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The last Great Awakening: The Revival of 1905 and Progressivism

Heinrichs, Timothy Jacob, Ph.D.

University of Washington, 1991

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The Last Great Awakening:

The Revival of 1905 and Progressivism

by

Timothy J. Heinrichs

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

1991

Approved by Otis A. Pease
(Chairperson of Supervisory Committee)

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to Offer Degree History

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Doctoral Dissertation

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Abstract

The Last Great Awakening:
The Revival of 1905 and Progressivism

by Tim Heinrichs

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Department of History

A major impulse within the Progressive movement was the desire to revitalize core values based on evangelical Christianity. For an important cross-section of Progressive leaders and evangelical clergymen, new patterns of thought and social realities threatened the moral imperatives on which they based their hopes for America. Feeling this danger acutely, yet also believing in boundless possibilities for building a righteous society, these reformers spearheaded a new Great Awakening within the tradition of past ones. This Awakening spread its influence to a ready electorate through moral fervor and political preaching similar to evangelistic awakenings of the past.

Some reformers adapted this revitalization movement to modern patterns of thought, maintaining the moral core of the Awakening. On the other hand clergymen and other Progressives sought a more purely religious Great Awakening, a society-wide revival based on intensified piety and personal evangelism. Liberal and conservative evangelicals converged

on similar revival hopes, and they were cheered by a sense of divine intervention and by the surge of popular religious interest culminating in 1905.

Beginning with the normal fall and winter evangelism period of 1904-1905, revivals of surprising power swept through cities, towns, and villages around the country. The Revival of 1905 contributed heavily to a surge of popular support for reform, convincing many Progressives that the Great Awakening had arrived. A new constituency remained to support numerous Progressive issues; political leaders responded by framing reform causes as revivalistic crusades.

Eventually, however, Progressive crusaders had to come to terms with realities they thought they had conquered. America had become a pluralistic society that operated according to secular lines of thought, and its problems could not be solved through moral suasion alone. About the time of the First World War, when the evangelical consensus collapsed over the question of how far to accommodate secularism, the life went out of Progressivism also. Reform thereafter became purely a matter of building coalitions of interests, not of appealing to society at large to actuate values derived from evangelical Christianity. Still, the power of the moral appeal inhered in American reform thinking for years afterward.

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LIST OF SOURCE ABBREVIATIONS

BHMM	Baptist Home Mission Monthly
CCA	California Christian Advocate
GCMEC Journal	Journal of the General Council of the Methodist Episcopal Church (North)
LCO	Louisville Christian Observer
NYCA	Christian Advocate (New York)
PCA	Pacific Christian Advocate
PGA Minutes	Minutes of the Presbyterian General Assembly (Presby. Church in the USA)
Pitt	Pittsburgh Christian Advocate
PNA	Philadelphia North American
PPL	Philadelphia Public Ledger
RCA Annual Report	Annual Report of the Reformed Church in America
SDU	Schenectady Daily Union
SES	Schenectady Evening Star
SG	Schenectady Gazette
SLCA	St. Louis Christian Advocate
SPI	Seattle Post-Intelligencer
ST	Seattle Times
WCA	Western Christian Advocate

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INTRODUCTION

"As the historian a hundred years hence looks back to the earlier years of this twentieth century," the Reverend Francis E. Clark wrote in the summer of 1905:

> ...he will describe it as a decade of revival, a revival of interest in spiritual things, a revival of missionary zeal, a revival of civic and corporate righteousness. The evangelist is coming to his own again. Materialism has had its day for the present, and spiritual truth is taking its place as the only reality.[1]

If he had had a peek at future scholarship on his era, Clark would have been deeply disappointed so far. Many worthwhile themes from his time have commanded close scholarly attention, but not the revival as Clark saw it.

Unfortunately, this has been a loss to our understanding of the period. The first decade of this century was a period of spiritual awakening, and the bundle of revivals to which Clark referred formed an acutely important though now mainly forgotten part of American life. They explain the peculiar tone of that prewar era: the innocence, the exuberance, the mystifying optimism, the giddy crusades. These revivals breathed life and inspiration into that congeries of movements known as Progressivism.

This study argues for the centrality to the Progressive movement of "revivalism," broadly understood. First, for all its secular aspects and contributions by nonevangelical

groups, at the heart of Progressivism was a Great Awakening, the last within the American tradition of those national revitalization movements. This Awakening, combining culture and politics in a way appropriate to the time, made up Progressivism for much of its middle-class constituency, who identified Protestant values with America itself and sought reforms consistent with those values. Second, a major driving force of the Awakening was the Revival of 1905, a series of powerful evangelistic movements that swept the country and inspired Clark's prophecy.

Since Puritan days, when appeals laced with bitter jeremiads called society back to God, American history has been powerfully influenced by religious awakenings. These movements helped mold a national identity that was largely evangelical as well as democratic. Perry Miller referred to nineteenth-century revivals as "a central mode of this culture's search for a national identity."[2] Hopes for national unity, for social healing, and for a revitalization of American values along Christian lines helped inspire Great Awakenings from colonial days up to the Revival of 1858.[3] Certainly those hopes were alive at the turn of this century. The "next Great Awakening" longed for then by many American evangelicals was supposed to sweep not only the church but also American society at large as the others had done.

At that time American evangelicals assumed that the transition from church to society was fairly smooth, that America was still a "Christian" (Protestant) nation. Thus a

great revival was calling society back to its evangelical roots, nourished in the past by awakenings. In the Progressive era, for the last time the core values of evangelical Christianity--and derivations from them--could be reaffirmed and held up as the foundation of American culture. This assumption collapsed about the time of World War I, and in a very short time evangelical Christianity would have to settle for minority cultural status in a newly pluralist nation. Then and later some evangelicals, via fundamentalism, even embraced a countercultural vision. Since around 1920, therefore, no society-wide Great Awakening in the traditional American sense has been conceivable.

Such a movement was quite conceivable, however, for the Progressive era. Moreover, to identify a Great Awakening at the core of Progressivism itself is no unprecedented leap of logic, if we concede that new cultural and intellectual trends secularized that awakening to one extent or another. Richard Hofstadter referred to Progressivism as a "secular revival," and Samuel Haber saw it as a "secular Great Awakening."[4] William G. McLoughlin, a leading historian of revivalism, posited a "Third Great Awakening" taking place between 1890 and 1920 throughout American society and culture, a major cultural and ideological reorientation in American thought.[5] "Awakenings," as he described them:

> ...begin in periods of cultural distortion and grave personal stress, when we lose faith in the legitimacy of our norms, the viability of our institutions, and the authority of our leaders in church and state. They eventuate in basic restruc-

> turings of our institutions and redefinitions of our social goals.[6]

McLoughlin made an important contribution in placing the Progressive era within the line of the Great Awakenings and assigning an important role to religion. Beyond that, however, we must part company with him. First, our focus is on the affirmation and adaptation of old core values rather than on any reorientation away from them. In 1900 society at large, as powered by business and politics, was operating by such thoroughly amoral guidelines that the church and the values it stood for seemed to have permanently lost status. No widely shared set of convictions had yet replaced them, and for secular as well as religious reformers in 1900 the times seemed to cry out for them. Then, with the Progressive resurgence, the body of evangelical values around which middle-class society had organized itself conceptually for decades--the moralism, the linkage of spirit and democracy, the belief in perfecting the Kingdom on earth--proved they were still vibrant.

Within the new Great Awakening a powerful movement stirred churches nationwide. The Revival of 1905 is the term church historian J. Edwin Orr assigned it.[7] Perhaps at this point we might compare the meanings of <u>revival</u> and <u>awakening</u> in the evangelical Protestant understanding, from which they were derived. In preaching and in the evangelical press the two were used almost interchangeably, and in later chapters of this study that will also hold true (for local "revivals" and "awakenings"). Despite this usage the terms were not

quite equal, and the distinction is important for understanding revival hopes. A revival began in a church, among believers only, and then was expected to result in some impact outside. Awakening meant both the revival and the impact on society in general (both in conversions and in moral reformation).

As for the Progressive era, of course, secular ideas (often in combination with Protestant ones) helped launch the Great Awakening. Yet a pattern of religious awakenings around the country solidified a nationwide consensus for reform. In 1905 a powerful religious movement crested as evangelical Protestants in cities, towns, villages, and settlements nationwide experienced surprising religious awakenings. The return to faith was not confined to evangelicals, actually, though the religious revivals among nonevangelical denominations are beyond the scope of this study. Nor can it really be confined to 1905; it might just as well be assigned to 1904-1906 or possibly 1901-1909, which would include certain powerful preparatory movements and continue down to "the last awakening" in Boston in 1909.[8] Richard Shepherd, in a 1980 dissertation examining the Baptists in this revival, chose the years 1904-1908.[9] Moreover, the crusading movements that the Revival of 1905 inspired lasted up to the First World War.

The obscurity of this revival, considering its actual importance, is at first puzzling. Part of the problem is that scholars tend to see "revivalism" in its narrowest

sense, as the activities of mass evangelists. No one evangelist stands out in the period between Dwight L. Moody (who cut back his evangelism in the 1880s) and Billy Sunday, whose tremendous rallies of the 1910s appeared to be the apex of revivalism. Thus, for most scholars whatever happened for revivalism in 1905 has been subsumed in the ultimately unsuccessful (in McLoughlin's largely accepted view) mass evangelism of Billy Sunday and his imitators.

To argue for a positive relationship between revivalism and Progressivism might also seem surprising. In McLoughlin's view the Third (Progressive) Awakening came complete with a battle between latter-day Old Lights, who clung to old doctrines of a literal Bible and individual salvation, and New Lights (both Social Gospel and secular), who wanted to adjust American thinking to the modern age. McLoughlin believed that because evangelicalism at large did not rally behind the New Lights and social reform, but clung to outmoded revivalism, it dealt itself out of any chance to shape the awakening.

This view is especially appealing because of later liberal-conservative battles. Evangelicalism in the Progressive period, however, cannot be reduced to Old Lights versus New Lights. The concept of two hostile ideological camps is not as accurate as one of a fairly smooth continuum running from conservative evangelicals to secular liberal reformers who shared many assumptions with the former. Liberal Social Gospelites stood in the middle and acted partly as media-

tors. Another mediator, interestingly, was the revivalistic impulse, which was shared by ministers and other thinkers through much of the continuum. The Progressive-era process of reclaiming traditional Protestant moralism and humanitarianism and the democratic ideology in a revivalistic style mobilized liberals, conservatives, and even secular pragmatists.[10]

Central to this process was revivalism, as pertaining to revival. Unfortunately, this vital connection has been missed; as noted, scholars often confuse revivalism with mass evangelism. Furthermore, mass evangelism has been pictured as a contrivance to bully or stupify into conformity those who would question an unjust economic system, reactionary church doctrines, and Anglo-Saxon supremacy.[11] Or "revivalism" appears as an escape from or a bastion against the intellectual and cultural progress of the new era, "that whole order which threatened the position of the farming and shopkeeping and professional classes that once had dominated a pious and homogeneous and wide-open America."[12] Some historians see revivalism as a parent to fundamentalism and envision a little courthouse in Dayton, Tennessee, where Clarence Darrow put William Jennings Bryan on trial.

To follow these viewpoints, ultimately revivalism proved anachronistic and irrelevant to what was truly moving society. Yet the Revival of 1905 and the last Great Awakening were at the very heart of America's difficult transition to the twentieth century, and not as a reactionary drag on

American thought. While these movements sounded a note of urgency concerning the crisis of values, they mainly lacked the defensive, despairing, intolerant attitude leading historians of that era have assigned to revivalism. Despite some nostalgia for the old ways, the Revival of 1905 did not cause Americans to look backward in frightened yearning to the comforts of the old century. Instead it awakened people at large to the need to actualize their moral values in the society around them. The seeming restoration of these imperatives emboldened leading reformers and helped them resolve some of their own intellectual and cultural tensions. Moreover, the Awakening mobilized foot soldiers for social and political improvement. Here we are speaking mainly of its impact on evangelical Protestant laymen and women who made up much of the rank and file of Progressivism and who, arguably, were more important to it were than Social Gospel leaders. "They dynamics of progressivism," Link and McCormick have observed, "were crucially generated by ordinary people--by the sometimes frenzied mass supporters of progressive leaders, by rank-and-file voters willing to trust a reform candidate."[13]

As a process of cultural revitalization, the last Great Awakening broadened this same impulse to a wider range of reform participants. Insofar as Americans adapted worthwhile core values successfully to the new age, to draw strength from in the struggles ahead, the Awakening deserves much credit for that success. Because it reassured reformers that

their core values were still vibrant, it infused the reform movement with energy and confidence even to adapt their thinking to current and future needs. Reclaimed humanitarian and democratic values also drove pragmatists and revivalists to that Progressive oddity of seeking moral solutions to technical problems. "Progressivism," Gabriel noted, "was a movement born of hope and disillusionment. Disillusionment came first."[14] The explanation is that the disillusionment felt by many reformers with the sway of ugly materialistic goals in society gave way to an exuberant repossession of spiritual values.

The first chapter will explore the relationships between Progressivism and the concept of Great Awakening while establishing a broad intellectual continuum from important nonreligious reformers to conservative evangelicals. Our goal here is to set up a cultural model of Progressivism that demonstrates its receptivity to the evangelical appeal; Progressive leaders and thinkers are the main subjects throughout. The chapter will explore the close ties and parallels between Progressivism and evangelical revivalism in the realm of core values.

In the next chapter our attention will shift to evangelical leaders and their hopes for a Great Awakening. As their understanding of revival and awakening is explored, it will become clear that traditional revival hopes paralleled the aspirations of a wide spectrum of Progressive reformers

discussed in the first chapter. Moreover, even though liberal and conservative evangelicals debated what kind of awakening to expect, they were largely united in their quest for a Great Awakening. Thus the secular-religious continuum studied in the first chapter held strong between Social Gospel liberals and more "revivalistic" theological conservatives.

In the third chapter this unity is shown to have intensified around hopes for an awakening, based on evangelism, which were shared by liberals as well as conservatives. Both mobilized for the revival. Indeed, the participation by liberal evangelicals in the Revival of 1905 shaped its course significantly and added a surprising dimension to this little-understood story.

Much of the burden we are assuming thereafter is to demonstrate that the Revival of 1905 actually occurred, and in a broad array of locales exceptionally powerful revivals did take place, fitting the nationwide pattern.

In chapters seven and eight we will explore what the revival meant for evangelicals and their understanding of their role in revitalizing American culture. Three lines of inspiration mingled and ran through the revival, helping strengthen evangelical unity. As the supernaturalism of the revival receded in the years after 1905, however, some of the cultural defensiveness currently associated with revivalism crept into the preaching; the excitement of contact with the divine also gave way to crusades that honored human

potential more than divine intervention. The last chapter will demonstrate the direct and indirect contributions of the Revival to Progressive reform. The ties between religion and political behavior must always be approached with caution, but there was no strict border at the time between zeal for a religious cause and fervor for a righteous political one. The Philadelphia civic uprising of 1905, elections elsewhere, and the rise of temperance and other reform politics provided notable examples of how the surge of evangelical fervor from late 1904 into 1906 helped transform U. S. politics. It was then that Progressivism went into full flower nationwide.

Thus it will be seen that at its core, Progressivism itself was largely a Great Awakening that was only partly secular. Traditional evangelical concerns and hopes inspired it in a way similar to awakenings of the past. Perhaps in some ways and for many Progressive leaders, the Awakening began well before 1905. The Revival that crested that year, however, popularized it and added masses of Christian soldiers to the onward march of Progressivism.

* * * NOTES TO INTRODUCTION * * *

1. Christian Endeavor World, September 13, 1905, p. 807.
2. See Perry Miller, The Life of the Mind in America, From the Revolution to the Civil War: Book I, The Evangelical Basis (New York, 1965), p. 6. On revivals as a force for national unity, see also Ralph Gabriel, The Course of American Democratic Thought: An Intellectual History Since 1815 (New York, 1940), Chapter 3, "Christianity and the Democratic Faith"; and Alan Heimert, Religion and the American Mind From the Great Awakening to the Revolution (Cambridge, Mass., 1966).
3. See Heimert, Religion and the American Mind; Timothy Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America (Nashville, Tenn., 1957); Paul Johnson, A Shopkeeper's Millennium (New York, 1978).
4. Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York, 1955), p. 156; Samuel Haber, Efficiency and Uplift (Chicago, 1964), p. vi.
5. William G. McLoughlin, Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977 (Chicago, 1978), pp. 140-178. McLoughlin extends "great awakening" beyond its theological sense into a society-wide moral, cultural, and intellectual transformation--a cultural revitalization. For him, the "Third Great Awakening" took place in the Progressive era without much guidance from evangelical Christianity, and still less from revivalism; see pp. 1-23.
6. Ibid., p. 2.
7. See J. Edwin Orr, The Flaming Tongue: The Impact of Twentieth Century Revivals (Chicago, 1973).
8. Grover C. Loud, Evangelized America (New York, 1928), Chapter 18.
9. Richard L. Shepherd, "The Awakening of 1904-1908 and Its Effects on Baptists in the United States," Ph.D. Dissertation, Southwest Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas, 1982.
10. The democratic ideology and its association with evangelical Protestantism is well described in Gabriel's Course of American Democratic Thought.
11. McLoughlin was not far from this perspective in his discussion of Billy Sunday's career in Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham (New York, 1959), pp. 435-444. See also McLoughlin's Billy Sunday Was His Real Name (Chicago, 1955).
12. Bernard Weisberger, They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and Their Impact Upon Religion in America (Boston, 1958), p. 222. Weisberger suggested that evangelicals should have avoided the short-term, church-filling expedient of evangelistic campaigns and searched for the "real match between what was good in both

the 'old' and the 'new' approaches to Christian duty" (pp. 222,223).
13. Arthur S. Link And Richard L. McCormick, Progressivism (Arlington Heights, Ill., 1983), p. 8.
14. Gabriel, Course of American Democratic Thought, p. 331.

CHAPTER I

THE PROGRESSIVE GREAT AWAKENING

"The Age of Crusades" is how Social Gospel minister Gaius Glenn Atkins portrayed the first fifteen years of the twentieth century. The American people, he wrote in 1932:

> ...were ready to cry "God wills it" and set out for world peace, prohibition, the Progressive Party, the "New Freedom" or "the World for Christ in this Generation." The air was full of banners, and the trumpets called from every camp.[1]

Generations of scholars have commented on the evangelical, even revivalistic character of the Progressive movement. Yet in trying to explain what motivated reformers of that era to act as they did, most have been reluctant to pursue religion further. Atkins showed somewhat less reluctance. The Progressive crusades, the Vermont Congregationalist asserted, were "a continuation, in social, moral and even political regions, of nineteenth century evangelism." He drew the parallel further:

> ...Bryan, Roosevelt, Wilson were the Moodys and Finneys of a former generation reincarnate, with much the same technique....The salvation they offered was quite different...but that was only a detail. The appeal to passion was there, the appeal to emotion, the theme of redemption, the evangelist's persuasion of his divine calling.[2]

Even Atkins' Religion in Our Time, however, did not explore the religious aspects of Progressivism beyond this, except for attention to the Social Gospel movement. Old time-revivalism provided inspiring symbols and an inspirational style, we might infer from the bulk of the sources, but nothing more that was relevant to Progressive-era reform.

Yet this is not how it was seen at the time. "The spirit of religion," ran a not-uncommon assertion from 1915:

> ...has grown far beyond its pale. The world is full of religious feeling, of brotherly kindness, of ethical conduct. A moral awakening has swept over the country and is setting new standards for politics and business and personal lives; the public conscience was never so sensitive and alert as it is to-day; modern life is aflame with social feeling.[3]

This chapter will show that the links between revivalism and reform were stronger than mere shared symbols; in fact the two were connected in two vital ways. In the first place, evangelical Protestantism--from which we isolate revivalism only with difficulty--facilitated the consensus for reform with a set of shared values. The reformers' broad goals, suffused with moralism, humanitarianism, optimism, and an almost religious faith in democracy, aroused and bound together a broad spectrum of supporters ranging from theological conservatives to unorthodox pragmatists.

In the second place, evangelicalism and Progressivism both focused on an attempted revitalization of American society. Progressive reformers sought to reassert threatened values and recover a lost harmony between the individual and

society. Their evangelical heritage and the needs of the hour led an important range of Progressive leaders to seek a spiritual awakening through which the American public would embrace their ideals. The masses of voters who rallied to the banners of reform, especially from 1904 onward, confirmed to many thinkers that an awakening had come.

A. The Historiographical Problem

Progressivism, like revivalism, suffers from problems of definition; its sometimes exuberant idealism also suffers from scholarly incredulity. Our approach to Progressivism will not deny the presence of some uninspiring motives among middle-class reformers as a group. Opportunities for businessmen, organizational imperatives for bureaucrats, the ambitions of politicians, the aspirations of young professionals and of disadvantaged groups, and the attraction of scientific efficiency were all pieces in the Progressive mosaic. Instead, recognizing the complexity of motives for political action, we will go beyond those considerations. One historian has labeled the drive for efficiency and centralized bureaucracy the "head" of Progressivism while the moral attitudes susceptible to religious influence belonged to its "heart."[4] By no means has the head suffered from scholarly neglect, and neither for that matter has the stomach. Our interest is in the heart--that realm of the psyche, small or large depending upon one's amount of cynicism, responsive to

appeals on the basis of transcending values or the interests of other people.

Without the heart, Progressivism seems to disintegrate. For years scholars have analyzed many of its components, including Social Gospel ministers, political leaders, farmers, workers, urban elites, dispossessed professionals, and some businessmen. While doing so, they have puzzled over the contradictory stands by Progressives on various issues such as the trusts, race, and immigration; particularly baffling have been instances when Progressives behaved, by today's standards, very unprogressively. Richard Hofstadter and Gabriel Kolko--representing very different perspectives--brushed aside the rhetoric and got to what they saw as the Progressives' real motives. Robert Wiebe and Samuel Hays saw the onward march of bureaucratization behind the reformers' behavior. But as more and more diversity within Progressivism emerged through scholarly monographs in the 1960s and 1970s, the generality became lost in contradictory and idiosyncratic particulars. In 1970 Peter Filene argued credibly that there was, in fact, no such thing as Progressivism.[5]

The problem of terminology is not new. Through most of the "Progressive" era no one even recognized the term, which came into vogue in 1910 and 1911.[6] Before, they had searched for other labels: Finley Peter Dunne tried "moral wave,"[7] while in one article William Allen White chewed on "so-called reform movement" before finally swallowing the term

without the qualifier.[8] Once in vogue two years after Dunne and White's efforts, the noun and adjective "Progressive" never left that "so-called reform movement," despite the lack of clarity and differing definitions.

While exact definition was never a strong point of Progressive thinkers, they were not responsible for all the ambiguity. An oft-repeated phrase of the time, "Reform is in the air," should have given us a clue to the essence and identity of Progressivism. We have been hunting for Progressivism on the ground. In Theodore Roosevelt's lexicon inspired by Pilgrim's Progress, we have been muckrakers, sifting through the sordidness of the world while an important part of Progressivism beckoned to us unheard from the loftier places. Fortunately, several scholars have heeded and left the worldly mire and slough of despond. The contradictions and idiosyncrasies within Progressivism, John C. Burnham wrote, "...should not obscure the independent fact that such apparently idiosyncratic actions added up to a social movement discernible both then and now."[9]

What was this process of "adding up"? Or as Daniel T. Rodgers put it, "What ideational glue allowed some of the coalition builders to recognize each other in the new sea of competing interest groups--as they clearly did--and to adopt...in late 1910 and early 1911, the common label 'progressive'?"[10] David Thelen has offered a fairly simple, partly satisfying answer: a "new citizenship," a unifying concept forged in the depression of 1893 and capable of

uniting very diverse groups behind progressive measures.[11] Rodgers' own response was more involved: "social languages" aimed at political action and coalition building, rather than doctrinal exposition, gave Progressivism its unity or identity. These languages based themselves on "clusters of ideas," that is, "the rhetoric of antimonopolism...an emphasis on social bonds...[and] the language of social efficiency."[12]

It is in the realm of core values that Progressivism had its best-defined identity. Ferenc Szasz and others have tried for even more of an overarching generalization than a "cluster of ideas," willingly sacrificing precision. Szasz noted the baffling diversity of reformers and yet observed: "Behind everything, and the factor which held the various programs together, was that Progressivism was a mood--one may almost say theology--of moral commitment to social causes."[13] Treating the movement as an ethos, John C. Burnham has written, overcomes the pitfalls of a narrow focus on politics and treats Progressivism as "a juxtaposition of a practical piece-meal approach to reform with a quasi-religious vision of democracy."[14] Robert Crunden, who urged a cultural interpretation of Progressivism, referred to it as a climate of creativity in which writers, artists, politicians, and thinkers shared a set of moral values and a desire for a moral reformation.[15] G. Edward White, writing in 1971, saw four sets of core values which "combined to form a distinctive ethos": Anglo-Saxonism, moral righteousness,

popular elitism (a combination of faith in democracy with a sense of elite ruling prerogative), and progress. Yet in listing them he cautioned, "[T]he label is intended less as an authoritative definition than as an attempt to suggest tone or flavor; it symbolizes a constellation of related attitudes."[16]

This is probably how Finley Peter Dunne and William Allen White, among others, would have us regard "the so-called reform movement." They, too, avoided precision. They, too, avoided exact political definitions, preferring to speak of vague ideals for which principled action must fill in the blanks. Reformers preferred to identify their movement with pure patriotism, democracy, nationalism, republicanism, and simple but spiritual American morality--the "leaven in the national lump," as White termed it.[17]

This consideration of core values brings us into the realm of culture. That was the theme of a 1971 article by William R. Hutchison which questioned status theories. Hutchison offered a method of cultural interpretation that minimized "both irrationalism and bald self-interest; it accords to cultural values, whether championed directly or through symbolic forms of advocacy and legislation, full standing and autonomy as levers of social action."[18]

If we pursue Progressivism as a cultural entity that informed a congeries of political movements, early twentieth-century reform appears partly as a creative response to culture strain, which Hutchison defined as "the upsetting or

rending of those patterns of meaning around which individual men have constructed their lives."[19] The late nineteenth century was a time of cultural crises that produced neurasthenia and disillusionment. A new economic order, impervious to the old individual virtues, created great wealth and great poverty. Meanwhile, American life shifted to an increasingly industrial tempo, and the middle-class individual's role eroded from producer to passive consumer.[20] While heart-numbing materialism invaded university, business, and the home, the clergy failed to maintain intellectual primacy, and formal nineteenth-century philosophical categories--whether in law, economics, or religion--shed no light on new social realities.[21] All these assaults on the old order of life seemed interrelated to Progressive thinkers. Together they suggested the fragmentation of life: the individual interest alienated from the community, the inward experience of spirit and religion split off from new social realities that mocked that inward meaning. Life, as reflected in both daily experience and formal philosophy, was increasingly sundered between the rough, rude ways of factory or stock market and Santayana's sentimental, unreal Genteel Tradition, to which prison religion appeared to have been relegated.[22] In the late nineteenth century, college-educated adults endured the loss of intellectual and heartfelt certainty in a transcendent moral order; as has been argued by T. J. Jackson Lears, this loss of certainty combined with the secularization of their experience of the

world to produce feelings of weightlessness and anomie, that is, the lack of a stable frame of reference and apparent meaninglessness of core values around which they organized their lives.[23]

Leading clergymen, and the thinkers and literary figures described by Lears, Henry May, and Morton White articulated this best and perhaps felt it most acutely.[24] Yet undoubtedly culture strain was experienced as well by the mass of Americans who had leisure time in which to evaluate their lives and their world. This is suggested by what they read. Popular books and novels expressed the desire to regain a lost harmony and integrity to life. Writers after the model of William Dean Howells engaged many troubled readers with a self-consciously realistic approach to American life which strove nonetheless for a cheerful outlook, but disturbing social realities could be integrated less and less successfully into a still-smiling cosmos.[25] Charles Wagner, an Alsatian Protestant pastor, created much enthusiasm among readers and both secular and religious reviewers in the United States with his book The Simple Life; Wagner denounced the complexities of modern life-styles based on materialism and urged a return to a few basic natural and human values.[26]

Because old-fashioned values seemed to be under assault from social and intellectual currents from the 1870s onward, one might suspect that in the innovative climate of the Progressive era, new, pluralistic, secular values would rise to

overshadow traditional Protestant ones. Creative secular thinking did take place, of course, but it did not obscure the evangelical foundation. In fact much of the new thinking was subsumed in old values or forms, perhaps as a sort of compensation. Or in some ways perhaps an old moralistic outlook was shaped into new issues and forms. "If anything," David Danbom asserted, "the stresses of the nineties, combined with the symbolic significance of a century ending, strengthened the tendency to perceive and explain the world in Christian terms."[27]

The pervasiveness of evangelical religion among the Progressives becomes clearer through cultural approaches to their history taken by several scholars. Danbom described the mental "world of hope" in which Progressives lived; in response to the crisis of values, they hoped to make the new industrial world safe for individual and community morals derived largely from Protestant Christianity.[28] Dewey Grantham pursued the same theme in relation to Southern Progressivism, which, he wrote:

> ...was a wide-ranging but loosely coordinated attempt to modernize the South and to humanize its institutions without abandoning its more desirable values and traditions. Its spirit was probably more important than its reform accomplishments.[29]

The theme of a recovery of traditional values has proved effective in local studies of Progressivism. James L. Hood examined two Kentucky counties and found patterns similar to those in Grantham's South, while Patrick Palermo's study of Midwestern Republican insurgents presented a scheme

very much like Danbom's.[30] In each case reform-minded leaders or voters sought to carry traditional values into a new setting and to combat distortions of those values that had permitted the evils of the Gilded Age.

With these scholars, we may perceive a Progressive "world of hope" peopled by a fairly broad continuum of reform leaders. The continuum stretched smoothly from "revivalistic" Progressive evangelicals through more liberal Social Gospelites to pragmatic secular reformers who retained much from their evangelical upbringings. Diverse as Social Gospelites, sociologists, politicians, and pietistic evangelicals might be, many of them shared and recognized a basic sympathy. "[R]evivalists-turned-social crusaders of both the social gospel and social justice progressivism," Ronald White and C. Howard Hopkins asserted, "knew each other well, operated from many of the same premises, and employed similar strategies. The climate of mutuality was encouraged under the moral leadership of Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson."[31]

It is important to the concept of Progressivism as a Great Awakening to understand how many ideas and aspirations were shared along this broad intellectual continuum, and how thoroughly pervaded it was with evangelical Protestantism. In one fashion or another religion and its symbols brought the Progressive movement unity more than any other factor except perhaps democratic ideals, which themselves were suffused with religious impulses. The explosion of popular sup-

port for Progressivism resulted from its strong appeal to the general culture, which still constructed its world view on many assumptions drawn from religion. "[M]ost Americans a century ago understood, analyzed, and ordered their world in Christian terms," David Danbom observed. "Christian ethical concepts formed a common intellectual currency in the age."[32]

Probably some Progressive activists were more orthodox or more devout in their rhetoric than in their inner convictions. That of course testifies to the pervasive evangelicalism in the culture they saw around them. Then, too, Progressive leaders whether religious or not were products of the same evangelical Protestant culture. "Instead of trying to separate progressives from other Americans," Robert Crunden wrote, "we should instead ask why progressives appealed to so many Americans. The student who does this will discover that progressivism was essentially religious."[33]

B. Evangelical Progressives

The pervasiveness of evangelical Christianity through the Progressive spirit is nowhere better illustrated than in a 1910 article written by an anonymous "Kansas Republican." This writer drew as many parallels between the insurgency and religious conversion as he could. (He claimed to be a born-again evangelical Christian.) He had been "converted politically" around 1904, a state of grace into which he estimated millions of other Kansas Republicans had entered

since then. Before that he had not thought about the consequences of tolerating sin--as in allowing railroads and other greedy interests to control state government. "We were taking the selfish and short-sighted view. Finally we saw where that was taking us...." Then the message of "salvation" came, borne by Robert M. LaFollette and Theodore Roosevelt. "[W]e have got our eyes open now, just as I got mine open when I joined the church...," he wrote. "The change has been due to a Great Awakening."[34]

Progressives did not experience culture strain alone as they tried to hold fast to certain traditional values. Social and political conservatives, too, often reacted to the stresses of the age by harking back to religious and economic traditions of the past. But it was mainly Progressives who drew on the tradition of spiritual awakening, deeply embedded in their own evangelical backgrounds, with its moral and humanitarian mandate for reform.

Evangelical religion provided not only inspiration, but also content and form for reform thinking even among pragmatic Progressives. This point can be missed. The most often recognized religious component of Progressivism's "heart" is the Social Gospel. If we limit to this category the evangelical Protestant contribution to reform, we leave much of the religious story untold. It obscures the fact that even in secular thinking, evangelical Christianity held a strong influence. The term "Social Gospel," too, suffers from definition problems of its own, for often in historical studies

its adherents gain an unwarranted degree of theological liberalism and even lose some of their religious commitment. In addition, Social Gospelites are sometimes placed in an unfortunate dualism opposite "revivalists" (another unclear term).

David Danbom peopled his world of hope with a large group he called "Christian Progressives." He used as examples some obvious Social Gospelites and some not so obvious--Henry Demarest Lloyd, Josiah Strong, Richard Ely, and George Herron, among others. But he also included "secular reformers, social Christians, and 'new' social scientists." These had a remarkably consistent approach to resolving the social crisis. "All agreed," Danbom claimed:

> ...that the problems accompanying industrialization and urbanization were less technical than moral and that regeneration--of the individual, the state, or both--was the solution ....Reformers could achieve this level of agreement because they shared a set of Christian ethical standards and a common moral language, not only among themselves but with the larger society as well.[35]

This drive for "regeneration" thus had "backward"-looking elements, but this is not to dismiss the innovative nature of Progressivism. With a commitment that varied in degrees between idealistic pragmatic thinking on the one hand and traditional Protestant values on the other, reformist leaders forged ahead to find a new application of religion and morality for the industrial age.[36] The more pragmatically minded reformers in particular sought to fit new methods of thinking appropriate for actual social realities into

familiar moral and religious patterns. This attempt accounts for some of the ambiguities of Progressive pragmatists.

This is not to ignore the theological differences among these "evangelical Progressives," as Danbom styled them. Yet it is fair to say that a common meliorative impulse led the bulk of the reformers; a sense of urgency led them to one degree of pragmatism or another away from the rigorous demands of nineteenth-century philosophical categories; and the degree to which orthodox theology was retained or abridged varied considerably so that there was no clearly marked line of division between "evangelical" and "pragmatic" reformers. Again we are led to the idea of a relatively smooth continuum embracing a variety of viewpoints rather than a line broken between two hostile camps. Aiding peace further, many Progressive thinkers welcomed doctrinal ambiguity, reflecting the pragmatic mood and the need to build coalitions for reform.

While being ambiguous on potentially divisive doctrines, both political and religious, Progressives emphasized the aspects of their Christian heritage that drew them together. Among these was their devotion to a humanitarian morality not far removed from the one associated by historian Timothy Smith with the Second Great Awakening. Reformers sought to reaffirm moral and humanitarian requirements of evangelical Protestantism at a time when their relevance was in question. Harold S. Wilson traced the religious backgrounds and assumptions of many muckrakers and said of a

principal one, "[I]n 1903 McClure was trying to defend in the twentieth century a unity of values based on moral absolutes, a naive assumption that moral and political laws had a clear meaning...."[37]

Robert Crunden traced the lingering bonds of evangelical moralism among ex-evangelical Progressive thinkers in a variety of fields, including philosophers, economists, literary figures, economists, 'new' sociologists, journalists, even architects such as Frank Lloyd Wright. He found that, though most of the group he studied were not known for piety--some had shed any connection with the faith of their youth--yet, like Howe, they bore the marks of that faith throughout their careers. In fact, Crunden insisted, if the ministerial career had not lost status for college graduates in the late nineteenth century, many of these Progressives would have become clergymen. Walter Hines Page and Richard Ely, for example, came close to taking that step. As it was, this generation of Progressives throughout their careers remained "ministers of reform."[38]

Crunden's Progressives were reared in devout evangelical homes. The key to understanding the muckrakers, he argued, was in the "pervasive Protestantism" of their childhoods. A Calvinistic influence prevailed in Theodore Roosevelt and William Jennings Bryan's homes. Albion Small was the son of a Baptist minister; George Herbert Mead and Richard Ely had clergymen in their families. The homes of Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Brand Whitlock, and William Allen

White kept alive the evangelical Republican abolitionist flame, and Abraham Lincoln was a legendary figure to them and to Jane Addams. "The religious atmosphere of her father's house created ethical imperatives that could not be met by conventional roles available to women at the time."[39] The first generation of sociologists with positions in that field, by Crunden's account, had the appearance of a Protestant ministerial association. John R. Commons developed "Christian sociology" in the 1890s. As to John Dewey, though his religious impulses were displaced into social concerns, Crunden claimed, his religion-derived morality lingered in his philosophy's concern for a moral universe founded on truth.[40]

The religious-moralistic pattern that Crunden identified among his "ministers of reform" held true for groups outside his immediate analysis. Charles Stelzle, the Presbyterian church's "labor evangelist" and an ardent advocate of the rights of workingmen, wrote in his 1926 autobiography: "One of the things that constantly amazed me...was the number of professional social workers who were ex-preachers. And they were men who, for the most part, would be successful as preachers." Stelzle mentioned a study of 1,012 social reform workers; 753 (74 percent) of them reported being communicants of some church (only 125 or 12 percent said "no affiliation"; the rest did not answer the question). Then, only twenty-two (of 980 responding to this question) said they were under no religious influence.[41]

The evangelical pattern characterized many Midwestern Progressives who had ceased going to church, claimed Frederick C. Howe, aide to Cleveland's reform mayor Tom Johnson. "Physical escape from the embraces of evangelical religion did not mean moral escape," he wrote years later:

> ...From that religion my reason was never emancipated. By it I was conformed to my generation and made to share its moral standards and ideals....[E]arly assumptions as to virtue and vice, goodness and evil remained in my mind long after I had tried to discard them. That is, I think, the most characteristic influence of my generation....[42]

Further illustrating the point that reform thinkers tried to reconcile evangelicalism and pragmatism, sociologist Albion Small wonderfully combined the old and new thinking in an article for the Baptist Home Mission Monthly in 1905. "The nation needs religion," he declared. "The nation needs Jesus Christ as the personal Saviour of every citizen. The nation needs the Bible, next to Jesus Christ himself the mediator of God to men." The article offered six reasons for this need, beginning with the fact that religion was "the reservoir in which a nation stores its moral power." But Small described religion in a pragmatic vein as "the experience of the race put at the service of the individual."[43]

It appears that their ingrained religious moralism was the strongest tie that held pragmatic Progressives to their Protestant moorings. Even if they believed that religion was experience and not revelation, they remained at least respectful of the role of traditional faith. As with Howe,

they could not shake the pattern in their own lives, and they needed to build support for reform with an American public that had not caught up yet with them in rejecting the moral absolutes and supernatural claims of orthodox Christianity.

Whether pragmatic or more traditional, evangelical moralism inhered in Progressivism in all regions, particularly the one most pervaded with evangelicalism: the South. Motivated by Christian humanitarianism, wrote Dewey Grantham, after 1900 "...the [Southern] clergy spoke out with greater frequency against social evils, religious bodies showed a deepening interest in the possibilities of social reform, and all of the major Protestant denominations established social action agencies of one kind or another." Yet not only the clergy did so; other Protestant professionals and businessmen sought to alleviate the impact of rapid industrial change on the disadvantaged. The social compassion both lay people and clergy related to their faith was "fostered by the cultural force of religion in the everyday lives of many communicants."[44]

Individualistic pietism in the South, Grantham added, did not separate itself distinctly from social religion and so boosted Southern evangelical Progressivism:

> Religious convictions sometimes narrowed the gap between personal ethics and social morality. The quest for Christian perfection, in the South as in other regions, led the churches not only to exalt personal piety but also to emphasize generosity and graciousness and increasingly to advocate community improvement and decency.[45]

This was true even among Southern Protestants still in mourning over the Lost Cause, and while welcoming industrialization they often expressed their moral disdain for the invading Yankee dollar and the social havoc it produced (for example, in child labor). But if evangelical Progressivism could wear gray in the South, in the Midwest the same moralistic ethos wore triumphant Yankee blue and kept Abraham Lincoln's memory sacred. This testifies to the diversity of the appeal of evangelical Progressivism.

Patrick Palermo's study of such Republican insurgents as William Borah, Albert Beveridge, Robert LaFollette, and George Norris found that these men were the new bearers of the original tradition of the Republican party, a tradition that identified with abolitionism and active government and was permeated by evangelical pietism. Undergirding their moralism, the Midwestern insurgents had pietistic backgrounds similar to Crunden's ministers of reform. Borah's father was a part-time Presbyterian preacher; Norris remembered his mother as being particularly devout; LaFollette's parents were religious Baptists. In particular they kept alive a flame of crusading zeal for righteousness, aroused because the plutocracy was stealing the beloved party away from its original cause. "Convinced of their righteousness," Palermo pointed out about these men, "they became insurgents and embarked on a crusade to keep moral imperatives at the heart of Republican politics."[46]

C. Progressive Evangelicals

If the moral and religious concerns of evangelicalism pervaded even secular reformers, the social concerns of Progressivism were shared in the strictly clerical camp as well. A shared commitment to social betterment strengthened the intellectual continuum between secular and religious reformers. Again, scholars have assigned the term "Social Gospel" to the party of socially conscious ministers within evangelicalism; some have implicitly or explicitly erected a theological hedge around this chosen people that excludes "pietistic" or "revivalistic" evangelicals. "However, to define the social gospel as liberalism is to miss the mark," White and Hopkins warned, "for not all liberals were social *gospelers, and not all social *gospelers were liberal....As we will see, 'evangelical' and 'liberal' were sometimes combined in ways that were then possible." There were important nuances among Social Gospelites, with some of them more conservative than others; unlike Washington Gladden, White and Hopkins claimed for example, Walter Rauschenbusch rooted his theology in evangelical piety.[47]

This combination is better illustrated by more theologically conservative figures than Rauschenbusch. "From 1901 to 1917, both liberal and conservative Protestant groups worked to alleviate social ills, each in its own way," Ferenc Szasz has claimed.[48] That some conservatives could be socially conscious should not surprise us, since humanitarian concerns are at the heart of Christianity. If other

evangelicals fell short of this commitment--because they identified with the ruling economic order or because they kept to a sanctified disregard of social needs--neither evangelicalism nor revivalism dictated that choice. Prior to World War I, at least, orthodox theology and revivalism did not exclude themselves from the Progressive world of hope.

Within their optimistic world, liberals and conservatives rallied around the purpose of ushering in the Kingdom of God in America. Whether this was to be a kingdom made up of individuals transformed by the old-time religion (conservatives), or a society transformed by Christianity and its wider social views (liberals), the means were not necessarily incompatible. The two theological preferences were on the same side of salient issues involving political and civic reform and social betterment. Enough liberals and conservatives were comfortable collaborating in a wide range of reform activities such as inspirational preaching, revivals, political action, even Christian citizenship conferences--all for the sake of the Kingdom. So the ties that bound were more motivating than the disagreements, at least until the First World War. "The merger of these two versions of the Kingdom," claimed Szasz, "gave Progressivism its moral, evangelical tone, but when they broke apart just before America's entry into the War, the result was devastating to the movement."[49]

Along with this common preoccupation with the Kingdom was an absorption in the work of the Holy Spirit that ex-

tended from liberal to conservative, especially Higher Life pietists (whose theology will be described later). Grant Wacker has demonstrated persuasively that for many new theologians and Higher Life conservatives, this focus led to less attention to doctrinal differences. For pietist and liberal, Wacker argued, an interest in the Spirit contributed to a taste for authentic religious experience, to a rejection of encrusted "scholasticism," to intense activism, and even to an optimism based on the immanent workings of God in society.[50]

Liberal and Higher Life leaders, Wacker contended:

> ...were quite willing to join forces in order to achieve larger aims. They all published in journals such as the Sunday School Times, the Christian Herald, the Homiletic Review, and the Record of Christian Work. Together they plotted the evangelization of the world at conferences... and in organizations....They worked for progressive reforms at home and abroad through associations such as the Evangelical Alliance, the Convention of Christian Workers, the Lake Mohonk Peace Conference, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. They exchanged pulpits, labored together in union revivals, and wrote tolerant reviews of each other's books and activities.[51]

Around 1910 this odd coalition broke up over the issue of biblical authority, and the Higher Life advocates found a more congenial partnership with conservatives of the Princeton stripe. But up to then these pre-fundamentalists had much in common with the liberal side of Progressivism, and their preference for experience and activism over careful doctrine even placed them within earshot of pragmatists.

We have seen that in Grantham's view, Southern Progressivism in particular brought the pietistic and social im-

pulses together. Especially after 1905 the Prohibition issue sparked the interest of many Southern evangelicals, particularly women, in other social issues. The Atlanta Baptist Reverend John E. White, who served as vice-president of the Southern Sociological Congress, also promoted missions work among mountain people.[52] Willis D. Weatherford, a student YMCA secretary, also active in SSC leadership, made a bold, firm stand against segregation of blacks and promoted the study of racial justice. Yet, he felt, only religion could heal that and other social rifts. "No superficial humanitarianism or philanthropy will do this...," he told a 1914 conference of the Southern Sociological Congress. "[T]his trust and confidence can alone rest on the fact of transformed lives--and religion alone transforms life...." True reform came about when God had access to the hearts of individuals, he claimed, and this is what gave him confidence for the future:

> It is therefore fitting that in a conference on social conditions this religious basis of cooperation between the races should be given prominence. Here, and only here, can a deep note of optimism be struck; for it is this religion of the Bible alone which gives a motive big enough and true enough to float our lives out of the shallows of pessimism.[53]

The list of socially concerned evangelicals included a share of future fundamentalists. Reuben A. Torrey, for example, has been thoroughly identified with revivalism and the fundamentalist-modernist clash. Yet he founded the Open Door Church in Minneapolis, one of the first institutional churches designed to meet the physical and social as well as

spiritual needs of the urban poor. Torrey also collaborated in the 1890s with reformers including Graham Taylor, Josiah Strong, and Jacob Riis to form the Convention of Christian Workers, an influential Minneapolis social reform organization. Other pastors associated with conservative theological stances also served institutional churches and stressed social reform; these include Mark Allison Matthews in Seattle and William Bell Riley in Minneapolis.[54]

Other examples of socially conscious "revivalistic" Protestants, explored by Norris Magnuson, made up "a large body of earnest evangelicals who entered the slums because of their concern for the souls of men and women, but soon developed wide-ranging social service programs." Such ministries included the Salvation Army, the Volunteers of America, the Christian and Missionary Alliance, Christian Herald magazine, and many urban rescue missions. These conservative evangelicals developed a social critique to rival any liberal Social Gospel one. The Salvation Army was ahead of its time in expanding women's leadership, which by 1900 crystallized into a formal principle for equality of the sexes. In this the Army was joined by other "gospel welfare" groups, and the Christian Herald consistently endorsed women's suffrage. In the same way these groups endorsed black participation and spoke out for racial justice.[55]

Judging from both mainline and conservative denominational papers, it appears that evangelicals took the Progressive and humanitarian side of many social issues. Their

press was at the forefront of Progressivism, for example, on the issue of race. Papers such as the Boston Watchman, Philadelphia Methodist, and Southwestern Christian Advocate printed or reprinted numerous articles in favor of justice for blacks. "It lies in that task which it is ours as a Christian nation to...deal with [blacks] now and always according to the golden law of the faith we profess," ran one such sermon reprinted in the Watchman. "It lies in the insistence upon the part of every fair-minded man, North and South, that the wrongs inflicted through long and weary years upon the African slave shall not be repeated against the American citizen...."[56]

In their quadrennial reports the Methodists returned to the "Negro questions" conference after conference. In 1896, the bishops demanded attention to the issue: "We settle the Negro problem by the simple assertion that there is no problem. There are certain millions of American-born citizens whose rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness must be maintained at any cost...."[57] In 1900, among the problems "Christian citizenship" was called on to solve were lynchings and "the suppression of the civil rights of the negro."[58] In 1904 the bishops complained: "The nation's neediest wards, now numbering nine millions, during one of the most difficult transitions ever thrust upon any race of men, have been most blunderingly and unjustly treated, and are in more need of statesmanlike and Christian guidance." The report of the Methodists Woman's Home Missionary Society

for 1904 was even sharper. "One class asks, 'What can be done with the ten millions of negroes to keep them in their place?' it being assumed that 'their place' is that of unthinking, plodding, docile servants of the white man....After forty years of freedom these people cannot again be put under the yoke."[59]

The demand for racial justice was promoted for Asian immigrants as well during the clamor for their exclusion. The California Christian Advocate (and many other evangelical papers) took up the cause of Japanese immigrants and protested the move toward exclusion during 1905; it printed the findings of a Methodist committee along those lines in March of that year.[60] In 1906, with fears of war with Japan, the Christian Statesman was moved to comment: "It would be a grim vindication of our testimony against the anti-Chinese agitation if the hoodlums of San Francisco should be taught a lesson in justice and fair play at the lips of oriental cannon."[61]

Papers such as the St. Louis Christian Advocate and Southwestern Christian Advocate could even take a relatively benign view of socialistic tendencies and even of Christian socialism itself, with the former noting that American socialism was getting "a large infusion of Church members, who are exerting a wonderful effect on the foreign born members of the party."[62] While the Boston Watchman was chary of the church's involvement in "social, municipal and political questions" and sometimes criticized modern Bible scholarship

and the theory of evolution for their impact on religion, columns on its pages expressed similar views.[63]

The Western Christian Advocate revealed a social insight rarely credited to pro-revival evangelicals. Criticizing "self-made men" who opposed child labor legislation on the pretext that they themselves had worked when young, the Methodist paper pointed out that these Horatio Alger stories had taken place in wholesome country settings, never in a sweatshop.[64] In a similar vein, the Watchman chimed in with, "We sometimes wonder if Theodore Roosevelt would be so ardent an advocate of the strenuous life if he had been obliged to work every day from before light to after dark to obtain a scanty support for his family."[65] The Christian Herald condemned as inhuman the old laissez-faire ideology and extravagant wealth, urged the reform position on a wide variety of Progressive issues, and in 1913 even supported Scott Nearing when he was ousted from the University of Pennsylvania on charges of economic radicalism.[66] Other conservative evangelical papers ran numerous pro-reform articles on issues such as trust busting, the Kansas "oil war," women's suffrage, working conditions, and political reform.

