HOME The Appian Way, still intact today, stands as a testament to Roman travel ingenuity.

a horse at least once—when soldiers escorted him from Jerusalem to Caesarea (Acts 23:23–24).

After a long day’s journey, where did travelers lodge? Inns existed, but well-to-do Romans avoided them: they had a reputation for adulterated wine, filthy sleeping quarters, extortionate innkeepers, gamblers, thieves, and prostitutes. Christians practiced hospitality for traveling believers for these reasons. On his journeys Paul stayed with Lydia in Philippi (Acts 16:15), Jason in Thessalonica (Acts 17:5), and Gaius in Corinth (Rom. 16:23).

But the fastest form of long-distance travel was by ship—at least in one direction. Paul sailed from the Aegean to Palestine but always went overland the other way. The reason is simple: prevailing winds during summer, the sailing season, generally blew from the northwest, thus greatly easing an eastward voyage. Passenger ships did not exist, but people sailed on cargo ships as space was available. Ships left with favorable winds and omens. It cost a family only two *drachma* (two days’ wages) to sail from Alexandria to Athens, which included water but not food and cabins.

The safe sailing season was from late spring to early fall. Fearing shipwreck, sailors avoided winter except for emergencies or military campaigns. In his second letter to Corinth, Paul mentions being shipwrecked three times and once spending a night and a day in open sea.



Luke's description of another wreck in Acts 27 is one of the most vivid narratives in all of ancient literature.

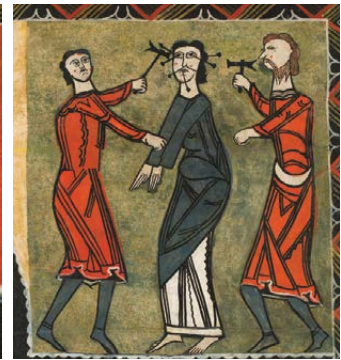
Compared to previous centuries, Paul's travel conditions were ideal. As Irenaeus, the second-century bishop of Lyons, put it, "The Romans have given the world peace, and we travel without fear along the roads and across the sea wherever we will." Paul eagerly took advantage of such conditions.—*Edwin Yamauchi, from CH #47*

THE WITNESSES

The early church's martyrdom theology was born not in synods or councils, but in blood-drenched coliseums and catacombs. The word *martyr* means "witness" and is used as such in the New Testament. But as the Roman Empire grew hostile toward Christianity, the distinctions between witnessing and suffering became blurred and finally nonexistent. In the second century, *martyr* became a technical term for someone who had died for Christ; *confessor* defined one who proclaimed Christ's lordship at trial but did not suffer the death penalty.

The church understood martyrdom as an imitation of Christ. Jesus's words burned themselves deeply into the collective psyche of the pre-Nicaean church: "If someone strikes you on one cheek, turn to him the other also" (Luke 6:29); "Do not resist an evil person" (Matt. 5:39); "Blessed are those who are persecuted because of righteousness" (Matt. 5:10); "If they persecuted me, they will persecute you also" (John 15:20).

Paul and the other New Testament authors sustained and developed the belief that followers of Christ were to suffer, not fight, for their Lord. Early Christians saw martyrdom as a spiritual battle against the powers of hell itself. Prior to her death, Perpetua recorded a vision in which she defeated an Egyptian wrestler (a common participant in the gladiatorial games) before Christ. Another martyr, Blandina, was described as "she the small, the weak, the despised, who had put on Christ



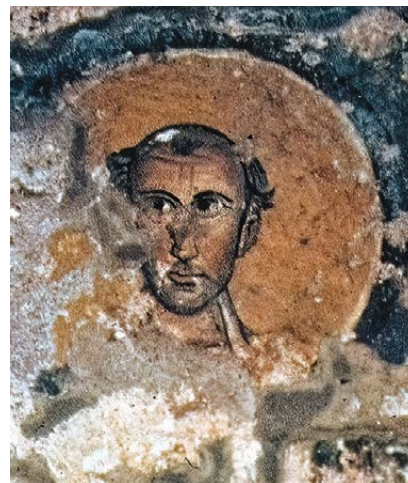
KEY TO PARADISE Stephen (*left*), the first Christian martyr, died a Christlike death, praying earnestly for his tormentors. Eusebius, the church historian, called him the "perfect martyr." Many followed his example (*above*). Tertullian encouraged them: "Your blood is the key to Paradise."

the great and invincible Champion, and who in many rounds vanquished the adversary and through conflict was crowned with the crown of incorruptibility."

The church held martyrs and confessors in high regard. Their spiritual authority even rivaled bishops. Christians believed a martyr's death effaced all sins committed after baptism, generating the phenomenon of "volunteering"—actively seeking persecution and death. One Christian named Euplus interrupted a Roman governor in his courtroom, shouting, "I am a Christian. I want to die." His request was granted. However, the early church discouraged voluntary martyrdoms; Origen and Clement specifically warned against them. Volunteers were a small minority.

The early church honored the martyred dead, at some point moving to venerate their physical remains. An account of Polycarp's martyrdom, written in the second century, includes a statement that the church of Smyrna counted the saint's bones "more valuable than precious stones and finer than gold." Believers in Antioch held the remains of Ignatius in high esteem, while Cyprian's blood and clothing became objects of veneration.

The emphasis on procuring martyrs' relics produced abuses, but this should not blind us to the spiritual debt



ON WHOSE AUTHORITY? Cyprian (above) argued that through consecration (left) bishops received the authority of apostolic succession.

the whole church owes to these brave souls. By their faithfulness to Christ in spite of torture and death, these men, women, and children proclaimed to all that Jesus, and not Caesar, is Lord.—William G. Bixler, from CH #27

UNITY AND SACRIFICE

When Cyprian of Carthage (200–258) was consecrated as bishop, a great crisis arose. Emperor Decius (249–251) issued a decree in 250 that all citizens must perform public sacrifice to the Roman gods. But for Christians, to offer sacrifices—sprinkling incense before a statue of the god or goddess—was idolatry. In fact it was apostasy, the denial or betrayal of Christ. Some Christians refused to sacrifice and were imprisoned or executed.

Avoiding martyrdom Cyprian went into hiding and directed church affairs in secret. Later he faced a great pastoral question: what to do with “lapsed” Christians who had performed sacrifices but now sought to be readmitted to the Christian community.

Some priests believed performing sacrifices was unforgivable. Others were willing to accept the repentance of the lapsed and take them back into communion. One priest, Novatus, who had refused to sacrifice and was imprisoned, claimed that his endurance of persecution gave him the authority to forgive.

Cyprian wanted to wait for a council of all the North African bishops to discuss the question, but Novatus and his fellow confessors refused. They began issuing letters of pardon to the lapsed, causing division in the church.

In the Easter season of 251, a council finally met at Carthage. Cyprian’s address did not focus on the lapsed, but on the division Novatus created; it survives as *On the Unity of the Catholic Church*.

Cyprian argued that, although the devil wages external war on the church through persecution, the more

dangerous threat comes from the deceptive war he wages through heresy and schism. Although made up of many individual congregations, the church is one: “The Church, bathed in the light of the Lord, spreads her rays throughout the world, yet the light everywhere diffused is one light and the unity of the body is not broken.”

For Cyprian the universal church’s unity was not a mere ideal, but a concrete reality. And how could one identify the one true church? He found the answer in the doctrine of apostolic succession, arguing that the authority to forgive sins, preach the gospel, and govern the church given to a bishop at ordination ultimately derived from Christ and the apostles. Since Christ gave the authority to forgive sins to Peter and the other apostles, the only bishops who had that authority were those who received it in the line of apostolic succession. Those who claimed to be bishops outside this authority did not have the power to forgive sins.

Since Novatus and his fellow presbyters had set themselves up in authority rather than being consecrated as bishops at the hands of other bishops, they did not have true episcopal authority.

Ultimately the North African bishops sided with Cyprian. They allowed the lapsed back into communion if they sincerely repented, though at first those who had participated in heathen sacrifices were only allowed back at the point of death. Lapsed clergy could not resume their functions. Novatus’s fate is unknown.

In 257 the persecution resumed. This time Cyprian did not hide. By month’s end, he was arrested. When he and other clergy refused to sacrifice, Emperor Valerian threatened them with execution. An unrelenting Cyprian was martyred. When the proconsul read out the sentence of beheading, Cyprian responded, “Thanks be to God.”—J. Warren Smith, from CH #105 **CH**

Last at the cross, first at the tomb

What do our editors love? Finding the stories that energize and interest you! Historical accounts of women in the church are among our top-searched content online. Here is just one piece of that larger story.

Celsus, a second-century detractor of the faith, once mockingly said the church attracted only “the silly and the mean and the stupid, with women and children.” His contemporary, Bishop Cyprian, acknowledged that “Christian maidens were very numerous” and it was hard to find Christian husbands for them all. Women, it seemed, disproportionately populated the church.

One reason why might have been the Roman practice of exposing unwanted female infants—abandoning them to certain death. Christians repudiated this practice. Also, in the upper echelons of society, women often converted to Christianity while their male relatives remained pagans lest they lose their senatorial status.

“FELLOW MINISTERS”

Sources attest to women’s involvement in the church’s first few decades. Many served as house church leaders, including Priscilla, Chloe, Lydia, Apphia, Nympha, and the mother of John Mark.

Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–c. 215) wrote that women accompanied the apostles on their missionary journeys, not as marriage partners but as colleagues, “that they might be their fellow ministers in dealing with housewives. Through them the Lord’s teaching penetrated also the women’s quarters without any scandal being aroused.”

Was that the role of Junia? Paul mentions her in Romans 16 as “of note among the apostles.” Some have debated the verse’s meaning, but early tradition holds that Junia was a woman and considered an apostle. John Chrysostom (347–407) wrote:

Indeed, to be an apostle at all is a great thing; but to be even amongst those of note; just consider what a great encomium that is. . . . Oh, how great is the devotion of this woman, that she should even be counted worthy of the appellation of apostle.

Paul also mentions Phoebe in Romans 16, “a deacon of the church at Cenchreae.” He calls her a *prostatis* or overseer. Apostolic fathers later used this term in its masculine form (*prostates*) to designate the one presiding over the Eucharist. The church in Rome is asked to welcome her and assist her in the church’s business.

Philip’s four daughters appear in Acts 21:9 as prophetesses. Eusebius viewed them as “belonging to the first stage of apostolic succession.” Polycarp mentioned the sister of Crescens, who deserved special commendation when delivering the letter in Philippi. The *Shepherd of Hermas*, written about 148, gives instructions to make



HOLY HANDS The 3rd-c *Ecclesiastical Canons of the Apostles* forbade women to stand in prayer, but one does in this fresco from a 4th c. catacomb.

two copies of the work, giving one to Grapte, “who shall exhort the widows and orphans.” The other copy went to Bishop Clement. Grapte and Clement appear to represent the female and male leaders respectively.

LEGENDS OR HISTORIES?

Certain female leaders are described as fully historic personages, while others are embedded in legend. Catherine of Alexandria, for instance, reportedly lived in the second century. The patron saint of scholars and philosophers, she allegedly debated 50 philosophers and won them all to Christ. She was condemned to death on the wheel. Her story may have been adapted from the actual story of Hypatia, a pagan philosopher killed by an enraged Christian mob.

St. Thecla’s legend is the best known of numerous apocryphal stories. A noblewoman, she was converted while listening to Paul’s preaching. She followed the apostle and endured persecution, tribulation, and peril. After itinerating through Asia Minor with Paul, she settled near Seleucia, where she preached, healed, and baptized. The story is probably fictitious or at least embellished, but Thecla most likely existed.

Women were the last disciples at the cross and the first at the empty tomb. They remained integral to the church’s work in its early centuries. In the Roman catacombs, images show women in authoritative stances, hands raised in a bishop’s posture, dominating the scene. Their steadfast faith and ministry still bless us. —Catherine Kroeger (1925–2011), from CH #17



The emperor, the healer, and the teacher

These three men grew up hearing the truth and initially rejecting it; their conversions changed civilization.

CONSTANTINE: IMPOSTER OR TRUE BELIEVER?

Constantine (c. 272–337) has earned a place in history for many reasons—not least because, by his Edict of Milan, he ended Christian persecution by the pagan Roman Empire. The document bid farewell to the martyrs’ age and presaged the Christian empire. But what sort of man was Constantine “the Great,” the first emperor of Rome to place himself on the side of the Christian church? And how devout was he?

Constantine was born on February 27 in Naissus. His father, Constantius, was an army officer who became a subordinate emperor within the tetrarchy established by Diocletian (c. 284–305); his mother was Helena, a woman of lowly origins. Little is known about their religious attitudes, but evidence suggests that Constantine may have had Christian family members.

As a potential successor, Constantine spent a dozen years at court, where he witnessed the Great Persecution (303–313). Constantine left for Britain after Galerius succeeded Diocletian as a senior emperor (augustus) on May 1, 305, and joined his father—now also an augustus. Upon Constantius’s death in 306, his troops saluted Constantine as augustus in his place. But Constantine would

SEEING THE LIGHT Before battle Constantine reported seeing a cross light the sky bearing the inscription, “In Hoc Signo Vinces”—“in this sign, you will conquer.”

have to validate his title on the battlefield. On October 28, 312, he defeated Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge, a dozen miles up the Tiber from Rome, gaining sole rule of the Western Empire. Twelve years later, he became “Ruler of the Entire Globe.”

From the winter of 312–313 onward, Constantine’s actions, edicts, and letters reveal increasing favor toward the Christian church. He believed that the Roman Empire’s well-being depended on God; God would prosper the empire’s fortunes as long as its inhabitants truly worshiped him. This true worship (so Constantine held) came from the Christian church; the true God was the Christians’ God.

Constantine’s conviction of this began on the eve of the Battle of the Milvian Bridge. A dream convinced him to enter the fray, trust in the Christians’ God, and display a Christian emblem. For Constantine a shift in religious allegiance—a conversion—took place, and it was confirmed by his decisive victory.

He probably never gained a good grounding in Christian doctrine, however. As late as 324 he regarded the momentous divide between the heretic Arius and his opponents as “a small and very insignificant question.”



SOOTHING SCENES Basil (*below*) chose this breathtaking region (*left*) for the site of his first monastery. Many share his holistic approach to healing today, though perhaps without knowing of Basil's influence.

He never spoke of "Christ" and "our Savior": rather of "the divine power" or "the supreme Deity." Constantine was baptized only after the onset of his final illness, not long before dying on Pentecost, May 22, 337.

Sources offer little access to the private Constantine. Though he was no consistent Christian, never sharply broke with his former paganism, and was even occasionally cruel, one can glimpse Christian inspiration in his legal enactments.

Constantine launched the church to becoming the Roman Empire's official, established religion and laid the foundations for the Byzantine Empire. By his patronage he aligned former martyrs—persecuted, powerless, and pacifist—with the military might and earthly glory of the state. Christianity would never be the same again; in some ways for the better, in others, for the worse.—David F. Wright, from CH #27



BASIL: HOUSE OF HEALING

Basil (330–379) was born into a Christian family from Cappadocia in Asia Minor (central Turkey). His grandfather had suffered a martyr's death during Diocletian's persecution. Nonetheless, by Basil's time, his family commanded both wealth and prestige. Basil received the best education possible in classical rhetoric. He planned to rise in society by teaching oratory like his father and then pursue a political career. But it was not to be. He wrote:

I had wasted much time on follies and spent nearly all of my youth in vain labors, and devotion to the teachings of a wisdom that God had made foolish. Suddenly, I awoke as out of a deep sleep. I beheld the wonderful light of the Gospel truth.

Thus Basil returned to the church. He then pursued asceticism, devoting himself to prayer and fasting, finally founding his own monastic community in the Pontic mountains, north of Caesarea. In 365 Basil was ordained a priest for Caesarea, and five years later he was elected bishop. There he strove to create a new type of Christian monastery—one focused not only

on salvation, but also on the physical care of the sick and poor. The idea came from an influential monk from Asia Minor, Eustathios, who convinced Basil that a true Christian monk should not just pray and contemplate God, but also serve others. Eustathios founded urban monastic communities that also helped the poor, sick, homeless, and even lepers.

Basil worked out these principles in his own monastery. Such pioneering ways roused resistance. Basil had to defend his actions to Cappadocia's governor: "Whom do we harm when we establish hospices for strangers, both those who are visiting on a journey and those who are in need of some care because of illness? For these people we have set up the necessary help."

Perhaps the most radical aspect of Basil's community was its service to lepers. Greek physicians had no

idea how to cure them, but Basil felt they still deserved care. Basil also tried to convince his fellow Christians that medical science did not oppose God's will but was God's gift. Greek medicine concerned Christians due to its association with the cult of Asclepius. They were also suspicious because it put faith in human logos rather than in the Divine Logos, Christ. Basil countered these arguments, recognizing medicine as God's gift while also stressing that all healing ultimately comes from him.

As bishop, Basil helped to create the Christian hospital by uniting the urban monastic movement to an institution that included hospital care, physicians, and nursing staffs, as well as changing Christians' minds about God's role in medical science. In 379, when Basil died, Bishop Gregory of Nazianzus praised him for what he then named in his friend's honor, the Basileias:

Go a little way outside the city to see a new city, the treasury of piety, a common treasure room of those who have possessions where superfluous wealth . . . is stored. . . . In this institution diseases are studied, misfortune made blessed, and sympathy put to the test.

—Timothy S. Miller, from CH #101



AUGUSTINE: A WAYWARD SON

Augustine (354–430) could not escape his devout mother's fervent prayers. Self-indulgent sins marked his adolescence, but Monica never stopped praying. When he took a mistress, fathered a son, and joined the gnostic Manicheans, she prayed all the more that he follow Christ.

The wayward son had different plans. At 21 years old, the precocious scholar became a rhetoric teacher. Eight years later, he left North Africa for Rome, tricking his mother into staying behind. But Rome disappointed Augustine. Instead of amassing wealth, the trickster found himself tricked. Students bilked him of his fees and had no serious interest in their studies.

Yet Rome led him to reconnect with a childhood friend, Alypius, a judge in the city. And he made the acquaintance of Symmachus, a magistrate connected to the Manicheans. Symmachus recommended Augustine for a prestigious teaching position at Milan. He accepted the offer and moved north, Alypius joining him.

