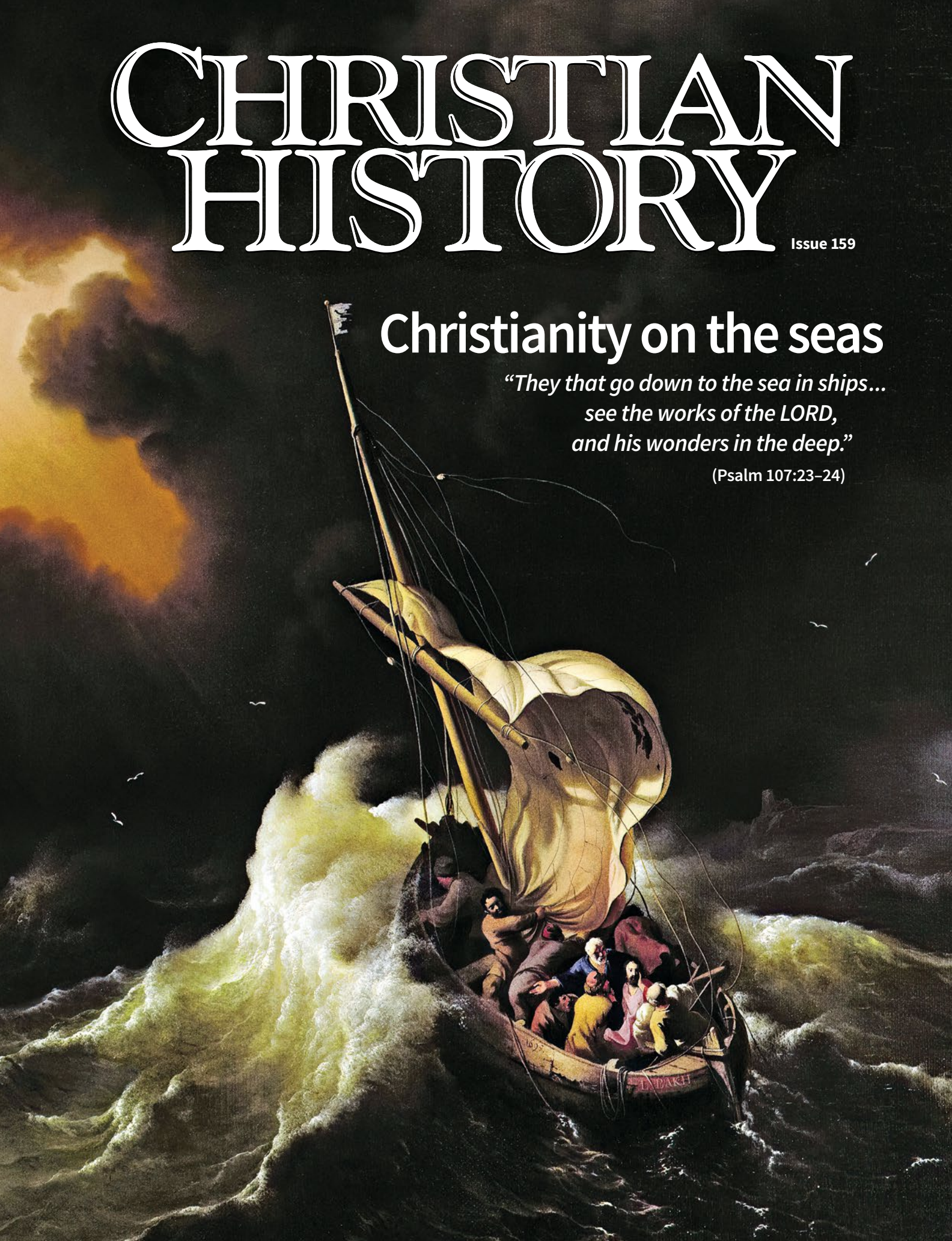
CHRISTIAN HISTORY

Issue 159



Christianity on the seas

"They that go down to the sea in ships…
see the works of the LORD,
and his wonders in the deep."
(Psalm 107:23–24)

VOTIVE SHIPS Ship models hang from the ceiling of Holy Mary of Arta, a Croatian church built in the 18th c. The models, called "votive ships," are often found in churches across Scandinavia as well.

Did you know?

STORIES OF FAITH AT SEA

FISHERS OF MEN

A 2,000-year-old fishing boat found in 1986 on the shore of the Sea of Galilee first appeared when a drought made the lake's waters recede. Nicknamed the "Jesus Boat," there's no proof it was used by Jesus Christ, but it shows what boats from his time really looked like.

In the years after Jesus's earthly ministry, the apostle Paul began his own missionary travels—an estimated 5,000 miles of which took place by sea. These maritime journeys, part of a total estimated travel distance exceeding 10,000 miles, spanned the Mediterranean Sea and included significant journeys to Cyprus, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy.

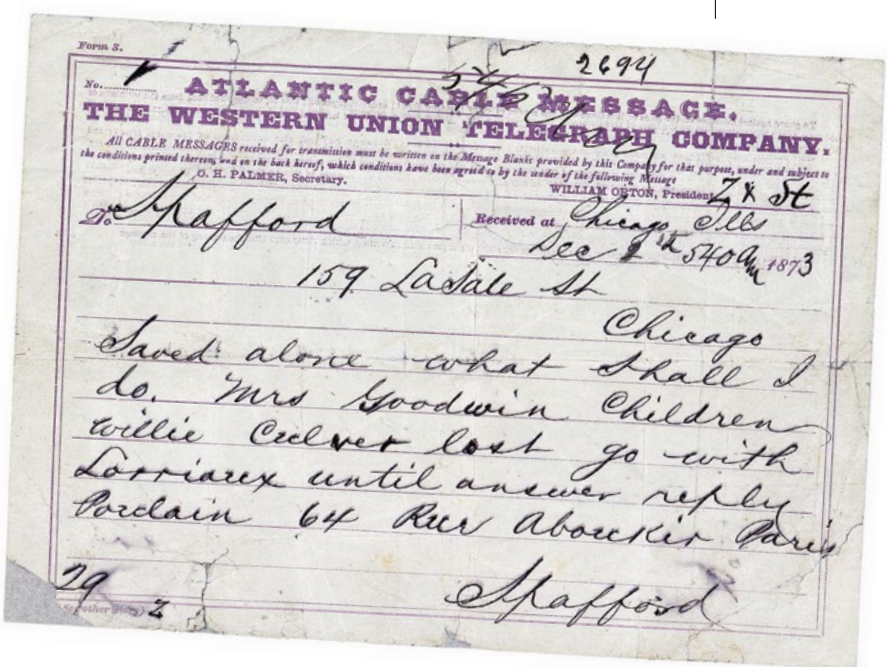
A SEVERE SALVATION

Olaf Tryggvason (c. 960–1000), a Norwegian noble and unstoppable pirate raider, ravaged the coasts of Europe and England in the tenth century. A hermit's fulfilled prophecy, however, led to Tryggvason being baptized as a Christian and brokering peace with King Ethelred II (d. 1016) of the Anglo-Saxons. After this, Tryggvason brought Christianity with him when he sailed home to Norway to defeat his father's murderer, Earl Hakon. Following Hakon's defeat Tryggvason was crowned king and charged Norway's pagan lords with an ultimatum: be Christian or die. He eventually died as he had lived—in a spectacular sea battle against pagan kings.

Today Tryggvason's seafaring Christianity still colors Northern European culture. Across Nordic countries churches suspend detailed ship models, called votive ships, from their ceilings as symbols of maritime heritage, faith, and thanksgiving. Often donated by sailors or shipbuilders, these models represent gratitude for surviving shipwrecks, prayers for safe voyages, or memorials to those lost at sea.

THE SANCTIFIED SEA

Christian liturgy, architecture, and imagination have long held ties to the sea. For instance the word "nave" comes from the Latin *navis*, meaning "ship." It's fitting because the nave is the church's main "people space," carrying the congregation together through worship—much like a ship carrying its passengers. Architecturally it runs from the main (usually west) entrance toward the chancel, and in churches with side aisles, the term technically refers only to the central aisle. In everyday use, though, "nave" often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Saved alone what shall I do. Mrs Goodwin Children Willie Calvert lost go with Lorriaux until answer reply Porclain 64 Rue Abouckir Paris
Mafford

"SAVED ALONE" Anna Spafford sent this telegram to her husband, Horatio, after their daughters perished at sea. Horatio wrote the popular hymn "It Is Well with My Soul" following the disaster.

MIAMIA. HOLY MARY OF ARTA, SENJ, CROATIA, JULY 30, 2017—SHUTTERSTOCK
TELEGRAM FROM ANNA SPAFFORD TO HORATIO GATES SPAFFORD, DECEMBER 2, 1873 (MANUSCRIPT/MIXED MATERIAL)—LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, AMERICAN COLONY IN JERUSALEM COLLECTION. HTTPS://HDL.LOC.GOV/LOC.MSS/MS010123.
MAMCOL.011

WHALEMAN'S PULPIT In 1840 Herman Melville, author of *Moby-Dick,* attended Seaman's Bethel, where sailor Edward Thompson Taylor preached. Taylor inspired Melville's character Father Mapple, who preached from a prow pulpit. This one (*right*) was built in 1961.

means all the space for worshipers, distinct from areas reserved for the choir and clergy.

The "father of modern oceanography," Matthew Fontaine Maury (1806–1873), said he was inspired by Scripture—especially Psalm 8:8's "paths of the seas"—to study ocean currents. His classic 1855 work *The Physical Geography of the Sea* helped reveal "the wonders of the great deep."

SKY PILOTS

Many preachers saw reaching sailors with the gospel as an important mission field. William Wilberforce (1759–1873) agreed, joining the Naval and Military Bible Society, a mission founded in 1779 to print Scripture for those at sea. By the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, sailor preachers were sometimes called "sky pilots" because they were metaphorically seen as pilots guiding souls toward heaven.

SUNKEN SHIPS AND SEA HYMNS

We have shared many stories of Christian witness through shipwreck and sea disaster in *CH*. Here are a few; you'll read more of them in this issue.

- The apostle Paul's journeys included several shipwrecks. Acts 27–28 records one that Christians still commemorate (see pp. 28–30). The Collegiate Parish Church of St. Paul's Shipwreck, also known as simply the Church of St. Paul's Shipwreck, is a Roman Catholic parish church in Valletta, Malta. It is one of Valletta's oldest churches.
- Alexander Duff (1806–1878), a Scottish missionary to India, first felt his need for salvation when he nearly died by drowning. After being called to the mission field in 1829, he also survived a narrow escape from pirates and two shipwrecks before finally landing in Calcutta with nothing but a Bible and a psalm book.

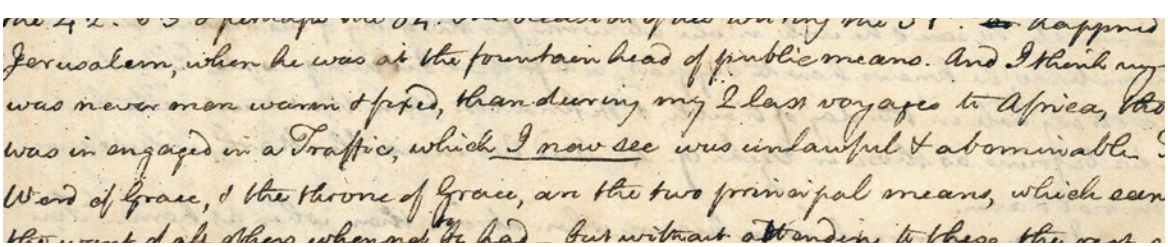
NOW I SEE "Amazing Grace" hymnist John Newton once captained a slave-trading ship. Later he wrote bluntly of his regret at his participation in the evil and fought the trade's continuation for the rest of his life.

PIRATE, CONVERT, KING Olaf Tryggvason (*right*) stands guard in Trondheim, Norway. The feared raider became a Christian and converted the nation he ruled.

- A business interruption kept Horatio Spafford (1828–1888), an American lawyer, from joining his wife, Anna, and four daughters on the steamship *Ville du Havre*'s voyage to England. As friends of the famous evangelist D. L. Moody (1837–1899), the Spaffords had planned to cross the Atlantic to hear Moody preach. On November 22, 1873, another vessel struck the *Ville du Havre*, killing over 200 people. All four of Spafford's daughters died; Anna sent a heart-wrenching telegram home to confirm: "Saved alone." Horatio quickly boarded another ship to reunite with Anna. As they passed the place where the *Ville du Havre* sank, he began penning the words to the enduring and well-loved hymn, "It Is Well with My Soul." The first verse reads:

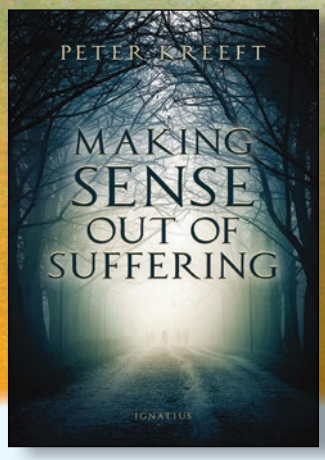
  When peace, like a river, attendeth my way,
  When sorrows like sea billows roll;
  Whatever my lot, Thou has taught me to say,
  It is well, it is well with my soul.

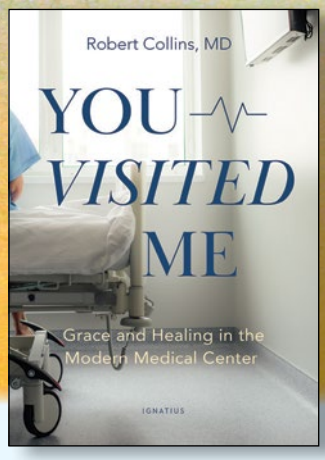
- Half a century later, hymns featured at another disastrous shipwreck. As the RMS *Titanic* sank on the night of April 14–15, 1912, the ship's band reportedly played hymns to calm passengers. "Nearer, My God, to Thee" is traditionally named as their final piece. CH


Jerusalem, when he was at the fountain head of public means. And I think my
was never more warm & free, than during my 2 last voyages to Africa, tha
was in engaged in a Traffic, which I now see was unlawful & abominable.
Word of Grace, & the throne of Grace, are the two principal means, which seem

SEAMEN'S BETHEL, NEW BEDFORD, MA—PETER PEREIRA / NEW BEDFORD PORT SOCIETY: SEAMEN'S BETHEL & MARINER'S HOME
VEGARD OTTERVIG (PHOTOGRAPHER), OLAV TRYGGVASON, TRONDHEIM, JUNE 10, 2012—[CC-BY-SA 3.0] WIKIMEDIA COMMONS
JOHN NEWTON, LETTER TO JOHN CAMPBELL DATED SEPTEMBER 2, 1793 (AUTOGRAPH)—NEWTON/CAMPBELL LETTERS / SEATTLE PACIFIC UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

Suffering, Medicine & the Mercy of God





◆ MAKING SENSE OUT OF SUFFERING

Peter Kreeft presents a philosophical and spiritual exploration of the mystery of pain and suffering, offering insights for those seeking meaning in hardship through personal reflection and Christian theology. It is an insightful guide for those who have had seemingly pointless suffering, combining personal experience with wisdom to address the "why" question from a faith-based perspective. Kreeft's real and honest personal quest on the meaning of suffering is engaging and convincing.

MSOSP. . . *Sewn Softcover*, $17.95

"A book of great clarity and comfort, one that really makes a difference. It gives the real answer to the question why bad things happen to good people."
—**William Kilpatrick**, Author, *Psychological Seduction*

"Kreeft takes up the unanswerable and with lucid and vigorous prose he carries us inexorably to the stunning answer."
—**Elisabeth Elliot,** Author, *Suffering is Never for Nothing*

"Kreeft is all that a guide should be as he tackles the hardest subject in the world. Having made the journey with Kreeft myself, I can say it is a journey well worth making."
—**Sheldon Vanauken**, Author, *A Severe Mercy*

◆ YOU VISITED ME

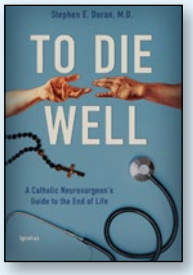
Grace and Healing in the Modern Medical Center

Dr. Robert Collins, a leading oncologist, relates powerful true stories about God's grace and healing in a major medical center. The book flows from the unfolding of faith in the life of an agnostic physician, to his increasing perception of God's movement in the lives of his patients, and to his understanding medicine as a call to participation in the love of God. He reveals how, in the midst of the seemingly cold, stark medical center, God's love is present. These vibrant stories awaken us to the wonder all around us and to the good news that God visits us wherever we are. **YVMP**. . . *Sewn Softcover*, $17.95

"Whether you are facing serious illness, a caregiver to the sick, a physician, or a general reader, this book restores hope in God's promises and tender care for each of us."
—**John Bruchalski, MD**, Founder, Tepeyac OB/GYN; Author, *Two Patients*

"In the highly technocratic world of medicine today, it is refreshing to read a book by a professor at a top-tier medical school who sees medicine as a vocation to share in the mission of the Divine Physician." —**Bishop James Conley**, Episcopal Advisor, Catholic Medical Association

ALSO AVAILABLE



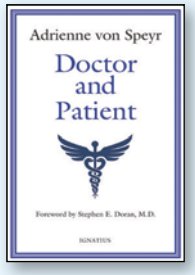
◆ To Die Well: A Catholic Neurosurgeon's Guide to the End of Life

Dr. Stephen Doran draws from his vast experience as a neurosurgeon, a bioethicist, and a permanent deacon to present the Catholic perspective on the art of dying well. The first part focuses on the moral issues that surround death and dying, including end-of-life medical decisions. The second part is devoted to the Catholic spiritual understanding of dying and the rites that accompany the death of a Catholic. **TDWP**. . . *Sewn Softcover*, $17.95

◆ Doctor and Patient

Adrienne von Speyr, one of the most original spiritual writers of the twentieth century, draws from her experience as a medical doctor to teach Christian medical professionals the art of treating and loving their patients. Physicians and nurses are called by God to be more than mere custodians of health, but bearers of Jesus' good news, healers who care for the body as well as soul.

DPP. . . *Sewn Softcover*, $18.95



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Letters to the editor

Readers respond to *Christian History*

HISTORY TO EXPLORE

Please seriously consider doing a full issue on A. W. Tozer. This generation needs to hear again the voice of God's prophets. Thank you for reminding us of the Council of Nicaea in your last issue. How Tozer delighted in the God-enamoured saints of the early church. Athanasius will always be remembered for his sterling courage in the midst of such brutal opposition. Tozer also needs again to be remembered for his steadfast devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ. He also gave prominence to the deity of Christ, and his rightful place in the consciousness of his beloved Church needs emphasis once again.—*Michael Carlascio, Sault Ste Marie, Ontario, Canada*

I am appreciative of your magazine and just discovered that I can read back issues! I was looking through past issues to see if I could find one on the history of the theology and celebration of the Eucharist. With an awakened interest in church history and as a Protestant I have become very interested in learning the history around the Eucharist and how the early church viewed it, the church fathers, Catholic and Eastern Orthodox and Protestant development. Perhaps it would be too controversial, but still, there is a history there to be explored! Did I miss an issue on this topic or would it be a possibility for the future?—*Jeanie Little, Houghton, NY*

We always appreciate suggestions for topics, even if we've covered them before. In the meantime, for a few entry points into the story see our issues #37: Worship in the early church; #54: Eastern Orthodoxy; and #115: Luther leads the way.

COUNCILS AND CREEDS

Even though this letter is somewhat delayed, I wanted to make time to write and express gratitude for your last issue #157 Vatican II. I have only subscribed to *Christian History* for a short period of time, but in that period I have been enormously pleased by just about every issue—even those religious or spiritual areas of modest interest. While I converted to the Orthodox Catholic Church from Roman Catholicism at an early age, I have not been one to turn my back on the church of my youth but instead have always endeavored to find ways to bridge our sister churches that include our "separated brethren" of Protestant Christianity. This issue dedicated to Vatican II has helped me in that spiritual venture in many unexpected ways, and I am so very thankful. Kudos! I am now holding you to a higher bar: you have given me a joyful expectation that your magazine will never disappoint me.—*Christian Williams, Coalinga, CA*

I am neither a scholar nor a theologian, just a reader and thinker. Thank you so much for the comprehensive coverage of the development of the Nicene Creed in issue #158. I find the congregational recitation of the creed a meaningful part of worship. I am acutely aware that as we recite "God of God, light of light … being of the same substance with the Father" the man standing next to me and I probably have differing mental images of how that all works; and yet we are both Christians saved by grace. In fact, I must maintain my humility to acknowledge that my brother's image might be closer than mine to the truth. Creeds, like maps, are useful man-made tools to assist our understanding...

I find great comfort in the story of Jesus being crucified between two unnamed thieves. When the one thief admitted that he deserved punishment due to his deeds and stated that Jesus had done nothing wrong, Jesus took that as a confession and statement of belief. Then the request, "Jesus, remember me when you come into your kingdom." Jesus did not inquire about his understanding of the Trinity nor of the rapture. He simply promised, "This day you will be with me in paradise." I'm counting on that.—*Bill Buhro, Lincoln, NE*

The last two issues in particular have been just terrific. They both took areas that had always seemed murky to me—the Vatican Councils and the creedal disputes of the 300s–400s (what was all the fuss about, why did it matter to people, what went on inside?)—and made them clear and relevant! Each article was illuminating.—*Randy Welch, Arvada, CO*

GETTING OUR DATES RIGHT

First, thank you to all the staff and writers of your wonderful magazine. It has greatly helped my faith and I enjoy being able to share helpful tidbits of church history in my small group Bible study. I believe I have found a minor error in the latest issue (also in issue #85 since it is a reprint article). On page 18, in the second sentence: "...Eastern church insisted it had to be on the date of Jesus's resurrection—Nisan 14, the Jewish Passover."

Nisan 14 was the date of Jesus's crucifixion, not his resurrection. The East prioritized remembering Jesus as the perfect lamb slain for us and thus kept the date on Passover. —*Jesse Hendrix, Long Beach, CA*

You are correct, Nisan 14 is traditionally considered the day of Jesus's crucifixion, which our Fasts and Feasts *guide explains in "Celebrating the Risen Savior" on p. 33. Our digital issues of #85 and #158 have been corrected accordingly.* CH

CHRISTIAN HISTORY #157
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Editor's note

When I first began drafting my latest fantasy novel, *Tower of Cortico*, I began with one image in mind: a wind-powered sailing vessel on the cusp of a spectacular sea battle. I had long been interested in writing an epic sea adventure, and as I began researching, I became obsessed. Sea stories and the dynamics of life at sea hold endless dramatic possibilities. Where else can you so readily be transported to new worlds and be immersed in sublime beauty in one scene and face terrible danger with the weather's turn in the next?

My fascination isn't unique, of course. From ocean adventures and romantic depictions of life at sea in literature, film, and music across cultures, it's clear the sea captures the human imagination. It is a gateway to mystery and discovery, a shaping force in myth and legend, and, for much of human history, a representation of the supernatural. Whether societies believed it was a god itself or under some deity's authority, its unpredictability made it both an unexpected ally and a formidable foe.

God's Word gives us the true myth, however—he made the sea, and it belongs to him (Psalm 146:6). Throughout the Bible, this powerful creation communicates aspects of God's character, such as his sovereignty and providence, through both poetic language and historical narrative that point us to who he is (pp. 6–7). And, throughout history, those whose livelihoods depended on the sea have understood it as a means of both God's provision and judgment.

GOOD NEWS ON THE HIGH SEAS

Thus it comes as no surprise that the story of the sea is deeply entwined with the story of our faith. In this issue of *Christian History*, we try to tell part of that great story.

The following pages will take you on a two-millennia sweep through Christianity on the seas. Starting with ancient Jewish roots as well as pagan understandings of the sea, and then Jesus's authority over the winds and the waves, we move into the following centuries and cover a lot of ground (or rather, ocean). Sail with Paul the apostle in the first century, Brendan the Navigator and other missionary monks of medieval Ireland, William Carey, the Judsons, and more missionaries as they evangelize distant shores. Traverse the Atlantic with colonizer-turned-priest Bartolomé de Las Casas, the faith-driven Puritans, the slaveship captain John Newton, and the Moravian-inspired John Wesley—they, like many who came before and who followed, had to face what they really believed about God when the stormy seas nearly swallowed them.

We'll also cover the history of ministry to seafarers—those who live out more of their days on the water than on land. In the Western world, starting in the seventeenth century, Christians began to recognize the desperate need for spiritual, physical, and emotional care for sailors. From this need sprang numerous worldwide ministries: land-based lifelines, distribution of tracts, devotionals, and Bibles, and even floating churches.

Chaplains and others cared for sailors' souls by bringing worship to them—conducting services aboard, writing hymns and devotionals unique to mariners' needs, and fostering a godly culture among the crew. These ministers became instrumental in reform and revival. Some even gave their lives—sacrificing themselves to save seafarers in the tumult of war, tempest, and other disasters at sea. Finally you'll get to see how some of these ministries still care for sailors today.

ENTER THE SEAFARING STORY

At any rate there is something for everyone in this issue of *CH*. Whether you approach the seafaring story with starry-eyed wonder or with grim understanding of its unique dangers, we hope you'll see a bit of both in the following pages. We also hope you'll recognize God's redemptive power at work in the sea—in both the powerful witness of his creation and in the hearts of the men and women who received, carried, and delivered his good news by way of the waters. CH

Kaylena Radcliff
Managing Editor

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Look for our next issue #160 on Anglicanism.

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 donate or to begin a subscription to *Christian History*.

VISION VIDEO/CHI HEADQUARTERS—DRAWING BY DOUGLAS JOHNSON
KAYLENA RADCLIFF—PERSONAL PHOTO

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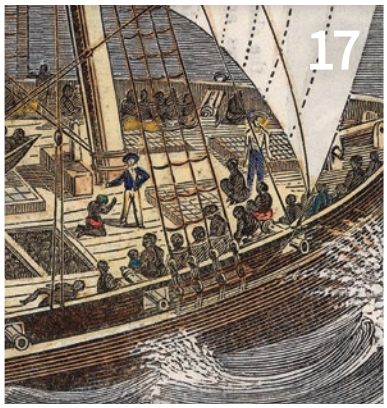

ST. BRENDAN CELEBRATING MASS ON THE BACK OF A GIANT FISH BETWEEN THE CANARY ISLES AND THE MYTHICAL ISLE OF ST. BRANDANO (ENGRAVING)—PETER NEWARK MILITARY PICTURES / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES
REPRESENTATION OF CAPTAIN HUNTLEY'S MODEL OF A SLAVE-SHIP (COLOURED ENGRAVING), FROM *THE MIRROR OF LITERATURE, AMUSEMENT AND INSTRUCTION*, 1 JUNE 1839—LOOK AND LEARN / PETER JACKSON COLLECTION / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES
UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE, FOUR CHAPLAINS, 1948 (3¢ STAMP)—NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE

Christianity on the seas

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GOD'S SPIRIT OVER THE WATERS This ornate and allegorical 17th-c. map, entitled *Spiritus Dei Ferebatur Super Aquas* (Genesis 1:2 in Latin), depicts the story of creation.