The point to remember is not that some theological conservatives outdid liberals as Progressives, but that theologically, politically, and philosophically there existed a broad, smooth continuum in evangelical and Progressive thought. Such differences as there were proceeded gently, by degrees, from the unorthodox pragmatists on one theological

extreme to the Higher Life evangelicals on the other. They found important matters in the 1890s and 1900s that they could agree on; the emphasis for all sides was on more reform activism, more cooperation, and less doctrinal wrangling.

D. The Quest for Harmony

So far the moral and humanitarian demands of evangelical Protestantism have appeared as the foremost tie between religion and the reform movement, the main bond holding together a smooth secular-evangelical Progressive continuum. There were also other aspects of evangelicalism, related to morality, that suffused Progressivism as a cultural movement. One was social relationships, that area in which pragmatically minded Progressives assumed the whole of morality to be. Progressivism can be seen as part of a general attempt to protect social relationships from dislocating changes in both values and environment.

Norman Clark suggested that Prohibition arose from an attempt to combat not personal sin but a social disease that threatened the family. The basic social unit was increasingly vulnerable in the capitalist age because of the fluidity of relationships and a loss of stable community order to individualism. Prohibition, Clark found, was well within the mainstream of Progressivism.[67]

This aspect of Prohibition, of restoring community values, can be generalized to a major theme in Progressivism.

For over a century and a half it had also been an important impetus of Great Awakenings. Southern Progressives, for example, many of them representing pietism, "...shared a yearning for a more orderly and cohesive community," Grantham wrote. "Such a community, they believed, was a prerequisite for economic development and material progress."[68] Religion required believers to fight for the right against wickedness and work for a virtuous community. Socialmindedness crossed Civil War loyalties and party lines, as Midwestern Republican insurgents sought to reassert for the nation the core values knitting together their small towns. "When they argued that government must represent 'the people' they were refusing to accept the trend toward fragmentation or categorization in modern politics," Palermo asserted concerning his Midwestern insurgents. "Borah's 'tramp' in political life was the 'special interest' whose concern for his own narrow, selfish goals had detached him from any concern for the rest of the community...."[69] Other studies of the reformers' values stress their insistence on the need to reintegrate classes, ethnic groupings, and other secondary loyalties into one organic society.[70]

Along with the rise of Progressive communitarianism a seemingly contradictory tendency was at work. In Danbom's view, while the Progressives who emerged from the crisis of the 1890s promoted social-mindedness, their core values remained traditional and individual-based. They stressed that the real moral choices would be made by individuals, and

that right decisions made by enough individuals would transform society. For example Walter Rauschenbusch wrote, "[T]he greatest contribution which any man can make to the social movement is the contribution of a regenerated personality."[71] Danbom's "Christian" Progressives saw a choice between asserting the hegemony of individual-based Protestant values over the common weal, or watching the repugnant values of the industrial marketplace insinuate themselves into private and family life.[72]

Within the context of the Progressive ethos the communitarian and the individual motifs are really two sides of a coin. Reformers sought to restore a perceived harmony between individual and society. This reflects an age when one assumed a continuum of inner and outer needs and interests. Whether reform meant restoring lost solidarism or alienated individualism depended partly on the group involved, partly on the moral issue raised. And at a time when the balance--or integration--of those two was threatened, reformers drew on evangelical Protestantism to provide a synthesis to recapture the lost harmony.

This motivation resembles that of "the most powerful critics of capitalism" who, T. J. Jackson Lears observed:

> ...have often looked backward rather than forward, directing their fire at bureaucratic 'rationality' common to all corporate systems, indicting capitalist progress for its corrosive impact on family, craft, community, or faith....In our own time, the most profound radicalism is the most profound conservatism.[73]

Traditional Christianity offered both models and hopes for resolving the dilemma of a neglected res publica and many anomie-afflicted, alienated individuals. Its moral content provided for the alignment of private and public interests. Its emphasis on fraternity demanded the same. The use of this content to reconcile individual and society is reflected in a constant stress in Progressive rhetoric on character and service, which were also favorite Chautauqua topics. The first sought "self-mastery and the resolution to do good," which involved persistence and the determination to play fair.[74] The need to emphasize character was not new. Throughout the nineteenth century, as Robert Gross, Norman Clark, Paul Johnson, and others have pointed out, an increasingly fluid capitalist society could rely less on social structures for stability and had to demand more of families and individuals.[75] The Great Awakening of the early nineteenth century arose in part to meet this need.

Writing about the Progressive stress on character and service, Ferenc Szasz emphasized the religious sources of these values. "Progressives," he contended, "demanded that each person distinguish between good and evil, and...act upon the good. By recognizing this paradox of the emotions, the Progressives provided one last echo of Puritan America." This emphasis on character, he added, was "invariably couched" in religious terms; it "became for the Progressives what the state of grace had been for the Puritans." It was available to all on an equal basis and was "vital to the

health of the republic." In Szasz' view, whereas character was like the inward reality of that state of grace, service "...became the new sign that one had mastered the concept of character. It manifested the new grace." As he demonstrated, the concept received ample attention from clergymen, from leaders such as Roosevelt, Wilson, Bryan, and Samuel Gompers, and from organizations such as Christian Endeavor.[76]

Service, of course, was the opposite of self-interest. Consecrated evangelicals provided some inspiration. "The spirit of loving service has not grown less but has rather increased as the years have passed by," wrote Dana Bartlett in 1911, "and the deaconess, the sister of mercy, the Salvation Army lassie, and the mission worker have given all they had to 'the least of these.'"[77]

In these linked concepts we may see the nexus of the Progressives' view of individual and society, firmly anchored in traditional Christianity. With their faith in a beneficent universe, metaphysical or not, reformers were convinced that high character was ultimately in the best interest of the individual and held the greatest potential for growth. By tying character to service, they pointed the way to a tightly knit, stable community in which individuals cooperated for the greater good while finding true personal fulfillment. In a capitalist order that worked as Progressives expected it should, personal fulfillment did not have to be spiritual growth only, but could include material success; yet the whole community should benefit or at least not

suffer from the temporal successes of individuals. Moral commitment provided the impetus for this bonding; religion undergirded it, guaranteeing the universality of the moral values that were right for individual and community.

But if Progressives for the most part inhabited a beneficent universe, they also lived in a troubled society. Because of the bonding just described, individual character failings could have major social ramifications. Prohibition has been mentioned in that connection. As Danbom showed, too, there were fears that the distorted values of a dysfunctional society would invade the domain of the family and individual.[78]

It is in the context of desired harmony that we may view the persistence of an evangelical ethos where it might not be expected: among radically disaffected workers and farmers. These two groups exemplified how widespread the influence of that ethos was and its ability to inspire reform. Protestantism, in labor historian Herbert G. Gutman's view,"...offered a religious sanction for <u>their</u> [the workers'] discontent with industrial laissez faire and 'Acquisitive Man.'"[79] This was the evangelicalism of pre-Civil War vintage, the postmillennial, perfectionist faith described by Timothy Smith.[80] Rather than legitimizing the new industrial order, this working-class version of Protestantism rejected the requested divorce of religious principles from industrial life. From conservative trade unionists to anarchists (even August Spies, executed after the Haymar-

ket affair) labor leaders and newspapers appealed to distinctly Protestant themes to encourage organizing and resisting injustices. "Prophetic Protestantism," Gutman pointed out, "offered labor leaders and their followers a transhistoric framework to challenge the new industrialism and a common set of moral imperatives...."[81]

Pre-industrial Protestant tradition, for workers, stressed the brotherhood and equality of men under God. It enabled those most dislocated by rapid industrial change to reach back to a system of moral absolutes and a basis for human solidarity. Even Eugene Debs was caught up in its imagery. From prison after the Haymarket affair he declared that Labor Day "...would stand first for Labor's Millennium, that prophesied era when Christ shall begin in reign on the earth to continue a thousand years."[82]

Gutman believed that the hold of Protestantism over workers ebbed in the 1890s, and by 1900 many observers felt that the chasm between the church and working class could not be bridged. Charles Stelzle, however, disagreed with them. He tried to prove his point from his experiences as a labor evangelist, and in his 1926 autobiography he repeatedly stressed the religious interest of workers and particularly labor leaders. "It was a constant surprise," he wrote, "to see how actively leaders in the labor unions were also engaged in Christian work." One time at a Des Moines labor newspaper office he met six men active in trade unions all of whom were Protestant church lay leaders. Many other

unionists were Sunday-school workers or involved in young people's societies. One labor official in Ohio started a mission church and led regular prayer-meetings, including one of about fifty men in the back of a saloon. Workers themselves were keenly interested in discussing religious topics "...although their language was decidedly non-ecclesiastical. There was no doubt that at heart they were stirred by the religious appeal; more so, indeed, than was true of any other group which I addressed."[83] The Presbyterian evangelist felt he proved their receptivity to religious appeals through his labor campaigns and the numerous articles he had published in the 1900s in about 150 labor newspapers. His most popular articles, he pointed out, were those with the most Bible teaching in them. His columns produced their desired effect. "The radical articles against the Church which formerly appeared in labor papers disappeared almost entirely."[84]

In 1912 Stelzle directed a series of "labor revivals" in several cities, with the support of craft unions and the blessing of the American Federation of Labor. In these efforts to recruit union members, labor "evangels" led grand demonstrations and preached religion, morality, and communitarian brotherhood to mass rallies. The extent to which the campaigns represented revivalistic Christianity may be debated, but the point is that by their choice of method and their success, they testified to the persistence and general acceptance of an important cultural pattern--revivalism. The

"revivals" (to be discussed later) also reflected the Protestant heritage of the craft unions.[85]

If workers found within evangelical Christianity a rationale for their discontent and solidarism, so did many farmers even in the 1910s. The local socialists of the Oklahoma countryside provided a good example of drawing on religion, even revivalism, to reconcile the individual and communal needs of human nature into a quest for reform. "Trying to reform the world," Garin Burbank wrote, farmers:

> ...tended to revert to categories long familiar to them, thus infusing a transcendental impulse into their doctrines. They had begun to instill a new sense of self-esteem and perhaps even a new sense of identity in their followers. If they did not feel equal to the "big men" in their communities they could begin to feel the confidence of equality in the communal excitement of the revival. The Socialist revivals of Oklahoma had the same leveling effect as their precursors.[86]

As with Gutman's workers, the socio-economic changes in the Oklahoma countryside disrupted the lives of small farmers, renters and laborers unable to get a farm, and others who resented the privileges found among some of the townsfolk. These changes and circumstances offended their sense of justice and threatened traditional relationships and religious-based communitarian values. So they were receptive to radical appeals based on the older prophetic solidarism inherent in evangelicalism. Socialist agitators, often ministers themselves, wearied central party leaders by relying on the religious appeal. This was because they:

> ...found it personally difficult to separate their older faith from their new found political convictions. To many it would have seemed unnecessary,

> if not actually blasphemous, to make the distinction between politics and religion recommended by the State Executive Committee.[87]

Socialism, they taught, would create better conditions for the practice of Christianity. "The poor were the Lord's own poor," Burbank explained. "Socialism became an agency of salvation and seemed destined to perfect the world in anticipation of the coming of the Lord." Protestant morality, postmillennial hopes, and revivalistic forms mingled freely with political action in what may appear to the modern reader a bizarre syncretism. Socialist ministers could preach revival on Sundays and socialism on weekdays without missing a beat.[88]

Progressive reformers and the bulk of middle-class Americans were clearly in search of social healing and harmony, and their democratic mind-set permitted few to countenance permanent class divisions. They also sought to preserve the integrity of the individual within a vibrant community, perhaps sensing the potential for alienation in a "lonely crowd," as in David Riesman's study of a half-century later.[89] Their religious background suggested solutions based on spiritual concepts and pointed them to the model of a society-wide Great Awakening.

E. Democracy and Spirit

In yet another area religion necessarily pervaded the reformers' hopes. Progressivism has been called a "democratic renaissance." Because of both traditional Ameri-

can views of democracy and new assessments of need, the democratic faith tightened Progressivism's ties with evangelicalism. Moreover, the growing spiritual understanding of democracy led Progressives again to draw on the tradition of the Great Awakening.

Ralph Gabriel posited five parallels between the doctrine of the democratic faith of America and Protestant Christianity. They all characterized Progressivism in particular. The "doctrine of fundamental moral law" in connection to Progressivism has already been noted. A second parallel, constitutionalism, was reflected in the reformers' repeated insistence on enforcing the law. Third, the "doctrine of the free individual" was reflected in Progressive insistence upon the integrity of the individual and his freedom from corporate control; Gabriel linked this in particular to the evangelical tradition. Two other parallels, the philosophy of progress and the international mission of America, also were very recognizable in both Progressivism and American evangelicalism.[90] Perry Miller, too, studied "the intellect of the revival" when many historians assumed that to be an oxymoron, and he reached conclusions similar to those of his Yale colleague. Miller found that in the developing national ideology of the nineteenth century, revivalism led many Americans to link the future of their free institutions to Christianity.[91]

We have seen how evangelical Christianity offered a fusion of individualism and community solidarism. These were

crucial to the American concept of democracy. Complementary to those, at the heart of many Progressives' democratic values--especially Bryan and the Midwestern Republican insurgents--was the belief that democracy depended on the moral qualities of political leaders of the community. They made it an article of faith that a community permeated by righteousness and freed from political slavery could be depended on to elect virtuous leaders; hence the "demand for angels in politics" and the movement for broadening political participation so characteristic of the Progressive era.[92]

Here we see the importance of commonly accepted virtues, including character and service. Personal virtue was necessarily the principal criterion for political leadership in the beneficent universe of the Progressives, where good struggled triumphantly with evil and most questions came down to moral ones. Local democracy with the personal touch, in Palermo's view, contained the set of values that Midwestern insurgents sought to generalize to the nation.

To the extent that these values held among Progressives in general, institutional changes and experts who could manage them were not appealing. Do not pass unenforceable laws, Governor Theodore Roosevelt exhorted Outlook readers in 1900; elect honest, brave, and wise officials. Furthermore, "...there will not be the slightest
need for such [anti-trust] legislation if only the public spirit is sufficiently healthy, sufficiently removed alike

from corruption and from demagogy, to see that each corporation receives its exact rights and nothing more...."[93]

Within the national identity, too, was a deeply rooted tradition of complementing democracy with religion. This identification rested not only upon classic republicanism's requirement for a virtuous people but also on something else within the evangelical tradition in America, one sanctified by the First and Second Great Awakenings and still prominent among Progressives: the search in the realm of politics for the things of the spirit.[94] George Bancroft expressed this prevalent attitude in 1845, asserting that an American union "...constituted by consent must be preserved by love." In 1861 Horace Bushnell spoke for many Protestant Northerners in a similar vein when he blamed "glittering generalities," the lifeless abstractions imposed onto the Constitution by the Founding Fathers, for the heresy of states' rights. He insisted that "...a merely man-made compact without something farther...could never have more than a semblance of authority...." American self-government needed a second element, the one reaching back to the Puritans whose "...political ideas were shaped by religion."[95]

Among the Progressives, William Jennings Bryan was the most outspoken in identifying democracy, the nation, and religion with each other; like other Progressives and like Bancroft he sought to found his ideal republic on the law of love.[96] The muckrakers, historian Harold Wilson asserted, saw democracy as not only a moral condition but even as a

metaphysical one. William Allen White claimed that democracy was basically altruism and that the "self-abnegation" involved in the political reformist "desire to heal our souls" was "essentially a Puritan movement."[97]

This would be, of course, a Puritanism shorn of human depravity. As part of their democratic faith the vast majority of Progressive leaders, like Bryan, relied heavily on the assumption that the people could be trusted. According to one Social Gospel minister, "...public opinion is not based on the ill-considered demands of the many but rather upon the healthy opinion of the majority which rise above selfish motives, interests, and aims...[and] must be based upon righteous principles that are in the interest of the community."[98] This sentiment, widely echoed elsewhere and reflecting hopes for an organic society, denied the usefulness of any plurality of interests but demanded a high moral and even spiritual character in public opinion. If only the people could be set free from the bonds of restraining political and economic institutions and the blight of materialism, claimed William Jennings Bryan and other Midwestern Progressives, they would be emancipated into free moral agency and naturally choose the right.[99]

Trust in the people was a pervasive faith among Americans: revivalists such as J. Wilbur Chapman and Billy Sunday, whatever their theological views, acted on positive assumptions about their countrymen. A theologically conservative Baptist paper expressed the common view: "As to the

soundness of the conscience of the American people, we have not the slightest doubt. When moral issues are fully and fairly presented to them their ultimate verdict is certain."[100] One more thing was needful, of course; first their conscience had to be aroused, and in the Progressive viewpoint religion played a revitalizing role. "The State will be saved," Roosevelt reported to Congress in 1903, "if the Lord puts it into the heart of the average man to so shape his life that the State will be worth saving, and only on those terms. We need civic righteousness."[101]

Even pragmatic thinkers could not leave alone the role of religion in supporting democracy. The joining of democracy and religion by this group should not surprise us, given their evangelical backgrounds. Crunden suggested that it was from a crisis of faith that Jane Addams salvaged a passion for the welfare of others and a devotion to democracy.[102] One additional reason was the pragmatists' heightened awareness of the need for social cohesion. "[T]heir commentaries," D. W. Johnson observed:

> ...illustrated the continuing impact of the traditional American emphasis upon religion as a fundamental social force, the extensive influence of social Christianity upon early twentieth-century social thought, and the deeply religious nature of the pragmatic movement itself.[103]

This becomes more understandable if we recognize that most Progressives, to one degree or another, loved to crunch categories; they assumed an organic relationship between religion, morality, individualism, community solidarity, and democracy. We should also recognize that among many Progres-

sives, even evangelical Protestants, a pragmatic definition of religion held sway. "[R]eal creeds are the product of life itself, and churches must test revelation by life and not life by revelation," was a typical assertion along these lines.[104]

Such evolutionary pragmatism might, we could hypothesize, create serious divisions between conservative and more pragmatic evangelicals. But few reform-minded ones wanted to pick a fight over doctrine; such fights were in poor taste among Progressives. Furthermore, as has been suggested, among them theological distinctions proceeded by degrees, and references to religion "...ranged along the broad continuum between traditional references to the commands of Scripture and a nontheistic, humanitarianism rooted in moral principle."[105] The formal pragmatism of liberal evangelicals was echoed by the informal pragmatism of many conservatives, which tended to blur distinctions even further. The conservative Watchman, for example, was not far from this spirit in emphasizing that "...we cannot be said actually to believe any given moral truth until that belief controls our action," in an article complaining about the segregation of religion from "the active forces of life."[106]

Particularly where democracy and morality were concerned, new ideas of religion failed to escape the patterns of the old. Mary Simkhovitch, head resident of the Greenwich House settlement in New York City, fitted democracy into her attenuated concept of religion by making democracy a creed

with "motive power." In describing this creed she expressed the deliberate ambiguity by which many Progressives approached religion. "[T]he deepest common conviction of the settlement is not technically religious or socially creedal, but rather a somewhat intellectually vague but emotionally profound social democracy...."[107] By this "vague but profound" conviction--not a formal doctrine!--she opened the back door wide to religion in her democracy, as long as it stayed ambiguous. A more openly religious way of saying the same thing would be Ray Stannard Baker's 1909 comment equating the reform movement with "the new spiritual impulses which are permeating our common life--the new democracy, if you will."[108]

Upon this "emotional profundity" even the least theologically evangelical reformers tended to rely. In her writings on ethics Jane Addams searched for a common morality with which to buttress democracy and for a "strenuous moral appeal" to promote that morality.[109] Walter Lippmann argued for mobilizing reform sentiment by appealing to the religious sense. "Be conservative about values and radical about forms," he wrote, "to turn to the establishment of positively good things instead of simply trying to check bad ones...to substitute, if you like, the love of heaven for the fear of hell." Whether this was a casual allegory or not, many Progressives, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, clearly "liked." Lippmann continued, "Such a program means the dignified utilization of the whole nature of man."[110]

For Progressives who were closer to evangelicalism, such as Ray Stannard Baker, the needed "profundity" was one of spirit. At that time liberal Social Gospel theologians were happily assuring Progressives that the Spirit of God was immanent in the world and was working toward the millennium in America through reform, technological progress, and the cooperative spirit of the time. "Convinced as they were that they were living in an age throbbing with redemptive power, the new theologians found it easy to believe that the divine guidance of history was leading to the imminent realization of the kingdom of God on earth."[111]

This contact with the divine was potentially entering more phases of life. A large part of the Progressive Great Awakening was the reintegration of the physical and spiritual, the secular and sacred. This development parallels the reconciliation of theory with reality in the "revolt against formalism" described by Morton White. Existence was no longer to be compartmentalized into different value systems; religion and spirit should not be confined within the walls of churches and private lives, but brought into all areas of life.[112]

It was in this vein that Albion Small called for religious agencies to cooperate with every other organization "that in any way is contributing to the welfare of men." He declared:

> That nation leads the richest life in which there is the most systematic and thorough cooperation of each activity with all activities.... Religion ought to be the least isolated activity

> in human society. It ought to weave itself into every human interest that has a part to perform in producing human welfare. By this cooperation religion and life become one.[113]

The reintegration or blending of morality, democracy, religion, and correct social behavior--which has led to semantic problems in studies of Progressive thought--paralleled an important philosophical shift in which Protestant thinkers fully participated. "Spiritual" took on social meaning and tended to be equated with humanitarian broad-mindedness, pointing to whatever led one to rise above selfishness to embrace social concerns. This elision has been suggested through some of its usages quoted above. "Spiritual" thus lost much of its transcendent character. "The veil which separates the seen from the unseen is getting thinner every year...," suggested the Congregationalist Reverend Amory Bradford. Typical of much American thinking, he suggested that rapidly advancing "Christian thought" would make "large discoveries in the sphere of the spirit" by taking a scientifically acceptable tack.[114] "The great principle of evolution," Episcopal Bishop William Lawrence affirmed:

> ...is breaking down the wall of partition between natural and spiritual, science and religion, and unifying our conception of the whole universe, revealing a present, living, and loving God, in whom we and all creation move and have our being.[115]

Since the main foe of "spirit," as liberal theologians defined it, was materialistic individualism, one could conceive of the old orthodoxy in Protestantism as "unspiritual." The attempt to draw the metaphysical realm closer to

the scientifically verifiable also reflected a revulsion against the too-ardent materialism of nineteenth-century Darwinian thought and the strict separation of religion from reality suggested Henry Ward Beecher's poetic style (and described by Santayana as part of the "Genteel Tradition"). William Allen White and others, by his testimony, stood to be congratulated for their success in separating Christianity's "deep spiritual truths" from the dross of theology. "The Christian spirit," he wrote in 1905:

> ...is in its essence an entirely attainable ideal of kindness and justice, and only as men live the Christian spirit consistently, in their simple first-hand relations with one another, will the public morals of the nation improve, and will the political and economic problems which reflect the condition of public morals be nearer a solution.[116]

In other words, reform, like the Kingdom of God, would be realized through a mass of individual decisions to live unselfishly, decisions that must be brought about by the spirit of Christianity. Because of this widely shared moral-individual perspective, Danbom suggested, Progressive reformers were in search of a moral awakening. But again, not simply moral. "Christian Progressives...understood their task in terms of a spiritual revival."[117]

By the middle of the first decade of the century Progressives rejoiced over America's apparent return to things spiritual. The Awakening had come. Evangelical Progressives might discern the work of the Holy Spirit, while pragmatic ones vaguely recognized the effectiveness of a religious

spirit in mobilizing the nation to its duty, but the two viewpoints were in harmony for a while. Religion, the unorthodox Reverend Algernon Sidney Crapsey exulted, "...is entering into life and spiritualizing every department thereof as it has not since the primitive days."[118] William Allen White had much to say along these lines and felt that he was typical of his generation. In the period just after 1900, he wrote "...I was awakening to the deep spiritual truths in the Christian Bible. Its theology did not interest me, but the wisdom of the ages there moved me deeply....I saw the Great Light."[119] Others made the same discovery:

> ...Around me in that day scores of young leaders in American politics and public affairs were seeing what I saw, feeling what I felt. Probably they too were converted Pharisees with the zeal of the new faith upon them.[120]

Soon, when they perceived a major attitudinal change in the country, particularly in American perceptions about social issues, observers such as William Dean Howells, John G. Brooks, Scott Nearing, and Walter Rauschenbusch interpreted it in moral and even religious terms.[121] They felt that in some way society had been permeated with the divine, or at least a new cooperative spirit of human progress, resulting in an opportunity for social harmony and the recovery of America's birthright which had been squandered for a mess of pottage. Their spiritual optimism formed a major theme of the Progressive Great Awakening.

"You who read," Dana Bartlett proclaimed with the confidence marking his generation:

...are realizing a change within your own minds, a new altruistic spirit has taken possession of you, and you are thinking of 'the other fellow'....What is true in your experience is also true in the collective mind in city, state and nation; for, are we not living in the time of a great spiritualized social awakening?[122]

* * * NOTES TO CHAPTER I * * *

1. Gaius Glenn Atkins, Religion in Our Time (New York, 1932), p. 156.
2. Ibid.
3. Paul Moore Strayer, quoted in ibid., p. 188.
4. Ferenc M. Szasz, "The Progressive Clergy and the Kingdom of God," Mid-America, Vol. LV, No. 1 (January 1973), p. 4.
5. Peter G. Filene, "An Obituary for 'The Progressive Movement,'" American Quarterly, Vol. XXII (1970), No. 1, pp. 20-34.
6. Daniel T. Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," Reviews in American History, Vol. X, No. 4 (1982), p. 126, fn. 1.
7. Unsigned column, "In the Interpreter's House," (by Finley Peter Dunne), American magazine, Vol. LXVII (February 1909), p. 423.
8. William Allen White, "The Old Order Changeth: V. The Leaven in the National Lump," American magazine, Vol. XVIII (May 1909), pp. 66,70.
9. Burnham essay, in John Buenker, John Burnham, and Robert Crunden, Progressivism (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), p. 7.
10. Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," p. 121.
11. David Thelen, The New Citizenship.
12. Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," p. 123.
13. Szasz, "The Progressive Clergy," p. 4.
14. Burnham, in Buenker, Burnham, and Crunden, Progressivism, p. 5.
15. Robert M. Crunden, Ministers of Reform (New York, 1982). See also his essay in Buenker, Burnham, and Crunden, Progressivism.
16. G. Edward White, "The Social Values of the Progressives: Some New Perspectives," South Atlantic Quarterly, Vol. LXX, No. 1 (1971), p. 64.
17. In his article "The Old Order Changeth: V. The Leaven in the National Lump" (see footnote 8).
18. William R. Hutchison, "Cultural Strain and Protestant Liberalism," American Historical Review, Vol. LXXVI, No. 2 (April 1971), pp. 389,390.
19. Ibid., p. 390.
20. See Alan Trachtenberg, The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age (New York, 1982); and David E. Shi, The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture (New York, 1985).
21. The philosophical dilemma is well explored in Morton White, Social Thought in America: The Revolt Against Formalism (New York, 1949); and in Crunden's Ministers of Reform.
22. See George Santayana, "The Genteel Tradition in American Philosophy," in Douglas Wilson, ed., The Genteel Tradition: Nine Essays by George Santayana (Cambridge, Mass., 1967).

23. See T. J. Jackson Lears, No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920 (New York, 1981), pp. 32-47.
24. Henry F. May, The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Own Time, 1912-1917 (New York, 1959); White, Social Thought.
25. This is a theme of May's End of American Innocence.
26. Charles Wagner, The Simple Life, tr. Mary Louise Hendez (New York, 1904). See Shi's discussion of Wagner in Simple Life, pp. 183,184. Wagner was very much in vogue in the Unites States in 1904 and 1905; to the delight of many, the author of The Simple Life met the model of the Strenuous Life at the White House in late 1905. The two men of similar build and temperament approved of each other profusely.
27. David B. Danbom, "The World of Hope": Progressives and the Struggle for an Ethical Public Life (Philadelphia, 1987), p. 49.
28. Ibid., passim.
29. Dewey Grantham, Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition (Knoxville, Tenn., 1983), p. xvi.
30. James L. Hood, "The Collapse of Zion: Rural Progressivism in Nelson and Washington Counties" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Kentucky, 1980); Patrick F. Palermo, "Republicans in Revolt: The Sources of Insurgency" (Ph.D. Dissertation, State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1973).
31. Ronald C. White and C. Howard Hopkins, The Social Gospel: Religion and Reform in Changing America (Philadelphia, 1976), p. xviii.
32. Danbom, "The World of Hope", pp. 49,50.
33. Burnham, Buenker, and Crunden, Progressivism, p. 75.
34. "A Kansas Progressive Republican" (anon.), "How I Was Converted Politically," Outlook, Vol. XCVI (December 17, 1910), p. 859.
35. Danbom, "The World of Hope", p. 65.
36. Pragmatism was, of course, the philosophical movement associated with William James and John Dewey. Pragmatism exalted the power of organized intelligence to shape the environment for the good of society. It also posited that truth is tentative, emerging in actions; that doctrines are mental tools for adapting to and shaping one's surroundings (or society) rather than eternal, transcendent truths. Generally we are using the term loosely to identify "pragmatically minded" reformers and the pervasive "pragmatic" mood. The terms denote a distaste for action-limiting doctrines and a demand that principles be unified with action.
37. Harold S. Wilson, McClure's Magazine and the Muckrakers (Princeton, N.J., 1970), p. 149.
38. Crunden, Ministers of Reform, p. 81.
39. Ibid., pp. 25,164.
40. Ibid., pp. 8,56,81.
41. Charles Stelzle, A Son of the Bowery: The Life Story of an East Side American (New York, 1926), pp. 79,80.

42. Frederick C. Howe, Confessions of a Reformer, p. 17.
43. Albion W. Small, "Christianity and National Needs," Baptist Home Mission Monthly, January 1905, p. 21.
44. Grantham, Southern Progressivism, pp. xviii,16.
45. Ibid., p. 17.
46. Palermo, "Republicans in Revolt," pp. vi,9.
47. White and Hopkins, The Social Gospel, p. xvii.
48. Szasz, The Divided Mind of Protestant America, University, Ala., University of Alabama Press, 1982, p. 56.
49. Szasz, "The Progressive Clergy," pp. 6,7.
50. Grant Wacker, "The Holy Spirit and the Spirit of the Age in American Protestantism, 1880-1910," Journal of American History, Vol. 72, No. 1 (1985), pp. 56-58.
51. Ibid., p. 53.
52. White and Hopkins, Social Gospel, p. 85.
53. Ibid., p. 96.
54. Wacker, "Holy Spirit," p. 51.
55. Norris Magnuson, Salvation in the Slums: Evangelical Social Work, 1865-1920 (Metuchen, N.J., 1977), pp. ix,114-126.
56. Watchman, March 17, 1904, p. 13.
57. "Episcopal Address," Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1896, p. 43. (Hereafter, GCME Journal.
58. "Episcopal Address," GCME Journal, 1900, p. 76.
59. "Bishops' Address," GCME Journal, 1904, p. 140; "Report of the Woman's Home Missionary Society," ibid., p. 911.
60. California Christian Advocate, March 23, 1905, p. 12 (hereafter CCA).
61. Christian Statesman, December 1906, p. 356.
62. St. Louis Christian Advocate, May 10, 1905, p. 5 (hereafter SLCA); "Municipal Ownership Growing," Southwestern Christian Advocate, April 13, 1905, p. 1.
63. "Government and Socialism," Watchman, January 12, 1905, p. 6; "The Church and the Community," ibid., February 18, 1904, p. 7.
64. "The Self-Made Man and Child Labor," Western Christian Advocate, January 30, 1907, pp. 4,5 (hereafter WCA).
65. Watchman, December 22, 1904, p. 8.
66. Magnuson, Salvation, pp. 166-168.
67. Norman H. Clark, Deliver Us From Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition (New York, 1976). James Timberlake also argued that Prohibition was well within the Progressive constellation of reforms, in Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900-1920 (Cambridge, Mass., 1963).
68. Grantham, Southern Progressivism, p. xvii.
69. Palermo, "Republicans in Revolt," p. 99.
70. See John M. Cooper, The Warrior and the Priest: Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt (Cambridge, Mass., 1983); and Crunden, Ministers of Reform.
71. Walter Rauschenbusch, Christianity and the Social Crisis (New York, 1907), quoted in Danbom, "World of Hope", p. 88.
72. Danbom, "World of Hope", p. 53.
73. Lears, No Place of Grace, p. xviii.

74. Ferenc Szasz, "The Stress on 'Character and Service' in Progressive America," Mid-America, Vol. LXIII (1981), p. 147.
75. Robert Gross, The Minutemen and Their World (New York, 1976); Clark, Deliver Us From Evil; Paul Johnson, Shopkeeper's Millennium (New York, 1978). Gross offered an interesting summary of the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century in Concord, Mass., emphasizing the breakdown of formal social arrangements; Johnson studied a Charles Finney revival in Rochester, N. Y., emphasizing as one motive for conversion the hope of bridging widening social gaps attendant with the rise of factories.
76. Szasz, "Stress on Character and Service," p. 147,148.
77. Dana Bartlett, The Better Country (Boston, 1911), p. 3.
78. Danbom, "World of Hope", passim.
79. Herbert G. Gutman, "Protestantism and the American Labor Movement: The Christian Spirit in the Gilded Age," American Historical Review, Vol. LXXII (1966), p. 78.
80. Timothy Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America (Nashville, Tenn., 1957).
81. Ibid., p. 83.
82. Quoted in Gutman, "Protestantism," p. 88.
83. Stelzle, Son of the Bowery, p. 75.
84. Ibid., p. 90. Such was the credibility Stelzle gained in the labor movement that Samuel Gompers, who endorsed his Labor Forward campaigns, told him, "...when trying to persuade me to give up my fight in favor of Prohibition, that up to that time organized labor in American would have granted me anything that I might have asked, but that if I continued this fight, I would make many enemies in the labor movement. The latter proved to be true" (p. 99).
85. See Kenneth Fones-Wolf, "Revivalism and Craft Unionism in the Progressive Era: The Syracuse and Auburn Forward Movements of 1913," New York History, Vol. LXIII, No. 4 (1982), pp. 389-416.
86. Gavin Burbank, When Farmers Voted Red: The Gospel of Socialism in the Oklahoma Countryside, 1910-1924 (Westport, Conn., 1976), pp. 22,23.
87. Ibid., pp. 14,15. In December 1911 the party's state executive secretary was forced again to speak on religion. Exasperated, he "...informed local agitators that their use of quotations from the Bible was acceptable but that they could not, as they were sometimes claiming, 'prove' the need for socialism from biblical texts" (pp. 14,15)
88. Ibid., pp. 19,22.
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93. Theodore Roosevelt, "The Eighth and Ninth Commandments in Politics," Outlook, Vol. LXV (May 12, 1900), pp. 115,116.
94. See Alan Heimert, Religion and the American Mind, and Timothy Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform.

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112. White, Social Thought, passim; Johnson, "Social Significance of Religion," p. 237. For example, Sam "Golden Rule" Jones made this connection in The New Right.
113. Albion Small, "Christianity and National Needs," p. 24.
114. Congregationalist, January 5, 1901, p. 12.
115. Rev. Amory Bradford, "What May Be in the Twentieth Century--in the Protestant Church," and Rev. William Lawrence, "What May Be in the Twentieth Century--in the Unity of Christendom," Congregationalist, January 5, 1901, p. 12.
116. White, "The Golden Rule," Atlantic Monthly, October 1905, p. 433.
117. Danbom, "World of Hope", p. 85.
118. Algernon Sidney Crapsey, Religion and Politics (New York, 1905), p. 281.
119. William Allen White, The Autobiography of William Allen White (New York, 1946), p. 325.
120. Ibid., p. 325.
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CHAPTER II

THE EVANGELICAL GREAT AWAKENING

Though the Progressive Great Awakening stood in the tradition of past American awakenings, it was a confusing hybrid of secular and religious impulses. In this it reflected not only the secularism that had depleted the church's influence on American thought since the 1870s but also the confusion of an era when "ideas jostled one another."[1]

The perplexity was compounded within the evangelical church. Most clergymen did not know what to make of this new era of rapid social change and dislocations in which the Spirit of God was, they often heard from each other, particularly immanent. Some sort of climax seemed to be around the corner: society and the church seemed rapidly headed for either a millennium or disintegration. Responding to the same pressures and voicing hopes similar to those of the reformers, denominational leaders and pastors likewise reached back into their revival tradition. As with Progressives, what they retrieved was a hybrid of human and divine elements.

A. Dawn and Dusk

"'This is the best day in the history of the world.' It is not unusual to run into these or similar words in one's reading these days," observed the Pacific Christian Advocate early in 1905, "nor is it uncommon to find people on the other hand speaking of these as the days of the degradation and degeneracy of the human race."[2]

Dark forebodings mingled with heady optimism as Americans greeted a new century in January 1901.[3] That the occasion truly coincided with a new age seemed beyond question to a generation tallying the costs and benefits of a horde of economic, social, and cultural advancements and displacements. From one perspective, American evangelical Protestantism had finished a century of progress with a flourish. Having identified itself and its fortunes with a civilization, it stood at the pinnacle of an American civilization on the rise.[4] Indeed, the evangelical observer of 1901 could entertain the suspicion that the English-speaking peoples enjoyed God's special confidence and could look forward to more blessings to come. Favored by both religion and evolution, according to Josiah Strong, "...this race of unequalled energy...having developed peculiarly aggressive traits calculated to impress its institutions upon mankind, will spread itself over the earth."[5]

It was quite sporting of Strong and other evangelicals to admit Great Britain into America's mission of uplift on earth. By combining the British Empire and surging American

power--as many such enthusiasts enjoyed doing in their mental calculations--and factoring in the gratifying technical and educational advances of the age, even a moderate imagination could foresee a bright future. "[T]he Anglo-Saxon Protestant nations," the Congregationalist editor cheered:

> ...control more than four-fifths of the world's railways and tonnage of ships, and possess more than than eighty per cent. of the developed wealth in the world. They have practically taken under their care the slow-moving peoples of Asia and the fierce tribes of Africa. Their task in the twentieth century will be to govern and bring to higher levels of manhood the hundreds of millions over whom they have assumed control.[6]

Apparently God was immanent in Protestant-led human progress. One was drawn ineluctably, as if to a scientific conclusion, that Anglo-Saxon civilization was pacing the onward march of Protestant Christianity worldwide to the millennium. That would be, in Josiah Strong's portrayal, an "ideal world" and, we might add, the Puritan dream: "a world-wide society, in which universal obedience to the divine law, administered by the Lord's anointed, would bring universal blessings...."[7]

To optimists who focused on grand world developments as God's unfolding plan, things were satisfactory on the spiritual front also. American interest in worldwide missions, sparked in part by Spanish-American war in 1898, was rapidly growing. The church seemed to be making the most of its new opportunity; with God's blessing it had unfurled the banner of Jesus Christ triumphantly in the United States and in many new parts of the world in ways unimagined before. Evan-

gelist Dwight Moody and the growing Young Men's Christian Association had helped inspire a new surge of interest in foreign missions; John R. Mott, president of the Student Volunteer Mission which he founded in 1888, broadcast the slogan "The Evangelization of the World in This Generation!" By 1900 more than fifty mission boards along with fifty auxiliary societies supported the work of 5,000 American missionaries.[8] "One hundred years ago," an editor noted:

> ...the great majority in Christian nations, and even in the churches, regarded foreign missions as uncalled for and impracticable. Today the conviction prevails among even nominal Christians that the right love for mankind requires us to give the gospel to all the nations....[9]

Missions were having a marvelous effect on the morale of the church. For the sake of the missionary cause, Handy has observed, "tensions between liberals and conservatives were somewhat sublimated in the partnership of piety, progress, and civilization which, it was confidently believed, was preparing the way for the kingdom itself."[10] The church was healing its divisions and extending itself throughout the world, just as the nation was. Again, optimists had cause for confidence. "Protestant confidence was sustained," historian Robert Handy explained, "not only by such optimistic observations, but also by the pervasive assumption that America was still a Christian nation...."[11] The remarkable Ecumenical Missionary Conference of April 1900 in New York City celebrated the harmony of church and state in a Christian civilization. The gathering was presided over by a former President (Benjamin Harrison),

greeted by the current one (William McKinley), and welcomed by a future one, then-New York Governor Theodore Roosevelt.[12]

More to the point of this study, philosophical trends that we have associated with the Progressive Great Awakening cheered many evangelicals. Their faith apparently had passed with flying colors the test of industrialization, Darwinism, and Ingersollism--"godless theories in science, a fashion of despair in poetry, agnostic tendencies in philosophy...criticisms of the word of God that were destructive of belief," as the Methodist bishops described the ordeal. Among American thinkers, philosophical materialism was on its way out as early as the 1890s. "Not only do we recognize many signs of advanced spiritual life in our own Church," the bishops asserted their 1896 report:

> ...but...we recognize that the trend of all the Churches and of the thought of our age is in the direction of a larger and intenser faith....In every department there is now a return to faith, a clearer recognition of psychic forces and of a necessity of thinking that God upholdeth all things by the word of his power. And now even "science walks with humble feet to seek the God that faith has found."[13]

By 1900 many evangelicals shared in the pragmatic mood that scorned catechisms and doctrinal rigor in favor of Christian action. The Methodist bishops, though traditionally less fearful of such laxity than Presbyterians, in that year expressed mixed feelings about it, but on balance were positive. "There are reasons for both fear and hope, for

both congratulation and solemn admonition," their episcopal address warned:

> ...But we believe that in the clearer acceptance of Christianity as spirit and not letter, in the growing sense of individual right and responsibility, in the increase of altruistic feeling, and in the multitude of sincere and earnest souls found in our ministry and in our laity there is evidence that the Church is advancing toward the end of its high calling.[14]

The Reformed Church, less hostile to Higher Criticism but equally chilly toward naturalism, cheerfully claimed in its 1902 report that dry doctrines were giving way to a more attractive, practical Christianity:

> We believe that by and by, the purpose of Christianity being better understood, the reaction of faith against agnosticism setting in, religion being made more a life and less an intellectual conception...grown men who have been standing outside [will]...now see it as the duty of parenthood, of manhood, of even noble citizenship, to accept the principles of Jesus Christ....[15]

It was, observers said, an age that cried out for humanitarianism, and they discerned the church's golden opportunity there. "The rise, under the touch of science and the massing of populations, of the spirit of humanitarianism, mutual helpfulness and charity," Episcopal Bishop William Lawrence found, "is binding all workers for human good into closer bonds of sympathy, and Christ is in the midst of them."[16] The Methodists also saw a practical and humanitarian faith as a means to spread the church's influence. "The angle of vision from which most men see Christ to-day is that of tender humanity. It is a humanitarian age," the bishops claimed in 1896. Christ's many examples of minister-

ing to people's needs "...fill the thought and turn the whole world to Christly ministries of tenderness and love."[17]

Again reflecting overall national trends, many evangelical liberals and conservatives had suspended their debates in favor of united action with a few basic principles. Many evangelical observers praised the church's maturity in not wrangling over fine points of the "letter," but emphasizing what was more important, the "spirit" of Christianity as translated into loving service to God and man. In 1905 the Pacific Christian Advocate diagnosed a weakening spiritual life in the church in years past, despite its expanding missionary and Sunday school activities, and blamed the problem on public controversies over the veracity of Scripture. But now most thinkers on both sides could agree that, however the Bible was delivered, "...it is a revelation from God...." Therefore, "men of divergent views have met at the threshold" of agreement in what is the means to commune with God:

> ...This communion is realized in the abandonment of sin and the giving up of self and the repose of the guilty soul upon the merits of a forgiving Christ. All this is so easily read in the Word and so clearly demonstrated in the life[,] that people with divergent views may meet and labor together here. Hence we find the revival of spiritual power through-out the bounds of Christianity.[18]

This unity impressed Charles Sheldon, Social Gospel-leaning Congregationalist pastor and author of the best-selling In His Steps: What Would Jesus Do. In a 1904 sermon he discerned "the dawn of brotherhood, and of the growing

recognition of the obligation of the strong toward the weak...[and] the growing spirit of toleration, fraternity and unity among the great evangelical denominations."[19]

By putting aside archaic nitpicking and stressing unity in the Spirit, the church was finding its relevance and leadership in the educated new age. "We are living in a time of aroused intelligence, of a spirit that wants to know the what and why...," a Reformed Church report admonished. The church would prevail by emphasizing the spiritual idea of being a Christian. "...Religion is to be shown to consist not so much in devotional services as in the services of a great devotion!"[20]

Yet possibility was juxtaposed with peril in the collective mind of evangelical Protestants. The same culture strain that affected Progressives was especially acute in the body that wanted to be guardian of American culture. While philosophical changes had cheered liberal evangelicals in particular, cultural and social realities among Americans in general were not yet similarly cheering.

As old moral certainties receded before new scientific thinking and social realities, evangelicals were aware, the mental disarray enervated society at large. They sensed what Princeton University President Woodrow Wilson articulated well while dismissing his graduating class in June 1905. Wilson blamed "the doubts and disorders of our age, whether they touch us as individuals or only as communities," on

"our contemporary confusion as to moral values."[21] He described the intellectual climate:

> Things new and old jostle one another in our day and live in no peace or concord....The new do not seem to have sprung from the old. Their lineage and connection seem undetermined and accidental....The age desires law but cannot find it, seeks order but does not discover it, would be led but knows not whom to follow.[22]

Within this moral instability, evangelical leaders diagnosed critical spiritual problems both in the church and in society and formulated jeremiads accordingly. The sense of "degradation and degeneracy" combined with fears that the church was losing its hold on the national life in both overt and subtle ways. The nation, if it lost its Christian moorings, would drift to disaster. Progressive fears for democratic republicanism were shared: "We have gloried in a material prosperity...," warned the 1904 Methodist report, fashioning a jeremiad to launch at the nation. "Meanwhile our political, social, moral, and religious problems have multiplied, and some of them have reached acute stages fraught with imminent perils."

The bishops took the dimmest view of the issue between capital and labor:

> The sharp and permanent war between employers and employed, breaking out with alarming frequency into law-defying collisions, demands altruistic and Christian mediation. Some of the vast combinations of capital have been shown to be conscienceless and gigantic swindles...shamefully robbing the unsuspecting public. On the other hand, some of the constitutional provisions of labor organizations have been despotic....[23]

A prominent Methodist clergyman, Theodore Cuyler, illustrated the paradox of promise and peril himself as he issued stern warnings to the church. In a New Year's article for 1901 he listed the impressive advances of Christianity during the century just past, but then sighed:

> ...[W]e must also face some stubborn and serious facts. We encounter a deplorable lowering of reverence for the Sabbath....It is increasingly difficult to fill the churches; and the last decade has exhibited a sad falling off in the number of conversions. The census of more than one Protestant denomination is alarming; and while college students multiply in number, the number of students for the ministry is diminishing.[24]

Those were, most observers seemed to agree, the symptoms of a deeper malaise. A national Prebyterian report for 1900 quoted by historian Robert Handy took note that "...a restlessness of varied and peculiar nature is affecting both our churches and our pastors. It is not to be accurately described nor entirely accounted for, but its presence is undoubted and its effects painfully apparent." Robert Handy, trying to explain this "restlessness," suggested that the identification of Protestant Christianity with American civilization had hidden costs at a time when that civilization was being rapidly transformed through immigration and social change. Among the costs were the fading of apparent symbols of Protestant cultural hegemony, such as the widely observed Sabbath.[25]

Yet the problem was more than simply one of anxieties over symbols of cultural status. The poignancy of the many jeremiads relating social evils to spiritual dearth did not

fit the sterility of the evangelical mind portrayed by scholars who emphasize status and economic considerations. For the Jeremiahs, the basic issue was the true quality and depth of American religion at the grassroots level. On that point pietistic and Social Gospelite concerns converged. "A superficial understanding and teaching of the Gospel has resulted in a shallow religious experience," Josiah Strong charged. "Few converts today have a deep conviction of sin, and love much because they are consciously forgiven much."[26] The Methodist report for 1900 wondered if the relative absence of doctrinal wrangling was such a good thing: "[I]s this indifferentism, or is it, in part, a better discernment of that which is vital to the Christian faith?..."[27] The Social Gospel-leaning Reverend George Lorimer complained, "The whole atmosphere is charged and subcharged with secularism, and Christianity is being blighted by the apathy of the church."[28]

The spiritual and intellectual dilemmas were compounded by relentless social change. As Ahlstrom noted concerning the Victorian-era trials from which evangelicals hoped they had emerged, "All this [the intellectual doubts] had to be faced, moreover, in the new urban jungles of the Gilded Age, where Americans seemed to be chiefly bent on getting and spending and laying waste their powers." The rapid urbanization of the late nineteenth century, the swell of immigration that helped feed it, and the existence of new wealth and new poverty side by side in the cities gave rise to ap-

parently intractible realities. The wealthy urban church lost contact with the workingman, and as churches followed their congregations to the new suburbs, the class cleavage became more pronounced. The churches became associated in the minds of many laborers with their oppressors.[29]

Widely shared moral and religious certainties had once provided at least a powerful myth of individual integrity and social harmony. With the erosion of those certainties and the harmony, and within a psychological and cultural framework of anomie, vital piety seemed to suffer. Meanwhile, the new prosperity of "the full dinner pail" accompanied America's transformation to a consumer society, well described by Alan Trachtenberg.[30] This development, noted before, threatened to transform Americans into passive, isolated, shallow individuals addicted to wealth and entertainment and taking their cue from fashion and advertising.