Now affluent, Augustine invited Monica to come live with him. But he struggled spiritually. The Manicheans could not answer his most difficult questions. He sought out Bishop Ambrose, one of Milan's most notable figures and a powerful speaker. Ambrose intrigued Augustine but couldn't convince him of Christianity. Still he visited Ambrose's church frequently to enjoy the bishop's



A TALE OF TWO CITIES A medieval artist imagines Augustine and his eternal "City of God" floating above an ideal civilization (left). A 17th-c. artist shows a similar civilization in ruins with Augustine looking on (above).

rhetorical skill. Both the antiphonal singing and preaching of the gospel spoke to Augustine. He started reading the Bible and found the writings of Paul stirred his soul more than either Manicheism or philosophy.

Augustine finally confronted his sexual sins. He rushed into the garden and wept, asking the Lord, "How much longer must I live in turmoil of spirit?" Then he heard a childlike voice chanting, "Take up and read." When he opened the New Testament at random, his eyes fell on Paul's words in Romans 13:13,14: "make no provision for the flesh, to fulfill its lusts." Augustine converted on the spot and Alypius followed his example.

After months studying Scripture, Augustine and Alypius were baptized on Easter day, celebrated in Milan on April 25 in 387. Following Monica's death that same year, Augustine sailed back to Africa, taking his son with him. Impressed with the monastic ideal of St. Antony, Augustine and Alypius founded a monastery. They both became priests and then bishops in North Africa: Augustine at Hippo and Alypius at Thagaste.

Proving to be a brilliant theologian, Augustine imprinted the medieval church with his views. He wrote prolifically. Among his famous writings was *Confessions*, considered to be the world's first psychological autobiography. When in 410 Alaric and the Visigoths sacked the city of Rome, and pagans blamed Christian pacifists for the disaster, Augustine responded with another prose masterpiece: *The City of God and the City of Man*.

When Augustine was dying, he had the shorter penitential psalms posted on his wall in large letters so he could read them over and over. He prayed and wept, embodying Monica's lifetime of prayers in the close of his own.—Dan Graves, from our website [CH](#)

When Jerusalem wept

Without sensationalizing, this account of Christian struggles in the Holy Land captures the imagination—becoming another favorite of our readers over the years.

In 614 the armies of Khosrow II, king of the Sassanids, who had ruled the Persian Empire since the third century, entered Jerusalem, occupied it, and captured the relic of the holy cross. For the first time Persians had penetrated Palestine and taken, in the words of a Christian eyewitness, “that great city, the city of the Christians, Jerusalem, the city of Jesus Christ.”

Strategos, a monk, wrote an account of the invasion. He described the seizure of the holy cross, Patriarch Zachariah’s capture and deportation, and the sack of the city. The Persians pillaged and killed women, children, and priests. “And the Jerusalem above wept over the Jerusalem below,” Strategos wrote. He drew parallels between the destruction of Christian Jerusalem and the ancient Israelites’ Babylonian exile. As Zachariah and other captives were led out of the city, the patriarch extended his hands toward the city and said as he wept,

Peace be with you, O Jerusalem, peace be with you, O Holy Land, peace on the whole land; Christ who chose you will deliver you.

The Sassanid occupation seemed a temporary interruption of Christian rule. Byzantine emperor Heraclius launched an unexpected counteroffensive. By the spring of 629 he reached Palestine and by March entered Jerusalem in triumph. Yet the victory was short-lived. In less than a decade, Muslim armies would be at the city’s gates.

THE PATRIARCH AND THE CALIPH

When Muslim armies streamed into Palestine in the summer of 634, they struck first around Gaza on the Mediterranean coast. Gaining the loyalty of local Arabic-speaking tribes in the deserts, they began to lay siege to the cities. Though the Byzantines outnumbered the Muslim forces four to one, they were no match for the fervent desert warriors.

Only two decades after the Sassanids took Patriarch Zachariah captive, Sophronius, his successor, watched helplessly as invaders again swept across the Holy Land. He was assigned the unhappy task of negotiating a treaty with Caliph Umar, Muslim conqueror of Jerusalem.

They did so in the courtyard of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. At time for prayer, the caliph said to Sophronius, “I wish to pray.” Sophronius led him into the church, but Umar refused and prayed alone on the church’s eastern steps instead. He said,



WHY NOT HERE? Though contentious today, this medieval illustration depicts Umar’s building on the Temple Mount as a matter of business.

Do you understand, O patriarch, why I did not pray within the church? ... If I had prayed in the church it would be ruined for you. For it would be taken from your hands and after I am gone the Muslims would seize it saying, “Umar prayed here.”

Umar then wrote a document forbidding Muslims from praying in that church. In return he asked Sophronius for a place to build a mosque. Sophronius led him to a rock on the Temple Mount. Because of Jesus’s prophecies about the Temple, Christians had never built a church there.

In his Christmas sermon in 638, Sophronius interpreted the Muslim invasion as he had the Persian one: the Arabs were God’s instruments to chastise Christians for their sins, and in time the invaders would be driven from the Holy Land. But with the arrival of Muhammad’s armies and the swift establishment of Arab hegemony, Christian rule in Jerusalem came to a decisive end.

PERSEVERANCE OF THE SAINTS

Like the Jews hoping for a deliverer before them, some Christians hoped a Messiah-like deliverer would drive out the “godless Saracens” and restore the “kingdom of the Christians” to Jerusalem. Such hopes languished but set the stage for the Crusades 400 years later.

Muslim settlement in the meantime, however, did not mean the end of Christian life. In many places life went on without interruption, and Christians adapted. They adopted Arabic, the language of the conquerors, for Christian worship and scholarship. They made the slow transition to a new culture and society shaped by Islam. The Holy Land may have changed, but Christian witness persevered.—Robert Louis Wilken, from CH #97

Conquests and convents, division and dung

From kings to mendicants, from east to west, the Middle Ages was as deep, varied, and wide as Christendom itself. These selections represent our most-read medieval topics.

CHARLEMAGNE VS. THE SAXONS

Charlemagne (c. 745–814) was tall, handsome, and slightly overweight. He resisted his doctors' suggestion that it might be better for his health if he ate less roast meat. He enjoyed hunting and riding.

He was, by historical accounts, a confessing, committed Christian ruler. He built a great church to the glory of God at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), ornate with gold, silver, and fine marble brought from Ravenna in Italy. He provided ceremonial vestments for everyone, from priests to doorkeepers. He gave much to those in need at home and also to those abroad. Yet most of his life was spent in expansive warfare. The spoils of war allowed his extravagant generosity to the needy.

Among Charlemagne's conquests were the Saxons. This group, which had settled in Europe and on the British Isles, spoke the Teutonic language at the root of modern English. Their Frankish conquerors spoke a tongue derived from late Latin. The Saxons on the European continent were still mostly pagans. Anglo-Saxon settlers in Britain had been converted to Christianity by the mission of Augustine of Canterbury, sent from Rome by Pope Gregory the Great at the end of the sixth century.

The Frankish annals that tell the story of 30 years of Saxon wars stress Charlemagne's determination to remove the cultic symbols of Saxon paganism. But it is hard to say whether the Saxon wars were really driven by the desire to convert the Saxon tribes. A famous massacre at Verden in 782, where an angry Charlemagne is described by the royal Frankish annals as seeking revenge for the killing of some of his nobles in a battle, seems to have been motivated most strongly by the lust for conquest.

Whether the wars began for that reason or not, Charlemagne was later criticized for seeking to convert the Saxons by force. When it was all over, Charlemagne himself published a document setting out the terms of the "Capitulation of the Saxons." It stated, among other provisions of enforced Christianization, that anyone who refused to be baptized should be put to death.—G. R. Evans, from CH #108

BRIDES OF CHRIST

Most medieval women married men their families chose for them. If not, many upper-class women of the high and late Middle Ages went peaceably to the convent. Such marriages, to men or to Christ, were reasonably successful. To be Christ's bride was, for many women, not a denial of the



FORCEFUL CHRISTIAN KING Charlemagne was illiterate, had multiple mistresses, and ate and drank to excess, but in 800 the pope crowned him Holy Roman Emperor, acknowledging the Frankish king's vast influence.

"natural" desire to marry and bear children, but rather the route to a more independent and intellectually creative life. One example is the great Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179), famed mystic, author, and advisor to popes, kings, and emperors. A frail child, she was dedicated to the church by her family, minor nobles in Rhineland Germany. Nuns lived communally under rule and took the three monastic vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. Other women often made religious choices in opposition to their families. The following professions were all lives of choice.

Hermits. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, like many men in this period of religious revival, some women of religious bent rejected the communal and regulated life of the convent for the desolation and difficulty of a solitary life in the wilderness as hermits. Alone or with a small group of like-minded individuals, they lived in makeshift dwellings and sought a mystical relationship with God.



Beguines. The beguine took temporary vows, usually of chastity and simplicity of life, donned some kind of identifying habit, and dedicated herself to good works. A product of the growing cities of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Europe, she worked in those cities, answering the needs of the displaced poor and sick. She was bound to no order. She might live at home or with a group who shared her values. She could later renounce her vows and marry without difficulty. The beguine movement was the only religious current of the Middle Ages that was female in conception. It swept through the Low Countries and Germany in the thirteenth century and accommodated women of more middling status than those who filled the nunneries.

Tertiaries. Following the success of Francis of Assisi in the early thirteenth century, mendicant communities that begged for a living arose. These quickly organized into three orders. First Orders were the friars themselves—groups of wandering male preachers vowed to absolute poverty and complete dependence upon alms. Second Orders were women in traditional nunneries vowed to obedience who also sought to participate in the friars' voluntary poverty. Third Orders,

IN THE WORLD, NOT OF IT Women's religious life in the Middle Ages was more complex than is often imagined. They served by taking temporary vows, like the beguines (*above left*); as tertiaries, like Joan of Valois (*above right*); or in convents and by becoming anchoresses, like Saint Humility (*above middle*).

SPARING NO EXPENSE Charlemagne's majestic Aix-la-Chapelle (*left*) still stands in Aachen, Germany.

tertiaries, were laypeople—male and female, married and single—who in some way identified with the reformist ideals and apostolic fervor of Francis's early followers. One of the most famous tertiaries was Catherine of Siena (1347–1380).

Anchoresses. Having made the decision to live alone, this solitary woman took vows and forever lived in her cell. Free of rule she was literally enclosed, most often in a room or a little house attached to a church. Common throughout the period from 1100 to 1500, anchoresses were found next to village churches, town chapels, cathedrals, or guild churches in commercial cities. The anchoress practiced total withdrawal and great asceticism, yet she was as at home in the cities of Europe as her forebears had been in the deserts of antiquity. Many women became anchoresses who had been nuns, beguines, or tertiaries. Others became anchoresses directly from lay life, accepting and persevering in this remarkable challenge for 30, 40, even 50 years. Julian of Norwich (c. 1343–c. 1416) lived as an anchoress in the turbulent fourteenth century in a cell attached to St. Julian's Church in Norwich, England. From her anchorhold she wrote *The Revelations of Divine Love*, the first English book known to be written by a woman.

While not all were Hildegards or Catherines commanding popes and remonstrating kings and emperors, religious medieval women had a strong sense of identity and purpose and an absolute certainty of the rightness of their relationship with their Savior. To them the nunnery was indeed an earthly paradise.—Ann K. Warren, from CH #30

THE GREAT SCHISM

On Saturday, July 16, 1054, Cardinal Humbert, legate of Pope Leo IX, strode into the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia, right up to the main altar, and placed on it a parchment that declared the patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cerularius, to be excommunicated. He then marched out of the



church, shook its dust from his feet, and left the city. A week later the patriarch solemnly condemned the cardinal.

Centuries later this dramatic incident was thought to mark the beginning of the schism between the Latin and the Greek churches, a division that still separates Roman Catholics and Eastern Orthodox. But the process leading to the definitive break began well before 1054.

Problems arose in southern Italy (then under Byzantine rule) in the 1040s, when Norman warriors conquered the region and replaced Eastern Greek bishops with Western Latin ones. People argued about the proper form of the liturgy and other external matters. Differences over clerical marriage, the bread used for the Eucharist, days of fasting, and other usages assumed an unprecedented importance.

When Patriarch Cerularius heard the Normans were forbidding Greek customs in southern Italy, he retaliated in 1052 by closing Latin churches in Constantinople and indirectly attacking the Latin use of unleavened bread and other practices. In response Pope Leo sent his chief advisor, Humbert, a tactless and narrow-minded man with a strong sense of papal authority, to Constantinople.



DRAMATIC EXIT Humbert's confrontation with Patriarch Cerularius (*above left*) was less substantial than the theological impasses the East and West faced. The Council of Florence (*left*) sought to mend these, but cultural differences left matters unresolved. An artist captures a Greek Orthodox Mass held in the West (*above*).

On arriving in the imperial city in April 1054, Humbert launched into a vicious criticism of Cerularius and his supporters. But the patriarch ignored him. Thus an angry Humbert stalked into Hagia Sophia and placed on the altar the bull of excommunication. He returned to Rome convinced he had gained a victory.

Even so the events of 1054 were quickly forgotten. Negotiations between the pope and the Byzantine emperor continued, especially as Byzantines sought aid against invading Turks. In 1095 Pope Urban II helped by proclaiming the Crusades. Despite episodes of tension and conflict, Eastern and Western Christians lived and worshipped together.

In the latter half of the twelfth century, however, friction again increased. Violent anti-Latin riots erupted in Constantinople in 1182, and in 1204 Western knights brutally ravaged Constantinople. The tension accelerated, and by 1234 when Greek and Latin church leaders met to discuss their differences, it was obvious they represented different churches. Arguments over authority complicated matters.

The strengthening of papal authority in the Western church caused it to become more autocratic and centralized. Basing his claims on his succession from St. Peter, the pope asserted direct jurisdiction over the entire church, East and West. But the Byzantines viewed their church in the context of the imperial system; their sources of law and unity were the ecumenical councils and the emperor, whom God had placed over all things, spiritual and temporal. They believed



BE NOT ANXIOUS Francis gave away more than he had, choosing to live in a cave instead of beautiful Assisi. His self-denial attracted many disciples.

For Francis, leaving the world meant caring for lepers and praying in deserted chapels. This fanaticism exasperated Pietro Bernardone, Francis's wealthy father. He eventually disowned his son. In turn Francis renounced all inheritance rights. Upon abandoning his wealth, Francis determined there must be no man anywhere poorer than he. No matter what rags Francis might be wearing, should he come upon a beggar dressed even worse, Francis would remove his own clothing and give it to the beggar.

Francis told people of Christ in the Italian language, not in ecclesiastical Latin. He wanted to live as Jesus had lived and to preach as Jesus preached. He and those who soon followed him worked in

that the Eastern churches had autonomy of governance. They rejected papal claims to absolute rule.

Since the ninth century, theological controversy focused on the procession of the Holy Spirit. In the life of the Trinity, does the Spirit proceed from the Father only, or from the Father and from the Son (*filioque* in Latin)? The Western church, concerned about resurgent Arianism, had, almost inadvertently, added the word *filioque* to the Nicene Creed. The Greeks objected to the addition to the creed and the theological proposition involved, which seemed to them to diminish the individual properties of the three Persons in the Trinity. In 1439 Greek and Latin theologians at the Council of Florence, after debating the issue for over a year, arrived at a compromise that, while reasonable, was not fully satisfactory. The Byzantine Empire fell in 1453.

Over the years both Orthodox believers and adherents to Rome have made efforts to address the issues, but have yet to make the necessary concessions. The churches remain separate today.—George T. Dennis, from CH #28

POVERTY AND DUNG

An armor-clad knight rode his war charger out of Assisi to battle against his neighboring Italian town of Perugia. When this brave youth, Francesco Bernardone (1181–1226), saw a pitiful leper in the road, he tried to flee. But as he passed, Francis thought he saw Christ in the outcast's face. He stopped, kissed the leper, gave alms, seated the man on the horse, and led the way to the leper's destination. Before this Francis had so loathed the sight of lepers that he would look at their houses only from a distance of two miles while holding his nose. But Francis later said,

What had previously nauseated me became a source of spiritual and physical consolation.... After that I did not wait long before leaving the world.

the world to help others, preaching the gospel and caring for the sick and suffering, and giving up everything for Christ. The brothers were not allowed to handle money. They expected to be paid for their work in food and clothing, but if not, they must beg for necessities.

Francis did not permit them to save money or provisions for a rainy day. And he attacked the subtle temptation of pious Christians to hoard wealth under the pretext of beautifying churches or serving God. Francis repeatedly referred to money as “dung” and held that it should be shunned as the devil himself. Consistent with his abhorrence of all things material, Francis taught the brothers to build cheap little houses of wood, not of stone. For example, upon his return to St. Mary of the Portiuncula he discovered a comfortable, newly built home. Thinking that living in such a dwelling would lead to pride, Francis began to dismantle it by tearing slates and tiles from the roof. He was persuaded to stop only when someone explained that the house didn't belong to his order.

When Francis was sick and dying, the people of Assisi sent knights to bring him back home. Hunger and fatigue halted the party as they came through the poor village of Satriano, but the knights could find no food for sale. They went to Francis and requested a morsel from his alms sack, but the old saint rebuked them for trusting more in their “flies” (another of his terms for money) than in God. They were sent again, this time instructed to offer God's love in place of money while begging humbly for alms. The knights swallowed their pride, did as Francis instructed, and discovered they could buy more with the love of God than they could with money, for all gave gladly.

Shortly thereafter Francis died. His last words were, “I have done my duty; may Christ now teach you yours.”—Daniel V. Runyon, from CH #14 **CH**

Severe salvation

In CH #63 we interviewed historian Richard Fletcher about the history of forced conversions. “It is not a pleasant aspect of our heritage,” our editors wrote, “but one that nonetheless teaches us a great deal about human nature and what, in fact, solidifies Christian faith.” This interview continues to generate discussion online, displaying one way CH seeks to acknowledge the church’s whole story.

CH: When did Christians first begin to use force to convert people?

RF: Soon after Constantine’s conversion, though the first use of force was not designed to convert pagans but to correct dissident Christians. Bishop Augustine faced a dissident sect, the Donatists. He agonized about using coercion to bring them back to the orthodox fold. Eventually he decided it was permissible, thanks to his reading of the parable of the great banquet (Luke 14:16–24).

It isn’t until Charlemagne’s kingdom in the eighth century that we see force used to coerce [pagan] conversions, specifically against the Saxons.

CH: Why did Charlemagne move in this direction?

RF: First, the concept of Christian kingship had developed the previous century, and the duty of expanding Christendom, if necessary by force, became part of a king’s duty.