The sacramental sea

Scripture often alludes to the ocean—whether in figurative language describing God's creation of and sovereignty over it or in narrative that displays his power and purposes. Here are just a few excerpts.

CREATOR AND KING OF WATERS

The earth was without form and void, and darkness was over the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God was hovering over the face of the waters. (Gen. 1:2)

Mightier than the thunders of many waters, mightier than the waves of the sea, the LORD on high is mighty! (Ps. 93:4)

The sea is his, for he made it, and his hands formed the dry land. (Ps. 95:5)

When you pass through the waters, I will be with you; and through the rivers, they shall not overwhelm you. (Isa. 43:2a)

I placed the sand as the boundary for the sea, a perpetual barrier that it cannot pass; though the waves toss, they cannot prevail; though they roar, they cannot pass over it. (Jer. 5:22b)

HIS WONDERS IN THE DEEP

Many psalms reference the sea. Psalm 107 has long been used in prayer by and for seafarers:

Some went down to the sea in ships
and plied their trade in deep waters;
They beheld the works of the LORD
and his wonders in the deep.
Then he spoke, and a stormy wind arose,
which tossed high the waves of the sea.
They mounted up to the heavens
and fell back to the depths;
their hearts melted because of their peril.
They reeled and staggered like drunkards
and were at their wits' end.
Then they cried to the LORD in their trouble,
and he delivered them from their distress.
He stilled the storm to a whisper
and quieted the waves of the sea.
Then were they glad because of the calm,
and he brought them to the harbor they were bound for.
Let them give thanks to the LORD for his mercy
and the wonders he does for his children. (Ps. 107:23–31)

Jonah, seeking to escape God's command to preach to the Ninevites, flees by sea in the opposite direction. In response God causes a great storm to threaten his ship. The terrified pagan sailors onboard discover the storm arose because of Jonah's disobedience. Jonah proclaims they can only save themselves by casting him into the sea. When they finally throw Jonah overboard, the storm immediately ceases; in their terror and awe they sacrifice to the LORD. Meanwhile a great fish swallows Jonah. After three days and nights inside, Jonah prays:

I called out to the LORD, out of my distress,
And he answered me;
Out of the belly of Sheol I cried,
And you heard my voice.
For you cast me into the deep, into the heart of the seas,
And the flood surrounded me;
All your breakers and waves passed over me.
Then I said, "I am driven from your sight;
Yet I shall again look upon your holy temple."
The waters closed in over me to take my life;
The deep surrounded me.…

JOHANNES DEGLER & JOSEPH MONTELEGRE, *SPIRITUS DEI FEREBATUR SUPER AQUAS* (HAND COLORED ENGRAVING) IN HEINRICH SCHERER, *ATLAS NOVUS* (MUNICH, 1705)—BARRY LAWRENCE RUDERMAN ANTIQUE MAPS INC.

THE SINKING OF APOSTLE PAUL OFF MALTA IN THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA DURING A MISSION, 19TH CENTURY (COLOR ENGRAVING)—PHOTO © NORTH WIND PICTURES / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES
DAVID MICHAEL JONES, *THE WHALE SPEWING FORTH JONAH*, 1926 (INK ON WOOD ENGRAVING ON PAPER)—© BY PERMISSION OF AMGUEDDFA CYMRU–MUSEUM WALES / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

TAKE HEART, MEN A 19th-c. engraving imagines Paul's shipwreck near Malta (*above*). He prophesied that no one aboard would die; indeed, all survived.

FROM THE DEEP TO DRY LAND The miraculous account of Jonah and the whale (*above right*) shows both God's great mercy and power.

Yet you brought up my life from the pit,
O LORD my God.…
And the LORD spoke to the fish, and it vomited Jonah out upon the dry land. (Jon. 2:1–6; 10)

When Job questions God's purposes after suffering great calamity, the LORD answers by questioning Job instead:

Who shut in the sea with doors
when it burst out from the womb,
when I made clouds its garment and thick darkness its swaddling band,
and prescribed limits for it and set bars and doors,
and said, "Thus far shall you come, and no farther,
and here shall your proud waves be stayed?"
….Have you entered into the springs of the sea,
or walked in the recesses of the deep?" (Job 38:8–11; 16)

JESUS CALMS THE STORM

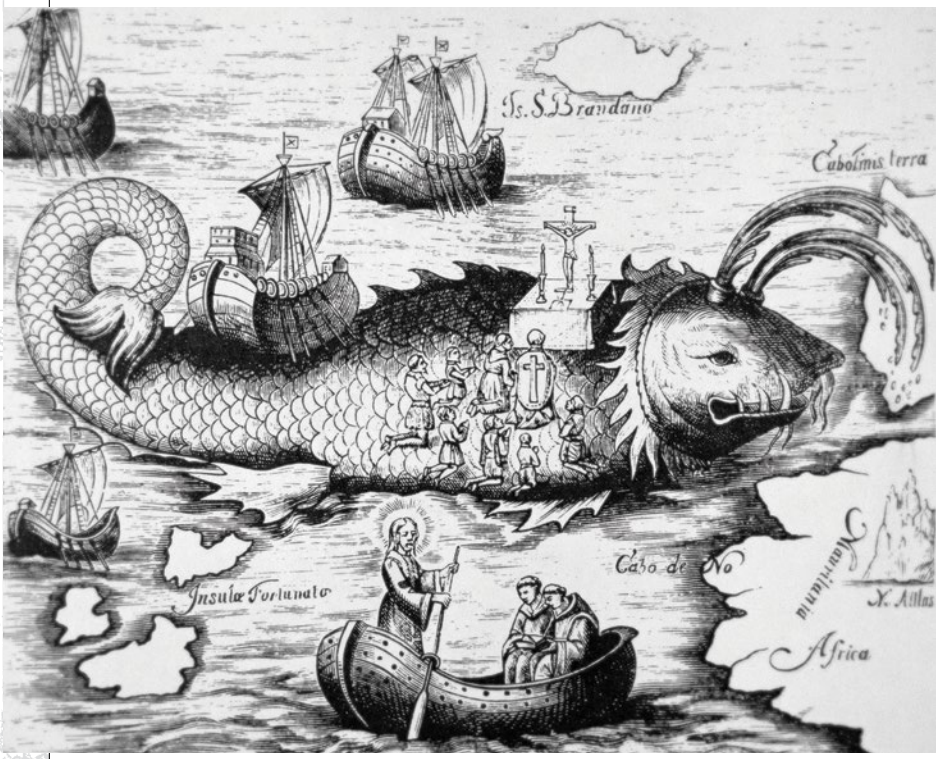
And when he got into the boat, his disciples followed him. And behold, there arose a great storm on the sea, so that the boat was being swamped by the waves; but he was asleep. And they went and woke him, saying, "Save us, Lord; we are perishing." And he said to them, "Why are you afraid, O you of little faith?" Then he rose and rebuked the winds and the seas, and there was a great calm. And the men marveled, saying, "What sort of man is this, that even the winds and seas obey him?" (Matt. 8:23–27)

SHIPWRECKED, BUT SAVED

But soon a tempestuous wind, called the northeaster, struck down from the land. And when the ship was caught and could not face the wind, we gave way to it and were driven along.…Since we were violently storm-tossed, they began the next day to jettison the cargo. And on the third day they threw the ship's tackle overboard with their hands. When neither sun nor stars appeared for many days, and no small tempest lay on us, all hope of our being saved was at last abandoned.

Since they had been without food for a long time, Paul stood up among them and said, "Men, you should have listened to me and not have set sail from Crete and incurred this injury and loss. Yet now I urge you to take heart, for there will be no loss of life among you, but only of the ship. For this very night there stood before me an angel of the God to whom I belong and whom I worship, and he said, 'Do not be afraid, Paul; you must stand before Caesar. And behold, God has granted you all those who sail with you.' So take heart, men, for I have faith in God that it will be exactly as I have been told.…"

But striking a reef, they ran the vessel aground. The bow stuck and remained immovable, and the stern was being broken up by the surf. The soldiers' plan was to kill the prisoners, lest any should swim away and escape. But the centurion, wishing to save Paul, kept them from carrying out their plan. He ordered those who could swim to jump overboard first and make for land, and the rest on planks or on pieces of the ship. And so it was that all were brought safely to land. (Acts 27:14–25; 41–44) CH



MYTHICAL MASS This engraving captures the legendary adventures of Brendan the Navigator. Here he celebrates Mass on the back of a giant fish. See pp. 13–15 for more.

ST. BRENDAN CELEBRATING MASS ON THE BACK OF A GIANT FISH BETWEEN THE CANARY ISLES AND THE MYTHICAL ISLE OF ST. BRANDANO (ENGRAVING)—PETER NEWARK MILITARY PICTURES / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

A sailor's life for me

SEAFARING FROM THE ANCIENT WORLD TO TODAY

Jason Zuidema

Writers often repeat a striking line attributed to the Greek philosopher Anacharsis: "Humanity is divided into the living, the dead, and those who go to sea." While the saying captures the drama of maritime danger, it also distorts the real character of seafarers. They are not a separate class of beings but ordinary people who take on demanding work during the strongest years of their lives. Most are young men who spend a few seasons or a handful of years at sea before returning to the communities that shaped them. Their beliefs are marked by the same mixture of sincerity, doubt, and custom that characterize the wider society.

SAILORS AND THE SUPERNATURAL

Long before Christianity spread across the Mediterranean, sailors practiced rituals that helped them face the insecurity of their environment: shrines on headlands, offerings to gods of wind and water, and small charms kept in clothing or tied onto rigging. These practices responded to the feeling that the sea was more than water. It had its own character, its own dangers, and perhaps its own intentions (see p. 12). When Christianity arrived it entered this world of maritime religion and slowly took root. It did not erase older instincts. Instead it reshaped them and gave sailors new ways to understand their experiences.

Acts 27 gives one of the earliest Christian portraits of life at sea: Paul's journey to Rome aboard a ship crowded with soldiers, sailors, merchants, and prisoners. Panic arose when storms drove the ship off course. Paul prayed, encouraged, and shared in the communal meal that renewed their energy after days of fear (see pp. 28–30). The episode reflects real conditions of the time. Ships were at the mercy of weather. Even the best sailors could only respond to what came.

As Christianity spread to port cities, it became part of daily seafaring life. Mariners prayed before departure, asked for blessings on cargo and crew, and carved Christian symbols onto personal objects. The anchor, echoing Hebrews 6:19 and symbolizing hope and steadfastness, was familiar from daily seafaring work; the fish symbol, confessing "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior," and the cross appeared on sailors' graves.

Over time certain saints became especially associated with the dangers of the sea. The most famous was Nicholas of Myra (270–343), remembered across Europe and the Mediterranean as a protector in storms. Stories circulated about his interventions, and mariners called on him when clouds darkened and winds rose. Among the most enduring figures in the religious life of sailors was Mary, known affectionately across the centuries as Stella Maris, the Star of the Sea. The title expressed the belief that, like a guiding star for navigators, she watched over those at sea and directed them safely toward Christ and home.

By the medieval period, many Christian practices had become woven into daily seafaring routines, depending on the size of the ship and the presence of clergy. When a priest was on board, sailors sometimes set up a small altar where they could gather on calm Sundays. For fear of spilling consecrated elements on a rolling deck, services were kept simple. Felix Fabri, who traveled on Venetian pilgrim galleys in the early 1480s, called this a "dry" or "torrid" Mass and intimated that it was common at sea, at least since the days of Pope Gregory in the sixth century. Even without a priest, people prayed together, recited familiar psalms, invoked the saints, and often blended Christian practices with older folklore.

The harshness of life aboard medieval ships created a constant awareness of mortality. Food, limited to salted meat, dried fish, onions, cheese, and bread, often meant meager meals. Water and wine spoiled quickly in their barrels. Common diseases such as scurvy, intestinal infections, and fevers spread quickly in cramped quarters. When sailors

SEA SAINTS Nicholas of Myra (associated with Santa Claus) is a patron saint of seafarers. Legend holds he calmed a sea storm (*above*). Mary, mother of Jesus, is known to sailors as Stella Maris, Star of the Sea, who guides souls toward Christ. The Stella Maris ministry of the Catholic Church serves sailors (*right*).

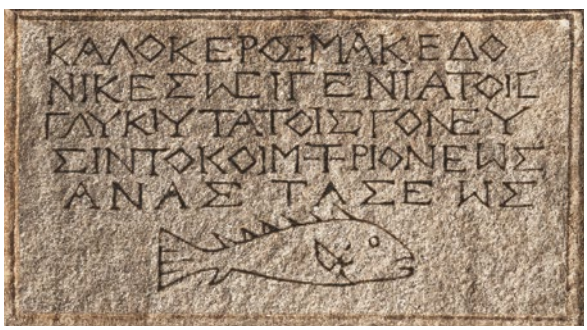
fell ill, maritime law flowing from the Judgments of Oléron in c. 1180 required care at the captain's expense, a recognition of how vulnerable seafaring laborers were. Yet, even with these protections, illness was often fatal.

PILGRIMS AND PRIESTS

As European voyages expanded during the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance, ships became floating microcosms of society. Merchants, pilgrims, soldiers, and sailors lived together in tight confinement. Pilgrim voyages to Jerusalem were especially notable for their religious routines. Priests blessed the vessel before departure, heard confessions when the sea was calm, and encouraged prayer during dangerous passages. These voyages deepened the sense that sea travel was both a physical and a spiritual journey.

With the rise of long-distance exploration in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Christian practices at sea became more formal. Portuguese and Spanish ships now regularly carried priests, allowing more official celebrations of Mass. Prayers were also said daily, and the crew gathered at sunset to recite familiar words. These practices offered rhythm and stability during voyages that could last months without sight of land. Dutch ships often carried a *ziekentrooster*, a lay religious officer who read sermons, led prayers, and reminded the crew of their duties. English naval ships began appointing chaplains who preached on Sundays and offered pastoral care.

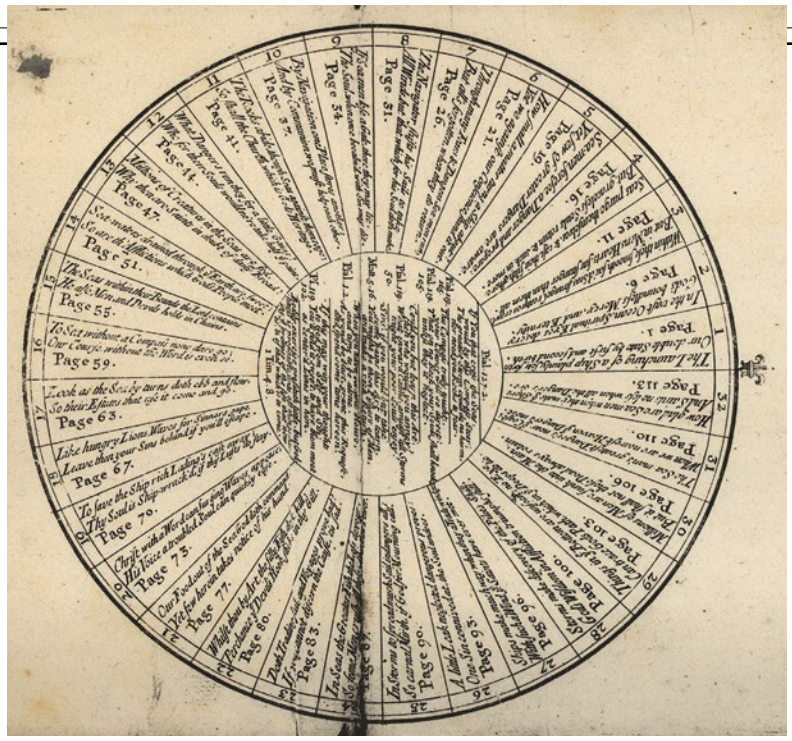
The Reformation brought significant changes to religious life at sea. Protestant sailors carried psalm books and catechisms, and shipmasters were expected to lead Sunday worship when a minister was not present. Sailors also encountered a growing body of devotional literature written specifically for life at sea (see p. 16). Ministers, chaplains, and lay writers began producing short guides,

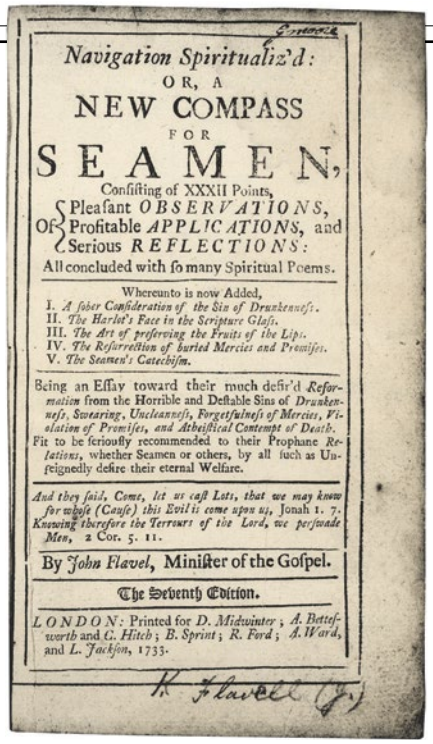


JESUS FISH (*above*) A Christian's epitaph bears a fish: a symbol confessing Jesus as Son of God and Savior. Early on, sea themes held deep significance for believers.

collections of prayers, and spiritual reflections that spoke directly to the fears and hopes of mariners. Some were Anglican, shaped by the rhythms of the Book of Common Prayer, while others came from Puritan or nonconformist traditions that emphasized personal repentance and God's providence. Spiritual navigational guides, printed prayers for storms, and collections of miraculous sea deliverances circulated widely among crews. These books recognized that sailors often lacked the steady presence of a parish

BICCI DI LORENZO (1373–1452), *ST. NICHOLAS REBUKING THE TEMPEST* (OIL ON PANEL)—© ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES
WOLFGANG SAUBER (PHOTOGRAPHER), OUR LADY, STAR OF THE SEA, JULY 16, 2017, EGLISE NOTRE-DAME DE LA NATIVITÉ, CÉNAC-ET-SAINT-JULIEN, DORDOGNE, FRANCE—[CC BY-SA 4.0] WIKIMEDIA COMMONS
EPITAPH OF CALOCERUS, 2ND/3RD CENTURY (MARBLE), CAMPO SANTO TEUTONICO, ROME (AS CATALOGUED BY THE INDEX OF MEDIEVAL ART)—*DICTIONNAIRE D'ARCHÉOLOGIE CHRÉTIENNE ET DE LITURGIE* I.1 (1924), COL. 339





Navigation Spiritualiz'd:
OR, A
NEW COMPASS
FOR
SEAMEN,
Consisting of XXXII Points,
Of { Pleasant OBSERVATIONS, Profitable APPLICATIONS, and Serious REFLECTIONS:
All concluded with so many Spiritual Poems.

Whereunto is now Added,
I. A sober Consideration of the Sin of Drunkenness.
II. The Harlot's Face in the Scripture Glass.
III. The Art of preserving the Fruits of the Lips.
IV. The Resurrection of buried Mercies and Promises.
V. The Seamen's Catechism.

Being an Essay toward their much desir'd Reformation from the Horrible and Destable Sins of Drunkenness, Swearing, Uncleanness, Forgetfulness of Mercies, Violation of Promises, and Atheistical Contempt of Death. Fit to be seriously recommended to their Prophane Relations, whether Seamen or others, by all such as Unfeignedly desire their eternal Welfare.

And they said, Come, let us cast Lots, that we may know for whose (Cause) this Evil is come upon us, Jonah 1. 7. Knowing therefore the Terrours of the Lord, we persuade Men, 2 Cor. 5. 11.

By John Flavel, Minister of the Gospel.

The Seventh Edition.

LONDON: Printed for D. Midwinter; A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch; B. Sprint; R. Ford; A. Ward, and L. Jackson, 1733.

NAVIGATION SPIRITUALIZED Puritan John Flavel wrote this devotional to disciple mariners (*above*). The guide's table of contents mimics a 32-point compass (*left*).

community and needed portable forms of instruction and comfort. Unsurprisingly, diaries from the seventeenth century show that sailors often prayed more during storms.

VICE AND VIRTUE AT SEA

Despite these devotions sailors often gained a reputation for rough behavior. They drank heavily in port, used coarse language, and sometimes ignored religious duties. Writers who knew little about seafaring life described them as irreligious or superstitious. This caricature has lingered, but closer study shows that sailors were not fundamentally different from people on land. They simply made sense of the powerful forces they saw at sea— forces that caused storms, accidents, and sudden deaths— in ways that blended Scripture, folklore, and practical wisdom.

Thus supernatural interpretations of weather and misfortune were common. Some sailors believed that witches could stir storms or take the form of waves. Others saw unusual lights on the mast as signs that saints were near. At the same time, they embraced more traditional religious practices. Prayers for safe passage, thanksgiving after survival, and remembrance of those lost at sea connected them to the life of the church when they were far from any parish.

Early modern sailors faced the same physical strain of the profession as the seafarers who came before them. Cramped living spaces; cold, wet, and exhausting conditions; and sparse diets threatened physical and mental health. Scurvy continued to haunt ships on long voyages, and men often grew weak before reaching land. Their constant and strenuous work at sea—reefing sails in high winds, pumping out water, and maintaining the ship, for example—required vigilance, strength, and cooperation. Every day sailors lived knowing their lives depended on the crew's collective effort and on forces beyond their control. Such conditions intensified the need for spiritual reflection in many.

Sailors also faced a new troubling reality—the voyages they joined often involved more than they signed up for. This included the transport of enslaved people, the "shanghaiing" (kidnapping and forced conscription) of unwilling recruits, privateering for political powers, or the coercive practices of profit-hungry companies. By the early modern era, most ordinary seafarers had little influence over the decisions made by shipowners or captains, yet they lived with the consequences of these choices. Many were themselves victims of harsh recruitment systems or exploitative labor practices.

Alcohol played a large part in life at sea, especially in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Water stored in barrels became foul within weeks, so beer was issued daily as a safer alternative. A typical English ration was about a gallon per man per day, usually a weak brew of only 1 to 3 percent alcohol. By modern standards, however, drinking a gallon of even one percent beer every day qualifies as chronic heavy alcohol consumption. It placed a significant long-term burden on the body. Sailors did not usually get drunk from such weak beer, but their systems were constantly processing alcohol while they worked. This shaped the rhythm of shipboard life and added to the physical strain under which mariners already labored.

Stronger alcohol ashore could cause more immediate problems. Public drunkenness contributed to negative sailor stereotypes (see p. 25). Yet, even in this culture of drink, religious interests persisted. Sailors attended worship in ports, sought chaplains for counsel, and sometimes held prayer meetings aboard whaling ships or long-haul merchant vessels.

JOHN FLAVEL, [A NEW COMPASS FOR SEAMEN, CONSISTING OF XXXII POINTS] (FOLDOUT). IN *NAVIGATION SPIRITUALIZ'D: OR A NEW COMPASS FOR SEAMEN...* 7TH ED. (LONDON: 1733), AFTER P. XXV—INTERNET ARCHIVE
JOHN FLAVEL, *NAVIGATION SPIRITUALIZ'D: OR A NEW COMPASS FOR SEAMEN...* 7TH ED. (LONDON: 1733), TITLE PAGE

SEA SEND-OFF A medieval miniature shows a knight's funeral at sea (*above right*), while a 19th-c. illustration imagines a British naval burial (*above*). The ritual has endured over centuries.

Burial at sea retained deep spiritual significance throughout the centuries. When a sailor died, the entire crew gathered and wrapped the body in canvas. The body was placed on a plank and committed to the deep while prayers were spoken. These moments drew together men who otherwise lived within strict shipboard hierarchies.

SAILORS IN THE NEW AGE

By the nineteenth century, seafaring had begun to change. Steam power allowed ships to travel more predictably and reduced the dependence on wind. Diets improved slightly, and medical knowledge increased. Yet many of the old dangers remained. Sailors continued to rely on religious practices to cope with fear and uncertainty. Missions to seafarers began to appear in major ports, offering hospitality, space for worship, and education. These missions recognized that sailors lived far from home and community for long periods and supported them spiritually and practically (see pp. 36–38).

These missions also reflected a growing understanding that seafarers formed a distinct social world. Their work exposed them to dangers that few others faced. They experienced isolation, monotony, sudden terror, and constant physical strain. Their religious life did not develop in quiet parish settings but in the noisy, shifting environment of a ship. They prayed while hauling lines, whispered brief petitions during storms, and shared hymns on fair evenings.

Looking across the centuries, the religious life of sailors appears remarkably consistent. They lived with fear and hope intertwined. Sailors could be rough, yet their spiritual instincts were often deep. Above all they saw the sea as a place where human strength met divine power. Faith did not remove danger, but offered a way to endure it with courage.

A sailor's life is never simple. It demands physical endurance, skilled labor, and constant adaptability. It also demands a spiritual resilience that grows from the daily encounter with wind, wave, and risk. The sea teaches lessons that can not be learned on land. It reveals the limits of control, the value of community, and the deep need for hope. For many sailors Christian faith answered that need with promises of presence and protection. It assured them that the God who created the waters also held their lives within his care. CH


La Messa nelle profondità del mare. Al largo del Mar Grande, a trenta metri sott'acqua, l'Arcivescovo di Taranto ha celebrato la Messa in un sommergibile. Al singolare e suggestivo rito assistevano l'Ammiraglio del dipartimento, il Prefetto, il Segretario federale ed altre autorità tarantine. (Disegno di A. Beltrame)

SUBMERGED SERVICE A 1936 lithograph documents a Mass held aboard a submarine (*above*). Sailors' spiritual needs remained even as technology changed.

Jason Zuidema is executive director of the North American Maritime Ministry Association, general secretary of the International Christian Maritime Association, and this issue's scholar advisor.

JAMES S. VIRTUE, *BURIAL AT SEA*, 19TH CENTURY (HAND-COLORED ENGRAVING)—© NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM, GREENWICH, LONDON / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES
CHARLES DU MAINE MASTER, *SEA BURIAL OF A KNIGHT OF THE ROUND TABLE*, 1440/1460 (MINIATURE), FROM *THE ROMAN DU CHEVALIER TRISTAN*, MUSEE CONDÉ, CHANTILLY, FRANCE—LUISA RICCIARINI / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES
ACHILLE BELTRAME, *MASS IN THE DEPTHS OF THE SEA* (COLOUR LITHOGRAPH), IN COURIER SUNDAY, MARCH 8, 1936—© LOOK AND LEARN / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

P. BINETEAU. PRINT OF THE DECORATION ON A GREEK AMPHORA, SHOWING POSEIDON ACCOMPANIED BY DOLPHINS, C. 1858 (WATER AND BODY COLOR OVER LITHOGRAPH ON WOVE PAPER)—© ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

Living waters

Understanding the ocean in ancient religion

BEFORE POSEIDON A decoration on a Greek ceramic vessel depicts Poseidon, god of the sea. Though Poseidon had authority over the sea, he did not create it. The sea seems to be among the first deities in the ancient pagan imagination.