Comparing modern spiritual depth with that of fifty years before, a Baptist editor asserted in January 1904 that "...the religion of today is not marked by the tone of certainty and its resultant joy that was characteristic of the older faith. What Matthew Arnold called 'the boundless exhilaration of the Bible' awakens only a faint response in modern minds." Drawing on his own long experience, the editor complained, "We can recall prayers that ushered the whole company into the presence of God and filled all hearts with joy and peace. So far as our observation goes, such meetings today are not frequent."[31]

For Dr. James S. Chadwick, a New York Methodist presiding elder, the quality of spiritual life had declined to the critical level. "I am concerned, my brethren, for the vitality of Methodism...," he urged. "[T]he emergency is upon us. Many of our own people have become enfeebled and practically disabled. I fear that many of us have not often enough been alone with God. A deeper, richer Christian experience is demanded...."[32]

Evangelical newspapers and denominational reports put the finger on materialism as the major offense of the age, the main acid eroding spiritual vigor. Materialism cut two ways. Society suffered startling injustices as the "rule of gold" supplanted the Golden Rule. Materialism also chilled vital piety in the lives of average American citizens. "Instead of hitching their wagons to the stars they are anchoring them in gold mines," the eminent Congregational clergyman Amory Bradford complained.[33] Evangelical laymen were not exempt. "The average church member to-day," Josiah Strong charged, "gives no evidence that his aims and motives are any more unselfish than those of multitudes outside the church."[34]

As we shall see, many evangelicals denounced political and industrial crime with the same vigor as any Progressive. The point here is to explore the evangelical version of the Progressive culture strain, part of which was despair over the American worship of Mammon. With materialism, that nemesis for Progressives in general, Americans were imbibing a

passion for pleasure and lowering their moral standards. This was seen not only in crime statistics but even in more subtle ways, and the resulting woes grew in cluster. "Worldliness, the rapid rises in wealth, the substitution of morality--and of not too high a sort--for religion," began a list of upstate New York evils:

> ...the introduction of too many societies and clubs for pleasure...the demoralization of our towns through too intensive surrender to social gatherings...the neglect of family religious rites and home religious training...these are having their deleterious effects. The standard of piety, is it not lowering? Respect for the church, is it not diminishing?[35]

Modern sensual novels, claimed Philadelphia Methodists, "...playing upon the emotions...in no sense increase the love for the good, the pure and the pious." At best they "...hold up to readers an emasculated gospel...."[36] Americans were heading to a lower moral level, the same journal claimed, excerpting an article from Everybody's magazine that read in part:

> So, we save face with an indulgent gayety. ...When a conductor steals a fare, we jocularly remark that he is "knocking down on the company;" when we steal a ride...we laughingly refer to our success in "beating the game;" when we bribe we merely "influence"...until we reach a definition of "honest graft"....[37]

The Methodist bishops agreed. "The seriousness of life seems largely forgotten," they reported in 1900, "its opportunities of usefulness unoccupied, the vigilance necessary for righteousness relaxed, and the love of the passing world gaining in masterfulness."[38]

Materialism had a rival in infamy. Yet another evil permeated society's heap of decaying values and corrupted lives, an "evil vastly greater than slavery" and "the servant of all evils." That was, of course, intemperance. "Language strives in vain to depict the poverty and squalor, the disease and incapacity, the domestic wretchedness, the vice and crime, the degradation of manhood and womanhood passing by entail to children, the political corruption, and the widespread depravation of morals..." that the saloon poured forth into society.[39] The problem received similar attention from almost all evangelical reports and publications. In almost every case alcoholism was discussed not as an individual sin, but as a social evil, a destroyer of families and of society.[40]

Materialism and intemperance joined to stimulate another social illness: divorce. The Louisville, Kentucky, Christian Observer denounced the divorce rate in America as the disgrace of the Western world.[41] The Pittsburgh Christian Advocate also was scandalized by the American weakness for divorce, quoting the New York World:

> There are more divorces here than in all Europe; home life is far safer and more sacred in Paris than in the United States; St. Louis grants twenty-one divorces and San Francisco thirty-five to London's one; our ratio of divorce to marriage is rapidly approaching ten per cent.--these are facts that indicate peril to the home, which is the basic unit of civilization.[42]

While the Pittsburgh Methodist editor blamed the "slight regard for marriage in certain circles of 'society'" and "the ease with which divorces may be secured in some of

the states," eventually the the blame for broken homes and all the social decay had to go to the loss of spiritual commitment among Americans. "It is beyond question and sadly true that we are now reaping all over our land the painful result of irreligious home life," the Pacific Christian Advocate charged. "It is evident in all social, domestic and other crimes which now shame us."[43]

B. The Hope of Revival

Modern historians of American revivalism often consider its persistence among evangelical Protestants to be a reaction to and a defense against the jolting transformations of the late nineteenth century. Anxiety grew, so the story goes, as huge business and labor organizations overshadowed individuals; rapid social and cultural change made the church appear increasingly impotent, even irrelevant to the needs of society.[44] Evangelical ministers and revivalists had every incentive to struggle for cultural dominance in a country they essentially claimed for themselves. The fear that Protestantism might someday become simply one minority religion among many tempted ministers to reach in unseemly haste for any way to get church doors darkened more frequently.[45]

This reasoning is not all wrong, since clergymen often expressed these concerns. It is, however, incomplete. It does not take into account the already-noted optimistic side of the evangelical leaders' twentieth-century expectations.

Moreover, it fails to come to terms with the powerful hopes and preparations for a Great Awakening. In a way similar to many Progressives, the bulk of evangelical clergymen around 1900, looking forward in both trepidation and optimism, increasingly reached back to a well-established cultural form as a source of hope: the Christian spiritual revival. "The most encouraging symptom I now observe," the Reverend Cuyler offered after his previously quoted jeremiad, "is the awakened disposition for united and fervent prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit....If every church and pastor will kindle their own fire by the Spirit-flame, there will be a widespread revival after the Pentecostal pattern."[46]

Past revival-energized Great Awakenings, with their power for national unity and reform, and resulting victories of American evangelicalism over frontier anarchy and philosophical infidelity inspired hope for a similar spiritual cleansing. The endeavors of Dwight Moody in Britain and the United States suggested that evangelism could still be successful in the industrial age. Moody himself, shortly before his death in 1899, expressed the widespread longing: "I would like before I go hence to see the whole Church of God quickened as it was in '57, and a wave going from Maine to California that shall sweep thousands into the Kingdom of God."[47]

Revivals were personally meaningful to many clergymen who called for a new one. Some still recalled the sweeping revival of 1857-1858. It was estimated in 1900 that one-half

of the members of the Presbyterian church had made personal salvation decisions during revivals.[48] The Reverend Henry Dosker, who wrote on spiritual revival, described a particularly intense one first-hand that resulted in his own conversion. This "memorable awakening" in 1877 "...starting in a College prayer meeting, swept over the city of Holland, Mich., and thence spread far and wide throughout the entire Western portion of the Reformed Church." It resulted in many conversions; some men and women influenced by it were in high positions in the Reformed Church.[49]

The new century's advent spurred aspirations toward a new Great Awakening. Millennial expectations sometimes graced expressions of this hope. While welcoming the new century, a Methodist paper proclaimed:

> The Church waits the opening of heaven's windows and the outpoured blessing that will make all things new....This is the revival for which we pray--a movement that will so take hold of society as to shake its foundations and change the course of history--by facing humanity toward the millennium.[50]

At the very outset of the new century, Bishop James Thoburn, president of the Methodists' evangelistically minded Twentieth Century Forward Movement, like Cuyler found cheer in the new surge of interest in revivals. "It is interesting and encouraging," he informed Christian Advocate readers, "to know that at the present time an unusual interest and, indeed, a somewhat confident expectation of a great revival throughout our Church is cherished by many of the best people."[51] That newspaper itself began the century with

several series of articles on the subject of revivals, as did many other denominational papers between 1901 and 1905. (The numerous attempts by denominations, local churches, and individuals to organize for the "coming revival" will form the topic of the next chapter.)

Both doleful and bright diagnoses of the state of religion converged on this hope. Optimists such as Charles Sheldon felt that conditions were leading to a great revival that would usher in the Kingdom; pessimists assumed that conditions demanded one or society would perish. Clergymen and religious editors made their revival hopes answer the needs and blights of the day, including "the glorification of wealth, which is the disgrace of our generation," ran an Independent editorial. "We need today in this great wealth-making country, in this land of power and success, in this age of comfort and physical enjoyment, a revival of that religion which takes hold not only of social masses and their problems, but of the individual man."[52] Both the church and society, a Methodist paper claimed, needed "a revival of personal, experimental religion. It will call men back from greed, worldliness, sensualism, to a correct view of themselves and their destiny."[53]

The same was true of other needs, since a true awakening would transform society for the nations and unborn generations. The St. Louis article that deplored the prevalence of divorce concluded with the hope that "an outpouring of the Holy Spirit" would sway public opinion to rigorous

measures against the evil.[54] Another target for the next Great Awakening had to be the saloon. For Methodist Bishop J. F. Berry, eradicating that evil was the sine qua non of any awakening. He warned that "a great sweeping, all-pervading, all-conquering revival of religion" could come only when the church should "smite, hip and thigh, the monstrous, murderous legalized liquor traffic."[55] On the same page, curiously, Bishop Thoburn of the Northern Methodists' Aggressive Evangelism Committee admonished Methodists to ignore side issues in favor of evangelism. Yet, in a manner reflective of the activist mind-set of so many evangelical Protestants, even he expected devoted service to emerge from the next revival, which:

> ... will be more widespread, more powerful, and more abiding in its fruits than were similar movements in bygone days. In former times great moral reformations were witnessed, but for a long century our church built no hospitals, founded very few orphanages, omitted to care for the aged, and almost neglected to take up the great enterprise of making Christ known to the heathen world. The days of such omissions of duties are gone forever.[56]

Thoburn might be said to represent individual-pietistic evangelicalism, and yet he expressed in some way the sense that finally the church would return to its task of social betterment. There was some liberal-conservative disagreement over what kind of revival to expect, as shall be further explored. Liberals tended to prefer a more social-ethical revival, an educational effort; conservatives thought mainly in terms of conversions. But the middle ground was in the ascendant in the years after 1900. The revival Thoburn and

many other evangelicals hoped for would bridge the gap between individual reform and the reform of society at large. Just as Progressives sought to restore the balance of the free individual and the community spirit, evangelicals tried not to exclude either social or individual salvation, but to pursue a harmony of both. A deepened personal spiritual life was demanded by all but the most rigorous ethicists.

Amory Bradford, for example, in 1905 emphasized the need for a spiritual and not just a social awakening. "The vice of this age," he wrote, "is forgetfulness of the fact that every political and economic problem points directly toward God....What the churches are waiting for is...a profound spiritual awakening which shall make God seem 'closer than breathing'...."[57] The needed revival, the Pacific Christian Advocate urged in a similar vein, would mean a "deep spiritual life in every preacher and member of the Church, to live and serve Christ 'first, last and all the time...,'" and a "revival of prayer power that brings God into everything in personal life, and conduct, into the home circle...; into the prayer meeting...; into the public service...." The editor saw no discontinuity from a personal to a social revival. "Shall we have," he demanded:

> ...a revival that shall result in the purification of every life, the elevation of every home till it shall become a proper type of Heaven, that shall be seen in every avenue of business, that shall sanctify every social relation, that shall drive out all peculation, fraud and sin, and shall apply the gospel of Jesus to the ordinary affairs of life?

This was a momentous question, incumbent on "the professed Christians to answer, and upon their answer depend the unborn generations, the destiny of nations, and the glory of the church."[58]

The needed awakening, Boston's Reverend Lorimer declared, was "a new impulse, a new expression, a new unfolding." Straddling liberal and conservative positions, as paraphrased in the Watchman, he urged: "The revival that is needed is one in which the sin and atoning work of Christ will be emphasized first by a reconciliation of modern culture to ancient faith, and second, by a blending of spiritual enthusiasm with practical endeavor."[59]

To one extent or another, a spiritual and supernaturalistic view of the revival held sway among conservatives and the bulk of liberals. As most evangelicals interested in the subject understood it, the revival would sweep first the church and then American society at large in a Great Awakening. Spiritually alive churches, successful evangelism, and moral reformation of the community were part of the transformation. In the Progressive era evangelicals emphasized the process of Christianizing society.

Among evangelical Christians, both "revival" and "awakening" have usually been conceived of as a special dispensation of the Holy Spirit. They have often compared revival to an unforeseen wind (often with reference to John 3:8 in the Bible[60]) or to a consuming, rapidly spreading fire. "Revival," wrote Arthur Wallis in 1956:

> ...is essentially a manifestation of God; it has the stamp of deity upon it, which even the unregenerate and uninitiated are quick to recognize. Revival must of necessity make an impact upon the community, and this is one means by which we distinguish it from the more usual operations of the Holy Spirit.[61]

The Holy Spirit was thought to empower Christians individually or corporately to repent of sin, recommit their lives to Christ, and live and spread the gospel with power. Then the revival would proceed outside church walls. "At certain intervals there sweeps over certain districts a passion for repentance," James Burns wrote of revivals in 1909:

> ...Large numbers of persons who have been dead or indifferent to spiritual realities then become intensely awakened to them. They are arrested in the midst of their worldly occupations; they are suddenly seized by a terror of wrong-doing, and fear as of impending doom haunts their minds. Flinging all else aside they earnestly seek a way of escape, and cry out for salvation.

As we shall see, however, most preaching in 1905 placed less emphasis on the terror of sin than this suggests. In any event what Burns said could apply to professing Christians inside the church or to non-Christians outside. He noted that these movements spread fast:

> They pervade the air like a contagion, and burst out in unexpected places as if carried by unseen hands. They often produce phenomena of the strangest character, and awaken forces at other times quiescent, or too faint to be recognized. Frequently these movements are local and limited in their area, but sometimes they sweep over whole peoples, and produce the most momentous results.[62]

That was the kind of "revival" that Cuyler and many others voiced hope for at the turn of the century: one "prayed down" or heaven-sent rather than "worked up" by mor-

tals. In the series on revivals printed in the Presbyterian Louisville Christian Observer in 1905, Henry Dosker laid out the distinction between "organized" and "spontaneous" revivals. In the first, much better-known to historians of revivalism:

> ...the revival originates in a systematic human effort for the revival of the Church. All the devices of sanctified human ingenuity are brought into operation.... Revivalists from without are called in....Meetings are multiplied, prayer is everywhere made, a deep desire for a spiritual blessing is awakened and gradually the churches are aroused.[63]

This was not bad, but the "spontaneous" one was better. It was not, however, fully spontaneous.[64] Preparatory to the revival, there was a poignant sense of need by both those in the church and those outside, and inside the church pastor and people prepared for it in prayer. Then, when the awakening came, Dosker enthused, there was:

> ...a greater earnestness in prayer; there is a deeper sense of the everlasting reality of eternal things; there is a weakening of the ties of earth and a strengthening of the ties of heaven. The prayer meeting is better attended and of a warmer texture than before....And when the revival has spent its force, the people of God are fully ready and fully willing to attend to the work of caring for the fruits of the movement....
>
> ...Such a revival usually needs little machinery.[65]

It is, of course, not for most historians to measure "showers of blessing," but they can try to assess the activities of those who thought they had received them. We might suppose that an identifiable "revival" movement of any historical importance would include these elements: notoriety of some sort; evidences of increased fervor and piety on the

part of Christians; an upsurge of evangelism with a rise in numbers of conversions, especially as validated by church rolls; and an identifiable impact on the surrounding society.

As has been noted, for scholars the most familiar use of the term "revival" is for a "gotten-up" evangelistic campaign. It was also often used that way in the Progressive era by preachers, editors, and other clergymen, and a "revivalist" was almost always understood to be a professional evangelist. A pastor might use the term both ways: if he reported, "We had a glorious revival," he might mean either that he (or an outside evangelist) had led a series of successful evangelistic services, or that the church had had "a remarkable season of refreshing" among its members.

Evangelicals chose to live with the ambiguity, even if the divine refreshing was preferable. Few demanded a one hundred-percent supernatural revival. After all, even if revivals were expected to be heaven-sent, the church needed to count on them on almost a regular basis. "Nothing can take the place of genuine revivals in the church," one Methodist paper editorialized:

> ...They are necessary to her highest spirituality and greatest efficiency....We need the revival for our own spiritual quickening every now and again through the years, no matter how or when we were converted. The struggles of life, the discouragements, the temptations to indifference and worldliness, are such that we need to be stirred up frequently to a renewed zeal....Education needs the revival to supplement and complete its work.[66]

Furthermore, despite the various denominations' untiring efforts to encourage regular pastoral and even lay evangelism, nothing brought in new members like the winter revival, and those revivals usually needed some human planning and organization. Revivalists have always had to settle in their minds on some balance of natural and supernatural elements. It is a commonplace that while Jonathan Edwards beheld his awakening as an almost wholly divine dispensation, Finney and Moody extended the role of the human agent in revivals. By 1905 a revival could indeed be a campaign. Though even then a "prayed down" awakening was considered preferable to a "gotten up" one, we are dealing with a generation of activist planners, and the ever-organizing American evangelicals could not be expected simply to hie away to their prayer closets and await the showers of blessing. Thus evangelicals tended to associate their revival hopes with their evangelistic machinery and hope for divine fire to fall beside it.

Yet the ambiguity could be painful. Many evangelical leaders were uncomfortable with this dual meaning of <u>revival</u>, since the purely spiritual meaning might be obscured by the hunt for converts. "O, how much we need, not a formal and stilted revival campaign, but a real revival!" declaimed Methodist Bishop Berry. "Let us be satisfied with nothing less than a revival--a mighty shaking of the whole community by the power of God, an outpouring of the spirit of the pentecostal, apostolic, Wesleyan type!"[67]

So while it is not a wrong understanding, scholars who have seized on just the mass campaign side of revivalism and left out the yearnings for a divine fire have missed something. The picture of evangelicalism has been distorted by the imbalance, and it has helped solidify the artificial battle lines between "revivalists" and socially concerned evangelicals.

C. Liberals and Conservatives

Liberals, it will become clear, shared in the general revival hopes. While some maintained the modernist position that revivals per se were a thing of the past, many others challenged conservatives as to what kind of awakening to expect, putting their own stamp of social concern and doctrinal breadth on "the next Great Awakening." Naturally Social Gospel liberals attempted to disassociate any true Great Awakening from crass "revivalism," that is, the emotionalism, rancorousness, anti-intellectualism, and noisy legalism of (for example) a Sam P. Jones campaign. "The preaching of the next revival will be marked by breadth and richness and power...," wrote one:

> ...It will not be narrow; it will not be censorious....It will recognize the complexity of human life. It will seek to bring every province into captivity to the obedience of Christ, not to waste and destroy it...[Here he defended the "serious students of the Scriptures"]...I have no hope from evangelists who cannot see that in many ways thought has changed and is changing....who deal largely in prohibitions and in rules. The next revival will be a revival which will in the right measure take the color of the time, speak its lan-

guage, answer its yearnings, and supply its needs.[68]

In 1902 the Reverend Josiah Strong, representing a Social Gospel perspective, wrote a tome entitled The Next Great Awakening in which he projected such a movement for the new century. In his view, the intense evangelistic efforts expended to produce the longed-for awakening in both Great Britain and the United States had been for naught. In recent years, "...great [evangelistic] meetings were held, but...the number of conversions was apparently no greater than is expected to accompany the regular activities of the church every winter." This was because old understandings of the gospel were out of step with modern times. Individualistic evangelism "...can never again move an enlightened people as a whole...," he complained, "because it is not adapted to the peculiar needs of modern civilization, does not solve its fundamental problems." Even if this type of revival could make many "converts," it would not solve modern social problems.[69]

There was a solution, Strong promised. Fitting the preaching to the times and bringing to light an appropriate, but neglected spiritual truth would make God real to modern hearers. "[W]hen God becomes real, spiritual truths and spiritual values become real; and spiritual life is manifested in spiritual power." This was the secret of revivals throughout history: finding that neglected nugget of truth appropriate to current needs. The potential catalyst this time was the Social Gospel and Kingdom message inherent in

Christ's teachings, and the next awakening would come only "...when these social teachings of Jesus are clearly recognized and faithfully preached."[70]

In effect, Strong was describing the Progressive Great Awakening, which was then stirring among reform activists and the electorate in certain quarters. Probably he helped encourage it on; the book was widely quoted and echoed elsewhere. William Jennings Bryan, in The Commoner in 1905, described his hopes for an awakening in terms similar to Strong's.[71] Others expanded on Strong's views. In September 1903 the English Reverend John Watson (with a pen name of Dr. Ian Maclaren) gave an address at Bristol College, England, that again brought the issue into focus on both sides of the Atlantic. Watson claimed that, aided by the collectivistic "spirit of the times," the now-obsolete individualistic "Gospel of spiritual deliverance," would give way to a new "Gospel of social deliverance." His address sparked considerable controversy.[72]

Then the Reverend Charles M. Sheldon stepped into the debate with an upbeat sermon entitled "Signs of the Times." He aligned himself with the general revival hopes, claiming that the most hopeful sign of the time was the prospect of a "great religious awakening." Yet for him, as for Strong and Watson, this would grow out of a new evangelism, one that sounded like one of the major themes of the Progressive Awakening. The new evangelism expanded religion into every sphere, reinterpreting for modern life the teachings of

Jesus and applying them "to daily life, in recreation, in business, in politics, in every department of the secular life." Not revival campaigns, but the steady influence of the church in regular preaching and education would bring about such a revival.[73]

Sheldon's comments reflect the increasing influence of the philosophy of Christian nurture which theologian Horace Bushnell had helped develop in the mid-nineteenth century. Joined to the new psychology and pragmatism, and embracing hopes for Christianity-inspired social progress, this understanding emphasized the progressive imparting of Christian principles (to children, church members, and society at large) and downplayed the supernatural, critical "conversion experience." Even some theological conservatives such as Watchman editor George E. Horr and the Reverend George F. Pentecost reflected the influence of Christian nurture,by advocating "pastoral evangelism" and Sunday school training as the alternative to sporadic revivalism. One historian has claimed that the philosophy of Christian nurture contributed to the decline of mass evangelism after World War I.[74]

Christian nurture and the rising belief that God was immanent in human progress helped lead some liberals in effect to reject any notion of a critical supernatural "Great Awakening." But with the walls between natural and supernatural as thin as they were, it took a dogmatic new theologian to make that point. In 1907 Sheldon hosted a William E. Biederwolf revival in his church in Topeka, Kansas. Mean-

while, most conservatives stressed the transcendence of God and the supernaturalism of His actions in human lives. Evangelism--inducing a person to surrender to God and accept salvation in Christ--was supposed by them to be a critical, supernaturally charged event rather than an educational process. As their hopes for a Great Awakening grew, partisans of the old evangelism launched a counterattack against the claims of the new. Conservatives bristled at the implication by the "new evangelists" that traditional evangelism lacked ethical content, that it told individuals to meet their own spiritual needs and ignore the material needs of others. "A narrow and shallow definition of evangelism is that it means simply a proclamation of the gospel," A. C. Dixon declared. "A deeper definition is that it is the divine art of making people truly Christian."[75] Strong and Sheldon would not have disputed that point.

Warren Candler, a Southern Methodist bishop whose brother Asa founded Coca-Cola, also wrote on the imminent Great Awakening. Candler echoed Strong's faith in America's status as a nation founded on religion and in the centrality of Protestant awakenings to the historic Anglo-Saxon mission on earth--this was a point the majority of evangelical Protestants of both sides agreed on. As with Strong, revival hopes and Anglo-Saxon nationalism informed his optimism:

> The time is approaching for a general movement throughout the English-speaking world. Great revivals have preceded all the revolutionary periods in the history of these Anglo-Saxon nations....There are tokens now of another such com-

bined movement of Providence and the Spirit upon them.[76]

Candler then launched a vigorous attack on Strong's social interpretation of the revival, attempting to rebut him point by point. He insisted that theological liberalism, "as barren as it is broad," had little healing power to offer. Peace between capital and labor--a theme of Strong--would never come without a revival of religion based on personal evangelism. Even so, the next revival would overcome materialism, bring social reconciliation, and "...do much to cleanse our cities of corruption....It will feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and seek the outcast and forlorn...." In an interesting twist of Turner's frontier thesis, Candler predicted that the center of the next revival would be the Western United States, as had happened in the revival of 1800.[77] Based on the trans-Atlantic ties that strengthened the actual revival of 1905 and its particular power in the East, Candler would have been a better prophet by sticking to his Anglo-Saxonism.

The Reverend A. C. Dixon, for his part, rejected Strong's version of the history of great revivals. It was not true, he claimed, that every awakening reintroduced a neglected teaching for new realities. "From Pentecost to the year 1904 every genuine revival of Christianity has been produced by preaching the incarnation, death, resurrection and lordship of Jesus Christ," he thundered in print, then proceeded to rebut Strong's contrary claims revival by revival. He surveyed some kinds of evangelism that he

guaranteed would not produce a genuine revival, and they bore remarkable similarity to Strong and Watson's preferred methods. Among them were "times-spirit" evangelism (adjust the gospel to the philanthropic spirit of the times); "socialistic evangelism" (save society); "materialistic evangelism" (meet worldly needs); "ethical evangelism" (urge men to be moral); "nursery evangelism" or Christian nurture; and anti-supernatural "academic evangelism."[78]

In William G. McLoughlin's survey of Strong, Candler, and Dixon's books, he saw two dividing issues among them: the extent of social concern and the willingness to accommodate modern learning. Conservative pronouncements on social issues he tended to dismiss as either insincere or as attempts to maintain evangelical unity.[79] That McLoughlin's issues were part of the debate is undeniable, but they were blurred by ambiguities and an unwillingness to let doctrinal infighting split the church. By and large, liberal evangelicals had not yet broken away from personal evangelism; many or most conservatives were willing to accept an emphasis on social relationships and social meliorism. The fact is that the division between liberal social awareness and pietistic individualism did not attain until later the importance McLoughlin and others have assigned it.

While liberal-conservative differences appeared in the debate over the next Great Awakening, several factors tended to blur them at the practical level. One was the growing spirit of fraternity throughout evangelical denominations,

which reached fruition in the interdenominational conference of October 1905 that led to the formation in 1908 of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ. Socially conscious and pietistic evangelicals--by no means mutually exclusive, as we have seen--seemed to see the need to address each other's concerns. In addition, a quiet but effective influence may have been exerised by the laity on clergymen, who, Martin Marty has written, turned to religion for solace from the psychic stress of rapid change[80]--and so would be poorly disposed to watch religious certainties erode further or to witness additional theological bloodletting. Conservatives would have been encouraged by these factors as much as liberals to tone down the debates and get on with the work. Revivals and crusades were more inspiring than fratricide.

Presbyterian pastor-evangelist J. Wilbur Chapman reflected the spirit of conciliation that characterized much of evangelicalism and revivalism at that time with his own 1903 book, Present-Day Evangelism. In essence, he echoed Candler and Dixon's pleas for an old-fashioned revival based on personal salvation but did not want to offend anyone. "Many people," Chapman noted, "are asking with intense interest the question, 'Is there to be another awakening?' The question is timely, not only because we have just fairly entered upon a new century but because the need is simply appalling."[81] He quoted at length Strong's assertion that a revival is characterized by the restoration of a neglected truth, but then directed that line of thinking to a

conclusion that the "...great work of this new day is to be...Personal Evangelism...."[82] The Presbyterian evangelist listed as prerequisites to a general revival "awakenings" in personal pietistic practices such as Bible study, prayer, and holy living. In his conclusion, however, he grafted a note of social concern onto his own jeremiad. An observer, he complained, "...has only to walk the streets of the city...[and]...to study the social conditions of the poor to understand that the teachings of Jesus are being absolutely disregarded and that in many quarters the rich are growing richer at the expense of the down-trodden poor."[83]

Glossy concessions such as these undoubtedly soothed the squeamishness of many liberals about revivalism. Liberals might question the efficacy of evangelism in the modern age, but its promoters still envisioned using it to transform society along Christian lines. In the context of the desire for evangelical reconciliation, evangelism and all Christian service could be supported as an attempt to unify the church behind agreed-upon objectives. Moreover, liberal clergymen drifting away from orthodox tenets could cling to Christianity for sake of service to humanity.[84]

The next Great Awakening, too, had much to offer liberal Social Gospelites who believed in their own power of exhortation and in the basic goodness inside the human breast. A true spiritual revival would bring God closer; the immanent Holy Spirit would be present both in ministers' exhortations to unselfish living and in the hearers' response.

True religion would pour through the artificial dikes that had confined it and Christianize every area of life. In that sense then, the revival as presented here was at least as much a liberal's dream as a conservative's. One more conceptual barrier had to be crossed for some liberals --a distrust of personal evangelism--but in 1904 that would prove not to be such a large obstacle.

Conservatives, for their part, would not be as alienated by the Social Gospelites' vision as we might have expected. Almost as much as liberals, they placed major emphasis on human relationships; we have seen that many showed a surprising social consciousness (considering their reputation). They, too, heard the challenge to be relevant not only to the masses outside, but also to those inside--this meant taking into account daily concerns from the increasingly complicated, threatening social network of modern living. For many conservative "revivalists," as with secular Progressives, human ties supplanted somewhat the relationship of man with God as the chief arena for spiritual progress and the temple where God became immanent. This will become clearer when the preaching of the evangelists is considered.

The quest by liberal and conservative evangelicals placed them within the Progressive Great Awakening. Just as the Awakening tradition inspired many middle-class activists and leaders of Progressivism, sometimes indirectly, the old hallowed pattern of seeking spiritual revival gripped the

churches many of those activists attended. The spiritual side of this revival did not set its pursuers apart from secular Progressivism--far from it. Progressives themselves went in search of things spiritual, even as revivalistic Protestants stressed human efforts at attaining seemingly divine purposes. Humanitarian purposes, too, were promoted to spirituality on all sides. Meanwhile, divine power more than divine guidance was sought. After the Revival of 1905, in the crusading fervor a few years later, even the divine power was not sought as much as divine inspiration for human-powered efforts.

"[T]he wealth within the Christian Church is now so large...," the Methodist bishops asserted in 1904, wonderfully combining God's resources with humanity's:

> ...the resources of intellectual culture through the schools and colleges are so ample;--the whole ecclesiastical machinery for the world's salvation is now so very abundant and magnificent...if only these appliances could have a new baptism of the Pentecost, the millennium might come in a decade.[85]

* * * NOTES TO CHAPTER II * * *

1. Gabriel, Course of American Democratic Thought, p. 332.
2. Pacific Christian Advocate (hereafter PCA), January 18, 1905, p. 3.
3. Generally Americans celebrated the new century in January 1901, calculating that the years were numbered ordinally. This means that the twentieth century, as popularly conceived, will have lasted only ninety-nine years.
4. Robert T. Handy explores this identification as well as the perpetual Protestant dream of Christianizing America in A Christian America (New York, 1984), p. 69.
5. Josiah Strong, The Next Great Awakening (New York, 1902), p. 70.
6. Congregationalist, January 12, 1901, p. 61.
7. Strong, The Next Great Awakening, p. 70.
8. Handy, A Christian America, p. 111.
9. Congregationalist, January 12, 1901, p. 61.
10. Handy, A Christian America, p. 116.
11. Ibid., pp. 101,102.
12. Warren Candler, Great Revivals and the Great Republic (Nashville, Tenn., 1904), pp. 278,279.
13. "Address of the Bishops," GCMEC Journal, 1896, p. 46.
14. "The Episcopal Address," GCMEC Journal, 1900, p. 60.
15. "State of Religion and Statistical Tables," Annual Report of the General Synod, Reformed Church in America (hereafter RCA), June 1902, pp. 156,157.
16. Rev. William Lawrence, "What May Be in the Twentieth Century--in the Unity of Christendom," Congregationalist, January 5, 1901, p. 13.
17. "Address of the Bishops," GCMEC Journal, 1896, p. 62.
18. PCA, March 1, 1905, p. 3.
19. Paraphrased in Pittsburgh Christian Advocate (hereafter Pitt), November 3, 1904, p. 4.
20. "State of Religion and Statistical Tables," RCA Annual Report, June 1902, p. 157.
21. John M. Mulder, "Wilson the Preacher: The 1905 Baccalaureate Sermon," Journal of Presbyterian History, Vol. LI, No. 4 (Fall 1973), p. 281.
22. Ibid., p. 276.
23. "The Episcopal Address," GCMEC Journal, 1904, p. 139.
24. PCA, January 9, 1901.
25. "Narrative of the State of Religion," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the USA (hereafter, PGA Minutes), 1900, p. 30. Quoted in Robert T. Handy, A Christian America, p. 124.
26. Strong, Next Great Awakening, p. xix.
27. "The Episcopal Address," GCMEC Journal, 1900, p. 60.
28. Paraphrased in Watchman, January 7, 1904, p. 28.
29. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People (New Haven, Conn., 1972), pp. 774,736.

30. Trachtenberg, Incorporation of America.
31. "Certainty and Joy," Watchman, January 21, 1904, p. 7.
32. James S. Chadwick, "The Demand of the Hour," New York Christian Advocate (hereafter NYCA), January 24, 1901, p. 16.
33. SLCA, January 4, 1905, p. 9.
34. Strong, The Next Great Awakening, p. xxi.
35. "Report on the State of Religion," RCA Annual Report, June 1902, p. 155.
36. Pitt, January 14, 1904, p. 9.
37. Ibid., January 28, 1904, p. 9.
38. "The Episcopal Address," GCMEC Journal, 1900, p. 74.
39. Ibid., p. 72.
40. This point is stressed by Norman Clark in his work on the temperance movement, Deliver Us From Evil.
41. Louisville Christian Observer (hereafter, LCO), January 11, 1905, p.3.
42. Pitt, December 1, 1904, p. 1.
43. PCA, June 15, 1904, p. 17.
44. See particularly McLoughlin, Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform; and Billy Sunday, esp. chapter 8. Also see Weisberger, They Gathered, esp. pp. 228-231.
45. Weisberger, They Gathered, p. 222.
46. PCA, January 9, 1901.
47. Quoted in Orr, Flaming Tongue, p. 67.
48. WCA, September 19, 1900. Reference in Orr, Flaming Tongue, p. 67.
49. Rev. Henry Dosker, "The Revival: III. Its Dangers," LCO, February 8, 1905, p. 3.
50. PCA, February 6, 1901, p. 3.
51. Bishop James Thoburn, "The Thank Offering and Its Token," NYCA, January 24, 1901, p. 12.
52. Editorial, "Wanted: A Religious Revival," Independent, Vol. LVII, No. 2921 (November 24, 1904), pp. 2641,2642.
53. Pitt, January 7, 1904, p. 5.
54. SLCA, January 4, 1905, p. 9.
55. PCA, March 1, 1905, p. 8.
56. Ibid., p. 8.
57. SLCA, January 4, 1905, p. 9.
58. PCA, November 9, 1904, p. 4.
59. Watchman, January 7, 1904, p. 28.
60. In this verse Christ says: "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit."
61. Arthur Wallis, In the Days of Thy Power: The Scriptural Principles of Revival (London, 1956), quoted in Shepherd, "Awakening of 1904-1908," p. 11.
62. James Burns, Revivals: Their Laws and Leaders (London, 1909), quoted in Shepherd, "Awakening of 1904-1908," pp. 8,9.
63. Rev. Henry Dosker, "The Revival: Its Place in the History of the Church," LCO, January 25, 1905, p. 5.

64. By emphasizing the intellectual background and spiritual preparation that went into the Southern awakening of the early nineteenth century (through prayer, song, and preaching well in advance), John Boles modified the portrayal of this revival as a "catharsis for socially and emotionally starved pioneers" (p. ix). John B. Boles, The Great Revival 1787-1805 (Lexington, Ky., 1972).
65. Rev. Henry Dosker, "The Revival: II. Its Ideal," LCO, February 1, 1905, p. 4.
66. Pitt, February 11, 1904.
67. PCA, March 8, 1905, p. 8.
68. W. Robertson Nicoll, "The Next Revival," NYCA, May 2, 1901, p. 17.
69. Strong, Next Great Awakening, pp. x,xi,34,35.
70. Ibid., pp. vii,18,19.
71. The Commoner, June 15, 1905, p. 1.
72. Described in James McLeod, "The Next Revival," New York Observer, May 4, 1905, p. 566. In January 1904 the Pittsburgh Christian Advocate carried an editorial on the discussion of a general awakening: "Much has been said lately in the religious press about this subject...," the editorial noted, dating the beginning of the discussion to Watson's lecture (January 7, 1904, p. 5). The same month, in his article "The Next Revival," the Rev. O. F. Gifford wrote: "Of thirty-eight pastors appealed to for judgment on this coming revival, eleven agree with Dr. Maclaren [John Watson], eight hold middle ground, nineteen differ. A divided jury; no verdict." (Watchman, January 14, 1904, p. 13.
73. Pitt, November 3, 1904.
74. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 348; W. L. Muncy, Jr. Evangelism in the United States (Kansas City, Kan., 1945), p. 155.
75. Rev. Amzi C. Dixon, Evangelism Old and New (New York, 1905), p. 32.
76. Candler, Great Revivals, p. 326.
77. Ibid., pp. 314-316,325.
78. Watchman, February 4, 1904, pp. 10-12, and February 11, 1904, pp. 10-12. See also Dixon's Evangelism Old and New.
79. To establish a new evangelism/old evangelism point-counterpoint, McLoughlin placed Candler's Great Revivals and the Great Republic and Dixon's Evangelism Old and New opposite Strong's work. For him, Dixon disdained higher learning and refused to involve the church in social reform. "Moderate evangelicals" such as Candler sought to bridge the gap between Strong and Dixon by emphasizing nationalism and progress; for them, the awakening would be "a massive campaign of Christian warfare designed to drive the enemies of evangelical religion to unconditional surrender" (Modern Revivalism, p. 358. For this discussion, see pp. 350-362).
80. Martin Marty, Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America (Boston, 1984), p. 319.
81. J. Wilbur Chapman, Present-day Evangelism (New York, 1903), p. 16.
82. Ibid., pp. 17,18.

83. Ibid., pp. 239-242.
84. See Robert T. Handy, We Witness Together: A History of Cooperative Home Missions (New York, 1956). Cooperative work, in Handy's view, submerged differences and resolved inner tensions.
85. "Episcopal Address," GCMEC Journal, 1904, p. 149.

CHAPTER III

FINDING THE EVANGELISTIC NOTE: 1901-1904

One Saturday evening in November 1901, three hundred students and faculty at Chicago's Moody Bible Institute gathered for their weekly prayer meeting in the school chapel. This regular assembly, launched a year or two before by nine people, regularly gathered "to cry out to God for a great awakening." With the group was the institute director, Reuben Archer Torrey, formerly an evangelistic associate of D. L. Moody.[1]

Two visitors from Australia also were there, a Dr. Warren and a G. P. Barber, representing the "Victoria Evangelization Society." The pair had crossed the world, stopping also in Britain, in quest of the right evangelist to bring a "visitation of God's power" to their country. After the prayer service the Australians introduced themselves to Torrey and presented their request. Torrey, who two weeks before had publicly prayed for a calling to preach overseas, accepted. After securing the institute's permission, on December 23, 1901, he left for Australia with a newly recruited song leader, Charles Alexander.[2]

Thus began what some church historians have considered the first stage of a world-wide Christian awakening. Over the next eighteen months Torrey and Alexander conducted city evangelization campaigns in Australia, New Zealand, India, and Great Britain, garnering thirty thousand professed conversions. After a brief visit home they returned to Britain in September 1903 and in ten months gathered in another thirty thousand.[3] Simultaneously with their widely watched campaigns, mission fields in Asia, particularly Japan, India, and Korea, appeared be swept by the revival flame.[4]

This apparent worldwide awakening, climaxing in the Welsh revival of 1904-1905, inspired evangelical clergymen to believe that revival would soon arrive in the United States. As they mobilized for that outcome, American Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists, and other groups experienced an intensification of the pre-revival spirit. Just as the concurrent Progressive Awakening began with handfuls of thinkers, clergymen, and political and social reform activists, the Revival of 1905 spread first among the clergy and particularly active lay women and men, then through pulpits and press toward the laity. This spirit was characterized by heightened fervor and yearning for revival, greater involvement in public prayer, and growing interest in evangelism. This pre-revival spirit was a religious awakening itself.

A. Early Denominational Efforts at Revival: 1901-1904

In the United States the half-decade preceding 1905 saw a surge of interest in evangelism among clergymen of several denominations. They prepared to back their revival expectations with action. The Methodists early cultivated that spirit in their people. In 1898, in a special conference of the bishops looking forward to a new era, the Methodist Episcopal Church (North) set up the Twentieth Century Thank Offering, with a goal of raising $20 million for Methodist educational institutions, church debts, and philanthropy. (By 1902 the offering had gathered $22 million.) The bishops also established the Twentieth Century Commission to promote spiritual revival and mobilize the church to go "into the white [ready for reaping] harvest fields of the new century" to win souls.[5]

Methodists responded. In 1900 a churchwide appeal issued by the bishops for a week of humiliation, fasting, and prayer "...took signal effect in many Churches. Many gracious revivals have followed, the first fruits, we trust, of an abundant harvest."[6] At their quadrennial General Conference that year the Methodists, believing "that this is a proper time to put forth unusual efforts for the revival of pure religion and for the conversion of the unsaved multitudes around us," established the Twentieth Century Forward Movement to enlist lay people in personal evangelism. Methodists who responded to the call would undertake "direct personal effort every week to win disciples for Christ, and

to meet together to report progress, discuss plans, and pray for the Spirit's guidance." About 150,000 took this pledge, but little seems to have come of it since it was not mentioned again after 1901.[7]

At just this time the overseas revival appeared to have dawned. "We have been profoundly impressed by the marked fervor of God which has rested upon Christian missions during recent years. Never before have our missions been so productive," a Methodist paper proclaimed in 1904.[8] Missions promotion flourished in the major denominational publications. Prodded by their leaders and newspaper editors, from 1900 to 1904 Methodist clergymen and lay people increasingly devoted their attention to foreign and domestic missions; the surge in such interest came to be known as "the missionary revival." Bishop Thoburn, a former missionary in India, had prayed for a dozen years that the church would "be made to see clearly their day of visitation from on high. Is not the present awakening of missionary interest a striking token of such a bright day?" Warren Candler certainly thought so. "This missionary idea is overturning the world," he enthused. "It is building a new civilization. It is the basis of a new earth."[9]

Methodist activities underscored both the concrete aspects of this "missionary revival" and the rising religious fervor associated with it. The tract society office in New York City, for example, steadily increased its distribution of literature from 1.8 million pages in 1900 to 3.2 million

in 1903.[10] In October 1902 national Methodist leaders held an emergency conference in Cleveland to face sudden mission field needs. This convention, according to an official report, not only raised an impressive $340,000 in a short time of pledge-making; it also "...thrilled the thousands present with intense interest and deep conviction" and became "historic as a season of Pentecostal uplift."[11]

The Methodist women's societies for both foreign and domestic missions helped nourish the surge in missionary interest. These societies, the 1904 bishops' address stated, were increasing both their collections and activities, and they "...seem to be in constant revival, or at least to be constantly growing in grace."[12] The Methodist home society's statistics showed a jump from 1899 figures of 50,307 members, 4,984 young people, and 12,059 children to figures of 80,645, 12,471, and 21,711 respectively in 1903.[13] The initiative and leadership of Methodist women in promoting missions and revival were duplicated in other denominations, notably Presbyterian and Baptist. The Northern Presbyterians reported in 1902: "The women of the Church everywhere are well organized and are doing most commendable work. In this they are in striking contrast to the men. Few indeed are the societies of men reported."[14] This sentiment was echoed locally, too. "A pity it seems that our men cannot be organized for effective Christian work as our women are," agreed the narrative committee for the Presbyterian Synod of California that year. "The ignorance of the average male member

of our Churches about Missions is deplorable. Indeed the opinion unfortunately seems to prevail that Missions is peculiarly woman's sphere."[15]

Moreover, for the Methodists, beneath the buoyancy of reports of the "missionary revival" lay genuine concern over the continuing absence of a widespread spiritual awakening resulting in church growth. The 1900 General Conference report noted that Methodist church membership had posted only a 4-percent net increase since the last conference, in 1896. It compared this percentage to those of previous quadrennial tallies: 12 percent in 1888, 20 for 1892, 16 for 1896.[16] Then, the 1904 report showed only a net gain of 4.76 percent in membership. Despite the "survival and general prevalence of the evangelistic spirit among us," the bishops warned in their official conference address at Los Angeles in May 1904:

> ...it must be frankly admitted that sweeping revivals in which scores and hundreds of adults are converted in a few weeks or days are far less frequent than they were a hundred or fifty years ago....[T]he startling fact confronts us that, unless the sanctified common sense of the Church can devise new and more efficient evangelizing methods, or unless unprecedented influences of the Holy Spirit are poured forth, the great mass of unevangelized adults who have reached middle life are likely to die unconverted.[17]

Yet at this very conference the solution appeared imminent. With the Methodists' backdrop of hopes and fears, the 1904 Los Angeles conference manifested the spirit of the approaching Revival of 1905. This was apparent in several ways, and one was a surprising amount of unity and frater-

nity, typical of the important pre-revival fervor. As the meetings proceeded, the Los Angeles Times gave ample coverage to the knotty denominational issues being thrashed out--the election of bishops, the disposition of book concerns, etc. The paper noted, however, that despite predictions of "stormy" debates, "...good fellowship has prevailed. The harmony of the body is one of its marvels, and will make the session of May, 1904, in Los Angeles most memorable in Methodist annals."[18]

Then, building on their experience with the Twentieth Century Forward Movement, at this conference the Methodists established their Commission on Aggressive Evangelism to "awaken and develop the evangelistic spirit among our ministers and laymen."[19] This involved disseminating literature on prayer and evangelism and encouraging the many Methodist bodies--national, state, and local--to take their own evangelistic initiatives. This initial vision seems to have caught on with the Los Angeles delegates--who included many laymen and first-timers. "No general conference was ever more evangelistic in spirit than the one in Los Angeles," the Michigan Christian Advocate approvingly reported.[20]

Along with this enthusiasm for evangelism came a "pentecostal" fervor that caused considerable comment. "It is passing strange, even in a meeting of its kind, where nearly two thousand people are assembled together," a Los Angeles Times reporter observed of a service for Pentecost, "to see fully three-fourths of them on their knees praying

for a great outpouring of God's spirit."[21] The final service on May 29, "a scene which will doubtless be remembered for many years by those who witnessed it," also made an indelible impression on the Times reporter. What moved him was the solemnity, earnestness, and "deep spirituality" throughout this service which was partly evangelistic. After a powerful sermon, "an urging of personal responsibility of each individual for the extension of the kingdom of God on earth...nearly the whole congregation rose to reconsecrate themselves to the work of the church, and immediately after a number of persons rose for prayers that they might begin the Christian life."[22]

While John Wesley's heirs spurred their followers on in the battle for souls, John Knox's did also in thorough, methodical Presbyterian fashion. With its own evangelistic Forward Movement of the Twentieth Century already in place, in 1901 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the USA (the Northern Presbyterian church) formed a Special Committee on Evangelistic Work of six ministers and six elders, with Philadelphia businessman John Converse as chairman and New York City pastor J. Wilbur Chapman as corresponding secretary. (The nucleus of this was a Philadelphia committee that, in response to a challenge from D. L. Moody, had sponsored successful summer evangelism in that city since 1899.) The Converse committee served a purpose of denomination-wide communication and inspiration to promote evangelism and revival, and it soon began referring gifted

evangelists to churches and presbyteries that might put them to use. In 1902 the General Assembly boosted the committee's efforts by encouraging every presbytery nationwide to have its own evangelistic committee.

The Converse committee's driving force was the corresponding secretary. Chapman, with a very successful record both as a pastor and as an evangelist, ran an office of correspondence while still serving until 1903 as pastor at New York's Fourth Presbyterian Church. In the committee's first year his office sent out to pastors one hundred thousand personal letters and ample literature concerning prayer, revival, and evangelism. (Other denominations, too, made use of Presbyterian literature on evangelism.) In that first year Chapman also enrolled twelve hundred pastors "in a circle of prayer, the object being to pray for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on our Church."[23]

The corresponding secretary initiated and spoke at conferences in which he communicated the goal of making every Presbyterian church evangelistic. To judge from the response he was getting from around the country, Chapman wrote Converse in 1902 from a Boston hotel, now was the time for "a general forward movement throughout the world so far as our church is able...both for foreign and home missions."[24] The national Presbyterian Committee on the State of Religion judged the response and the general mood similarly. "The note of gladness and hopefulness which is heard all through

the Presbyterial reports of the year," this body claimed as it summarized reports coming from local Presbyterian bodies:

> ...rings loudest in the description of "Spiritual Conditions." True, many churches report no special religious interest. But many more than last year tell us of seasons of gracious outpouring and consequent revival of spiritual life.

The report credited the Converse committee, noting that the Presbyterian bodies mentioning successful revivals were ones that either used evangelists referred by the committee or followed its suggestions.[25]

By early 1903 the Converse committee had equipped itself with a battery of fifty-one evangelists who had held 10,597 services in 470 cities and towns in response to local requests; this was still insufficient to keep up with rising demand.[26] Local presbyteries also were taking their own initiatives in response to the committee's suggestions, organizing their own evangelistic committees and campaigns. "At this present time," the Synod of California reported in 1903, "the subject of reviving the church and giving the gospel to the unsaved masses about us, engages the attention of our ministers and laymen as it never did before."[27] In December 1903 the presbytery of Riverside, California, judged the time "now ripe for a determined forward movement along evangelistic lines in this Presbytery."[28] The presbyteries of Pittsburgh and Allegheny joined forces in the summer of 1902 and 1903 for tent and street evangelistic campaigns; the tent services alone reportedly drew forty thousand.[29]

It appears that Chapman did an exceptionally good job of advancing the cause of evangelism, and that Presbyterian bodies that tried it were surprised at the religious interest they found both inside and outside church walls. Then, too, commitment to evangelism spread at denominational conferences from those who had seen it work to less-adventurous ones. By 1904 the Converse committee's evangelists, including Chapman himself, were even more fully engaged in campaigns. Demand for their services reached over 1,200 for the year ending in May 1904. "The tide of evangelism has been rising from the first...," Converse's 1904 report observed, basing its judgment on visits to almost every state by committee members. "Without an exception, the greatest interest in evangelistic work was reported, and a special desire was everywhere manifested to carry out the plans and purposes of the Assembly's Committee."[30]

Presbyterian initiatives strongly influenced the Reformed Church in America, President Roosevelt's denomination. This body set up its Evangelistic Committee in September 1902 under the chairmanship of the Reverend Abbott E. Kitteredge, who also chaired the Committee on the State of Religion. Kitteredge's new committee followed the lead of its Presbyterian counterpart in maintaining correspondence and disseminating literature to all Reformed pastors. Leading clergymen stressed the importance of this work for the churches' spiritual health. "What forces are at work among the people? Is there a spirit of prayer? Is there evidence

of high resolve for the future?" the Committee on the State of Religion wondered. "To answer these questions we must take account of the work of the Evangelistic Committee."[31]

As with the Presbyterians, the Reformed Church's Evangelistic Committee oversaw a major expansion of interest in revival and evangelism. They also witnessed a rise in the dedication and spiritual warmth of their clergy. "This year has been memorable in the fact that with very few exceptions," Kitteredge reported in 1903:

> ...there has been the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit in our churches; out of over nine hundred letters received by your Evangelistic Committee, only three have reported no special religious interest, and all the rest have testified to an unusual awakening, whose results have been an increased sense of responsibility on the part of God's people, a deepening of spiritual life, and additions on confession of faith.