Second, an advisor at the highest levels of Charlemagne’s government pushed this particular policy: a man named Lull, of Anglo-Saxon origin, who became archbishop of Mainz. Nothing had worked to convert the Saxons, and in essence he said, “These stubborn people will never convert on their own. We’ve got to force them to submit.”

Not all the king’s advisors supported this policy. Another Englishman at court, Alcuin (c. 740–804), had grave doubts. In the 790s, when the Franks conquered the Avars on the eastern frontier (in modern Hungary), Alcuin wrote to Charlemagne, saying essentially, “Don’t make the same mistakes you made with the Saxons. You can’t force Christianity upon people.” We see some signs that Alcuin’s advice was heeded.

CH: Were forced conversions successful?

RF: Yes and no. The problem is semantic. The definition of conversion has changed over the centuries.

Charlemagne or Olaf Trygvesson would have said, “I defeat my enemies, and a priest then sprinkles water over them and says some words in Latin, and they become Christians. They’ve been converted.” Today we don’t regard that as conversion—nor would some early medieval people, like the Venerable Bede (c. 673–735) or Alcuin.

Nonetheless, because of coercive kings, Christianization was possible in a way it hadn’t been before.



CONVERT OR DIE A medieval manuscript shows Saxon converts lining up to be baptized. Charlemagne’s Christianization of the Saxons remains controversial.

CH: Medieval pagans seemed more willing to submit to forced conversions than Christians under similar circumstances. Why?

RF: Medieval European pagans had many gods and thought they could just add Christ to their existing pantheon. The exclusive claims of a monotheistic faith didn’t sink in at first. Even after “conversion” ideas about gods and goddesses, spirits and fairies, elves and goblins coexisted with faith in Christ.

Also pagans were impressed with Christendom’s sheer material power. The Christian God was obviously one who could deliver the goods. Many pagans were not adverse to converting to Christianity because they believed it would give them more material prosperity than their gods had. To appreciate this point, note how Christian missionaries fared in sixteenth-century China. Here was a non-Christian culture that was in many ways superior to the West. In that context Christianity made practically no headway.

CH: Despite conversions for less-than-pure motives, Christianity seems to “stick” in later generations. Why?

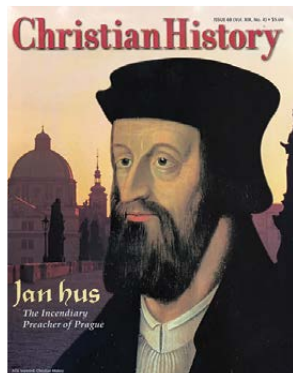
RF: Christian teaching took place after the formal acceptance of Christianity. One may point out the abuses of the medieval church, even in what it taught, but it did a good job at instilling knowledge of Christianity into people who had been pagan for centuries.

CH: Today using force to convert is unthinkable. Why did this idea pass away?

RF: My hunch is that it’s due to the rise of Protestant evangelical movements, especially the Great Awakening. We see a new stress placed upon the individual soul and upon religious experience. Conversion becomes a voluntary, individual turning to God. Once you have that, the idea of forcing someone to convert becomes absurd. **CH**

Moments that mattered

Behind every issue of CH is a story—and some are more memorable than others! We asked a few of our editors and advisors this question: “What issue impacted you the most?” Here are the moments that have stuck with them.



CH readers expected and deserved. This experience taught me to ask for help and to lean into the strengths of the people around me, big lessons for a 23-year-old just starting her career.

—Elesha Coffman, associate professor of history, Baylor University

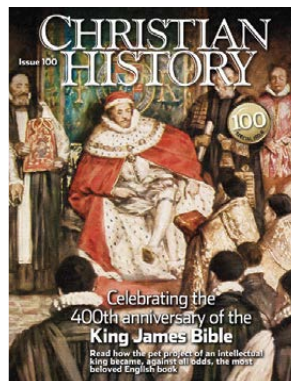
FROM FATHER TO SON

My dad started CH in 1982, and I helped him occasionally, but it was always his deal. When the magazine returned to CHI from Christianity Today International in 2010, Dad wanted to publish issue #100 to recognize the King James Bible's 400th anniversary. I helped orchestrate the magazine's return as his health declined in his fight against cancer.

In early January of 2011, Dad was called home. To my great shock and surprise, the CHI board appointed

BAPTISM BY FIRE?

My first issue as editor of *Christian History* was a baptism by fire. The previous editor had selected Jan Hus as the topic (issue #68), but he was gone by the time we were planning the issue, so I had to oversee the project start-to-finish—despite the fact that I had never heard of Jan Hus before! I struggled to find authors until I connected via email with Thomas Fudge in New Zealand. (He invited the whole CH staff to visit, but sadly, I've still never been to New Zealand nor ever met Prof. Fudge.) I struggled to find images too, until a box of mostly unlabeled prints arrived in the mail from the National Library of the Czech Republic. Art director Rai Whitlock performed miracles to bring that issue up to the aesthetic level that



I'm not a historian, I'm not a theologian, and I've had a lifelong struggle with dyslexia.

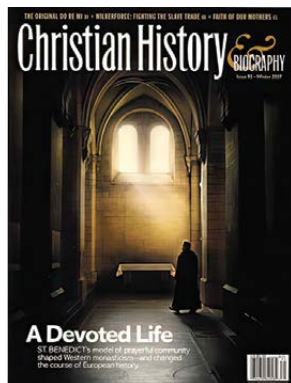
But I felt the Lord saying, "I'm calling you at this point, and I will help bring along the people needed to accomplish this."

I also felt led to publish CH on a donation basis with no subscription fee. I agreed to serve as executive editor for issue #100. All team members pressed on even with Dad's graduation. Issue #100 was published and mailed in the spring of 2011. We sent the issue out to all the former subscribers, explaining the situation and telling them that, if they'd like to see *Christian History* continue, they should send a donation to help make that possible. The response shocked us. We received thousands of donations. The team agreed to publish issue #101, and we've continued publishing for the last 12 years, amazingly, with quite a few of the same team members.

—Bill Curtis, executive editor, CH

"DO, A DEER, A FEMALE DEER"

As a church musician (for 60 years now), I am devoted to helping people praise God in song. Perhaps that's why I particularly enjoyed telling *Christian History* readers about "The Original Do, Re, Mi" (issue #93) and the Benedictine monk who not only invented a way to name the notes of the scale, but developed a system of lines and spaces that would allow us to write them out so that others could easily join in the joy of music making. What didn't



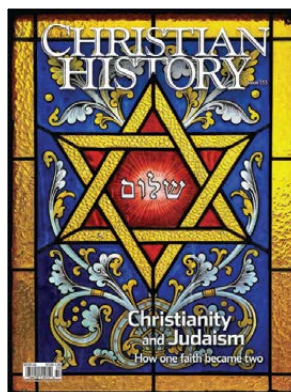
show up in my article was the fun I had reading the treatise on music written by that Italian monk (Guido d'Arezzo). Who knew that Wheaton College's Buswell Library had a copy of that medieval treatise in its collection and that I could get paid for sitting there and reading Guido's *Micrologus*? It's amazing how after 13 centuries, Guido's insights into music affect me as a composer.

—David Neff, former editor-in-chief, *Christianity Today*; director of music, Church of the Nativity and Holy Comforter

TROUBLED AND BLESSED

Over the 11 years I spent at *CH* as managing editor, our issues enlightened, amused, educated, challenged, convicted, blessed, and even perturbed me. Out of all of those experiences, though, two stand out the most. The first was issue #133 on Christian-Jewish relations. Readers had long been clamoring for a follow-up to our issue #74 on Christian-Muslim relations, and I was happy to oblige—but I did not know what I was getting myself into. Every story was fraught with pain, from Christianity's ascendancy in the early Roman Empire to medieval anti-Semitism to Luther's

legacy to the Holocaust—right down to today. I wept more than once, and I have not been the same writer, preacher, or believer since.



The second experience was a surprise in the other direction—our recent issue #148 on Lilius Trotter. Once again I did not know what I was getting into, but this time all the revelations were delighted ones as I came to know a gifted Christian artist who helped me see the world in a new way. Again, I have not been the same writer, preacher, or believer since.

—Jennifer Woodruff Tait, senior editor, *CH*

TWO THOUSAND YEARS

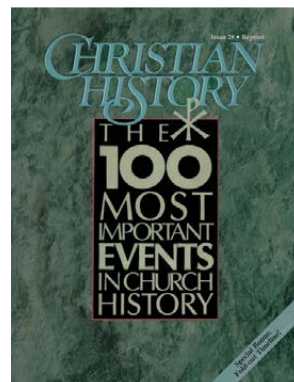
Such a privilege serving as *CH* editorial advisor from issues #25 through #102! Our #28, *The 100 Most Important Events in Church History*, was epic! Per editor Kevin Miller's 1990 letter:

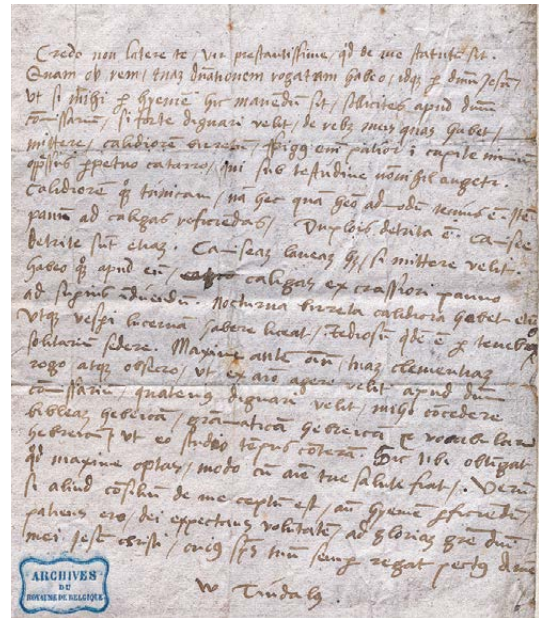
I need your help. So far . . . we have not given readers a broad overview, a general introduction to the 2,000 year sweep of Christian history.

What reflection, interconnection, and translation of The Story! Our questionnaire reached 500 church historians—followed by advisory board (Blumhofer, George, Gonzalez, Kerr, Marty, Noll, Shelley, Tucker, Wright, et al.) edits, highlighting 25 events. Animating Harvard studies, beginning Bethel Seminary teaching, this has ever shaped my approach to Christian history (see my June 15, 2023, *CH* blog).

Then, in 1998, issue #60 addressed *How the Irish Were Saved*. My brief "Be Thou My Vision" essay echoed favorite music, family roots, and historic missions. Larger research: how did this only reach English hymnals in 1919, and why's the spiritual warfare verse—"Be Thou my battle shield, sword for the fight, be Thou my dignity, Thou my delight"—rarely included? Also, perhaps, from Celtic: "I Thy true child, Thou in me dwelling, at one, reconciled?" Theologies and cultures!

—James D. Smith III, professor, Richmond Graduate University and Pacific Theological Seminary; professor emeritus, Bethel University; associate pastor, La Jolla Christian Fellowship





Sparks and trials

These reformers spoke and acted in the face of danger; two are well known, one had an unfamiliar story which inspired us and our readers alike.

TYNDALE'S BETRAYAL AND DEATH

By 1535 several Englishmen had hunted Europe for William Tyndale (1494–1536) under orders from English authorities. The one who actually succeeded in ferreting out the elusive Tyndale and bringing about his demise was a devious ne'er-do-well named Henry Phillips.

Phillips came from a wealthy English family. His father, Richard, had been a member of Parliament and high sheriff. In 1533 Phillips registered at Oxford for a civil law degree. Well-set to gain a good position, he ruined his prospects, however. Entrusted with a large sum of money by his father to pay to someone in London, he gambled it away.

After squandering his father's money, Phillips felt afraid to return home. That is when he was hired to apprehend Tyndale. Someone supplied Phillips with a servant and a liberal amount of money. He made his way to Antwerp where he suspected Tyndale was living. He threw himself into the company of English merchants, and by his silver tongue and golden hand won the confidence of all except Thomas Poyntz (1480–1562), the man who gave Tyndale safe lodging.

Before long Tyndale found himself together with Phillips. Attracted by his easy manners and eloquent speech, Tyndale invited him to Poyntz's home. Poyntz had misgivings about the stranger, but when Tyndale assured

VILVOORDE PRISON BLUES After his capture (left), Tyndale resigned himself to his fate, but he continued writing and studying. In his only surviving letter, he petitioned the governor for his Hebrew Bible (above).

him of the man's Lutheran sympathies, he suppressed his doubts. Within a few days, Phillips left. He had learned enough to know that it would be useless to work through the merchants or officers of Antwerp, who would almost certainly warn Tyndale.

So Phillips rode straight to Charles V's court at Brussels, 24 miles away. He obtained the services of the emperor's attorney and, with a few officers, headed back to Antwerp. Three or four days later, Poyntz left on business. Phillips struck without delay.

He arrived at the Poyntz home on May 21, 1535, and invited himself to lunch. He then returned to town, presumably to set officers in ambush. His scheme only required him to lure Tyndale into the trap. But Henry Phillips could not resist one more victory over his already-condemned prize. Almost as an afterthought, he asked Tyndale if he would lend him two pounds, on the pretext that he had, that very morning, lost his purse. Tyndale willingly loaned the money, and the two men left the house.

Outside Poyntz's home they entered a narrow descent. Tyndale saw two figures ahead, sensed trouble, and moved back. Phillips stood over him, pointing down with his finger as a sign that this was the man; he then jostled Tyndale forward into the arms of officers, who bound him.



Tyndale was taken to the grim castle of Vilvoorde, six miles north of Brussels. Thrown into a foul, damp dungeon with squabbling moorhens outside and scurrying rats inside, he prepared for the end.

Poyntz was furious. This was an outrageous breach of the privileges of the English merchants. The merchants lodged a protest with the government of the Low Countries.

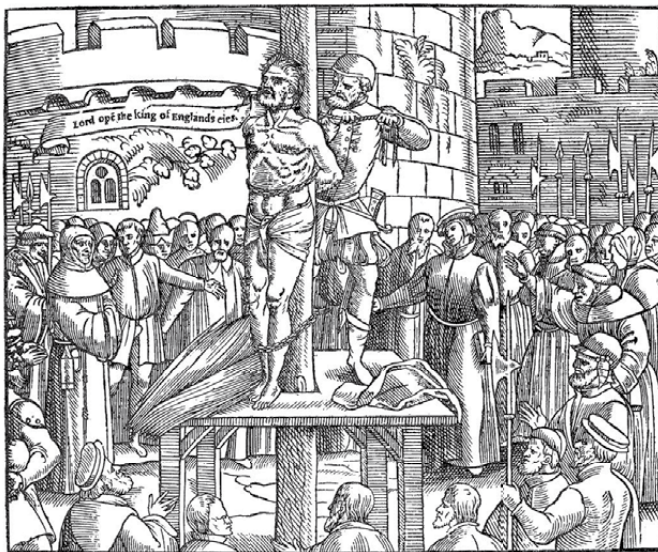
Complaints poured into the court at Brussels and into the court of King Henry VIII of England. Behind these protests was the never-tiring hand of Thomas Poyntz. But it was no use. Poyntz not only failed to free Tyndale, he was himself banished from the Low Countries, lost most of his business, was separated from his family for many years, and was left impoverished. He died in 1562. Henry Phillips gained nothing either. By 1542 he died as a prisoner himself—disowned by his family, by his country, and even by his collaborators.

Meanwhile in Vilvoorde Castle, Tyndale continued writing and translating. The winter was harsh, and he petitioned the prison governor for a few essentials to help him with his study and to warm his body. The letter, written in Latin, is the only letter in Tyndale's own hand that has survived.

After trial the reformer was condemned as a heretic and cast out of the church in August 1536. Doctors and dignitaries took seats on a high platform. Tyndale, wearing his priest's robes, was made to kneel, and his hands were scraped as a symbol of having lost the benefits of the anointing oil with which he was consecrated to the priesthood. The bread and wine of the Mass were placed in his hands and at once withdrawn. This done, he was stripped of his priestly vestments, reclathed as a layman, and handed over to the state for punishment.

Two months later William Tyndale was brought out and urged to recant. Silence fell over the crowd as his lips

UNFORGETTABLE WORDS Tyndale (left) coined many familiar phrases, like “my brother’s keeper” and “let there be light.” His translations challenged the Catholic power structure; he was executed by strangulation and burned posthumously (below). His work still influences English translations.



moved in a final impassioned prayer: “Lord, open the king of England’s eyes.”—Brian H. Edwards, from CH #16

LEGENDS ABOUT LUTHER

Martin Luther (1483–1546) became a legend in his own time. After the 95 *Theses* made him famous in 1517, stories and pictures painted him larger than life. One early woodcut portrays Luther as a young monk holding an open Bible, rays of light streaming from a halo surrounding his head.

Most misconceptions about Luther arose harmlessly and only gradually. Like all myths they contain a kernel of truth. Here are five often-told experiences from Luther’s life that need some clarification.

1. Thunderstorm “conversion”

After Luther finished his master of arts degree at the University of Erfurt, he embarked on the study of law until his return to Erfurt in 1505. Frightened by a thunderstorm near Stotternheim, he cried out: “Help me, St. Anna! I will become a monk.” This sudden decision made on the road in a flash of lightning reminded contemporaries of the conversion of St. Paul on the road to Damascus. But were the events actually alike? Not necessarily. Luther was certainly not converted in the sense that a formerly indifferent young man suddenly became serious about religion. Furthermore Luther ultimately regretted having made the vow.

2. Tower experience

Luther supposedly discovered the gospel all at once while reading Paul’s Epistle to the Romans in the tower of the Augustinian cloister. That notion was based on direct and



indirect sources. A year before his death, Luther described how a new understanding of God's righteousness finally came to him after he had meditated day and night on Romans 1:17–18. *Table Talk*, a compilation of notes by Luther's students and associates, refers to his studies in the monastery tower and elsewhere.

It is most likely that the discovery came as the culmination of a long, painstaking attempt to understand Paul's teaching on justification. As he diligently studied and lectured on the Bible in Wittenberg, Luther arrived at a new, positive understanding of righteousness as a gift of God received in faith.

3. Posting 95 Theses

Until recently the story of Luther nailing the 95 *Theses* to the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg was standard Luther lore. Nevertheless Luther himself never reported it. The tale stems from his colleague, Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560), who was not in Wittenberg in 1517, and who did not record the incident until after Luther's death. Catholic historian Erwin Iserloh pointed out in 1961 that the debate to which the theses were an invitation never took place in Wittenberg. Further, to provoke discussion of papal indulgences, Luther sent the theses to his superiors and to other scholars around Germany. According to Iserloh the theses were not nailed; they were *mailed*.