For the Galilean fishermen who first followed Jesus, it was no cheap trick that he could walk on the sea, quell its dangerous storms, or find life-giving catches of fish hidden beneath it. In a world without weather reports, motors, and navigation equipment, the one who could conquer and redeem the sea would have to be extraordinary—perhaps even divine.

SEA GODS AND MONSTERS

For much of human history, the sea was not just alien and dangerous, it was a god. Ancient religions characterized the ocean as a living force—supernatural, wildly powerful, and uncontrollable. In the Babylonian *Enuma Eliš* (*When on High*, c. 2000 BC), the Sea (*Tiam-at*) is the mother of the gods. She is also their first great enemy, and they make the cosmos from her after they defeat her and divide her body up.

In the Greek poem *Theogony* (*Birth of the Gods*, c. 700 BC), the Sea is a granduncle of the gods, born directly from the Earth "without loving intimacy." Zeus gives authority over the Sea to his older brother Poseidon, "He Who Encircles and Shakes the Earth." Poseidon, characterized by pride and quickness to anger, possesses a sealike fickleness. In Homer's *Iliad* (c. 800 BC), Poseidon boasts that his authority over the Sea is equal to Zeus's over the Sky; he uses storms and sea monsters to punish Odysseus and other seafaring heroes for perceived impieties, often killing their crews in the process.

The Bible, too, often represents the sea as dangerous, although God subdues it. In Genesis he creates the sea by gathering the waters, but creation of the waters is not explicitly mentioned. The Hebrew word *tehom*, translated as "the deep" in Genesis 1 is similar to the word *tiam*, as in *Tiam-at*, which some interpreters have noted with interest. A poetic and similar account of God containing the sea at creation is found in Job 38; Psalm 74 also references God defeating sea monsters and Leviathan (*tanninim* and *liwyatan*, both *dracon* in Greek), dividing up the waters, and creating rivers.

REDEEMING THE DEEP

Given all these traditions, and the evident truth that believer and nonbeliever alike are vulnerable at sea, it is interesting to see how Scripture extends God's power and mercy over the whole of it so that at its creation God even "saw that it was good." Jonah, in his determination to see Assyria punished and his reckless endangerment of his fellow seafarers, acted much more like Poseidon than the God who sent him—but those pagan seafarers, confronted by a man who says, "I fear YHWH, the God of the sky, Who made the sea and dry land" and was thrown willingly to certain death, began to fear Jonah's God anyway.

Paul, too, impressed those he met as he braved shipwrecks in the spreading of the early church. Jesus himself began his ministry with fishers, men plying a dangerous trade on the literal margins of Israelite territory and society. With them we can ask, wondering: "Who is this, then, that he gives commands even to the winds and the water, and they obey him?" (Luke 8:25)

—Kevin William Walker, independent researcher in seafarers' ministry and academic religious studies

Navigating salvation

BRENDAN THE NAVIGATOR AND IRISH MISSIONS BY SEA

Garry J. Crites

WHALE OF A TALE The medieval *Voyage of Saint Brendan the Navigator* is more than a roadmap of Irish missions. It is a hero's tale about an epic and fantastic journey.

About fifteen miles north of the village of Dingle, in the Gaeltacht (Irish-speaking) region of County Kerry, Ireland, is an even tinier historic village named Cuas an Bhodaigh, or in English, Brandon Creek. It is not on the Ring of Kerry, so many tourists miss it—but it is well worth a visit. Nestled near a cove looking out into the Atlantic is a statue of a man in a currach, an ancient hide-covered boat, marking the site where, according to medieval texts, St. Brendan the Navigator put to sea.

While Brendan (c. 484–577) is usually listed as one of the most important of the early medieval Irish saints, what we actually know of him is limited. The earliest text that mentions him is Adomnán's *Life of Saint Columba*, written in the late seventh century, and there he is a relatively minor character, serving as a witness to Columba's holiness. The Irish and Latin lives of Brendan—and the most famous text about the saint, the ninth-century *Voyage of Saint Brendan the Navigator*—were written later and with agendas and cannot be relied upon for historical accuracy. (Though it is not uncommon for readers to speculate upon the scope of his voyages from the text: "I am betting that island is Iceland"—which could be historically true—or even, "I think that place is Florida"—which may be more of a stretch!)

But there are things that we can know with certainty. Brendan was a monk and priest from southwest Ireland, he established a number of monasteries around the Sacred Isle, and most important for our purposes, he represented a uniquely Celtic form of missionary endeavor that used sea lanes rather than church aisles to spread Christianity around Europe and beyond. To read his texts simply as road maps or captain's logs is to miss the point of Brendan's story.

AN IRISH ODYSSEY

Many writers have compared the stories of Brendan to Homer's *Odyssey*, and there are indeed similarities. When one reads about Brendan's crew returning to the same island every spring for seven years, for example, it does recall Odysseus spending seven years on Calypso's island. But to really understand Brendan's travels, one should look not to Greek epics, but to pre-Christian and Christian Celtic texts.

Traditional Celtic (and especially Irish) literature has entire genres of travel narratives: primarily *echtrai*, which reflect pre-Christian traditions, and *immrama*, which may have pre-Christian origins but were adapted for Christian use by Irish monks and scholars.

In echtrai a hero intentionally walks or unintentionally stumbles into the Otherworld (in Irish, Tír na nÓg, the Land of Eternal Youth). This is a realm where the hero often does not even realize where he is, where time passes at a different pace than at home, and where the hero's

MONASTERIES AND MISSIONARIES **We don't know exactly where Brendan ended up, but we do know he founded a monastery in Ireland where Clonfert Cathedral stands today (*top*). We also know mission-minded Irish monks established several monasteries around Europe: Columcille founded the abbey on Iona (*left*), and Columbanus founded Annegray in France (*above*).**

IONA CATHEDRAL (ABBEY), IONA, SCOTLAND—LIBRARY OF CONGRESS PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION, HTTP://HDL.LOC.GOV/LOC.PNP/PPMSC.07616
MARTIN KERANS (PHOTOGRAPHER), CLONFERT CATHEDRAL, COUNTY GALWAY, IRELAND, 1998—GEOGRAPH / [CC-BY-SA 2.0] WIKIMEDIA COMMONS
FÉLIX POTUIT (PHOTOGRAPHER), RUINES DU PRIEURÉ FONDÉ PAR SAINT COLOMBAN VERS 595, ANNEGRAY, LA VOIVRE, HAUTE-SAÔNE, FRANCE—WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

adventures change him forever. In one tale Oisin, the son of Finn, visits Tír na nÓg for three years (during which 300 years pass in Ireland), and when he returns, the centuries overtake him at once and age him to death.

In immrama, by contrast, the focus is not on adventuring in the Otherworld but on the act of traveling itself, filled with ever-changing seas, strange beasts, and islands with unforgettable inhabitants. This is the genre that Christian Celts adopted for the stories of Brendan. Brendan and his men sailed into the west by currach in search of the Promised Land.

On the way they met a huge fish on whose back they would celebrate Mass each Easter for seven years, an island of prophetic birds, monks who had previously set to sea, and, of all people, Judas Iscariot, whom they protected from demons (see pp. 28–30). While their ultimate destination may have been the "land of promise" in the west (which later inspired Tolkien to create the Undying Lands to which the elves sailed from Middle-earth), the focus is not on the destination, but the journey. It was the trip itself that helped the sailors to grow in holiness, to trust in God, and to spread the gospel.

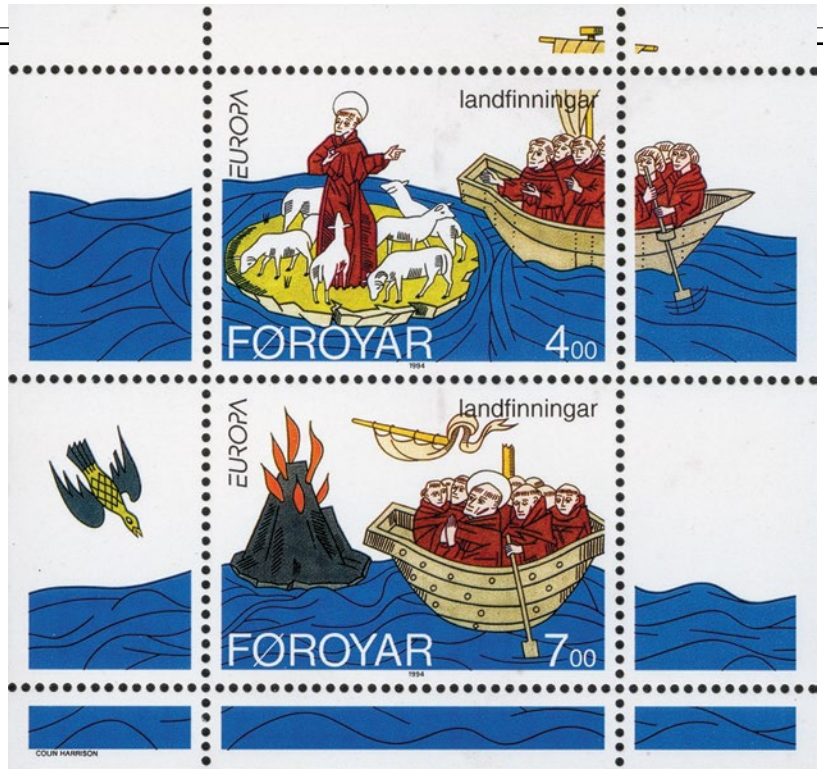
SAILOR-MONKS

This ancient Celtic penchant for travel, and especially seafaring, survived well into the Christian era, but the traditional narratives were heavily adapted for the church's use. For example while Irish monks and scholars wrote down immrama long after Ireland was Christianized (they had no qualms copying and retaining pre-Christian texts, whether from Ireland or the Continent), they frequently wove Christian themes into these texts, either by paralleling ancient Irish tales with biblical stories that, they claimed, happened at the same time or, as in the Brendan tales, by using traditional narrative styles to describe the lives of Christian saints.

This tradition of travel motivated the first Irish missionaries to set out to spread the gospel. While many Christian saints founded monasteries across the five provinces of Ireland, the quintessential Irish missionary took to the seas. It makes sense. An island-based religion needs a ship to spread.

In the mid-sixth century, for example, the previously referenced St. Columcille (Columba) sailed from Ireland to spread the gospel in Caledonia (Scotland) and its islands. He is best known for founding the Abbey on Iona, an island off the west coast of Scotland that would become one of the centers of Celtic monasticism and a launching point for missionary efforts to Scotland, lower Britain, Wales, and the Continent. To this day Iona is a popular site for religious pilgrims, New Age philosophers, artists, and of course, tourists.

To be sure, Columcille's motives for going to Scotland may not have been completely spiritual. According to one tradition, he was forced on his missionary journey as penance for his involvement in a battle in which 3,000 warriors were killed. He was to remain abroad until he converted as many souls as had died in the battle. But whatever the motive, the journey of Columcille over the seas was among the first of centuries of Celtic missionary efforts, missions that would stretch by sea



BRENDAN'S ODYSSEY BEGINS Off the beaten path near Cuas an Bhodaigh, a memorial to Brendan the Navigator faces the Atlantic (*above*). Tradition holds his legendary voyage started here. He sailed to new lands, including the Faroe Islands north of Scotland, as these stamps depict (*right*).

from Ireland to the lands and islands of Scotland, and from there across the known world.

While Columcille was one of the first seafaring missionaries, he was not the only one. In the late sixth century, Columbanus (540–615) was a respected scholar and teacher from Bangor Abbey in County Down, but his heart was beating to cross the sea as a missionary like his near contemporary Columcille. He eventually sailed and became personally responsible for the founding of monasteries in lands that are now France, Austria, and Italy.

Why are these sailor-monks so important to the history of Christianity and Christian missions? Simply because Celtic monasticism, steeped in lore about crossing the seas to spread the gospel, was instrumental in the molding of Christianity on the Continent well into the Middle Ages. When Emperor Charlemagne in the eighth century invited Irish monks to his court to teach his children, the monks brought not only the Bible and the classics, but also centuries worth of stories about Celtic sailors, pre-Christian and Christian, who took to the seas to fulfill their destinies. St. Brendan may have sailed to the west in search of the Promised Land, but his influence and that of his fellow monks was to be felt eastward across Europe for centuries to come.

THE SHIP AS MONASTIC COMMUNITY

One final recurring theme in the Brendan literature sets these texts apart from classical epics. Namely, the ship itself was essentially a monastery.

While it is easy, as we read these texts, to focus on the distant horizon with the monks as they look toward the next destination, we must not miss that they spent their time on the ship doing what monks did in monasteries across Christendom. They observed the monastic hours of prayer (Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline). The abbot priest (Brendan) celebrated Mass on a regular basis. The monks lived in obedience to the abbot. They lived their lives in relative seclusion. All of these were typical monastic customs performed in Glendalough, Iona, and at abbeys around the world.

The ship on which these sailor-monks cruised was not simply a vessel, an unremarkable means to a nautical end. It was in every sense an abbey where cloistered monks had built a monastic community. While the journey into the west may have been a sublime adventure, the very act of entering the ship was an act of monastic obedience and self-sacrifice. The daily monastic life at sea was as important to their spiritual lives as their destination.

In the centuries to come, Christian missions across the world would be inextricably tied to the sea. Whether one considers William Carey boarding a ship to India, the Twelve Apostles of Mexico sailing from Spain, or Adoniram Judson leaving Massachusetts to venture to India and Burma, one can trace a spiritual lineage to the young monk Brendan dreaming of the beckoning sea at Cuas an Bhodaigh. CH

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SAVIOR, PILOT ME Intercessory prayers and hymns comforted sailors with Christ's peace during the worst storms at sea.

Sea liturgies

Prayers and hymns for worship on the water

From the 1662 Book of Common Prayer (still the official prayer book of the Church of England), Forms of Prayer to Be Used at Sea:

O Eternal Lord God, who alone spreadest out the heavens, and rulest the raging of the sea; who hast compassed the waters with bounds until day and night come to an end: Be pleased to receive into thy Almighty and most gracious protection the persons of us thy servants, and the Fleet in which we serve. Preserve us from the dangers of the sea, and from the violence of the enemy; that we may be a safeguard unto our most gracious Sovereign Lord, King [or Queen] ____ , and his Dominions, and a security for such as pass on the seas upon their lawful occasions; that the inhabitants of our Island may in peace and quietness serve thee our God; and that we may return in safety to enjoy the blessings of the land, with the fruits of our labours; and with a thankful remembrance of thy mercies to praise and glorify thy holy Name; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

(*Specifically for use in a storm*)

O most glorious and gracious Lord God, who dwellest in heaven, but beholdest all things below: Look down, we beseech thee, and hear us, calling out of the depth of misery, and out of the jaws of this death, which is ready now to swallow us up: Save, Lord, or else we perish. The living, the living shall praise thee. O send thy word of command to rebuke the raging winds, and the roaring sea; that we, being delivered from this distress, may live to serve thee, and to glorify thy Name all the days of our life. Hear, Lord, and save us, for the infinite merits of our blessed Saviour, thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

From Navigation Spiritualized *(1664) by John Flavel (d. 1691), which used nautical metaphors to teach sailors about salvation:*

My soul's the sea, wherein,
from day to day,
Sins like Leviathans do sport and play.
Great master-lusts, with all the lesser try.
Therein increase, and strangely multiply.
—from chapter 3

Lord, rouse my drowsy soul,
lest it should knock,
And split itself upon some dangerous rock.
If it of faith and conscience shipwreck make,
I am undone for ever; soul, awake!
Till thou arrive in heav'n, watch, and fear;
Thou may'st not say. Till then, the coast is clear.
—from chapter 5

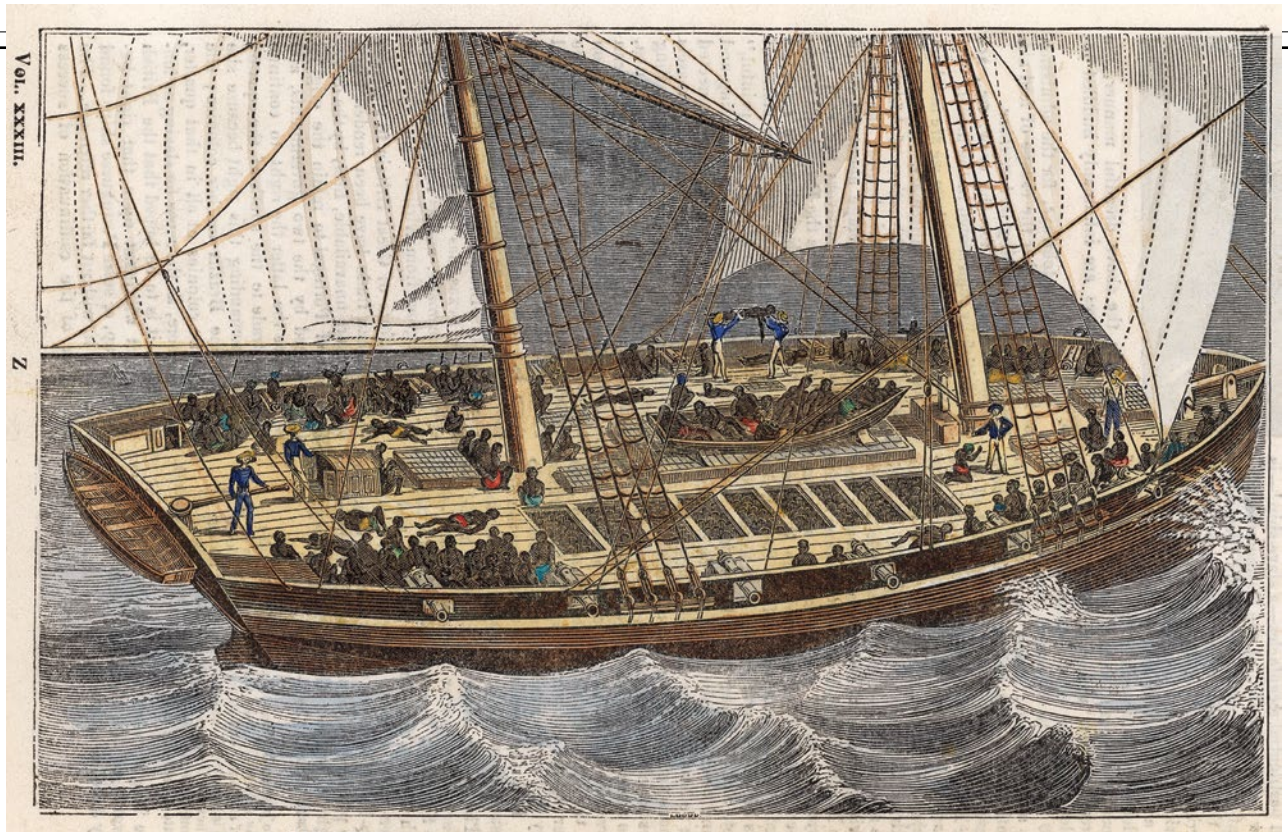
This 1871 hymn was written by Edward Hopper (1816–1888), who pastored a church for sailors and composed the hymn for a meeting of the Seamen's Friend Society. Another of his hymns is called "Wrecked and Struggling in Mid-ocean:"

Jesus, Savior, pilot me
over life's tempestuous sea:
unknown waves before me roll,
hiding rocks and treach'rous shoal.
Chart and compass come from Thee:
Jesus, Savior, pilot me.

US Navy Chief of Chaplains and Rear Admiral Neil M. Stevenson (1930–2009) prepared a book of prayers and worship resources for navy chaplains sometime in the 1980s. Here is one of his prayers:

Gracious Father, as we quiet ourselves for the evening, we ask you to bless the hand on the wheel, those who stand the night watches, and the snipes who keep the engines running. We thank you for their faithfulness and sense of duty. In their lonely hours may they talk to you. Amen. God, give us expectant hearts whenever we bow for prayer, for you have promised that if we ask, we shall receive. May we not face the duties of this night or tomorrow with the same old attitudes when you can give us a new spirit. Take away our depression and give us enthusiasm. We commit ourselves and those we love to your continued "watch care." Grant us quiet and refreshing rest, we pray. Amen.

CURRIER & IVES, *THE* MISSISSIPPI *STEAM FRIGATE IN A TYPHOON*, 1854 (LITHO). THE MARINER'S MUSEUM, NEWPORT NEWS, VA—BRIDGEMAN IMAGES



REPRESENTATION OF CAPTAIN HUNTLEY'S MODEL OF A SLAVE-SHIP (COLOURED ENGRAVING), FROM *THE MIRROR OF LITERATURE, AMUSEMENT AND INSTRUCTION*, 1 JUNE 1839—LOOK AND LEARN / PETER JACKSON COLLECTION / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

Transatlantic tragedy

THE SLAVE TRADE THAT CAME BY SEA

Lawrence A. Clayton

In 1516, to preserve the rapidly dwindling Taíno population of the island of Española (Hispaniola in English-language histories), Bartolomé de Las Casas (1484–1566), a Dominican friar and activist, suggested importing some Black and White slaves from Castile. Though Las Casas became well known for his insistent appeals and attempts to end exploitation of vulnerable peoples, he has been pilloried ever since for hypocritically advocating the initiation of the African slave trade in the Western Hemisphere to do so.

But what did Las Casas really advocate? Was he the first to do so as so many have claimed? Did he sustain and defend his advocacy of the slave trade over the years? Perhaps most important, how does he fit into the origins and nature of the African slave trade?

AN ESTABLISHED SYSTEM

Las Casas had, in fact, nothing to do with initiation of the slave trade. In the decades before Columbus's first voyage of discovery in 1492–93, the nascent Portuguese maritime empire had been pushing down the coast of Africa. Portuguese mariners—as they explored for trading and commercial opportunities further south along the African coast—arrived around Senegal and captured some Africans to take back to Portugal and sell into slavery.

A COSTLY TRADE An 1839 engraving details the cruel conditions on slave ships. Twenty percent or more of the captives aboard would die before the journey's end.

Soon thereafter they discovered that it was more efficient, less confrontational, and quite a bit safer to deal directly with African kings and chiefs and their representatives along the coast and up the rivers of West Africa, buying instead slaves offered for sale by Africans themselves. Thus began the trade of enslaved Africans to Europeans via seafaring.

Interesting questions frame this story. How was the African slave system organized so that the Portuguese could apparently tap so easily into it? How strongly was slavery embedded into African culture and history? What was it about the initial Portuguese voyage that eventually transformed this somewhat less harsh but widespread form of slavery in Africa into the nightmarish slave voyages of Africans to the New World?

We know that the Portuguese slave trade simply took advantage of a slave system already well developed in West Africa. Recent research has shown clearly that African slavery flourished in precolonial African empires such as Dahomey and Ashanti (modern Benin and Ghana). Furthermore, the growth and development of this widespread

slavery in Africa occurred outside of the Atlantic trade. As historian John Thornton writes:

> The slave trade (and the Atlantic trade in general) should not be seen as an "impact" brought in from outside and functioning as some sort of autonomous factor in African history. Instead, it grew out of and was rationalized by the African societies who participated in it and had complete control over it until the slaves were loaded onto European ships for transfer to Atlantic societies.

Additionally, new research has disproven the preconception of Europeans controlling the slave trade and imposing themselves with unequivocal power and authority over a passive African society.

Indeed early Portuguese attempts to seize scores of slaves either on offshore islands or from the mainland and river estuaries backfired. While one of the first expeditions to the Senegal River region led by Lanzarote de Lagos in 1444 was successful in capturing some people by force, within a few years Africans organized their naval forces with enough prowess to repel subsequent Portuguese expeditions. Thornton notes,

> In 1446 a ship under Nuno Tristão attempting to land an armed force in the Senegambian region was attacked by African vessels, and the Africans succeeded in killing nearly all the invaders.

In 1456 the Portuguese Crown sent Diogo Gomes "to negotiate treaties of peace and commerce with the African rulers of the coast" to establish some peaceful ground rules for the slave trade since the Portuguese realized early on they could not impose their will on the region. Having done so successfully, Portuguese and Africans settled into a routine of sorts for the rest of the fifteenth century.

COLONIZING AND THE CROSS

While this in no way mitigates the terrifying dimensions of the slave voyages—which included the grossly inhumane practice of shackling hundreds of people side by side for the weeks-long journey with no dignity for the sick and dying, as well as cruel punishment for objection to the conditions—it does give some credence to the Portuguese position that they were simply trafficking in people already in bondage, thus making the slave trade both legal and socially acceptable. (Las Casas would criticize slave voyages and such notions 100 years later in his massive *History of the Indies*.)

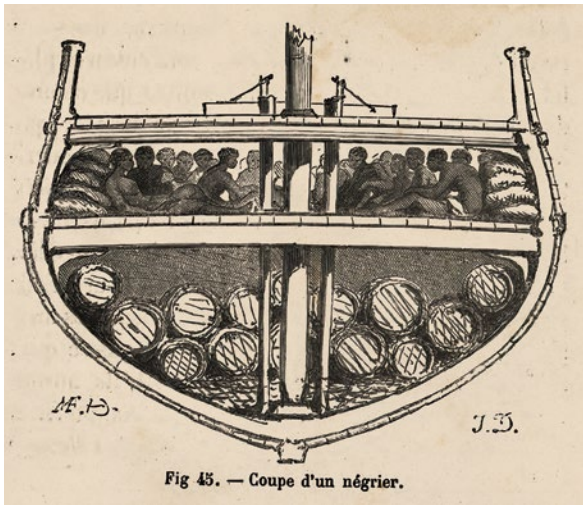


Fig 45. — Coupe d'un négrier.

A TERRIBLE FATE Ghanaians bring captives to sell to waiting ships in this 1730 engraving (*top*). Human trafficking between Westerners and coastal Africans was well established by this time. Despite societal acceptance, the trade's consequences were no less horrific (*above*).

By the time the young Las Casas reached the Indies for the first time in 1502 in the same fleet that carried the new governor, Comendador Nícolas de Ovando, to Santo Domingo, the Portuguese had been importing African slaves into Iberia for half a century.

Las Casas had followed his father overseas as a colonist himself, part of an arrangement to grow the Spanish settlements on the islands that Columbus had newly discovered and claimed. But as the young man grew in his Christian faith, his experience in the settlements shocked him.

Between 1502 and 1510, Las Casas witnessed the ruthless subjugation of the Taínos on the island of Española by Spanish conquistadors and settlers. Driven by unbridled greed, they exploited the Taínos through outright slavery or by applying the *encomienda* (a Spanish royal decree that gave colonists the right to force labor and tribute). After witnessing one particularly senseless and brutal massacre in 1514 near the River Caonao in central Cuba, Las Casas broke rank with his fellow settlers.