These letters, Kitteredge noted, had come from churches all over the country, "from cities and from farming districts, so that they represent more clearly than mere figures could do, the real religious condition of the whole field."[32]

Meanwhile, independent of the other denominations, the less centralized Baptists pursued the same goal of evangelism and revival. At a major conference in Buffalo in May 1903, the Baptist Home Mission Society was given the task of helping instill and organize an evangelistic emphasis in the churches and state Baptist conventions. Like the other evangelistic committees it sent out correspondence and literature, cooperated with state conventions in recommending

evangelists, helped organize conferences, and gathered reports. Even without Home Mission Society oversight, groups of Baptist churches increasingly held their own conferences on evangelism. The Baptist General Association of West Virginia, for example, made special efforts to get Baptist ministers and Sunday school associations involved in evangelism; it urged member churches to consider releasing gifted pastors temporarily for full-time evangelistic work elsewhere. The Nebraska Baptists sent out to their churches forms on which each body could ratify a goal of two thousand adult baptisms for 1904.[33] In February the Baptist Boston Watchman reported for New England "steady, though not startling, progress" in 1903, yet it claimed:

> The strong evangelistic movement of the churches continues, and the news columns of The Watchman every week have been giving heart-cheering news of revivals. There are many encouraging indications that the aggressive movement is bringing greater blessings to the churches as the weeks go by.[34]

By mid-1904 almost every state Baptist convention had "...made the subject of evangelism prominent, some of the meetings being of great spiritual power," according to H. L. Morehouse, corresponding secretary of the Home Mission Society and editor of its magazine. Special evangelists and evangelistic committees were appointed at the conventions; more than two hundred Baptist officials were enlisted for evangelism, while many pastors and home missionaries were involved in special evangelistic projects.[35] On the Pacific coast during 1904 the Reverend C. L. Wooddy, superintendent

for missions there, initiated evangelistic conferences which resulted in some 240 gospel campaigns with 2,500 additions to churches resulting. "But even a deeper and more widespread result," Wooddy reported, "has been the awakening interest in this form of work which I believe to be preparatory to the largest amount of such work in the coming year ever done in these States."[36]

Along with the work of these denominations, interdenominational organizations such as Christian Endeavor, the National Reform Association, and the YMCA lent support to the growing revival spirit. In 1900 a businessman and part-time lay evangelist, William Phillips Hall, called a convention of a number of Christian leaders to organize the promotion of "the imperatively needed revival of evangelical Christianity through existing organizations and agencies." About seventy such men and women gathered and established a "Twentieth Century National Gospel Campaign," with publicity and inspirational duties similar to those described above.[37] (What became of this is unclear, but in 1903 the energetic Hall helped organize and became president of the American Bible League to combat the Higher Criticism of the Bible.)[38]

B. The "Great Awakening" in Pittsburgh, 1904

By 1904 observers were wondering about an enhanced religious interest throughout the land. For example, after a January 1904 revival in Concord, New Hampshire, that counted five hundred conversions, the evangelist pronounced what he

encountered "the greatest religious interest he has known in New England for several years."[39] When in mid-February British clergyman G. Campbell Morgan made a gospel lecture tour of major cities in the United States (partly evangelistic, but mainly for strengthening church members' faith), people thronged to hear him. At Seattle's First Methodist Church, even holding four daily services failed to relieve the congestion. "This phenomenal interest in gospel meetings has called forth much comment...," claimed one Methodist paper. "For one thing, it demonstrates that the old gospel has lost none of its interest nor its power when faithfully preached, and that multitudes of men and women are hungry for the truth...."[40]

It is likely that these multitudes were composed overwhelmingly of the already converted, since the complaint was often made that church members swelled attendance at specifically evangelistic events. It is important to notice the rising interest of the "churched" in these campaigns, which was no less significant than that of the "unchurched." Morgan was not the kind of preacher who would congratulate the self-satisfied on their spiritual attainments. The lay people who flocked to see him and other evangelists had heard for several years of the coming Great Awakening; they were dissatisfied spiritually and were seeking the revitalization of Christian values for themselves and their society. These motivated women and men--it most certainly proceeded in that order--of course represented a minority in their churches.

Seattle's Reverend Mark Allison Matthews once estimated that generally 10 percent of a church's members are spiritually awake, and if true even just an aroused 30 percent (still leaving 70 percent asleep) would triple the norm and make the church more lively.[41] Many churches during the Revival of 1905 exceeded that figure.

In February 1904 J. Wilbur Chapman tested the religious interest in a two-week campaign in Pittsburgh. There, several major national trends converged: the growing "unusual religious interest" among both churched and unchurched throughout the United States, the emphasis on evangelism, the sense of imminent revival, and the dissatisfaction with the state of America's soul. The results were striking and appeared to justify the methods: six thousand people professed conversion and joined churches as an apparent result of the campaign.[42] Three hundred sixty-two churches participated, including many Baptist, Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian churches and a number of Lutheran, Congregational, and other denominations. Four African Methodist Episcopal churches also took part.[43] The campaign even procured the blessing of an Episcopal rector, the Reverend A. W. Arundel.

To a large extent the campaign had its origins in a reaction to "the lethargy and deadness of the churches which caused many to be specially earnest in prayer for His Spirit."[44] The Reverend Austin Jolly, a campaign participant and its Presbyterian chronicler, emphasized lax worship attendance, indifferent church members, and the failure of

many organized efforts to produce a revival. Conditions outside the churches, though, were much bleaker than inside. Rampant drunkenness, Sabbath desecration, gambling, prostitution, and violence appeared to reach a climax in the summer of 1903, but public opinion seemed to be against repressing the pliers of vice. Finally, when bottom was reached, according to the Reverend Jolly, "...the low estate of Zion and lower estate of the world brought God's people to humble penitence and deep sorrow prostrate before Him." This yearning for God's power, "a new life struggling to the birth in our churches," was, he felt, among the early signs of coming revival.[45]

In October 1903, during the quarterly meeting of the city's Ministerial Union (an interdenominational evangelical body founded in 1901), the pastor of Central Christian Church gave an address on the 1902 Torrey-Alexander campaign in Melbourne, Australia, which he had observed firsthand. He stressed the apparent hopelessness for religion in worldly Melbourne. As the assembled ministers drew the appropriate conclusions concerning Pittsburgh, the pastor "...produced a profound impression, as he told of the marvelous way in which nearly all the churches of that city [Melbourne] had united in calling upon God and working for God."[46] So moved were the clergymen that before the end of that meeting they appointed a committee to launch a campaign in Pittsburgh. The Presbyterian Reverend Joseph P. Calhoun was made chair-

man, with Methodists and Baptists sharing other leading roles. The services of J. Wilbur Chapman soon were procured.

The Pittsburgh campaign exemplified how Chapman's "simultaneous plan of evangelism" proceeded. By the plan, the city was divided into districts, and instead of one evangelist speaking from a central tabernacle (as with Moody and Billy Sunday), a team of preachers descended on a city and spoke in different districts so as to cover its population geographically. Within each district a committee of pastors held evangelism and prayer conferences in preparation for the campaign and continued to organize logistics during Chapman's stay. Focusing on local churches and respecting their territory, according to Jolly, enhanced the campaign's effectiveness--a point often made in reference to Chapman's method.[47] On top of the efficiency and publicity advantages of this blitzkrieg style, the simultaneous method met the need for interdenominational fraternity. The various denominations provided facilities, district leadership, or even their own evangelists as part of the Presbyterian-organized team. Furthermore, often ethnic missions and black churches joined in, using evangelists appropriate to their needs.

In Pittsburgh the central campaign committee set out to recruit churches to participate in the upcoming revival; as more churches were brought on board, more evangelists were requested to accompany Chapman. "The work is growing beyond all expectation," Calhoun wrote to Chapman in late January

1904, "and we find it almost impossible to keep pace with it and the many requests that are being made for additional meetings."[48]

Once the churches were recruited, their pastors attempted to mobilize lay people. Because of this much of the revival was in the preparation for revival; by the time the regular evangelists arrived, Jolly claimed, the mission was already "well under way."[49] Excitement was built through publicity, which was thoroughly organized from newspaper releases to leaflets while notices for meetings, calls to prayer, and appeals to soul-winning were widely disseminated. The favor of the local press was curried, an effort that succeeded with at least the Pittsburgh Times. Participating clergymen recruited and trained personal workers who, Jolly happily reported, overcame their own shyness and brought unchurched friends to the preliminary conferences and "cottage" (non-church) prayer meetings, where some visitors actually pre-empted the campaign by claiming conversion. Then, with two weeks to go before the kickoff, participating pastors focused their preaching at evangelism and preparation for the campaign. When the Chapman team arrived, its evangelists led three overflow mass meetings to fire up the church members.

To be sure, some sour notes were struck among the churches concerning the revival campaign. "So far as we have been able to observe," the editor of the Pittsburgh Christian Advocate sniped at the campaign's outset:

> ...the actual results of these great union evangelistic movements led by outside evangelists, in the conversion of individuals and the addition of converts to the church, have been very small, not at all in proportion to the size and noise of the efforts. The real work of bringing the people to Christ and gathering them within the fold, must be done by the churches and pastors.[50]

On Sunday, February 14, the campaign was launched with twelve central evangelistic meetings to which more than 18,000 people came. From that day forth, for two weeks, the general evangelistic services and special meetings for businessmen, women, factory girls, or young people very often drew overflow crowds. One evangelist in the East Liberty district had to speak from the choir loft; the crowd had taken over the altar.[51] The influence and interest spread well beyond these meetings, according to the Methodist Reverend George Wheaton Taft: "People in the homes, offices, shops, hotels, schools and on the streets, cars, trolleys, everywhere, talked about the meetings....Commercial men in their travels...would tell about the big revival in Pittsburg." Taft, a former missionary in Japan who had spent over five years drumming up support for missions, claimed: "People are ready to hear of Jesus Christ. Everywhere they want that one question. Such a time has never been before."[52]

One desired indicator of the revival's impact, more important even than the six thousand decision cards, was growth in church membership. Presbyterian statistics for Pittsburgh and Allegheny presbyteries, for example, reveal a surge of 3,048 new members received on confession of faith

in 1904, much higher than the 2,313 accessions by faith in 1902 and 2,023 in 1903, and above the 2,412 recorded for 1905. Presbyterian membership rose from 35,753 to 37,920 for 1904--a 6-percent increase. The Methodist Pittsburgh conference, which from 1899 to 1903 had averaged 1,164 adult baptisms and a net gain of 1,234 members annually, in 1904 recorded figures of 1,567 and 2,101 respectively (1905: 1,435 and 1,630).[53] The four black Methodist churches participating in the campaign received 140 new members as a result. Another sought-for measure of the changed atmosphere was the fortunes of saloons in the April license court. All violators of blue laws were denied renewals, and almost all new applications were turned away.[54]

Four conspicuous characteristics of the 1904 Pittsburgh awakening recurred nationwide in the Revival of 1905. First, the campaign climaxed a growing interdenominational fraternity in Pittsburgh. It was the child of the three-year-old Ministerial Union; the Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians shared the central leadership and managed to expand participation to twelve other denominations. This reflects not only the spirit of fraternity but also the erosion of doctrinal distinctiveness before the eagerness to get on with the "real" work of the church. It was the same spirit that prompted R. A. Torrey--no friend of liberal doctrines and compromises--to refer to himself as an "Episcopaleopresbygationalaptist."[55]

Second, the campaign illustrated the chain of encouragement linking revivals. Torrey's success in Melbourne sparked interest in a Pittsburgh campaign. "One of the best ways to promote a revival is to tell about another revival," the Reverend Taft pointed out, noting that Philadelphia and Chicago ministers had sent for representatives of the Pittsburgh clergy.[56] The same would happen later in 1904 and in 1905.

Third, the clergy successfully communicated their vision to each other and to a surprising cohort of lay people, on whom the campaign made itself dependent. Lay activism, already apparent among Methodist women in the "missionary revival," received a large boost in the revival efforts of 1904 and later.

Fourth, the campaign sounded a tone typical of many evangelistic movements that would follow. A quiet, serious zeal characterized almost everyone from J. Wilbur Chapman, who was "intense, earnest and spiritual, yet always exceedingly plain," on down to the members of his audience.[57] The quiet and orderly atmosphere contrasted vividly with the angry emotionalism blamed on previous revivalists and the carnival atmosphere cultivated in the later Billy Sunday campaigns. In the avoidance of unseemliness ministers and editors rejoiced and would continue to exult. "In most of the meeting[s] there was little if any physical excitement," Taft claimed. "Men were brought face to face with God. Con-

science and reason were appealed to rather than emotion...."[58]

While evangelical observers around the country watched closely the experience of Pittsburgh, by and large they did not yet share in it to any great extent. One way of summarizing the state of evangelism nationwide in early 1904 would be "steady but hopeful." In March the Boston Watchman took stock of progress toward revival in an optimistic editorial. Prior to 1903, the writer claimed, there had been a "dearth of religious revivals" and, as universally conceded, a low state of spirituality in the churches. Desperation over this state roused the churches to action. So by winter of 1904 "...the large majority of pastors throughout the country," he asserted:

> ...had become imbued with a new zeal for the salvation of men....The feeling was that new energy and devotion should be put forth, to see if the Lord would not visit His people and pour out His Spirit in a gracious revival of His work.
> This winter has been a testing time....

Had the church passed the test? A national revival such as in 1857 had not swept the country, the editor continued, and no exceptional local ones had appeared except in Pittsburgh. But maybe that was not so bad. "Perhaps the most encouraging feature of the winter's work," he concluded, "is that revivals have come in response to the systematic efforts of God's people."[59]

There were other exceptional evangelistic campaigns in the winter of 1904. Hanson Place Methodist Church in Brooklyn recorded 160 new members on February 7, a hundred of

whom were probationers and thus recent converts. The Methodist church in Wellsboro, Pennsylvania, conducted a four-week campaign and received seventy-five accessions. In Mount Clemens, Michigan, the revival spirit at a regular prayer meeting "was so manifest" that the pastor felt compelled to start a revival in mid-February. The church recorded forty conversions. New York City's Tremont Street Methodist Church held a campaign with evangelist Hugh E. Smith, and more than 150 decisions were recorded, with 106 joining that church. "Gracious revivals" took place in churches in Buffalo, New York; and Paulet, Vermont, about that time.[60]

A picture of steady but not dramatic progress, however, was the rule for most denominational annual reports for mid-1904. For example, it was a time of "steady though not a wonderful increase" throughout Presbyterian California.[61] Evangelical newspapers and church records yielded the following picture: rising spiritual fervor in many parts of the country and a hopeful tone despite a lack of striking results in numbers of conversions.

The Reformed church illustrates this well. The June 1903 general report suggested that a deepened seriousness was coming over the lay people of Reformed churches as well.[62] For 1904 the numbers of additions on confession of faith were not as impressive as in 1903--5,337 as opposed to 6,364--yet there had been no abatement in the "hopeful tone and a determination to seek more earnestly for the secret of

power." Even pastors who had not garnered as many new members as the year before "...testify to a deepening of the spiritual life of the members, and express the belief that the seed sown will produce a rich harvest in the year to come."[63] The Reverend Kitteredge provided details on the lay spiritual health:

> ...a larger spirit of benevolence, an increased interest in the work of missions, a more earnest attention to the preaching of the Word, greater activity among the young people, a larger attendance in the prayer meetings, more faith in prayer, more personal work for souls.

He then issued a cheerful prognosis because two indispensable requirements for a revival, a longing for one and experience with the Holy Spirit, seemed to be present:

> ...We regard, then, the condition of our churches as exceedingly hopeful, and much more so than a year ago, for beside the evidences already cited, we find everywhere a deep longing on the part of Pastors for a larger work of Grace, a longing which will surely be satisfied....Only nineteen Pastors report no evidence of the presence of the Holy Spirit, and, most of these [nineteen] witness by the earnest desires expressed, that the blessing has already come to their hearts.[64]

Other denominations saw it similarly as the evangelistic idea spread. At the St. Louis World's Fair, Charles Stelzle, appointed labor evangelist the year before, set up a tent for preaching and impressed visiting pastors with the potential for summer evangelism.[65] In Philadelphia various churches picked up the growing evangelistic spirit. "Within the bounds of the Conference," reported the Philadelphia letter to the Christian Advocate, "there are at present many revivals that are bringing sinners to our altars, reclaiming

backsliders, enthusing church members, and adding strength to all denominational movements."[66] Thus the vision caught on with more clergymen.

The tone of hopefulness with just steady growth was echoed in a denomination not usually associated with revivalism, the Congregationalists. "Recognizing that 'the new revival' is now a subject much on the mind and heart of the Christian world...," in the spring of 1904 the Massachusetts council's Committee on the Work of the Churches sought for "the signs of a religious awakening." It found that only twenty-eight of six hundred churches had had unusual seasons of evangelism within the year. Generally, where this occurred "...the record says the main instrumentalities were prayer, preaching and personal work, in connection with the usual services of the church. The old weapons appear to be yet the ones most approved for bringing in a new revival."[67] "The old weapons" apparently did not include a Chapman-like campaign, at least in the committee writer's mind. Yet it soon became clear that for Congregationalists, as for other denominations, they did include in some form "the old evangelism."

C. "The Evangelistic Note" in Des Moines and After

Most evangelical clergymen, gladly or grumblingly, seemed to regard the Presbyterians' Converse committee as the trailblazer of the coming evangelistic awakening. In fact, however, a major turning point on that trail was the

triennial Congregational general conference held at Des Moines, Iowa, in October 1904. "We noted lately the remarkable stir in the Congregational Council at Des Moines...," the Pittsburgh Christian Advocate told its Methodist readers with some surprise."[68] The "stir" was the enthusiasm with which the assembled Congregational clergymen, with the blessing of liberal leaders such as Newton Dwight Hillis, Lyman Abbott, and Washington Gladden, embraced the evangelistic vision. Because of this, in the estimation of The Congregationalist, the gathering was "little short of epochal in the development of American Congregationalism."[69]

What was most striking about the meetings at Des Moines was the monumental Pentecostal fervor, in a denomination better known for pursed lips than flaming tongues. There, the delegates found in their midst an "unexpected demonstration of the Spirit." Washington Gladden himself testified to that effect in his speech as newly elected moderator of the National Council, "I feel that we are just beginning to lay hold of the real purpose of that great Friend...," he said of the Holy Spirit, "and it seems to me that the sense of this presence has been in this Council as in no ecclesiastical body of which I was ever a member."[70] The Congregationalist added this:

> When we say that there has not been a moment in recent history fraught with such possibilities for spiritual growth and conquest, we are expressing not our own judgment merely but that of many of our most thoughtful and trustworthy leaders the country over. That mighty, though unexpected demonstration of the Spirit at the recent Des Moines meetings is not to be looked upon as an

> isolated phenomenon but as the visible embodiment of influences whose silent but potent working is confined to no time or place....[M]any are hailing the dawning of a new era.[71]

For this refreshing The Congregationalist credited "the unmistakable enthronement of the spiritual life in the center of the council's thought." There was no frantic, artificial attempt to rouse the delegates to this experience of fervor, the paper continued. "It was the spontaneous overflowing of pent up desire, yearning and self-dedication." This zeal "...glorified even the dull routine of business meetings; it made even difficult tasks of reconstruction and modifications more easy."[72]

The spiritual fervor also found expression in eloquent appeals to service and exuberant vows in response--such as the young people's "New Crusade" proposed by the Reverend Charles Jefferson against "the armies of vice and crime"; his three thousand hearers in Des Moines' Plymouth Church jumped up and burst into "Onward, Christian Soldiers," a chorus no doubt worthy of the 1912 Progressive party convention. At another meeting their elders, however, stopped short of taking up the Reverend Newell Dwight Hillis' idea of marching out "as a body into the streets and saloons of Des Moines as a rescue and gospel band," but did business instead.[73]

"Every man knew in his heart that a new era was dawning," Jefferson recalled of Des Moines:

> ...The prevailing temper was that of moral earnestness, rising at times to genuine spiritual passion, the temperature mounting at one or two

> meetings so high that one would not have been surprised to see the whole council burst into the flames of a new Pentecost.[74]

Along with Pentecostal fervor, another major characteristic of the convention reflective of the growing revival spirit was harmony. It, too, was reminiscent of the Methodist conference in Los Angeles. Liberals and conservatives at Des Moines advanced their viewpoints and chided but did not denounce each other. The delegates' desire for harmony exceeded anything seen in twenty years, the Reverend George A. Gates declared: "The controversies of two decades are dead indeed, praise be to God." At least they were on a sabbatical. "The term, 'new theology,' was never mentioned until the last day but once," Jefferson recalled, "and then by a brother who had come late and not gotten his bearings. The expression had an antiquated sound which served to remind me of the rapidity with which the world is moving."[75] Retiring moderator Amory Bradford similarly denounced the "sin of a divided Christendom" and invited his hearers to look skyward at the bright dawn approaching: "Force and greed...are slowly giving way before the whole people working together for the common weal."[76]

Striking as this harmony was, for The Congregationalist the convention's most noteworthy characteristic was the surge of interest in revival and evangelism. The conference placed revival at the heart of the Congregational churches' mission, creating a twelve-member evangelistic committee chaired by Brooklyn's Reverend N. D. Hillis. Its task was to

spread the revival spirit--encourage pastoral evangelism, stimulate local and statewide planning for evangelism, and promote "the formation of groups in local churches for prayer and spiritual co-operation." Hillis proclaimed the reconciliation of the new evangelism with the old with an "impassioned appeal for a forward evangelistic movement on modern lines but emphasizing the unchanged facts of sin and God's love in Christ."[77] All this and the response to it:

> ...were wonderful testimonies to the way in which God's spirit was working on the hearts of the rank and file and upon men like Drs. Hillis, Bradford and Lyman Abbott, who will have much to do with the shaping of this movement....It may be in our Congregational churches that initial impulse to the revival for which so many have been looking and praying....[78]

The suddenness with which the convention was seized with this spirit gripped the imagination, yet the waxing of zeal for evangelism was not completely spontaneous. Many Congregationalists had shared the general yearning for revival and had made preparations for it, and the council at Des Moines was planned with talks under the titles "The Elements of a True Revival" and "Preparation for a Spiritual Awakening." In these addresses Professor John Winthrop Platner of Andover Seminary, for example, called for an attempt to reach the cultivated classes with the gospel and argued that evangelism aimed at individual salvation decisions was still necessary.[79] The Reverend J. S. Penman of Bangor, Maine, complained that "...our churches generally did not believe in revivals..." and contended, "Of course we must

stand for education, for philanthropy, for sympathy with the laborer[,] but the power that is going to save is the power of Jesus Christ touching each individual soul." Dr. E. A. Steiner, professor of applied Christianity at Iowa (Grinnell) College, in a "fervid" manner, urged Congregationalists "to realize the full measure of Pentecostal power" and remember that the "brightest pages in the history of Congregationalism" were the nineteenth-century awakenings. He added: "We shall only preach the blood of Christ with power when we put our own blood into it....The times are ripe for a revival of essential, pure Puritanism."[80]

Long as the revival interest had been in building, the power with which the evangelistic spirit overtook the delegates was striking. It appears that the catalyst in bringing this about was a London pastor, the Reverend William James Dawson. In an address before the new evangelistic committee--whose formation he largely inspired--and at a hastily arranged mass meeting the same night, Dawson described how he and his congregation, London's Highbury Quadrant Free Church, had rediscovered the "evangelistic note."

The tale he told was this. In 1903 Dawson, discouraged that something was lacking in his ministry and congregation, attended the council of the National Free Churches at Brighton. "The sessions," as Dawson described them, "were remarkable for an ever-deepening tone of spiritual life and power....The voice of confidence and conquest was in the air." Capping the meetings, English evangelist Gypsy Smith

led a midnight march of a thousand Free Church delegates and other church men and women through the poor districts of Brighton, gathering in the "waifs and wastrels of the streets" and leading them to the Brighton Dome. When Smith preached to the assemblage there, scores of his hearers rose for prayer and poured into the inquiry room. "And then," Dawson confessed, "I knew what was the missing element in my own ministry....It was evangelistic fervour...." Still inspired, Dawson soon invited Gypsy Smith in for a campaign and midnight march at his own church. Even before Smith came, Dawson made evangelism for the downtrodden a priority, and he was amazed by both his congregation's openness to this ministry and the openness of the poor to the gospel.[81]

Simply telling the story had a major impact on his hearers. A few days later he was asked to give his story again at a specially arranged meeting, and the account did not suffer from the retelling. As Dawson spoke, he later wrote, "...I felt the power of God present in that meeting as I have never known it in my life." The Reverend Francis Clark (director of Christian Endeavor) described it as the most remarkable meeting he had been in, and even Amory Bradford said he "felt the hovering tongues of fire."[82] In his autobiography years later Dawson confessed that in the fall of 1904, "...I found myself regarded, to my genuine surprise, as a man with a message for the times."[83] We should not be so surprised: Dawson was uniquely equipped to recon-

cile liberals to the old evangelism. His style might charm the erudite:

> The true witness to religion, I have found in solitude, in communion with beauty, in comradeship with wise and gentle minds, in those mysterious yearnings and aspiration which penetrate the infinite and cannot be imprisoned or content in the finite.[84]

Hardly Billy Sunday stuff. Furthermore, in a sermon delivered in Brooklyn in November 1904 he found the practical note that characterized the preaching of so many liberals who were eager to bring Christ to the level of men:

> Commonness: that is the great note of the incarnation and the purposed feature of Christ's earthly life. He sleeps in huts where poor men lie; He wins His difficult bread as poor men win it. His friends and disciples are fishermen....His hands...are the hands of the workman, disfigured by daily toil....[85]

Because he could approach liberals as a soothing friend rather than as an angry revivalist, Dawson was well-suited to leading doubtful Congregationalists to the rediscovery of the "evangelistic note." He shared their concerns. "I had less sympathy [before 1903] with revivalism than most ministers," he reassured readers of his 1905 book The Evangelistic Note. "The barbaric theology, the crude appeal, the sensational pyrotechnics, the doubtful methods of old-fashioned revivalism, had always moved my repulsion."[86] As he gently put his finger on the weaknesses which many liberals felt in their own ministries, his suggestions were sometimes not so different in content from a few of the accusations hurled by revivalists. People, he claimed, were tired of the steady rain of doubts and negations concerning Christianity. "Can

liberal theology justify itself?" he asked. "It can do so in one way only, by showing its capacity for spiritual zeal."[87]

He urged liberal ministers to use their common sense: "There may have been two Isaiahs or twenty; what has that to do with me so long as I have the profound spiritual message contained in the book which bears the name of Isaiah...?" That spiritual message, it is apparent, was really not different from the old evangelism:

> The evangelist's concern is with the great spiritual facts of sin, penitence, and redemption; his battlefield is the human will; his message is the love and judgment of God; his work is the practical work of winning men for Christ.[88]

Such a message could find warm reception with Congregational leaders such as Abbott and Gladden, despite their reputation as anti-revivalist Social Gospelites. In fact it should help us re-evaluate that reputation. Gladden called for a general revival of religion along the lines of the new evangelism which would "...seek to reconcile races, bring peace to industry, ethicize business, uproot social vice, cleanse politics, and simplify life."[89] In the winter of 1905 he attempted the interesting experiment of bringing in Lyman Abbott as an evangelist, revealing both men's interest in giving personal evangelism a chance. In 1910 Gladden brought J. Wilbur Chapman into his church (but stiffly opposed Billy Sunday's Columbus campaign in 1911); his biographer felt that it was not Gladden's theology as much as the extravagant evangelism of Billy Sunday that soured Gladden on revivalism.[90] For his part Abbott, despite contemporary

suspicions concerning his orthodoxy, was searching for a way to reconcile to modern culture the central teachings of Christianity. According to his biographer, Abbott was convinced that religious liberals:

> ...would retain the interest of the masses only by holding fast the great evangelical doctrines of inspiration, incarnation, atonement, and regeneration. Otherwise men would desert liberalism for fundamentalism, Romanism, or materialism. Whenever a minister forgot the age-old message of pardon, peace, and power derived from faith in Christ, whenever he substituted literary lectures, critical essays, sociological discussions, or even ethical interpretations of the universal conscience, he ceased to be a Christian minister.[91]

Perhaps most of all, Dawson's compassion and success with the poor touched Social Gospelites who were concerned with revitalizing American religion. Concern for individual salvation, as we have seen, did not preclude an interest in social needs. But even then there was a perception that it might.

In Dawson's testimony, and at the Des Moines conference itself, zeal for one coexisted with zeal for the other. They were at heart the same motive for spiritual service and reform. The Reverend Jefferson seems to have expressed a large consensus when he praised two impromptu talks as being the most memorable, one by Graham Taylor demanding that the church identify with labor and W. J. Dawson's on finding the evangelistic note--though Jefferson felt generally that the evangelistic was the stronger of the two emphases at Des Moines.[92] Other speakers joined the two imperatives. The Reverend Charles R. Brown (who later wrote an article depre-

cating the results of the 1905 Chapman campaign in his city of Oakland, California), at Des Moines insisted that in the next great revival "...the dominant note will be social responsibility," but he also chided reformers who focused only on material improvement "...as if the wage earner were only a superior kind of cab horse, intent solely on shorter hours, better barns and more oats." For Brown it was a question of spiritual life and death. The conservative A. C. Dixon could not have put it better.[93]

Thus, before, during, and after their convention in Des Moines, powerful currents converged on Congregationalism. The yearning for unity and spiritual power, the hope of growing churches and spiritual victories, the desire to bring the principles of Christianity to bear on society, the conviction that the gospel must receive a decent hearing with the cultured class on the one hand and the dispossessed on the other, and finally a sense that God was now sending a revival that would fulfill all these hopes and usher in a new era--these motives jostled each other and awaited the right catalyst to reconcile them and release their combined energy. Dawson, Hillis, and other churchmen provided that enzyme along with an infusion of "holy passion." An Iowa Congregational pastor reminded his readers "...how progressive we are as to the labor question and Christian unity," and then declared that:

> ...we rejoice that in our fervor for evangelism and for missions, we are proving to our neighbors that a leaning toward newer philosophic and critical views, with their corollaries, does not inter-

> fere with a deep religious life and a passion for following the Master.[94]

The reconciliation of new and old evangelism suspended the debate for the time being--for Congregationalists and other denominations. This was well expressed in the pages of The Congregationalist. For its editor, "new evangelism" had not come to mean a social gospel to replace the pietistic, individual one, but to be simply "an elastic term frequently used of late to characterize the unusual religious interest evident here and there throughout the country." The editorial further explained:

> ...For the popular comprehension it may be sufficient now to say that the new evangelism...is supposed...to have regard to the prevailing intellectual temper of the times, to avoid the mechanical and sensational devices sometimes employed in former times, and to put religion not in opposition to, but in proper relations with education, culture, and all the other just and important concerns of human life in the modern world.

As such this evangelism, "...whatever it really is, has far more to learn from the older evangelism than some of us realize." That included the capacity to appeal to emotion and will as well as intellect, to organize efforts at spreading religion, and above all to call for absolute surrender to Christ. Come to think of it, the editor concluded, "...in essence the new evangelism resembles the old and the points of difference are relatively inconsequential."[95]

D. A Contagion of Spiritual Fervor

After their national convention, Congregational churches and associations appeared to have caught "the con-

tagion of the spiritual fervor of the Des Moines meetings."[96] The October conference's host state set an example. A dozen Iowa pastors at the conference organized statewide conferences on evangelism and otherwise worked to stir up their Congregational brethren throughout their state. And so the "noteworthy spiritual movement" spread to lay men and women. Testifying to its power, Congregational ministers throughout the state reported swollen prayer meetings, a good "atmosphere," heightened "spiritual interest"--in general "new activity, fresh expectancy, and a general conviction that a new era has dawned." Some Iowa churches reported large accessions in membership that fall, including Keokuk's which was aided by large union meetings conducted by "Billy" Sunday.[97]

Elsewhere, associational and local committees sprang up here and there to coordinate the work. The Southern California association, for example, formed an evangelistic committee which planned a series of campaigns in towns of the Los Angeles area, to be conducted by the Reverend H. W. Pope of the Northfield Extension Movement. A report from the already evangelistically inclined South Berkshire (Massachusetts) Association spoke of carrying home "live coals" from Des Moines to form a committee and promote evangelism. "The thing that helps in this whole matter is the awakening of the people," the letter enthused. "We are feeling the groundswell of what purports to be a tidal wave of evangelical energy."[98]

Meanwhile, in late 1904 observers in other denominations felt that evangelistic commitment deepen in their ranks, too. "At no time in the past," commented the Pacific Christian Advocate in September 1904, "have the laymen of our church been as aggressive or as much in earnest in promoting the interest of our church. Now is the time to organize for united action and greater accomplishments."[99] Local Methodist churches reflected this temper. The pastor at Wesley Methodist Church in Tacoma, Washington, reported "greatly increased" attendance at regular services, prayer meetings, and Sunday school, and he concluded that "...the conditions are favorable at Wesley for the most prosperous year in the history of the charge."[100] "It is comforting to be able to see indications of the coming harvest even while the toilers are sowing the seed...," the Pacific Christian Advocate echoed in December. "[T]he burden-bearers are so cheered over the indications of the coming harvest that they...raise a paean of cheer."[101]

The rising fervor appeared elsewhere. Concerning "the evangelistic revival," The Christian Endeavor World claimed in November, "There are many signs that it is on its way, even if in its full power it is not already here."[102] Two weeks later the paper reported that "...many of the largest and most enthusiastic Christian Endeavor meetings in the history of the movement have been held in the last twelve months."[103] Francis Clark took a lecturing tour of twenty-two cities around his trip to the Des Moines conference.

"Never have I seen such audiences in these cities," he avowed, adding that the election campaign of 1904 might have distracted people.[104] The Pacific Christian Advocate, in an issue largely devoted to the hot topic, urged "revivals" of prayer, piety, and preaching to make the general awakening more sure. The editor took care to remind his readers that a proper revival is "prayed-down" more than "gotten up" by organization.[105] In another article in that paper, Methodist Bishop Mallalieu, author of the 1900 book The When, How, and Why of Revivals, proclaimed: "The sky brightens. God's promises cover all our needs. The looked-for and prayed-for revival has already commenced. Showers of blessing are already falling on thirsty fields." In the same issue another bishop pronounced, "Woe to the preacher who does not know that this is the day of his glorious visitation."[106]

In The Congregationalist the Reverend A. E. Dunning put this another way: "This year is closing with signs of religious revivals such as have not been seen for many years. Happy are those who discern the signs of the times and gladly devote themselves to hasten its coming." Such discernment characterized Martin Littleton, borough president of Brooklyn, New York. "[T]hroughout this land, there is going to be an awakening such as no man can foresee the hour of its coming," he told a throng at the Dawson mission in his bailiwick. "The new evangel. It is here, and we have felt something of its power."[107]

One message many clergymen, particularly evangelical liberals, hoped to convey was that quiet seriousness rather than flamboyant emotionalism had to characterize the new awakening. That was the hope of the evangelical churches of Springfield, Massachusetts, when they organized a union campaign to be conducted by Methodist evangelist (and former bishop) John H. Vincent in November. The program made an announcement that the Springfield talks "...will be attended by no emotional fervor....The aim is to reach the head and the heart of plain, honest, sensible men and women with the great facts of life and faith."[108]

This was a large part of the appeal of both Chapman and Dawson in the fall of 1904. In November the Atlanta Constitution praised the Presbyterian evangelist's system for its "freedom from the use of methods of a sensational nature. The revival has proceeded with an entire absence of excitement." Similarly, at the outset of his Binghamton campaign in mid-November, a local daily endorsed it with, "So far as we have been able to judge, the movement has been planned on wholly sensible, genuinely uplifting lines...thoroughly up to date...." Chapman was capable of packing a church and sowing within his hearers a "deep spirit of earnest thoughtfulness."[109] Dawson, meanwhile, received similar kudos. "Dawson," Hillis wrote of him approvingly, "combines clear thinking and graceful rhetoric with a simplicity and earnestness which more frequently accompany less cultivated oratory." Later Hillis praised the "entire absence of emo-

tional singing and emotional appeals and the note of terror" in contrast to old-time evangelists.[110]

In October 1904 J. Wilbur Chapman began an eventful six-month city-by-city march "from Atlanta to the sea," the water in this case being Seattle's Puget Sound. The cities he chose for this campaign--Binghamton, New York; Terre Haute, Indiana; Denver; Los Angeles; Oakland, California; and Portland, Oregon, as well as Atlanta and Seattle--represented what he felt was his most efficient response to the many requests arising after the Pittsburgh work. On his trip Chapman found ready audiences right away. In Atlanta campaign organizers successfully mobilized the city for a day of prayer. The city hall and Georgia Supreme Court were closed; even many saloons closed for the occasion. (Binghamton, too, shut down for the day of prayer.) Furthermore, in Atlanta total attendance at five hundred evangelistic services was 250,000, resulting in some five thousand decision cards. "[I]t is said that the results of this revival movement have been greater and more far-reaching than any similar revival the south has ever had," exulted the Atlanta Constitution. Chapman's work in Binghamton coincided with a successful mission there by the Catholic Redemptorist Fathers; between the two, wrote the Press without expressing preference, "never in the history of the city has such a wave of religious enthusiasm swept over Binghamton as the one which it is now experiencing." Some two thousand decision cards were collected by the Chapman team.[111]

Meanwhile, Dawson postponed his return to England after N. D. Hillis prevailed upon him to mount a mid-November campaign, or "mission," in the latter's Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, where Henry Ward Beecher and Lyman Abbott had been minsters. Dawson drew gratifying crowds who apparently were made up mainly of the already-converted. (In his Brooklyn audience one night was J. Wilbur Chapman, in between campaigns.) Yet preaching to church members was important by itself, as Dawson clearly was stirring the spirit of the coming revival. Among the "more obvious lessons" of the campaign, The Congregationalist editorialized, was that "...the interest in the higher religious life has seemed to be all but universal, and plainly the country is on the eve of a great religious awakening."[112] Not long after that campaign Dawson returned to London and resigned his pastorate in order to make a speaking tour of the United States through much of 1905.

Brooklyn, Atlanta, and Binghamton were not the only places experiencing extraordinary revival or evangelistic interest in the late fall of 1904. A few examples are instructive. In November Ogdensburg, New York, had a two-week union campaign: "Never before has the community been so moved for cleaner living and nobler purposes," claimed its Congregationalist correspondent. Congregationalist evangelists also were at work in Sedalia, Missouri, at about the same time with "helpful" results. Then, in December, the revival spirit overwhelmed Methodist Willamette University in

Portland, Oregon. One of the professors conducted gospel meetings for students, at the end of which "...there was hardly an unconverted student left at the university."[113]

As another example of the building fervor, the North Indiana Methodist Conference held a daylong "revival conference" at Fort Wayne in September 1904 at the close of its missionary convention. "Our pastors were all there, and the Holy Ghost was poured out upon us, and men and women mightily shouted to God for joy," came the conference°s official report the following spring. "Some of the staid people who were present, were somewhat startled. Dr. Hughes, who came to us one hour after this outpouring, to address us on "Everyday Evangelism," said "that he had not heard a person shout for ten years...."[114]

So by December 1904 masses of Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist, Baptist, Reformed, and other evangelical Protestants felt that an awakening was on its way and that they were ready for it. Many of the elements necessary for an awakening as they understood it had come together. The evangelistic machinery was in place, well-served and well-oiled. Traditional hopes for the conversion of individuals and society at large combined with new aspirations: the longing for a higher national life than the crass materialism and sensuality of the age, the desire to transcend growing class barriers with Christian reconciliation, the feeling that evangelical harmony was now possible, and a widespread yearning to tap into the supernatural power as-

serted by Christianity. From widespread reports it appeared to the hopeful that some divine intervention was at hand.

E. The "Great Upheaval" in Wales

While revival-minded evangelicals thus awaited God's blessing on their plans, the pre-revival spirit received a major boost from an unexpected quarter. Just before Christmas both religious and secular papers picked up the hot story of a great revival in Wales.[115] Waves of Christian zeal were sweeping the principality through its South and then North Wales, and people flocked to churches--every night. "How or where it started nobody seems to know," the New York Tribune told its readers, "but the miners of South Wales are with one accord crowding into the chapels every night and praying and singing hour after hour."[116]

Welsh Christians had been searching for a revival for years like the one of 1858--which was inspired by the American revival. The long-awaited awakening arrived in February 1904. By one oft-repeated account the revival began with the "trembling utterance" of a girl at a Christian Endeavor youth meeting in New Quay, a fishing village of South Wales. Sixteen-year-old Florrie Evans offered, "If no one else will, then I must say that I love the Lord Jesus Christ with all my heart." Then, reported journalist William T. Stead, the "pathos and passion of the avowal acted like an electric shock upon the congregation. One after another rose and made the full surrender, and the news spread like wildfire from

place to place that the revival had broken out...."[117] People crowded into churches to see for themselves and found that it had.

Soon a few leaders emerged. The most visible preacher was Evan Roberts, a 26-year-old Bible school student who had prayed long and fervently for revival. But he was no professional evangelist. As he toured Wales and dropped in on service after service, night after night, he typically spoke uneloquently a few minutes, urging people to surrender their lives to God and witness to others. Or sometimes he said nothing at all but merely joined in the rolling chorus of prayers and songs that commonly lasted past midnight every night. Despite (or because of) anti-heroic presence, such was respect for Roberts that in the first months of 1905, according to one source, almost every boy born in the Rhondda Valley was named after him.[118]

No speaker really was needed at these nightly revival meetings. The men, women, and children who thronged in Welsh churches were determined to follow the "Spirit's leading." In generally an orderly though undirected fashion, at a typical service individuals stood to offer prayers and testimonies, then the congregation sang before more testimonies and prayers were offered. As one correspondent described a service:

> The scene at Bethania Baptist Chapel, Maesteg, beggars description. Again and again the revivalist [Evan Roberts] vainly essayed to deliver an address, but the emotion of the audience was irrepressible. From strength to strength it grew, and when it reached a perfect white heat al-

> most every man, woman, and child in the huge edifice was either praying, singing, or testifying, some shouting in thunderous tones, while others prostrated themselves on the floor.
> Thus it went on hour after hour....[119]

The Welsh seemed to carry their revival with them wherever they were. Crowds at public functions would suddenly take up hymns; even one of David Lloyd-George's home rule rallies was interrupted by singing and prayer.[120] The future prime minister said: "All those who love Wales must wish the Revival God-speed. It is certainly the most remarkable spiritual movement this generation has witnessed. Personally, I believe that it is destined to leave a permanent mark on the history of our country."[121]

Accumulating stories of amazing conversions awed American readers. A young miner who used to scribble blasphemous words on the pit walls now was praying for his co-workers. A knot of young girls went to a weeknight service to scoff, but ended up the last ones to leave--converted.[122] A man, newly converted in the revival, prayed for his alcoholic son in a service; at that very moment the son, in a tavern, put down his mug of beer and ran to the service for salvation.[123]

Empty taverns, surprised and happy creditors, hymns replacing profanity in the mines, packed-out chapels--these were the hallmarks of the Welsh revival which continued with great effect through most of 1905. By February 1, 1905, a "conservative estimate" put the number of converts from the revival at forty thousand. "The influence of the revival

upon life in Wales was beyond calculation," wrote J. Edwin Orr, a church historian specializing in revivals:

> ...Crime was so greatly diminished that the magistrates in certain counties were presented with white gloves, signifying not a case to try. Drunkenness was cut in half, and a wave of bankruptcies swept the taverns of the principality. Profanity was curbed, until it was said that pit-ponies in the mines could not understand their orders.[124]

The Welsh revival drew participants from across the denominational spectrum. "Even the staid Episcopal Establishment Church is taking it up," said the Wilkes-Barre (Pennsylvania) Times, "deans, canons and other high dignitaries are holding real old-fashioned revival meetings nightly." In early 1905 Reuben A. Torrey, still on tour, completed a London campaign in which 770,000 attended meetings and seven thousand indicated conversions.[125] The Welsh upheaval also drew fascinated observers from around the Western world. Wrote one journalist in Britain, "Frenchmen, Italians, Germans, Spaniards, Jews and Gentiles of many lands have received the anointing and returned to their respective homes to tell the glad tidings...and so the fire spreads and the field enlarges and souls are saved."[126]

The great revival in Wales burst across American evangelicals' vision as a divine portent. An interdenominational group of pastors and lay leaders, inspired by the awakening in Wales, issued this "Call to Prayer" in religious journals:

> A deep and very real work of grace which has spread throughout Wales awakens praise and profound thanksgiving...inspiring the hope that this

> may be but the beginning of the world-wide revival for which prayer has long been offered....[127]

To sophisticated observers wary of bombastic professional evangelists and dry inapplicable dogma, the Welsh revival offered a model of spiritual intensity, fraternity, and love they yearned to import into the United States. An editorial in the Wilkes-Barre Times contrasted the "old-time" hell-fire revival with the "particularly joyful affair" in Wales:

> It is said to be the preaching of a doctrine that brings nothing but joy, that emancipates from worry...and makes each day holy. If it is all that, everybody can bid godspeed to the American religionists who have gone over to Wales to catch the spirit and bring it back home.[128]

So by the end of 1904, the major evangelical denominations had come to anticipate their own imminent revival, whether a spontaneous upheaval as in Wales or a steady result of ongoing work. The rising interest and the miracle of Wales, just before the upcoming winter evangelism season, promised that the Lord would be in American revivals in great power. Days or even a week of prayer were set aside for the new year which, it was noted, would begin and end on Sundays.

* * * NOTES TO CHAPTER III * * *

1. Robert Harkness, With the Torrey-Alexander Campaign Round the World (London, 1904), p. 7.
2. John Shearer, Old-Time Revivals (Philadelphia, 1932), p. 101. The Australians' first names are not available from this source.
3. Harkness, With the Torrey-Alexander Campaign, pp. 63,107.
4. For a discussion of the contemporary revivals in Asia, Africa, and Europe, see Orr, Flaming Tongue. Also see NYCA, July 18, 1901, p. 19, for articles concerning the missionary revival in Japan of that year. The Pacific Christian Advocate (March 15, 1905) traced the worldwide revival back to Australia.
5. "Episcopal Address," GCMEC Journal, 1904, p. 116; Pitt, May 19, 1904, p. 5.
6. "Episcopal Address," GCMEC Journal, 1900, p. 53.
7. Ibid., p. 467; NYCA, January 24, 1901, p. 12.
8. Pitt, December 1, 1904, p. 7.
9. PCA, May 4, 1904, p. 18; August 17, 1904, pp. 15,16.
10. "Report of the Tract Society," GCMEC Journal, 1904, p. 884.
11. "Episcopal Address," ibid., p. 117.
12. Ibid., p. 130.
13. "Report of the Woman's Home Missionary Society," ibid., p. 911.
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128. Wilkes-Barre Daily Times, February 23, 1905, p. 3. The Welsh influence reached the mission field in China. As Methodist Bishop J. W. Bashford reported in November 1905 concerning the Anglo-Chinese school at Foochow: "Little groups of missionaries in China have been praying during the past year that the marvelous manifestations of the Holy Spirit in Wales last year may be repeated in China....[A revival] began with group prayer meetings among the students, and this resulted in a nightly prayer meeting of the students who are members of the YMCA. These prayer meetings increased in interest and attendance until...28 young men began the Christian life. On last Saturday night the students almost lost self-control, and a hundred of them were on their knees praying aloud at the same time." Among the students there had been eighty confessing Christians; when the weekend was over another 100 to 120 claimed to have made that decision (PCA, January 17, 1906, p. 6).

CHAPTER IV

REVIVAL IN NEW YORK AND NEW ENGLAND

While American evangelicals pondered the meaning of the upheaval in Wales, organized evangelism moved into high gear. In cities, towns, villages, and even small missions around the country, in tabernacles, tents, churches large and small, union and factory meeting halls, on the streets, and by waterfronts, evangelists preached the gospel message in ways appropriate for 1905. These revivalists included men and women ranging from well-known, sophisticated ministers such as Chapman and Dawson to lesser-known and even obscure evangelists such as Bertha Sanford, John E. Brown, Grace Brooks, and the blind Thomas Houston. One evangelist in particular left the ranks of the lesser-known for the better-known category in 1905: Billy Sunday. Mordecai Ham, too, whose preaching stirred Billy Graham much later, attained his first major results in this revival, while other preachers became regional celebrities.

The prominence of so many evangelists was remarkable, but not as much as the fervor of audiences that packed in to hear them. In 1905 and 1906 religious "interest," as the un-

dramatic expression termed it, was so intense among both churchgoers and the "unchurched" that powerful revivals were possible in many parts of the country. This surge in religious fervor manifested itself in three ways. First, as we have seen, denominational leaders and countless ministers rediscovered "the evangelistic note" and pursued it with a passion. Second, church members found new zeal for supporting evangelism through prayer, giving, personal witnessing, and support work. Finally, the "unchurched" to a degree not seen in years made the efforts seem worthwhile.