4. "Here I stand!"

In April 1521 Luther appeared before Emperor Charles V to defend his writings. At the end of his speech, the story goes, he spoke the famous words, "Here I stand; I can do no other. God help me." The earliest printed version



THE MAN, THE MYTH Martin Luther (*above left*) became a larger-than-life figure, thanks to legends like his dramatic conversion (*above top*) and his tangles with the devil (*above*). Though some stories are fabrications, they seem to be in keeping with Luther's character.

of Luther's address gave these words, which were not recorded in the minutes. It's possible they are genuine, but most scholars believe not. Luther's speech was not a defiant, solitary protest, but a calm, reasoned account of why he had written the books piled on the table before him and why he could not recant their content.

5. Hurling an inkwell at the devil

Because Charles V declared Luther an outlaw, his prince, the Elector Frederick, had Luther kidnapped and hidden at the Wartburg Castle. Later stories of Luther's 10-month stay at the Wartburg frequently told of his battle with the devil, who constantly disturbed his work—sometimes as a fly buzzing around his head. A famous story has Luther throw an inkwell at the devil. However, the first mention of the inkwell dates to the end of the sixteenth century and reverses the roles: the devil, dressed as a monk, threw an inkwell at the *reformer*.



This legend points to an important truth, though. Luther believed strongly in the existence of the devil with whom Christians are in constant battle. In his catechism Luther coached Christians to pray each day so that God would forgive their sins and strengthen their faith so they could survive this struggle.—*Scott H. Hendrix, from CH #34*

OUR FIRST WOMAN REFORMER

Argula von Grumbach (1492–1554 or 1557) was a brave and extraordinary woman. Martin Luther knew her well: He dedicated a copy of his *Little Book of Prayers* to her in his own hand. This Bavarian noblewoman, with four little children dependent on her, took an incredible risk. In the autumn of 1523, she challenged the theologians of Ingolstadt University in Bavaria to a public debate with her in German about the legitimacy of their conduct. They had arrested an 18-year-old student, Arsacius Seehofer (d. 1545), and threatened him with death if he would not renounce his evangelical views. Von Grumbach knew the young man and reacted with horror.

Her challenge was unheard of. Theologians didn't lower themselves to debate with laypeople, still less with women, much less in German rather than Latin. They tried to ignore her, but friends published her letter. Printers all over Germany and Switzerland raced

PROBLEMATIC PAMPHLET German printers sensationalized von Grumbach (right) and her public challenge. In this pamphlet cover woodcut (left), she stands with Bible in hand, alone, confronting bewildered scholars near their discarded books.

to reprint it. It was a huge sensation: a mere woman challenging a university!

In words that ordinary people could understand, her pamphlet—followed by seven others from her pen—raised key issues about freedom of speech, the authority of Scripture, and the urgent need to reform the church.

Von Grumbach pointed out that throughout Scripture and down through history, the Holy Spirit had moved women to speak out, and she sensed that she stood in this prophetic tradition.

Von Grumbach was not only an inspirational and controversial author but also a wife, mother, gifted correspondent, confidante of women, and mistress of a household. Yet what most impressed her contemporaries was her knowledge of Scripture. Her pamphlets quoted the prophets, Paul, the Psalms, and Jesus in a way that showed she had made the Bible her own.

Von Grumbach never received the public debate she asked for. However, she infuriated every leading institution of her time: the university, the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, the Bavarian princes under whose rule she lived, and her own husband, “Fritz.” Because he could not “control his wife,” Fritz lost his lucrative job in the service of the Bavarian dukes. Tragedies followed von Grumbach to the end of her life, when she was grossly mistreated, held captive, and forced to flee her family home in Bavaria.

Awareness of von Grumbach's contribution to the Reformation never totally died out. In the mid-sixteenth century, Ludwig Rabus reprinted her works, hailing her as one of God's elect witnesses. Historical scholarship began to take von Grumbach seriously in the twentieth century.

Her letters survived because authorities confiscated them as evidence for a legal challenge involving her son, Gottfried. They show she had contacts with many reformers. During crucial meetings she lobbied Protestant princes from the sidelines and worked hard to heal the rifts in the evangelical camp.

Today the cruel circumstances of von Grumbach's life speak to our hearts while we are drawn to the prophetic character of her spirited writings and inspired by her exemplary courage.—*Peter Matheson, from CH #131* **CH**



A life of luxury meets the life of Christ

In seeking to share the full story of the faith, CH covered the Catholic Reformation in detail with issue #122. The full version of this article won the Cause of the Year Award at the Evangelical Press Association Convention in 2018.

Severely injured by a cannonball that had wounded both his legs, the young Spanish man knew his military career was over. In spite of the doctors' dire predictions, he had survived surgery (no easy feat in a pre-anesthesia era) and was now learning to walk again.

This young man of wealthy birth and luxurious tastes had once longed only for battle and tales of chivalry, but now he had a growing interest in spiritual things; he was beginning to pray and meditate, desiring to follow God. He would make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he decided.

His first stop was the monastery of Santa Maria de Montserrat in Catalonia, Spain. There in March 1522, he bowed before a statue of the Virgin Mary. He left his military cloak and his sword before the image. When he arose he was to become a warrior in a different battle: the battle for the soul.

The young man, Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556)—who would in 1540 found the Society of Jesus, or the Jesuits—was the youngest child of the noble Loyola family. His mother died when he was young, and his father when he was 16. Despite his personal tragedies, he enjoyed all the privileges and recreations of the aristocracy. One biographer later described him as a “fancy dresser, an expert dancer, a womanizer, sensitive to insult, and a rough punkish swordsman who used his privileged status to escape prosecution for violent crimes committed with his priest brother at carnival time.”

TWO BOOKS AS DISTRACTIONS

Ignatius showed little serious religious inclination until those catastrophic events at the Battle of Pamplona in 1521. After his wounding and surgery, he spent months in recovery at the Loyola castle, with only two books to distract him from his world of pain: *The Golden Legend* (c. 1260), a best-selling collection of the lives of the saints, and Ludolph of Saxony's *The Life of Christ* (1374), a harmony of the Gospels drawing on the writings of the church fathers.

Together these books changed Ignatius's life. In contrast to the dread and depression he experienced when he thought of returning to his life, the lives of



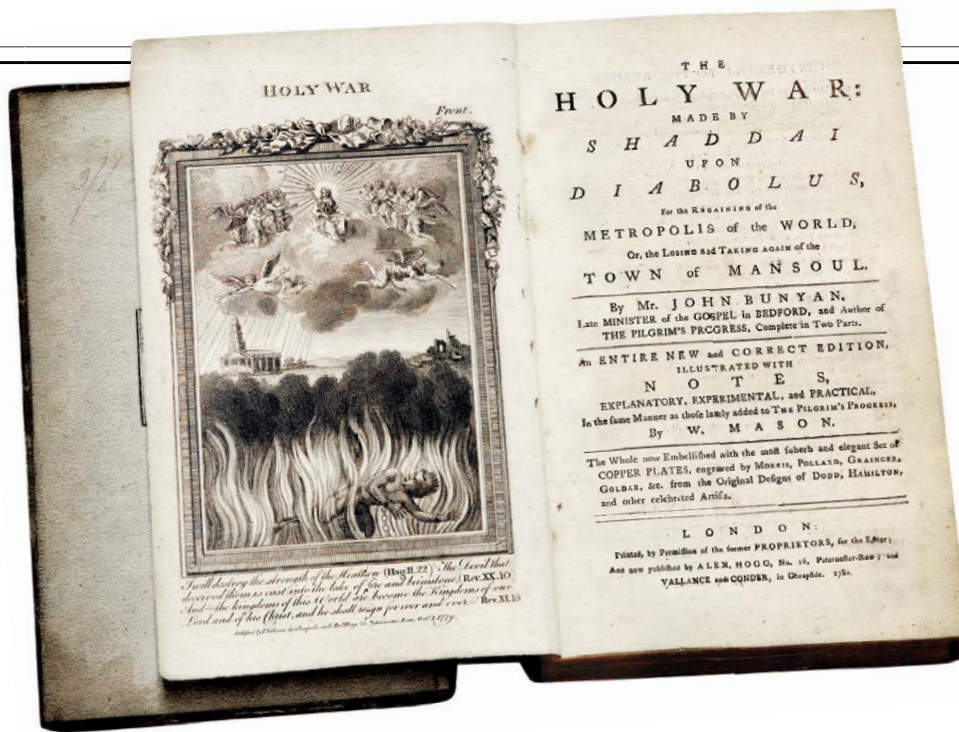
FROM RICHES TO RAGS An unknown artist pictures Ignatius of Loyola in a similar pose as popular images of Francis of Assisi, capturing their lives' parallels.

Christ and the saints filled him with a sense of “consolation.” Ignatius decided that he wanted to spend the rest of his life ministering to others, or as he called it, “helping souls.” Upon recovery he withdrew in retreat, prayer, and pilgrimage.

In this time he crafted the guides to devotion known as the *Spiritual Exercises* (published in 1548). Ignatius decided he would need more theological education and formation if he was going to dedicate his life to helping souls, and he enrolled at the University of Paris to get it. There he connected with other students who would form the original core of the Jesuits, spending time with them in prayer and leading them through the *Exercises*. On August 15, 1534, they vowed to obey the pope, practice poverty and chastity, and make a missionary voyage to the Holy Land.

Finding delays at every turn, they spent their days of ministry first in Venice, and then in Rome, where, through prayer, discussion, and discernment, they decided to seek papal approval for their new order. In 1540 they secured approval from Pope Paul III, swearing to obey any call to be sent anywhere in the world to preach the gospel and care for the sick.

Early Jesuits established missions as far as South America, India, China, Japan, and the Philippines. However, they also emphasized a vow of obedience to the pope, sometimes controversially so. But “the desire for a more devout life” drove the Jesuits, who prayed to God with Ignatius, “Give me Thy love and Thy grace, for this is enough for me.”—Katie M. Benjamin, from CH #122



Johns worth knowing

Here are our website's most-searched men from the age of reason and revival.

PREACHER, PRISONER, PILGRIM

John Bunyan (1628–1688) was born at Elstow, near Bedford, England, the oldest son of a tinker. When he was 16, the Parliamentary army summoned Bunyan in a county levy. What active service he knew is uncertain. After approximately three years, his company disbanded and he returned to Elstow and continued the family work. Bunyan loved music but had little money for instruments, so he made them out of his furniture.

He married twice. His first wife, as poor as he, brought him a simple dowry of two well-known Puritan works, Arthur Dent's *The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven* and Lewis Bayly's *The Practice of Piety*. They had four children, including a blind daughter, Mary, before she died. His second wife, Elizabeth, a brave woman, stood in the face of hostility, even when she feared John would be jailed for his preaching. They had two children.

Bunyan recorded his spiritual progress in a series of vignettes. He first discovered Christian fellowship by overhearing "three or four poor women sitting at a door in the room, and talking about the things of God." Later he said: "They spoke as if joy did make them speak." Bunyan found himself drawn into this same fellowship.

Prior to 1654 he met, and was counseled by, John Gifford, minister of the open communion Baptist Church at Bedford. He moved from Elstow to Bedford and began to preach near there. His ministry coincided with the Stuart Restoration of 1660, meaning that

A MAN OF MANY WORDS John Bunyan (embossed above right) wrote prolifically. *The Holy War* (left), written after *Pilgrim's Progress*, was also an allegory.

unauthorized preaching would be a punishable offense. Arrested in November 1660 for holding a conventicle (an illegal religious meeting), Bunyan was sentenced in January 1661, initially for three months, to imprisonment in Bedford jail. His continued refusal to assure authorities that he would stop preaching if released prolonged his imprisonment until at least 1672. Authorities granted him occasional time out of prison, and church records show that he attended meetings at the Bedford church. In prison he made shoelaces, preached to prisoners, and wrote various works.

Bunyan wrote much in prison, but his most memorable work was *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Published in 1678, this book, next to the Bible, was for generations the most deeply cherished in devout English-speaking homes.

On January 21, 1672, the Bedford congregation called John Bunyan as its pastor. In March he was released from prison—even though he spent six additional months in prison in 1677—and on May 9, he was licensed to preach under Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence. During the same year, the Bedford church became licensed as a Congregational meeting place. Bunyan's dedication, diligence, and zeal as preacher, evangelist, and pastor earned him the nickname of "Bishop Bunyan." Although he frequently preached in villages near Bedford, and at times in London churches, Bunyan remained a resident of Bedford.



Combined with preaching and pastoral responsibilities was a heavy writing schedule. He wrote more than 60 books, publishing the last in 1686. After riding on horseback in a heavy rain from Reading to London, Bunyan contracted a fever and died on August 31, 1688, at John Strudwick's home in London. He is buried there in Bunhill Fields.—*E. Beatrice Batson, from CH #11*

WESLEY VS. WHITEFIELD

John Wesley (1703–1791) and **George Whitefield (1714–1770)** had a complicated friendship. Whitefield came to Oxford University from the family inn and was working his way through college waiting on richer students. Still, Charles Wesley (1707–1788) asked him to join the “Holy Club,” drawing him into fellowship. Charles rather than John became Whitefield’s chief mentor. Whitefield spoke highly of both. He called John his “spiritual father in Christ,” addressing him as “Honoured sir” in letters.

In 1736 John Wesley entrusted the newly ordained Whitefield with oversight of the Oxford Methodists. Whitefield soon soared to national fame as “the boy preacher.” As Whitefield freely confessed, it went to his head. Though his evangelistic success far outstripped his former instructor’s, he showed Wesley deep respect. Still, as revival unfolded, young, exuberant Whitefield took the lead, dragging behind him the older, more cautious Wesley.

In spring 1739 Whitefield took preaching outdoors—first to the coal miners around Bristol and then to the street poor of London. Whitefield pushed the reluctant Wesleys to do the same. Now Whitefield and the Wesleys worked as equals. When Whitefield won converts, he relied on Wesley to help organize and instruct them.

A few months later, however, theological tensions came to a head. By 1740 two camps split the infant Methodist movement. The Wesleys, unshakable “Arminians,” denied predestination, yet the revival drew zealous recruits from the Puritan Calvinists. At first Whitefield was no predestinarian, but after sailing to America in



BUTTING HEADS Wesley (left bust) and Whitefield (right bust) differed theologically, but their almost opposite personalities played into their disagreements. Still, most perceived them as partner revivalists, both preaching Christ crucified (above).

1739, contact with fervent Calvinists and reading Calvinist books changed his mind.

Even before Whitefield left, John had attacked the Calvinist theory of grace. In March he preached and published his passionate sermon, “Free Grace.” John feared that Calvinism propagated fatalism and discouraged growth in holiness. Charles feared that predestination represented a loving God as a God of hate. Whitefield, always more irenic than John, demurred before replying. Nonetheless, on Christmas Eve 1740, Whitefield wrote his riposte, defending the Calvinist doctrine of grace.

Wesley then provocatively published “Free Grace” in America. Whitefield, when invited to preach in Wesley’s headquarters at the London Foundry, scandalized the congregation by preaching election “in the most peremptory and offensive manner,” with Charles beside him, fuming. From then revival moved along parallel lines, and Whitefield’s growing “Calvinistic Methodist” societies rivaled Wesley’s “United Societies.”

Whitefield was a moderate Calvinist, and John Wesley allowed (for a time) that some souls might be elected to eternal life. When not overheated both men saw such issues as nonessentials. No merger of the two camps occurred, but there was at least reconciliation and an “agreement to differ” between the leaders. This friendship continued even though the old split remained. Ultimately what eased relations was Whitefield’s decision, in 1749, to abandon formal leadership



EX-BLASPHEMER John Newton (*above*) spent his older years reflecting on his life's failures and God's grace to him, penning his *Memoirs* (*right*) and other writings, which would reveal the horrors of the slave trade.

of the Calvinistic Methodist societies. He thus posed no threat to Wesley as chief organizer of the revival.

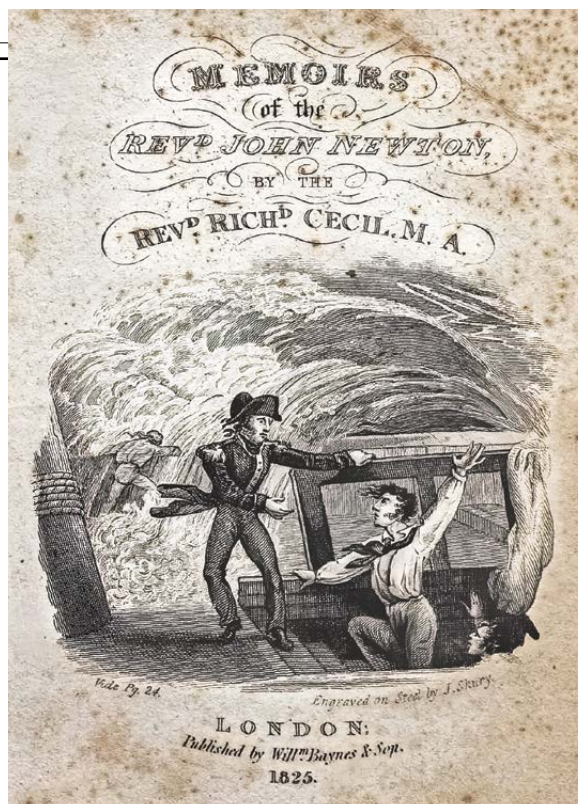
Ultimately the two men complemented each other. Gifted Whitefield could scatter the seed of God's Word across the world. Wesley, preeminently, could garner the grain and preserve it. On Whitefield's death Charles penned a noble elegy. And at Whitefield's request, his funeral sermon was preached by none other than his former opponent, John Wesley.—*J. D. Walsh, from CH #38*

AN AMAZINGLY GRACED LIFE

John Newton's (1725–1807) mother had a strong Christian influence on him. She taught him Scripture, catechisms, and hymns. Tragically she died before he turned seven. At 11 he went to sea with his father, a merchant navy captain. John became a foul-mouthed and impetuous youth, shocking even the most hardened sailors.

Young Newton had no self-control. He briefly worked in a merchant's office but lost the job due to "unsettled behavior and impatience of restraint." Remembering his mother's faith, he tried and failed repeatedly to turn his life around.