Unable to convince the conquistadors to reform their behavior consistent with Christian values, Las Casas

WILLIAM SMITH (ARTIST), *PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE SLAVE COAST FOR THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY*, 1730 (ENGRAVING)—FROM THE BRITISH LIBRARY ARCHIVE / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES
MOREL-FATIO (ILLUSTRATOR), *COUPE D'UN NÉGRIER* (ENGRAVING), IN LÉON RENARD, *L'ART NAVAL*, 4E ÉD., BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE MERVEILLES (PARIS, HACHETTE ET CIE., 1881), FIG. 45 ON P. 181—PUBLIC DOMAIN, THE HATHI TRUST DIGITAL LIBRARY

FAILED REFORMERS **Both activist Bartolomé de Las Casas (*below*) and Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (*below right*) attemped to reform exploitative practices on Hispaniola, but ultimately they could not thwart the colonists' greed. Las Casas's solution to bring Africans to the islands (*right*) to spare the indigenous population had disastrous results.**

returned to Spain in 1515 to lay out his appeal directly before King Ferdinand (1452–1516). Although Ferdinand died before he could do much, the regent Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517) did authorize a reform of administration on Hispaniola. Las Casas accompanied some Hieronymite friars sent by Cisneros in 1516 to make things right on the island. But they failed. Openly frustrated with the Hieronymites as well as with the settlers, Las Casas turned to another solution that eventually haunted him the rest of his life—giving the colonists licenses to import African slaves to the islands. The colonists agreed.

Las Casas would do anything to lift the burden of oppression and death off the Taínos. Typically tunnel-visioned, he picked up on the idea, and, back in Spain in 1517 through 1519, he suggested to young King Charles's (1500–1558) counselors that a license be issued to import slaves directly from Spain or Africa to the islands. Later he reflected on this:

> This suggestion to issue a license to bring Negro slaves to the Indies was made first by the cleric Casas [he frequently wrote of himself in the third person], not seeing how unjust the Portuguese were in taking slaves [on the coast of Africa]. Later on he realized how unjustly and tyrannically Africans were taken slaves, in the same fashion as Indians.

Two sides of Las Casas's character emerge from this episode. One, Las Casas was quite honest in his admission of shortsightedness; and two, he was totally devoted to the Indians, so much so that he failed initially to see the implications of advocating licenses to import African slaves.

BLOOD AND GREED

So, the call went down to Seville. They thought that 4,000 slaves would do for the four islands of Española, San Juan [Puerto Rico], Cuba, and Jamaica.

There was money to be made in this transaction, and a Flemish gentleman in Charles's court, the governor of Bressa, Lorenzo de Gorrevod (or Gouvenot, c. 1470–1529), quickly petitioned the king to award him the license to import slaves to the Indies. Then he sold (or subcontracted) the licenses to some Genoese in Seville, the brothers Centurione (Melchor, Gaspar, Martín, Esteban, and Luis), and their associates in banking and slave trading—Nicolás Grimaldi and Agustín Vibaldi—for 25,000 ducats (about 4 million US dollars today). The Genoese negotiated a monopoly for the next eight years. They eventually earned over 300,000 ducats on the business, selling their licenses and the Africans for a huge profit. The sea voyages from Africa to the New World colonies were well underway.

Las Casas came to rue the African slave suggestion—while it was meant to lift the terrible burden of exploitation from the native people, in the end the Taínos remained "in captivity until there were none left to kill," and Black slavery spread like a stain across the New World. In 1522 Las Casas joined the Dominican order and began a 50-year-long ministry of missions, abolitionism, and advocacy for vulnerable peoples.

Even so, what had started out as a small effort to reduce the suffering of the Native Americans turned into a growing sea trade in human beings from Africa directly to the plantations of the Americas. CH

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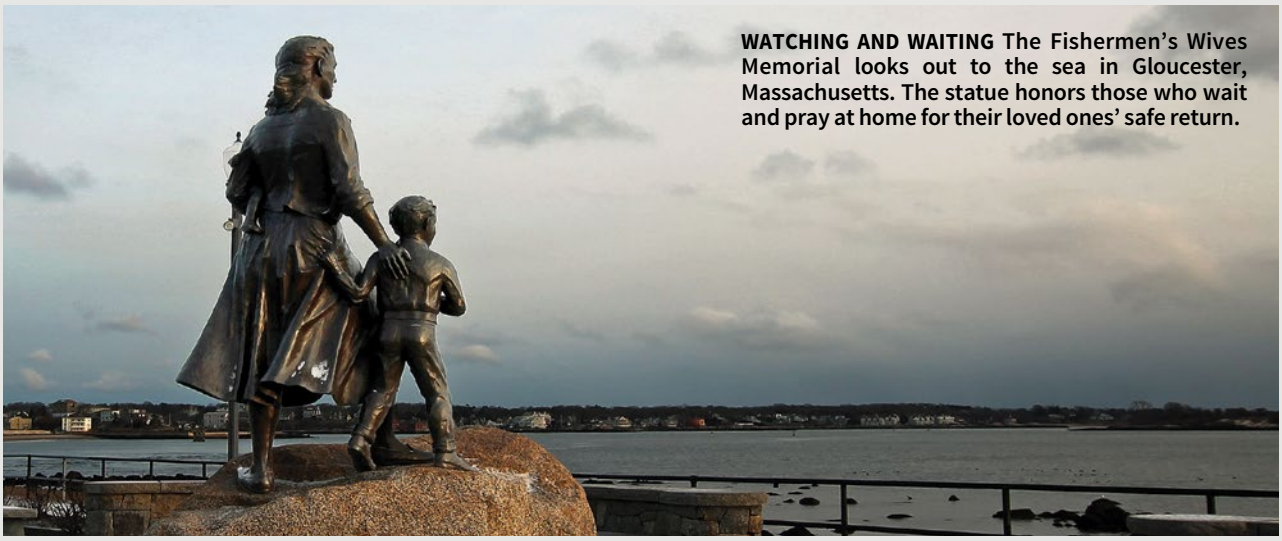
FELCH-RICHES, *THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE* (ENGRAVING). IN WILLIAM BLAKE, *THE HISTORY OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE, ANCIENT AND MODERN* (COLUMBUS, OH: J. & H. MILLER, 1858), 112—LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA
BARTOLOME' DE LAS CASAS, 16TH CENTURY. BIBLIOTECA COLOMBINA, SEVILLE, SPAIN—WIKIMEDIA COMMONS
JUAN DE BORGONA, FRANCISCO JIMÉNEZ DE CISNEROS, c. 1514. SALA CAPITULAR, CATEDRAL DE TOLEDO—WIKIMEDIA COMMONS



WATCHING AND WAITING The Fishermen's Wives Memorial looks out to the sea in Gloucester, Massachusetts. The statue honors those who wait and pray at home for their loved ones' safe return.

Faith to face the deep

A look at the traditions that sailing communities carried across the Atlantic

For generations Sicilian and Portuguese fishermen in Gloucester, Massachusetts, have lived with the sea's beauty and its terror. Their work demands skill, endurance, and courage, yet even the most seasoned crews acknowledge that knowledge alone cannot tame the deep. Their response has always been a blend of superstition, ritual, and profound faith. These practices were carried across the Atlantic and adapted to the harsh realities of New England's oldest fishing port.

VIGILS FOR SAFE RETURNS

Among Sicilian families, devotion to St. Joseph remains central. Home altars are carefully tended by wives, mothers, and grandmothers who serve as spiritual bulwarks against the dangers offshore. (For both Sicilian and Portuguese fishing communities, men and women typically work in traditional roles.) These women negotiate with St. Joseph on behalf of their husbands, praying for safe return, steady hands, and intact limbs. Their homes function as sanctuaries, places where fear is named and faith is exercised with fierce determination. The Gloucester wives understand themselves as partners in the labor of fishing: the men battle the sea, and the women battle the unseen.

Portuguese fishermen, many with roots in the Azores, practice their own constellation of beliefs. Some old rituals persist: no fishing on Fridays, burning herbs aboard to ward off evil spirits, and keeping Marian statues in the home. In Tunaville, the Portuguese enclave on the US West Coast, families once hung brooms upside down to keep witches from entering the house. These traditions, though sometimes dismissed as quaint, reflect a worldview shaped by generations who knew the sea as both provider and predator.

The most visible expression of Portuguese faith in Gloucester is Our Lady of Good Voyage Roman Catholic Church. Modeled after Santa Maria Madalena in the Azores, the church's towers flank a statue of Mary cradling a two-masted schooner. Illuminated at night she faces the harbor, guiding vessels home. For fishermen and their families, she is not merely symbolic; she is protector, intercessor, and companion in the long vigil for safe return.

Superstition and faith intertwine in the daily rhythms of these communities. Fishermen avoid bananas on board, believing they bring bad luck. They distrust certain omens, read the behavior of seabirds, and carry tokens blessed by priests or given by wives. These practices reflect the cultural vocabulary of people who confront danger as a condition of their livelihood.

ARMED WITH FAITH

Public memorials reinforce this shared identity. The iconic Fisherman's Memorial known as "The Man at the Wheel" stands watch over the harbor with its inscription from Psalm 107: "They that go down to the sea in ships." Nearby the Fishermen's Wives Memorial honors the women whose steadfast faith sustains their families. Together these monuments testify to a community shaped by loss, endurance, and hope.

Even as the industry shifts toward multinational corporations and smaller fleets diminish, the spiritual traditions of Gloucester's Sicilian and Portuguese families endure. Their superstitions, rituals, and devotions are not relics of the past but living responses to the ever-present uncertainty of the sea. Armed with faith, memory, and love, they continue to face the deep with courage.

—Daniel F. Flores, senior librarian and associate professor of Wesleyan studies at Gordon Conwell Theological Seminary

NEWELL CONVERS WYETH. *THE DEPARTURE OF THE* MAYFLOWER *FOR ENGLAND IN 1621*. 1941 (OIL ON CANVAS)—BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

Venturing upon rude waves

CHRISTIANITY'S SPREAD BY SEA IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

John B. Carpenter

For nearly two millennia, the expansion of Christianity was measured in knots rather than frequent-flyer miles. This was no less true during the age of European exploration—to go out, Western missionaries had to cast themselves on the waves. Some were explorers first, who went out as missionaries, and some were missionaries foremost, piggybacking on explorers.

Regardless of the reason, as Increase Mather (1639–1723), the leading Puritan light of New England's second generation, reported,

> It was a great and high undertaking of our fathers when they ventured themselves and their little ones upon the rude waves of the vast ocean that so they might follow the Lord into his land.

They dared cross the ocean not to be free of religion, but to be free *for* God.

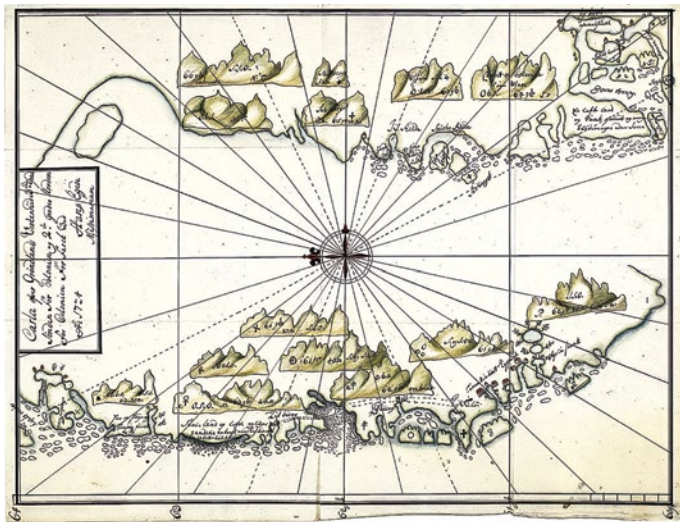
THE GREAT MIGRATION A 20th-c. painting by Newell Convers Wyeth captures the *Mayflower*'s departure for England from the Pilgrims' perspective. Thousands more colonists would follow them, despite dangers at sea.

SEABORNE FAITH

For the Puritans who came to New England, the ocean was a testament to the depths of their commitment to found (as historian Perry Miller called it) a "Bible commonwealth" on the western shore of the Atlantic. On April 8, 1630, the *Arbella*, flagship of the 11-ship Winthrop fleet, set sail from Southampton for the fledgling Massachusetts Bay Colony. It carried poet Anne Bradstreet (1612–1672); Lady Arbella Johnson (1597–1630), for whom the ship was renamed from *Eagle*; and their governor, John Winthrop (1588–1649). Either dockside before launching or during the otherwise uneventful voyage, Winthrop took the opportunity to deliver one of the most foundational orations in all American history: "A Model of Christian Charity."

Winthrop told his fellow Puritans that they were venturing forth to plant "a City upon a Hill," drawing on Matthew 5:14. He called them to "let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works and glorify your Father which is in heaven." These Puritans were not mere refugees fleeing persecution; they were missionaries intent on setting up a light to the nations, to establish a base for the conversion of the world. Winthrop told them, "The eyes of all people are upon us," as they crossed the pond.

The language he used—"as we are now"—referred to their seaborne context. "We are entered into covenant with [God] for this work. . . . Now if the Lord shall please to hear us, and bring us in peace to the place we desire. . . ." Their arrival depended on God's will. They had no assurance



APOSTLE OF GREENLAND Norwegian missionary Hans Egede mapped coastal Greenland (*above*), where he sailed hoping to evangelize lost Norse colonies. He found the Inuit instead. He stayed to translate and preach the gospel in their language (*left*).

LOUIS MOE (ILLUSTRATOR), *HANS EGEDE PAA GRØNLAND, 1898* (HELSIDESBILLEDE). *DANMARKS HISTORIE I BILLEDER, XLIV*. KØBENHAVN: ALFRED JACOBSENS LITOGR. ETABLISSEMENT, 1898—PROJEK RUNEBERG, HTTPS://RUNEBERG.ORG/DAHIBILL/0191.HTML
HANS EGEDE, MAP OF THE VICINITY OF HOPE ISLAND (HÅBETS Ø), GREENLAND, JANUARY 1, 1722—ROYAL DANISH LIBRARY / PUBLIC DOMAIN, WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

they would make it across the Atlantic. Winthrop warned that if they should fail to keep their covenant with God and "embrace this present world and prosecute our carnal intentions," the result would be a "shipwreck" of the colony.

With the typical journey from England to America lasting about two months, such shipwrecks and failures remained ever-present realities. Even so the first "Pilgrims" (Puritans who came on the *Mayflower*) made passage in hopeful faith. Their ship, and those that followed, became makeshift towns where life and worship went on—albeit changed by the sea.

For example a child born on the *Mayflower* in 1620 was fittingly named "Oceanus" (Latin for ocean). Thirteen years later, John Cotton's (1585–1652) wife, Sarah, would give birth to a son on board the *Griffin* and name him "Seaborn."

Upon arrival at Cape Cod on November 11, 1620, the Pilgrims used the *Mayflower* as their floating home for 33 days before transferring permanently to America. Meanwhile they drafted and signed the Mayflower Compact. John Quincy Adams, in an 1802 oration at Plymouth, described the compact as the "precursor of that which now extends over this whole Union." Like the Cottons' son, it was sea-born.

With the *Arbella* and Winthrop's landmark "Model of Christian Charity" sermon began the "great migration" of the 1630s. Over the next decade, some 20,000 English people, mostly Puritans, crossed the Atlantic to plant "a City upon a Hill." The "grandfather of modern missions," John Eliot (1604–1690), explained that his reason for coming to New England was "to enjoy the holy worship of God, not according to the fantasies of men but according to the Word of God, without . . . human additions and novelties."

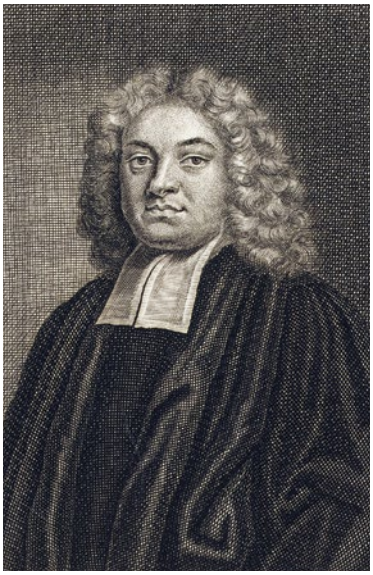
But with great reward came great risk. Each voyage carried the relatively high possibility of being lost at sea. Seventeenth-century ships were small, incomparably smaller than ships used today. For instance a modern giant cruise ship like the *Icon of the Seas*—over 1,000 feet long and 200 feet wide—dwarfs the 100-foot-long, 25-foot-wide *Mayflower*, much the same way a floating hotel would dwarf a compact car. Furthermore less-sophisticated technology made navigation more difficult and dangerous.

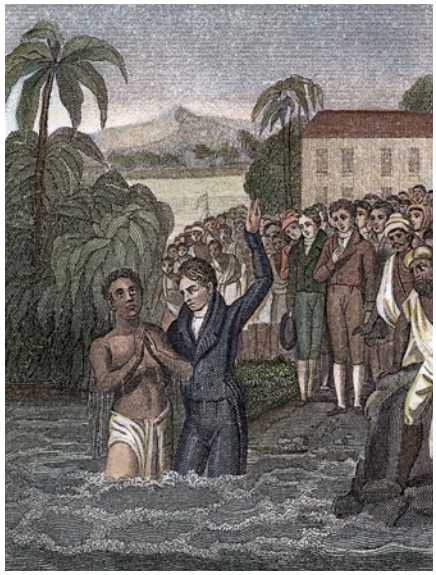
Frequently such shipwrecks meant that no one ever heard from the passengers or crew again, a fate that fell upon Cotton Mather's son, Increase "Creasy" Mather (lost at sea in 1724, not to be confused with Cotton Mather's father of the same name). Ships also hosted diseases, which passed quickly in the cramped quarters. Whether by sickness or shipwreck, death loomed close at hand.

COLONIES AND CROSSES

Besides those sailing to New England, Protestant missionaries piggybacked onto colonial expansion to take the cross wherever their flag was sailing. Heinrich Plütschau (1677–1752) and Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1683–1719), German Pietists, were the first Protestant missionaries to disembark in India in 1706, nearly a century before William Carey (1761–1834). They sailed on the Danish ship *Sophia*, enduring a brutal voyage, especially because the captain, out of spite, threatened to throw them overboard. They spent the seven-month journey studying Portuguese and the Bible. When they landed in the Danish trading post of Tranquebar, the colonial governor refused to let them enter for days, confining them to the beach in the scorching sun.

Hans Egede (1686–1758), a Norwegian Lutheran pastor, ventured on the *Haabet* (*Hope*) to Greenland in 1721 with his wife and four children. He was hoping to find lost Norse (Viking) colonies that had not been heard from in 300 years, fearing they had reverted to paganism. He found no Vikings, only Inuits. He stayed to minister to them, learning their language, and translating the Gospels (famously contextualizing "Lamb of God" to "Seal of God" so the Inuit could understand the concept of a sacrificed





MISSIONARY MARINERS The modern missions movement started in the age of sail with men such as Puritans John Winthrop (*far right*) and John Eliot (*right*), who sailed to America. Others traveled even farther. German Pietist Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (*below right*) went to India, years before William Carey (*below far right*).

JOHN ELIOT, 17TH CENTURY (OIL ON CANVAS)—© HUNTINGTON ART COLLECTIONS / © HUNTINGTON LIBRARY, ART MUSEUM, AND BOTANICAL GARDENS / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES • JOHN WINTHROP, c. 1800, AFTER EARLY 17TH CENTURY ORIGINAL (OIL ON CANVAS)—GIFT OF DR. AND MRS. R. TED STEINBOCK / [CC0 1.0] NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION • BARTHOLOMAEUS ZIEGENBALG, MISNENSIS SAXO. ECCLESIS EX INDIS COLLECTAE PRAPOSITUS (KUPFERSTICH)—[PDM 1.0] STAATS- UND UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK HAMBURG • *WILLIAM CAREY BAPTIZING THE FIRST HINDU CONVERT, A CARPENTER NAMED KRISTNO, IN THE HOOGHLY RIVER, INDIA, 1837* (AMERICAN LINE ENGRAVING)—SARIN IMAGES / GRANGER HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE

innocent animal). He earned the title "Apostle of Greenland."

The Moravian Brethren were arguably the first Protestants to send missionaries overseas on a large scale (see *CH* #1). In 1732 Johann Leonhard Dober (1706–1766) and David Nitschmann (1676–1758) sailed to St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, willing to sell themselves into slavery to minister to enslaved Africans. The next year Christian David (1692–1751) sailed on the ship *Caritas* to Greenland, then after three years migrated to Pennsylvania, where he helped found Bethlehem.

MADMEN MISSIONARIES

In 1735 a team of Moravians, led by August Spangenberg (1704–1792) and David Nitschmann, "the Bishop" (1696–1772), sailed on the *Simmonds* from England to the new colony of Georgia. Amid a tumultuous storm that shredded the ship's mainsail, the English passengers screamed in terror while the Moravians sang psalms. Their composure impressed a pair of brothers and Anglican ministers on board: John (1703–1791) and Charles Wesley (1707–1788).

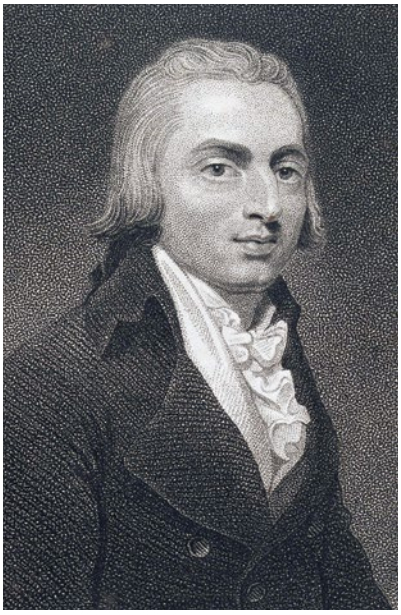
The Wesley brothers boarded the *Simmonds* to bring their brand of ascetic Anglicanism to Georgia, founded only three years earlier in 1732. John kept his strict religious methods on board, rising at 4:00 a.m. for prayer. However, when the terrifying storm struck, John saw that he lacked the faith and peace of the Moravians. Wesley went to America to convert others, but it was a mid-Atlantic storm that revealed his own faith crisis (see *CH* #69). Failing as a missionary, he returned to London, wondering, "I went to America to convert the Indians; but oh, who shall convert me?" The Moravians' example in the tempest was the catalyst for his Aldersgate renewal experience and everything else that flowed from it, including Methodism and Wesley's impact on the Great Awakening.

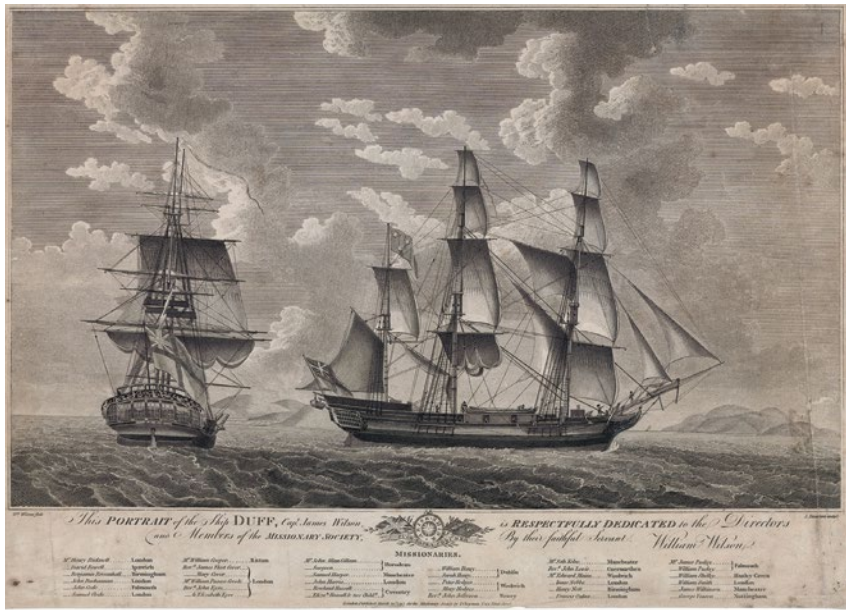
A friend of the Wesley brothers and a chief igniter of the Great Awakening was also a frequent sea traveler. George Whitefield (1714–1770) spent a cumulative two years aboard ships, crossing the Atlantic 13 times. Far from treating these long voyages as idle downtime, Whitefield transformed the decks of vessels such as the *Whitaker* into floating parishes (see *CH* #38). Like Wesley he adhered to a disciplined schedule that began as early as 4:00 a.m. for private prayer and Scripture reading on his knees. He wrote, during a 1739 voyage, "I spent most of the day in reading, and was much assisted in the study of the Greek Testament. I find it a great advantage to be at sea; for here I have no interruptions, but can wait upon God without distraction."

He evangelized his fellow passengers, preached extemporaneous sermons, and conducted services on the open deck—once called a "madman" by a ship's captain for doing so. On a 1740 trip, he wrote, "The smell of the ship is very offensive . . . and the motion so great that I can scarce stand. But what are these small things to the joy of seeing souls brought to Christ?"

When not preaching or catechizing children, he was writing his prolific journals and letters. Upon disembarking he would send them to the printer to publicize his revivals, effectively turning the tedious months of isolation at sea into a publicity engine for his ministry.

William Carey, crowned the "father of modern missions," left for India in 1793, enkindled by John Eliot's example. However, the British East India Company, hostile to missionaries, refused to take him. Carey was kicked





A NEW RETIREMENT PLAN Adventurer James Wilson (*left*) became a Christian late in life, after retiring from the East India Company. He returned to the sea with the London Missionary Society as captain of the *Duff* (*above*), a ship used to evangelize the Pacific Islands.

off an English ship before finding a Danish captain willing to take him illegally (see *CH* #36). The voyage around the perilous Cape of Good Hope took five months, during which Carey began studying Bengali.

By 1796 the London Missionary Society saw the value of owning its own ship, rather than depending on the whims of trading companies. It purchased the *Duff*. Captain James Wilson (1760–1814), himself a former prisoner of war who converted to Christianity, piloted the ship carrying 30 missionaries to Tahiti, Tonga, and the Marquesas. They brought not only ordained clergy but also artisans like carpenters and blacksmiths to the indigenous people. It was one of the longest missionary voyages of the time, navigating virtually uncharted waters. Some of the missionaries were martyred; others fled. But they opened new mission fields in the Pacific to Christianity (see pp. 44–46).

Perhaps winning the prize for most nautical miles sailed, Thomas Coke (1747–1814), a Methodist missionary, crossed the Atlantic 18 times, going to and from England, America, and the Caribbean. Finally, at age 66, Coke set sail for Ceylon (Sri Lanka) on board the East India ship *Cabalva*. En route he died of a "fit of apoplexy" (likely a stroke). Buried at sea in the Indian Ocean, he became a symbol of missionary sacrifice.