These themes of the 1905-1906 awakening come into sharp focus in the wide variety of major city, townwide, even local church revivals that took place throughout the country. In the next three chapters these will be explored regionally, with inclusions from most states, with a view to establishing that religious revivals with unusually strong influence in churches and communities did indeed take place. Three prominent lines of inspiration added an extra dimension to local revivals, and they can be identified with three individuals: J. Wilbur Chapman, W. J. Dawson, and R. A. Torrey. The first represented the gratifying success of a well-planned, up-to-date, cooperative presentation of the old gospel. The second symbolized the fusion of old and new evangelism and an intelligent, compassionate approach to both the cultured classes and the downtrodden, to both individual salvation and social betterment. The third represented the power of God in the old gospel even in new times;

Torrey more than the others represented the supernaturalism of the Welsh revival.

This chapter will begin with what, for its adherence to these major themes, could be considered the flagship revival of 1905.

A. "Aggressive Evangelism" in Schenectady

In 1905 Schenectady was in a spectacular population boom. In 1900 its population was listed at 31,682, but a New York head count just five years later revealed 58,387 souls, an increase powered mainly by the General Electric plant and American Locomotive works which together employed 14,500 people. Schenectady was home to fifty churches (1:1,168 people), of which about half were evangelical, and 257 saloons (1:227 people) to serve the expanding population.[1]

The city's Ministerial Association, which embraced Reformed, Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist, Congregational, and Presbyterian churches, annually directed joint services during the post-New Year's Week of Prayer. The services typically were divided among the pastors with least seniority in town and tended to have the "most desultory theme and attendance," according to the Reverend George E. Talmadge, chairman of the special committee in charge of them in 1904.[2] In December 1904, however, the ministers were acutely aware of the possibilities of a sweeping revival. "[W]hen we heard of Dr. Hillis giving up his winter lecturing to do personal service in saving souls, and of the success of Dr. Dawson...

in arousing Brooklyn, we naturally thought a good deal on the subject," recalled Methodist Reverend Frederick Winslow Adams, a committee member with Talmadge. "Then there was that great revival in Wales...."[3]

The committee decided to turn all the services over to the Reverend George R. Lunn, dynamic pastor of First Reformed Church since the previous February. Just before they reached him, the thirty-one-year-old newcomer experienced a vision while sitting in his study. Then the phone rang. Lunn assented, and the nightly services began in an anteroom at Talmadge's Emmanuel Baptist Church. Lunn was a hit: crowds forced the services into the sanctuary; by the end of the week the sanctuary was packed.[4]

At the same time intense interest was also aroused by evangelistic services at Adams' church, State Street Methodist. This campaign had been billed as one "on the order of the new Evangelism" featuring the musically and evangelistically gifted deaconess Bertha Sanford as the leading spirit. (Methodist deaconesses were home missionaries.) This instance of the "new Evangelism," the newspaper advertisement explained, owed its inspiration to the Brooklyn Dawson mission, Bishop Vincent's meetings in Springfield, and the Chapman campaign in Binghamton. It meant "educational methods, culture, and higher Bible study, hand in hand with personal and aggressive method of soul winning."[5]

On January 6 the Evening Star noticed the rising religious interest. "Never in the history of the city has there

been such an intense religious feeling aroused...[as] at the revival services held in the State Street Methodist Church and at the united service of the week of prayer...."[6] To the delighted evangelical pastors this rising tide "spelled 'opportunity,'" Talmadge recalled. The Ministerial Association unanimously voted to continue the observances in a combined evangelistic campaign for the following week. Nineteen churches representing eight denominations at once joined in.[7] Lunn was to continue preaching while State Street Methodist Church contributed Miss Sanford. An attractive, dark-haired Smith College graduate and formerly a fashion-conscious society belle, she had had a conversion experience and devoted herself to Christian service while in college just a few years before.

A schedule was set up for the growing Schenectady campaign: noon meetings for businessmen downtown at the YMCA, afternoon ones for women at Emmanuel Baptist Church, and evening services for all at State Street Methodist. The work began Sunday, January 8, as pastors exchanged pulpits. Dr. Lunn and Miss Sanford began their joint evangelism at the Van Curler Opera House that afternoon where they were heard by four hundred men "representative" of the city. Then, attention turned to opening night in the twelve hundred-seat Methodist church. The vast audience, who "numbered as near to two thousand as the stuffing process had made possible," were crammed up to the altar base, behind the altar, and into the choir loft. "Never in the history of Schenectady

has such an audience gathered in the auditorium of the State Street M. E. church...," the Union reporter exclaimed. "[I]f ever the spirit of God worked in the hearts of men, this could be said of the service last evening." The audience sighed as the deaconess told her life story, then were "shaken to the very foundation of emotion" when Lunn, telling a little about his own life, abruptly broke down and wept bitterly. "He quivered with pain and emotion and cried out [to God] for forgiveness," the Gazette reporter recounted. "He cried that an old, old sin that he thought long buried had come back to him." (Ironically, Lunn had just stated his opposition to the emotional appeals of unenlightened revivalism.) Recovering, he proceeded with a very powerful sermon after which dozens of people indicated conversion decisions.[8]

Next day the Evening Star delivered its verdict: "Schenectady is in the midst of a great religious movement, a revival that promises to be of greater results than any occurring in this city in years...." The Daily Union endorsed the campaign, claiming that the movement would "...have a lasting effect and will prove a moral uplift to the community." An open letter from the Ministerial Association appeared in the papers proclaiming "God's call to the churches of Schenectady" and declaring:

> ...A great and effective door for aggressive evangelism is opening before us....Therefore we appeal to every Christian soul in our city to make everything second to God's call for service this week; to pray daily at noon for God's blessing...and to

> work as well as pray that we may take Schenectady for Christ.[9]

It is worth considering what appeal from the Reformed minister and the Methodist deaconess worked so well. Both possessed intense, youthful magnetism. Bertha Sanford's theme was the vanities of modern life: "Her conception of the modern prodigal was the prosperous business man, educated, talented and provided with the comforts of life, secured by his own efforts, forgetful of the fact that they are all the gifts of God." Lunn, for his part, stressed the divine potential in man. His Week of Prayer sermons which generated so much interest dwelt on the majesty of mankind in Christ and, like Dawson's missions, the personal touch of Jesus. "He believes intensely that every man and woman is inherently noble and that there are moments in every life when the soul struggles after higher things."[10] Lunn, who had taken a course from economist John Bates Clark, also exulted that modern thinkers were "getting at the core of things...trying to solve the great problems of the spiritual life and man's spiritual relationships and responsibilities to his fellow men."[11]

Thus, the two evangelists combined powerful messages not only of the revival of 1905 but also of the Progressive movement: distaste for crude materialism combined with a search for higher things, and a powerful optimism about human potential properly tethered. Yet with that optimism they sounded the old-fashioned gospel note of "the hopelessness of man without Christ, and an appeal to every man to take

Christ." The Gazette echoed these concerns, bewailing the prevalent "shallowness and the insane and careless search for something new to serve as pleasure, that finally lead to wrong and crime." Moral principles could not alone overcome these. "But one successful method has been found to cope with these conditions, and is Christianity."[12]

As if to prove that point, a band of dark-frocked "crusaders" sallied forth in evangelistic raids on saloons just before services on the campaign's second evening. Bertha Sanford, four ministers including Talmadge and Adams, Mrs. Adams, and a Gazette reporter descended on eight saloons in one hour. Inside the bars Miss Sanford played her zither and sang with Mrs. Adams while the ministers gave out invitations to patrons--and the reporter took eager notes. One customer groused, "It's getting pretty bad when a feller can't get a drink any more without some sort of evangelists butting in," and another bolted out the door as soon as he saw them. But generally the party was courteously received, and most drinkers listened to the hymns attentively, even reverently. The next day the party hit the saloons just as the outflow from General Electric did. To the astonishment of saloonkeepers who had not been tipped off--and the delight of novelty-loving newsboys who had--the strange raids went on once more, dive after dive, and then apparently the ministers felt that they had accomplished their task for the duration.[13]

The campaign, now dubbed "Aggressive Evangelism," went on through the week as "interest" continued to grow. Despite bad weather Schenectadyites repeatedly filled up State Street Methodist to hear Lunn. "At the appointed hour none seem to be going there," marveled a New York paper. "Why? Everybody is already inside." After Lunn was finished almost all remained for the after-service conducted by Adams.[14]

Because of the still-rising fervor, on January 13 the evangelistic committee announced the services would continue another week. They would also attempt a "stupendous undertaking" on Sunday: having two large evening services. Would the revival pass the test? readers wondered. Sunday (January 15) turned out to be a very good day for the movement. "Wherever the ministers went," observed the Gazette, "the eager throng followed and they choked and overflowed churches and the opera house in a way that Schenectady never saw before."[15] That afternoon the YMCA (Sanford) was packed long before the meeting time and the Van Curler (Adams) was almost completely filled for its service. Then, that evening both the opera house and the Methodist church were filled; in fact overflow meetings were necessary for both places. Three thousand turned out in all for the 7:30 services; from seventy-five to a hundred conversions were recorded. Not only did the movement pass the numbers test. "The people were eager to come, eager to hear, and eager to sing...," the Union reporter claimed. "[Lunn] succeeded by his

magnificent oratory and passionate address in eclipsing all of his previous efforts."[16]

"The fires of Pentecost are being kindled in Schenectady," thundered the ministers in a second open letter the next day. Elsewhere in the land newspapers were diverting much of their heightened revival watch to Schenectady. "The whole city seems to have been stirred," the Pittsburgh Christian Advocate marveled, taking that from secular newspaper accounts.[17] From Oregon the Pacific Christian Advocate admired both the Schenectady campaign's extensive secular press coverage and the unity that spanned the theological spectrum:

> Preaching has in some instances been done by men who espouse the new theories in reference to [biblical] revelation and who are considered by many as heterodox....They do believe, however, in a saving power of Jesus Christ and in the possibility of the soul knowing for itself Jesus as a personal Savior.[18]

"Schenectady has not been so deeply moved spiritually since the Great Awakening of 1857," the New York Sun insisted, pointing out that the movement was in the tradition of past revivals. In addition:

> ...A significant aspect of this revival is that it comes at a time of great material prosperity. For the past ten years Schenectady has been enjoying a boom....Heretofore religious revivals and awakenings have come usually in times of panic or business depression.[19]

The point is worth pondering, as critics of revivalism then and later often associated it with financial panics, frontier boredom, and other deprivations. It was often said of both the Revival of 1905 and the Progressive Great

Awakening that economics could not be the issue because of the country's prosperity.

Among many people expressing support from near and far, the Reverend Theodore Cuyler wrote Lunn: "Beloved Brother, Hallelujah! I rejoice in the glorious tidings from Schenectady...." The pastor at Lunn's former church, Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian in Brooklyn, also wrote Lunn saying that Cuyler had visited and "...set our meeting all on fire with an account of the work in Schenectady...." On January 18, to the delight of the Schenectady press, that Brooklyn church held a special prayer service for the "Electric City" at the very hour of Lunn's sermon.[20]

There were some discordant notes also, perhaps the least harmful of which was a brewery agent's public broadside against the movement.[21] More serious was a charge that Dr. Lunn, effective evangelist though he was, was not preaching the straight gospel--a charge to which he revealed some tenderness. A dramatic scene took place at the close of his sermon on January 17, "when the audience was at the high pitch of earnestness and sympathy." As it happened:

> ...Feeling every word he uttered Mr. Lunn said, "I have received a letter to-day...criticizing me for not preaching Jesus Christ. If in this course of meetings I have done anything but preach Jesus Christ or if I have not urged upon you to bring your sins at the foot of the cross as the only way of salvation, may God, may God smite me!

His hearers, "by the earnest way in which they received his vigorous words," obviously sympathized. From newspaper accounts of his sermons, the charge seems unfair and was

probably based on either a strict notion of gospel preaching or on Lunn's already-known liberal views of the Bible.[22]

On Thursday, January 19, the ministers voted to continue the meetings another week with some expansion of the effort. A midnight service was to be set up in the Odd Fellows Temple downtown on State Street for "the accustomed frequenters of the streets at that hour," the Baptist pastor preaching. Large placards in conspicuous places advertised the new outreach.[23]

The major hitch in the ministers' planning was that Bertha Sanford, who had been on loan to the State Street church, was due in Brooklyn the following week for a Methodist church's evangelistic campaign. She was eager to stay, but the Brooklyn church was reluctant to release her for even a week. The papers fretted over this crisis. Certainly Lunn's preaching was important, contended the Gazette, but "...Miss Sanford has always been with him, singing, leading meetings of women, and serving as an inspiration by her zeal and the very example of the story of her life. Her loss would be serious for the work at this time." Why, on the saloon crusades her singing "...counted with untold weight in swelling the throngs at the services of Mr. Lunn." The Evening Star printed a handful of telegrams from various Schenectady sources begging the Brooklyn pastor to reconsider. "Two hundred conversions and growing. Entire State watching us," Adams noted for the Reverend Wyrt's benefit. "Audience of over 1,000 women every afternoon and

growing day by day makes Miss Sanford's continued presence seem wise and her departure dangerous," Talmadge warned. Finally Wyrt relented. From a heavily attended after-service this telegram was sent: "One thousand people remaining in the after-meeting unanimously thank you for your sacrifice in releasing Miss Sanford...."[24]

A jubilant Bertha Sanford celebrated her release by leading a children's march the afternoon of January 21. It came about on an impulse after a "phenomenal" children's meeting at Emmanuel Baptist. People streaming home from work dodged the cherubic procession as it paraded down State Street to the railroad tracks and back singing "Onward Christian Soldiers" and other hymns.[25]

The third week (or fourth, if the Week of Prayer services are included) proved to be the last, but the movement did not fade, despite the Gazette's ill-considered comment on January 23 that services were "not so electrifying as last Sunday" and that the "high tide of aggressive evangelism has passed." The Daily Union countered that the campaign newly in its third week "shows no abatement in the wonderful religious awakening." State Street church was packed that night (Monday) and hundreds turned away; Adams denounced "the misleading statement in a morning paper" and claimed that the tide was still rising. The next day the Gazette relented. "The evangelistic meetings were continued yesterday with no perceptible decrease in their power and influence."[26]

In fact the enthusiasm carried right through to the end, expressed during after-meetings in prayer and testimony times during which a hundred people might rise and speak in fifteen minutes--a model of efficiency any Progressive might envy. One night a hundred spoke of their new conversions, "all nationalities" being represented. At the last service of the campaign, a "record-breaking" audience crowded to the doors and heard Lunn one more time. Sixty of them stood up as new converts at the invitation.[27]

The next morning, with Lunn and other ministers exhausted from their labors, Bertha Sanford boarded the 8:31 to Brooklyn to begin a week of evangelism there. Eight hundred conversions had been recorded in four weeks of Aggressive Evangelism, two hundred of them on the last day. More decisions that undoubtedly were stirred by the movement took place under regular church auspices; one pastor reported twenty-seven conversions in his Sunday school on January 15.[28] The churches reaped new members unevenly--generally solidly but not spectacularly. The revival brought them other benefits. It was often said that the movement revitalized the members along all lines of church activity. The pastor of the Jay Street Congregational Church praised the movement for "a new spirit of Christian aggressiveness in his church" while other ministers spoke of "the religious quickening already apparent in their own churches." Total Sunday school membership in Schenectady County surged

between twenty-five and thirty percent from October 1904 to February 1905.[29]

The newspapers showed no disappointment with Aggressive Evangelism. "The good accomplished by the evangelistic movement in this city during the past month cannot be measured by the number of converts," the Union contended. "[A]n inspiration for a better life has been instilled in thousands of souls, be they Christians, recent converts or even those who have made no public professions of faith."[30] The Gazette agreed that "...the beneficial effect of the movement will be evidenced in the betterment of lives and the upward trend of the city's progress toward a higher plane." It also pointed out that Aggressive Evangelism was part of "...a widespread movement that has been simultaneously occurring not only in this country but across the sea, and [it] may be an indication of a change in the attitude of many on religious questions...." An example had been set for churches in other cities, the Evening Star remarked, and all New York owed a debt of thanks to the ministers and Bertha Sanford. "With earnestness of purpose and with the knowledge that what they were doing was for the betterment of mankind, the ministers have broken down every obstacle and conquered."[31]

Some ministers and churches carried on the work in their own ways. The Ministerial Association and supportive businessmen continued the noon meeting for men downtown. In February Union Presbyterian Church set up its own "Forward

Movement" in missions after "a season of prayer in which all took part." Later the church devised a neighborhood visitation program, dividing its area into four districts in order "to arouse the interest in church and Sunday school attendance and make them welcome to the church." When the Dawson campaign opened in November, the congregation contributed an entire Sunday offering to expenses. For his part, George Lunn spent July in Brooklyn as part of the Greater New York summer evangelistic campaign, where he preached in a tent seating two thousand under the direction of the Reverend Hillis. (He also had earlier preached in a tent in New York City proper.)[32]

W. J. Dawson, so much a part of the inspiration for Aggressive Evangelism, came to Schenectady in November 1905 for a two-week mission sponsored by the Ministerial Association. (Lunn hosted him and served on the evangelistic committee.) The English divine spread his preaching among numerous churches beginning with State Street Methodist, while Lunn preached at a crowded Van Curler. This time the campaign gained the emphatic support of the new Episcopal rector, the Reverend W. R. Tayler of St. George's Church.[33]

Results in numbers of conversions from this well-organized mission are not available, but again the meetings were crowded and enthusiastic. One outcome of this revival was that a prominent businessman was inspired to propose a new slum mission, a matter he took to George Lunn who eagerly sold it to his brethren. The City Mission was born. Another

result was momentum for further evangelism. One Sunday in January 1906 Albany Street Methodist Church reaped the fruits of two months of evangelism: thirty baptisms, 101 probationers, and seventy-four others received into the church.[34]

The most celebrated result of the Dawson revival was the conversion of Edward Everett Hale, Jr., a professor at Schenectady's Union College whose father was chaplain in the United States Senate. "I certainly had no notion that I should be converted at a revival meeting at a Methodist church," the forty-year-old Unitarian chuckled, yet as he described it the intellectual change was not so stark. His story, as told to thirteen hundred people packed into State Street Methodist for its New Year's Eve service, sounded much like Dawson's. Around the country evangelical papers made much of Hale but without rubbing it in that a Unitarian had been snared; in fact the California Christian Advocate stressed that he had not fully renounced his previous beliefs and that this should encourage other Unitarians to make the choice he had made.[35] Before long Hale had a taste of Christian service as well as celebrity status: he became chairman of the new City Mission's board, and in the fall of 1906 he helped Lunn conduct conferences on evangelism in churches in the Mohawk Valley.[36]

Aggressive Evangelism typified the salient characteristics of the nationwide awakening, meanwhile straying far from the stereotyped professional revival. It arose almost

spontaneously in response to the widespread religious fervor the ministers discovered in their congregations and community. In responding to this interest, the clergymen consciously fit themselves into the current pattern of nationwide and worldwide revival. Like many revivals of 1905 and 1906, it galvanized the already-churched more than it reached the unchurched and set the stage for later activism. Also, new views and old came together in harmony. With George Lunn the "evangelistic note" took first priority, yet it complemented the advanced social views that led him later to enter politics and in 1911 to be elected as Schenectady's first Socialist mayor.

B. Elsewhere in New York

Churches in Greater New York City--in which "the revelations of religious dearth of the last few years have been fairly oppressive"[37]--attempted to channel some of the revival flow into Gotham. Methodists were prominent in these efforts. The Reverend Charles Goodell, who had been pastor at Calvary Church only ten months, began revival services the first of the new year and preached every night (except Saturdays) in January. Interest mounted steadily until the 2,200-seat church was too small for the crowds, and every night from five to fifty people claimed to be converted. On Sunday, February 5, 364 new members were received into the church, of whom all but seventy-eight were new probationers from the campaign. Helped by this influx, Goodell boosted

Calvary's membership from fourteen hundred to over two thousand in his first year; this made it the largest Protestant church in Manhattan.[38] Other churches had similar results during the winter. At the Orient Methodist Church on Long Island, a "glorious revival" was preached by Alice Mather, one of many successful woman preachers around the country at that time. At Washington Heights Methodist Church in March evangelist Hugh E. Smith led a series of meetings in which more than two hundred went to the altar.[39]

In March a Congregational correspondent noted that though the true great revival had not yet arrived in New York, he sensed that "...a feeling of expectancy, indicating the approach of such a wave, is on the increase." He gave several instances: the Methodist churches' results in conversions, increased emphasis on prayer and practical evangelism among other denominations, and yearnings for revival. At Greenpoint Salvation Army General Ballington Booth led a union campaign complete "with night processions and packed audiences, 300 conversions being reported." In the Bronx some six hundred cards of noble intent were returned in a four-week campaign by four churches, all of which resulted in follow-up visits; "Mr. Kephardt says that there is a remarkable religious atmosphere throughout the neighborhood, not experienced in all his years there...."[40]

Brooklyn in particular had looked promising for revival since the Dawson meetings there in November. Members of 250 churches there united in forty centers for prayer and

confession one Saturday, probably in January, then nightly evangelistic services began. At a special service at the Baptist Temple on January 22, more than five hundred "unchurched" men and women requested prayer; on Easter Sunday the Reverend Cortland Myers baptized forty converts mainly from this January outreach. Meanwhile, Bertha Sanford, fresh from Schenectady, arrived safely at Warren Street Methodist Church in late January to go to work there. Despite her delay the week's campaign was the "most successful for many years."[41] At the beginning of March "a wonderful blessing" overtook a Brooklyn branch of the YMCA in a service attended by thirteen hundred men. This characterization from the evangelism director arose not so much from the number of converts (forty-three), but from the earnestness that characterized the attendees and the one hundred men who prayed for the meeting.[42]

In March eight hundred pastors and laymen representing nearly all of New York's Protestant churches gathered at Marble Collegiate Church to pray for a sweeping revival in New York and around the country. W. J. Dawson was among the speakers. "You can't live much longer without a revival--you, your churches, your city, your nation," he warned those attending.[43]

About that time the ministers were putting together plans for a major city-wide summer campaign. They formed an Evangelistic Committee of Greater New York bringing together many denominations. "Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Dutch

Reformed joined with Baptists, Congregationalists, and Methodists in earnest prayer and exhortation," said Goodell of an interdenominational organizing and recruiting meeting. "All differences were forgotten, and each man professed his willingness to be used of God for anything that would bring men to Christ...." That meant even street preaching. "To the surprise of the committee not a man [pastor] refused to go." Philadelphia's Reverend James B. Ely, a seasoned general in summer evangelism, was put in charge of the tent evangelism work.[44]

On May 22 the campaign began with preaching and choir singing on the steps of City Hall; a minister spoke to a noon crowd of from fifteen hundred to two thousand--"clerks, merchants, strangers, loafers." Standing near the speaker in a gesture of support were politicians and clergy from all denominations, including Roman Catholic. In the days to come, the city was criss-crossed by a "dray drawn by four superb horses, and filled with musicians and preachers."[45]

On May 30 a team of evangelists including Ely preached on Wall Street. They "...poured hot shot into the idea that money is the greatest good...," exulted Louis Klopsch, editor of The Christian Herald. "The captains of industry were told in a straightforward manner that the poor man who lived worthily was better than the rich man who in his private life forgot the moral law, and in his love for gain ground dust in the faces of the poor." Despite the "hot shot" the listeners' attitude appeared reverent, and they joined in

the singing before rushing back to their ticker tape. Ironically, one evangelist assigned to Wall Street was Samuel H. Hadley, a reformed alcoholic and director of the Water Street Mission to society's bottom crust. Klopsch underscored the lesson that America's financial leaders needed reformation no less than its down-and-outer's.[46]

Not that those were neglected. The campaign was consciously directed at every conceivable group. In open air and factory services the spectators were often in the thousands. At least five tents were set up at "strategic points" such as "Little Italy," the "Hell's Kitchen" district, in a black neighborhood, and by a ferry landing. Preaching was done in the appropriate languages by native speakers or home missionaries. House-to-house visitation carried the message further into both native and immigrant homes.[47]

According to several observers, immigrant children seemed particularly impressed and were a wedge for the campaign. "The more frequent use of soap and water and hairbrushes [by children] is the outward indication of a desire to be better," writer Mary Kay pointed out. "It is no unusual experience to pass a row of barefoot, scantily clad children sitting on a curbstone, their feet in the gutter, and singing, 'O, Jesus is a rock in a weary land'..." The smaller children also brought their families to the tents. Older kids who had been firing slingshots at the gospel tents, even toughs who police said would rather fight than eat--responded to the gospel and became campaign helpers.[48]

No one could estimate the impact of the campaign in Greater New York after it was done, but the interdenominational body that coordinated it seemed pleased. "The success of the summer evangelistic campaign of New York City has been unprecedented," came a bulletin from the committee. "Many have turned to a better life and great throngs have been reached through the tent and open-air meetings." This notice, printed in religious newspapers such as Cincinnati's Western Christian Advocate, issued "a call to the entire country for special prayer" that the campaign would succeed and "that the success attending the movement may spread throughout the land."[49]

The movement concluded with the summer, but New York churches continued to experience their own revivals. Late in the year Centenary Methodist Church in the Bronx appeared to be going through "peerless" days of revival, even without a formal campaign in the works. "Both mind and heart of the congregation are being literally 'born again,'" its correspondent asserted, and a "faithful pastor" had been joined by "a devoted people, who feel in their hearts the value and beauty of souls."[50]

New York and Schenectady were only two of the numerous Empire State cities touched by the awakening. In Albany around New Year's Day, 1905, evangelical pastors met to plan a four-week series of special meetings. They divided up the city geographically as in a Chapman simultaneous campaign, but they also did the preaching rather than call in outside

evangelists. An article describing the planning, perhaps written by one of the pastors, showed that they envisioned not saving hordes of heathens from hell but improving those of whatever class "who are negligent in the performance of their Christian obligations": in other words, urging upon sleepy nominal Christians the supreme need of religion in all areas of life. The pastors also hoped to extend their influence beyond church walls and "take a more active part in the general life of the city." How? "The way to uplift a city is to uplift the individuals inhabiting the city."[51]

Summer evangelism came to southern Albany in 1905. Two Methodist churches combined with a Reformed and a Baptist ones in a campaign, bringing in a city missionary for both house-to-house visitation in the Red Light district and open-air preaching at Riverside Park.[52]

North of Albany, the "spirit of aggressive evangelism" was manifested in Methodist churches of the rural Lake George-Hudson River region; Glens Falls church added seventy-five to its membership; special services resulted in an addition of forty-two at Sandy Hill; the Methodist churches in historic Fort Edward, Lake George, and Ticonderoga added thirty-seven, thirty-three, and twenty respectively. Well north of Albany on Lake Champlain, the Methodist church at Plattsburg welcomed ninety-five probationers on February 26 after its revival in which 130 had indicated salvation decisions; another fifteen of them joined the church later.[53]

Just northwest of the state capital, the First Baptist Church of Gloversville held a revival January. The pastor preached to crowds of up to 450. Four weeks into the movement a hundred conversions had been recorded and seventy people (including sixty from the revival) were planning to join the church on March 5. "The infidel, the drinker, the moralist; the white and the black; the American, the Italian, the Swede; the merchant, the manufacturer, the laborer; the father, the mother, the young men and women," the writer enumerated them, "have been reached and redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ."[54]

In Syracuse, well west of Albany, Baptist pastors felt the revival spirit rising in January. "A deep longing is manifest among the churches of this section for a revival that shall deepen the spiritual life of professors and awaken the unconcerned," the Reverend W. W. Dawley wrote. His colleague at Tabernacle Baptist Church was among many planning outreach services; already in his eight-month tenure there Tabernacle's membership had grown by one-fifth. Syracuse Methodists, meanwhile, experienced the revival spirit in the "greatest missionary meeting ever held in Syracuse" in February. According to some of its participants, it was remarkable for both the huge attendance (over three thousand) and for its spiritual power.[55]

"Canastota for Christ" read a banner above that Syracuse suburb's business district during a three-week union campaign in April. The movement, led by evangelist Charles

N. Hunt, gained an "extraordinary pitch of revival fervor," claimed a local correspondent to The Christian Herald. "Almost the entire population has enlisted in the soul-winning crusade which, it is claimed, has resulted in more than 500 openly confessing Christ." Among the tokens of changed lives, some society people renounced dancing, theater, and card playing and formed a "praying band" to assist in evangelism. One businessman was reported to have announced a change of heart inspired by the campaign that was worth a 10-percent wage hike to his employees.[56]

In late January 1906 J. Wilbur Chapman and his pastoral band launched a campaign in Syracuse in which they "...left fervor and activity that startled some who had been convinced that the days of revival were past." With all its anecdotes of converted drinkers and saloon services, the campaign proved to be more an interdenominational arousal of evangelical unity and fervor for its forty-five sponsoring churches than a major foray into the numbers of the unchurched. Nonetheless, between fifteen hundred and two thousand new members united with the churches. "Syracuse lives in an atmosphere of real Christianity today; men are more approachable, hearts are mellow and thoughts are turned to the higher things."[57]

Further west, an unusual evangelistic movement took shape in Rochester that blossomed into a full-blown Chapman campaign in late 1906. Its story well reflects the pressing concerns of pietistic evangelicals involved in revivals: It

began, according to the Baptist Reverend Charles A. McAlpine, when seventy-nine youths were arrested in a pool room one Sunday in the spring of 1905. "Of course it really began in prayer, as all God-given revivals do," he added:

> ...But when this crowd of mothers' sons stood in the police court on Monday morning, some good Christian people felt that it was not the boys who were on trial as much as the church which had not made adequate provisions for a pleasant Sunday afternoon for these young men.[58]

A committee was formed by some clergymen, laymen, and others to provide entertainment--which was challenged by strict Sabbatarian pastors. Evangelism once again provided the compromise: plans were made to hold men's evangelistic meetings in the theater on Sundays. With eminent speakers and good music, the weekly meetings caught on, and hundreds of conversions were reported through them.

By the following spring the momentum from the weekly evangelism and the general religious tone had convinced Rochester ministers that the time was ripe for a city-wide campaign. Accordingly, an executive committee was formed under the leadership of Baptist Reverend Clarence Barbour (editor of the 1912 book Making Religion Efficient), and Dr. Chapman was called. By November 1906 sixty churches had united to sponsor an eighteen-day visit by Chapman and his team, including Episcopal churches. By McAlpine's account the campaign went very well, with hundreds of conversions. Perhaps the most impressive moment was the climax of a mass meeting addressed by evangelist William Biederwolf and attended by twenty-seven hundred men; two hundred streamed

forward to indicate "their decision for a better life." That scene moved Barbour to avow, "This is the greatest sight that I have ever seen in Rochester."[59]

In a Presbyterian mission to American Indians of western New York State, a "work of grace" had occurred in 1904, which continued in some form in 1905. "The Spirit of God manifests His presence and power in the various meetings, and not only are believers edified but sinners are being converted, and more additions have been made to the churches in the Alleghany [sic] field of the Seneca Mission than during any previous year."[60]

C. Awakening in Massachusetts

The 1905 awakening boosted evangelism throughout New England mainly through the efforts of local churches. The Evangelical Association of New England reported that January and February 1905 were the best two months for conversions in recent years. Reaping the results, New England Baptist churches confirmed that additions to their membership in April 1905 was larger than for one month in many years, according to The Watchman. "This has also confirmed the conviction that while there is no large evangelistic campaign being carried on anywhere [since the Dawson mission in February] we are...in the midst of a revival of greater power and extent than New England has known since 1857." The Watchman compared this revival to the one in Wales; instead of clanking on like a denominational machine, it was marked

"by an intense feeling of the presence of God among Christians generally," seen in particularly ardent prayer, as well as by many conversions.[61]

In January 1905 a "remarkable meeting" of Congregational pastors and workers, at Pilgrim Church in Dorchester, showed that the inspiration of the Des Moines convention was still powerful in Greater Boston. "The leader was manifestly the Holy Spirit," someone claimed. "[H]is presence was almost as marked as at that memorable gathering in Des Moines...." For some time Dorchester Congregationalism had been loudly lamented by the ministers as cold, formal, and worldly, yet "...this old story [of church worldliness] was received in a new way. It was quietly accepted and then taken to the Lord in prayer....The only desire seemed to be to reach God and receive power from Him." A pastor spoke on the Welsh revival and asked, "Why may we not expect the same thing here in Boston?"[62]

In February W. J. Dawson launched a two-week mission in Boston which, to a contributor to Commentary magazine, furnished "a practical illustration of this 'hunger for souls.'" In terms of filling the Congregational churches in which he spoke, the meetings were a success, and he led nine thousand people to reaffirm their loyalty to Christ. Participating churches arranged a late-night procession of four hundred marchers including "distinguished presidents of theological seminaries, leading pastors [among them Unitarians, Episcopalians, and conservative pietists], bankers and

merchants, and ladies of high social rank," to march through Boston's slums behind a Salvation Army band and two hundred Salvationists. Singing "Onward Christian Soldiers" and other hymns, they proceeded into the Red Light District and invited its denizens to a midnight evangelistic rally. Hundreds, "spoils of a holy war," accepted the invitation and joined the march back to Tremont Temple for the 10 p.m. service. "Turn to Christ from your sin!" Dawson pleaded with them in an overflowing sanctuary. "Tonight make up your mind to lead a new life, no matter how black the past has been, and power will come to you....There [will] come back to you the old prayers you learned at your mother's knee, the old songs." After the preaching and after many were personally approached by volunteers in their midst, between fifty and seventy-five of the unlikely hearers found their way to the inquiry rooms and indicated salvation decisions.[63]

The march's importance--like that of similar crusades in 1905--lay not in its appeal to the underclass but in the eager participation by many middle-class lay people. This was a celebration more than an outreach, a festival of evangelical unity in overcoming society's nastiest gaps. That quality was apparent in a description of the procession in Zion's Herald64 in which Tenderloin onlookers were portrayed as apathetic; nonetheless the paper dubbed the effort "epochal" in Boston history because of the unity and willingness of Christians to evangelize personally in the slums.

It was after Dawson's visit that Boston's Baptists bore out The Watchman's point that the power of Boston revivalism in 1905 lay in local churches. The Reverend A. C. Dixon continued to evangelize in his Ruggles Street Baptist Church after Dawson's departure for Pittsfield. On March 12 twenty-five "unchurched" went to the altar at the Sunday morning service, and the evening service brought forward fifty more. "And this is taken by pastor and people as only the preface to the volume of larger blessings to follow." (One Sunday Dixon enrolled 150 converts as new members.) Also in March the Baptist church at neighboring East Somerville saw unusual "spiritual fervor" among its youth as forty-six boys and girls indicated decisions for Christ. Meanwhile, in late March and April Congregational, Methodist, Unitarian, and Universalist churches in east Boston joined together in services that became so crowded that "the problem of housing the multitude has become embarrassing both to churches and the street railway company." The revival spirit among Boston Baptists seemed to climax at a well-attended six-hour prayer meeting for ministers and laymen at Tremont Temple on May 1. "The same freshness and spontaneity of spiritual exercises which have characterized the revival movements of this time were manifest in this meeting."[65]

Massachusetts Methodists, too, echoed the Watchman's observation concerning New England revivals in 1905. "While no widespread revival is to be reported," claimed the Boston District report in April 1905, "hardly a charge has been

without an ingathering of souls." The Cambridge District elder claimed that an impressive seven hundred souls had been won in that jurisdiction. Among these, at Waltham's Immanu-El Methodist Church more than a hundred conversions had taken place, and Grace Methodist in Cambridge had seen seventy conversions recently. "I do not remember to have seen the official members more in love with the spiritual work of the church than during the winter months just ended," the district elder reported. "There seems to be more faith in the work of saving souls than for a long time."[66]

The picture was similar in many other parts of the state. The Methodist Lynn District counted more than seven hundred conversions during the winter, with 480 enrolled as probationers--mostly through the pastors' evangelism rather than special evangelists. Springfield District's report, too, praised pastoral evangelism and noted productive instances of home visitation. More than five hundred conversions were claimed. "Deeper devotion, more consecrated and more wisely devoted effort for the spiritual welfare of the people than ever before have characterized both the ministers and laymen."[67]

In January, despite a lengthy strike involving twenty-five thousand cotton mill workers, the evangelical churches of Fall River experienced significant numbers of converts and new members. At one Methodist church alone a hundred people professed conversion and seventy-five joined the church as probationers in the "most far-reaching revival in

the thirty years' history of the church." A correspondent for New York's Christian Advocate noted, "For six months the church and pastor have been praying and preparing for the revival."[68]

Just north of Fall River, in Taunton, a home-grown revival took shape in March and April. Special services at the Baptist church had awakened such strong spiritual yearnings that its minister persuaded his fellow clergymen to launch a town-wide union campaign. An evangelist was brought in, and the pastors also preached, including Unitarians and Universalists "without one discordant suggestion." For six weeks Taunton residents, especially church members, flocked to these meetings--sixteen hundred attended the last evening, and five hundred more could not get in. One hundred fifty converts were listed. "Residents declare that it is at least 30 years since the city has experienced so deep and so widespread religious interest...."[69] Historian Sidney Ahlstrom dubbed revivalism "an engine of doctrinal destruction,"[70] and the eager participation by Unitarians in the revival of 1905 adds a wrinkle to this idea.

The point was again borne out in Spencer, central Massachusetts, where the Universalists were invited to join in evangelistic services organized by the Congregational church. Apparently the "evangelist" steered a careful course between evangelicals and non-evangelicals, saying things with which both sides had to disagree while inviting personal Christian commitment in a way welcomed by all. The

Universalist minister preached one of the evangelistic services. As to results, church members were "quickened," and converts officially numbered between fifty and seventy-five. Insisted the Congregationalist paper in a comment with an odd disclaimer:

> ...People learned that it is more important to emphasize the things upon which we agree than the things upon which we cannot agree, and that it is far more important to be a Christian than it is to be a theologian. This should not be interpreted as meaning that they minimized the value of theology.[71]

Late in 1905 the experiment was repeated in Fitchburg's two-week campaign which united Episcopal, Adventist, Unitarian, Universalist, Methodist, and Congregational churches. The meetings were "to assert the common faith in what makes men Christians," read the ecumenical announcement, "to rehearse the fundamental principles upon which the faith rests...and to appeal to the high nature resident in all mankind to know and follow Jesus Christ." Methodist John Vincent preached sometimes in the Episcopal church, sometimes in the Unitarian, which one night was "packed to the last inch of standing room, with hundreds turned away, and a large city hall filled to the doors." Each sermon's evangelistic invitation consisted of "a tender appeal to record a holy purpose in the heart." Was the message watered down for the liberals' sake? "Those who know [ex-]Bishop Vincent realize that he could not compromise, and he certainly did not abate one point of his convictions about spiritual verities," a Methodist paper asserted, "but so sweet was his

spirit, and so respectful to dissenting opinions, that services strong in their emphasis upon fundamentals passed without a ripple to mar them." Again, sweet spirit plus united action spanned the gulf.[72]

Western Massachusetts, haven of Jonathan Edwards and the first Great Awakening, shared in the revival spirit of the last one. All Congregational churches in western Massachusetts, even the coldest, enjoyed "times of refreshing" and were involved in evangelism. A pastoral mission by a Stockbridge minister, for example, brought in thirty-five decisions.[73] In Holyoke Highlands the Methodist and Congregational churches combined in a union campaign in January and February in which the two pastors shared the preaching. Seventy-five people expressed the desire to begin the Christian life, and twenty of them joined the Methodist church. Meanwhile, at nearby Enfield, the same two denominations cooperated, and "...the greatest revival interest for twenty years prevails here."[74]

Also in February, a prayer movement began at the Congregational church at Lee just after the Dawson meetings in Pittsfield. One night the pastor, moved by the Londoner's mission, postponed a scheduled missionary concert in favor of a simple prayer meeting. The response was heartening; full attendance and "a very marked spirit of prayer." After another such meeting the pastor asked for prayer meetings to occur the following two days during business hours. "To the surprise of all, on the next two afternoons, about sixty

persons assembled for prayer at the church. For about two weeks almost daily prayer meetings were held...." And they stuck to their purpose of prayer, not preaching; nonetheless individuals were touched by these proceedings and sought out the pastor for spiritual counsel. One result was that thirty conversions were recorded, and at the March communion about twenty people were received into the church.[75]

The year 1906 brought what seemed to be a continuation of the evangelistic spirit to the Boston area. "There have been no widespread revivals," Boston Methodists observed that spring, "but there have been conversions on nearly every church in the district....All over the district revival fires are burning." People's Temple (Methodist), largely due to its own pastor's preaching, recorded 110 conversions and 106 accessions for the year ending in March. Other Methodist churches reported dozens of conversions and accessions, and the compiler claimed he could only include the highlights.[76]

Boston's Baptist Tremont Temple seemed to experience extraordinary religious interest around Easter, 1906, and on that Sunday the church was so full that many had to be turned away. The following Sunday there was a collection of $700 for San Francisco earthquake victims. The Baptist church in East Boston saw "greatly increased congregations" at about that time, with the weekly prayer meetings attracting 150 or more. Immanuel Baptist Church at Newton was "enjoying a quiet but effective work of grace."[77]

In November 1906 "Gypsy" Smith led a mission that drew an estimated 116,000 people to meetings and 12,290 decision cards.[78] A Chapman campaign in 1909 there was even more impressive, outdoing all of Chapman's other post-1905 appearances. It had simply taken a while for citywide evangelism to catch on in Boston.

D. Elsewhere in New England

Rural New England contrasted substantially with the vigorous, prosperous regions of the country. Emigration robbed both city and country churches. "The abandoned farms, the empty stores, the unused schoolhouses, and, alas! the deserted churches bear silent but emphatic testimony to changing conditions," a Vermont Methodist district elder sighed. "Not only is there a decline in population, but there is a change in its character....New England has gone West, and Europe and Canada have moved in."[79]

Nonetheless Vermont experienced much of the revival of 1905. There was even a city campaign in Rutland with a story resembling Schenectady's (complete with a woman evangelist from Brooklyn). It was initiated in February by YMCA director F. B. Tibbitts; Baptist, Congregational, and Methodist churches participated. For months up to that time Tibbitts had been leading noontime Bible studies for Rutland shop and factory workers, one of which included 102 men. Encouraged by his employees' response, one of the employers offered to pay the costs of a series of revival meetings. The Brooklyn

evangelist visited and gave a series of preliminary talks on "Christian Purity," and then Tibbits summoned the evangelical pastors and some church members to plan a campaign. The plans included preparatory cottage prayer meetings in thirty-six different locations.[80]

The ad hoc evangelistic committee brought in Boston pastor A. C. Dixon for three nights. The Baptist church proved to be too small for the crowds, and meetings were moved over to the more spacious Congregational one. Dixon met with such success that he returned the following week for three more days. "Rutland is experiencing a religious revival," quipped neighboring Vergennes' Enterprise and Vermonter. "There isn't a town in Vermont that needs one more."[81]

Some 450 inquirers responded during the movement; of these the Methodist church took in fifty-eight probationers in late March. Congregationalists received twenty-four new members during the year, and most of them probably resulted from the campaign.[82] Rutland Baptists, too, benefitted. In 1904 the pastor had moaned: "The year has brought much disappointment and we are obliged to report a net loss in membership. This fact we humbly confess to be due in large measure to our own coldness and lack of interest in the Master's kingdom." In 1905 his tone was more upbeat: "Not for so many years have we been able to send to the association so encouraging a report. The revival for which the faithful so anxiously prayed has actually been with us in the past

year." The five hundred-member church received sixty-one converts by baptism that year largely as a result of the revival.[83]

Around the state the major denominations--Methodists, Congregationalists, and Baptists--benefitted from a rising religious interest in 1905 and even beyond. The Methodist elder who wrote the plaintive description of Vermont's migratory woes in the winter of 1905 found some areas of financial success to write about in his Burlington District, then added: "But better than these evidences of material prosperity are the signs of the presence of the Holy Spirit in converting and quickening power. Revival fires have been kindled in several churches."[84]

The Congregationalists could take some satisfaction from the experience of their two hundred Vermont churches during 1905. "Little space has been needed in recent years to record evangelistic effort or to note its results," came a laconic Vermonter's observation in spring 1905.

> ...This year there is somewhat more to be said....[T]he number of additions to our churches since the beginning of the calendar year is considerably larger than for the same period in any recent year, and assures the probability of a brighter report at our next annual meeting.[85]

In the more expansive Congregationalist in Boston, the Vermont phenomenon came out much brighter: "Not for thirty years has the evangelistic spirit been so evident here as now. Several denominations are affected, though the most extended and systematic work is probably done by Congregationalists." Not that the net gain in members was amazing--

only eighty-four--but additions by both confession (813) and letter (466) were the most in a decade. The list of the Congregational churches that had received at least ten by confession, an impressive accomplishment considering rural depopulation, was longer than in recent years. Atkins' First Congregational Church in Burlington was the third highest, at thirty.[86]

While the Rutland revival was going on in early February, W. J. Dawson spoke in Barre to full houses to which many clergymen and lay people had traveled from distant areas. He also spoke in nearby Montpelier; Atkins had gone to preach in order to prepare the city for Dawson. The Burlington pastor himself, a member of the Vermont Congregationalists' Evangelistic Forward Movement Committee as well as future author of Religion in Our Time, held a Dawson-style "mission" at his own church for ten days in April. "These meetings were well attended," the church's report described them:

> ...and in a very simple, quiet, loving and effective way, many were led to turn their thoughts and hearts toward the Christian life. The goodly number received into the Church at the May Communion was in a large degree the result of the mission meetings.[87]

Other areas of his church prospered, too, during 1905: the report for the church's Department of Christian Nurture (a statement in itself) claimed "the most satisfactory Sunday School year of which I have any record."[88] After his Burlington mission, Atkins--in the Dawson and Hillis tradition--left the church for a spell to devote himself to evan-

gelism around Vermont. Among other places he held rallies in St. Johnsbury, Bellows Falls, and Middlebury.