Pressed into the Royal Navy, he deserted to be with his future wife, Mary, whom he loved dearly. But he was caught, put in irons, and flogged. Allowed to leave the navy in 1745, he became involved in the slave trade, a business venture that quickly soured. A slave trader left him in West Africa, and the man's African wife abused and enslaved Newton. In 1748 Newton was rescued and sailed home on the *Greyhound*.



The ship was caught in a severe storm. Newton prayed for God's mercy. The storm calmed. By the time the *Greyhound* reached port, he was converted. However, he later admitted, "I cannot consider myself to have been a believer, in the full sense of the word."

Newton married in 1750 and later adopted his two orphaned nieces. He returned to work as captain of a slave-trading vessel. Though Newton sympathized with the enslaved people he transported, he continued working in the trade. At times he fell into old temptations. It was four years before he left the active slave trade, but he continued to invest in the lucrative business.

Greatly influenced by George Whitefield and others, he pursued ministry. It took years for his ordination application to be accepted, but finally, in 1764, he was ordained in the Church of England. He served in Olney, where he would stay for 16 years. Newton started a weekly prayer service, which poet and lay minister William Cowper helped lead. The two wrote hymns to sing at prayer meetings, later published as the *Olney Hymns* (see p. 35).

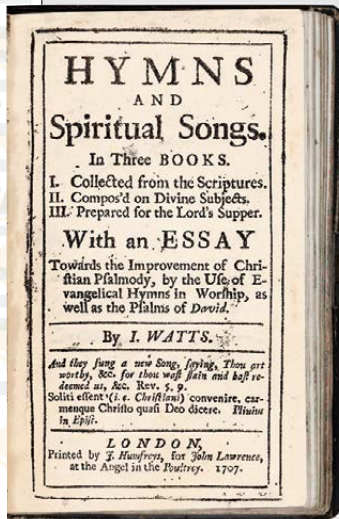
Eventually Newton's eyes were opened to the hideousness of the sin of slavery. In 1788 he published *Thoughts Upon the Slave Trade*. He repented for his active involvement in slavery and referred to himself as "the old African blasphemer" who had been saved by "Amazing Grace."

He also influenced abolitionists like Hannah More and William Wilberforce. Britain passed the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act on March 25, 1807. Newton died that same year on December 21. Over 200 years later, Newton is remembered for his fight against the slave trade. His hymns are sung worldwide, and his legacy lives on.—*Aubrynn Whitted, from our Torchlighters website. CH*

The golden age of hymns

The writers of these “modern” hymns brought vibrant musical expression to the English-speaking church and made our issue #31’s hall of fame.

ISAAC WATTS (1674–1748)



Ye monsters of the bubbling deep
Your Master's praises spout;
Up from the sands ye coddlings
[cod] peep,
and wag your tails about.

Though this verse was probably a parody, such were church psalms when Isaac Watts was young. When he complained his father challenged him to write something better. The following week Isaac presented his first hymn to the church and received an enthusiastic response, beginning his career as the “Father of English Hymnody.”

At Watts's birth his father was in prison for Nonconformist sympathies. Young Isaac showed genius, however, and several wealthy townspeople offered to pay for his university education in Angli-

can ministry. Watts refused and at 16 went to London to study at a leading Nonconformist academy. In 1702 he became pastor of an influential Independent church in London. He served there for the rest of his life.

In 1707 Watts published *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* containing 210 hymns, one of the first English hymnals. “Joy to the World,” “O God, Our Help in Ages Past,” “When I Survey the Wondrous Cross,” and “I Sing the Almighty Power of God” are just a few of his 600 hymns. He moved church singing into a new era.

After battling a decades-long illness, Watts died in 1748. Samuel Johnson observed: “Few men have left behind such purity of character or such monuments of laborious piety.”

WILLIAM COWPER (1731–1800)

William Cowper's poetic achievements are remarkable given that mental illness plagued him all his life. Son of a royal chaplain, Cowper worked as a lawyer. At age 32 he attempted suicide three times. During an 18-month asylum stay, he was converted while reading Romans.

After his release Cowper eventually met John Newton and moved to Olney. He grew spiritually and healed there. Newton urged Cowper to serve Olney's poor and

SING TO THE LORD A NEW SONG Isaac Watts paraphrased the psalms in a way that emphasized the gospel, as in “O God, Our Help in Ages Past” (Psalm 90). His collection (above) held 210 hymns.

also convinced him to write hymns for the parish's prayer meetings. The result was *Olney Hymns* (1779), which contains 348 hymns—68 by Cowper, who suffered a relapse and was unable to finish his work.

Three of his best-known works are “There Is a Fountain,” “Safely Through Another Week,” and “O for a Closer Walk with God.” Cowper wrote his famous “God Moves in a Mysterious Way” during another dark time around another suicide attempt. Perhaps he wrote his most meaningful works during fits of despair. On his deathbed he stated, “I am not shut out of heaven after all.”

ANNE STEELE (THEODOSIA) (1716–1778)

Anne Steele was the eldest daughter of William Steele, Baptist pastor at Broughton, England. Early in life Steele demonstrated a gift for writing. But many misfortunes beset her. Her mother died. In her teens a fall from a horse rendered her permanently disabled. Just hours before their wedding, her fiancé drowned. This final painful incident probably gave rise to one of her best-known hymns, “Father: Whate'er of Earthly Bliss.”

Steele, described as “cultured, pious, and beautiful,” spent most days in the quiet seclusion of her father's house. She never married. The shock of her father's death in 1769 aggravated her feeble health. Despite many trials Steele wrote 144 hymns and 34 psalm versions. She published *Poems on Subjects Chiefly Devotional* in two volumes in 1760 and a third posthumously. Her hymns and poems received wide acceptance. More than a century after her death, it was written that she “stands at the head” of Baptist hymn writers.

JAMES MONTGOMERY (1771–1854)

Montgomery had once studied to be a missionary, attending a Moravian seminary in London. He found poetry, however, more absorbing than his studies. Not long after the sudden death of both parents in the mission field, however, he left school to cultivate his literary gifts. At age 23 he became editor of the weekly *Sheffield Register* in London, a position he held for 31 years.

Montgomery became an activist, particularly for the abolition of slavery, landing him fines and occasional imprisonments. In 1797 he published a collection of poems written behind bars, *Prison Amusements*. Montgomery is best remembered for more than 400 hymns, most written in the early 1770s when he was a pastor in Liverpool. A few came later, such as “Angels from the Realms of Glory,” which first appeared as a poem in his newspaper on Christmas Eve of 1816. He published his collection as *Montgomery's Original Hymns*. Many hymnologists give him a place after Watts and Wesley.—*Vinitta Hampton Wright, from CH #31*



Founding fathers

These men from our top 10 most searched figures founded movements and gained large followings.

FATHER OF A NEW REVIVALISM

Young Charles Finney (1792–1875) studied law, but one day in 1821 decided to settle the question of his soul's salvation. Alone in the woods, he wrestled with God in prayer. The next morning Finney closed his law office: he was leaving to become a preacher. A presbytery licensed him to preach in December 1823.

As an itinerant preacher, Finney's early meetings in upper New York state produced a remarkable crop of converts but he did not plan to remain a traveling evangelist. After he and Lydia Andrews wed in 1824, he considered taking a permanent pastorate.

However, Finney's path took an unexpected turn in 1825 when his former pastor, George Gale, asked Finney to preach. Crowds flocked to hear him, and many people sought assurance of conversion. Newspapers noticed. Finney attracted supporters, including Lewis and Arthur Tappan, prominent New York merchants.

Finney met opposition as well. Old School Presbyterians denounced his modified Calvinism. Congregationalists said that Finney invited fanaticism by allowing too much human emotion. Unitarians and Universalists alleged he used scare tactics to gain converts. Controversy also erupted over "new measures" Finney employed. He allowed women to pray in public, used an "anxious bench" at the front of the church, held protracted

HUMBLE BEGINNINGS The ministries of Charles Finney (left), Charles Spurgeon (middle), and William Carey (right) resonate today, although none of the three had seminary training.

(daily) meetings, prayed informally, and admitted new converts immediately to church membership.

The zenith of Finney's evangelistic career came at Rochester, New York, where his 1830–1831 meetings consumed the city. Finney made his case like a lawyer before a jury. People from all walks of life responded.

Shortly after the Rochester campaign, Finney accepted a New York City pastorate. There he published his *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*. This book claimed that revival is not a miracle, but the right use of means. Professor Charles Hodge of Princeton Seminary condemned it. Finney became a leader of the New School Presbyterians and of the free church movement—congregations that rejected pew rents in favor of free seating. Friends built the Broadway Tabernacle for Finney, open to everyone.

Finney became a professor at Oberlin College in Ohio in 1835 at the invitation of antislavery students. The Tappans agreed to underwrite his costs. He taught pastoral theology and wrote for the *Oberlin Evangelist* but continued to conduct revival meetings. Finney drew Oberlin into social reforms such as the temperance movement, women's education, and abolitionism. Oberlin even became a station on the Underground Railroad and the scene of the dramatic rescue of an enslaved man. Finney



encouraged antislavery action but cautioned Christians not to allow reform efforts to replace revivalism.

Troubled by the number of backsliders, Finney and Oberlin College president Asa Mahan formulated a heavily criticized doctrine of Christian perfectionism.

On December 18, 1847, Lydia died, leaving five children from ages three to nineteen. Finney soon married Elizabeth Ford Atkins, a widow. The Finneys visited England twice in the 1850s, where Finney successfully led revivals. Elizabeth held women's meetings, starting a trend.

Finney continued at Oberlin College. Friends urged him to write about the revivals he had conducted. These *Memoirs* are still popular. Charles Finney died at dawn on Monday, August 16, 1875. His methods paved the way for later revivalists like Dwight L. Moody, Billy Sunday, and Billy Graham.—James E. Johnson, from CH #20

PRINCE OF PREACHERS

When Charles Haddon Spurgeon died in January 1892, London mourned. Flags flew at half-mast, shops closed. A funeral parade two miles long followed his hearse. One hundred thousand people stood along the way.

Spurgeon was born in 1834 in Kelvedon, Essex. His father and his grandfather were dissenters—ministers outside the Church of England. His earliest memories included learning hymns and looking at the pictures in

BURSTING AT THE SEAMS Converts of Finney's revival meetings (above left) founded Oberlin College (below); Spurgeon preached all over London (above). Both filled tents, halls, and churches, despite differing theologies.

The Pilgrim's Progress and Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (which he later called "the perfect Christmas gift for a child.")

As a dissenter Spurgeon could not take a degree at any major national university. Nonetheless he became a literate man with a personal library of 12,000 volumes.

Spurgeon attributed his conversion to a sermon he heard by chance when a snowstorm diverted him into a Primitive Methodist chapel. He became a Baptist, convinced that infant baptism, practiced by his father and grandfather, is unscriptural. His mother responded, "I often prayed the Lord to make you a Christian, but I never asked that you might become a Baptist."

His first pastorate was in the village of Waterbeach near Cambridge. Even then he had star quality and was known as "the boy wonder of the fens." He appeared even younger than he was, a startling contrast to the maturity of his sermons, which were strongly influenced by Puritan works. His youth, energy, command of old texts, and oratorical skills made a vivid impact upon his listeners.

His reputation spread to London, and in 1854 historic New Park Street Chapel invited him to preach. The 19-year-old country boy moved to the city.

Britain experienced economic and social distress in the 1850s. Not coincidentally the decade ended with the "Great Revival," which began in Ireland and Scotland and swept into England, igniting religious emotions not felt since the days of Wesley and Whitefield.

As Spurgeon preached throughout the kingdom, no chapel was large enough to hold everyone who wanted to hear him.





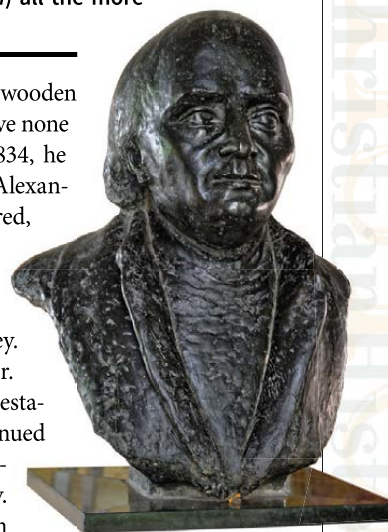
PREACHING THE WORD This ceramic souvenir (*above left*) captures Spurgeon's distinctive gestures and oratorical style (*above right*).



BRINGING THE WORD Carey (*top*) had no previous linguistic experience, making his 30+ Bible translations (*bottom*) all the more impressive.

drunk, shoes he had made, a wooden advertisement. Carey would have none of it. When he lay dying in 1834, he summoned fellow missionary Alexander Duff to his side and whispered, Mr. Duff! You have been speaking about Dr. Carey, Dr. Carey; when I am gone, say nothing about Dr. Carey. Speak about Dr. Carey's Savior.

In spite of Carey's protestations, Christians have continued to be interested not only in Carey's Savior, but also in Carey.



More than 50 biographies of him have been published. Universities, mission societies, and publishing houses are named for him. Carey and the Serampore Mission were widely imitated catalysts for the Great Missions Century.

His plan to evangelize India had three parts: preach the gospel, translate the Bible, and establish schools. By 1817 the Serampore missionaries had opened 103 schools with an average combined attendance of 6,703. Among the wide range of subjects taught was Bible instruction. The crowning work of Carey's educational career was Serampore College, which he cofounded in 1818. English missionaries would never be able to evangelize all India. Thus Serampore was founded to provide both liberal arts *and* theological education, so Indians could reach their own.

Carey pioneered cross-cultural communication. His willingness to translate the Bible into the vernacular and to translate Hindu writings into English showed remarkable respect for Indian culture. He himself was responsible for translating the entire Bible into Bengali, Oriya, Marathi, Hindi, Assamese, and Sanskrit, as well as portions of it into 29 other tongues. Bible translations provided a valuable tool for evangelists.

Each year on his birthday, Carey took stock of his life. "If ever I get to heaven," he said, "it must be owing to divine grace from first to last." In 1831 he declared,

I am this day 70 years old, a monument of Divine mercy and goodness, though on a review of my life I find much, very much, for which I ought to be humbled in the dust.

—Timothy George, from CH #36 **CH**

FAC-SIMILE OF THE TEXT, "The people which sat in darkness saw great light" (Matt. iv. 16), in the following Eastern languages:—

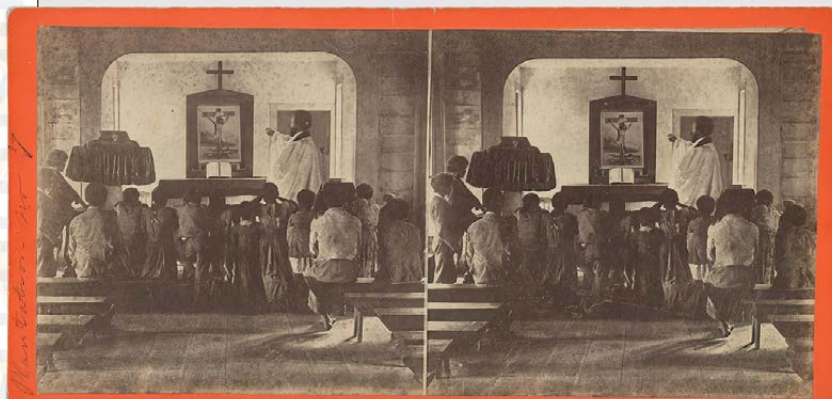
- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Bengalee. | 7. Afghan. |
| 2. Orissa. | 8. Burman. |
| 3. Hindoostanee, or Urdu. | 9. Tamil. |
| 4. Sanscrit. | 10. Cingalese. |
| 5. Telinga, or Telegu. | 11. Malay. |
| 6. Kurnata. | 12. Chinese. |

১ যে লোক অন্ধকারে বসিয়াছিল তাহারা দেখিল আলো
 ২ যে লোক অন্ধকারে বসিয়াছিল তাহারা দেখিল আলো
 ৩ যে লোক অন্ধকারে বসিয়াছিল তাহারা দেখিল আলো
 ৪ যে লোক অন্ধকারে বসিয়াছিল তাহারা দেখিল আলো
 ৫ যে লোক অন্ধকারে বসিয়াছিল তাহারা দেখিল আলো
 ৬ যে লোক অন্ধকারে বসিয়াছিল তাহারা দেখিল আলো
 ৭ যে লোক অন্ধকারে বসিয়াছিল তাহারা দেখিল আলো
 ৮ যে লোক অন্ধকারে বসিয়াছিল তাহারা দেখিল আলো
 ৯ যে লোক অন্ধকারে বসিয়াছিল তাহারা দেখিল আলো
 ১০ যে লোক অন্ধকারে বসিয়াছিল তাহারা দেখিল আলো
 ১১ যে লোক অন্ধকারে বসিয়াছিল তাহারা দেখিল আলো
 ১২ যে লোক অন্ধকারে বসিয়াছিল তাহারা দেখিল আলো

FATHER OF MODERN MISSIONS

Long before his death at age 73, William Carey (1761–1834) had become an almost mythic figure. Acquaintances collected relics from his early life: a cup from which he had

Chained bodies, freed souls



This article from issue #33 captures the complex, honest, and sometimes difficult aspects of our history: people who claim faith don't always act the way we hope they would.

By the Civil War, Christianity had pervaded the enslaved community. Not all were Christian or church members, but most found the doctrines, symbols, and vision of life of Christianity familiar.

Their religion was both visible and invisible, formally organized and spontaneously adapted. They paralleled regular Sunday worship in the local church with illicit prayer meetings on weeknights in the slave cabins. Church-licensed preachers hired by slaveholders were supplemented by slave preachers licensed only by the spirit. Texts from the Bible, which most slaves could not read, were explicated by verses from the spirituals.

Slaves often held their own meetings out of disgust for their masters' corrupted gospel. Lucretia Alexander explained what they did when they grew tired of it:

The preacher came and . . . he'd just say, "Serve your masters. Don't steal your master's turkey. Don't steal your master's chickens. Don't steal your master's hawks. . . . Do whatsoever your master tells you to do." Same old thing all the time. . . . Sometimes they would . . . want a real meetin' with some real preachin' . . . They used to sing their songs in a whisper and pray in a whisper.

Slaves faced severe punishment if caught at secret prayer meetings. Moses Grandy reported his brother-in-law Isaac, a slave preacher, "was flogged, and his back pickled" for holding a clandestine service. His listeners were flogged and "forced to tell who else was there."