John Newton (1725–1807) was a sailor on the *Greyhound* in 1748 when it was caught in a violent storm near Ireland that nearly wrecked the ship. In fear for his life, he cried out, "Lord, have mercy upon us," which became a step to his eventual spiritual awakening that finally turned him against the slave trade. It was the seed that later bore fruit in the hymn "Amazing Grace." The line "precious did that grace appear" refers specifically to the moment of the *Greyhound*'s near wreck.

Finally, two of America's first official missionaries, Adoniram Judson (1788–1850) and his wife, Ann (1789–1826), left for India on the *Caravan* in 1812. Their voyage is famous for moving them both geographically and theologically. They left America as Congregationalists but arrived in India as Baptists (see *CH* #90). During the four-month voyage, Adoniram studied his Greek New Testament to prepare to refute the Baptists he would meet in India. Instead Adoniram became convinced of believer's baptism. When they landed in Calcutta, they resigned from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which he had helped found, and joined the Baptists, eventually becoming the first American missionaries to Burma (Myanmar).

MODERN MARITIME MESSENGERS

Though ship-based ministry looks different from that of preceding centuries, it continues to this day. Mercy Ships, for example, operate the world's largest nongovernmental hospital ships, providing free medical care to some of the poorest nations, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. Similarly, Operation Mobilisation (OM) operates the Logos fleet, including *Logos*, *Logos II*, *Logos Hope*, and *Doulos*, offering at their ports of call Christian literature, education, cross-cultural exchange, and evangelism. Today the ship is no longer just the vehicle; it is the venue.

From the "rude waves" of the "great migration" to today's maritime messengers, the ocean has not just been a delay or obstacle. It has been a floating sanctuary and a crucible of faith. CH

John B. Carpenter is pastor of Covenant Reformed Baptist Church in Providence, NC, and the author of Seven Pillars of a Biblical Church *and the Covenant Caswell Substack.*

FREEMAN (ENGRAVER), CAPTAIN WILSON, IN *A MISSIONARY VOYAGE TO THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC OCEAN, PERFORMED IN THE YEARS 1796, 1797, 1798, IN THE SHIP* DUFF, *COMMANDED BY CAPTAIN JAMES WILSON* (LONDON: T. GILLET FOR T. CHAPMAN, 1799). FRONTISPIECE—INTERNET ARCHIVE / WIKIMEDIA COMMONS
WILLIAM WILSON ("FECIT") AND J. SAUNDERS ("SCULPT."), *PORTRAIT OF THE SHIP* DUFF *IN TWO POSITIONS*, 1797 (ENGRAVING)—© NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM, GREENWICH, LONDON / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

"What shall we do with a drunken sailor?"

Alcohol, reform, and the American seafarer

Drunken sailors are the stuff of legend. Indeed it would be difficult to find a maritime film or piece of literature without one—alcohol is part of the swashbuckling stereotype. That is particularly true of those who lived in the age of sail.

Sailors ranked among the most ardent imbibers in a fledgling "alcoholic republic," as historian W. J. Rorabaugh called it, building a robust culture of drinking dense with distinctive rituals, norms, and songs. Sea captains often complained that sailors' drunkenness interfered with duty. In nineteenth-century America, the passion for drink became part of sailors' special reputation for disorder and wickedness.

DRINKING DANGERS An 1820s pamphlet shows sailors drinking as a storm overtakes a ship outside. Ministries to seafarers sought to address the problems caused by this drinking culture.

SORROW AT SEA

Sailors of this era, however, had more cause to drink than most. Like those who giddily go to war, first-time sailors often found themselves rudely awakened with backbreaking toil and profound, extended discomfort. Signing on to a sailing vessel meant adventure—but also a sharp separation from family, friends, congregations, and society at large, and entry into a hypermasculine culture that scorned weakness and virtue.

Common sailors were completely subordinate to officers and subject to brutal treatment, including corporal punishments like flogging. Desertion was commonplace. As the century advanced, fewer American farmers' sons and middle-class people went to sea, leaving ships to be crewed by poor and desperate men without alternatives. As one pastor in Honolulu preached in 1843, citing Jeremiah, "there is sorrow upon the sea." Alcohol was one of the few comforts available to contend with that sorrow.

New empathy for the hard lot of mariners appeared early in the nineteenth century as moral horizons expanded to include previously neglected categories of people: slaves, drunkards, prostitutes, and convicted criminals. Sailors, many now saw, were also profoundly disadvantaged. The events of the War of 1812 recast sailors as a manly, brave, and generous class of fellow citizens. Consequently maritime reform sprang up in American port cities, where voluntary societies emerged and launched an unprecedented evangelization and reform of seafaring men (see pp. 31–34; 36–38).

TEMPERING THE SEA

Many maritime reformers also came to embrace the temperance movement, the largest and most powerful of all social reform movements of the period. Maritime reformers attempted to bring temperance to hard-drinking sailors and aboard the ships they operated. Not surprisingly this proved an uphill battle, but maritime temperance advocates were remarkably successful. Many sailors knew the detriments of alcohol through experience. Reformers also scored a major win through collusion with maritime insurance companies, who agreed to cut their rates for "temperance ships"—ships that went to sea alcohol free and thus at a decreased risk of accident and loss. Many commercial shipowners made this transition, and their crews became temperate not by persuasion but as a condition of service. Reformers and evangelists assiduously made the case to sailors for a life free from alcohol.

Since the collapse of Prohibition, historians have often scoffed at temperance reform, and overdrawn reform propaganda has made that easy. Temperance engravings and lithographs of the nineteenth century depict an inevitable arc of decline for those who used alcohol, from health and prosperity into a spiraling doom of poverty, insanity, and suicide. Sailors are, incidentally, often featured in these scenes which regularly portray domestic violence and weeping wives and children.

Still these scenes were rooted in ugly realities. Reformers and clergy who advocated temperance were among the few attempting to curb the most widespread form of substance abuse in an era without modern mental health professionals or rehabilitation clinics. Given how desirable alcohol remained to Americans in general and to seamen in particular, success in these efforts was always limited. Reformers did, however, produce critical interventions for individuals seeking personal renewal. Their reputation as hard drinkers notwithstanding, many sailors were dissatisfied with the alcoholic conventions and excesses of maritime life; Christian reformers were among the first to present an alternative.—*Ryan G. Tobler, lecturer in American Studies and Theology, Universität Heidelberg*

THE SEAMAN'S SPY-GLASS; OR, GOD'S WAYS AND WORKS DISCOVERED AT SEA. AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY, [1820S]. COVER (DETAIL)—RYAN TOBLER

Christianity on the seas


Medieval icon of Mary and child

c. 2000 BC The Mesopotamian creation myth, *Enuma Elish*, is recorded, which claims the primordial sea deity Tiamat birthed the first gods.

c. 750 BC The events of the book of Jonah likely take place during the reign of Israel's King Jeroboam II.

c. 30 AD Jesus calms a storm on the Sea of Galilee.

c. 46 Paul sets out across the Mediterranean Sea for his first missionary journey. Christianity spreads to port cities of the Roman Empire.

c. 60 On their way to Rome, Paul and other prisoners are shipwrecked on Malta after a severe storm.

270 Nicholas of Myra is born in the Mediterranean port city of Patara. Legend holds that Nicholas rebukes and calms a storm as he sails to the Holy Land. He is later venerated as a patron saint of sailors and fishermen.

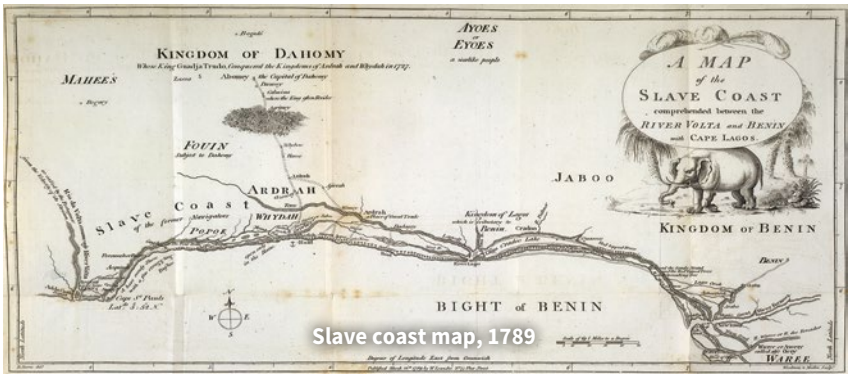
c. 400s Early medieval sources ascribe the title "Stella Maris" to Mary, the mother of Jesus. Mary becomes an enduring figure in mariners' religious lives; Stella Maris coastal churches spring up, fostering a strong religious devotion to Mary that continues for centuries.

c. 484 Brendan the Navigator, an Irish monk and priest, whose legendary sea missions are recorded in the ninth-century text *Voyage of Saint Brendan the Navigator*, is born.

c. 550 Columcille (or Columba), an Irish abbot and missionary, sails near Scotland and founds the abbey on the island of Iona. Other Irish monks sail the world and do the same. Masses and Christian practices become common aboard sailing vessels.

995 Olaf Trygvasson sails from England back to Norway to become king and convert his people, having earlier been baptized a Christian.

c. 1180 The Judgments of Oléron, laws governing maritime conduct, require better care of seafarers at the captain's expense.



Slave coast map, 1789


American Seamen's Friend Society, 1844

1444 Portuguese mariners capture Africans along the West Africa coast, initiating a slave trade that eventually crosses the Atlantic Ocean.

1492 Christopher Columbus sails west and reaches an island in the Bahamas (the Indies), ushering in the age of exploration. Rapid colonization follows.

1502 Bartolomé de Las Casas voyages to the Indies and witnesses the brutal exploitation of the Taíno population.

1517 Las Casas sails back to Spain to intercede for indigenous peoples by suggesting importation of African slaves to the Indies.

1620 The *Mayflower* arrives at Cape Cod on November 11.

c. 1630 Settlers, mostly Puritans, begin to cross the Atlantic for New England in the "great migration."

1662 The Book of Common Prayer is amended to include forms of prayer to be used at sea. Devotional guides and prayer books for sailors begin to circulate widely among crews.

1664 John Favel writes *Navigation Spiritualized* to teach sailors about salvation.

1706 German Pietists Heinrich Plütschau and Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg sail to India as missionaries.

THE MIRACLE OF THE VIRGIN—WIKIMEDIA COMMONS • POLLOCK & DOTY (PRINTER), AFTER WILLIAM WADE, ILLUSTRATED CERIFICATE AT INSTALLATION OF REV. EDWIN HOLT AS DIRECTOR OF THE AMERICAN SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY, 1844 (ENGRAVING)—MABEL BRADY GARVAN COLLECTION 1946.9.472 / YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY • A MAP OF THE SLAVE COAST COMPREHENDED BETWEEN THE RIVER VOLTA AND BENIN AND CAPE LAGOS. IN ROBERT NORRIS. *MEMOIRS OF THE REIGN OF BOSSA AHADEE, KING OF DAHO.* 1789—BRITISH LIBRARY ARCHIVE / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

Orthodox ceremony on a Russian flagship, 1905

1721 Hans Egede arrives in Greenland and evangelizes the Inuits.

1732 Moravian Brethren Johann Leonhard Dober and David Nitschmann sail to the Virgin Islands to share the gospel, beginning the Moravian missions movement.

1736 John and Charles Wesley sail on the *Simmonds* from England. During a terrible storm, the Moravians on board keep calm and sing psalms, which catalyzes John Wesley's conversion experience.

1738 George Whitefield journeys on the *Whitaker* and preaches to the crew. He will cross the Atlantic many more times to preach to thousands during the Great Awakening.

1748 John Newton nearly dies aboard the slave ship *Greyhound* during a violent storm, beginning a process of spiritual awakening.

1779 The Naval and Military Bible Society forms to distribute Bibles on British naval ships.

1793 Missionary William Carey sails to India, entering illegally after being kicked off a British vessel.

1796 The London Missionary Society purchases a ship, the *Duff,* which brings both missionaries and artisans to the South Pacific Islands. Other societies send missionaries by boat all over the world, beginning what is known as the "Great Century of Missions."

1812 Adoniram and Ann Judson sail to India with Samuel and Harriet Newell as some of the earliest American missionaries.

1814 Zebedee Rogers leads a prayer meeting with the crew of the *Friendship*, beginning the Thames Revival.

1818 The Port of London Society is founded and purchases the first floating chapel, HMS *Speedy*. In the next decade, multiple mission societies form to minister to sailors around the world.

1839 Anglican clergyman John Ashley purchases the *Eirene* to minister to mariners living on islands in the Bristol Channel.

c. 1850 Chaplains aboard US vessels influence morale and alter policies, such as outlawing flogging.

1856 Ashley's work inspires a formal organization, Missions to Seamen Afloat, at Home and Abroad.

1860 William Whiting writes "Eternal Father, Strong to Save," which quickly becomes a favorite naval hymn.

1862 John L. Lenhart of the *Cumberland* becomes the first US Navy chaplain to die in combat.

1864 The Norwegian Seamen's Mission is founded. Other seafarer mission organizations in Scandinavia soon follow.

Wren using an Aldis lamp, 1944

1873 Horatio Spafford writes the hymn "It Is Well with My Soul" after a tragic shipwreck kills his daughters.

1892 Evangelist D. L. Moody leads a prayer service aboard the sinking SS *Spree*.

1894 Augustinians of the Assumption found the Société Œuvres de Mer in France to minister to French fishermen.

1912 The RMS *Titanic* sinks in frigid waters on April 14. The ship's band plays hymns to calm passengers.

1913 The Seamen's Church Institute opens a sailors' home in Manhattan that accommodates over 500 people.

Geoje HuengNam Retreat Memorial, 2010

1921 The Apostleship of the Sea is formally founded as a Catholic maritime ministry.

1932 The Council of Seamen's Agencies (renamed North American Maritime Ministry Association—NAMMA—in 1991), forms as a collaborative effort between Christian missions to seafarers in North America.

1941 Chaplains A. H. Schmitt and T. L. Kirkpatrick die in the attack on Pearl Harbor.

1943 The *Dorchester* is attacked and sinks near Greenland. Four US Army chaplains sacrifice themselves to minister to the crew.

1950 Captain Leonard LaRue rescues 14,000 people with the Merchant Marine vessel, SS *Meredith Victory,* during the Korean War.

1969 The International Christian Maritime Association (ICMA) is founded.

Tempestuous voyages

STORIES OF TRANSFORMING FAITH AT SEA, TAKEN FROM PAST *CHRISTIAN HISTORY* ISSUES AND OTHER CHI RESOURCES

MIRACLES ON MALTA A 1705 engraving pictures Paul's shipwreck from Acts 27–28, as well as the story that follows. On Malta a snake bites Paul; however, he never sickens or dies, amazing the watching locals.

M. VANDERGUCHT & G. FREMAN, *SAINT PAUL: HIS SHIPWRECK ON MALTA*, 1705 (ENGRAVING). WELLCOME COLLECTION—SOURCE: WELLCOME COLLECTION

FIRST CENTURY: PAUL WITNESSES TO THE GOSPEL DURING A SHIPWRECK

The greatest danger of winter sailing, of course, was shipwreck. In his second letter to Corinth, Paul mentions being shipwrecked three times and on one of these occasions, spending a night and a day floating in the open sea. Yet we know of another shipwreck still, and Luke's description of it in Acts 27 (see pp. 6–7) is one of the most vivid narratives in all of ancient literature. At Caesarea Paul was placed on board a ship from Adramyttium; at Myra, in southern Turkey, he was transferred to an Alexandrian grain ship headed to Rome. Luke's reference to the Day of Atonement (about October 5) indicates that this ship was sailing late in the season.

After reaching the southern coast of Crete, the captain wished to get to the larger harbor at Phoenix to winter, but a ferocious northeaster, the Euroclydon, cast the ship helplessly adrift westward for many days without sight of sun or stars. The ship took such a battering it had to be abandoned. Ancient ships carried small boats for the transfer of passengers to the shore but no life rafts or life vests. It was miraculous that all 276 passengers and crew survived. Paul and the others found themselves shipwrecked at Malta, where they were forced to stay for three months.
—Edwin M. Yamauchi, originally published in #47

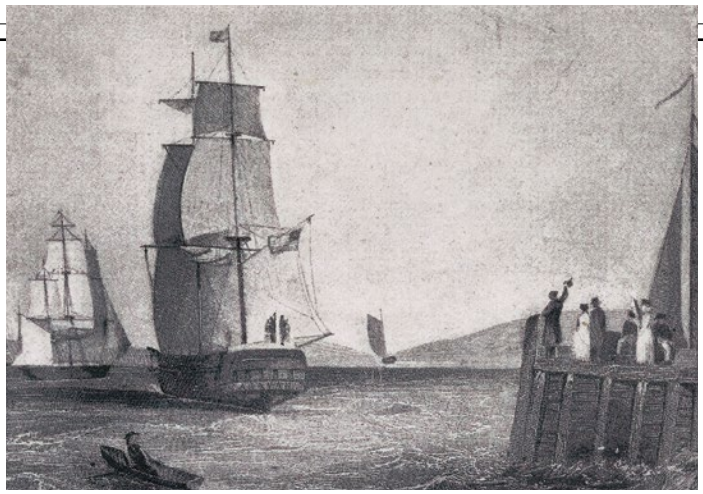
EARLY SIXTH CENTURY: BRENDAN THE NAVIGATOR FINDS THE PROMISED LAND

The most famous pilgrim of the medieval north was Brendan, the Irish monk who set off in a boat and landed, after years of wandering the seas, on the shores of the "Land of Promise." Brendan's trip to the "desert in the ocean" earned him sainthood as well as fame in manuscript versions of his adventures that circulated throughout Europe for centuries.
—Lisa Bitel, originally published in #60

We read that Brendan's travels, in the company of numerous fellow monks, took him to many earthly and heavenly places, and ultimately to "the Land of Promise." One account tells us that, as Brendan roamed uncharted seas, he encountered Judas Iscariot, temporarily released from his tortures on Sundays and feast days. Some even wonder if Brendan's travels took him across the Atlantic to North America. Extravagant as some of these tales are, Brendan's questing life symbolizes the spiritual yearning for the dwelling place of God.
—Kathleen Mulhern, originally published in #60

1734: CHRISTOPHER WIEGNER, A SCHWENCKFELDER, DEDICATES HIMSELF TO CHRIST

[*Wiegner writes:*] On the 25th still contrary winds. The waves struck 10 ells over the ship. Because I was not properly lodged, my head became fevered and my thoughts were not able to remain firm, struggle so hard as I might. It finally caused me much sorrow. I remembered how a Christian must conquer all in Christ. I called to him from the heart for strength. In the evening the dear Savior took away the struggle and gave me such peace that I thought of nothing nor knew nothing except my: Lamb and Savior. It was a heavy concern with me to know if it was not my calling to dedicate



LEAVING THE WORLD BEHIND Ann Judson (*middle*) and Harriet Newell (*far right*) boarded the *Caravan* (*above*) as missionaries. Both women died in the field, but also inspired future missionary efforts.

my life completely to chastity, poverty, and voluntary discipleship and service.
—Excerpt from Wiegner's diary, originally published in #21

1736: JOHN WESLEY SEES THE FAITH OF THE MORAVIANS

[*Wesley writes:*] At seven [p.m.] I went to the Germans. I had long before observed the great seriousness of their behavior. . . . There was now an opportunity of trying whether they were delivered from the Spirit of fear, as well as from that of pride, anger, and revenge. In the midst of the psalm wherewith their service began, the sea broke over, split the main-sail in pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between the decks, as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the English. The Germans calmly sung on. I asked one of them afterwards, "Was you not afraid?" He answered, "I thank God, no." I asked, "But were not your women and children afraid?" He replied, mildly, "No; our women and children are not afraid to die." From them I went to their crying, trembling neighbors, and pointed out to them the difference in the hour of trial, between him that feareth God, and him that feareth him not. At twelve the wind fell. This was the most glorious day which I have hitherto seen.
—Excerpt from John Wesley's published journal, originally published in #1

1748: JOHN NEWTON EXPERIENCES GOD'S MERCY ON A SLAVE SHIP

The *Greyhound*'s voyage from Brazil to Newfoundland, laden with slaves, led the vessel on March 21, 1748, into a violent storm. In poor repair the ship soon began to split and take on water, and Newton was awakened from sleep to find that a crewmember had been swept away in the raging sea.

"Tied to the ship to prevent being washed away," relates historian Bruce Hindmarsh, Newton "pumped and bailed

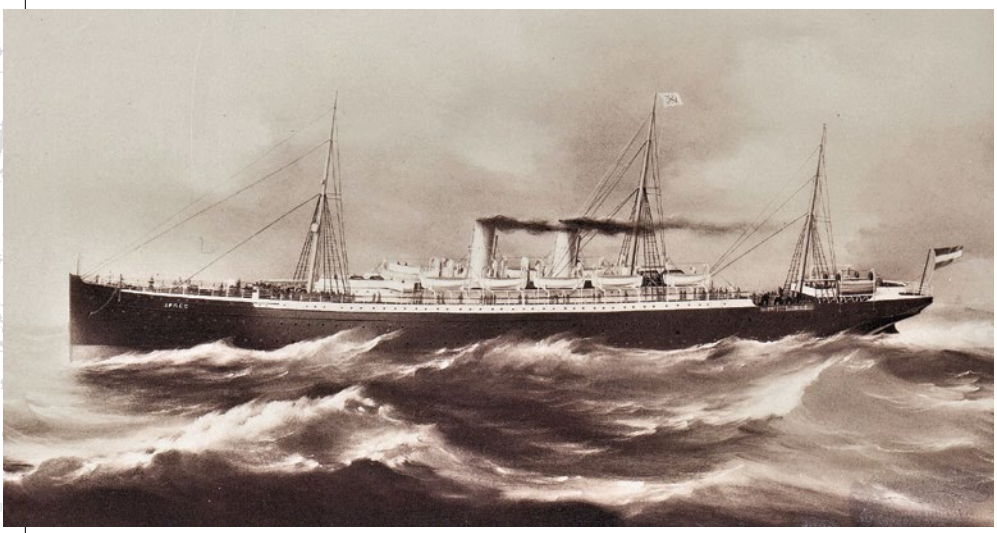
"THE HOUR I FIRST BELIEVED" John Newton's (*above right*) near-death experience on the storm-tossed *Greyhound* later inspired his hymn "Amazing Grace." (A slave ship like the *Greyhound* is pictured above).

all night until he was called upon to steer the ship. All the while he reviewed his life: his former professions of religion, the extraordinary twists of past events, the warnings and deliverances he had met with, his licentious conversation, and his mockery of the Gospels." At first Newton was convinced that he had sinned too much to have any hope for God's forgiveness. Yet when the storm did not recede and he really felt he would soon meet his God, he at last clung to Scriptures that taught God's grace toward sinners, and he breathed his first weak prayer in years. As he was later to recall it, this was "the hour he first believed."
—Chris Armstrong, originally published in #81

1793: JAMES HALDANE BECOMES CONVINCED OF THE TRUTH OF CHRISTIANITY

[Haldane's] maritime career spanned eight adventurous years. No adventure may have been more important than one that occurred during a storm. The captain ordered Haldane to let an able seaman (a sailor of lower rank) precede him up the shrouds. That man was struck in the head by loose rigging and plunged to his death in the sea. Had Haldane been the foremost, it might have been him. . . .While lying in harbor, Haldane began to study the

SHIP *CARAVAN* ON WHICH THE JUDSONS AND NEWELLS SAILED FROM SALEM, MASS., 1812, N.D. (HALFTONE PHOTOMECHANICAL PRINT)—COURTESY OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE HAVERHILL PUBLIC LIBRARY, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS DEPARTMENT • RICHARD WOODMAN (ARTIST), ANN HASSELTINE JUDSON, c. 1816 (PRINT)—[PDM 1.0] LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU – THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES • W. DOYLE ("PINXT.") AND W. B. ANNIN ("SC."), MRS. HARRIETT NEWELL. IN LEONARD WOODS, *A SERMON, PREACHED AT HAVERHILL (MASS.) IN REMEMBRANCE OF MRS. HARRIET NEWELL*, 5TH ED., BOSTON, S. T. ARMSTRONG, 1815, FRONTISPIECE—GOOGLE BOOKS/HATHI TRUST DIGITAL LIBRARY • WILLIAM JACKSON, *A LIVERPOOL SLAVE SHIP*, c.1780 (OIL ON CANVAS)—© NATIONAL MUSEUMS LIVERPOOL / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES • W. HARVEY AND H. ROBINSON, JOHN NEWTON, 1880 (PRINT)—NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY DIGITAL COLLECTIONS



PRESSING ON Evangelist D. L. Moody (*right*) faced his mortality on the sinking SS *Spree* (*left*), which convicted him to keep preaching despite the strain on his health.

Bible. The conviction grew on him that all was not right with his soul. "However dark my mind still was, I have no doubt but that God began a work of grace on my soul while living on board the *Melville Castle*," he later wrote.
—Dan Graves, from CHI's It Happened Today *feature*

1812: THE JUDSONS AND THE NEWELLS PREPARE FOR NEW LIVES

The discomforts and dangers at sea made the prospects of death very real. Constant or recurring motion sickness, even when the ship was not pitching in a violent storm, left travelers severely weakened and vulnerable to more serious illnesses. The voyage preyed on the weak. Both Ann Judson and Harriet Newell gave birth at sea. Neither child survived. The ship could be both lifeline and coffin. . . .

The most famous occurrence aboard the *Caravan*—Adoniram Judson's change of views regarding infant baptism—highlights the importance of shipboard reading. . . . The voyage gave time for lingering doubts about infant baptism to fester into open disbelief on the matter. . . .

Harriet, the first of the earliest American missionaries to die, left perhaps the most fitting epitaph of their life at sea and its lasting effects:

> My attachment to the world has greatly lessened, since I left my country, and with it all the honors, pleasures, and riches of life. Yes, mamma, I feel this morning like a pilgrim and a traveler in a dry and thirsty land, where no water is. Heaven is my home; there, I trust, my weary soul will sweetly rest, after a tempestuous voyage across the ocean of life.

—Stephen R. Berry, originally published in #90

1892: D. L. MOODY DECIDES TO CONTINUE HIS WORLD'S FAIR CAMPAIGN

On the second evening of their torturous wait [to be rescued after a shipwreck], Moody led a prayer service that calmed many of the passengers, including himself. Although he was sure of heaven, the thought of his work ending and of never again seeing his family had unsettled him.

One biographer includes another angle to the incident. Prior to the trip, a doctor had found irregularities in Moody's heart and urged him to ease his schedule; if Moody did not, he would die early. Moody determined to slow down and while sailing homeward, decided to scale down plans for the World's Fair campaign.

During the crisis at sea, however, Moody perceived that God confronted him with a decision: would Moody press on with all his might to deliver the gospel or would he be cautious, allowing fear to diminish his fervor? Facing death Moody decided that if God would spare his life, he would work with "all the power that He would give me." And if he should die this year or next, that was in God's hands.