At Fair Haven in February the Welsh Congregational combined with the Presbyterian church in a movement reminiscent of its ethnic background. The "crowded services" featured no preaching, only singing and prayer. "Forty hard drinkers are said to have been converted and to be working hard to defeat [saloon] license at the coming March [town] meeting." As in Wilkes-Barre, the Welsh church responded to the awakening in Wales; it recorded twenty-five new members that year. Similarly, the Welsh Congregational church at West Paulet gained twenty-four for the year. Apart from 1905, in all the years from their inception in 1903 through 1908 the two Vermont Welsh churches together gained a total of only twenty-nine members by confession as compared to forty-nine for 1905 alone.[89]

Local reports submitted by Vermont Baptists offer abundant examples of a bright year. Hydeville church had better attendance at both worship service and prayer meetings, "marked attention" given to the preaching, and "the presence of the Holy Spirit felt by all." At Fair Haven, during special services by the pastor, thirteen young people were received into membership and prayer meeting was better attended than in the past; Brandon reported a successful union service with nineteen conversions; in Shaftsbury "...the regular services have been well attended and special services owned and blessed by the Lord"; in Bellows Falls con-

versions were up and so was attendance largely because of a campaign of evangelism and visitation assisted by Grace Brooks, a Baptist home missionary. Around the state adult baptisms were up from 281 in 1903-1904 to 360 in 1904-1905. Finally, benevolences were up a healthy nine percent in a year.[90]

The Middlebury Baptist church improved markedly from 1904 to 1905 with a new minister. "The work has been carried on as usual, but results not what we expected or desired," the old pastor had complained in 1904. "Congregations have decreased in numbers and there seems to be a deplorable lack of interest in the work of the church....There have been no conversions during the year." The next year, with George R. Stair newly in the pulpit, Sunday morning and Thursday evening attendance more than doubled and Sunday evening attendance climbed to two hundred (the church had less than sixty full members).[91] Progress continued into 1906:

> Middlebury Church freely blessed. Services well maintained. Sunday school increasing in numbers and influence....[Week of Prayer] Services so well attended, became necessary to hold these meetings in Auditorium....Never in the history of church so large attendance at the prayer meetings.[92]

In Maine the Dawson missions, beginning at Bangor February 12, were "marked by an interest and enthusiasm seldom given to any great preacher of national reputation...," according to The Congregationalist. "[N]o one would have anticipated the deep spiritual interest and response that met him wherever he preached." Dawson communicated there the re-

assurance and enthusiasm that made his work so popular with liberal evangelicals throughout the East. "Men are saying that normal evangelism has found its man and the man has ushered in a new era of evangelism....More impressive than the great crowds was the atmosphere of spiritual intensity and earnestness."[93]

An even more striking revival that summer overtook Forest City, a decaying resort town of 114 adults. There, the two churches numbered only twenty members between them and were closed eight months a year. On the other hand the tavern "...was the center of the village life," according to W. M. Lisle, who took over as the Baptist pastor about then. His wife and he visited every Forest City family and encountered "entire indifference to religion." But soon interest in prayer and evangelism grew among the Baptists, and the two churches began regular evangelistic services. Thirty converts were made. "Character was entirely trans-formed. Men who were in middle life and apparently confirmed drunkards, and filled with violence and profanity, were changed into gentle, loving and praising children of God."[94]

In the winter of 1906 revival touched other churches in Maine. In Washburn a Baptist evangelist packed a church "night after night with an intelligent and interested audience. Many who came the last few nights could not obtain admittance, even the standing room in the vestibule being taken and the inner doors were thrown open." Eighty-five

took "a decided stand for Christ," so that winter evangelism produced 125 converts for Washburn Baptists by April 1906.[95]

In Jewett City, Connecticut, "stirred by the stories of the Welsh and other revivals," clergymen and laymen of several denominations sought an awakening for their community. In May they overcame some scruples and engaged an outside evangelist, who held services for nine days while church members performed personal evangelism. Eighty-four people recorded decisions for Christ, all of whom were followed up and most of whom seemed genuine.[96] "The merchants of the place," the Watchman marveled, "testify that the people who are converted are paying their debts. Accounts which have been considered worthless the debtors are coming in voluntarily and paying up." One man gave as his reason for paying up that he had been converted at the Baptist church the night before. "This feature reminds us of the Revival in Wales," the paper went on to say, "where the business of the criminal courts has been reduced to almost nothing compared with nine months ago, and people are paying their debts and settling their quarrels, and adjusting their social relations on the basis of righteousness...." There was a lesson in this:

> ...The call which has been made by many for an ethical revival, for the awakening of conscience, is, in these present revivals, fully met by a revival which firmly knits a revival of righteousness with the outpouring of the Spirit in salvation and faith in Jesus Christ.[97]

* * * NOTES TO CHAPTER IV * * *

1. Schenectady Gazette (hereafter SG), January 28, 1905, p. 4; Schenectady Evening Star (SES), October 24, 1905, p. 1; Schenectady Directory, 1905. The 1904 figure was the highest for the 1901-1910 decade; saloons fell to 228 in 1905 and 208 in 1906, and after a brief spurt to 249 in 1907 they resumed their plunge.
2. Reverend George E. Talmadge, "A City Captured for Christ," Christian Herald, February 8, 1905, p. 119.
3. NYCA, January 26, 1905, p. 124.
4. The story of this vision was first told publicly not by Lunn, but by Adams in a sermon during the revival two weeks later. Talmadge, "A City Captured," p. 119.
5. Schenectady Daily Union (SDU), December 30, 1904, p. 5; SG, December 31, 1904, p. 6.
6. SES, January 6, 1905, p. 7.
7. Talmadge, "A City Captured," p. 119; SDU, January 6, 1905, p. 5.
8. SDU, January 9, 1905, p. 2; SG, January 9, 1905, pp. 1,2; SES, January 9, 1905, p. 7. The Evening Star felt that Lunn's outburst was the most effective and magnetic moment of a sermon in which he "...had absolute control of his audience." The reporter continued: "The thought...of the unmerited grace of God whereby the man who has wasted his life or any part of it might be forgiven, seemed to completely overpower the speaker. Memory brought back some incident which so controlled the speaker that the audience was forgotten and a direct and thrilling appeal to God was made."
9. "The New Evangelism Awakening the Town," SES, January 9, 1905, p. 7; SDU, January 7, 1905, p. 4; SG, January 9, 1905, p. 1.
10. SDU, January 9, 1905, p. 2.
11. Ibid., January 6, 1905, p. 5; January 7, 1905, p. 2; SES, January 7, 1905, p. 5; January 5, 1905, p. 5.
12. SG, January 11, 1905, p. 1; January 10, 1905, p. 4.
13. Ibid., January 10, 1905, pp. 1,3; January 11, 1905, p. 1.
14. New York Evening Post, quoted by NYCA, January 26, 1905, p. 123.
15. SG, January 14, 1905, p. 1; January 16, 1905, p. 1.
16. SES, January 16, 1905, p. 6; SG, January 16, 1905, p. 2; January 17, 1905, p. 2; SDU, January 16, 1905, p. 5.
17. SDU, January 16, 1905, p. 5; Pitt, February 16, 1905, p. 3.
18. PCA, March 1, 1905, p. 3.
19. New York Sun, January 18, 1905, quoted in SDU, January 18, 1905, p. 5.
20. SG, January 17, 1905, p. 2; January 18, 1905, p. 2; SDU, January 17, 1905, p. 5; January 18, p. 5. News of the Brook-

lyn prayer service was emphasized in both major dailies; the Daily Union began its January 18 revival coverage with it.
21. Reverend George E. Talmadge, "A City Captured for Christ," p. 119.
22. SES, January 18, 1905, p. 3.
23. Ibid., January 20, 1905, p. 5.
24. SG, January 20, 1905, p.6; SES, January 21, 1905, p. 7.
25. SG, January 21, 1905, p. 1.
26. SES, January 24, 1905, p. 5; SG, January 24, 1905, p. 2.
27. SDU, January 30, 1905, p. 5.
28. Ibid., January 30, 1905, p. 5; SG, January 17, 1905, p. 2.
29. Ibid., January 17, 1905, p. 2; March 3, 1905, p. 7.
30. SDU, January 26, 1905, p. 5; January 30, 1905, p. 5; editorial, "Untold Good," ibid., January 28, 1905, p. 4. During the campaign the Daily Union listed on its front page seven accomplishments of Aggressive Evangelism. Among the achievements were the "spirit of church unity," development of "the evangelistic spirit in our pastors," the revelation that "when men and women are aroused religiously, all social and society events are of little importance," the deepening in church members of their Christian life and service and arousal to new activity, the stirring of the entire city to think of higher things, the demonstration that "men and women of all ages and in all conditions of life will give themselves to Jesus Christ, when an intelligent appeal is made to conscience and reason...," and that the movement was "...in harmony with Dawson meetings recently held in Brooklyn and is one of the signs going to show that the whole country is on the eve of a great religious awakening" ("Seven Achievements of Aggressive Evangelism," SDU, January 23, 1905, p. 1).
31. Editorial, "The Evangelistic Movement, SG, January 28, 1905, p. 4; SES, January 30, 1905, p. 4.
32. Minutes of Union Presbyterian Church, February 8, June 25, and October 4, 1905 (Schenectady County Historical Society, Schenectady, N.Y.); SG, September 11, 1905, p. 2.
33. Ibid., November 20, 1905, p. 6.
34. Ibid., December 19, 1905, p. 6; January 29, 1906, p. 2.
35. CCA, March 15, 1906, pp. 1,3. See also Philadelphia Methodist, February 5, 1906, p. 1.
36. RCA Annual Report, June 1906, p. 553.
37. Missionary Review of the World, October 1905, p. 737.
38. Ibid., p. 737; NYCA, February 9, 1905, p. 23; Gilbert W. Sherin, "A Pentecostal Revival," Christian Herald, February 22, 1905, p. 177.
39. NYCA, February 9, 1905, p. 24; March 16, 1905, p. 22.
40. Congregationalist, March 18, 1905, p. 359.
41. Ibid., April 22, 1905, p. 552; Watchman, February 2, 1905, p. 24; May 4, 1905, p. 21; NYCA, February 9, 1905, p. 25.
42. A. J. Elliott, "Evangelistic Work in Brooklyn," Watchman, March 9, 1905, p. 31.

43. Christian Herald, March 22, 1905, p. 270; Orr, Flaming Tongue, p. 69.
44. James B. Ely, "Summer Evangelism," LCO, March 28, 1906, p. 7; Ely, "The Church Going Out to Seek the Unchurched," New York Observer, April 20, 1905, p. 511; WCA, July 19, 1905, p. 3; "A Summer Gospel Tent Campaign," Missionary Review of the World, October 1905, pp. 734,738; Philadelphia North American, May 31, 1905, p. 3; Mary Kay, "Impressions of the Tent Campaign in New York City," NYCA, August 31, 1905; "A Tent Success in 'Hell's Kitchen,'" Christian Herald, June 21, 1905, p. 539.
45. Charles Goodell, "A Summer Gospel Tent Campaign," Missionary Review of the World, October 1905, pp. 733,734.
46. "Wall Street Men Hear the Gospel," Christian Herald, September 20, 1905, p. 539.
47. James B. Ely, "Summer Evangelism," LCO, March 28, 1906, p. 7; WCA, July 19, 1905, p. 3; "A Summer Gospel Tent Campaign," Missionary Review of the World, October 1905, pp. 734,738; Philadelphia North American, May 31, 1905, p. 3.
48. James B. Ely, "Summer Evangelism," LCO, March 28, 1906, p. 7; "Summer Gospel Tent Campaign," Missionary Review of the World, October 1905, pp. 734,738; Philadelphia North American, May 31, 1905, p. 3; Mary Kay, "Impressions of the Tent Campaign in New York City," NYCA, August 31, 1905; "A Tent Success in 'Hell's Kitchen,'" Christian Herald, June 21, 1905, p. 539.
49. WCA, July 19, 1905, p. 3; August 30, 1905, p. 5.
50. NYCA, December 14, 1905, p. 23.
51. Albany Times-Union, January 4, 1905, p. 4.
52. NYCA, July 13, 1905, p. 23.
53. Ibid., March 9, 1905, p. 23; Minutes of the Methodist Troy Conference, 1905, p. 87 (which included large portions of both New York state and Vermont).
54. Watchman, March 9, 1905, p. 9.
55. W. W. Dawley, "From Syracuse, New York," Watchman, March 9, 1905, p. 31; NYCA, March 16, 1905, p. 31.
56. Christian Herald, May 10, 1905, p. 421.
57. Watchman, February 22, 1906, p. 21; April 26, 1906, p. 32.
58. Rev. Charles A. McAlpine, "The Rochester Revival," Ibid., December 20, 1906, p. 20.
59. Ibid., p. 20.
60. "Report of the Board of Home Missions," PGA Minutes, 1905, p. 293.
61. Watchman, April 13, 1905, p. 3; May 4, 1905, p. 6.
62. Congregationalist, January 21, 1905, p. 59.
63. Philadelphia North American, March 19, 1905, Section I, p. 3; Henry Elliot, "The World-wide Spiritual Awakening," Century magazine, May 1905, p. 153; Congregationalist, March 11, 1905, p. 334.
64. "End of the Dawson Meetings," Zion's Herald, March 8, 1905, p. 297. A more favorable account appeared in Christian Endeavor World ("Evangelism Afoot," March 16, 1905, p. 474).

65. Watchman, March 16, 1905, p. 24; Congregationalist, April 15, 1905, p. 486; Watchman, May 4, 1905, p. 8; Orr, Flaming Tongue, p. 73.
66. Minutes of the Methodist New England Conference, April 1905, pp. 48-50.
67. Ibid., pp. 59-62.
68. NYCA, January 26, 1905, p. 145.
69. Congregationalist, April 15, 1905, p. 486; April 29, 1905, p. 589.
70. Ahlstrom, Religious History, p. 845.
71. Congregationalist, February 4, 1905, p. 169.
72. Ibid., November 25, 1905, p. 772; WCA, December 6, 1905; "Report of the Committee on the Work of the Churches," Report of the Congregational Convention of Vermont, 1905, p. 41.
73. Congregationalist, March 4, 1905, p. 307.
74. Zion's Herald, February 25, 1905, p. 250.
75. "Report of the Committee on the Work of the Churches," Report of the Congregational Convention of Massachusetts, 1905, p. 41.
76. Minutes of the Methodist New England Conference, 1906, pp. 52,53.
77. Watchman, April 26, 1906, p. 24,
78. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 392.
79. George W. Brown, "Burlington District," Minutes of the Methodist Troy Conference, 1905, p. 83.
80. J. Edwin Orr, Flaming Tongue, p. 72; Congregationalist, March 4, 1905, p. 307; NYCA, April 6, 1905, p. 20; Watchman, March 9, 1905, p. 12.
81. Quoted in Rutland Herald, February 18, 1905, p. 4.
82. Report of the Congregational Convention of Vermont, 1906, p. 30.
83. Minutes of the Vermont Baptist Anniversaries, 1904, pp. 29,30; 1905 Minutes, p. 30. These reports were filed by May of each year.
84. George W. Brown, "Burlington District," Minutes of the Methodist Troy Conference, 1905, p. 83.
85. "Report of the Corresponding Secretary," Report of the Congregational Convention of Vermont, 1905, pp. 35,36.
86. Congregationalist, February 18, 1905, p. 235; "Report of the Corresponding Secretary," Report of the Congregational Convention of Vermont, 1906, pp. 29,30,34-36.
87. "Reports," First Congregational Church, Burlington, Vermont, 1906, p. 14 (Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library, University of Vermont).
88. Ibid., p. 21.
89. Congregationalist, March 4, 1905, p. 307; Report of the Congregational Convention of Vermont, 1906, p. 30.
90. Minutes of the Vermont Baptist Anniversaries, 1905, pp. 8-41.
91. Minutes of the Vermont Baptist Anniversaries, 1904, p. 6; 1905 Minutes, p. 8.
92. Minutes of the Vermont Baptist Anniversaries, 1906, p. 6; 1905 Minutes, p. 6.

93. Congregationalist, February 25, 1905, p. 251.
94. Rev. W. M. Lisle, "A Summer Revival," Watchman, October 12, 1905, p. 10.
95. Ibid., April 26, 1906, p. 32.
96. Ibid., June 1, 1905, pp. 9,10.
97. "An Ethical Revival," Watchman, June 1, 1905, p. 6.

CHAPTER V

REVIVAL IN THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC AND MIDDLE WEST

In 1905 the revival influences that had worked in New York and New England also converged on the Middle Atlantic and Middle West, where there was an abundance of religious interest. The large Northeastern and Midwestern states no doubt benefitted from earlier and more intensive spadework, as far as national denominational efforts to inculcate the evangelistic spirit was concerned. They may also have had the advantage of greater media exposure to the Welsh and developing American revivals in early 1905. In any event the powerhouse of the national revival seems to have been in a swath of states including New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. There, large and small communities became saturated with evangelism and the evangelistic spirit. Yet no area seems to have lacked completely. Southeastern and Midwestern states, too, shared in the national movement through the efforts of pastors who sought to bring the spirit home from conferences or catch the contagion of other cities.

A. New Jersey and Pennsylvania

In February 1905 a spectacular revival swept Ocean City, beginning with First Methodist Church. As the Reverend Pennington Corson told it, for weeks he along with evangelist Joseph Weber and several members of his congregation had tried to "get up" revival without success. "Then we decided," he asserted:

> ...that we had been depending on our own work more than upon the Lord. We knelt down in prayer and asked forgiveness. At the very next meeting fifty people confessed conversion, and every one of them seemed to want to see some friend or relative saved. So the revival spread....[1]

In fact it exploded. Crowded services went on day and night until early morning hours, sometimes till dawn. "The scenes there are beyond belief," the Philadelphia North American reporter wrote. "It is impossible for half the people to get to the altar who want to get there." Hundreds were converted as the campaign spread to other churches; all this in a community with a winter population of only 1,307, most of whom were already church members. It was said that at most fifty people in town "...have not joined in the hallelujahs."[2]

These were most likely in hiding or on the run. From droves of Bible-bearing children who sang to construction workers and invited them to services, to the mayor and city councilmen who scheduled a special council meeting to pray for the one unconverted councilman, saints old and new constantly pressed the question "Are you a real Christian?" Around the town that question was printed on placards in

show windows, on telegraph poles, on buildings. "Business is at a standstill," the Philadelphia North American reporter explained. "The one object in the life of every man, woman and child is to 'save souls.'" As soon as that correspondent got off the train at the Ocean City station, a Bible-bearing group descended on him and asked, "Are you a real Christian?", handing him literature and audibly praying for him.[3]

Other signs of revival were common. Storekeepers burned their stocks of playing cards; the Ocean City Athletic Club banned card playing on its premises; the North American reporter even came upon two dozen broken beer bottles apparently discarded by a convert who had run a speak-easy. The climax of the awakening came when Mayor Joseph Champion, six of seven councilmen, the city treasurer, and the postmaster --new converts, almost all--led the service at First Methodist. Champion confessed that he "...had squandered the greater part of his life in the service of the devil; but was now determined to fight for the Lord." Ninety people went forward as new probationers that evening; First Methodist gained more than a hundred members from the revival to boost its size to four hundred, necessitating a new building.[4]

New Jersey revivalism was not limited to Ocean City. "The great revival in Wales has stirred the Methodist pastors of New Jersey," proclaimed the Philadelphia Bulletin concerning their annual conference at Atlantic City early in March. While the clergymen proposed to "sweep the State with

a mighty religion movement," conference services attracted droves of non-Methodists. "[S]o great was the fervor and interest," wrote one delegate, "that it became necessary to close...each evening with evangelistic services. As a result of this tidal wave of revival over 100 persons were converted."[5]

Unusually strong revivals were reported in other parts of New Jersey. First Methodist Church at Philipsburg (near Allentown, Pennsylvania) held a revival for four weeks in January with sixty-one conversions and fifty new members. In Jersey City three Methodist churches brought in the blind evangelist Thomas Houston, and at overcrowded services 150 hearers recorded conversion decisions. A Trenton Methodist church picked up 156 new members in the spring.[6]

The revival spirit in New Jersey carried into the following autumn for an unprecedented statewide simultaneous campaign. In November 1905 J. Wilbur Chapman led his team of evangelists into twenty-two cities and numerous towns including Paterson, Newark, Jersey City, Elizabeth, New Brunswick, Montclair, Trenton, etc. His plan called for seventy-five meetings every day.[7] The twenty preachers--among them Presbyterian labor evangelist Charles Stelzle and two saloon evangelists--filled the churches, theaters, factory and union halls, and taverns in which they spoke, overfilling churches on Sundays. "It is not only in the numerous meetings which are being held daily that this great

religious awakening is manifesting itself," a Newark woman wrote in The New York Observer:

> ...but the significance of the revival is the chief topic of conversation on the street, in the trolley cars, on the train, and--best of all--in the home....The revival has taken such a strong hold on the community that social entertainments of various kinds are being postponed or given up.

Many Catholics and Jews, too, she claimed, looked benignly upon the revival because of their "sympathy with any attempt to improve the general morality of the town."[8]

In Jersey City, Mark Fagan, the reformist Roman Catholic mayor who had told Lincoln Steffens that he prayed before making official decisions, endorsed the campaign at a Chapman meeting in a Baptist church. "A revival of religion is greatly desired all over our beloved land," he told the delighted audience. "We cannot be good citizens unless we are good Christians."[9]

Paterson, a city of 115,000 known for silk mills and the Rogers Locomotive Works, also was fully touched by the zeal of the campaign. Presbyterian minister Charles E. Smith was struck by the reverent, quiet, but powerful atmosphere in the meetings that seemed to draw overflow crowds so that new halls had to be found. A Baptist pastor, George C. Wilding, claimed that Paterson's seven mass meetings "shook the entire city" and that it was common on the streets and elsewhere to hear men and boys whistling "The King's Business," one of the theme songs of the campaign (the other being "The Glory Song"). He estimated that the churches would take in

some one thousand new members, since the meetings were drawing a high proportion of the "unsaved."[10]

The afterglow of the simultaneous campaign lasted into 1906; according the the Watchman it stirred up further evangelistic fervor. "Reports of baptisms in good number come from Camden, Trenton, Elizabeth, Newark, Jersey City, Atlantic City and other towns over the state." In a Camden Methodist church in January, a pair of Illinois evangelists held a four-week revival in which more than five hundred professed conversion. The United States Treasury, too, profited from the Chapman revival's aftermath, for in January 1906 a converted Newark man sent in $12,000 as a fourfold return for an amount by which he had defrauded the government. There were eleven other such items for the Treasury from New Jersey that month.[11]

In January Chapman dispatched two of his evangelists to Atlantic City for a projected two-week campaign. The work was extended ten additional days. Again, the scheduled churches could not hold the crowds, so the two thousand-seat Young's Ocean Pier Theatre was secured. More than fifteen hundred professed conversion during the campaign (with a few days left to go), including many hotel visitors--society women, stock brokers, and all other classes, according to the A. L. Fout, secretary of the local YMCA.[12] The interest was impressive. One service was filled up an hour before evangelist Clarence Strouse began. "Tonight [January 26] a particularly fervent appeal to sinners to repent found the

large audience wrought up to zeal that approached shouting," Fout claimed. "It needed but the suggestion of a worker that the service be adjourned to the Boardwalk, there to sing and to march, and the entire congregation caught the spirit of the thing." And so three thousand people marched and counter-marched along the Boardwalk and nearby streets, singing the "Glory Song" and other hymns and inviting the curious. When they returned to the Young's Ocean Pier Theater for a midnight service their number had nearly doubled.[13]

In Pennsylvania the Welsh revival had a unique impact because of many Welsh-Americans there who were inspired by news and letters from the old country. "The revivals in the Welsh churches in the Wyoming Valley continue with unabated interest and many conversions are being reported in all of them," the Wilkes-Barre Daily Times marveled in late January. "The revivals are the outcome of the unprecedented upheaval in Wales and are being conducted along the same lines." At the Meade Street Baptist Church in Wilkes-Barre, for example, the Reverend J. M. Lloyd "...has concluded not to announce any subjects [for preaching], because it is difficult to know where the spirit might lead in the face of this great religious movement." At Wilkes-Barre's Forty Fort Presbyterian Church, it was said: "God has visited the people....Never in the history of the church has there been such a manifestation of the power of God unto salvation."

One Welsh church in the city received 123 converts in one month.[14]

Not only Welsh-Americans were inspired by the upheaval in Wales. In December 1904, in a meeting reflecting the influence of Wales upon their revival fervor, a hundred Presbyterian clergymen and elders from around the Wyoming Valley (including Wilkes-Barre) met in Scranton to consider evangelism. "The [evangelistic] committee purposely refrained from placing before the conference any plans for evangelistic work, feeling that the great thing was to come together and wait on God that He might make plain His will...," explained the Wilkes-Barre Daily Times. They decided to sound out other denominations concerning an area gospel campaign. In this meeting just an hour was spent in discussion, "...and then the whole assembly devoted an hour and a half to prayer....A spirit of earnest self-searching and prayerful inquiry to know God's will was manifest, coupled with a remarkable unanimity of feeling that the church must do something for the salvation of the masses at her doors." A week later representatives from several denoninations met at Scranton, agreed to the proposed campaign, and issued a fervent call for "a prolonged session of prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon all the [area] churches... [and] a season of fasting and praying for a world-wide work of salvation." Later they called in Arthur J. Smith from the Converse committee to head the campaign. (Smith had been with Chapman in Atlanta.) The vast evangelistic movement

came to involve thirteen denominations in twenty-seven cities and towns of nearly 350,000 people.[15]

The same ardor overcame Philadelphia clergymen, who according to evangelist Reuben Torrey were "the most orthodox of any city in America."[16] During the winter of 1905 many of them set up regular prayer services followed by church revival campaigns. Philadelphia Baptists were so busy with evangelism that they could not hold their annual midwinter conference.[17] The Methodists launched evangelistic services throughout the city January 1 which reaped unprecedented numbers of converts and new probationers--some churches adding to their rolls two hundred in a single day. The Presbyterians, too, had campaigns in progress, including well-attended services in the Tenderloin in cooperation with the Salvation Army.[18]

Yet it was at the end of February, to follow the North American and Public Ledger, that the Revival of 1905 swept through Philadelphia to such an extent that the ministers were overwhelmed. "WAVE OF RELIGION, SWEEPING WORLD, STRIKES THIS CITY," came the North American's page-one headline, followed by, "Pastors, Astounded by New Sentiment, Plan Revivals. PEOPLE AWAKENED. Mysterious Impelling Power, Which Moved Wales, Appears Here." (This appeared on the very day many clergymen planned to gather to pray for political and moral cleansing in Philadelphia.) Proclaimed the Philadelphia Public Ledger the same day: "A monster revival, such as is now in progress in Wales and...particularly Denver and

Schenectady, is looked for in this city. Baptist ministers are making preparations for its advent."[19]

Church campaigns climaxed in nightly services around town as March began. People jammed into them, then many of them even dropped by parsonages to ask how to be saved. Clergymen saw an unprecedented opportunity to continue to stir up religious interest; "The revival is approaching," was a constant refrain. The cumulative impact of local evangelism, the Ocean City revival, the Torrey campaigns, the Welsh upheavals, and surprising evangelistic successes around the United States had hit home in Philadelphia.[20]

The following Sunday, March 5, the revival spirit was so marked at many Philadelphia churches--including Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Episcopalian, and even at a Tenderloin mission--that the North American and Public Ledger both gave the spirit ample coverage the next day.[21] Two days later Philadelphia ministers and laymen, prominent among them Episcopal rector Floyd W. Tompkins of Holy Trinity Church, met at First Baptist Church to plan "the solidification of the imminent revival." As befit a pre-revival conference taking its cue from Wales, plans for the meeting were "absolutely unformed" in favor of spontaneity. At this meeting it was announced that already that winter ten thousand conversions had taken place in Philadelphia, deemed by the ministers to be proof "that Philadelphia is in the throes of a religious uprising that promises to equal the tremendous uprising in England and Wales...." The North

American happily passed on the participants' hope that religious fervor would translate into "the city's reclamation from vice and corruption."[22]

Philadelphia's civic awakening distracted attention from the religious revival thereafter, so it seems to have proceeded more quietly than the early headlines suggested. But still the revival remained impressive. Efforts by individual churches rather than a large-scale campaign carried the revival, though visits in March the Salvation Army's Eva Booth and by Dawson, who induced nine thousand rededications, helped the momentum.[23] Among Presbyterian churches with their own outreaches was John Wanamaker's Bethany Church, which the merchant himself had begun as a mission church during the 1857-1858 revival; it received sixty new members one April Sunday and launched an evangelistic campaign that evening. Between fifty and a hundred Bethany members marched nightly through the streets of their inner-city neighborhood singing hymns.[24] Bethesda Presbyterian Church launched a gospel campaign in March; "The spirit of the congregation has been the means of starting it." Union Tabernacle Presbyterian Church began its own evangelistic effort after the pastor talked on the Welsh revival.[25]

Special services at Wesley Methodist Church in March and April were so heavily attended that the ministers decided on April 19 to "throw open all the Methodist churches in the city." This got immediate results. "With nightly meetings in nearly every Methodist church in the city,"

marveled the North American, "the Revival spirit is becoming stronger each day. The number of conversions exceed all expectations. At many of the churches the meetings were conducted by the people themselves."[26]

That spring Philadelphia Methodists claimed more than six thousand probationers and ten thousand converts in all for 1904-1905.[27] Furthermore, offerings to the City Missionary and Church Extension Society were "far in excess of anything they've ever had" by the end of April, and all churches supported by the society had increased membership. That spring the Methodist rescue mission was doing "the best work of its history."[28]

Elsewhere in Pennsylvania revivals of unusual power took place. Beginning in January the First Methodist Church in Shamokan experienced a "glorious revival" in which more than eighty decisions were recorded in the first two weeks, and later fifty joined the church.[29] In February the Reverend W. H. Allen, an ex-miner, had a campaign in Waterville in which one hundred people recorded decisions--leaving but fifteen people in Waterville "unconverted."[30] Another revival in March "...has Pottsville almost turned upside down with religious fervor." Intense lay involvement was seen in the more than one hundred prayer groups organized for the salvation of family members and friends.[31]

In the farming town of Holmesburg in March one church began nightly revival meetings. Fifty sought salvation at the altar, and crowds were such that after two weeks the

meetings were moved to a larger, new church. Soon most people in the town were attending and filling it up. Sixty hearers recorded salvation decisions in a week. Then one Sunday evening "...came an outpouring of spiritual fervor that resulted in half a hundred conversions at the one service.... Old inhabitants say that the spiritual fervor is unparalleled since the great Revivals of nearly a century ago."[32]

Pittsburgh had had its major revival campaign in 1904. In 1905 "revival fires" were more localized. On February 12 Second Presbyterian Church received ninety-five new members, all but six by confession of faith.[33] An "unusually large percentage" of the Methodist pastors reported good results. In late February alone Methodist revivals in the Pittsburgh area showed twenty-six churches with revivals garnering 769 conversions; a later count of thirty churches showed an average of fifty recorded conversions each.[34] Methodist conferences in the area were appointing evangelistic commissions and showing much more enthusiasm for the cause. "The revival fires sweep on in many directions with unabated power...," the Pittsburgh Christian Advocate exulted in mid-March, urging more revival efforts while "...the revival spirit is manifestly abroad." Three weeks later the editor observed: "The season of the year is passing when we usually give attention to the [evangelistic] spiritual efforts...but the revival influence still continues."[35] The paper later summarized some characteristics of this influence:

> ...The conviction among the unsaved seemed to be much deeper and more definite than in some years past, and the members of the church seemed much more concerned about the salvation of their friends and relatives, and a great deal more willing to participate in the meetings and the work than hitherto.[36]

Throughout the state revival carried on through late 1905 and into 1906, strengthening some areas not reached the year before. On December 3 at Scranton's Elm Park Methodist Church, 180 members were received into the church, 150 as probationers, "...the result of the personal work of the pastor, the members, especially the teachers in the Sunday school, and two weeks' revival services conducted by Mr. Hugh Smith, of Los Angeles, Cal....The church is aggressive, united, enthusiastic, and thoroughly loyal to the Master."[37] Union services took place in Chester during the winter of 1906. "Never in the history of Chester has there been such a united effort to win souls."[38]

In February 1906 R. A. Torrey and Charles Alexander launched a two-month campaign in Philadelphia that resulted in seven thousand conversion cards. John Wanamaker had initiated the invitation to the famous pair; Episcopal Rector Floyd Tompkins directed the General Committee in charge of the campaign. The movement was noteworthy for its emphasis on personal work by trained lay men and women and its power to inspire such work. "My church was never so aroused as it is today; my people never went to work to win souls as they are doing today...," famous Baptist pastor Russell Conwell was quoted as saying. Conwell asserted that policemen in

three districts had "little or nothing to do since the revival began" and that in those districts one day not a single prisoner was arraigned when the magistrate appeared.[39]

B. Maryland Through Tennessee

Like many places around the country, Baltimore and Washington experienced no striking city-wide revivals, but the revival spirit manifested itself in quieter or more localized ways. In Baltimore lay involvement provided one measure of the spirit. Attendance at Methodist Watch-night (New Year's prayer) services in Baltimore was unusually large as 1905 dawned.[40] Then, in late February, Baltimore laymen called for an interchurch prayer rally for revival at Brown Memorial Presbyterian Church. At Madison Avenue Methodist Church in March, in a midweek service, "...all were deeply impressed with the evident working of the Spirit of God upon the hearts of men...," and a few requested more prayer "seeking His leading in this time of awakening."

The revival spirit revealed itself in other Baltimore churches. The Methodist presiding elder of East Baltimore District, where "aggressive evangelism" was "the watchword," spoke of an unusual number of conversions (725) for the conference year in his jurisdiction. He claimed that evangelistic meetings in his area showed three important revival traits: the cooperation of the laity, "itself a blessed revival"; the ability of the pastors to perform evangelistic work; and recognition that "...the preaching of the Cross is

the most effective weapon for the salvation of men."[41] He might have added a fourth: spontaneous religious interest. "Every Sabbath in many churches," according to The Christian Advocate's Baltimore letter:

> ...there are scenes like the following: At Patapsco [Methodist Church], while Pastor E. C. Gallagher was preaching, a boy of about twelve years old walked to the altar and kneeled as a seeker. The preacher at once gave an invitation, not waiting to finish his sermon, and before the service was closed four persons were converted.[42]

Significantly, at just that time a clamor for social service was "sweeping" Baltimore Methodists in the form of "Brotherhood" associations, whose purpose was to involve men in both social work and and worship.[43] This reflected a nationwide trend which will be explored later; it was more typical of that activist generation of evangelicals to express religious fervor in practical social programs than to draw a line between piety and social involvement.

Elsewhere in Maryland, the Methodist Frederick District between Baltimore and Hagerstown enthused over a year of "revival power" in which 1,189 souls professed conversion, exactly eight hundred of these becoming probationers. The surge was affecting rural areas, according to the Maryland correspondent for The Christian Advocate. "Many of the country Sunday schools that used to close up for three months during the winter are now open twelve months in the year."[44]

Washington, D. C., experienced similar revival interest. Claimed a Baptist paper, "Nearly all pastors speak of

an unusual degree of spiritual interest in their churches, some fruits being already gathered in." In January an outside evangelist led three weeks of meetings in Fifth Baptist Church:

> ...in many respects the most successful he has ever conducted. The church was filled with people from all over the city, some standing in the aisles and vestibules....There have been in all over 175 professions of conversion. Fifty-five have been received for baptism and 140 have expressed a preference for membership in this church.[45]

In general, however, it appeared that in the District of Columbia, as in much of the country, the revival was affecting the churched more than the unchurched. "It is not that unconverted people are coming to the churches," the Christian Herald pointed out, "but that lethargic Christians are awakening."[46]

As 1905 wore on, Methodist pastors sought to spread this awakening and make it permanent. "Revival is the uppermost word in the Methodist Churches of Baltimore and Washington at the present time," one "Newman" reported to Zion's Herald at the end of the year. "It is also the theme of discussion at the preachers' meetings. At the Washington meeting it has run through five or six weeks, and is likely to engage further consideration." A matter of study, it was also being acted upon, with "gracious results" for the churches involved. "Newman" noted that this regularization of evangelism--whether pursued through special seasons or year-round, and whether by outside evangelist or by pastoral evangelism, was in some ways something new. Judging from

both preachers' meetings and actual revival work, he claimed, "...a marked change has come over our denomination." It was not quantifiable; it did not point to one method of evangelistic work; rather, it was the earnest and organized spirit in which evangelism was pursued. The result was that conversions were ample, and "...their character is sometimes said to be of a better quality on the whole than in former times when they were more numerous and noisy."[47]

Virginia proved receptive to revivals both small- and large-scale. In late March 1905 evangelist J. E. Brown, fresh from Columbia, Missouri, repeated his success in Norfolk. The two-week campaign at Norfolk's Epworth Methodist Church gathered 403 conversions and reclamations; thirty-six recorded decisions on the last night. Many of the hopeful converts were sailors soon to depart, but 123 people joined the Methodist or other churches. "The church has been stirred...as by no meetings in its history," pastor R. D. Smart enthused. More than the numbers, he claimed that this "gracious outpouring of the Spirit" was characterized by intensity. "Some evenings hundreds upon hundreds could not gain access to the building," he claimed:

> ...Ladies would stand in the aisles for three hours at a time. On some evenings after the congregation was dismissed all four galleries would remain filled for an hour watching the after-services...men and women, boys and girls quietly...leading friends and strangers down to the altar....[48]

As with so many other revival campaigns in 1905, the movement was preceded by careful preparation and accompanied lay involvement. Smart organized prayer and, in a preparatory service the Sunday before Brown arrived, read J. Campbell Morgan's account of the Welsh revival. The overall experience did wonders for the fervor and involvment of the laity. "The people of this church," Smart insisted:

> ...are not in the habit of speaking and testifying at prayer meeting[,] but at our regular prayer meeting last night hundreds crowded into the room, and one who counted said 120 arose and testified, several standing at once waiting for their turn to speak. I never witnessed such a prayer meeting.[49]

Kentucky, both rural and urban, early participated in the spirit of 1905. Methodist churches on the Wallingford Charge were "visited with a revival period" just after Christmas, 1904, with conversions and amply attended prayer meetings.[50] Grace Methodist in Newport, opposite Cincinnati, reported a "glorious revival" begun January 8 and preached by its pastor. "Last Sunday evening [January 15] the altar was filled with earnest seekers, and the indications are that before the meetings close the whole city will be stirred." Meanwhile, at the Methodist church in South Booneville in east-central Kentucky the "heart-searching" sermons of Lucy Lee Mahan "...resulted in forty-eight conversions, five sanctifications, fourteen accessions, and a general spiritual uplift of the members." (Eighteen converts joined other churches.)[51] In Danville, a hundred miles west of there, outside evangelists conducted a union gospel

campaign in January during which severe weather failed to dampen the enthusiasm. Participating churches were overcrowded; on February 1 Danville's businesses closed for all-day meetings.[52]

Epworth Methodist Church in Ashland, northeastern Kentucky, had its "greatest spiritual awakening" on its own small scale in February. This ascent "to victory and gladness" yielded seventeen conversions and reclamations and eight accessions. "The Church in every department is taking on new life," exulted the pastor, with a reorganized Epworth (youth) League and an enhanced Sunday school. Similarly, in nearby Hunnewell a "glorious revival" took place at the small Methodist church with fourteen conversions and seven accessions.[53]

The revival overtook a city, too. In mid-February 130 churches of a dozen denominations began a simultaneous union campaign in Louisville and two neighboring towns. The churches divided the city into seventeen districts, with services in each twice a day and several extra noontime services in the center of Louisville. Businesses closed at noon for prayer services. "In the street-car, bar-room, gambler's den, store, and office could be read the first words of the revival window-card, 'God is Calling'; also the last words, 'Jesus Saves,'" one witness described it. Claimed another in March, "the whole city is breathing a spiritual atmosphere. ...Everywhere in shop and store, in the mill and on the street, salvation is the one topic of conversation."[54]

Again, the spirit of unity and zeal characterizing the campaign impressed those favorable to it. "The harmony of the various Churches, and the unity of action on the part of the people is unbroken," the Presbyterian Louisville Christian Observer enthused. "There has never been anything like this since Mr. Moody...held union services for several weeks." As the Observer later described it, "There was a marked joyfulness through it all....[T]he meetings were not in as grave colors as many previous ones have been."[55] The campaign led to four thousand conversions. Many of these left the ranks of the unchurched: for example, accessions by confession of faith to Louisville's Southern Presbyterian churches were three hundred percent larger than in 1903-1904.[56]

In March the Presbyterian church in Phelps held a "remarkable series of meetings" in which "...there was a manifest interest taken by the people, such as engaging in personal work and earnest prayer." As a result the church more than doubled, with forty-eight new members (of whom forty-four were by profession).[57] In Jackson a few weeks later a four-church interdenominational campaign brought sixty converts and hundreds of reconsecrations; "Jackson is passing through a business, political, and spiritual revolution," a Presbyterian writer insisted.[58]

In May Methodist evangelist J. T. Newsom preached in Cadiz, in Kentucky's southwestern corner. Seventy-five professed conversion and fifty joined the Methodist church.

Among the converts, in "one of the richest and most sinful towns I have been in for years," Newsom said, were prominent lawyers, doctors, soldiers, a legislator, and an editor. "The crowds were so great that we moved the third day to the court house, where I preached to as many as six hundred night after night....A new order of things for the church and town will grow out of the meeting."[59]

Tennessee also experienced unusual revival fervor. In April, Mordecai Ham, the feisty evangelist who years later preached at the revival where Billy Graham went forward, conducted a tent campaign in Jackson. According to his biographer it was his first meeting to produce "landslide" results. "Has the spiritual fire of the great Wales revival reached across the ocean and ignited the hearts of the people of Jackson?" newspapers asked. The people had "...gone crazy about religion. Nothing like the present revival has ever been witnessed in this city."[60]

In January 1906 Morristown "...enjoyed a feast of fat things spiritually" when Methodists (Northern and Southern) and Presbyterians combined to bring in evangelist Walter Holcomb. Holcomb's style resembled Billy Sunday's. "[H]e wages an uncompromising warfare on the evils of modern society, especially cards, dancing, the theatre and malice," explained the Louisville Christian Observer:

> ...He possesses wonderful talent for finding out just what prevalent evils are lowering the standard of Christian life...and he strives diligently to remedy those evils. In this work he spares no

one who needs a surgical operation in a moral sense.[61]

However defensive that may seem today, it appealed to many Morristown "backsliders" who were ready to take their medicine. Though other people took offense, "...it was not long before [Holcomb] had everything going his way. Morristown has never been awakened as it was by the recent meeting."[62]

C. Ohio

Ohio evangelicals made every effort in 1905 to take full advantage of the surge of religious interest they found among their people. At the beginning of the year in Cleveland all denominations were manifesting "great evangelistic activity," particularly the Disciples of Christ.[63] Then after hearing a paper on "Church Unions" in February, the Ministers' Union appointed an evangelistic committee and a body to organize intercenominational prayer "for the outpouring of the Divine Spirit upon the Churches."[64]

The area of eastern Ohio watched by the Pittsburgh Christian Advocate was swept by a strong revival tide at just this time. At the Methodist church in Kingsville, "...a strong manifestation of the Spirit was felt. Without previous announcement [evangelistic] meetings were begun; the people were interested, and had a mind to work." After one service fifty-three people came forward to the altar for spiritual counseling, "so many that the leaders were taxed for room and for help to instruct them."[65] Other Methodist

churches in eastern Ohio reported "the largest attendance in years" or revival services that were "the best in years." As to Ohio revivals mentioned in Cincinnati's Western Christian Advocate, in just one week of February fifty-two Methodist churches tallied 1,443 conversions.[66]

In several instances revivals were given credit for increasing temperance sentiment. In Perrysville a five-week winter campaign brought a hundred to the altar, most professing conversion, and thirty-six accessions to the Methodist church. ("The whole neighborhood has been aroused. The congregations were immense.") Soon afterward the townsfolk voted to exclude saloons, 103 votes to twenty-nine. In February a "very gracious revival" led by a woman evangelist in Ashland was given credit for a dry vote in the next local option election.[67] In another instance a Methodist pastor visited Brilliant, a river town opposite West Virginia's panhandle, and preached on temperance so effectively that he changed some wet votes to dry and inspired an already enthusiastic temperance movement. "The temperance wave is moving forward with unusual force in Eastern Ohio," commented the area correspondent for the Western Christian Advocate.[68]

The winter of 1905 was fruitful in towns of southeastern Ohio also. After a year of earnest prayer and a union campaign that flopped, in February the churches at Smithville brought in for services the director of Chicago's Young Men's Holiness Society. He did better. Soon the small town was "in the midst of a great awakening" with "old-time

life and power." What was to be a two-week campaign kept on for a month. "Whole families have been converted, and a number of very dissipated men have found Jesus," a participant exulted:

> ...Old troubles have been settled; people that have not been on speaking terms have sought each other out and asked forgiveness. Some of the storekeepers have been paid old accounts of long standing; things that were stolen years ago have been paid for...the druggist served notice that no more whisky could be had on prescription; children have come out to the altar, and then went in the congregation or home and brought their parents....[69]

For Methodists in southeast Ohio's Gallipolis area "...the call has sounded forth everywhere for a forward movement along the lines of aggressive evangelism." In Oak Hill, for example, a successful effort in February gathered seventy-five conversions and reclamations.[70] In Athens a "most gracious revival" resulted from two weeks of evangelistic services preached by the Reverend C. M. Boswell of Philadelphia's Methodist city mission; sixty joined the church as a result.[71] The March 15 "Revival News" in the Western Christian Advocate contained numerous items for southeastern Ohio. In Cloverdale: "a gracious revival. Some of the most influential men of the community have been converted and received into the church." Chauncey: "Eighty or more came to the altar and confessed to having received peace of soul"--forty-five of them being received as probationers. Hayesville: "a season of unusual spiritual refreshing"--over twenty converted, about that many accessions; "We are now getting ready to vote the saloons out of our village

in the spring." From Marietta: "one of the most successful revival services for years. Some forty-seven conversions and forty-five additions to the Church." New Dover: a revival that was "one of the most remarkable ever held at this place"--two weeks of services resulting in seventy recorded conversions, over sixty of them added to the church. Of these new Methodists "...the great majority were young men and women. The whole Church membership now throbs with new life and zeal for the Master."[72]

In central Ohio, the spirit of revival swept through Methodist churches all winter. On New Year's Day the thousand-member First Methodist Church in Newark received twenty-seven new members (twenty-two as new converts), making a total of sixty since October. This had taken place without special services. "The pastor has never seen more rapid and substantial growth through the regular services of the Church."[73] In February Columbus' Mount Vernon Avenue Methodist Church held six weeks of nightly services in which one hundred were added to the church.[74] In Washington Charge more than 150 conversions were garnered during the winter. "A large per cent of these have joined the Church and are active workers...," the pastor wrote. "Congregations are unusually large at the regular services, and every department of Church activity throbs with new life."[75]

As to southwestern Ohio, evangelical churches at Dayton combined for a union campaign around New Year's in which the pastors divided up the preaching. "All denominational

thought was laid aside, and the sole aim agreed upon was the salvation of the people. A good interest has characterized every service in every group, and in several[,] unusual scenes of awakening have been witnessed." Two hundred conversions were recorded as of January 25, and the work was continuing.[76]

Emma Whittemore, director of the Door of Hope ministry for "fallen" women in New York City (one of the socially concerned "revivalist" organizations discussed by Norris Magnuson[77]), had a very good evangelistic trip west in the winter of 1905. With an itinerary that included Dayton and Cincinnati, she held twenty-two services--"the most wonderful, I think, I ever had." In one (location unspecified), 250 came forward for prayer.[78]

Cincinnati did not have a sweeping multi-church revival that winter, but the rapidly growing St. Paul's Methodist Church held a very successful campaign in February, "the most successful and far-reaching of any held since...twenty-two years ago." The church claimed 150 converts and more than 150 accessions. "St. Paul Church now has the largest membership in its history, and no longer is the great structure too large for the crowds that attend its services."[79] During the summer in Cincinnati evangelist E. A. Fergerson had excellent results at "the Salvation Park Camp Meeting": nine hundred seekers, almost all of whom indicated conversion decisions.[80]

Ohio towns and cities continued to experience the awakening in 1906. In January 1906 Barberton, just outside of Akron in northeast Ohio, was "stirred...as never before in fifteen years" by a church-filling union campaign. "This revival, like the one in Schenectady, "broke out" from the interdenominational Week of Prayer beginning the New Year. As of the last week of February, conversions numbered between eighty and a hundred. "The spirit of unity of all the Churches was remarkable....The end is not yet." Then at Lodi, twenty miles west of Barberton, a union campaign was held in February in a tabernacle, with an outside evangelist and a choir of one hundred. The three-week effort produced "unprecedented results": an incomplete count listed 320 seekers at the altar and more than a hundred accessions to the Methodist church alone.[81]

Methodist pastors around the Buckeye State, like the one in Plymouth, north-central Ohio, were set to "rejoicing in revivals." At the church in Kenton, central Ohio, 150 went forward for prayer on Sunday, February 25. The Pine Street Methodist Church in Ironton, opposite Kentucky, closed a campaign of one hundred conversions and forty-three accessions, "with more to follow." In Wilmington, southwestern Ohio, a union campaign that winter recorded 175 conversions, and the local Methodist pastor continued the campaign for three weeks after the evangelists had left.[82]

In March special meetings at a Methodist church in Uhrichsville, south of Canton, led more than six hundred to

the altar; 168 joined the church. In Napoleon, northwestern Ohio, in February and March a pastor conducted his own campaign and saw sixty conversions and eighty accessions to his church with more time to go.[83]

An especially powerful revival took place at Troy's Methodist church in February and March. "One hundred and ten conversions yesterday," the pastor announced in the middle of it. "Church baptized, conviction deepening, immense audience, greatest awakening ever experienced in Troy."[84] In March 350 conversions and reclamations had been counted. "People from all the towns on the electric lines out of Troy for a distance of twenty miles have attended the meetings, frequently in large companies," the Western Christian Advocate was told. "One of the secrets of success lies in the fact that for four weeks prior to the public meetings cottage prayer-meetings were held in every section of the town."[85]

Three denominational colleges, one Baptist and two Methodist, experienced sweeping revivals early in 1906. In January two representatives from the Baptists' evangelistic committee, Cornelius Woelfkin and Dr. Chivers, fresh from a conference on evangelism in Indianapolis, traveled to Denison University in Granville for a few days of special services. "As the services proceeded it was evident that there was a spirit of serious and deepening thoughtfulness in the student body," wrote Dr. T. J. Villers to the Boston Watchman. "Christian students gave themselves to prayer and

to personal ministry. Study rooms became prayer rooms." An extra day of services was added because more students appeared "on the verge of decision." This paid off, for in the last service an opportunity was given for students to rise and speak publicly of their salvation decisions. In three batches some twenty-five did.[86]

At northeastern Ohio's Berea College, meanwhile, classes were suspended nine days for evangelistic services. An estimated two hundred students professed conversion. Many also consecrated themselves to Christian service and, the Western Christian Advocate believed, would swell the ranks of volunteers serving the following summer in Appalachian churches and schools.[87] About the same time a "remarkable" revival took place in February at Ada where the Methodist college joined with First Methodist Church for services. The pastor and college president were helped by a pair of Illinois evangelists (who had just held a successful revival in Camden, New Jersey). Four hundred conversions were listed--half of them on the busy second Sunday, in which seven services were held. A hundred were received into the church. Those reached ranged from "old and hard sinners to little children, businessmen, professors, students by the scores." On the last night of the meetings four hundred people could not get into the packed-out services.[88]

D. Michigan, Indiana, Illinois

"Our Church throughout Michigan," announced a Methodist minister at the end of March, "has been moved during the past weeks by a gracious spirit of revival more widespread and effectual than perhaps for many years. Every district in the two conferences might be mentioned as in some measure profiting by the revival spirit." The church in Laurium had a "remarkable revival" with some two hundred conversions. The churches in Grand Rapids experienced "revivals of great power"; hundreds of conversions were claimed in Saginaw; powerful campaigns also took place in Flint, Albion, Grand Traverse, and Big Rapids Districts.[89]

In Detroit "...the converts have been so numerous that the membership rolls will be increased by hundreds. It is a real revival," the Michigan Christian Advocate claimed late in the year.[90] That fall three Welsh visitors brought some sparks from the altar in their homeland to Detroit for services lasting several weeks. The importance of this trio of "warm-hearted lovers of the Lord" was not in the "limited" number of converts they made, the Michigan Christian Advocate felt, but in stirring zeal; ministers fairly "...melted into thankfulness and desire to have a revival here....The absence of mechanical plans for work in this city leaves great freedom for the Holy Spirit and great patience and expectancy in the churches."[91] Two churches that took part in the movement were no doubt helped by its inspiration. Haven Methodist jumped from 267 members and two adult baptisms for

1904-1905 to 346 members and twenty-six baptisms in 1905-1906. Northwest Methodist Church surged from 473 members in 1905 to 551 in 1906 and 731 in 1907; its baptisms rose from four in 1904-1905 to twenty-seven in 1905-1906 and twenty-four the next year.[92]

Early in 1905 the Western Christian Advocate continually passed on news of strong Methodist revivals all over Indiana. In Hebron, northwest Indiana, a five-week meeting conducted by a Miss Cromwell in January drew large crowds to the Methodist church; seventy-four conversions and accessions resulted.[93] At Jenny DePauw Memorial church in Williamsport, a three-week campaign by the pastor brought in fifty accessions and ninety-one professions of conversion. "Old-time methods are used, and penitents stay at the altar until 'they come through.'" That church, not yet tired of revival, planned to join in a union campaign in February.[94]

In January, Taylor University in Upland underwent a major upheaval of religious ardor. It began when a talk by university President C. W. Winchester, "The Baptism of the Holy Ghost," quickly fanned the flames of revival interest. Responding to this mood the next day, Winchester announced special evangelistic services instead of classes. Prayer, preaching, and invitations to the altar lasted all morning and recommenced in the afternoon.