To avoid detection slaves met in secluded places called "hush harbors." Peter Randolph, enslaved in Prince George County, Virginia, until he was freed in 1847, recorded this description of a secret prayer meeting:

The slave forgets all his sufferings, except to remind others of the trials during the past week, exclaiming: "Thank God, I shall not live here

SECRET RELIGIOUS LIFE Gatherings of the enslaved were often described as dynamic and ecstatic, unlike this sedate, monitored congregation.

always!" Then they pass from one to another, shaking hands, and bidding each other farewell. . . . [singing] a parting hymn of praise.

Many slaveholders ridiculed the notion of religion for slaves because they refused to believe Black people had souls, but others granted permission to attend church and encouraged religious meetings. Baptisms, marriages, and funerals were allowed on some plantations with Whites observing and occasionally participating, as well as annual revival meetings for all. Slaveholders often enjoyed their slaves' singing, praying, and preaching. But the enslaved knew that slaveholder religion did not translate into freedom in this world.

JUBILANT CONVERSIONS

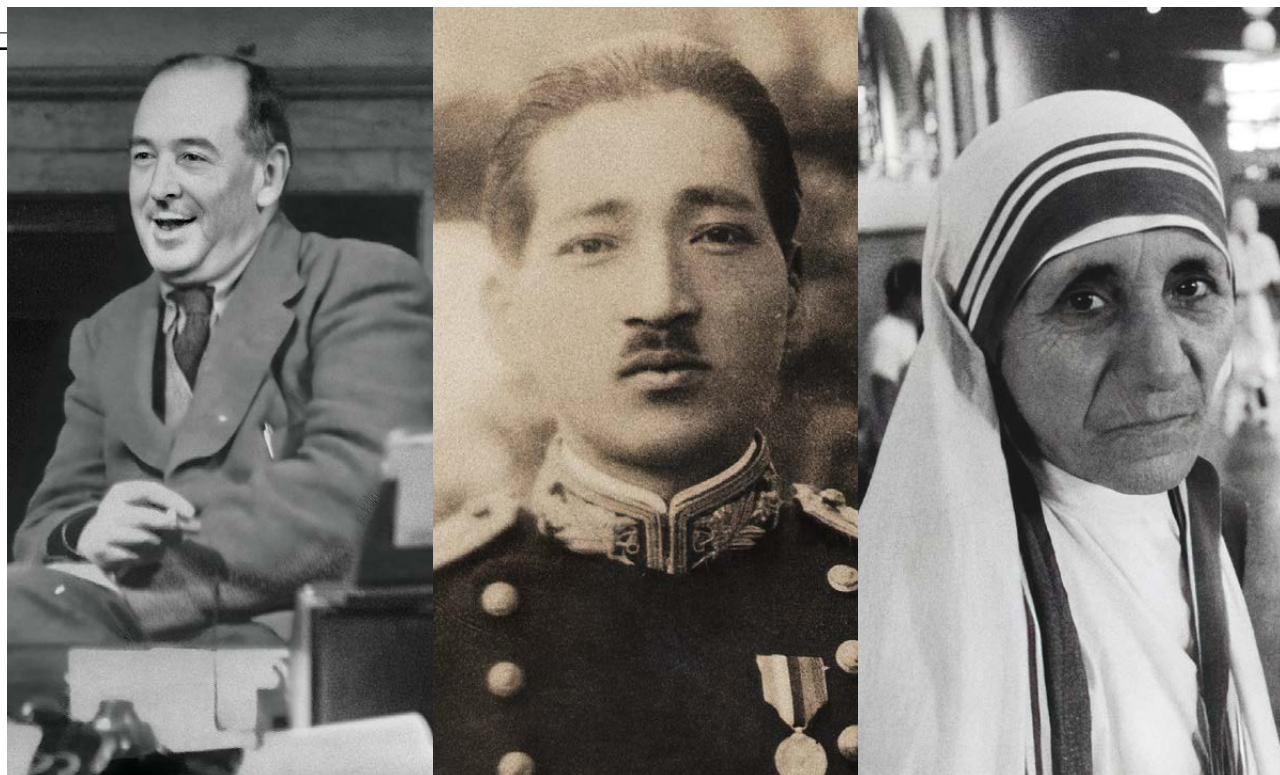
Baptism—especially for Baptists—was perhaps the most dramatic ritual in religious life. Dressed in white robes, the candidates proceeded "amidst singing and praises" and ecstatic behavior to the local pond or creek, symbol of the River Jordan, where each was "ducked."

The slave preacher, leader of the slaves' religious life and an influential community figure, presided over religious activities. Usually illiterate this preacher often had native wit and unusual eloquence. Carefully and suspiciously watched, the preacher straddled the conflict between the demands of conscience and the slaveholders' orders. By comparison some preachers were privileged characters. They faced criticism from former slaves as the "mouthpiece of the masters." However some also preached and spoke of freedom in secret.

In general the community understood the preacher's restrictions. They respected him as a gospel messenger, one who preached God's word with power and authority that sometimes humbled White folk and uplifted slaves.

Through spirituals, the Bible's characters, themes, and lessons became dramatically real and took on special meaning for the slaves. Spirituals were not just words and notes on a page; they emerged as communal songs, heard, felt, sung, and often danced with hand-clapping, foot-stamping, head-shaking excitement.

Slaves believed that God would act within human history and within their own history as a peculiar people, just as he had acted on behalf of another chosen people, biblical Israel. That some slaves maintained their identity as people, despite a system bent on reducing them to a subhuman level, was certainly due in part to their religious life.—*Albert J. Raboteau, from CH #33*



Surprised by Christ

In an age we often remember for its darkness, these fascinating figures pointed to God's unfailing light.

A RELUCTANT CONVERT

C. S. Lewis (1898–1963) was born into a bookish family of Protestants in Belfast, Ireland, on November 29, 1898. As a young boy, Lewis inhabited an imaginary world of “dressed animals” and “knights in armor”—more so as his elder brother, Warren, went to boarding school in 1905 and when his mother died from cancer in 1908.

The death of Flora Lewis convinced young Jack that the God he encountered in church and in the Bible his mother gave him was, if not cruel, at least a vague abstraction—in his early teens, Lewis became an atheist.

In 1914 Lewis was sent to Great Bookham, Surrey, where W. T. Kirkpatrick, a brilliant teacher and friend of Lewis's father, tutored him. Kirkpatrick initiated Lewis into the world of the Greek and Latin authors—in the original languages—launching him into lifelong skills of critique, analysis, and clear thinking and writing.

Lewis entered the world of Oxford in 1917 as a student, and he never really left. Despite an interruption to fight in World War I and his professorship at Cambridge beginning in 1954, he always maintained his home and friends in Oxford. He loved the bookshops, the pubs, and the Bodleian Library, and he reveled in the company of local men who loved to read, write, and discuss books.

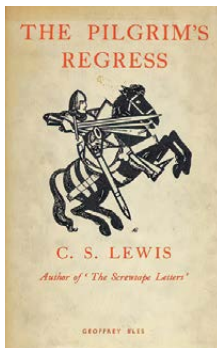
By 1924 Lewis was a philosophy tutor at University College, and the following year he was elected a Fellow of

PORTRAITS OF FAITH AROUND THE WORLD **C. S. Lewis** (left) was a British intellectual and author; **Commander Mitsuo Fuchida** (middle) a Japanese pilot during WWII; and **Mother Teresa** (right) an Albanian Catholic nun.

Magdalen College, where he tutored in English language and literature. Oxford brought Lewis both a career and a close circle of friends. He would later say repeatedly that over half of human happiness comes from friendship. In his early years at Oxford, he began reading books that later led him to say, “A young man who wishes to remain a sound atheist cannot be too careful of his reading.” And once he met Owen Barfield, Neville Coghill, Hugo Dyson, and J. R. R. Tolkien, the die was cast: slowly but surely Lewis moved from atheism into belief in God, and then, by 1929 or 1930, full-blown Christian faith.

Between 1933 and his death in 1963, C. S. Lewis wrote such popular books as the seven-volume *Chronicles of Narnia*, *The Screwtape Letters*, *The Great Divorce*, and *Mere Christianity*. They nudged atheists and agnostics toward the faith and encouraged and nurtured believers.

Through these works, letters, and lifelong charity to the needy, Lewis lived out one of his deepest convictions: “There are no ordinary people. You have never talked to a mere mortal.” He followed this conviction through wartime sermons and radio talks, and through answering countless letters from fellow immortals seeking spiritual advice, until nearly the day he passed to his eternal reward on November 22, 1963.



WRITER AND WORSHIPER Lewis wrote *Dymer* under a pseudonym (above left) before his conversion and *The Pilgrim's Regress* (left) soon afterward. A plaque marks his pew at Holy Trinity Church (above).

Today the life and work of this spiritual pilgrim and literary scholar still speak to the many thousands around the world walking their own spiritual pilgrimages. —Lyle W. Dorsett, from CH #7

AN UNLIKELY EVANGELIST

Commander Mitsuo Fuchida (1902–1976) of the Imperial Japanese Navy Air Service led the first wave of bomber and fighter planes during Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor. At 7:40 a.m. on December 7, 1941, he sent up the green flare from his plane signaling the order to attack. He later ordered his radio operator to send the message "Tora! Tora! Tora!" informing the Japanese that they had achieved complete surprise. The attack on the Hawaiian US Navy base resulted in 2,403 American and 64 Japanese deaths. The following day the United States officially declared war on Japan and entered World War II.

Fuchida served Japan throughout the war. During the conflict, he repeatedly escaped death—from missing a flight run during the Battle of Midway owing to an emergency appendectomy, to being thrown by an explosion that broke both ankles, to being ordered to Tokyo just before his superior, Vice Admiral Kakuji Kakuta, failed to stop the American liberation of Guam (had he



WINGS FOR CHRIST Young Mitsuo Fuchida (top) was a gifted pilot, key in the attack on Pearl Harbor (above). In 1952 his skills served God. He toured with the Worldwide Christian Missionary Army of Sky Pilots (next page).

been with Kakuta, he would have participated with the vice admiral in suicide by *seppuku*).

Fuchida was also due to be in Hiroshima when the atomic bomb was dropped on August 6—but at the last minute, he was sent instead to another city. In the bomb's aftermath, he was part of the team that inspected Hiroshima—and he was the only man with them not to die of radiation poisoning. He later recalled that life seemed futile after the war: "I had missed death so many times and for what? What did it all mean?"

Later, called on to testify in war crimes trials related to Japanese treatment of prisoners of war, Fuchida felt the trials were a sham. For decades he had harbored resentment of the Americans because of their own poor treatment of POWs and their severe restrictions on Asian immigration. So he sought out recently released POWs to gather evidence.

Among these prisoners he met former flight engineer Kazuo Kanegasaki. Rather than the expected story of abuse and torture by Americans, Kanegasaki instead told Fuchida of a young American woman, Peggy Covell,



who, despite the slaying of her missionary parents by Japanese soldiers, treated him and his fellow prisoners with kindness. Fuchida was astounded. The code of the warrior demanded revenge, but this woman declined it, offering compassion to Japanese prisoners instead.

This sparked Fuchida's interest in Christianity. He encountered the testimony of Jacob DeShazer, an American POW who had found God in a Japanese camp. Deeply moved by his story, Fuchida became a Christian. "Looking back," he said later, "I can see now the Lord had laid his hand upon me so that I might serve him."

Fuchida established an evangelistic association, traveling to share a presentation of his conversion story. In his autobiography, *From Pearl Harbor to Calvary* (1959), he wrote, "I remember the thrill that was mine when, in one of my first meetings, I led my first soul to Christ in America. And he was one of my own countrymen."

Fuchida authored a number of books, including the autobiography and an account of the Battle of Midway. He died in Japan at age 73. —Matt Forster, from CH #121

A HEART BELONGING TO JESUS

On Christmas Eve in 1985, a petite Albanian nun stood before microphones and cameras at St. Veronica's Church in New York City's Greenwich Village and spoke: "We want that nobody dies unloved and uncared for. We are hoping that they will be able to live and die in peace by getting tender love and care." She added, "Because Jesus was also born, so I wanted to help them to be born in joy and love and peace." The nun, Mother Teresa, was at the opening of a hospice home for those dying of AIDS during the height of that epidemic. She established many such houses throughout her life.

Born Anjezë (Agnes) Gonxha Bojaxhiu (1910–1997), Mother Teresa grew up in the present-day Macedonian

ICONIC EMBLEM Mother Teresa replaced her habit with this blue and white sari (right), which she wore for the rest of her life. It symbolized her life's work (below). She was canonized as a saint in 2016.

capital of Skopje. When she was young, her father died, leaving her mother alone with Agnes and two other siblings. Their strong Catholic faith carried them through the tragedy; even with little to spare, Agnes's mother impressed a deep sense of generosity on her children, inviting the city's destitute to share the family's food.

At 12 young Agnes felt a call to religious life. She left six years later to join the Sisters of Loreto in Ireland, where she took the name Sister Mary Teresa. During her novitiate period, she went to Darjeeling, India, and after her first profession of vows, to Calcutta. She learned Bengali and Hindi and taught in a convent-run girls' school for the city's poorest.

At 36 Teresa heard Christ commanding her to care for Calcutta's neediest. After six months of medical training, she got to work among the forgotten, sick, and dying poor. Soon she established the Missionaries of Charity and founded homes and health clinics for Calcutta's poor, including a leper colony.

In 1969 Malcolm Muggeridge's BBC documentary *Something Beautiful for God* catapulted Mother Teresa and her charitable work from obscurity to world renown; in 1979 she received the Nobel Peace Prize. Donations also poured in to the Missionaries of Charity. By her death in 1997, over a hundred countries and thousands of missionaries and lay volunteers had joined the Missionaries of Charity, caring for the homeless, the disabled, refugees, lepers, and victims of HIV/AIDS.

With renown came controversy. Her traditional Catholic opposition to abortion and contraception drew the ire of secular critics; her interest in conversion provoked prominent Hindus; and some conservative Christians saw her as a universalist. Antitheist Christopher Hitchens claimed she had exacerbated institutionalized poverty, accepted the money of dictators to further her religion, and provided subpar medical care.

For her part Mother Teresa struggled with doubt. In the end she reconciled her legacy in this way:

By blood, I am Albanian. By citizenship, an Indian. By faith, I am a Catholic nun. As to my calling, I belong to the world. As to my heart, I belong entirely to the Heart of Jesus.

—Kaylena Radcliff, from CH #135 CH



Russian Christianity and the revolution: what happened?

In its original 1988 printing, this article delved into the past even as Russia was enduring its grievous consequences—the USSR did not officially collapse until 1991. We've updated and condensed this article, but its applications of hope and warning have us reaching for this powerful story 35 years later.

It was once known as “Holy Russia,” a land blossoming with the multidomed church buildings so associated with the eastern Slavs’ Orthodox Christianity, a land pregnant with spiritual heritage and strongly in touch with the oldest traditions of the faith. But around the turn of the twentieth century, something drastic happened.

One year after March 1917, when the last tsar abdicated, militant atheists seized power, leading to the looting of churches, the mocking of religion, and even the murder of priests, monks, and believers by the thousands.

To ascribe it all to “the Revolution” begs the question. In fact more than one revolution had occurred in Russia in the first decades of the twentieth century. Ant-tsarist uprisings in 1905 led to a constitutional government with an elected legislature, the Duma, ushering in liberal reform. The March 1917 revolution saw the formation of a provisional government of mainly moderate liberals. None of this directly threatened the church or religion; instead, Russia experienced a spiritual revival.

But the rise and revolution of the Bolsheviks caught the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) by surprise. At first the tsar’s abdication seemed to some a chance to free themselves from state control, providing an opportunity to reestablish the patriarchate suppressed by Tsar Peter in 1721. But the Bolsheviks, at first a small, conspiratorial party, aimed to smash both church and state.

AN UNPREPARED CHURCH

Their success hinged on the ROC’s close identification with the state, which prevented it from exercising an independent—and therefore credible—moral authority. Moreover, in an empire only half ethnically Russian, the March revolution provided an opportunity for other predominantly Orthodox peoples, such as the Byelorussians and the Ukrainians, to revive their own traditional churches, long suppressed by the tsars. Other traditions, like the Evangelicals and the Baptists, persecuted previously, also benefited from the revolution—at first. The Bolsheviks initially tolerated them because they weakened the established Orthodox Church. Later, of course, they would try to destroy those churches as well.



BRINGING DOWN THE HAMMER A propaganda poster denounces religion as impeding progress and calls for the end of all religious holidays.

Bolsheviks also capitalized on the peasant population’s passivity and latent anticlericalism. Life was precarious enough, and opposing any authority, tsarist or Bolshevik, was dangerous. The brutalizing poverty of village life won the party active support. After all, the Russian Provisional Government only talked about taking land from the rich landowners and giving it to the peasants; the Bolsheviks encouraged it. Alas, one of the largest landowners happened to be the church.

The party propagated this image of the church as wealthy exploiter during the famine of 1920–1921. Though the ROC set up a relief fund and contributed generously to it, the church exempted from its donations objects used in worship. Seizing on this the Bolsheviks organized their own relief effort, then commanded the church to turn over its sacramental objects. When it refused the Bolsheviks put its leaders on trial for refusing to help the hungry.

Bolshevism soon entered the church through Russian Orthodox seminaries, which became hotbeds of radicalism. Some within the ROC eventually formed the Renovationist Church, which the Bolsheviks manipulated and controlled. When the ROC’s Patriarch Tikhon died, they persuaded his successor, Metropolitan Sergei, to declare the church’s loyalty to the Soviet state in 1927. After this the Bolsheviks suppressed the Renovationists.

The tragedy of the Bolsheviks’ take-over of Christian land reverberates even today. Still, Christianity survived in the USSR—yes, it even flourished there. For the eastern Slavs, Soviet rule was just one more passing trial in the 10-century story of their long-suffering faith.—Andrew Sorokowski, from CH #18

Why Christian history?

Senior Editor Chris Armstrong offers 10 good reasons to stay connected to our shared past.

1 Christian history is everywhere in our culture. No matter what your religious background (or lack thereof), you just can't understand the modern Western world unless you know Christian history! Biblical expressions are embedded in our language. Christian ethical positions—though dimly remembered—are now honored most often in the breach. Musical styles, even rock'n'roll, owe much to slave spirituals and gospel "shouts." Our context is soaked in "leftover Christianity."

2 It liberates you from the tyranny of the present—and of the recent past. The ever-quotable C. S. Lewis put it like this:

I don't think we need fear that the study of a day and period, however prolonged, however sympathetic, need be an indulgence in nostalgia or an enslavement to the past. In the individual life as the psychologists have taught us, it's not the remembered past, it's the forgotten past that enslaves us. And I think that's true of society. . . . I think no class of men are less enslaved to the past than historians. It is the unhistorical who are usually without knowing it enslaved to a very recent past.