The following morning, however, the steamer *Lake Huron* discovered the stranded ship and towed it 1,000 miles to safety. D. L. Moody pressed on with his World's Fair campaign, six months of unceasing labor, from which, in Moody's estimate, "millions . . . heard the simple gospel" and "thousands [were] genuinely converted to Christ." Moody died in the midst of his work—seven years later.

—Vinita Hampton Wright, originally published in #25

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Afloat and ashore

MARITIME MISSION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Paul G. Mooney

In June 1814 Napoleon had just been exiled to Elba, the French monarchy was restored, and the War of 1812 continued between Great Britain and the United States of America. Meanwhile, at a Wesleyan Methodist Chapel in Rotherhithe in London's docklands, Zebedee Rodgers, a local shoemaker, reached out to a man he had seen weeping at the chapel prayer service.

The man, Captain David Simpson, was captain of a small ship called the *Friendship* engaged in trade along the east coast of England. This encounter led to Rodgers conducting a prayer meeting with the *Friendship* crew at Simpson's request on Wednesday, June 22, 1814. This simple meeting spawned a movement known as the Thames Revival and established mission activity and ministry among seafarers that continues today in ports all over the world.

RAISING THE BLUE FLAG

Seafarers in the early nineteenth century were seen as distinct both by themselves and by society at large. At sea sailors were at the whim of their masters whose word was law aboard ship. On land seafarers stayed close to the confines of the "sailor towns" near the docklands, frequenting boarding houses and taverns where they found some welcome, as well as many false friends only too willing to deprive sailors of their earnings. At that time a system known as "crimping" exploited sailors in virtually every port in the world.

The crimp, often a former seafarer, arranged seafarers for ships and ships for seafarers. The crimp provided lodging houses and advance money (usually at extortionate interest rates, see pp. 36–38), which sailors traded for work on vessels until they could pay off their debts. Needless to say, crimps often took great advantage of vulnerable seafarers; but it is testimony to the marginalization of seafarers that they looked more favorably on crimps than on ship masters and ship owners.

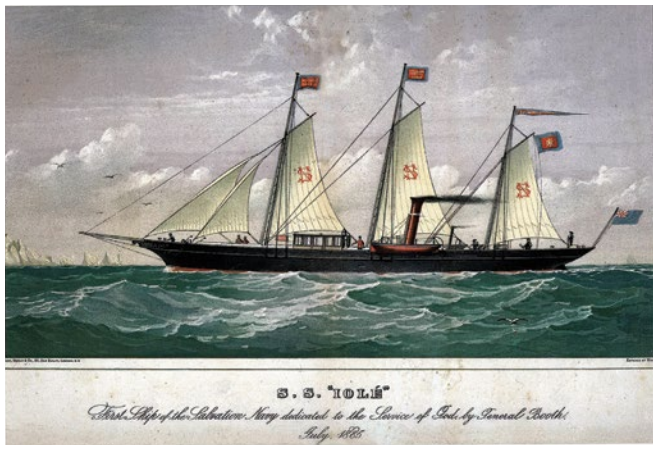
The first formal outreach of the Christian church to this world began with the Naval and Military Bible Society, founded in 1779 to distribute Bibles on British naval ships. This extended to foreign sailors held on prison ships during the Napoleonic wars. This was but one expression of the evangelical revival that had gained a foothold in British Protestantism in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Another was the burgeoning Wesleyan Methodist movement. In this context an ordinary shoemaker like Zebedee Rodgers could approach Captain Simpson and accept his invitation to hold a prayer service with the *Friendship*'s crew.

FLOATING CHURCH OF THE REDEEMER An actual church building was moored near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, before being moved ashore in 1853. Most floating chapels weren't custom-built churches but repurposed ships.

Within a year of the first prayer meeting aboard the *Friendship*, crews of different vessels moored along the Thames began to meet together for prayers. By the winter of 1816–1817, prayer meetings on ships were indicated by hanging a lantern from the masthead. In the spring of 1817, as the days grew longer, Rodgers devised the idea of flying a flag to signal instead. The first flag, sewn by his sister, was made with a blue background and featured the word BETHEL in white letters and a red star rising in the east. Later, a white dove and olive branch were added.

The flag, known as the Bethel flag, became the symbol of the shipboard revival movement, and organizations identified with it. The first of these was the Port of London

THE FLYING ANGEL (*right*) **The Missions to Seamen Society's flag was inspired by Revelation 14:6: "I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach . . . to every nation and kindred and tongue and people. . . ."**



MISSION SHIPS John Ashley purchased the *Eirene* (*above left*) to visit anchored ships, where he held worship services and sold Bibles. The Salvation Navy (seafaring division of the Salvation Army) began when William Booth was given the *Iolé* to reach sailors (*above*).

Society founded in 1818, followed by the Bethel Seamen's Union in 1819. While these organizations saw themselves as supporting the fledgling shipboard revival, they also led structured land-based ministries among seafarers. The Sailors' Society, which continues today around the world, can trace its lineage directly back to the Bethel Seamen's Union and the Port of London Society.

THE SPEEDY ARK

The Port of London Society soon purchased the HMS *Speedy* to serve as a floating chapel for seafarers located close to the entrance to the London docks. This was the first of many such vessels located in ports throughout Britain and Ireland and soon the United States. The membership of the Port of London Society included several reasonably prominent businesspeople, including evangelical Anglicans, some from nonestablished churches, some nonconformist clergy, and former Royal Navy officers.

One notable clergy person was George Charles "Bosun" Smith (1782–1863), a former seafarer and Baptist minister at Penzance in Cornwall. A charismatic preacher filled with boundless energy, Smith was an enthusiastic champion of maritime ministry. The Port of London Society co-opted Smith as a traveling secretary to raise support for the Society's work and the floating chapel, which he called the *Ark*.

From January 1820 Smith helped edit and publish the *Sailors' Magazine* under the auspices of the newly established British and Foreign Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union. This magazine and its American counterpart contained stories of general as well as of religious interest and reported news regarding developments in the maritime mission world. Though mainly intended for seafarers, the *Sailors' Magazine* also reached the supporters of the Bethel Union. Smith continued to edit the magazine until 1826. Ultimately the Port of London Society and the Bethel Union united in 1833 as the British and Foreign Sailors' Society.

Smith by this time had begun to direct his energy and attention into the establishment of a Mariners' Church in Wellclose Square in London. In 1846 George Tiel Hill, a close associate of George Charles Smith, founded the Seamen's Christian Friend Society, which still operates in various ports around the world centered on sharing faith through ship visiting, hospitality, and practical help.

The 1820s saw a broadening of maritime mission horizons. Societies were established in Scotland in 1820 and then in other ports in Britain and Ireland over the next few years. Bristol could boast two floating chapels. The movement was also crossing the Atlantic. The New York Marine Bible Society was formed in 1816, and the Port of New York Society for Promoting the Gospel among Seamen was organized in 1818. On June 4, 1820, it opened the first Mariner's Church in the world.

Work among seafarers would soon spread to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Charleston, North Carolina; and Boston, Massachusetts. Ward Stafford, like Smith a former mariner, served as an early key figure in the US maritime mission movement. Stafford ensured large portions of the *Seamen's Magazine* (the American equivalent of the *Sailors' Magazine*) regularly supplemented the *Christian Herald*.

JAMES EDWARD FITZ-GERALD (ARTIST), *THE BRISTOL CHANNEL MISSION CUTTER* EIRENE, 1843 (HAND-COLOURED LITHO)—© NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM, GREENWICH, LONDON / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES
HOUSE FLAG, MISSIONS TO SEAMEN—POPE COLLECTION, NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM, GREENWICH / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES
S.S. *IOLÉ* OF THE SALVATION NAVY—SALVATION ARMY INTERNATIONAL HERITAGE CENTRE, LONDON

SEAFARER-TURNED-PREACHER A bosun or boatswain is a sailor who oversees a ship's deck department. George "Bosun" Smith (*above*) became a preacher uniquely able to reach mariners thanks to his former duties.

SAILOR CHURCHES ON DISTANT SHORES Some ministries founded international churches for sailors, such as the Swedish Seamen's Church in England (*above right*).

Ultimately all this activity would pave the way for the formation of the American Seamen's Friend Society in 1828.

FLOATING CHURCHES

In the late 1820s, the Church of England began to organize denominational outreach to seafarers by establishing the Episcopal Floating Church Society. The Port of Dublin Society, a local Irish Anglican organization, had already opened a floating church in March 1823, and the former HMS *Tees* followed as the Liverpool Mariner's Church in 1827, again as a local initiative to provide an Anglican floating church. Although Episcopal floating churches were established around Britain and Ireland, the movement never gained the traction that had been displayed in nonconformist circles. Floating churches of all types would eventually give way to land-based mariners' churches, also known as Bethels, in many locations—partly due to changes in port infrastructure and docklands as vessels deteriorated.

Several societies associated with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States had full gothic-style floating churches. The first, dedicated as the Church of Our Saviour for Seamen on February 20, 1844, was moored in the East River at the foot of Pike Street in New York City. The second, the Floating Church of the Redeemer, was dedicated in January 1849 in Philadelphia. The two associations continue today as the Seamen's Church Institute of New York and New Jersey and the Seamen's Church Institute of Philadelphia.

In 1835 John Ashley, on vacation between postings, took an interest in the religious condition of those who lived on the islands in the Bristol Channel between England and Wales. This interest extended to seafarers moored on ships, often waiting for long periods to discharge their cargo in the same channel. Ultimately Ashley purchased a sailing boat, the *Eirene*, which he used to visit ships at anchor from 1835 to 1850, when finance and ill health forced his retirement. It is estimated that Ashley visited some 14,000 ships and sold 5,000 Bibles in this period and held thousands of services for seafarers onboard their vessels.

After Ashley's retirement his Bristol Channel Mission fell into abeyance. The work re-emerged five years later as the Bristol Channel Missions to Seamen with two chaplains, Thomas Cave Childs (1819–1867) and Clement Dawson Strong. Following Ashley, theirs was a chaplain-centered, seagoing, ship-visiting ministry. In 1856 Childs approached a prominent Anglican layman, W. H. K. Kingston (1814–1880), about establishing a national Church of England seafarers' society. Kingston founded the Missions to Seamen Afloat, At Home and Abroad. This society would become the Mission to Seafarers as it is today: the largest worldwide Christian maritime mission society. It adopted a flying angel logo and flag inspired by the flying angel of Revelation 14:6—bringing the gospel to every nation, tribe, tongue, and people.

C. E. R. Robinson founded another Anglican mission among seafarers, called the St Andrew's Waterside Church Mission, in 1864. He belonged to the Anglo-Catholic wing of the Church of England but had been deeply impressed by the ministry of Childs in the more evangelical Bristol Channel Missions to Seamen. However, Robinson saw the need for a more parish-based waterside ministry to seafarers and local seafaring communities.

HERBERT BOOTH (WITH BEARD) ON A SALVATION NAVY VESSEL—LIKELY THE *WILLIAM BOOTH*—IN LAKE ONTARIO NEXT TO CPT JOHN MCGILLIVRAY AND ANOTHER OFFICER—COURTESY OF THE SALVATION ARMY CANADA AND BERMUDA TERRITORIAL ARCHIVES - PHOTO #S651

SALVATION NAVY Herbert Booth (seated with beard, *above*), son of William Booth, poses on a ship named for his father. The Salvation Navy reached sailors worldwide.

Robinson's vision was somewhat similar to the Apostleship of the Sea in the Roman Catholic Church as it developed in the twentieth century. It was also echoed in Scandinavian seamen's churches founded in the 1860s and 1870s. The Norwegian Seamen's Church was established in 1864 followed by the Danish Seamen's Church in 1867, the Swedish Seamen's Church in 1869, and the Finnish Seamen's Church in 1875. The Scandinavian ministries to seafarers saw themselves fundamentally as national churches overseas as well as seafarers' ministries.

REVIVING THE MISSION

Meanwhile waves of revival in North America in the mid-nineteenth century began to influence maritime ministry. Stronger emphases on spiritual welfare and the Incarnation, a consequence of these revival movements, also led to a consciousness of physical welfare for seafarers. Sailors' homes and land-based seamen's institutes would gradually replace Bethels and mariners' churches as a result.

A ministry of advocacy from those involved in maritime ministry for changes in legislation to improve conditions for seafarers came increasingly to the fore on both sides of the Atlantic, advocacy not seen as in any way in conflict with a stridently evangelical religious message. For instance the first chaplain superintendent of the Missions to Seamen in the 1870s, Robert Buckley Boyer, combated the crimping system in Bristol. The founding of the Missions to Deep Sea Fishermen in the first half of the 1880s combined religious and medical missions with social outreach to fishers and their families. In 1887 the Christian medical doctor Wilfred Grenfell began work as a doctor and surgeon with the North Sea fishing fleet before he later left for work in Labrador.

The Salvation Navy, coming from the Salvation Army's work among seafarers, also developed around this same time. Though it ceased to exist by the time of the First World War in 1914, the Salvation Navy seems to have had about four seagoing vessels in operation in 1900.

Roman Catholic initiatives also manifested in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Concern for Catholic seafarers and naval personnel, expressed in the popular Catholic magazine *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, set in motion literature and correspondence work, as well as the publication of a prayer book for Catholic seafarers, *The Guide to Heaven for Use of Those at Sea*. An Apostleship of the Sea was formed out of the Apostleship of Prayer associated with the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* magazine in 1894, and some Roman Catholic seafarers' clubs also made an appearance before the end of the century.

Just as Christian mission began in Jerusalem, spread in Judea and Samaria, and extended to the ends of the earth in the first century, revival along the Thames in the nineteenth century extended the gospel to seafarers in the British Isles, over to America, and ultimately into ships afloat and ports ashore all over the world. That mission continued by land and by sea, into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, reaching out to people of every nation, tribe, tongue, and people today. CH

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"For those in peril on the sea"

While the most famous hymn associated with seafaring—or at least with a famous seafaring Christian—is no doubt "Amazing Grace," close behind it in fame comes the 1860 hymn known as the official hymn of both the US and British navies, "Eternal Father, Strong to Save."

William Whiting (1825–1878), author of "Eternal Father," was a British choirmaster at Winchester College who grew up near the coast. Unlike another hymn from the same era about God's love amid tumultuous waters ("It Is Well with My Soul" by Horatio Spafford; see "Did you know?"), "Eternal Father" was not directly inspired by tragedy. Some sources do claim Whiting penned the hymn after surviving a storm at sea, or when a student approached him in fear over an impending sea voyage, or both. As originally written it began:

O Thou who bidd'st the ocean deep
Its own appointed limits keep,
Thou Who dost bind the restless wave,
Eternal Father, strong to save;
O hear us when we cry to Thee
For those in peril on the sea.

Compilers of *Hymns Ancient & Modern* revised the hymn almost immediately when they published it in their first edition in 1861. They chose to emphasize the strong trinitarian plea, "Eternal Father, strong to save," by putting it at the beginning (succeeding verses address Christ and the Spirit). Whiting continued to revise the hymn as well; he arrived at the version we usually sing today in 1874. Scriptural references in the hymn include Genesis 1:2, Job 38, Psalms 65 and 107, Isaiah 43:2, and Matthew 8:23–27 and 14:22–33 (see pp. 6–7).

"Eternal Father" has only ever been sung to one tune, MELITA, written specifically for this hymn by clergyman and religious composer John Dykes (1823–1876). (Dykes also composed NICAEA, the tune to which we sing "Holy, Holy, Holy.") The tune name MELITA comes from another name for Malta, which Dykes chose to commemorate Paul's shipwreck there. Some hymnologists note that the opening phrase of music makes the shape of a wave.

A NAVY FAVORITE

Both British and American navies quickly adopted the hymn for use in their worship. It was sung in Britain beginning in the 1860s, and the first-known American use dates to 1879, when director of the Midshipmen's Choir Lt. Cmdr. Charles Jackson Train (1845–1906) began programming it as a regular part of Sunday worship at the Naval Academy. In the past 150 years, it has collected new verses for various branches of the British and American military as well as verses pleading for the safety of travelers over land, sea, and air in general.

These new stanzas include ones praying for the United States Air Force ("Lord, guard and guide the men who fly /Through the great spaces in the sky"), coast guards ("Eternal Father, Lord of hosts, / Watch o'er the men who guard our coasts"), naval submariners ("Lord God, our power evermore, / Whose arm doth reach the ocean floor, / Dive with our men beneath the sea; / Traverse the depths protectively"), and space travelers ("O hear us when we seek thy grace / For those who soar through outer space"). A complete 1937 reworking of the hymn by Episcopal bishop and hymnwriter Robert Nelson Spencer (1877–1961), which preserves most of Whiting's first and last verses but alters the middle two to pray for protection during land and air travel, is often sung today as "Almighty Father, Strong to Save."

"Eternal Father" is still sung widely today in religious, military, and civic contexts and has even appeared in movies. It was read into the *Congressional Record* after the attack on Pearl Harbor and famously used at the funerals of Franklin D. Roosevelt; John F. Kennedy; Richard Nixon; Ronald Reagan; Gerald Ford; George H. W. Bush; Jimmy Carter; Earl Mountbatten; and Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh. Though over a century separates us from William Whiting and nearly two millennia from the shipwrecked Paul, we still have reason to trust the mercy of God in the face of danger and to pray: "O hear us when we cry to Thee / For those in peril on the sea."

—Jennifer Woodruff Tait, senior editor

A SAILOR'S HYMN William Whiting, inspired by his coastal childhood, wrote "Eternal Father, Strong to Save." It quickly became a favorite for both US and British naval forces.

Anchored in Christ

CHRISTIAN CARE FOR SEAFARERS IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

Jason Zuidema

HENRI GERVESE, *SOCIÉTÉ DES ŒUVRES DE MER*, c. 1900 (PRINT)—MUTUALART

MARINER MINISTRIES Société des Œuvres de Mer was founded in 1894 to minister to fishermen in Newfoundland and Iceland. It is one of many mission societies created to care for seafarers.

Christians across denominations sought to understand and respond to the specific vulnerabilities faced by those whose lives and labor were bound to the sea. Their efforts gradually developed from simple spiritual gestures—distributing tracts and offering prayer aboard ship—to complex global welfare systems involving chaplaincy, housing, education, advocacy, and recreation. These ministries shaped the welfare landscape of the modern maritime world and influenced the culture of ports across the globe.

SHARKS AND MINISTERS

One of the most urgent social problems confronting nineteenth-century Christian maritime missions was crimping. Unscrupulous boarding-house keepers—often called "land sharks"—held near-total control over sailors' lives ashore. The moment a seafarer set foot in a port, he risked being drawn into a carefully orchestrated cycle of exploitation. Thomas Butler Gunn's 1857 portrait of New York's waterfront, *The Physiology of New York Boarding Houses*, exposed the viciousness of this exploitation, where sailors were frequently overcharged, robbed, coerced into pawning their valuables, and kept in a state of manufactured intoxication.

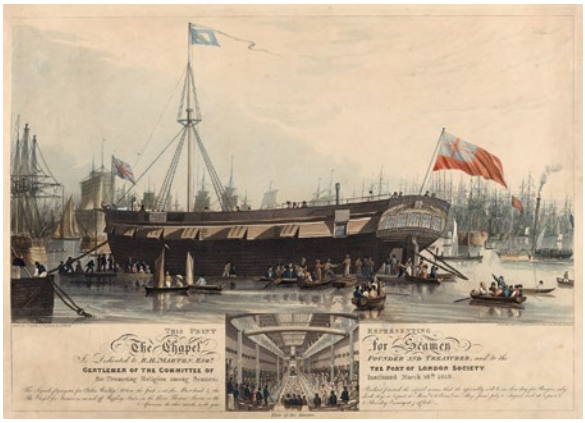
Once stripped of their wages and rendered helpless, they were delivered by the "arch crimp," the boarding-house manager, to a vessel needing crew, ensuring that the criminal economy sustained itself voyage after voyage. Christian missions saw this system not only as a moral outrage but as a humanitarian crisis, and many of their earliest institutions—especially temperance-based seamen's homes, reading rooms, and supervised lodging houses—were designed explicitly to counteract the power of the crimps by offering sailors clean accommodation, honest treatment, and the possibility of escaping the predatory networks that dominated port districts.

Sailors who rarely came ashore faced other problems, including no access to church services or welfare institutions. The practice of ship visiting, a major innovation in the middle of the nineteenth century, addressed this lack and fundamentally reshaped maritime ministry. Around 1835 John Ashley, an Anglican clergyman, began rowing from ship to ship in the Bristol Channel, conducting services and offering support directly to crews.

The addition of ship-based outreach to shore-based centers and chapels transformed maritime welfare. Sailors often lived within a floating world of their own, and effective ministry required entering that world rather than waiting for sailors to visit mission halls. Ship visiting demonstrated how flexible and mobile maritime ministry needed to be, and this recognition helped propel mission societies outward across emerging global shipping routes.

By the latter half of the nineteenth century, Christian maritime welfare had become an international movement. The growth of the British Empire and the expansion of global shipping networks meant that mission organizations frequently established new stations abroad. In 1860 the Mission to Seafarers (see p. 33) had fewer than 20 stations; by 1890 it had more than 50; and by the early twentieth century, it operated in over 140 locations worldwide.

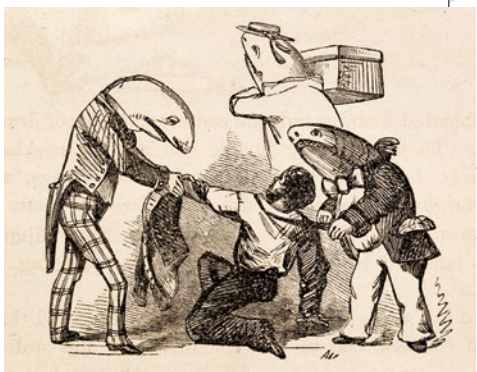
Other European nations also developed their own missions. The Norwegian Seamen's Mission was founded in 1864, followed by Danish, Swedish, and Finnish missions later in the century. German Protestants, under the influence



SEA RITES Ministries such as the Port of London Society repurposed boats as floating chapels (*top*). Such ships were capable of hosting normal worship services for sailors (*above*).

SAFE HAVEN As an alternative to boarding houses, seafaring mission societies established safe housing. The Seamen's Church Institute attended to housing and other land-based needs for mariners in New York City (*below*).

CIRCLING SHARKS Gunn's (*bottom left*) 1857 exposé, *Physiology of New York Boarding Houses*, detailed boarding-house exploitation, with "land sharks" fleecing sailors (*bottom right*).



of the Innere Mission and Johann Heinrich Wichern, created seamen's homes in major North Sea ports such as Bremen and Hamburg, establishing an enduring welfare presence.

This period also witnessed the rise of Catholic maritime ministry. In France the Société Œuvres de Mer was founded in 1894 by the Augustinians of the Assumption to serve French fishers working in the treacherous waters near Newfoundland and Iceland. It deployed mission vessels, combining pastoral care with practical support. Catholic involvement continued to grow, and in 1920, the Apostleship of the Sea (now Stella Maris) was formally founded, reflecting expanding Catholic engagement in the maritime world. In many ports Catholic chaplains ministered alongside Protestant counterparts, sometimes independently and sometimes in collaboration.

MISSIONS AND MODERNIZATION

The twentieth century brought enormous change. The First World War disrupted maritime trade and placed seafarers in extreme danger, especially in convoy service. Mission societies found their resources stretched thin. Many chaplains enlisted or were seconded to naval work, and some mission buildings were repurposed for wartime needs. Yet even in wartime, new mission stations emerged, often because global shipping routes shifted and demanded new forms of outreach.

Between the wars maritime ministries continued to adapt to technological and economic developments. Steam had replaced sail by the early twentieth century, and this altered the rhythms of port life. Mission societies, such as the Seamen's Church Institute, built larger, more sophisticated seamen's homes and recreational facilities during this period. The Institute's 12-story building on South Street in Manhattan opened in 1913 with accommodations for about 580 seafarers. These ambitious centers anticipated both the increasing scale of modern ports and the growing diversity of the crews who passed through them.

The Second World War placed even heavier burdens on seafarers and on the ministries that served them. Bombing damaged many mission buildings; surviving mission buildings hosted wartime services or relief efforts. After the war governments and mission societies alike recognized that the aging homes many sailors used were no longer sufficient. A British report in 1943 recommended that old dormitory-style homes be replaced or modernized into seamen's

SEAMEN'S CHURCH INSTITUTE, NY, NY, 1950S (POSTCARD)—CAMELBACK_TRADERS / EBAY • THE CHAPEL FOR SEAMEN, THE PORT OF LONDON SOCIETY, c.1818 (MEZZOTINT)—© NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM, GREENWICH, LONDON / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES • MISSIONS TO SEAMEN, A SERVICE IN THE CHURCH SHIP ON THE TYNE (ENGRAVING) IN *THE GRAPHIC*, 30 JANUARY 1875—LOOK AND LEARN / ILLUSTRATED PAPERS COLLECTION / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES • THOMAS GUNN, *THE PHYSIOLOGY OF NEW YORK BOARDING HOUSES*. WITH ILLUS. ON WOOD, DESIGNED AND DRAWN BY THE "TRIANGLE," A. R. WAUD, AND THE AUTHOR, AND ENGRAVED BY JOHN ANDREW (1857), 277—INTERNET ARCHIVE

WARTIME WORSHIP A 1941 painting depicts naval troops engaged in a church service on their way to Cairo. The world wars changed ministry to both seafarers and soldiers.

clubs—spaces focused more on recreation, communication, and pastoral care than on long-term lodging. The emphasis shifted from housing to hospitality, from dormitories to lounges, chapels, and cafeterias.

The postwar decades saw a decisive transition. Changes in shipping—containerization, smaller crews, faster turnarounds—meant that sailors spent far less time in port. Shore leave was shorter; ships no longer lingered at anchor or the dock for days. Missions responded by expanding transport services, enabling seafarers to reach town quickly, and by strengthening ship-visiting programs. New welfare centers were built with recreational amenities, telephones, writing desks, chapels, and canteens, all designed for short visits rather than extended stays.

The expansion of Catholic and Protestant maritime missions during the 1940s and 1950s contributed to the growth of well-equipped seafarers' clubs in many major ports. The Apostleship of the Sea developed a global network of chaplains, while missions affiliated with the Anglican Mission to Seamen constructed modern Flying Angel centers. By the 1960s and 1970s, many port ministries shifted from denominational self-sufficiency to intentional cooperation. Ecumenical initiatives gained ground, particularly in Europe and North America, where ministries recognized the practical benefits of sharing resources, buildings, and transportation. In several ports unified seafarers' centers housed Protestant and Catholic chaplains under one roof, offering joint programs while maintaining denominational identities.

JOINING FORCES

In this same ecumenical spirit, the maritime world also saw the formation of regional and global coordinating bodies that helped knit these diverse missions into a coherent network. In North America, growing collaboration among port chaplains and mission societies led to the creation of an ecumenical association in the early 1960s to provide a platform for training, mutual support, and shared standards of practice.