This set the pattern for the days to come. After a few days of preaching by faculty and students, three visiting

Texas evangelists were put to work. The movement had by then taken on a life of its own. "The spirit of conviction was on the unsaved students in a marvelous degree. Some actually ran to the altar," Winchester wrote. One evening the evangelist had barely begun his sermon when students began moving to the altar. At one point the faculty considered resuming classes, but at chapel:

> ...several sinners came uninvited to the front of the platform and dropped on their knees, imploring divine mercy. That settled the question, 'Shall we have recitations [classes]?' That week nothing could be done but pray and sing and exhort and point sinners to Christ and praise God for his wonderful work, with brief intervals for eating and sleeping.

Classes resumed the following Monday, but the services went on another week. When they were finally ended, it was said, all but two or three of the Taylor students were "soundly converted."[95]

That revival was over, but the visiting evangelists were not done. On February 5 the "Texas Boys" began three weeks of services at a new Methodist church in Upland. Though their uncompromising stance on "holiness" offended some pastors, they preached for results. "At the altar the young people were asked if they would give up their Sunday baseball, dancing, and all wrong," a witness told it:

> ...One leading merchant had to throw his tobacco out of his store; many quit using it; many forgotten debts were paid; stolen things were returned or paid for; the merchants and others were continually astonished at the extent of this work.

At least three hundred people went forward for either salvation or recommitment and were considered to have meant

business. Ninety joined the Methodist church alone; others went elsewhere.[96]

Other revivals earned outside attention in February for their impact on Indiana communities. In Charlestown, near New Albany on the Ohio, an evangelist preached the gospel and "...the entire town was brought under its influence. There were seventy-five conversions and fifty accessions."[97] Simultaneously, at Bedford to the northwest, Presbyterians and Methodists combined in an outreach that netted more than 150 conversions. On February 14 all Bedford businesses--including saloons--closed for religious services in the courthouse, a function well-attended despite bad weather.[98]

A West Terre Haute Methodist pastor preached special services for three weeks in January without outside help; he had 125 conversions by the end of the month.[99] At Fort Wayne a church held services throughout January and halfway into February, garnering 105 recorded decisions and leading eighty-five into membership.[100] Later in February the Methodists at Dupont completed "the most gracious revival...we ever held"; in four weeks a hundred had bowed at the altar and half of those sought membership in the church. Particularly encouraging was that many of the new members were men, a phenomenon that was often commented on in the local revivals of 1905.[101]

Churches reaped other benefits as well that winter. At Terre Haute the Methodists were "taking on new life," a pastor enthused. "The churches as a whole were never in

better condition....All of the churches in the city have held special revival services with good results in conversions and the addition of many members...." First Methodist in Noblesville, just outside Indianapolis, ran a three-week effort in which 150 were thought to be converted and eighty-four joined the church. "The whole community has been stirred. Every department of the church has received a wonderful uplift. The Sunday School has increased more than 100 and the [Epworth] League has been nearly doubled...."[102]

In March the powerful revivals continued in Hoosierdom. A pastor and an outside evangelist conducted a four-week revival in Warsaw, northern Indiana, in which there were some 250 conversions and a hundred accessions.[103] In the Methodist church at Edgerton, near Fort Wayne, the labor and preaching caught up with the Reverend J. A. Rhodebaugh. The minister "...was putting all the strength of soul and body into the work, and the altar was crowded with penitents, when he collapsed with nervous prostration, and was bedfast and irrational for days." But the revival nonetheless went on and 118 conversions were recorded.[104]

Also in March, a two-month-old "phenomenal" revival was still stirring the Methodist church at Montpelier, between Fort Wayne and Muncie in the east. Having started around New Year's, the preaching was supposed to last only four weeks. After that period, however, nightly meetings for the almost one hundred new converts sparked religious ardor anew. Revival broke out again and lasted another six weeks. The

spirit was carried largely by a "prayer band," which had been formed by fifty members of a rapidly growing Bible study organized only at Christmastime. This cohort met for daily special prayer services in the main business places of Montpelier, including the prominent saloon; before long they expanded to two groups of eighty members each. Two hundred seventy-five conversions and 177 accessions to the Methodist church resulted from the long revival, along with an increase of 110 in the Epworth League membership. The campaign was said to have "remarkable" influence with Montpelier business. "The whole city being ablaze with religious fervor, the other Churches are now engaged in revivals with considerable success and the Methodist Episcopal Church is called the mother of the great revival in Montpelier."[105]

Some of the flavor of the 1905 revival in Indiana can be sampled in district reports to the Methodist North Indiana Conference, which met in April. The Fort Wayne District elder rejoiced over "gracious, blessed Holy Ghost revivals" during which 1,545 conversions were recorded in churches with 10,701 members. "Days of greatest victory! Days of power! Days of Pentecost!" the elder exulted.[106] Meanwhile, the elder of Goshen District could affirm that "meetings in the interest of aggressive evangelism" had been held in every charge in his jurisdiction. He believed there was an "awakening revival spirit sweeping over the District," and as evidence he listed thirteen hundred conversions. The elder of Richmond District spoke of "the spiritual quicken-

ing of the churches, and the large number of conversions" (850).[107] Wabash District "...has been blessed with many gracious revivals....God has poured out His Spirit in great power. The number of conversions claimed [1,755] exceeds any year since we have been connected with this district."[108]

The next winter revival season saw a renewal of fruitful aggressive evangelism among Indiana Methodists. In January 1906, the pastor of First Methodist Church of Brazil (near Terre Haute) preached a four-week revival. Conversions numbered 197, of whom 122 united with the congregation. "Many were brought to a full realization of the power of prayer." At Shelbyville, just southeast of Indianapolis, an "unusual religious awakening" took place in a joint effort by two Methodist churches using a pair of brother evangelists. "From the very beginning penitents were at the altar. Soon from night to night the large altar was crowded. More than three hundred persons were converted or reclaimed."[109] Strong revivals also took place at St. Paul's Methodist in Lafayette, a hundred miles northwest of Indianapolis, and Trinity Methodist in Rensselaer, northwest Indiana, which gained at least seventy-four new members.[110]

Not long afterward an especially powerful nineteen-day campaign took place at the Methodist church in New Castle, straight east of Indianapolis. It was led by a pastor with the improbable name of U. S. A. Bridge and an evangelist, who together garnered 864 conversions and rededications. The Methodists received 233 new members (others joined other

denominations). "From almost the first night the church was packed," one witness said. "At one service 1,700 people were counted in the audience. It was no unusual sight to see from fifty to a hundred converted in a single evening." People went forward in groups--families, or one time twenty young men in a batch. The revival was a hot news item in New Castle; a revival edition of twenty-five hundred copies from the local paper sold out in minutes. "The awakening was so general that little else has been talked or thought of in all this region...," claimed the Methodist newspaper. "Card parties and dancing have become decidedly unpopular, and over three thousand playing cards were surrendered to the evangelist by persons who had found Christ during the revival."[111]

The previously mentioned North Indiana Conference district elders, except for Wabash, had more conversions to report in April 1906 even than the year before. Fort Wayne had 1,602, Goshen 1,274, and Richmond (which included New Castle) more than three thousand, as opposed to the 850 it had rejoiced in the year before. Despite these increases, the accounts lacked some of the surprised rejoicing tone of the year before, suggesting that the elders had come to expect large numbers.[112]

Chicago did not figure much in the dramatic revival accounts nationwide in 1905; few felt that a major revival was afoot there. Nonetheless many instances of revival were evi-

dent. Early in the winter Chicago clergymen, determined to strengthen their own churches' evangelistic efforts, set up a central daily prayer meeting for ministers and lay workers.[113] "The revival spirit is manifesting itself in nearly all denominations," a Chicago observer told the Philadelphia Methodist. All the Disciples of Christ churches, for example, collaborated on a campaign during the winter that produced a "large ingathering."[114] At Chicago's Wabash Avenue Methodist Church, "which is one of the most difficult propositions in Methodism, and where the Reverend C. A. Kelley valiantly holds the fort, the evangelistic spirit is pervasive." This was reflected in forty-six conversions between October and March in just the regular services.[115] "Hundreds have already been baptized in the different [Chicago] churches," an observer wrote in Christian Endeavor World. "It has become almost commonplace in our ministerial gatherings for a pastor to rise and say: 'My church has never known such a blessing of salvation as we are now having.'"[116]

The revival spirit permeated other parts of Illinois. In Paris a union evangelistic campaign resulted in 547 new members for the churches.[117] Billy Sunday, in 1905 still early in his career as an independent evangelist, provided much of the impulse for other revivals in Illinois. One noteworthy Sunday success was at Dixon, the home of the world's largest condensed milk plant. Dixon had experienced no widespread revival in a quarter century until Sunday arrived in mid-February under the auspices of the seven-

church Ministerial Association. In a tabernacle seating thirty-three hundred, day after day for a month Sunday set the air ablaze and laid bare "the hidden sins of the heart and the corruption that lies beneath the social and civic life of a community"; eighty to a hundred responded by going forward each night. Total attendance reached 180,000 with at least two thousand conversions, exclaimed a breathless Christian Advocate. (A later source put the tally at 1,875.) Thousands vowed not to play cards or resort to bars or dancing parties; gambling joint owners broke their tables "...and turned gambling rooms into places of worship." Total casualties included six such dens and five dancing clubs.[118]

After scorching Dixon, Sunday went out to Canon City, Colorado, where he made 934 conversions and returned to Illinois in April. At Macomb he held a monthlong tabernacle campaign where he surpassed his Dixon total, with 1,880 conversions. Next, in Canton 1,120 hit the sawdust trail to round off Sunday's spring in Illinois at three thousand conversions. Later in 1905 Sunday appeared in Rantoul and Aledo, Illinois, with 1,524 conversions between them. Then, after his remarkable success in Burlington, Iowa, he hit larger Illinois communities and rang up good numbers in the winter and spring of 1906: Princeton (2,325 conversions), Freeport (1,365), and Prophetstown (900).[119] The pre-war era's best-known evangelist received a definite boost from the religious fervor and receptivity of 1904-1906, particularly in the Land of Lincoln.

* * * NOTES TO CHAPTER V * * *

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12. New York Christian Observer, February 14, 1906, p. 10.
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20. PNA, March 1, 1905, p. 3. One source of inspiration, oddly, was Kentucky. The Reverend James B. Ely, organizer of Presbyterian city evangelism in Philadelphia, had just returned from evangelism there and spoke of converted barkeepers and Bluegrass cities closing for prayer.
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22. PNA, March 8, 1905, p. 1.
23. Ibid., March 19, 1905, Section I, p. 3.
24. Ibid., April 1, 1905, p. 9.

25. Ibid., March 1, 1905, p. 3.
26. Ibid., April 20, 1905, p. 5; April 21, 1905, p. 3.
27. Orr, Flaming Tongue, p. 70.
28. Philadelphia Methodist, May 1, 1905, p. 1; NYCA, March 9, 1905, p. 26; Philadelphia Methodist, June 12, 1905, p. 11.
29. NYCA, February 2, 1905, p. 25, March 9, 1905, p. 23.
30. PNA, March 7, 1905, p. 2.
31. Ibid., March 26, 1905, p. 2.
32. Ibid., March 15, 1905, p. 3.
33. Christian Herald, March 8, 1905, p. 221.
34. Philadelphia Methodist, March 6, 1905, p. 11; Zion's Herald, March 15, 1905, p. 331.
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36. Ibid., April 27, 1905.
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59. SLCA, May 31, 1905, p. 14.
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66. Ibid., March 9, 1905, p. 17; Philadelphia Methodist, March 6, 1905, p. 11.
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CHAPTER VI

REVIVAL IN THE WEST

The Reverend R. A. Walton, a member of the Chapman team of evangelists, observed: "For many years the cities of Colorado and especially the Pacific Coast have been a terror to evangelists. Men who were eminently successful in other places returned year after year with nothing but notes of discouragement amd warning for those who would dare follow them."[1] This, he added triumphantly in 1905, was no longer true.

In the trans-Mississippi West, the inspirations of Wales and of Des Moines were less visible. Yet the regular denominational networks, in their emphasis on spurring evangelism and seeking revival, bore considerable fruit there as elsewhere; so did Chapman as he "marched to the sea." In town after town, a soon-to-grow company of energetic evangelists found the spiritual atmosphere of town after town congenial to their preaching. Some of these were resourceful denominational missionaries; others were free-lancers like the "Texas boys." Their names are hidden in history except

for one who elbowed his way to the forefront of the profession: Billy Sunday.

By and large the cities of the West Coast responded less readily to citywide evangelism than the plains and mountain cities inland. Considerable evangelistic successes, however, were recorded in isolated smaller communities throughout the West.

A. Missouri, Iowa, and Nebraska

Some January afternoon in Kansas City a subscriber might have greeted her jangling telephone and been surprised to hear: "Hello! Probably you have heard that the churches in Kansas City are having a revival and we want you to come!" In a massive evangelistic movement noted for its eager lay involvement, an unsung volunteer came up with this novel means of utilizing Mr. Bell's invention.[2]

That was only one of many ways in which the a Chapman-style simultaneous campaign made its presence known throughout the city. The meetings were sponsored by 175 churches, and twenty-six evangelists led by Joseph Calhoun of the Presbyterian committee (and leader of the 1904 Pittsburgh campaign), aided by considerable lay involvement, filled the city as much as possible with preaching. One of the evangelists was James B. Ely of Philadelphia and New York summer campaign fame. One Chapman veteran, too, was with the group: the Reverend Arthur Smith, who also had inspired the Scranton, Pennsylvania, evangelistic conference. The preachers

held forth in churches for noon, afternoon, and evening services; they also led meetings in factories, at the Union Pacific loading docks, at the Armour packing plant, and even at trolley stops. On January 17, a day of "sloppy weather," women campaign workers visited 1,387 homes to extend invitations. "Greater Kansas City has been passing through a season of spiritual awakening and delightful Christian fellowship," Bertha E. Hart of Christian Endeavor claimed weeks afterward, "and the revival of 1905 will go down in history as a new religious epoch."[3]

Methodists in Columbia, central Missouri, felt the same way when in January and February their town experienced "one of the greatest revivals in its history." Evangelist John E. Brown and a choir leader led services for three weeks, sometimes three times a day. Each day the seats were filled, and at night "...every bit of space where people could sit or stand was crowded." Some three hundred expressed decisions for either conversion or "reclamation," and one Sunday 160 were received into the Methodist church. Others were expected later to join that or other churches.[4]

At Calhoun a week or two later, a new Methodist church opened with the fervor often shown at such events in 1905. For weeks "...pastor and members had been much in prayer for a gracious outpouring of the spirit. February 19, the very first service, the revival spirit came down upon all the people...." From then on for four weeks, the pastor preached salvation and people came to the altar. "The visible fruits

were sixty or more conversions...with many in the audience deeply interested at the close of the revival service."[5]

On March 5--"undoubtedly the best day in the history of the Montgomery City Presbyterian Church"--that congregation received fifty-three new members, after "the most stirring revival meeting" the eastern Missouri city had ever experienced.[6] On the same day Methodist evangelist John E. Brown closed a revival at Macon, north Missouri, with about two hundred conversions and fifty-three new members for the Methodist church.[7] A few weeks later the Methodist church at Bogard finished a four-week campaign with sixty conversions and forty accessions. "I never was in a meeting before where the young converts seemed so eager to work for souls," the Bogard pastor marveled.[8]

The Presbyterian church in St. Charles, just outside St. Louis, claimed in April to have "closed one of its most prosperous year's work." The pastor explained, "During the recent months we have enjoyed God's special favor in a revival of God's people and in the conversion of sinners." Forty-five new members graced the past eighteen months, including twelve from a campaign in April from which eight more members were expected.[9]

In May evangelist Brown held forth at St. Paul's Methodist Church in St. Louis. "The church has been stirred and revived...as by no other revival in its history," a minister gladly informed the city's Christian Advocate. The largest crowds in the church's history attended the evening

services, and almost every one remained for the after-services, at which new converts were counseled. Two hundred thirty-five went forward to the altar; soon seventy-seven had applied for church membership at St. Paul's.[10]

Revivals took place in Missouri through the end of 1905 and on into 1906. In October a seven-week series of talks led to 243 conversions at Poplar Bluff, about twenty miles from Arkansas in the southeast. The Reverend Albert Sitton, who conducted the campaign, had preached for more than a thousand conversions in three campaigns there and in neighboring Bloomfield and Dexter.[11] Then an "upheaval" took place over sixteen days in the winter in Sikeston, southeast Missouri, when Baptists and Methodists brought in an evangelist. Converts included "moral men and women, drunkards, fallen women and fallen men, backsliders," came the account. "Some Christian people shouted, many wept for joy, and all were spiritually uplifted." Business houses closed early for the services--including (one night) five saloons--and with the tally incomplete 126 people had applied for membership in the sponsoring churches. "All the houses of ill-fame are broken up, all the inmates are converted and have joined the church," the Methodists claimed. "The saloons in Sikeston are doomed."[12]

In Burlington, southeastern Iowa, in January 1905 every store and factory closed one day during a revival so that employees could attend services.[13] In neighboring New London

a union gospel campaign led to three hundred professions of faith out of its population of a thousand.[14] In 1905 and 1906 Congregational churches in Des Moines tried to keep alive the commitment of the convention they had hosted, and early in 1906 they were said to "rejoice in unusual prosperity." Plymouth Church received 114 accessions.[15]

During 1905 and 1906 Billy Sunday ran numerous campaigns in Iowa. In early 1905 The Christian Endeavor World was delighted to report that his campaign in Mason City, northern Iowa, had led more than eleven hundred hearers to become "a new regiment of new recruits."[16] Sunday also visited Jefferson, Bedford, Seymour, Centerville, Corydon, Audobon, Atlantic, Harlan, Exira, and Keokuk in the 1904-1905 campaign and Burlington, Fairfield, and Knoxville in 1905-1906. Conversions totaled seventy-four hundred in 1904-1905 and averaged almost seven hundred per city; for the following year in the three cities they totaled 4,619.[17]

The Burlington campaign in November and December 1905 was a major turning point in Sunday's career, setting a personal record for him of 2,484 converts. Burlington spread Sunday's fame and booked him engagements in bigger places, with the result that his conversion totals moved dramatically upward in 1906 and succeeding years. Interestingly, in late 1905 Sunday's conversion counts suddenly became more exact, perhaps reflecting his new success and the renewed importance of validating his claims.[18]

A three-week union evangelistic campaign opened in Omaha, Nebraska, on January 22. Chapman had been expected to come but had bowed out, so local pastors proceeded on their own under the leadership of the seven-denomination Omaha Ministerial Union. They seemed to glory in their independence. "Never before have the ministers and Christian people of Omaha made such thorough preparation for evangelistic work as for that they now have in hand," the New York Observer noted admiringly. The Omaha clergymen followed the simultaneous plan, with nine of them preaching each night in six districts, and they added street preaching and noontime meetings for businessmen. "The churches are most enthusiastic and hopeful, conversions throughout the city are frequent and general, and the spirit of evangelism prevails," came the assessment of the Central Christian Advocate, while The Congregationalist praised "the sense of brotherhood and the temper of spiritual enterprise."[19]

In late February at nearby Fremont's Congregational church, union services met with success. More than a hundred people professed conversion.[20] At about that time more than a thousand Nebraska Methodists held a missionary meeting in Lincoln which was thought to be the "greatest religious meeting, or series of meetings, ever held in Nebraska."[21]

During the summer all the churches in Aurora, southern Nebraska, combined on a revival campaign conducted in a tent seating twelve hundred. Evangelist M. H. Lyon made a "deep impression...on the public mind" with "eloquent pleas for

purity, honesty, temperance, private, social and political virtue." Two hundred indicated conversion decisions.[22]

The Baptists enjoyed considerable success in 1905 and 1906 in Nebraska. "The past year has been one of the most successful in the history of our Convention work," came the report of the Baptist Home Mission Society in mid-1906. "The return of prosperity among our people is indicated by the vigorous way in which our pastors and our people are taking hold of the Lord's work. There never was a time when a greater degree of optimism prevailed." The fifty-one missionaries and evangelists at one hundred churches and outstations baptized 415 and saw (but did not count) many others come in as members. Five new churches were organized by the Baptist Home Mission Society and added to the sixty already there.[23]

B. Minnesota and the Dakotas

In 1905 and 1906 Minnesota, too, proved fertile for evangelistic activities of all types: Scandinavian and other special missions, local church evangelism, and large-scale campaigns by professional evangelists. In Minneapolis the Reverend William Bell Riley, a future fundamentalist leader, claimed in March 1905: "There is more of the spirit of evangelism with us than the writer has seen in the eight years of his residence here. Almost every church in the state has held a meeting, or is to hold one and in a number of instances there have been old-fashioned revivals."[24]

So it was elsewhere in the state. In Edgarton at the beginning of 1905 the Methodist and Congregational churches combined for a campaign preached by the two pastors. The ministers also organized visitation and prayer to nearly every home and business in the city. More than a hundred conversion cards were signed.[25]

Presbyterian missions in Minnesota (and Wisconsin) lumber camps were "very satisfactory" through 1905, and the Presbyterians planned to expand them.[26] Successful, too, were Congregational missions and revivals. At Madison, where they were the only English-speaking church in a town of fifteen hundred, the Congregationalists held evangelistic services that had to be moved to the larger city hall--where it became standing room only. "Not only the town but the surrounding country has been permeated with the power of the Spirit...," the pastor wrote. "While we have had revivals every year, the extent and thoroughness of this work and its grasp upon men in the midst of life's toil marks the present interest as exceptional."[27] From the Congregational pastor in Dawson, also in western Minnesota, came this note: "We have had the most wonderful revival here that anyone, the evangelist included, has ever seen. In this little place and surrounding country we have had 450 converts." At Elmore on the Iowa border a new Congregational church--forty-two members, 125 Sunday scholars, self-supporting--was formed after a campaign that brought almost the whole community into the town hall.[28]

Minnesota received the benefit of much of Billy Sunday's time when he was not in Iowa or Illinois. He celebrated New Year's, 1905, in the middle of a thirty-day tabernacle campaign at Redwood Falls; in 1905-1906 Sunday visited Rochester, where he counted 1,230 converts, and Austin, where 1,388 went forward.[29] The Redwood Falls effort in particular was reported elsewhere. The Christian Advocate told its Eastern readers that in the Minnesota town of two thousand inhabitants, "...almost every soul has been reached by the gospel message and a large part of the unconverted inhabitants brought to the altar."[30] To be more specific, six hundred people walked the sawdust trail, and of them 136 joined the Methodist church and ninety the Presbyterian. Every businessman of the community but three "...expressed his belief in Christ and his intention to follow him." This campaign was notable for sending bands of associated evangelists to outlying towns, and in one village of 250 souls fifty people recorded conversion decisions.[31]

In October and November, Minneapolis and St. Paul played host to successive Chapman campaigns in a campaign that set a record for greatest number of evangelists and coworkers involved--forty. Of his campaigns up to then, Chapman regarded the earlier one in Denver as the only effort outshining that in St. Paul.[32]

Another notable feature of the Twin Cities campaign was that Chapman made strides in appealing to nonevangelical Protestants. Some Episcopal churches welcomed the revival,

and Chapman spoke in St. Paul's Protestant Cathedral Church in Minneapolis. Support came, too, from the city's new Congregationalist mayor, who had replaced a machine hack at the last election and who honored the revival by (successfully) imposing a Sunday closing order on saloons coincident with the campaign. At a Chapman rally Mayor Jones praised the "ethical uplift" throughout the country as well as the impact of the campaign on Minneapolis.[33]

This impact may have been more pervasive socially than previous ones, to follow the secular papers. Special meetings for men seem to have drawn a more representative audience, and as the Minneapolis Tribune put it, "...many of those in the audiences were from the class that would have spent the time elsewhere had not Mayor Jones' Sunday saloon closing order been enforced."[34] One reason for their attendance may have been a new feature of the Chapman campaign: Mr. and Mrs. William Asher, saloon evangelists, who arranged and led singing, preaching, and prayer services in those places of business. (Most saloonkeepers were, apparently, happy to comply with these activities which were aimed partly at destroying their business, because the services conferred respectability and because the patrons liked them.)

The Twin City services were very well-attended. Two of Minneapolis' largest churches could not hold crowds that came to see Henry Ostrom, a team evangelist.[35] As was the case in Chapman campaigns, the number of converts was not

announced, but churches plainly benefitted from Chapman's visit. It was predicted that the Congregationalists alone would gain between fifteen hundred and two thousand members.[36] Furthermore, religious interest of one sort or another proved contagious during Chapman's stay. A Minneapolis newspaper referred to a "strange influence at work" throughout the city's churches, even Roman Catholic ones. In the campaign-affiliated churches the influence manifested itself in new attitudes toward evangelism and toward the church, Chapman ascribing it to "Jesus of Nazareth passing by." The writer noted that this time Chapman preached "in the most unimpassioned manner," as if to emphasize that he had not gotten up the atmosphere through shallow appeals to emotion.[37]

Minnesota revivals continued into 1906; in January a four-week campaign in St. Cloud resulted in seven hundred conversions and Sunday closings for saloons.[38]

In South Dakota the spirit of revival overtook the churches in several ways. Special evangelistic services in many of the Presbyterian churches and missions were attended by "evident spiritual quickening of the members and in gathering more than usual."[39] General Secretary J. P. Brushingham of the Methodist Aggressive Evangelism Commission, after visiting the South Dakota conference in the fall of 1905, described special evenings given over to the "evangelism movement": "The ministers upon their knees inside the altar

crying to God for power to win souls, the laymen outside the altar asking for the same power, and all through the audience unsaved people asking for prayers."[40]

Despite many successes with the Scandinavian populations of North Dakota, only six Baptist home missionary-led campaigns took place among Anglophones in late 1904 and early 1905. Baptist ministers were not sure they could afford to participate in the general forward movement; they were reluctant even to hold evangelistic conferences. Nonetheless, at a revival in Portal, where there was no Baptist church, a Baptist evangelist led almost forty English-speakers to conversion decisions.[41]

Successes of this kind worked wonders over time. "There has been a great change in the attitude of pastors toward these conferences," the field secretary observed in 1906:

> ...A year ago the General Mission could not get a pastor to consent to have an evangelistic conference on his field. This year every suggestion to hold such a conference has been gladly welcomed, and pastors quite generally have done all that they could to make the meetings a success.[42]

C. Texas, Oklahoma, Colorado

Revivals on both large and small scale took place in Texas with better-than-normal results. In the spring of 1905 Houston Baptists and Methodists held very successful revivals. So did some Presbyterian churches there: Second Church had large increases in almost every category for 1904-1905--"far ahead of anything ever done before"--including forty-four accessions for the year. "A tidal wave of spirituality

has rolled through the city," it was said, one that filled Houston churches, and apparently as a result the city closed its gambling dens in May.[43]

In San Antonio the Utica Street (Southern) Presbyterian Church ran a two-week campaign that brought in seventy-four converts, most of whom soon united with the church. "Almost without exception," an assisting pastor claimed, "each one of them on conversion began at once like the woman of Samaria to bring others to Christ."[44] In April First Presbyterian Church of Sherman welcomed eighteen new members, bringing the total to ninety-five for the past twelve months.[45] An El Paso Methodist church featured evangelist C. R. Handeschield for three weeks in May; according to its pastor, this preacher drew the best attendance ever in an El Paso revival, with sixty conversions and fifty-five accessions to the church.[46]

In March 1906 J. Wilbur Chapman launched a campaign in Dallas throughout which his evangelists and he packed their auditoriums, despite torrential rains of a kind that generally kept Dallas residents indoors. "Never was the like known in Dallas," asserted an article for the Louisville Christian Observer. "Thousands attended the meetings, and there were thousands who were unable to get into any of the three large down town auditoriums so great was the crowd." The mayor cooperated with the requested day of prayer by ordering city offices closed. "Dallas has been nearer to heaven in the last ten days than ever before in her his-

tory," claimed one pastor. "Police records show fewer arrests than in any other two weeks in her history."[47]

After Dallas Chapman spent two weeks of April preaching in Sherman (some of his team-mates dispersed to other nearby towns). Because the town was too small to divide into districts, Chapman unaccustomedly made use of a large tent. Sherman residents responded well to the preaching and the day of prayer, and their response met the bottom line. "From a financial point of view, the consensus of opinion among businessmen is that it pays well," explained a Professor D. F. Eagleton to the Louisville Christian Observer; "that is, the returns in the elevation of the moral and spiritual tone of the community more than compensate for the expense of carrying on the meeting [$1,200 in Sherman]."[48]

Late in 1906 Mordecai Ham made his way to Houston for a four-month revival. Originally the Baptists sponsored the event, but it quickly gained the participation and support of the entire Pastors' Association--until Ham's stand for Sunday closings caused some to bolt. Three thousand Houstonians made professions of faith during the campaign, according to the Houston Chronicle, and every Protestant church in town was said to have gained members from it. In the wake of the campaign a converted alcoholic founded the Star of Hope mission.[49]

"Baptist affairs in the Indian Territory have never been in as good condition as at the present time," the

Baptist Home Mission Society said in 1906. "Our people are more firmly cemented together and...the opposition to our methods of mission work is vanishing." Pastors who had criticized the work were coming around; others who had done nothing were now offering to help out in evangelism.[50]

Part of the reason was that evangelism in Oklahoma and Indian Territory produced results, and Baptist memberships grew at a wonderful rate in 1905 and 1906. For five days in January 1906, the Cherokee Academy experienced "the greatest soul gathering the school has ever witnessed within its walls." The academy faculty booked a district secretary of the Baptist Home Mission Society for services. "The students were deeply impressed from the beginning...," the academy's principal claimed. "Without high pressure or sensationalism, 45 students, most of them in the advanced grades, accepted Christ."[51]

A further illustration of the area's receptivity to evangelism was the success of F. L. King, a Baptist missionary. Already by early 1906 he had made "a large number of conversions" among the Arapahoes. Then one day the Baptist pastor at Greenfield, near King's mission, appealed to him to help with evangelistic meetings for white settlers. "Last Sunday, in the presence of 500 or 600 Indian people coming from far and near," King recounted, "I baptized 36 persons in the river, two miles west of the Indian chapel. A number of Christian Indians were present...and were deeply interested in knowing about the white people coming." That was

not the end of it, though; as with revivals elsewhere this one had a momentum of its own.

> ...There have been 49 additions to the little church, and we thought the meetings would close, but the interest is breaking out in new places. The new converts, as well as the older members, are working with the unsaved. To-day 6 more are awaiting baptism, and still many more are deeply concerned.[52]

As 1905 dawned in Colorado the Chapman team held campaigns in Denver, Pueblo, and Colorado Springs. Denver was "stirred as never before in its history," for three weeks beginning just after New Year's.[53] Denver pastors had worked toward the revival for a year, having decided to hold it after learning about the Pittsburgh campaign. The way was carefully prepared by 440 prayer meetings from Christmas to the campaign kick-off, an activity that intensified lay involvement.

From the beginning churches were thronged; noonday meetings had to be moved into the city's largest theater. Citing "inherent apathy," bad weather, and worse political scandals that might have distracted attention from the evangelists, one Congregationalist marveled, "That under these conditions religion found its way to the front page of the Denver press proves that the city was stirred to its depths." The Denver Post never ceased to proclaim the glad tidings with front-page photos and banner headlines: "[N]o man ever visited Denver on a similar mission...who has so won his way into the hearts of the people of every class as

has Dr. Chapman." Again: "The revival that has been occupying the hearts and minds of the entire city for over eighteen days has closed, thus putting an end to the greatest religious campaign the city has ever seen."[54] The Post, disgusted by the political scandals that had made a mockery of the recent gubernatorial election, was pleased at the opportunity for uplift.

It was at Denver that Chapman, who had recently witnessed the Dawson mission in Brooklyn, seems to have instituted his own march into the Tenderloin. One night a procession of men, three blocks long, made its way among the saloons and other places of Tenderloin business to scoop out some of its denizens for midnight rallies. They stopped at each night spot and sang hymns, while Salvation Army soldiers and other volunteers handed out invitations to attend a gospel service at 11:30. Some six hundred joined the procession; after hearing evangelists Biederwolf and Ostrom preach, one hundred of them indicated conversions. The experiment was repeated in different form another night at People's Tabernacle, located in "that part of the city where temptation is strongest." Its pastor preached after distributing 150,000 sandwiches and forty gallons of coffee collected in the campaign. Evangelist Daniel Toy, a reformed alcoholic himself, spoke at a late-night service for men who had been brought in from the saloons by several hundred volunteers. Scores responded to his invitation and "...hurried

to the front of the church that they might proclaim their allegiance to Christ."[55]

The Chapman campaign culminated in a city-wide day of prayer on January 20. Some four hundred businesses were closed to honor the occasion and to permit their employees to attend prayer services; city offices were shut by order of the mayor; even the Colorado legislature, in which lawmakers had come close to a riot only two weeks before over a vote fraud investigation, adjourned for the day. An estimated twelve thousand people attended services in all the churches and in four theaters from noon until two; ten thousand more people could not get in. The Denver Post estimated that thirty-five thousand people attended services sometime in that day. "Seldom has such a remarkable sight been witnessed--an entire great city, in the middle of a busy week, bowing before the throne of heaven....All business was practically suspended in response to the request of the men whose powerful, majestic personalities have so wonderfully grasped the hearts of Denver's people."[56]

As with Chapman campaigns there was no official tally of Denver converts, so the proper number cannot be fixed, but one estimate placed the number at five thousand.[57] Methodist reports convey a sense that the revival strengthened the churches' own evangelism and lay participation for the future. Some churches in the Denver-Northwestern Colorado Methodist District doubled their membership in 1905, though large accessions were not the rule everywhere.[58]

Billy Sunday, too, ventured into the land of the Rockies; he held a revival in Canon City in late March and April, during which time 934 people indicated decisions for Christ. This brought 214 new members into the Methodist church and overwhelmed its new building, which had already become too small by 180 seats for its rapidly growing Sunday school program.[59]

Colorado Methodists experienced banner years in both 1905 and 1906. "Revival fire has burned throughout the year and most of our churches have been warmed into larger life," the Methodist Pueblo District elder observed in September 1905:

> Where large numbers have not been converted persistent after-work has brought the desired result. God has been with us in a quickening presence....This year has been rich in evangelistic effort and achievement.[60]

For Methodists, Denver's revival times carried on into 1906, spreading into outlying areas. "It may be questioned if Denver District were ever in better condition than at this hour," the presiding elder wrote for that area. There, benevolences, for example, were at an all-time high. "Revivals have visited our Churches, souls have been saved; the evangelistic spirit pervades the life of the pastors and people." All this took place despite "worldliness and indifference, everywhere abounding" and produced "the best [year] in the history of our work in all this great area."[61] Meanwhile, in Pueblo District, the elder commented: "The evangelistic note has been dominant in every pulpit and has

brought good increase to our membership by probation, and stirred out many a hidden letter [of church membership] and many a buried talent....A series of meetings has been held on almost every charge and good average success realized."[62]

Other factors were at work, tendencies that gave shape to the Revival and to the subsequent history of evangelicalism. The official of Denver District was cheered not only by the evangelistic spirit but also by "the new impulse" and "invigorating touch" of prosperity, which helped boost benevolences, bless church-building plans, and in general put everyone in an expansive mood.[63] Interestingly, enthusiasm for efficiency pervaded the report, mingling with satisfaction in the general material prosperity, optimism for the future, and an expansiveness concerning evangelistic planning; combined, they reflected much of the tenor of the awakening of 1905 and much of the Progressive spirit.

Colorado was a bright spot for the Baptists in both 1905 and 1906. Home missionaries claimed in 1905 that they were devoting more attention to evangelistic effort there than in many years, with "gracious" results.[64] Successes carried on into another year of "splendid progress" in 1906, with two thousand additions and more than nine hundred baptisms, "the largest number baptized during any single year in the history of the Baptist effort in the State." Church plants showed vigor, too, in the challenge of cutting loose financially from the Home Mission Agency.[65]

D. California

Southern California evangelicals found an unusually fertile field for evangelism at the dawn of 1905. On January 27 it was Los Angeles' turn in the long Chapman march from Atlanta to Seattle. As some observers saw it, the way had been well prepared for Chapman by the speaking tour a year before by G. Campbell Morgan and by desires for civic righteousness expressed in the November 1904 elections. In any event the team of preachers, singers, and assistants labored three weeks in the Los Angeles area with the support of one hundred churches. The activities included a day of prayer for the whole city as well as preaching in churches, the streets, a downtown theater, an evangelistic coffee club, meat-packing houses, and even at a massive oceanside service at Long Beach. On February 3, four thousand men and women, headed by Mayor Connett and the Salvation Army, marched through torrents of street-flooding rain into the Tenderloin. "Blear-eyed brawlers, besotted drunkards, blatant scoffers, midnight walking Magdalens, gazed at the strange spectacle"; the marchers sang "Onward, Christian Soldiers."[66]

Attendance throughout was good. Up to the work's completion February 19, more than 181,000 people had filled the halls; hundreds had to be turned away from some meetings; overflow services required additional overflow services. More than 4,200 conversion cards were returned. The campaign was said to hurt saloon business, costing one brewery $4,000

one week. "Los Angeles has never witnessed so powerful a religious awakening," Baptist Henry Wadsworth crowed. "The civic conscience was aroused and steps have been taken to banish the saloon from our midst and to abolish race track gambling at Ascot Park."[67]

The campaign both demonstrated and helped cement a powerful unity which "...proved beyond cavil that the great chasm assumed to exist between the various denominations does not exist," insisted the Methodist presiding elder for Los Angeles District. "A long stride has been taken toward the millennium."[68] Also characteristic of the Revival of 1905 nationwide, the work was boosted by lay involvement, which in turn reflected a warming of spiritual ardor. "Even before the formal meetings commenced there was a marked revival of interest in the purely spiritual functions of the church," wrote a Congregational correspondent:

> ...New zest in Bible study, an awakening to the obligation "to be my brother's keeper" has led members of the churches to see whether they could do "personal work," and confessions of sin, with attempts to make restoration for wrong done, have followed.[69]

Los Angeles-area churches received large accessions and benefitted from the revival spirit for months afterward. On March 5 three Baptist churches received forty, thirty-seven, and thirty-two respectively.[70] One Sunday First Methodist Church received fifty probationers and fifty new members by letter. So many congregants attended its Easter communion service that University Methodist Church ran out of communion cups for them.[71] Newman Methodist Church, with 160 new

members, more than doubled its total membership to three hundred during 1905. This church, the Los Angeles Methodist District elder wrote, was "perhaps the most signal instance of a continuous revival spirit."[72] That spirit remained strong enough in the Los Angeles area through April to support another major union campaign, preached by Methodist evangelist E. J. Bulgin in a tent seating five thousand. Five hundred people, notably including many men, indicated conversion decisions.[73]

Methodist churches elsewhere in Southern California experienced the wave of revival with or without the boost of the Greater Los Angeles campaign. "Whittier Methodism has just witnessed the most gracious revival of its history," a Southern California Methodist wrote about a monthlong campaign beginning January 8. Of the two hundred converts, Methodist church received seventy-five new probationers while others joined other churches.[74] At the same time a Methodist church in North Pasadena underwent "deep conviction" through a campaign that led to conversions and many rededications--"the fuller baptism of the Holy Ghost."[75] Also in January a Dawson-style mission, preached by a Congregational evangelist, crowded a Pomona church night after night. Unitarians, Episcopalians, and Catholics joined "heartily" with evangelicals to support the work. About a hundred conversions were recorded, mostly young men.[76]

On March 30 the California Christian Advocate carried notices such as: "Despite the unfavorable weather, the

revival spirit continues at the Oak Street church, Ventura"; "First church, Riverside, was crowded to the doors Wednesday evening last, fully 1,100 people being present at the revival services conducted by Dr. Bulgin..."; "The work at Marysville goes on nicely. The membership has increased twenty per cent. and all by probation. The morning services have increased from seventy to 110...." This last took place without a special evangelistic campaign. At San Dimas a "...genuine revival of true religion blessed this beautiful village." There, evangelist J. B. Holley held a two-week series at a church that was "already in a state of revival and souls were being saved." Once Holley got going, "...the whole country round about felt the power of the revival and the church was crowded every night." After three weeks, conversions numbered fifty, and the services were extended indefinitely.[77]

San Diego, too, played host to the revival of 1905. In January, Central Methodist Church was "in the midst of a gracious revival" with many conversions. During the winter First Methodist took in large numbers of new members--twenty-three on March 12 alone, making 116 in the five months leading up to then.[78] In February the Methodist church at nearby Nestor was "blessed with the most gracious revival in its history" for two weeks. The conversions were "clear and distinct. Some of the men who were among the worst in the community have been truly converted." The

twenty-five accessions to membership doubled the church's actual working force.[79]

Northern California also felt the impact of the revival in the winter of 1905. San Francisco was not noted for a major revival; still, religious interest was on the rise, and the theme of social healing appealed to many people. "Not in many years," declared the California Christian Advocate, which was based there, "have the 'signs of promise' been so fair for a better church life in San Francisco than at present. The sense of energy and determination is pervading the churches." Financial giving and attendance were up, and the church had increased its influence in the community:

> ...The public press is more friendly to Christian ideas. The wild current of crime which has been rampant in the political life of the city has...awakened a considerable reaction....The best element in the city is convinced that a strong, clear type of Christian manhood is the only thing that will save the city from riot and bloodshed.[80]

As an example of church prosperity, San Francisco's Epworth Methodist Church had thirty-seven accessions in March without special services. "During the past few weeks God has blessed us with a gracious visitation of his Holy Spirit," the pastor wrote, "and large numbers of our young people have been won to Christ, and many more have taken higher ground for God....Pungent conviction has taken hold of the people...."[81]

The power of the revival statewide was reflected in annual denominational reports. A "year of success unparal-

Methodists saw 1904-1905. "Hundreds of souls have been won to Christ. On almost every charge there has been a revival...." The tone of wonder stands in contrast to the jeremiadic tone of the 1904 report and the optimistic but more business-like 1906 one.[82] It was similar for Los Angeles Presbyterians. In 1904 the Los Angeles presbytery Minutes had complained of indifference to the catechism, lonely midweek services (less than ten percent of church members attending), and "no unusual spiritual interest," though there had been a pleasing number of accessions. A year later, in the spring of 1905, the report called 1904-1905 "an unequalled year in the annals of Presbyterianism in this Presbytery and on the coast." "Many [church] reports make special reference to the [Chapman] evangelistic services as helpful or to other special services in the churches," the compiler noted. With more evangelistic preaching, and better worship and Sunday school attendance, Presbyterianism was "on a firmer footing and has brighter prospects than ever before....It takes no prophet's vision to see the blue banner going forward to glorious victory."[83] The California Synod's "Narrative" put the matter more sedately: 1904-1905 had been a year of "unusual activity and large increase.... [Presbyterian reports] exhibit a high degree of excellence as to the spiritual life and work of the churches...."[84]

For Baptists in California, 1905 and 1906 marked phenomenal growth. In 1905 the 121 Baptist mission churches prospered. "They are in a healthy and aggressive condi-

tion...," the home mission society said of them. "Their determination to be self-supporting is evidence of their spiritual life." Seven actually took that plunge, as opposed to the normal yearly number of three. All but two mission churches launched some kind of special outreach over the year, and it was the "most successful year that the Convention has ever had."[85]

Churches in Southern California continued to have success in evangelism through the end of the year and beyond. Even though its gospel services in November conflicted with bad weather and a major union campaign in Fullerton just four miles away, the Methodist church at Anaheim "...received a baptism of new life and power, the house being packed nightly and to overflowing on Sunday. ...We do not think of discontinuing the revival at this time, though the evangelist has gone from us, but we are praying for a year of revival."[86] In December at Prospect Park Methodist Church in Los Angeles, Mary Dennis, "a strong, earnest, logical and consecrated preacher" and "a general in leading the altar service," marshaled about fifty converts to the altar. These included girls from the Spanish Industrial School. "Several of them were grandly converted and are now interested in the salvation of others."[87]

Sunday, January 28, 1906 marked a banner day for First Methodist in San Diego, "the culmination of the greatest spiritual uplift in the [church's] history...," a correspondent claimed:

> ...One hundred and twenty-five new scholars have been added to the Sunday school, the Ladies' Aid Society has more than doubled its membership and sixty-five new members have been secured for the Epworth League. The Sunday congregations have greatly increased, the prayer-meeting attendance has more than doubled and a great spiritual quickening has been felt throughout the whole church. The financial results are most gratifying.[88]

Not long afterward the church's Epworth League branch added fifty-one members.[89]

On February 1 Central Baptist in Los Angeles could look back on a "phenomenal" year: a hundred new members, a fast-growing Sunday school, and "...all departments in vigorous operation, congregations large."[90] Later that month a Quaker evangelist, Levi D. Barr ("sound in body, spirit, doctrine and methods"), led a successful, stirring revival in Orange and repeatedly filled the Methodist church.[91] "Phenomenal" or "gracious" described a campaign at the Methodist church in North Pasadena. "A great deal of the time the auditorium was packed to the doors...," the California Christian Advocate asserted. "[T]he heavy storms did not hinder the people from coming. Some of the greatest meetings were on the worst nights." More than a hundred professed conversion, many boldly testifying openly for their new faith both in the church and outside. The Sunday after the campaign the four hundred-seat church added ninety-seven new members.[92]

In March E. J. Bulgin, despite injuries from a train wreck, left the hospital to preach in Whittier seated in a chair. "Whittier was thoroughly aroused, great crowds attending the services..."; conversions numbered about one

hundred.[93] On April 2 Pasadena launched a major city-wide campaign, each pastor preaching in his own church. Grace Methodist Church in Los Angeles at the same time was planning to hold a "camp meeting and revival...after the Welsh model," that is, led (or assisted) by praying bands like that of Evan Roberts. This, observed the notice, "...is a method likely to earn success in that region of the city, for Grace church is really in a mission field."[94]

The revival continued in 1906 in Northern California, too. At Half Moon Bay south of San Francisco, a Methodist church "...that for so long a time has been struggling to live is showing signs of renewed life and activity." After ten days of evangelism preached by the pastor, the church received fourteen on probation and one by certificate; nine of the new members were Portuguese.[95] In Soulsbyville in the Sierras a series of meetings encountered bad weather and personal opposition. "But glorious victory came the fourth week. Seeker after seeker found Christ....Conviction was abroad....The 'revival' became the one theme of conversation."[96]

For several weeks, even months, San Francisco evangelicals had been earnestly preparing for a major revival, asserted that city's California Christian Advocate right before the great earthquake. Several campaigns were in progress then at Methodist churches.[97] Needless to say, April 1906 marked a hiatus in such efforts.

Between San Francisco and the Oregon border in March effective campaigns took place in Cazadero, Sawtelle, Yuma City, and Susanville.[98] "Eureka (Northern California) has been stirred from center to circumference...," came a news item and a familiar expression in December 1906. Union services were led by E. J. Bulgin, who "...unflinchingly unmasked sin and aroused the dry bones in the church....He has shown the reason why Humboldt county does not forge ahead as she ought with all her natural resources...." Converts numbered between two and three hundred, while "...backsliders have been reclaimed, church members have confessed their sins, enemies have been reconciled and the cause of temperance advanced." For one day pastors in the campaign were given editorial charge of a local paper.[99]

Summing up what he had found in California and six other states under his jurisdiction, the Baptist home mission superintendent felt in 1906 that people from all the denominations had a more positive view of evangelism, and revivals were more fruitful than in recent years. "The outlook for evangelistic work is more hopeful than heretofore," he concluded, asserting that he had enough requests for evangelistic services to put four or five more men in the field. The Los Angeles general missionary agreed. "Work throughout is in a splendid condition....The Baptist denomination has doubled in numbers and more than doubled in influence in the last four years in Southern California."[100]

E. Oregon and Washington

The upsurge of revival spirit of late 1904 left its mark on Portland's Willamette University in December, when a faculty member conducted a week or two of evangelistic services for students. "At the close of the meetings there was hardly an unconverted student left at the university."[101]

In Oregon, as was faithfully reported in the Pacific Christian Advocate, expectations of revival stirred the Methodist pastors--and their congregations--to rarely seen fervor. At the preachers' meeting in Portland the day after Christmas, one minister "whose soul had been deeply stirred" rose and urged his brethren "that the great need of the preachers in Portland was a baptism of the Holy Ghost and that all efforts without this baptism would be like a man beating the air...." He suggested that Bishops Thoburn and Moore "...lead them in meetings preparatory to revival efforts for an hour every morning during that week. The motion was carried unanimously."[102] Nationwide, as in Portland, this kind of enthusiasm was typical of many preachers' meetings in 1905 and 1906 but had been much less common before.