3 Life is too short to learn by experience. To echo Lewis, "the scholar has lived in many times." What a rich way to grow in wisdom!

4 Whatever question is on your mind, someone smarter than you has already seen it more clearly, thought about it longer, and expressed it better. Why reinvent the wheel? Also falling under this heading: you won't find new heresies—only old ones in new clothes. And again they've all been addressed with more wisdom and erudition than we'll ever be able to muster.

5 The deeper our roots, the higher we grow. Believers are all part of a "Dead Christians Society." We have far more brothers and sisters in the faith who are no longer around than we do contemporary saints. Let's get to know them. And while we slog it out on earth as members of the Church Militant, the Church Triumphant is pulling for us from heaven.

6 Christian history is a great way to meet fascinating people and hear dramatic, colorful stories. History is all about people. Memorable people. Thomas Carlyle wrote, "Biography is the most universally pleasant and profitable of all reading." Those Victorians had it right—and nothing sizzles like the stories of the saints!

7 Reading Christian history helps root out prejudice and foster sympathy and humility. It's so easy to think "The Church 'R' Us." It ain't. Most Christian believers look—and have looked—very different from us. They've had different questions, different approaches



VOICES FROM THE PAST Eusebius, known as the "father of church history," chronicled the early church and preserved quotations from lost ancient sources.

to the Christian life, and different evangelism strategies, teaching, preaching, sacramental life, social action.

That's a good thing, because the church today has a wide (and sometimes wild!) variety of members. Knowing more about the past, we gain insight into the present's problems. We may become less critical—and more aware of our shortcomings and limited perspectives.

8 Reading Christian history shows us how we got where we are today. Where did all those denominations come from? How did the distinctive beliefs and practices of my own church develop?

9 It reminds us of our mission. Although we live in "the world," we are "citizens of another place." We have a strange mission, a mandate to be "in this world but not of it." Whenever we step out of the church doors, we still need to "be the church"—salt, light, different. We can prepare ourselves for that mission by reading how past Christians sowed the gospel into their cultures.

10 Christianity is a historical religion, based on a historical person and his actions in the world.

Nineteenth-century liberal theologians liked to talk about the "essence of Christianity"—little more than "the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man"—that needed to be extricated from centuries of errant doctrines and practices of a church that never seemed to get it right. But there is no "essence" not clothed in history. Christianity is all about the Incarnation of God's second person as a first-century Jew from Nazareth. And the New Testament is no philosophical book of abstract teachings. It is a narrative of a life, a sacrifice, a Resurrection—played out on history's stage. When you read Christian history, you're paging through the 29th chapter of Acts.



Living for Christ

Dan Graves

Why did these martyrs, theologians, missionaries, saints, and preachers make our top 100 most-searched topics online? You tell us! This new gallery retells the stories of some of our readers' favorite figures from the past 149 issues.

VIBIA PERPETUA (c. 180–c. 202) MADE AUTOBIOGRAPHY COME ALIVE

Perpetua, a well-educated Roman, the delight of her father, left a rare treasure: the first-known diary by a Christian woman. It vividly records her experiences on death row in third-century Carthage.

After she was arrested as a Christian, her father was frantic from the scandal and the fear of losing her. He begged her to renounce her faith for the sake of her newborn son.

"Father," she answered, "Do you see this pitcher?"

"I see it."

"Can it be called by any other name than what it is?"

"No."

"Neither can I call myself anything but what I am—a Christian."

Her father blustered but left defeated—"he and the arguments of the devil."

Authorities thrust Perpetua and other Christians into a dungeon. "I was scared because I had never known such darkness," she wrote. "O bitter day! There was a great heat because of the closeness of the air, there was cruel handling

COUNTING IT LOSS Perpetua (above) lived and died courageously for her faith, embodying Philippians 3:8.

OUR FIRST SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY Origen's *Homilies on the Psalms* (above left) and other works gave the church a valuable and organized approach to Scripture.

by the soldiers. Lastly I was tormented by concern for my baby."

Eventually deacons bribed the guards to move the Christians into better quarters. They granted Perpetua permission to tend to her son, after which she compared the prison to a palace.

At trial Perpetua stood fast. Seeing that she affirmed Christ as Lord, the magistrate ordered her father beaten. Although sorry for her father, Perpetua refused to end his humiliation by sacrificing to the emperor. With the others she was condemned to face beasts in the arena.

Before the games Perpetua dreamed she defeated a hideous Egyptian. "And I awoke," she wrote, "and I understood that I should fight, not with beasts but against the devil; but I knew that the victory would be mine."

Bound in nets, Perpetua and her slave, Felicitas, were tossed by a mad heifer. Perpetua helped Felicitas up. The two modestly adjusted their garments. Soon afterward the Christians kissed each other and faced soldiers who finished them off. The inexperienced youth assigned to kill

Perpetua struck a bone, causing her agony. She guided his sword to her throat.

Her faith inspired other martyrs. Her lively first-person narrative influenced later autobiographies including, in all likelihood, Augustine's famous *Confessions*.

ORIGEN (c. 185–c. 253) WAS THE FIRST TO TRY TO UNIFY ALL SCRIPTURE

Origen produced Christianity's first systematic theology. His attempt to organize all of the Bible's teachings using tools of Greek philosophy was so influential that Gregory of Nazianzus described Origen as "the stone that sharpens us all."

Despite intense study, which included learning Hebrew, Origen took positions in his *First Principles* and other writings that church consensus held to be wrong. Notably he anticipated the Arian heresy by teaching that Christ is not equal with the Father. Although it took the church two more centuries to settle the doctrines of Christ and the Trinity, that did not stop councils from declaring Origen a heretic.

Whether he was labeled a heretic or not, Origen loved Christ. Born in Alexandria, Egypt, around 185, he obtained a good education and, at his father Leonides's insistence, memorized Scripture daily. When Leonides was arrested as a Christian, young Origen implored him to remain faithful. His mother kept him from joining his father in prison by hiding his clothes. Origen's turn would come; 50 years later he was imprisoned and tortured for his faith.

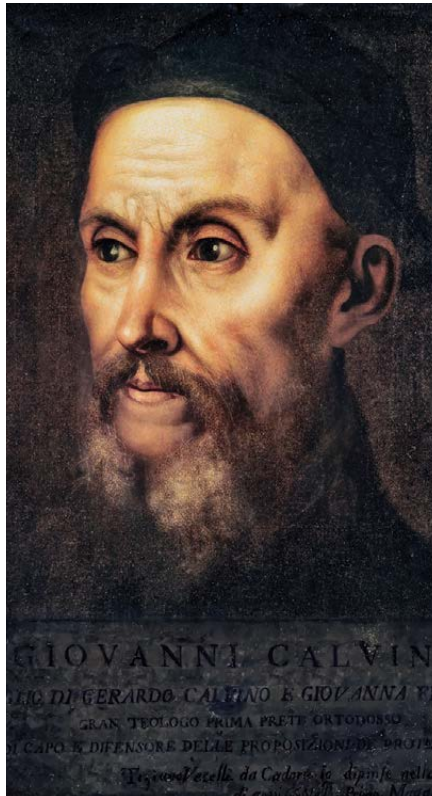
Between the two persecutions, Origen won renown as a teacher and as a writer. Appointed head of a school with female pupils, he determined to avoid any hint of scandal by castrating himself—or so said his admirer, church historian Eusebius. Origen's commentary on eunuchs makes it unlikely.

Origen's most famous work was the now-destroyed *Hexapla*, which arranged the Hebrew Bible and various Greek translations in columns. Like the *Hexapla* thousands of Origen's sermons, commentaries, lectures, and letters are lost or are preserved only in unreliable versions. One fragment that *has* survived is a prayer based on John 13:2–9:

Jesus, my feet are dirty. Come even as a slave to me, pour water into your bowl, come and wash my feet. In asking such a thing I know I am overbold, but I dread what was threatened when you said to me, "If I do not wash your feet I have no fellowship with you." Wash my feet then, because I long for your companionship.

Key to Origen's thinking was 1 Corinthians 15:26–28, that God will ultimately unify everything. Alexandrians accused Origen of teaching that even Satan will be reclaimed.

Forced to leave Alexandria, Origen established a school in Palestine. There he taught future Christian



I'D RATHER DIE John Calvin (*above left*) faced pastoral difficulty in Geneva; the city expelled him in 1538. He relented when they begged him to return, but not before reacting: "Rather would I submit to death..."

VLAD THE CONVERTED This icon of Vladimir of Kyiv (*right*) dates years before his canonization after 1240.

leaders. One of them, Gregory the Wonder Worker, admired Origen's life and the way he presented Christ as "the Holy Word, the loveliest object of all, who attracts all irresistibly to himself by his unutterable beauty."

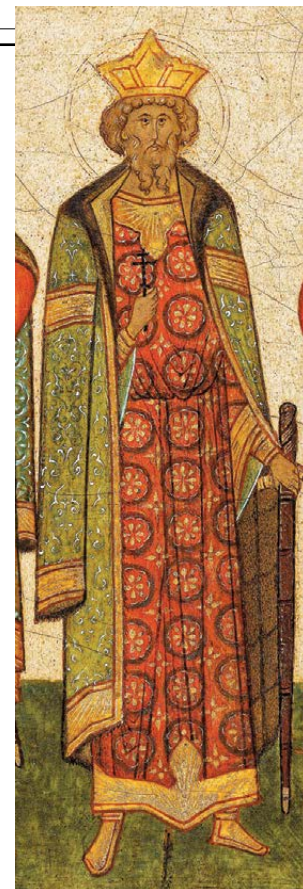
VLADIMIR OF KYIV (c. 956–1015)

ESTABLISHED ORTHODOXY IN EASTERN EUROPE

Prince Vladimir of Kyiv was a warrior who united lands from Ukraine to the Baltic Sea. Although his grandmother Olga had promoted Christianity in the 950s, Vladimir began his rule as a pagan.

According to a twelfth-century chronicle, after Muslims reproached his lack of faith, he began to show interest in theirs. He liked their idea of sexual pleasures in heaven but balked at circumcision and abstinence from alcohol and pork, which were indispensable to Russian life.

Alarmed that Muslims might gain a hold over Vladimir, other religious traditions vied for preference. Jews, Catholics, and Orthodox advocated their own systems. When Vladimir learned that God had exiled the Jews for their sins, he dropped Judaism from consideration. Before deciding between the remaining alternatives, he sent envoys to Muslim Bulgaria, Catholic Germany, and Orthodox Constantinople.





The envoys were unimpressed with Bulgarian Islam and German Catholicism. By contrast they were overawed by Byzantine worship in Constantinople.

We know not whether we were in heaven or on earth. For on earth there is no such splendor or such beauty . . . We only know that God dwells there among men.

Probably the close proximity of Byzantium and its highly developed civilization had more to do with Vladimir's choice than religious considerations. Emperor Basil II of Byzantium requested Vladimir's military assistance. In return Vladimir demanded the emperor's sister, Anna, as his wife. He even attacked a Byzantine city to force the issue. Told that Anna could not marry a non-Christian, he retorted that the emperor should send priests to baptize him. While instructing Vladimir in the basics of the Christian faith, the priests demonstrated God's power by praying for Vladimir's diseased eyes, which recovered.

Upon his return to Kyiv (c. 988), Vladimir destroyed idols and urged his people to adopt Christianity. About a year later, he led a mass baptism at which he prayed,

O God who created heaven and earth: look down upon these new people and grant them to know You, the true God.

Vladimir abandoned his playboy lifestyle and dismissed his multiple wives. He became kinder in his dealings. In his concern for the improvement of his nation,



MOTHERING HOLINESS After losing three children in infancy, Phoebe Palmer (*above*) surrendered everything to God, sparking explosive revival movements.

LIVING ON A PRAYER Innovative missionary Hudson Taylor (*left*) aspired to radical faith living, as modeled by his contemporary George Müller (see CH #128).

he promoted education, made judicial reforms, abolished the death penalty, assisted the poor, and built churches and monasteries. In 1015 he died in battle against a coalition formed by his rejected wives and their sons.

JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564) CRAFTED LASTING INSTITUTES

For many people Calvin's name evokes one word: "predestination." Few know of his conversion or of his years in danger and wandering.

Born in Noyon, France, John Calvin seemed destined for the Catholic Church. At age 12 he was given his first benefice (a paid church appointment) and was tonsured (shaved in priestly fashion). He studied literature and law. At 18 he was given another benefice for which he sometimes preached. But he did not yet know Christ. As he would later write, "Men are blind until Christ, who is the light of the world, enlightens them."

Calvin's enlightenment came around 1530. He recognized his depravity. Unable to find peace through the traditional Catholic means of sacraments and penance, he cast himself directly on God's mercy in Christ. Following his conversion he joined evangelical Christians [that is, Lutherans] meeting secretly in Paris. When in 1533 a reformer preached a sermon that outraged Catholics, Calvin was implicated and had to flee in disguise.

He renounced his benefices. Sensing a call to restore pure Christianity, he issued the first version of his

ELOQUENT EVANGELIST “I want nothing for myself. I want everything for the Lord.” Watchman Nee helped foster China’s persecuted church before his death in a Communist prison.

Institutes of the Christian Religion in March 1536. He would edit and expand it many times over the course of his life. It remains one of the best-known Protestant theological works.

In July 1536 Calvin passed through Geneva. Reformer Guillaume Farel ordered him to stay and develop its fledgling evangelical church. He spoke so fiercely that the reluctant Calvin felt he had no course but to agree. By 1538 Geneva had expelled them both. But in 1541 the troubled city pleaded with Calvin to return. Although Calvin would have preferred a life of scholarship, he accepted the challenge. He remade Geneva’s morals and its government. While preaching in February 1564, his mouth filled with blood. That sermon would be his last. He died in May.

Calvin’s record was marred by persecution of intellectual opponents and participation in judicial murders, most famously of Servetus. This was in accord with the practices of the age and does not diminish the value of his writings or of his model of church government. Through disciples such as John Knox, Calvin’s influence spread worldwide.

PHOEBE PALMER (1807–1874) MOTHERED THE HOLINESS MOVEMENT

Phoebe Worrall was raised Methodist and committed herself early to following Christ. After she and Walter Palmer married, they engaged in Christian work in New York City. Death stalked their first three children. One, 11-month-old Eliza, lost her life through a fire caused by a careless servant. The baby girl died in Palmer’s arms.

In anguish over the tragedy, Palmer sought consolation in God’s word. Soul-searching showed her that she needed to be holy. One verse that arrested her attention was “Ye are not your own, ye are bought with a price: therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God’s” (1 Cor. 6:20). Her spiritual life had been fickle as weather: sunny one day, overcast another. Now she determined to surrender to God and to believe that his Spirit was in her. In her widely read *The Way of Holiness with Notes by the Way*, she described how she learned to trust God.

Fully aware that salvation is God’s gift, she also saw that Scripture teaches obedience as a condition to its enjoyment. She and her sister, Sarah Langford, began holding a women’s Bible study each Tuesday. Over the next four decades, Palmer taught, preached, wrote, issued magazines, organized revival meetings, promoted foreign missions, engaged in prison ministry, assisted the poor, and did whatever good she could.

Palmer’s desire for holiness (grounded in John Wesley’s teachings) led hundreds of thousands to pursue the same goal. Her theology of holiness inspired Wesleysans,



Nazarenes, the Church of God (Anderson), the Salvation Army, and the later Pentecostal movement. By arguments and by actions, she also showed that women can be spiritual leaders on par with men.

HUDSON TAYLOR (1832–1905) CHANGED THE WAY WE DO MISSIONS

Before his birth, Hudson Taylor’s parents dedicated him to missionary service. His mother did not tell him this until 1860, seven years after he had sailed from Liverpool, England, to spread the gospel in China.

As a youth Taylor sometimes behaved as a skeptic who mocked the hypocrisy of Christians. One day his mother, visiting a sister 50 miles from home, locked herself in a room and prayed until the Lord assured her Taylor would follow Christ. That same afternoon Taylor picked up a tract that described the finished work of Christ and gave his heart to the Savior. He later wrote, “A deep consciousness that I was no longer my own took possession of me.” He began to live a life of faith and set his eyes on the conversion of China.

Practical in outlook he used every reasonable means of preparation that God put within his reach. He disciplined his body, studied Chinese, trained in medicine, learned Scripture—and prayed. Years later, after he founded the China Inland Mission (CIM), his methods remained unchanged. He petitioned God directly for every need, whether it be for survival during danger, for more mission workers, or for funds to feed and clothe them. The two things he would *not* do were appeal for money or go into debt. The work was God’s, and God must provide for it.

The founding of China Inland Mission was a huge responsibility. During the months while he wrestled with the idea, Taylor feared he would have a nervous

breakdown. One Sunday morning he wandered on a seashore alone, wrestling in prayer until God overcame his doubts.

Taylor transformed missions. He established his headquarters in China, rather than in England. He adopted Chinese dress and culture insofar as was practical. Rather than recruit for academic skills, he accepted people who had a heart for God and for evangelization. He gathered workers from many denominations. Despite dire warnings he appointed pairs of women to work without male counterparts.

CIM became the largest Protestant mission of the nineteenth century. God sustained it without financial appeals. The female teams flourished. CIM's fervent workers experienced a higher percentage of martyrdom than those of any other mission. And, through their efforts, over 80,000 Chinese worshiped in CIM churches by 1897.

WATCHMAN NEE (1903–1972) MODELED CHURCHES THAT FLOURISHED IN TOUGH TIMES

Nee was born into a Christian family in Shanghai. His parents provided him a top-notch education but he had little interest in Bible studies. At age 17, however, he experienced conviction and conversion under the preaching of Dora Yu and became eager to spread the gospel. Thereafter he joined with like-minded students to pray and to preach.

In 1920 Westerners still dominated the Chinese church. Nee's greatest contributions were to free Chinese Christians from Western domination and to create a network of churches that met in homes. During the Japanese invasion and the Chinese civil war that followed, these decentralized "Little Flock" churches thrived. After the Communists took power in 1949, they were unable to crush the movement.

Nee published influential magazines and about 40 volumes of writings, some of them closely modeled on Western texts. Predicting the soon return of Christ, he called people to repentance. In books such as *The Normal Christian Life*, he proclaimed triumphant Christian living. However he was far from experiencing the victory he taught; for three decades he repeatedly engaged in sexual immorality and shady business dealings. During 10 of those years, he avoided taking Communion, probably because of his sense of guilt.