This association, renamed the North American Maritime Ministry Association (NAMMA) in 1991, brought together Protestant and Catholic workers who recognized that the welfare needs of seafarers transcended denominational boundaries and required unified advocacy across the continent's major ports. On the international stage, the International Christian Maritime Association (ICMA) was founded in 1969 as a global federation of Christian seafarers' missions. ICMA's purpose was to foster cooperation, reduce duplication of services, and uphold ethical and professional standards in maritime ministry worldwide.

ICMA's collaborative framework strengthened Christian maritime welfare at a moment when global shipping was expanding rapidly, helping missions face the challenges of ever-larger ships, increasingly diverse crews, and the changing patterns of shore leave that defined the late twentieth century. These organizations formalized what had already been happening informally in many ports—shared learning, shared buildings, and shared pastoral responsibilities.

By the late twentieth century, Christian maritime welfare had become increasingly professional. Training programs were developed for chaplains and volunteers; mission societies strengthened their administrative structures; and many expanded their engagement with maritime industries, labor unions, and governments.

This period also saw mission organizations becoming more attentive to legal and social challenges faced by seafarers, including contract disputes, abandonment, safety concerns, and access to medical care. While advocacy was not always formalized, many chaplains and welfare workers played critical roles in securing assistance for crews facing crises far from home.

Despite these many changes, certain features remained constant throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The emphasis on personal pastoral contact—whether through a floating chapel, a Bethel service, a seamen's home, or a ship visit—remained central to Christian maritime ministry. The belief that seafarers required not only spiritual encouragement but also protection from exploitation and access to social support continued to guide mission strategies, shaping institutions that met seafarers' needs long before state welfare systems even existed. The movement's ability to adapt in response to technological shifts, to global trade patterns, and to changing labor practices helped Christian maritime welfare maintain a continuous presence through two turbulent centuries. CH

Jason Zuidema is executive director of NAMMA, general secretary of ICMA, and this issue's scholar advisor.

"A sailor's still a sailor"

Maritime technology and seafaring ministry

They gave us an engine that first went up and down
With some new technology the engine went around
We're good with steam and diesel, but what's a
mainyard for?
A stoker ain't a stoker with a shovel anymore
Don't haul on the ropes, don't climb up the mast
If you see a sailing ship it might be your last
Get your civvies ready for another round ashore
A sailor ain't a sailor, ain't a sailor anymore

In 1987 British singer and songwriter Tom Lewis wrote these lyrics to "The Last Shanty"—a folk sea shanty that has enjoyed a popular revival since Nathan Evan's 2022 cover. Lewis details the rapid progression of maritime technology from even just a generation before—from sail to steam-powered ships to diesel and to the other heavy-fuel powered ships of today.

Technological changes in communication and navigation, from semaphore (a visual signaling language often performed with flags) to the Aldis lamp (a lamp used for flashing signs in Morse code) to radio, receive a shoutout in the song; one verse ends with "a bunting-tosser doesn't toss the bunting anymore." That is, the role of hoisting signaling flags had become obsolete.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LA PHYSIQUE DES TEMPS A VENIR

De puissants rayons lumineux, traversant la nuit et la brume, rendent visibles un navire, tout en restant invisibles pour lui.

"PHYSICS OF TIMES TO COME" A 1920s inventors' magazine from France predicts radar technology before it is actually invented in 1935. Radar revolutionized both seafaring and warfare.

SEAFARING AND MINISTRY IN THE TECH AGE

Many other duties once necessary for circumnavigation on the seas have also evolved or disappeared. Radar technology and the even more incredible developments of the twenty-first century, including advanced digitization that has even created the ability for ships to self-navigate, have revolutionized seafaring.

With this modern technology comes modern challenges. As William R. Douglas, director of the Center for Maritime Education at the Seamen's Church Institute writes in his essay "A Mariner's Voice," those challenges include larger ships with smaller crews, increases in individual workloads with longer hours, tighter schedules, and more dangerous cargo, just to name a few.

Yet many aspects of life at sea haven't changed. Even with the improvements to navigation and marine safety that technology affords, seafaring remains among the most dangerous vocations in the world. Sailors also continue to face the same spiritual challenges of the trade that afflicted their predecessors—social isolation and the disruption to normal social mores, physically and mentally challenging working conditions, deprivation of normal comforts, and the continuing stigma attached to sailors' moral characters.

Ministers to seafarers, such as Roald Kverndal, former seafarers' chaplain and cofounder of the International Association for the Study of Maritime Mission, recognize this unique spiritual vulnerability, as well as the challenges and blessings of modern technology; therefore, Kverndal believes, ministry to the modern sailor will also be unique. As he writes in *The Way of the Sea*:

> Like mariners themselves, maritime mission has its own unique identity. . . . in order to gain respect and acceptance in its own right, maritime mission needs to find expression in a dedicated discipline of "maritime missiology."

SAME SEA, SAME GOSPEL

How is this maritime missiology expressed? One way is recognizing that despite the rapid progression of maritime technology, sailing culture—and by extension the spiritual needs of sailors—remains largely the same. Perhaps that's why, as Lewis details these changes throughout "The Last Shanty," he ends with this tongue-in-cheek declaration: "A sailor's still a sailor just like he was before."—*Kaylena Radcliff, managing editor*

RADAR PREDICTED. *LE PETIT INVENTEUR*, N.S. NO 15, 1928—MARY EVANS / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

Battleship ministers

THE UNSEEN WORK OF CHAPLAINS ABOARD MILITARY VESSELS

Christopher A. Graham

CALM BEFORE THE STORM Chaplain Louis Goodrich conducts an onboard service before these troops continued the Normandy invasion on June 12, 1944.

On January 23, 1943, a storm was brewing in the North Atlantic.

Four US Army chaplains—George Lansing Fox, a Methodist; Alex Goode, a Jewish chaplain; Clark Poling of the Reformed Church; and John Washington, a Roman Catholic—had boarded the US Army Transport *Dorchester*, in Brooklyn, New York. They, with 597 military comrades and 171 civilians, were shipping out to air bases in Greenland. After a brief stop in St. John's, Newfoundland, the *Dorchester* joined a slow, small convoy of two freighters and three US Coast Guard escorts for the final leg of the journey.

Then the storm hit. The worst seen in the region in 50 years, the tempest raged against the convoy and damaged the *Dorchester*. Injured and sickened crewmen fought against the barrage of wind and waves. While the chaplains had been able to conduct their typical duties in the first part of their voyage, they now had a more urgent ministry—tending to the battered crew.

Just after the storm let up, and less than a day from their destination, the *Dorchester* received word that U-boats were pursuing the convoy. The chaplains spent the afternoon and evening performing divine services and leading music to keep morale up. Well into the night, they visited the troops in their rooms.

At 12:55 a.m. on February 3, just nine hours from arriving in Greenland, the first torpedo from German U-boat U-223 hit the *Dorchester* just under the waterline, ripping a gash in the hull. As Dan Kurzman puts it in his chronicle of this event in *No Greater Glory*, the lifesaving equipment on board "could accommodate 1,286 persons, more than enough space to save the 900 people—if terror, temperature, and inadequate training had not dictated disaster."

Amid the panic, the chaplains stayed aboard on the deck of the sinking ship rendering aid. They lovingly coaxed and urgently compelled the men to do the only thing that could save their lives—abandon ship. They distributed life jackets to the willing and forced them on the unwilling. Not only did they give up their own life jackets, they also gave up articles of their clothing to the men who were preparing to enter the 34-degree water. Survivors aboard the rafts watched as the ship slid under the water at 1:20 a.m. with all four chaplains still aboard. They ministered to those still aboard whose fear kept them paralyzed as the ship went down.

These four brave men represent the selfless service of innumerable chaplains at sea and serve as only one story among many. In the earliest months of World War II, for example, a comparable scene played out when Chaplain George Snavely Rentz, serving on the *Houston* in the Battle of Java, gave up his lifebelt and seat in a life raft for a young seaman. For this he became the only navy chaplain in World War II to receive the honor of the Navy Cross.

Though these episodes would draw the public's attention to the role of chaplains at sea, the ministry of the military chaplain goes largely unseen except by shipmates. Indeed the day-in, day-out work is often less memorable. But for sailors during wartime, the work is vital.

ROCK AND TEMPEST, FIRE AND FOE

Seafaring has always included a military dimension. As nations harness the power and resources of the world's waterways, they require a seaborne military to defend or extend their use of these waters. Consequently each nation's seafarers confront the power of both nature and of other nations' military might. These sailors face, in the words of the naval hymn, "rock and tempest, fire, and foe" (see p. 35). In light of these dangers, Christian chaplains on military vessels serve a consistent need. Since the very

CHAPLAIN LOUIS R. GOODRICH, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS, CONDUCTING SERVICES ABOARD AN INVASION-BOUND SHIP, JUNE 12, 1944—WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

THESE IMMORTAL CHAPLAINS A 1946 comic book retells the tale of the four brave chaplains on the *Dorchester* (*above*). Public honor for these men awakened national appreciation for all military chaplains (*top right*).

THANKS TO ALMIGHTY GOD During the Civil War, Admiral David Farragut (*right*) ordered the church pennant hoisted aboard all ships to recognize God's mercy.

inception of the American navy in 1775, for example, chaplains have ministered aboard its warships. The second article of the regulations for the Continental navy reads:

> The Commanders of the ships of the thirteen United Colonies, are to take care that divine service be performed twice a day on board, and a sermon preached on Sundays, unless bad weather or other extraordinary accidents prevent.

Conducting divine services has remained the chaplain's central role.

"TO PRAYERS, YOU RASCALS!"

Certain aspects of these services have changed over time. The call of the crew to worship, for example, has come in many forms: bugle, band, drum, ship's bell, public address system announcement. In times when attendance at worship was required, the call was more like an order. Henry Melville noted that boatswain-mates often had to drive men to the services: "Go to prayers, d- -n you! To prayers, you rascals—to prayers!"

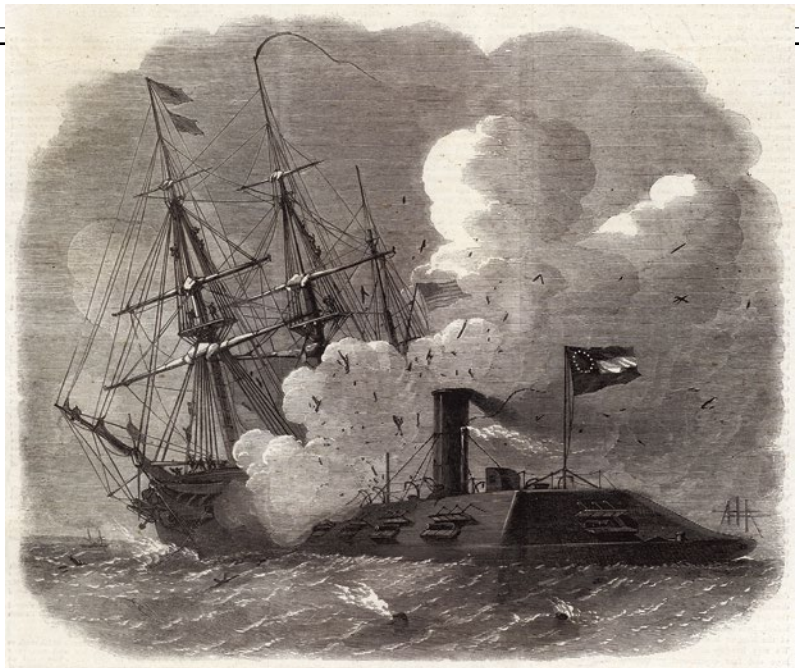
Over the centuries, however, one element of divine services aboard US Navy ships has not changed: hoisting of the church pennant directly above the US flag, or ensign, for the duration of the service. Though the custom stretches back earlier, the first known order to display the church pennant is that of Admiral David Farragut on the flagship *Hartford* in 1862, during the Civil War:

> Eleven o'clock this morning is the hour appointed for all the officers and crews of the fleet to return thanks to Almighty God for His great goodness and mercy in permitting us to pass through the events of the last two days with so little loss of life and blood. At that hour the church pennant will be hoisted on every vessel of the fleet, and their crews assembled will, in humiliation and prayer, make their acknowledgments therefore to the great Dispenser of all human events.

This practice was codified first in the navy's signal books and then in US law by congressional action in 1942.

The other duties of navy chaplains reflect their pastoral role, such as caring for those in sick bay and the brig and offering guidance and comfort in the shadow of death. Chaplains have been central to the cherished naval

CHAPLAINS AT WAR COMIC BOOK, *THE LIVING BIBLE*, NUMBER 3, 1946—COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE, THE SIGNATRY COLLECTION. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. © MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE, 2021
UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE, FOUR CHAPLAINS, 1948 (3¢ STAMP)—NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE
ADMIRAL DAVID FARRAGUT, 1855/1865 (RESTORED)—LIBRARY OF CONGRESS PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION CWPBH 01049 / WIKIMEDIA COMMONS



SALVATION AND SACRIFICE Commander Stephen Decatur Trenchard (*above*) acted as chaplain for his crew during the Civil War. Both sides accrued great losses at sea; the first navy chaplain to die in combat did so at the sinking of the *Cumberland* (*above left*).

tradition of burial at sea. Just as with military funerals ashore, the deceased's service to the nation is honored with salutes, flag placement, sounding of taps, and rifle volleys.

At sea this honor is also rendered by stopping the ship and lowering its ensign to half-mast. The nature of the divine service itself differs in accordance with the traditions of the officiant and the deceased. Officiants of Christian burials, whether chaplains or commanding officers, will typically offer a prayer while committing the body to the deep, expressing faith in the resurrection of that body when the sea shall give up her dead.

Intertwined with their ministerial duties, navy chaplains have also had a role in supporting the crew's morale and welfare. It was Chaplain Wesley O. Holway, for example, who introduced physical drill into the navy in the late nineteenth century when the tasks aboard steamships required less physical activity than did those on sailing ships. For many years (especially before the establishment of the United States Naval Academy in 1845), chaplains' duties included overseeing the educational needs of the crew in both religious and nonreligious subjects, such as navigation, reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography.

ADVISORS AND COUNSELORS

While a chaplain holds a unique position of influence with the crew, the ship's commanding officer sets the climate. At times commanding officers have taken a direct hand in supporting their chaplains' work or, when a chaplain was not present, leading the crew's spiritual welfare themselves. During the Civil War, for example, the *Rhode Island* was known as the "Gospel Gunboat" because its commander, Stephen Deacatur Trenchard, conducted divine services himself.

Under current regulations, chaplains are expected to advise those in command on, among other things, "command climate" and "punishment, discipline, and the potential for rehabilitation." Whether specified in regulations or not, chaplains have traditionally served in this role aboard ship and have influenced changes in naval policies in matters that were detrimental to the crew's health. With chaplains' influence, for example, corporal punishment such as flogging was outlawed in 1850, and the daily rationing of grog (whiskey diluted with water) was outlawed in 1862.

Ministry to sailors during conflict, however, provided navy chaplains their unique reason for being. In its 1859 defense of armed forces chaplaincy, the House Judiciary Committee reported that

> The spirit of Christianity has ever had a tendency to mitigate the rigors of war, if as yet it has not been entirely able to prevent it; to lead to acts of charity and kindness; and to humanize the heart.

The navy regulations of 1893 codified the long-standing reality that "the chaplain's duty in battle is to aid the wounded." Serving those in combat—as aboard the *Dorchester*—puts chaplains in harm's way as well. Chaplain John L. Lenhart was the first navy chaplain to die in combat when the Union vessel *Cumberland* was rammed and sunk by the Confederate vessel CSS *Virginia* in 1862. In the attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941, Chaplains A. H. Schmitt and T. L. Kirkpatrick would be the first chaplains of any branch to die in World War II, and Chaplain R. C. Hohenstein would be the first wounded on that same day.

In times of war and peace, chaplains have brought the hope and faith of Christ and his church onboard to the sailors of the armed forces facing peril on the sea. CH

Christopher A. Graham is assistant director at the North American Maritime Ministry Association (NAMMA).

EDWIN WEEDON, *NAVAL ENGAGEMENT IN HAMPTON ROADS*; THE CONFEDERATE IRON-PLATED STEAMER *MERRIMAC* (OR *VIRGINIA*) RUNNING INTO THE FEDERAL SLOOP *CUMBERLAND*, 1862 (ENGRAVING)—LOOK AND LEARN / ILLUSTRATED PAPERS COLLECTION / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES
STEPHEN DECAUTER TRENCHARD—FIND A GRAVE

"Let the sea roll high or low"

Christians in the United States Merchant Marine

In December 1950 the SS *Meredith Victory* entered the mine-filled harbor of Hungnam, Korea, to assist in the evacuation of civilians from war. Meant to carry freight for the US war effort, the ship was designed to accommodate fewer than 50 total crew and passengers. The 14,000 North Korean civilians who embarked in Hungnam were packed into the cargo holds. On Christmas Day, after a transit with no food or water for the evacuees, the *Meredith Victory* arrived at Geoje Island, South Korea. Each of the 14,000 refugees who had embarked in Hungnam disembarked on Geoje Island—along with five babies born during the three-day voyage. For conducting the largest evacuation from land by a single ship, the *Meredith Victory* earned the congressional designation "Gallant Ship."

Though this event took place during wartime, the *Meredith Victory* was not a United States Navy man-of-war, but a ship in the United States Merchant Marine. And the crew, including Captain Leonard LaRue, were not members of the armed forces but merchant mariners.

BATTLIN' MERCHANT MARINERS Disney Studios created the "Battlin' Pete" patch to recognize the valor of the Merchant Marine (*top*). Those aboard ships such as the *Meredith Victory* (*above*) lived up to the honor.

UNARMED BUT UNAFRAID

All noncombatant vessels in the waterborne commerce of a country, whether transporting cargo or passengers, comprise its merchant marine or fleet. Most seafarers throughout history served on these types of vessels and can be referred to as merchant mariners.

The merchant fleet of the United States is as old as the republic, and its tales are captured in works by classic American authors such as Herman Melville (1819–1891) and Richard Henry Dana (1815–1882). The United States Merchant Marine became especially popular, however, in the first half of the twentieth century, because it played such a significant role in both the US economy and passenger transportation at that time and in support of the armed forces in World Wars I and II.

Merchant sailors who serve during wartime face the double force of nature and war at sea. In the words of the American merchant mariners' song:

Let the sea roll high or low,
We can cross any ocean, sail any river.
Give us the goods and we'll deliver.
Damn the submarine!
We're the men of the Merchant Marine.

Unlike combatants in wartime, however, merchant marine vessels are unarmed and depend upon armed escorts. (With no escorts for protection and Captain LaRue's pistol as the only weapon aboard, the *Meredith Victory* was particularly vulnerable.)

Over 7,000 mariners lost their lives on merchant ships during the two world wars. The Mariners' Memorial Chapel in Kings Point, New York, was constructed to memorialize their sacrifice. There a leather-bound *Roll of Honor Book* inscribed with their names remains open. Every day a page is turned so that all mariners listed will be remembered by those praying there.

LEGACY OF MIRACLES

With no dedicated chaplain corps, the intersection of Christianity and the US Merchant Marine is found in the lives of individual Christian mariners aboard vessels such as the *Meredith Victory*—the "Ship of Miracles" as it became known. After the war Captain LaRue became a Benedictine monk and took a monastic name befitting his experience on the sea: Brother Marinus. Reflecting on the Hungnam rescue, he later said:

> I think often of that voyage. I think of how such a small vessel was able to hold so many persons and surmount endless perils without harm to a soul. And, as I think, the clear, unmistakable message comes to me that on that Christmastide, in the bleak and bitter waters off the shores of Korea, God's own hand was at the helm of my ship.

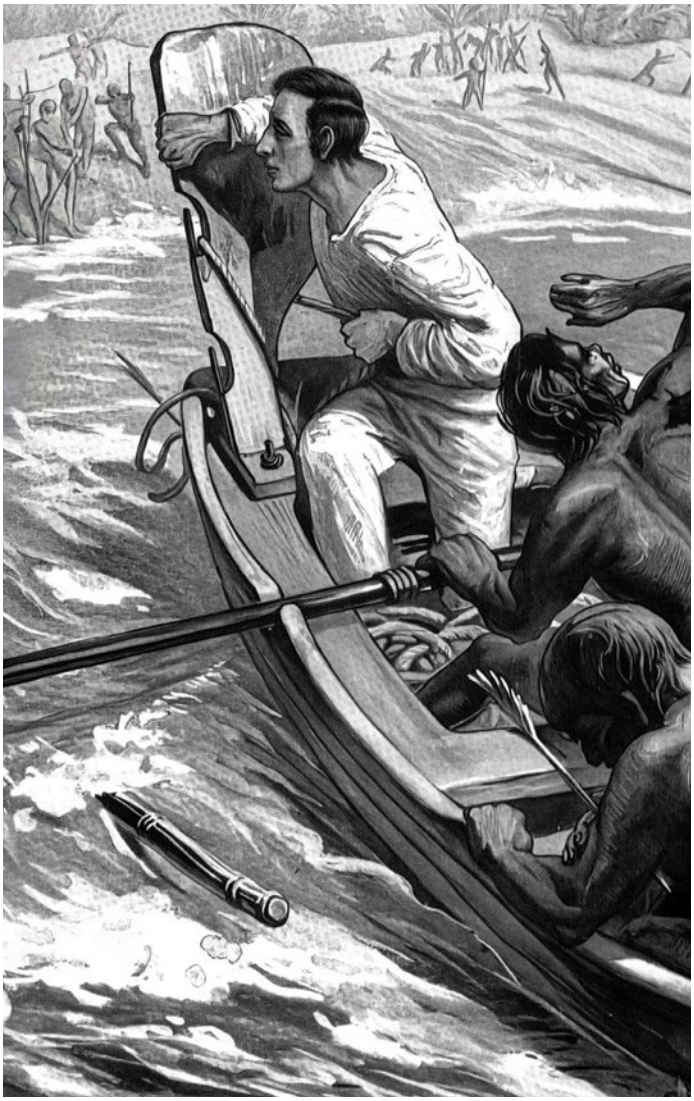
—Christopher A. Graham, assistant director at NAMMA

BATTLIN' PETE—WORTHPOINT
UNITED STATES MERCHANT MARINE ACADEMY PATCH—CRAFTS.CLOTHES.LIFESTYLE / EBAY
LOUIS CLAES (PHOTOGRAPHER), S. S. *MEREDITH VICTORY*, 1968—[CC0 1.0 UNIVERSAL] MUSEUM AAN DE STROOM

Fishers of men

MEN WHO MINISTERED BY AND AT SEA

Melody Belk



SOUTH PACIFIC STEPHEN An illustration shows John Patteson shielding his companions in his final moments (*left*). The night before the attack, Patteson preached about Stephen's martyrdom (Acts 7).

PATTESON SHIELDING HIMSELF AND HIS COWORKERS—JOHN C. LAMBERT, *THE ROMANCE OF MISSIONARY HEROISM* (PHILADELPHIA: LIPPINCOTT, 1907), PLATE AFTER P. 280

JOHN ASHLEY (1801–1886), MINISTER TO SCALLYWAGS

While enjoying a family holiday in Clevedon, an English beach town on the Bristol Channel, John Ashley's son asked him how the people of Flat Holm went to church.

Flat Holm, an infamous island off the southern coast of Wales, was known as a place between the mainland and the sea where sailors stored smuggled goods in the island's ancient caves. Inspired by his son's innocent question, Ashley, an Anglican priest, began to see the seafarers of Flat Holm as a group in dire need of the church's ministry rather than as a notorious population to be avoided.

In 1835 Ashley spent several months ministering to seafarers on the English shore and on Flat Holm Island. He named his ministry the Bristol Channel Mission in 1836, through which he commissioned the vessel *Eirene* to reach more sailors (see pp. 36–38). The mission's work tackled the specific needs of its flock, establishing honest lodgings and chapels at ports to combat crimps.

During the following decade, Ashley visited over 14,000 ships and sold thousands of Bibles and prayer books. Conflict with his board led Ashley to retire from the mission in 1850. In 1856 the Bristol Channel Mission joined with the other local ministries, collectively reaching 14 ports. Today the ministry begun by John Ashley is known as the Mission to Seafarers and cares for all who sail its way in 200 ports across 50 countries.

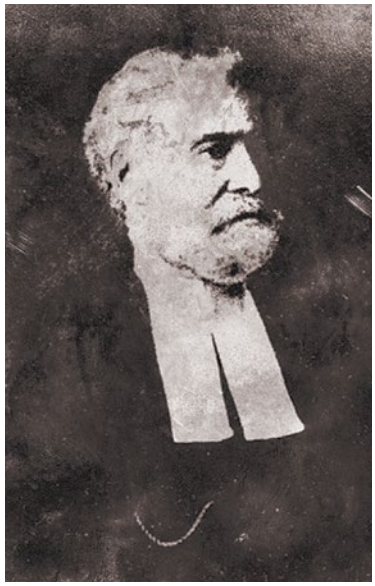
JOHN COLERIDGE PATTESON (1827–1871), MARTYR IN MELANESIA

If ever a man used the sea for ministry, it was John Coleridge Patteson. Recruited in 1854 by the first Anglican bishop of New Zealand, George Selwyn (1809–1878), 27-year-old Patteson joined the mission to Melanesia the following year.

Selwyn's vision was to gather young men from the islands, train them at a central location in New Zealand, and return them to their own people to instruct them in Christianity. Patteson, an expert linguist, would prove a central figure in the effort to recruit and educate these men.

For most of each year, Patteson taught in Auckland, but he also sailed to Melanesia while recruiting potential students. Between 1858 and his untimely death, he lived a few months on one or another of the islands in Western Oceania learning the language and customs of his hosts. Altogether he learned to speak 23 Melanesian languages and printed grammars in 13 of them. Patteson sought to share the gospel with the Melanesians without forcing them to act as "English Christians."

In 1861 Patteson was consecrated bishop of a newly formed island diocese encompassing today's New Caledonia, Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu. However, a portion of the Solomon Islands, known as the Santa Cruz group, had been unreceptive to the gospel. In 1871 Patteson and his assistants visited Nukapa, one island in the Santa Cruz group. Patteson may have had a premonition of what



SAILING WITH SCRIPTURE John Ashley (*right*) reached sailors by distributing Bibles in the Bristol Channel. On the Korean coast, Robert Jermain Thomas (*far right*) died trying to deliver Bibles to unreceptive locals.

THE REV. JOHN ASHLEY, D.D., PIONEER CHAPLAIN IN THE BRISTOL CHANNEL—HTTPS://MAR.INE.RS/STORIES/REV-JOHN-ASHLEY-1801–1886, 19TH OR EARLY 20TH CENTURY / PUBLIC DOMAIN
ROBERT JERMAIN THOMAS—PUBLIC DOMAIN, WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

lay in store; the night before landing, he preached to his small company about the martyrdom of Stephen. On September 20, 1871, the band of missionaries was attacked. Nukapa islanders clubbed and speared Patteson, who died instantly. Reverend Joseph Atkin and Stephen Taroaniara were shot with arrows. The attack was widely thought to have been in retaliation for English "blackbirding" (the capture of islanders for forced work).

Nukapa women, who had pleaded against the violence, bathed and arranged Patteson's body with respect. The next day he was buried at sea from the mission ship *Southern Cross*, as were Patteson's two wounded comrades when they died a few days later of tetanus.

ROBERT JERMAIN THOMAS (1840–1866), EAGER EVANGELIST

Born in Rhayader, Wales, Robert Jermain Thomas was the son of a pastor. Thomas received a good education, studying in London and distinguishing himself as an excellent student of theology and linguistics. He entered adulthood just as Wales was experiencing a spiritual revival in 1859. Young Thomas felt a call to ministry.

Eager to begin he left his prestigious studies and married Caroline Godfrey, was ordained a minister, and applied to be a missionary to China with the London Missionary Society in 1863. He was quickly accepted and embarked on the four-month voyage to Shanghai with his wife.

Robert and Caroline arrived safely in December of that same year. In March Caroline suffered a miscarriage and died. Thomas resigned from his position with the society and took up work in Chefoo, China, the port nearest to Korea. There he met a small group of Catholic Koreans.

Known as the "Hermit Kingdom," Korea had long shut out Westerners, but Catholic missionaries had secretly brought the gospel in the eighteenth century. Korean converts faced persecution at home and were fleeing to China. Thomas's new friends began to teach him Korean and help him gain access to Chinese Bibles, as no Korean translation had been made. Thomas became zealous to spread the good news in Korea.

Thomas embarked on his journey in 1865 and spent a few months on Korean islands distributing Bibles and studying the language. In 1866 the government killed 8,000 Catholics in mainland Korea. Around this time Thomas took a position as an interpreter aboard a US ship, the SS *General Sherman*, determined to spread the gospel in the center of Korea.

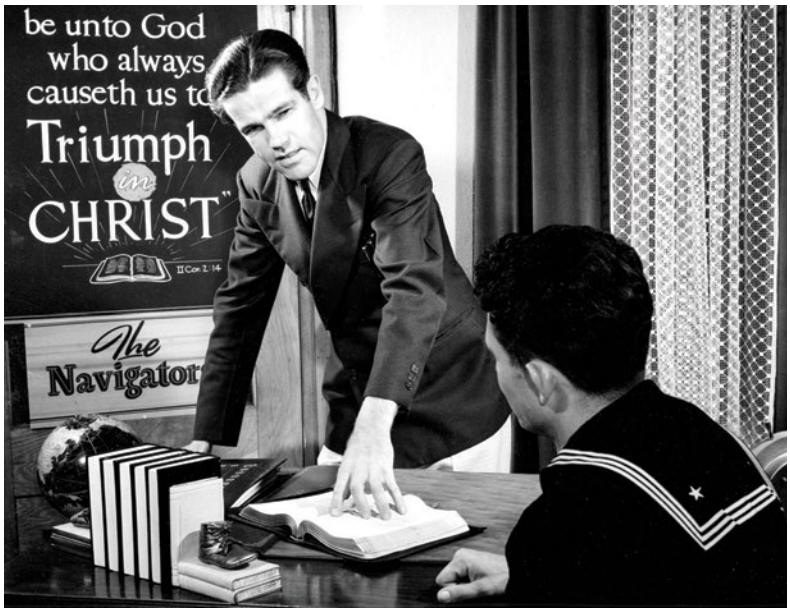
The crew of the *General Sherman* hoped to trade with Koreans, despite knowing the hostile government policy. They likely intended to loot if they were not successful. As the heavily armed vessel sailed up the Taedong River toward Pyongyang, the kingdom's capital city, the Koreans reacted with a preemptive strike. Troops set fire to small boats and pushed them toward the *General Sherman*. It caught fire and the crew abandoned ship. Thomas gathered all the Bibles he could carry. Reaching the river bank, he cried out "Jesus, Jesus!" and threw Bibles toward the Korean troops. As a soldier pointed a sword at him, Thomas handed the man a Bible and was killed.

Thomas's martyrdom appeared fruitless at first. But a young boy took home a few of the Bibles left on the river bank. One government worker used the pages of a copy as wallpaper. Over the years a few Koreans read the Bibles and came to faith, including Thomas's executioner, Park Chun-Kwon. Twenty years after Thomas's death, the small group of believers founded Pyongyang's first church, and the city later witnessed a massive revival in 1907. Today South Korea is a beacon of the light of Christ and sends many missionaries out into the world.

PETER ANSON (1889–1975), APOSTLE OF THE SEA

From a young age, Frederick Charles Anson was in love with the sea. Born in Southsea, Portsmouth, on the southern coast of England, Frederick was surrounded by nautical life. His father served as a renowned rear admiral, but it was the common sailors who fascinated young Anson. He became a skilled watercolorist, often depicting fishing boats and fisherfolk.

From 1908 to 1910, Anson studied architecture at Westminster, but left to become an Anglican Benedictine oblate. In 1913 Anson converted to Catholicism alongside all those in his monastic community.



MINISTERS TO MARINERS **Both Catholic convert Peter Anson (*left*) and evangelical Presbyterian Dawson Trotman (*above*) served sailors with personal hospitality, evangelization, and discipleship to converts. Both also helped found ministries specifically for sailors: the Apostleship of the Sea in Glasgow (Catholic) and the Navigators (Protestant).**

Anson moved to an abbey in Scotland for his health in 1919. For a couple of years, he served as a spare hand on boats. In 1921 he cofounded the Apostleship of the Sea in Glasgow, a Catholic ministry to meet the needs of seafarers. (The ministry today is known as Stella Maris.) Largely run by laypeople, the Apostleship set up hostels, visited ships, and engaged sailors with religious teaching and entertainment. It encouraged Christian sailors to take spiritual responsibility for fellow seamen.

In 1924 Anson left the Benedictines, preparing to become a Franciscan tertiary in 1925. During this time he took the name "Peter," by which he is now known, after another fisher of men. He also continued writing and painting subjects of the sea, religious life, and architecture. A few of his best-known works are *Fishing Boats and Fisherfolk on the East Coast of Scotland* (1930) and *How to Draw Ships* (1935).

He traveled extensively, especially to ports, capturing the everyday lives of seafarers in his critically acclaimed watercolors. Anson never ceased ministry to sailors, opening his house in northern Scotland to them for at least 14 years. While staying at a Scottish monastery near the sea, he died at age 86.

DAWSON TROTMAN (1906–1956), NAVIGATOR FOR CHRIST

Born in Bisbee, Arizona, Dawson Trotman grew up occasionally attending church. After an arrest as a young man, Dawson half-heartedly promised to start attending church again. He came to faith in Christ while memorizing Scripture. Some mentors at church encouraged him to pursue ministry, so Trotman began studies at a seminary in Los Angeles.

Trotman became known as a powerful evangelist, a real "soul winner." A sailor, Les Spencer, heard about Trotman and wanted to learn to win souls as well; Trotman gave Spencer a place to stay while he was on leave from the navy and began training him to evangelize.

When Spencer returned to his ship, he used his training to guide a dozen men to Christ. Spencer brought these sailors to Trotman, who welcomed them to stay at his apartment as he continued to equip them with Scripture. Over time sailors discipled by Trotman spread these "floating seminaries" to numerous ships. Les Spencer's ship, the USS *West Virginia*, saw over 100 converts before it was attacked at Pearl Harbor.

Trotman began to see a dangerous lack, however: these revivals produced many converts who were not being discipled or changed. Consequently he began the Navigators—a parachurch organization that connected the newly saved with one-on-one discipleship. The ministry continued to serve sailors and spread to colleges, churches, and the military. Billy Graham and other preachers employed the Navigators for many years to ensure the seeds they planted were watered.

Trotman continued to preach and lead the Navigators while raising five children with his wife, Lila Mae. In the summer of 1956, Trotman visited New York state to preach at a Word of Life Christian camp. He, along with staff and campers, was enjoying a boat ride on the lake when the boat hit rough water. Trotman and a camper fell overboard, and Trotman drowned while holding up the young girl, who was saved. At Trotman's funeral Billy Graham said, "Daws died the same way he lived—holding others up." CH

Melody Belk is editorial coordinator for Christian History *magazine.*

The gospel at sea

SAFE TO SHORE A 17th-c. Italian oil painting shows a woman thanking Christ for a ship's safe passage. Throughout the ages, believers on- and offshore have called upon the name of Jesus for safety at sea.

Use these study questions to guide discussion and reflection on the millennia-spanning story of Christianity and its relationship to the sea.

1. What is your favorite passage from Scripture about the sea and why? (See pages 6 and 7 for examples.)

2. What surprised you about the everyday lives of seafarers throughout the centuries (pp. 8–11)?

3. What makes the biblical account of the sea's creation different from that of other ancient religions? Why is this significant (p. 12)?

4. What does the legendary story of Brendan the Navigator reveal to us about mission-minded monks in the Middle Ages (pp. 13–15)? Which stories do you think are likely true?

5. Consider the excerpts from various hymns and prayer books on page 16. How do you think these would have comforted seafarers? How do they affect you?

6. How did Bartolomé de Las Casas address the evils of the transatlantic slave trade (pp. 17–19)? How did he fail?

7. On page 20, we learn of some seafaring communities' blend of superstitions and faith. Why does this way of life persist for these communities today?

8. What were some of the reasons the Puritans chose to sail to the new world (pp. 21–24)? Why did many missionaries travel the world by sea in the following centuries? Where do we see this legacy today?

9. Why were sailors prone to alcoholism (p. 25)? How did Christians address this problem?

10. Of the "tempestuous voyages" mentioned on pages 28 to 30, as well as in "Did you know?" (inside cover), which story is your favorite, and why? How do these stories point to God?

11. What were some vices and problems of exploitation that sailors faced in the nineteenth century (pp. 31–34; 36–38)? Who were some key Christians and Christian organizations that addressed these problems, and how did they do so?

12. What new things did you learn about the seafaring hymn "Eternal Father, Strong to Save" on page 35? What is your favorite hymn using sea imagery and why?

13. How did changes in technology affect sailors in the twentieth century (pp. 36–38; 39)? How have seafarers—and those who minister to them—adapted to these changes?

14. Consider the stories of the four chaplains and other gospel ministers on pages 40 to 42. What important roles have wartime chaplains served aboard military sailing vessels?

15. What is the United States Merchant Marine (p. 43)? How has the gospel been proclaimed through the mariners who served with the Merchant Marine?

16. Which legacy shared in the stories on pages 44 to 46 is the most impactful to you? Why? CH

Serving those the world rarely sees

THREE PORT CHAPLAINS ON CALLING, CARE, AND THE CHURCH'S MISSION TODAY

Jason Zuidema

Though different from the traditional parish model, maritime ministry continues to be one of the most international, ecumenical, and quietly transformative expressions of Christian care. To explore how this ministry has evolved and why it matters today, Dr. Jason Zuidema, executive director of the North American Maritime Ministry Association (NAMMA), gathered three leaders deeply involved in port chaplaincy: Chaplain Michelle DePooter of the Ministry to Seafarers of the Christian Reformed Church in Montreal; Reverend Stephen McKinney, assistant director of Global Maritime Ministries; and Deacon Paul Rosenblum, port minister for Stella Maris in Charleston. All three have served on NAMMA's board, shaping national and international collaboration in seafarers' welfare.

MINISTRY MOMENT A volunteer with Global Maritime Ministries (GMM) prays with a seafarer. Opportunities to minister to sailors are often brief.

GOD'S LOVE IN THE MARGINS

For Michelle DePooter maritime ministry reflects the gospel's universality and Jesus's concern for those often forgotten. "People from all over the world come into the Port of Montreal," she explained. "We're able to talk with people from around the world and see their unique differences. You could have ships with many different nationalities. Jesus often ministered to the ones who were forgotten, the ones on the margins. And in many cases, seafarers are still like that. . . . Seafarers are not known. They're not remembered. But . . . we show them that Jesus remembers and cares."

Stephen McKinney's journey began in childhood. "I have an early memory of packing Christmas boxes for seafarers as a child at our church, not knowing that this would be my calling later in life." He sees the port as a unique place: "As a follower of Christ, we are called to be his witnesses to the ends of the earth. And as we say at the port, we have the ends of the earth coming to us. It's like the Great Commission in reverse."

Maritime ministry, for him, is simultaneously compassionate and practical. "We get to be home away from home for men and women who are on the margins, who feel invisible." And in simple acts of service, he sees transformation. "Meeting needs encourages them, being present gives them hope, helping them to have peace through faith in Christ."

For Paul Rosenblum the call to maritime ministry came as part of a deeper spiritual shift. Shortly after moving to Charleston, South Carolina, he realized: "I actually had to live out my Christian identity. It was not just a matter of going to Mass every Sunday; I had to take this forward."

Seafarers' ministry became the place where belief and action meet. "I feel we're making a difference in the lives of people whom we know are invisible to most people," he said. "We need to say, 'thank you' to these men and women, but we also need to live out our lives as disciples and love our neighbor as ourselves."

FAITH IN FLEETING MOMENTS

What distinguishes maritime chaplaincy from other chaplaincies or parish work is the fleeting nature of encounters. McKinney emphasized this: "Our ministry opportunities may be very short, on a gangway, in a van, in a mess hall. We never know how long we'll have with them." Without

GLOBAL MARITIME MINISTRIES VOLUNTEER PRAYS WITH A PORT EMPLOYEE—PHOTO BY DAVID RIDER / GLOBAL MARITIME MINISTRIES

LOVE IN EVERY LANGUAGE (*right*) **This Seafarer's New Testament in English/Mandarin is one of many Bible translations distributed through the Naval & Military Bible Society, a UK-based ministry that serves seafarers worldwide. GMM also reaches mariners around the world with the gospel (*above*) and distributes biblical resources in 75 different languages.**

SERVING THE SEVEN SEAS These logos (*above*) represent just a handful of ministries for seafarers and include those mentioned in this interview.

long-term relationships, chaplains must be "prepared for ministry immediately, because it may be the only opportunity we have to meet the seafarer."

"With other chaplaincies people are there for a specific length of time," DePooter explained. But in port, "we might just have a few moments to meet them in that need." Seafarers may arrive in joy—"they've just been promoted"—or heartbreak—"finding out that somebody has passed away at home."

In her words maritime chaplains often help someone take only the "zero to one" step in faith, trusting that "another port, another chaplain, will walk with them" further. This fragmentation requires trust in God's providence. "We don't necessarily see how the seeds that we plant grow to fruition," DePooter said, "and we have to trust that God has them."

A TRADITION OF SERVICE

Each chaplain reflected on how their organization's history shapes their work. McKinney, whose organization recently celebrated 60 years, sees history as evidence of God's continued provision. "It is just a testimony of God's faithfulness, that this ministry is still thriving. When challenges come up, we don't have to worry that God will provide."

After reflecting on her mission's history, DePooter saw "times when everything should have just collapsed, but it didn't."

For her the memory of earlier generations strengthens present commitment: "We're here because of the people who have gone before; what they put in place so many years ago continues at its core."

Rosenblum's reflection reached back even further. "Star of the Sea [Stella Maris] is one of the oldest names for the Virgin Mary, as early as the second or third century," he noted. The Catholic chaplains of Stella Maris, founded in 1921, continue this long-standing devotion. "To be part of an organization that has a long history gives us grounding. We are following in the footsteps of many others who saw this as an important ministry."

ONE AT SEA, ONE IN CHRIST

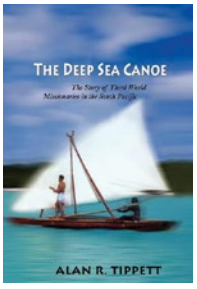
All three chaplains emphasized that maritime ministry is inherently ecumenical—and must be. DePooter spoke of the richness of working across traditions. "We might express ourselves differently," she said, "but at the heart of it, we worship the same God. If we're not able to work together then how can we respect and interact with seafarers who come from so many different backgrounds?"

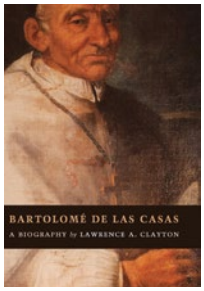
McKinney stressed humility. "Despite our differences, we are united in Christ, united in expressing Christ's love to the seafarers. I know there are others doing the same in their ports; we're better together."

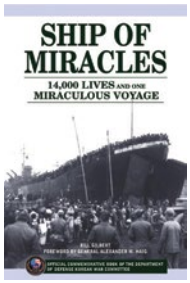
"If you want to look at a model for ecumenical relationships that the entire church world could look at, then seafarers' ministry is one of those," Rosenblum added. For him maritime ministry shows what Christian unity can look like in practice: "We put aside differences to serve a common purpose. That's what the church is supposed to be." CH

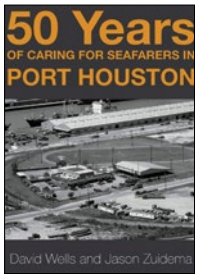
Recommended resources

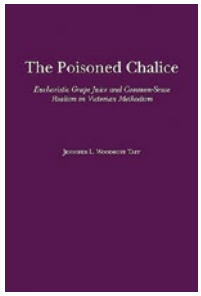
DIVE DEEP INTO THE STORY OF FAITH ON THE HIGH SEAS WITH THESE RESOURCES WRITTEN AND RECOMMENDED BY OUR AUTHORS AND EDITORS.

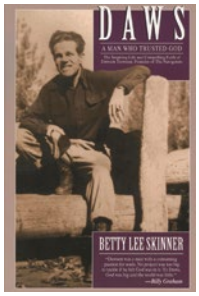












BOOKS

For more on early Christian sea journeys, including **Paul's sea missions**, see Eckhard Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission* (2004), and N. T. Wright, *Paul: A Biography* (2018). For **Brendan the Navigator and other monks**, see Lucy Menzies, *Saint Columba of Iona* (1949); Jonathan Wooding, ed., *The Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature* (2000); Clara Strijbosch, *The Seafaring Saint* (2000); Gearóid Ó Donnchadha, *St. Brendan of Kerry, the Navigator* (2004); Sean Duffy, *Routledge Revivals: Medieval Ireland* (2005); and Edmund Newell, *The Sacramental Sea: A Spiritual Voyage through Christian History* (2019). Younger readers or those looking for a fun fictional account should try Sandy Dengler, *The Emerald Sea* (1994).

On the **transatlantic slave trade**, read Herbert Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (1999); John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World* (1998); David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (2000); Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (2005); and Douglas Egerton, Alison Games, Jane Landers, Kris Lane, and Donald Wright, eds., *The Atlantic World: A History, 1400–1492* (2007). Zero in on **Bartolome de Las Casas** with Lawrence Clayton, *Bartolomé de las Casas: Voice of Justice in the Americas* (2025), or read the man himself in an English translation of *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (1999).

Follow the ***Mayflower*'s** journey with Nathaniel Philbrick, *Mayflower: Voyage, Community, War* (2007). Read vivid accounts of **eighteenth-century life at sea** in Stephen Russell Berry, *A Path in the Mighty Waters: Shipboard Life and Atlantic Crossings to the New World* (2015). For specific **eighteenth-century seafaring figures**, see Jonathan Aitken, *John Newton: From Disgrace to Amazing Grace* (2007); Tom Schwanda and Mark Noll, *Emergence of Evangelical Spirituality: The Age of Edwards, Newton, and Whitefield* (2016); and Bruce Hindmarsh and Craig Borlase, *Amazing Grace* (2023).

Abundant resources cover the **great missions century**, and here are a few to get you started: William Pakenham Walsh, *Modern Heroes of the Mission Field* (1915) and Gerald Anderson, ed., *Mission Legacies: Biographical Studies of the Leaders of the Modern Mission Movement* (1994). Focus on **William Carey** with Timothy George, *Faithful Witness: The Life and Mission of William Carey* (1991); similarly, read more about **Adoniram and Ann Judson** with Jason Duesing, *Adoniram Judson* (2012). Find more resources on these missionaries and more in the websites section. For **sea missions in the South Pacific**, read Alan Tippett, *The Deep Sea Canoe: The Story of Third World Missionaries in the South Pacific* (2005).

Discover more about **navy chaplains** and wartime Christianity with Harold Langley, *Social Reform in the United States Navy 1798–1862* (1967); Gordon Taylor, *The Sea Chaplains* (1978); Michael Shay, *Sky Pilots* (2014); Clifford Drury, *The History of the Chaplain Corp* (2018); and Robert Doyle, *Men of God, Men of War* (2024). The story of the **US Merchant Marine** is told in Brian Herbert, *Forgotten Heroes: The Heroic Story of the United States Merchant Marine* (2004); also read the story of **Leonard La Rue** in Bill Gilbert, *Ship of Miracles* (2000) and Philip Lacovara, *The Mariner and the Monk* (2020).

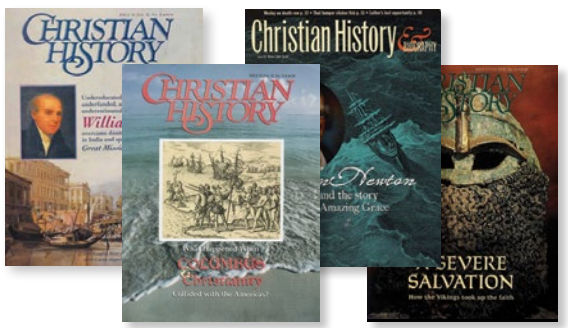
Meet **Peter Anson** in Michael Yelton, *Peter Anson: Monk, Writer and Artist* (2005). **John C. Patteson**'s cousin Charlotte Yonge wrote *Life of John Coleridge Patteson*. For **John Ashley** read Robert Miller, *Dr. Ashley's Pleasure Yacht* (2017); for **Robert Jermain Thomas** see Yoo Hae-seok, *The First Protestant Martyr in Korea from Wales* (2026); and for **Dawson Trotman** see Betty Lee Skinner, *Daws: A Man Who Trusted God* (2019).

To overview **ministries to seafarers**, start with Roald Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions: Their Origins and Early Growth* (1986); Ronald Hope, *Poor Jack: The Perilous History of the Merchant Seaman* (2001); Ted Mall, *Developing Ministry to Seafarers* (2002); Paul Mooney, *Maritime Mission: History, Developments, A New Perspective* (2005); and Stephen Friend, *Fishing for Souls* (2018).

Introductions to **reform ministries** include Alston Kennerley, *British Seamen's Missions and Sailors' Homes—1815 to 1970* (1989) and A. D. Couper, *Voyages of Abuse: Seafarers Human Rights and International Shipping* (1999). Survey **alcohol and the temperance movement** in Jack Blocker, *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform* (1989); Jack Blocker, David Fahey, and Ian Tyrrell, eds., *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia* (2003); and Jennifer Woodruff Tait, *The Poisoned Chalice* (2011).

For specific ministries, including **Stella Maris**, **Mission to Seafarers**, and **International Christian Maritime Association**, see Francis Frayne, *What Is the Apostleship of the Sea?* (1965); Michael Jacob, *The Flying Angel Story* (1973); Robert Miller, *Ship of Peter: The Catholic Sea Apostolate and the Apostleship of the Sea* (1995); Paul Mooney, *A History of ICMA* (2019); and Jason Zuidema and David Wells, *50 Years of Caring for Seafarers in Port Houston* (2019).

Explore **modern maritime change and ministry** with Robert Miller, *From Shore to Shore: A History of the Church and the Merchant Seafarer* (1989); Robert Gardiner, ed., *The Shipping Revolution: The Modern Merchant Ship* (1992); Roald Kverndal, *The Way of the Sea* (2008); and David Reid, *Ship and Shore: An Insider Explains the Maritime World* (2021).



PAST *CH* ISSUES

Several issues of *Christian History* touch on Christianity on the seas and other topics covered in this issue. Here are a few:

#1: *Zinzendorf and the Moravians*
#25: *The Unconventional Dwight L. Moody*
#33: *Christianity and the Civil War*
#35: *Colombus & Christianity*
#36: *William Carey and the Great Missions Century*
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#47: *Paul and His Times*
#53: *William Wilberforce and the Century of Reform*
#60: *How the Irish Were Saved*
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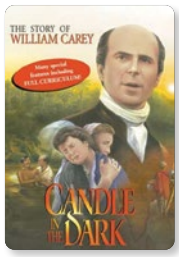

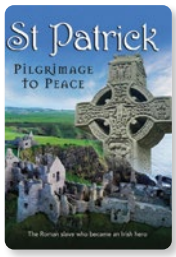

VIDEOS FROM VISION VIDEO

Several films at Redeem TV and Vision Video relate to this issue: *Servant of Christ: Robert Jermain Thomas*; *Amazing Grace*; *Newton's Grace*; *The Bible Collection: Saint Paul*; *The Incredible Journey: John Wesley*; *Candle in the Dark*; *St. Patrick: Pilgrimage of Peace*; *My Journey to Life on the Trail of Celtic Saints*. Our Torchlighters episodes for children feature many figures discussed in this issue, including Patrick, John Wesley, John Newton, R. J. Thomas, William Carey, and Adoniram and Ann Judson.

WEBSITES

Some of the ministries to seafarers mentioned in this issue are still in operation today. Visit the International Christian Maritime Association and the North American Maritime Ministry Association online to get started. Through the NAMMA website, you can also find multiple affiliated agencies—such as the Apostleship of the Sea and Global Maritime Ministries, to name just a few. Mercy Ships, a ministry to those in need at sea, also operates around the world today.

For further resources on the voyage of Saint Brendan and the full story in Latin, see Dickinson College, which includes a helpful introduction and history. For a more visual experience, see the Looking North blog, which documents historian Tim Severin's reenactment of Brendan's voyage.

William Carey University's Center for Study on the Life and Work of William Carey can get you started on Carey and maritime missions during that time. Find more resources at Boston University's History of Missiology, which has helpful sections on John Eliot, Thomas Coke, William Carey, Adoniram Judson, Ann Hasseltine Judson, Samuel and Harriet Newell, and D. L. Moody, to name a few figures from this issue. And you might examine the documentary *Ship of Miracles*.

Finally Gutenberg.org, Christian Classics Ethereal Library, and Internet Modern Sourcebook have primary sources. CH

In ports across North America, chaplains and ship visitors climb gangways each day to meet seafarers where they are, offering care and connection. NAMMA is an ecumenical Christian association that supports and connects this work across the region. Learn more at: **namma.org**.

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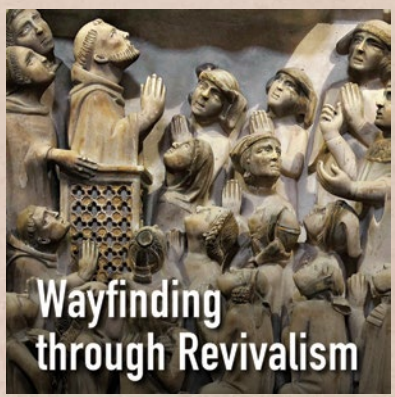

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