In 1952 the Communists imprisoned Nee. Although they charged him with espionage, tax evasion, and corrupt business practices, their real complaint was his refusal to submit to the Communist-run Three Self Patriotic Church. During 20 years of torture and abuse, Nee refused to renounce Christ, dying in prison.



BETSY'S LAST WORDS Corrie ten Boom often told her story through her family's witness. Her sister's final thoughts bring hope today: "There is no pit so deep that he is not deeper still."

His many writings were translated into numerous languages, and Little Flock churches survive to this day. As for Nee's flawed character, a nephew reminded readers of several sinful Bible figures, writing,

Likewise, my uncle had failures. Yet . . . God has used him mightily. He is among the lowly, he is incomplete, yet he was truly used by God mightily and he was a vessel filled with precious treasure.

CORRIE TEN BOOM (1892–1983) SHOWED THE POWER OF LOVE AND FORGIVENESS

During the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands in World War II, the ten Boom family aided and protected about 800 persecuted Jews. Eventually the ten Booms were betrayed and arrested. Several died in concentration camps or soon after their release.

Cornelia "Corrie" ten Boom was one who survived. Arrested in February 1944, she was in various prisons until late December that year. In each she assisted fellow prisoners and pointed them to Jesus. Her sister Betsie died, but not before telling Corrie of a vision she had been given of a home where Corrie would help other survivors.

After the war ten Boom *did* establish a ministry to help survivors of the concentration camps. She "tramped" the world, speaking of the love of Christ. "You can never learn that Christ is all you need, until Christ is all you have," she said.

In telling her story, she insisted on the power of forgiveness. This was not an abstract concept for her. After one speech she was confronted by a former guard from Ravensbrück concentration camp—a guard who had been cruel to her sister Betsie. When he implored her forgiveness, ten Boom had to send up an inward prayer before she was able to clasp his hand. She observed that survivors who forgave their oppressors came through their trials best. "Forgiveness is an act of the will, and the will can function regardless of the temperature of the heart."

Although ten Boom was just one of hundreds of thousands who suffered under the Nazis, her story became known worldwide through books such as *In My Father's House* and the movie *The Hiding Place*. Christianity has always been about love and forgiveness. Ten Boom exemplified both, showing how Christ empowers ordinary Christians to triumph over brutality. **CH**

Our Contributors

BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES OF EACH AUTHOR FEATURED IN THIS ISSUE

6-9 HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN HISTORY (CH)

Chris R. Armstrong is senior editor of *CH* and has been associated with the magazine since 2002. *William K. (Bill) Curtis* is executive editor of *CH* and has been associated with it since its founding.

10-12 CHURCH HISTORY IN BRIEF

Bruce L. Shelley (1927–2010) was professor of church history and historical theology at Denver Seminary. He wrote or edited over 20 books.

13-15 MISSIONS AND MARTYRS

Edwin M. Yamauchi is emeritus professor of history at Miami (Ohio) University. *William G. Bixler* is a licensed psychologist with a degree in theology living in North Carolina. *J. Warren Smith* is professor of historical theology at Duke Divinity School.

16 NEGLECTED HISTORY OF WOMEN

Catherine Kroeger (1925–2011) was an American writer, professor, and New Testament scholar.

17-19 CHRISTIAN EMPIRE

David F. Wright (1937–2008) was emeritus professor of patristic and Reformation Christianity at the University of Edinburgh. *Timothy S. Miller* is emeritus professor of history at Salisbury University (Maryland). *Dan Graves* does layout for *CH* and writes for Christian History Institute (CHI).

20 JERUSALEM

Robert Louis Wilken is emeritus professor of the history of Christianity at the University of Virginia.

21-24 CHRISTIAN MIDDLE AGES

G. R. Evans is emeritus professor of medieval theology and intellectual history at the University of Cambridge. *Ann K. Warren* was an adjunct associate professor of history at Case Western Reserve University. *George T. Dennis* (1923–2010) was emeritus professor of history at Catholic University of America in Washington. *Daniel V. Runyon* is a retired university professor of English and communications and a former journalist and magazine editor.

25 FORCED CONVERSIONS

Richard Fletcher (1944–2005) was a professor of history at the University of York, England.

26-27 EDITOR'S CHOICE

Elesha Coffman is associate professor of history at Baylor University. *Bill Curtis*: see History of *CH*. *David Neff* is former editor-in-chief of *Christianity Today* and director of music at the Church of the Nativity and Holy Comforter. *James D. Smith III* is a professor at Richmond Graduate University and Pacific Theological Seminary; emeritus professor at Bethel University; and associate pastor at La Jolla

Christian Fellowship. He has been associated with *CH* since 1989. *Jennifer Woodruff Tait* is senior editor of *CH* and has been associated with the magazine since 2003.

28-31 AGE OF REFORMATION

Brian H. Edwards is a Christian minister, author, and editor; this article is adapted from his book *God's Outlaw*. *Scott H. Hendrix* is emeritus professor of Reformation history at Princeton Seminary. *Peter Matheson* is emeritus professor at Knox Theological College, Dunedin, New Zealand.

32 IGNATIUS

Katie M. Benjamin directs the Divinity School Library and teaches church history at Duke University.

33-35 AGE OF REASON AND REVIVAL

E. Beatrice Batson (1920–2019) was emerita professor of English at Wheaton College (Illinois). *J. D. Walsh* (1927–2022) was emeritus fellow in history at Jesus College, Oxford. *Aubrynn Whitted* interned with *CH* and is a writer, a freelance editor, and an administrator at Christian Counseling & Education Foundation.

36 HYMN WRITERS

Vinita Hampton Wright retired in 2021 from a 32-year career as a book editor and was a frequent early author for *CH*.

37-39 AGE OF PROGRESS

James E. Johnson (1927–2019) was emeritus professor of history at Bethel University. *Patricia Stallings Kruppa* was associate professor of history at the University of Texas at Austin. *Timothy George* was founding dean of Beeson Divinity School and is executive editor at *Christianity Today*.

40 RELIGION OF THE ENSLAVED

Albert J. Raboteau (1943–2021) was Henry Putman Professor of Religion Emeritus at Princeton University and author of *Slave Religion*, from which his article is adapted.

41-43 AGE OF IDEOLOGIES

Lyle W. Dorsett is an author and was the second director of the Marion E. Wade Center at Wheaton College, serving from 1983 to 1990. *Matt Forster* is a communications professional and freelance writer. *Kaylena Radcliff* is managing editor of *CH* and has been with VV/CHI since 2012.

44 RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Andrew Sorokowski is a retired lawyer, government historian, and academic specialist on the modern history of Ukraine.

45 WHY STUDY CHRISTIAN HISTORY?

Chris R. Armstrong: see History of *CH*

46-50 GALLERY

Dan Graves: see Christian Empire.

Recommended resources

WE COVERED A LOT OF GROUND IN THIS ISSUE OF *CH*! HERE ARE JUST A FEW RESOURCES WE RECOMMEND TO LEARN MORE.

Early church and catholic Christianity

Read about **Paul** in *Paul: A Biography* by N. T. Wright (2018). You can find out more about **Perpetua** with Thomas Heffernan, *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicity* (2012); **Origen** in Joseph W. Trigg, *Origen* (1998); and **Clement and Polycarp** in Kenneth Berding, *The Apostolic Fathers: A Narrative Introduction* (2017). Other **early church martyrs** such as Blandina are covered in the classic *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church* (1965) by W. H. C. Frend.

Read about **Cyprian** of Carthage in Cecil Robeck Jr., *Prophecy in Carthage* (2022), which also covers Perpetua. Discover more on the roles and lives of **early church women** with Kate Cooper, *Band of Angels* (2013). Finally, *CH* covers the earliest years of Christianity in issues #17: *Women in the Early Church*; #27: *Persecution*; #37: *Worship*; #47: *Paul and His Times*; #51: *Heresy*; #59: *Jesus*; #64: *St. Antony and the Desert Fathers*; #80: *The First Bible Teachers*; #96: *Gnostics*; #97: *The Holy Land*; #105: *Christianity in Early Africa*; #124: *Faith in the City*; and #147: *Everyday Life in the Early Church*.

Christian empire

Learn about **Constantine** in Peter Leithart, *Defending Constantine* (2010). Stephen Hildebrand covers **Basil** in *Basil of Caesarea* (2014). There are many books on **Augustine**, but start with Peter Brown's *Augustine of Hippo* (2nd ed., 2000).

CH covers the **imperial age** with #15: *Augustine*; #44: *John Chrysostom*; #54: *Eastern Orthodoxy*; #57: *Converting the Empire*; #60: *How the Irish Were Saved*; #67: *Augustine*; #85: *Debating Jesus' Divinity: The Council of Nicaea*; #93: *A Devoted Life: St. Benedict and Western Monasticism*; and #101: *Healthcare and Hospitals*.

Medieval Christendom

Read about the **Muslim conquest of Jerusalem** in Moshe Gil, *A History of Palestine, 634–1099* (1992). You can read about **Charlemagne** in Alessandro Barbero, *Charlemagne: Father of a Continent* (2000). Discover **Hildegard of Bingen** in Carmen Acevedo Butcher, *Hildegard of Bingen, Doctor of the Church* (2013); **Catherine of Siena** in Shelley Emling, *Setting the World on Fire* (2016); and **Julian of Norwich** in Veronica Mary Wolf, *An Explorer's Guide to Julian of Norwich* (2018). Read about **beguines** in John Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life* (2008); and

find more on **medieval women** in Beth Allison Barr, *The Pastoral Care of Women in Late Medieval England* (2008). For more on the **East-West schism**, read Henry Chadwick, *East and West* (2003). Jon Sweeney covers **Francis of Assisi** in *When Saint Francis Saved the Church* (2014).

These *CH* issues are also great resources on the Middle Ages: #3: *John Wycliffe*; #22: *Waldensians*; #24: *Bernard of Clairvaux*; #30: *Women in the Medieval Church*; #40: *The Crusades*; #42: *Francis of Assisi*; #49: *Everyday Faith in the Middle Ages*; #63: *A Severe Salvation*; #68: *Jan Hus*; #70: *Dante's Guide to Heaven and Hell*; #73: *Thomas*

Aquinas; #74: *Christians and Muslims*; #91: *Michelangelo*; #108: *Charlemagne*; #127: *Medieval Lay Mystics*; and #149: *Revival: The First Thousand Years*.

Reformation

For more on **William Tyndale**, read David Daniell, *William Tyndale* (2001). The classic biography of **Martin Luther** is Roland Bainton's *Here I Stand* (1950), and a good recent one is *Martin Luther* (2008) by Martin Marty. Learn more about **Argula von Grumbach** with *Argula von Grumbach* (1995) by Peter Matheson. And, for **Ignatius of Loyola**, check out John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (1993).

Study the **Reformation** further with these past issues of *CH*: #4: *Zwingli*; #5: *The Anabaptists*; #6: *Baptists*; #12: *John Calvin*; #13: *Jan Amos Comenius*; #16: *William Tyndale*; #21: *Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig*; #34: *Martin Luther: The Early Years*; #35: *Columbus and Christianity*; #39: *Martin Luther: Later Years*; #46: *John Knox*; #48: *Thomas Cranmer*; #71: *Huguenots*; #89: *Richard Baxter and the English Puritans*; #100: *The King James Bible*; #115: *Luther Leads the Way*; #118: *The People's Reformation*; #120: *Calvin, Councils, and Confessions*; #122: *The Catholic Reformation*; #131: *Women of the Reformation*; and #145: *Erasmus*.

Reason and revival

Study the life of **John Bunyan** in David Calhoun, *Grace Abounding* (2005). Discover **John and Charles Wesley** in Richard Heitzenrater, *Wesley and the People Called Methodists* (2nd ed., 2013), and read about **George Whitefield** in Geordan Hammond and David Ceri Jones, eds., *George Whitefield: Life, Context, and Legacy* (2021). Take a look at **John Newton** with Bruce Hindmarsh and Craig Borlase, *Amazing Grace* (2023). Learn more about **Isaac Watts** in



David Fountain, *Isaac Watts Remembered* (1974); **William Cowper** in James King, *William Cowper* (1986); and **Anne Steele** in J. R. Broome, *A Bruised Reed* (2007).

Refer to these CH issues for more on the **age of reason**: #1: *Zinzendorf and the Moravians*; #2: **John Wesley**; #8: **Jonathan Edwards**; #10: **Pietism**; #11: **John Bunyan**; #31: *The Golden Age of Hymns*; #38: **George Whitefield**; #41: *The American Puritans*; #50: *The American Revolution*; #53: **William Wilberforce**; #76: *The Christian Face of the Scientific Revolution*; #77: **Jonathan Edwards**; #81: **John Newton**; #84: *Pilgrims and Exiles: Mennonites, Amish, and Brethren*; #95: **J. S. Bach**; #114: **Francis Asbury**; #117: *Quakers*; #126: *Baptists in America*; and #130: *Latin American Christianity*.

Progress and secularization

Learn more about **Charles Finney** with Charles Hambrick-Stowe, *Charles G. Finney and the Spirit of American Evangelicalism* (1996); **Charles Haddon Spurgeon** in Michael Reeves, *Spurgeon on the Christian Life* (2018); and **William Carey** in Timothy George, *Faithful Witness* (1991). More on the life of those **enslaved** in America can be found in Albert Raboteau, *Slave Religion* (2nd ed., 2004).

Our CH issues on the nineteenth century include #20: *Charles Grandison Finney*; #23: *Spiritual Awakenings in North America*; #25: *Unconventional Dwight L. Moody*; #26: *William and Catherine Booth*; #29: *Charles Spurgeon*; #33: *Christianity and the Civil War*; #36: *William Carey*; #45: *Camp Meetings and Circuit Riders*; #52: *Hudson Taylor*; #56: *David Livingstone*; #58: *The Rise of Pentecostalism*; #62: *Bound for Canaan*; #66: *How the West Was Really Won*; #69: *The Wesleys*; #79: *African Apostles*; #82: *Phoebe Palmer*; #90: *Adoniram and Ann Judson*; #99: *Faith and the American Presidency*; #104: *Christians in the New Industrial Economy*; #106: *The Church to End All Churches: The Stone-Campbell Movement*; #107: *Debating Darwin*; #128: *George Müller*; and #148: *Lilias Trotter*.

Age of ideology

Much has been written about **C. S. Lewis**; one place to start is with his own *Surprised by Joy* (1955) and with George Sayer, *Jack* (1988). For more on **Mitsuo Fuchida**, read his memoirs *For That One Day* (2011). **Mother Theresa's** life is covered in *Mother Teresa: The Authorized Biography* (1996) by Navin Chawla. Study the **Bolshevik Revolution and Russian religion** further with Scott Kenworthy, *Understanding World Christianity: Russia* (2021).

CH's resources on the modern era include: #18: *The Millennium of "Russian" Christianity*; #32: *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*; #55: *The Monkey Trial and the Rise of Fundamentalism*; #65: *Ten Most Influential Christians of the Twentieth Century*; #75: **G. K. Chesterton**; #78: **J. R. R. Tolkien**; #86: **George MacDonald**; #88: **C. S. Lewis**; #92: *A New Evangelical Awakening*; #98: *Church in China*; #109: *Eyewitnesses to Modern Persecution*; #111: **Billy Graham**; #113: *Seven Literary Sages*; #121: *Faith in the Foxholes*; #129: *Recovery from Modern Amnesia*; #136: **E. Stanley Jones**; and #140: *Jack at Home*.



MORE FROM CHI AND FROM VISION VIDEO

Sweeping overviews of various time periods and places in Christian history include #9: *Dissenters, Reformers, and Pioneers*; #14: *Money in Christian History*; #19: *Money II*; #28: *100 Most Important Events*; #61: *The End*; #72: *How We Got Our History*; #83: *Mary in the Imagination of the Church*; #87: *India*; #94: *Building the City of God in a Crumbling World*; #100+: *History of Hell*; #103: *Christmas*; #102: *People of Faith*; #102+: *History of Worship*; #110: *Callings*; #112: *Heaven in the Christian Imagination*; #116: *25 Writings*; #119: *Wonder of Creation*; #123: *Captive Faith*; #125: *Food and Faith*; #132: *Friendships*; #133: *Christianity and Judaism*; #134: *Science and Technology*; #135: *Plagues and Epidemics*; #138: *America's Book*; #139: *Hallowed Halls*; #141: *City of Man*; #142: *Divine Healing*; #143: *America's Book 2*; #144: *Christian History in Images*; and #145: *Christ and Culture in Russia*.

Our Christian History Institute [website](#) holds a wealth of information. Find [study modules](#) for each age of church history, devotionals, guides, stories behind notable quotes, and a full list of [popes and patriarchs](#) under our "Explore" tab. You can also access the text of all our [back issues](#) at Christian History Institute. Full digital flipbooks and color PDF downloads are available for issues #100 and up, as well as some select reprinted issues.

You can also find many of the topics listed above in CHI and Vision Video film productions. Our popular children's series, *The Torchlighters*, covers multiple figures throughout Christian history and has companion documentaries. We also have overviews of eras, including *History of Christianity*, *Discovering the Bible*, *History of Christian Worship*, *This Changed Everything*, and much more. Some of these titles are only available via digital download; search and access more content by streaming on Redeem TV.

OTHER WEBSITES

Public-domain primary source documents from many people referenced in this issue can be found at the [Christian Classics Ethereal Library](#) and at [Gutenberg.org](#) (Gutenberg also includes older secondary sources). Visit the [Internet Ancient Sourcebook](#), the [Internet Medieval Sourcebook](#), and the [Internet Modern Sourcebook](#) as well. Reformation-era sources in particular can be found at the [Post-Reformation Digital Library](#) and at [Project Wittenberg](#). **CHI**



Subscriber #

Source Code

Your roots run deep

Explore how far they go

Discover the roots of your
faith with *Christian History*
magazine, one story at a time

Each issue of *Christian History* connects you to your past—the 2,000-year story of the Church—through vivid images, accessible storytelling, and careful research you can trust. For more than 40 years, Christian History has been telling the story of the church for the people of the church, one topic at a time. Discover just how deep your roots run today!

Enjoy a FREE one-year subscription with code CH150*

*CHM is made possible by generous donations from our readers. Free one-year subscriptions to U.S. and Canada only; a free sample issue to all other international destinations.

ChristianHistoryMagazine.org
1-(800) 468-0458