As elsewhere, too, congregations shared in this spirit and proved willing to turn it into action. Judging from the enthusiasm within the Methodist church at Joseph, for example, revival seemed imminent around New Year's. The pastor wrote: "The church is awakening to the great possibilities that lie before her....The Sunday school is increasing in attendance and effectiveness. The Week of Prayer meetings

drew large congregations; the meetings will probably be continued as evangelistic meetings."[103]

Revival notices from around the state, reprinted in Portland's Pacific Christian Advocate, showed how Oregon evangelicals had found the evangelistic note. At Farmington a three-week effort in the Methodist church in January, which brought in thirty converts and twenty-one new church members, was considered by old settlers to be the best meeting ever held in the community.[104] In a revival in Pendleton, M. T. Baltazor, a former preacher who had dropped out of the ministry, rededicated himself to Christian service and "received the baptism of the Holy Ghost." Returning home to the mountain settlement he lived in fifteen miles away, Baltazor "...straightway announced a revival meeting to begin in his own neighborhood, where there was not another Christian home, and where scarcely two families were on friendly terms." With the help of another evangelist he ran a ten-day campaign, after which a new Methodist church was formed with two previous church members and thirty-three new probationers.[105]

That winter the "church news" pages of the Pacific Christian Advocate, where even during the winter evangelism season revival notices usually were liberally mingled with social notes, now carried almost nothing but accounts of stirring revivals. Washington, Oregon, and Idaho shared in this prosperity. The issue of March 1, 1905 was unusually replete with such stories. At about that time the Baptist

McMinnville (now Linfield) College, in the town of that name not far southwest of Portland, had weeks of revival. Speakers such as Kenneth Scott Latourette and a Methodist evangelist came in to stoke the spiritual fires. One observer was struck by the sight of "the president and all [ten] of the faculty on their knees praying together for the unsaved students under their care." Forty students were moved to indicate conversion and get baptized.[106]

In late March the Chapman campaign reached Portland and remained for three weeks. Numbers of converts were not available, but an estimated twelve hundred joined various churches. The day of prayer went into effect April 5, and from five to eight thousand eight thousand people joined in the midnight march.[107] During the campaign two hundred stores agreed to close daily--not just on the general day of prayer--for three hours to permit employees to attend midday services. Chapman, while not giving out figures, claimed that "...he had never in his life witnessed so many notable conversions in the same length of time as we have had in Portland."[108]

That summer the Methodist church in Clatskanie, northwest of Portland, held a successful revival in which twenty-five joined the church. What made that remarkable was that just five months later the same church was at it again with a four-week campaign. "We have just closed a glorious revival here...," the pastor exulted at the beginning of February 1906. "It was a prayed-down, heaven born, God sent

revival. The old-time power was with us from the first." This time there were forty-five conversions.[109]

Baptists found the Oregon backcountry especially fertile, and in 1905 the home missions outlook in Oregon was encouraging. "In many respects the promises of the preceding year have been more than fulfilled," the annual report stated. "The Spirit of the Lord has been very manifestly present. Souls have been saved and the workers made one in Him. The outlook for the future is encouraging indeed." With 121 churches and resident members totaling just under six thousand (and another twenty-four hundred nonresidents), the Baptists added 769 members and baptized 664 adults, as counted in the Annual Report of the Home Mission Society.[110]

State evangelist H. Wyse Jones carried out campaigns at the opposite logistical end from Chapman's. In "very small" churches he preached 465 sermons during the year (October 1904 to October 1905), without a song leader, "buildings inadequate, singing often poor, and workers untrained." Yet Jones was very satisfied with results. The whole enterprise would be justified alone, he claimed, by his success in "bringing into active Christian service those who have only been nominally Christians." That was not the only result. From October 1904 to October 1905 Jones delivered 460 sermons in tiny churches and saw 645 people respond by "definitely" converting (with two hundred maybe's), and 348 joined the churches. "[T]here is not a grander State in the Union for evangelistic work than Oregon to-day," he

insisted. "The whole Northwest is awake to the opportunity of the hour. Evangelism is in the air. Churches are hungry, preachers are aroused, the ungodly world looks on in wonder and interest."[111]

In autumn of 1906 the evangelistic air still permeated Baptist home missions, whose Oregon resident members now numbered 7,800, a gain of thirty percent over the 1905 number (the nonresidents, fewer than in 1905, brought the total 1906 membership to 9,838). "The splendid results the past year in Oregon has [sic] exceeded all previous years," a pastor affiliated with the society asserted. "Our expectations were great, but not greater than the blessings bestowed by Him who waits to be gracious." The 122 churches shared 1,076 baptisms--"the largest number ever reported by Baptists in Oregon."[112]

Also in 1906 Northwestern Methodist pastors continued to send glowing reports similar to those of 1905 to the Pacific Christian Advocate, stories of fervor and conversions of a type that had been unusual before 1905.[113]

In Aberdeen, Washington, in February the Methodist church claimed to be enjoying its greatest revival ever. "Multitudes" went forward and remained to pray, and 165 indicated conversions. "The entire church was stirred, enemies became friends, a spirit of love and unity prevails in the church," the pastor wrote in to the Pacific Christian Advocate:

> ...Up to date 90 have united with the church; others will unite Sunday. The Sabbath School taxes the seating capacity of the church. A new church building is imperative....The prayer meetings are the largest in the history of the church.[114]

As mentioned, the March 1 issue of the Pacific Christian Advocate was full of news of strong revivals, especially in Washington. From Seattle: "The Green Lake Church closed a precious revival....A large number of the converts have already united with our church." From Tacoma: "Asbury [Methodist] is in the midst of a splendid revival....[S]eventy-five have been known to be seekers, and thirty-two united with the church on Sunday [March 12]." From South Tacoma: "About 100 have bowed as seekers of pardon at the altar, and up to date 65 have united with the church, with more to follow." From Sequim: "Last week we had one soul saved. Monday we had four at the altar and last night the altar did not hold them...The organist stopped in the middle of a piece and made a rush for the altar."[115]

That spring in Cashmere, central Washington, the Methodists held meetings which brought many converts and sixty new members, and the congregation continued to grow from there. Ironically, they had just opened a new church building thought to be too big. By the spring of 1906 it was full for both Sunday services; church membership had doubled within the year.[116] In the spring of 1905 Pullman Baptists carried on a four-week revival featuring state evangelist Ray Palmer. Between eighty and a hundred people indicated decisions, and Pullman was "moved to its very core."[117] As

in other areas of the country, state evangelists of the various denominations such as Palmer carried much of the weight of the Revival of 1905 into towns and small cities. The Methodist D. D. Benedict often lit up the "Revival Notices" column of the Pacific Christian Advocate with striking evangelistic results in such places as Buckley, Tacoma, Cheney, and Mount Vernon.

Seattle and outlying towns shared in what was transpiring elsewhere in the state. The commitment of Seattle clergymen to the general revival can be seen in the schedule the Methodist ministers announced in December 1904 for their upcoming biweekly Monday meetings: January 2, fasting and prayer service; January 16, "The Endowment of Power"; January 30, "Aggressive Evangelism"; February 13, "Reaching the Masses"; and beyond that until May all the topics were evangelistic.[118]

Gratifying revivals or at least steady growth took place in Seattle-area churches during the winter. Seattle Congregationalists, for example, reported "genuine but quiet" religious interest. Going back into the fall of 1904, almost every Congregational pastor held a week of evangelistic services, with good results in accessions.[119] Then, in mid-April the Chapman march from Atlanta finally reached the "sea." By that point, after months of stimulating reports of Chapman revivals, there was considerable anticipation of what he might bring into Seattle. Enthusiasm built among active evangelical Protestants; a Christian Endeavor Union

meeting in Ballard April 7 was "said by those present [to be] the most enthusaistic held in the Sound in fifteen years."[120] Moreover, the anticipation somehow reached well outside the church. The Seattle Star's enterprising reporter Dan Dean, just before the Chapman campaign, interviewed several Tenderloin prostitutes who were well-informed about the Portland revival; they expressed guardedly favorable attitudes toward Chapman's upcoming visit.[121]

"CHAPMAN CRUSADE BEGINS" blared the Seattle Times April 11. Chapman himself began by preaching in First Presbyterian Church, the forum of the charismatic Reverend Mark Allison Matthews, who was in charge of the campaign's publicity and who in some ways was Seattle's George Lunn (see Chapter 8). In nine simultaneous meetings the first night, all the seats were taken, but in the opinion of the Post-Intelligencer reporter the enthusiasm was no more than that of a usual Sunday service--"no rush, no overcrowding, no frenzied anxiety on the part of the people to seek religious balm."[122] Yet in coming days the enthusiasm built. Just the following evening, the Post-Intelligencer reported, attendance in all districts was much larger, and many could not get in. Two nights later the sidewalks were "black with people" in front of First Methodist Church a half hour before the Chapman talk there, and an open-air song service was improvised. The talk that drew the crowds was "Why Our Prayers Are Not Answered."[123]

The Seattle campaign took some interesting turns partly because of the notoriety-hungry Seattle Star. Apparently while interviewing in the Tenderloin, Star reporter Dan Dean arranged a true scoop: the "king of the Tenderloin," Moses Goldsmith, agreed to let Chapman have his Strand Theater for a meeting in the heart of the district. Chapman, surprised, readily agreed and journeyed to the heart of the Tenderloin on April 13 to visit Goldsmith. Dean was there to write about it in colorful fashion when the two met to finalize the arrangement.[124] Then, on April 15 (p. 1) Dean and the Star wrote that Chapman was using hypnotism. This caused heated controversy, and the paper soon dropped the notion. Then, in a startling variant of the "if you can't beat 'em" formula, while reporting the April 19 rally at the Strand, the Star announced it had invited the Chapman team to take over its editorial functions for a day.[125]

The scheduled march through the Tenderloin, led by Chapman, Matthews, a Salvation Army band, and several other evangelists and ministers, drew far more people than any previous Chapman effort: fifteen thousand, or almost ten percent of the city's population of the time.[126] Apparently, this outflow of the concerned and curious from the churches was received in a welcoming spirit by the throngs of Tenderloin denizens who watched from the sidewalks or joined in the procession. "There was nothing uppish or rude about the district last night. It was on its best behaviour, and under the gaslights it looked like it had on its best bib and

tucker." At the end of the march, two Chapman evangelists preached in a big tent and in the Grand Opera House. The vast march created controversy because the procession included impressionable young women and children.[127] But it created a vivid impression on more seasoned adults, too. Several Seattle politicos expressed surprise at how little impact the church was having in city politics when, as one put it, "if I had a following like that I could carry this city in my pocket."[128]

This vast oupouring from Seattle's churches and its positive reception suggests that an attractive theme of the revival in Seattle was social healing.[129] The campaign was a slight disppointment in other regards, however, including numbers of conversions. Not enough enthusiasm could be found for a citywide day of prayer except for a successful one in the nearby fishing town of Ballard (under Henry Ostrom's preaching, largely Norwegian Ballard produced five hundred conversions as well).[130]

A poignant illustration of the interest in healing was Chapman's other incursion into the Tenderloin two nights later. The Strand revival, which Goldsmith helpfully promoted up and down the area in "vaudeville style," drew at least two thousand people (the Star said three thousand). Some of these were curious church people who again braved the journey into this area. They watched fascinated as women of the "underworld" flocked into the front rows in front of the stage. Behind them, according to the Times reporter,

"...were men of almost every class and condition in life. The great majority were wage workers [with] a considerable sprinkling of roughs and saloon hangers-on...." The men and women both showed deep interest when Chapman spoke. The evangelist began very delicately, speaking to the men and having difficulty at first in acknowledging the "gaudily arrayed forms in the boxes" at his feet as well. He wanted to avoid condemning their life-style, a difficult proposition considering that personal habits usually took much of his attention. "I don't want to preach to any of you about what you may have been and done," Chapman told the Tenderloin crowd. "We are all of us weak...and [have] sinned...all of us need forgiveness, the love and grace of God to lift us up and to bring us back to right living. I come to you as your friend!" He seemed to almost shout the word.[131]

Instead of condemnation, the evangelist treated his audience to sweet anecdotes. The rugged crowd, who unlike church members obviously had not been inoculated by exposure to this, was rendered helpless. Chapman's sermon on "The Prodigal Son" offered many opportunities for tenderness. The story of a mute girl who, learning how to frame her lips, let her first words be "I love you" to her father, induced many tears and two dead faints.[132] Yet that was not even Chapman's Sunday punch. Only at the end did he "...touch the most tender spot in the heart of every man and woman present." His voice shaking with emotion, he urged his hearers to kneel with him in prayer--with a reminder of "your

mother." Then one-half of his hearers (the Post-Intelligencer estimated one-third) joined him, kneeling on the sawdust on the floor.[133]

His approach suggests that Chapman regarded his audience as not a group of heathens but as middle-class evangelicals gone wrong. The impact of the Strand talk, unfortunately, cannot be measured; no cards were handed out at this meeting, and it is not clear that Chapman laid out a gospel more specific than "return to God in prayer." It is possible that the Salvation Army and other missions followed up some of the people.

Another aspect of the social healing theme in the city that gave "Skid Road" its name was the prominence of Charles Stelzle. It appears that for the sake of emphasizing his comity with the Social Gospel, Chapman thrust the labor evangelist forward. Then, when the Seattle Star offered the evangelists a day to run the newspaper, Stelzle (who had done a lot of newspaper writing himself) took over as editor.[134] Stelzle spoke on the problems of labor from several pulpits, including that of Mark Allison Matthews, who a few years later was branding Stelzle a socialist.[135] The Moran Brothers firm, incidentally, did Stelzle a publicity favor by refusing to admit him to speak to their workers because he was a union member.

Evangelist William Biederwolf had left the group to conduct services in Tacoma, fifty miles south of Seattle. The campaign featured a successful march, four blocks long,

into the Tenderloin which attracted even more spectators than marchers. A Tacoma correspondent, J. P. Marlott, wrote to Portland: "I am sure they [the meetings] made the deepest impression ever made on Tacoma since the [B. Fay] Mills meetings twelve years ago....The crowds were too large for any building in the city." He estimated that five to seven hundred conversions were made in the campaign. His church, First Methodist, received fifty-five new members and baptized twenty-one people. Yet the new members were only a quarter of the 206 received into the church since October.[136]

In other words, the church was benefitting from the Revival of 1905 even before the Chapman evangelists came. One church, Asbury Methodist, reported eighty-one accessions in four months and credited them to the E. E. Benedict campaign in January. (This evangelist returned to Tacoma in May.) First Methodist had had 225 since October and twenty more than when Marlott had written four weeks before. Other churches reported scores of accessions, and the district reported a net gain of six hundred members. "Tacoma Methodism is on the forward march," reported the Pacific Christian Advocate. "Every church has had a good year and the prospects are that a great advance will be made on all lines."[137]

Around the state Baptist missions prospered in 1905 and 1906 as the area grew rapidly in population. The Baptists had 966 baptisms to report for 1905 as compared to 770 for 1904 (this latter figure itself being a jump of about a

hundred from 1903).[138] In western Washington alone, the net gain of 871 in 1905 boosted total membership of the Baptist churches by 14 percent to 6,904. Missions work prospered also, yet more could have been done, considering the religious interest. "It is simply impossible to keep pace in our missionary work with the strategic opportunities." Of the nineteen counties in the area five still had no Baptist missionaries.[139]

The Northwest offered a few instances in which missions to nonwhite groups met with better than usual success. Methodist work among Japanese in Seattle--as well as in other West Coast cities--featured a "very hopeful condition," according to the Methodist superintendent for Japanese work. "Enthusiastic meetings have been held at all points," he told the Seattle Preachers' Meeting, mentioning "fine advances" in the number of baptisms and in monies raised among Japanese-American Methodists for church self-support and benevolences. The preachers were very impressed with the report and appointed a committee of five to raise money for the mission.[140]

Another group was American Indians. The Presbyterian Reverend James Hayes, normally pastor in a Nez Perce church in Kamiah, Idaho, took an evangelistic tour among tribe members in Washington. "His presence has been most cordially welcomed by the Indians and his ministry has been richly blessed," the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions gladly claimed.[141] Presbyterian Nez Perces, on the other hand,

appear to have taught their white codenominationalists lessons in spirituality, according to the Seattle Times. At a special service in April in Hayes' church, hundreds curious whites gathered to hear Nez Perce ministers "...and partake of the religious enthusiasm brought here by the wild men of the forest." The article mentioned that the enthusiasm there "...is exhilarating in comparison with the carelessness of some of the services of the white man." White and Nez Perce clergymen planned a revival for July 4. This was just the Presbyterians; that summer the Nez Perce Methodist Church also was "blessed with a genuine revival of great influence and wide significance."[142]

* * * NOTES TO CHAPTER VI * * *

1. LCO, May 24, 1905, p. 5.
2. "Workers Use Telephones," Kansas City Star, January 17, 1905, p. 2.
3. PCA, February 8, 1905, p. 13; Kansas City Star, January 18, 1905, p. 4; Christian Endeavor World, March 30, 1905, p. 517.
4. SCLA, February 22, 1905, p. 14.
5. Ibid., March 29, 1905, p. 14.
6. LCO, March 15, 1905, p. 12.
7. SCLA, March 22, 1905, p. 14.
8. Ibid., April 5, 1905, p. 14.
9. LCO, May 3, 1905, p. 14.
10. SCLA, June 7, 1905, p. 14.
11. Ibid., November 1, 1905, p. 14.
12. Ibid., March 21, 1906, p. 9.
13. NYCA, February 2, 1905, p. 25.
14. Ibid., March 9, 1905, p. 23.
15. Congregationalist, February 10, 1906, p. 203.
16. "Splendid Results in Mason City," Christian Endeavor World, March 23, 1905, p. 489. Conversions, according to Frankenberg, numbered a thousand.
17. Frankenberg, Spectacular Career, pp. 126,127.
18. Ibid., pp. 126,127. William McLoughlin contended that Burlington accelerated Sunday's career (Billy Sunday Was His Real Name).
19. New York Observer, March 16, 1905, p. 339; Central Christian Advocate quoted in PCA, February 8, 1905, p. 13; Congregationalist, February 4, 1905, p. 148.
20. Congregationalist, March 4, 1905, p. 307.
21. NYCA, March 16, 1905, p. 32.
22. Congregationalist, July 15, 1905, p. 99.
23. Annual Report of the Baptist Home Mission Society, 1906, p. 91.
24. Baptist Argus, March 23, 1905, p. 7, quoted by Shepherd, "Awakening of 1904-1908," p. 131.
25. Christian Herald, March 8, 1905, p. 221.
26. New York Observer, November 9, 1905, p. 690.
27. Congregationalist, March 25, 1905, p. 287.
28. Ibid., p. 287.
29. Frankenberg, Spectacular Career, pp. 126,127.
30. NYCA, March 23, 1905, p. 23.
31. Ibid., March 2, 1905, p. 23; Congregationalist, March 25, 1905, p. 387.
32. Minneapolis Tribune, November 1, 1905 (Chapman clippings, Presbyterian Historical Society).
33. Ibid., November 10, 1905, (Chapman clippings, Presbyterian Historical Society).

34. "Speakers Thrill Great Audiences," ibid., November 4, 1905 (Chapman clippings, Presbyterian Historical Society).
35. Minneapolis newspaper clipping (Chapman clippings, Presbyterian Historical Society).
36. Congregationalist, November 25, 1905, p. 772.
37. Minneapolis Journal, November 14, 1905 (Chapman clippings, Presbyterian Historical Society).
38. New York Observer, February 14, 1906, p. 25.
39. "Report of the Board of Home Missions," Presbyterian General Assembly, 1905, p. 295.
40. J. P. Brushingham, "The Progress of Aggressive Evangelism," CCA, December 7, 1905, p. 12.
41. Annual Report of the Baptist Home Mission Society, 1905, p. 78.
42. Ibid., p. 90.
43. LCO, May 17, 1905, p. 14; Orr, Flaming Tongue, p. 75.
44. Reverend John M. Shive, "An Interesting Work of Grace," LCO, February 8, 1905, p. 11.
45. Ibid., May 3, 1905, p. 14.
46. NYCA, June 8, 1905, p. 22.
47. "Revival in Dallas, Texas," LCO, April 25, 1906, p. 8.
48. Prof. D. F. Eagleton, "Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman in Texas," ibid., May 9, 1906, p. 6.
49. Ham, Fifty Years, pp. 83-99.
50. Annual Report of the Baptist Home Mission Society, 1906, p. 95.
51. Principal Walter J. Peck, "A Great Revival and Bible Institute," BHMM, March 1906, p. 118.
52. "Glad News From Oklahoma," ibid., March 1906, p. 86.
53. H. E. Du Puy, "The Wonderful Revival in Denver," Christian Herald, February 15, 1905, p. 142.
54. Congregationalist, February 4, 1905, p. 148; Denver Post, January 24, 1905, p. 8.
55. Watchman, March 30, 1905, p. 8; Du Puy, "Wonderful Revival," p. 142.
56. Denver Post, January 20, 1905, p. 1.
57. Du Puy, "Wonderful Revival," p. 142.
58. Minutes of the Methodist Colorado Conference, 1905, pp. 216,217.
59. Ibid., pp. 216,217; Frankenberg, Spectacular Career, p. 132.
60. Minutes of the Methodist Colorado Conference, 1905, pp. 241.
61. Ibid., 1906, pp. 365,366.
62. Ibid., p. 385.
63. Ibid., pp. 366,367.
64. Annual Report of the Baptist Home Mission Society, 1905, p. 85.
65. Annual Report of the Baptist Home Mission Society, 1906, p. 96.
66. "Pacific Coast Revival," New York Observer, April 13, 1905, p. 477; Orr, Flaming Tongue, p. 79; CCA, March 9, 1905, p. 13; "Great Evangelistic Campaign," Watchman,

February 16, 1905, p. 27; Arthur Leonard Wadsworth, "Revival in Los Angeles," ibid., March 23, 1905, p. 26.
67. Wadsworth, "Revival in Los Angeles," p. 26.
68. Rev. A. W. Adkinson, "The Great Revival in Los Angeles," CCA, March 2, 1905, p. 13,
69. Congregationalist, February 4, 1905, p. 149.
70. Wadsworth, "Revival in Los Angeles," p. 26.
71. CCA, April 20, 1905, p. 9.
72. "Los Angeles District Report," Minutes of the Methodist Southern California Conference, 1905, p. 38.
73. Letter from Mrs. F. M. R. Keithly to SCLA, May 17, 1905, p. 14.
74. CCA, February 23, 1905, p. 17.
75. Ibid., January 26, 1905, p. 16; March 30, 1905, p. 21.
76. Congregationalist, February 4, 1905, p. 137; CCA, February 2, 1905, p. 17; "Pasadena District Report," Minutes of the Methodist Southern California Conference, 1904, p. 45.
77. CCA, March 30, 1905, pp. 12,13,21,22.
78. Ibid., January 26, 1905, p. 16; March 30, 1905, p. 21.
79. Ibid., March 2, 1905, p. 16.
80. "San Francisco Methodism," ibid., February 2, 1905, p. 1.
81. Ibid., March 16, 1905, p. 16.
82. "State of the Church," Minutes of the Methodist Southern California Conference, 1905, p. 75. See also "State of the Church" narratives in 1904 and 1906 Minutes.
83. Minutes of the Los Angeles Presbytery (Presbyterian Church in the USA), April 1904, p. 160; April 1905, p. 205 (handwritten, Presbyterian Historical Society).
84. Minutes of the Synod of California (Presbyterian Church in the USA), 1905, p. 43.
85. Annual Report of the Baptist Home Mission Society, 1905, pp. 95,96.
86. CCA, December 21, 1905, p. 17.
87. Ibid., December 28, 1905, p. 9.
88. "A Great Forward Movement in San Diego Methodism," ibid., February 8, 1906, p. 13.
89. Ibid., February 22, 1906, pp. 9,17.
90. Watchman, March 1, 1906, p. 17.
91. CCA, February 22, 1906, pp. 9,17; March 1, 1906, p. 9.
92. Ibid., February 22, 1906, pp. 9,17; March 1, 1906, p. 9.
93. Ibid., April 5, 1906, p. 9.
94. Ibid., April 5, 1906, p. 9.
95. Ibid., February 22, 1906, pp. 9,17; March 1, 1906, p. 9.
96. Ibid., March 1, 1906, p. 16.
97. Ibid., April 19, 1906, p. 4.
98. Ibid., March 29, 1905, p. 16.
99. "The Revival in Eureka," ibid., December 1, 1906, p. 16.
100. Annual Report of the Baptist Home Mission Society, 1906, pp. 81,107.
101. PCA, December 14, 1904, p. 9.
102. Ibid., January 4, 1905, p. 3.
103. Ibid., January 18, 1905, p. 17.
104. Ibid., February 15, 1905, p. 18.

105. Ibid., March 8, 1905, p. 7.
106. Orr, Campus Aflame, pp. 110,111. Orr suggested that the revival grew out of the February 4 International Student Day of Prayer.
107. The Oregonian was responsible for the lower estimate (March 31, p. 1); clergy sources for the higher (Orr, Flaming Tongue, p. 80).
108. Orr, Flaming Tongue, p. 80; "Pacific Coast Revival," New York Observer, April 13, 1905, p. 477; M. A. Martin, "The Portland Revival: Dr. Chapman's Successful Labors in Oregon," ibid., May 18, 1905, p. 648.
109. PCA, August 2, 1905, p. 11; February 7, 1906.
110. Annual Report of the Baptist Home Mission Society, 1905, p. 92.
111. H. Wyse Jones, "Evangelistic Work in Oregon," BHMM, October 1905, pp. 371-373; Annual Report of the Baptist Home Mission Society, 1906, p. 107.
112. Annual Report of the Baptist Home Mission Society, 1906, p. 106.
113. For example: "The Rev. J.H. Carter [of Portland, Ore.] spoke....As he proceeded he spoke with increasing fervor, and at the close of his address asked the brethren to kneel with him in prayer. One after another led until the baptism of fire fell on all present....Little other business was transacted and all went home with new enthusiasm for the great work of winning souls" (PCA, January 17, 1906). January 1906 issues of the PCA reported "glorious outpour of the Holy Spirit," "touching scenes," "altar soon filled," "God came with marvelous power" "revivals nearly everywhere" from various parts.
114. PCA, February 22, 1905, p. 11.
115. Ibid., March 1, 1905, pp. 15,17.
116. Ibid., May 24, 1905, p. 21; April 4, 1906, p. 22.
117. BHMM, October 1905, p. 373; Watchman, May 18, 1905, p. 30.
118. PCA, December 7, 1904, p. 18.
119. Congregationalist, February 4, 1905, p. 148.
120. Seattle Times (hereafter, ST), April 8, 1904, p. 2.
121. Seattle Star, April 12, 1905, p. 1.
122. Seattle Post-Intelligencer (SPI), April 12, 1905, p. 1.
123. Ibid., April 13, 1905, p. 1; April 15, 1905, p. 1. Overflow crowds constantly plagued the campaign, the result not only of enthusiasm, but also (in Chapman's view) of too-small church buildings. See SPI, April 20, 1905, p. 9. It was not long after the Chapman visit that Matthews' First Presbyterian Church began work on a much larger building.
124. Star, April 13, 1905, p. 1; April 14, 1905, p. 2.
125. Ibid., April 20, 1905, p. 1.
126. Seattle itself numbered 154,000, while Greater Seattle took in 175,000 (ST, April 23, 1905, p. 6).
127. SPI, April 18, 1905, p. 1; Star, April 18, 1905, p. 1.
128. PCA, May 2, 1905, p. 7.
129. Or, according to one's interpretation, social control.
130. ST, April 21, 1905, p. 1; April 24, p. 1.

131. Ibid., April 20, 1905, p. 1.
132. Ibid., April 20, 1905, p. 1.
133. Star, April 20, 1905, p. 1; SPI, April 20, p. 9.
134. The day after Easter, April 24, 1905, Stelzle quickly took command as city editor. "Any of us who doubted his ability to assert himself were convinced of our folly during the first half hour," confessed reporter Dan Dean, who had to forsake a delicious Turkish cigarette to pound out follow-up article on Chapman's Strand service. Stelzle quickly cut out the usual tidbits from police court--"four cases of insanity, the proceedings of a divorce suit, a highway robbery, a shooting affair,"--even sacrificing a "peach" under threat of being "scooped," and cut the sports section down over the protests of the normal city editor.

The final product carried adequate, but not obsessive coverage of both the Chapman campaign and the normal city news. It also carried two editorial columns by "managing editor" Chapman and "city editor" Stelzle. Chapman announced that "America and many other lands have witnessed and are witnessing sweeping revivals of the old-fashioned sort....To make bad men good, cruel men merciful, lazy men industrious, the drunkard sober and the selfish man unselfish--this is the work of the revival, and this is what we are seeing today...." Stelzle wrote on "Some Phases of the Labor Question" and urged recognition of labor unions. (This account is drawn from the following day's "Two Stories of the Chapman Edition," Star, April 25, 1905, p. 1.)
135. About that time (1911) Stelzle shared a forum with George Lunn, who gave Stelzle some uncomfortable moments for not being a socialist (Schenectady Gazette, January 31, 1911, p. 8).
136. PCA, May 3, 1905, p. 19. The Philadelphia Methodist updated this church's figure to 216 a few weeks later (June 12, 1905, p. 11).
137. PCA, May 17, 1905; May 31, 1905.
138. "Summary of Statistics," American Baptist Year-Book, 1905, p. 98 (for 1904 statistics); 1906, p. 98 (1905 numbers).
139. BHMM, October 1905, p. 373; Annual Report of the Baptist Home Mission Society, 1906, p. 105.
140. PCA, August 2, 1905, p. 11.
141. Report of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, 1905, p. 297.
142. ST, April 25, 1905, p. 4; PCA, August 16, 1905, p. 14.

CHAPTER VII

IS THE REVIVAL HERE?

"I have longed in the past that it had been my lot to live in the time of Wesley and Whitefield. But indeed I feel it is a greater thing to be living in 1905," evangelist Reuben Torrey declared. "This year and the years that follow will bring manifestations of God's saving power such as the world has never known."[1]

Through 1905 and 1906 evidence mounted that the prayed-for and longed-for awakening had arrived, at least in terms of the reports of evangelistic campaigns. It seemed to many clergymen that the old evangelism had won the argument with the new and was sweeping everything before it in a supernatural revival. While many Social Gospel clergymen had a different interpretation of events, however, they rejoiced in the awakening's actual and potential fruits, particularly in the growing spirit of unity. Yet other observers questioned whether this was a great awakening or simply another noisy chapter in organized evangelism.

Curiously, both praises and critiques had a common theme: that the nationwide movement borrowed impressively

from the modern spirit. The spirit of the times--really that of Progressivism itself--favored cultural revitalization and technical progress. Evangelical leaders cheered on the Great Awakening in full bloom at the same time as the Revival of 1905; some equated the two and gloried in them, while others disassociated them and cheered for one or the other. Underlying this was uncertainty over how closely to identify the faith with American civilization whose upward swing, some felt, might not continue forever.

A. The Arrival of Revival

Beginning in December, news of the Welsh revival prompted a heightened revival watch by clergymen and in religious and even many secular papers. The early signs were promising. "Again the breath of God seems to be upon the churches, inspiring them with the thought that another special time has come," declared Methodist pastor S. H. Kirkbride, of the Aggressive Evangelism Commission, around New Year's.[2]

Inspired by the upheaval in Wales, "A Call to Prayer" appeared in several evangelical journals requesting that February 4 be set aside in order to stoke the revival fires. It was signed by leaders in several denominations, such as Presbyterians John Willis Baer (of the Evangelistic Committee) and the Reverend Charles R. Erdman, Methodist Bishop Charles McCabe, and Baptist Reverend Len Broughton. A good number of the signers, such as C. I. Scofield, Erdman, and

Arthur T. Pierson, were or would later be identified with premillennialism and fundamentalism. The notice referred to the Welsh revival and held out hope that it was "the beginning of the world-wide revival for which prayer has long been offered." With that came a familiar jeremiad and appeal:

> ...Recognizing with sorrow of heart the decline of piety in our own land, the dearth of genuine conversions, the increasing spirit of worldliness in the Churches, and the very alarming spread of rationalism throughout the land, a day of prayer and fasting has been agreed upon, to the end that Christians...may be awakened from lethargy, and in humiliation and contrition of spirit may lay hold of God and His promises and prevail in prayer to the end that believers may be quickened and perishing souls may be saved, and that God may speedily revive His work in our land.[3]

The revival watch continued. While The Congregationalist was not sure in late January 1905 that a general religious awakening had yet arrived, the editor asserted that powerful yearning for it was so widespread in all churches as to be portentious. "The so-called 'liberal' denominations seem hardly less eager for a genuine spiritual awakening than do those more closely identified with revival movements," the paper claimed. "The last issue of the Universalist Leader throbs with evangelistic earnestness, and it is soon to issue several special evangelistic numbers." A week later the paper applauded less-revivalistic churches for reversing their earlier tendency to abandon evangelistic methods as old-fashioned.[4]

Once the post-New Year's season of evangelism was under way, clergymen and evangelical writers noticed especially

powerful revivals in their own bailiwicks first. Then by late January the revivals in Schenectady, Denver, and Kansas City grabbed attention nationwide. In February Louisville and Los Angeles got printer's ink. Through the rest of February, based on their own bulging "Revival Notices" columns or inspiring stories from afar, religious newspapers proclaimed that the day of blessing either had arrived or was imminent. "News that should stir Christians in every city of our land to earnest prayer and effort, comes from two widely separated centers of population," the Christian Herald declared February 8. "Denver, Colo., has been moved, as never before, by a revival that has brought thousands into the light of the gospel, and Schenectady, N. Y., a great multitude are earnestly seeking the Saviour." In this column--which shared space with an article on the Schenectady revival, a discussion of unemployment, and a Charles Sheldon article on "Christian Citizenship"--the Christian Herald reflected that the Holy Spirit was moving among people and that Christians should pray together to harvest the opportunity.[5]

A week later, after reporting Schenectady's awakening, the Pittsburgh Christian Advocate turned its attention in amazement to Denver--"whose reputation for political corruption has become world-wide!" A year earlier the Methodist paper had had little positive to say about the organized revival in its own city, observing then that great campaigns led by evangelists (as opposed to local church efforts) usu-

ally brought few new members into churches because of lack of follow-up.[6] After the Denver effort, however, the Pittsburgh paper was willing to give a Chapman campaign the benefit of the doubt. "It is known that we do not sympathize with these general movements managed by professionals...[But in Denver] it has undoubtedly been a remarkable awakening. The churches have been greatly stirred. It will indeed be strange if much good is not the result."[7]

The Baptist Watchman picked up the story of nationwide awakenings at the same time. "It is an undoubted fact," claimed its editor in mid-February,

> ...that these revivals have awakened a spirit of longing and expectation among pastors and churches. Ministers are preaching and working in evangelistic lines more than ever before, and the people are praying and looking for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon their churches and homes and localities even as it has come to others.[8]

Just a week later in Cincinnati the Methodist Western Christian Advocate detected "tokens of a general revival." Of course, the editor noted, this was the normal revival season and evangelistic news should be encouraging. "But there is something more this year," the editor claimed. "If the 'breaking up' has not actually come, there is a presentiment of it, a powerful and confident expectation in many quarters." He referred the reader to Wales, London (the Torrey-Alexander meetings), Denver, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Schenectady, and Charles Goodell's church in New York. Yet it was not only traditional evangelism:

> There is a widespread conviction...that the times are urgent, that man's need of a great

> spiritual quickening and empowering is supreme, that we have come to a climax-hour in our history. ...This profound feeling is displayed in the sermons of all of our evangelical pulpits. All of our religious papers are discussing the question in every issue. Even the radicals among religious bodies have taken up the tremendous theme from their point of view. The daily papers are quick to notice what is in the air....The atmosphere is being surcharged with revival energy.[9]

Attempting to fit the events they saw in with their revival hopes, many evangelical editors saw in the revival a historic turning point for America and the American church. From the 1890s until recently, grimaced an editorial in The Christian Observer in February, Americans were worldly, cold, and indifferent to religion. Rationalism and materialism were in command, and:

> ...religion was at almost as low an ebb as at any time for half a century. But the deepest darkness is just before the dawn. God's power is now being wonderfully exhibited in parts of the world remote from one another, and it would seem as though we are on the eve of one of the greatest revivals of religion for a century....[10]

The month of March seemed to bring revival predictions to a climax nationwide; revival notice columns seemed thickest then, as post-New Year's campaigns lasting six or eight weeks were reported and editors could assess the winter's work. "Our columns have for months borne evidence of the unusually rich returns which have repaid evangelistic efforts," an editorial in The Christian Advocate, similar to many others elsewhere, summarized:

> ...Revivals, great and small, have been reported from all parts of the country ranging from skillfully organized inter-denominational campaigns like those in Denver, Kansas City, and Los Angeles, to the gracious ingatherings in great city

> churches like Dr. Odell's [Goodell's?], and the even more marvelous conquests in smaller places like New London, Ia....[11]

"As the mariner is able to forecast the weather," avowed Marion Baxter in a column for the Seattle Times, "so the heralds of the divinest cause known to men proclaim the nearness of a religious quickening, which shall envelop the whole earth...."[12] There were many mariners, and not just in Seattle. The March issue of the Baptists' Home Mission Monthly declared that a spiritual renaissance had arrived. "The tidings of revival come from every side. There is a quickening of spiritual impulse and life in the churches and in our own educational institutions: evangelism is no longer in the air, it is in the native realm of Christian experience."[13]

Examining the phenomena around the United States and Great Britain, the Boston Watchman found four patterns to the many revivals. First, the Welsh pattern, with no widespread American counterpart, meant almost total spontaneity and a minimum of leadership and organization. On the other extreme were the well-planned and -executed Chapman or Torrey campaigns. The third pattern, for which the article mentioned Schenectady, Rutland, and Louisville, resembled the first and occurred when a town's ministers, coming together, "...feel the moving of the Spirit and provide for meetings...," with or without an outside evangelist. The fourth pattern was a campaign in a single local church or a

small batch of churches--"too numerous, we are glad to say, to mention."[14]

Disagreement persisted as to whether the revival was already here or potentially on the way. For those who were awaiting the social impact of the revival, the fruits had not yet ripened. "The newspapers and some Church leaders are talking about the Coming Revival...," complained the Philadelphia correspondent in March in The Christian Advocate:

> ...[S]ome of them do not know such a thing when it is at hand. There has been a more pronounced revival spirit campaign and ingathering than we have known in the bounds of the Conference, since 1880, and the presiding elders' reports will show a larger number of converts than during the Moody and Sankey days....[15]

In any event perception of a nationwide revival--either imminent or current--remained acute through the spring. The Lenten and Easter spirit was amplified in 1905 as many new members joined churches around the country and as other evidence of revivals continued. Just before Easter The Christian Advocate broadcast a call to prayer for worldwide revival which recognized "with profound gratitude to God the very evident moving of the Spirit in Britain and America."[16] Even as late as June 1 The Watchman noted that it had to sacrifice other news items in order to provide space for revival news. "The columns from the churches," it said, "have never been so full of interest and so crowded as during the last few weeks. The explanation for this is that so large a number of the churches are experiencing revival blessings."[17]

In mid-June there appeared in The Commoner the views of its editor, William Jennings Bryan, concerning the revival he perceived in American society. He combined the Awakening and the Revival with little qualm. Referring to the human conscience as "the most potent force of which man has knowledge," Bryan offered a Social Gospel view similar to Charles Sheldon's of the awakening in the "hearts of a multitude of people" which:

> ...has manifested itself in changed lives, changed customs, and changed social conditions. The recent revival in Wales is an illustration of the far-reaching effect of a spiritual awakening. In the United States there have been recent indications of a return from materialism and commercialism to a higher spiritual life, and there is going on a world-wide study of the teachings of Christ as they apply to every-day life.

Bryan was especially cheered that this turn to religion was not "the contemplation of an unknown future life" but was busying itself with the here and now.[18]

B. The Surge of Religious Interest

One vastly important sign of the revival's sway was the widely shared religious interest attending it. We have seen how this spread outside the evangelistic meetings, how revivalists spoke of hymn-whistling pedestrians and the gospel being the "one" topic of conversation.[19] Helping all this out, the press coverage struck many observers as remarkably positive. W. J. Dawson observed that there was "a very unusual degree of interest in religion among the scores of newspaper reporters with whom he conversed....The critical

scoffing spirit was conspicuous by its absence."[20] Significant as the power of this outreach was, the impact of the revivals was especially important within the churches nationwide. "We are feeling the groundswell of what purports to be a tidal wave of evangelistic energy," a Massachusetts Congregationalist told The Congregationalist.[21] "Never before were so many laymen used in religious work," The Christian Endeavor World observed. "They are used in prominent missionary secretaryships, as evangelistic singers, in field secretaryships for Christian Endeavor, and in so many other ways as to make the tendency general."[22]

This intramural fervor was nowhere more evident than at the denominational and interdenominational conferences during the summer, in between revival seasons. Repeatedly, the keynotes at these swollen conferences were revival and evangelism. "No more interesting or important theme came before the body than that of aggressive evangelism," a Methodist paper reported concerning its denomination's national congress in July, "and never was any treated with greater thoughtfulness or more enthusiasm...."[23] As evangelical leaders around the country came together at these conventions, it channeled and magnified the zeal for revival, evangelism, and Christian service; they no doubt played a major role in concentrating the spirit of 1905 into expansive plans for the future.

At Denver in mid-July the seventh annual convention of the Epworth Society, the Methodist youth association, took

up the theme of the year. Among noted speakers there were Schenectady's Frederick W. Adams, Methodist Bishops J. M. Thoburn, of the Methodist Aggressive Evangelism Commission, and Joseph Berry (of Philadelphia), and New York City missionary S. H. Hadley, all of whom had contributed significantly to evangelism in their jurisdictions and elsewhere. At the Epworth convention the atmosphere was said to be electric, the interest fantastic.[24] At one service Thoburn, a former missionary to India, "...closed with an outlook which was so inspiring that everyone felt like shouting aloud over the joyous vision he opened before us." Another night Denver's Trinity Methodist Church was so filled with delegates and other would-be hearers, packing the aisles and clinging to window sills and posts, that police spent half an hour ejecting the excess crowd. "We have long been studying how to get the masses to church," the Pacific Christian Advocate commented, "but it seemed to be exceedingly difficult to get the people out of church...."[25]

At the same time Christian Endeavor's international convention took place at Baltimore with 16,500 delegates. An interdenominational youth movement directed by its founder, Francis E. Clark, the four-million-member society had completed a year (1904-1905) that was the "most progressive the Endeavor movement has known in the 24 years of its history."[26] State Christian Endeavor conventions earlier in 1905 had been so pleased with themselves that "...'best-yet convention' has almost become a stock phrase in Christian

Endeavor circles," Clark claimed. So, fittingly, the Baltimore convention was in Clark's view perhaps C. E.'s best, engulfing its 16,500 delegates in an atmosphere of cheer.[27] A Baptist correspondent agreed. "In enthusiasm it has not been excelled; in the spirit of earnestness and evangelistic zeal it stands at the front," he maintained.[28]

As at Denver, evangelism was the key theme, and as at Denver this made way at times for the subject of Christian citizenship. Secretary Charles Bonaparte from President Roosevelt's cabinet was on hand to address the latter topic. Other speakers included Seattle's Mark Allison Matthews; Charles Stelzle; H. B. Macfarland (important in the movement for denominational federation); Washington Gladden; William E. Biederwolf; Don O. Shelton, associate secretary for the Congregational Home Missionary Society; and Bishop Alexander Walters of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. (Walters congratulated the delegates on not protesting the presence of blacks in the hall.) Stelzle and Biederwolf held a gospel rally for five thousand men at the armory, and three hundred went forward to the altar professing conversion.[29]

The following month, prayer for revival was the major focus of a sixteen-day Christian Workers Convention on the Moody grounds in Northfield, Massachusetts. William R. Moody rejoiced with the delegates over "welcome tidings of awakened interest...in the preaching of the gospel and in their personal responsibility toward the world. This latter kind of awakening is what is needed."[30] Trans-Atlantic luminaries

at Northfield included singer Charles Alexander, conservative Atlanta pastor Len G. Broughton, G. Campbell Morgan, and George F. Pentecost.[31]

At the same time J. Wilbur Chapman, who happened to be director of the annual Bible Conference at Winona Lake, Indiana, brought other leading lights of the awakening and of evangelicalism in general to the year's conference: Dawson, Torrey, the Salvation Army's Mrs. Ballington Booth, William Jennings Bryan, who lectured on "The Message of Peace," temperance advocate Eva Shonts ("Frances Willard, II"), Bishop Thoburn, Cornelius Woelfkin of the Baptist Evangelism Commission, Charles Stelzle, and Billy Sunday. The topic of national revival permeated almost the entire conference, according to a writer for The Christian Statesman. Billy Sunday showed his characteristic flair: "I never saw a card-playing, gambling, dancing church member that amounted to shucks as a soul-winner," he declared. Chapman told the throngs of Christian pastors and workers present that the prayed-for awakening had arrived, at least its beginning. "Oh, that we could understand the times, how to act and act quickly!"[32]

Examples of this special zeal could be multiplied for local, national, and even international conventions. The national Baptist convention in St. Louis and the world Baptist conference in London a few months later were impressive for spiritual fervor, and six thousand delegates at the all-European Christian Endeavor convention in Berlin experienced

a Welsh-type outbreak of spontaneous prayer after a talk by R. A. Torrey. At the Keswick Convention, an annual gathering for Higher Life conservatives, the same happened during a talk by Arthur T. Pierson. These conferences, which displayed the common revival impulse in so many different parts of the Protestant world, must be counted a major factor in encouraging the Revival of 1905. They greatly strengthened the zeal of their participants, especially supernaturalistic conservatives of the Keswick, premillennialist, and later fundamentalist stripe such as Dixon and Pierson.[33]

During the fall of 1905 N. B. Ravidan, a representative from the Baptist Home Missionary Society, visited eight western state conventions of his denomination. These fell into the general pattern of zeal-building conferences for that year. "Their spirituality has been very marked," he wrote:

> ...From the first meeting of the Pastors' Conference to the closing meeting of the Convention there has been a mighty current of devout spirituality....Thousands of pastors and Christian workers have gone home inspired by the idea that the spiritual work of our churches is the greatest thing to be considered.

The inspiration received a tremendous boost, Ravidan felt, as encouraging reports were shared. "Thousands of people have testified to the power of God upon the churches and pastors; especially is this true of mission churches and their pastors. Reports from the field since the conventions have shown that many churches are now in a state of revival."[34]

At year's end the verdict was clear for many observers. "A great revival is sweeping the United States. Its power is felt in every nook and corner of our broad land...," the Michigan Christian Advocate proclaimed in December. "Even the secular papers are noticing it. They are speaking of 'the vivid, plain and vigorous statements that come weekly from a thousand pulpits....'" Referring to quotes from the press that attributed to the awakening a true political and ethical revival, the paper made clear its view that this awakening had been produced by the spiritual Revival of 1905 --the Great Awakening and the Revival were the same, firmly anchored in the spiritual realm.[35]

Other year's-end retrospectives announced the advent of Revival. "The recent awakenings in more than one country have seldom been equaled since apostolic times," rejoiced the Evangelical Alliance in its invitation to the annual week of prayer.[36] "Altogether," Francis Clark's Christian Endeavor World summarized, "1905 has brought to pass much that answers the prayer, 'Thy kingdom come.'"[37] The Southern Baptist conference in Chattanooga, Tennessee, also looked back over a successful year:

> From every part of the country there come the tokens of increased revival fervor among the churches of all denominations of Christians....More people have been reached by the gospel in our great cities through evangelistic agencies in the last year than ever before. This seems especially true of populations where it has hitherto been so hard to reach the masses.[38]

As the Revival carried on into 1906 in places small and large around the country, its visible highlights were R. A.

Torrey's spring campaign in Philadelphia, Chapman's swing through Texas and the South, and Gipsy Smith's year-end mission in Boston. "The tidings of revival come from every side," observed the Baptist Home Mission Monthly:

> ...There is a quickening of spiritual impulse and life in the churches and in our educational institutions. Evangelism is no longer in the air, it is in the active realm of Christian experience. There is a remarkable responsiveness to the presentation of the claims of Christ upon the hearts and consciences of men....[39]

National statistics bore out the fact that both 1905 and 1906 were particularly good years for evangelism and for church growth, and the years beyond it for the most part remained on the higher plateau. The Methodist Episcopal Church (North) had averaged an annual net increase of 35,825 new members annually from 1898 to 1903; in 1904 it added 38,203. But in 1905 alone it gained a net 78,171, in 1906 86,232, and about 72,000 in each of 1907 and 1908. Membership gains for all sixteen Methodist denominations for 1904 numbered 69,244[40]; in 1905 they topped 102,000, and in 1906 they exceeded 122,000 to bring the New Year's, 1907, estimated membership to 6,551,891. Meanwhile, Baptist net gains reported in 1904 were 85,040; in 1905 72,667; in 1906 166,723 (membership total: 5,140,770).[41] "It will be seen...that the Protestant denominations in the United States in the year of the Revival grew 150% as fast as the Roman Catholic Church despite the overwhelming advantage of heavy immigration, a million a year, three-quarters of them Roman Catholic," J. Edwin Orr pointed out concerning these figures.[42] A Chris-

tian Endeavor World editorial estimated that the 1905 increase in church membership exceeded population growth by 8 percent.[43]

Church accessions by faith are a close indicator of evangelistic success. In three denominations the equivalents are listed: Presbyterians received on confession, Methodist probationers, and Baptist adult baptisms. They read like this for the Presbyterians (PCUSA), Northern Methodists, and American Baptists with, first, the yearly average for 1898-1903, then annually 1904-1908[44]:

Denom.	1898-1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908
Presby.	58,070	68,233	66,271	79,589	80,243	74,829
Method.	277,568	288,532	315,393	331,361	346,801	345,416
Bapt.	204,070	234,321	240,936	255,570	266,433	275,508

There is a certain unevenness in the timing of these numbers. Churches varied as to whether the fruits of 1905 evangelism would be included in 1905 or 1906 reports. Presbyterian reports for a 1905, for example, really represent March 1904-March 1905, while Baptist ones represent January to December of the previous year. Methodist districts were divided between spring and fall conferences, so those numbers represent two different counts. They show, nonetheless, the surge in new members by faith connected with the Revival of 1905.

The evangelistic emphasis confirmed in 1905 and 1906 remained with the denominations. "Again the dominant note of the General Assembly (PCUSA) can be said to be evangelism," the Presbyterian noted with satisfaction in May 1907. "We

are pledged to renewed efforts for the winning of men....The harvests already gathered have been from broader fields than the most hopeful believed five years ago."[45] The report of the Methodist general conference of May 1908 saluted four years of work by the Aggressive Evangelism Commission:

> The evangelical note which seemed to be almost lost in some sections of the church has been largely recovered, and to this fact...we owe the marked numerical progress of the quadrennium. In certain sections where the yearly reports were of constantly lessening numbers, the situation has been wholly changed....[46]

Home missions prospered also. In May 1905 Baptist Home Missions reported a banner year. Some 450 conversions occurred among students at missions schools, 133 more than the year before and the largest number yet recorded in that category. Home missions baptisms totaled 7,203, 1,258 more than the year before and another record.[47] In all, some twelve hundred Presbyterian home missionaries reported 5,841 additions by profession of faith and 2,903 adult baptisms from May 1904 to May 1905 (for a total of 52,931 members in mission churches). "Strong and steady progress" was how the Board of Home Missions described this progress, and it claimed that while outreach to foreign immigrants was slow because of lack of trained missionaries, evangelism to the working man was beginning to bear fruit.[48]

Looking at its results another way, the Revival of 1905 set many things in motion by inflaming zeal and directing attention to the presence of the Holy Spirit. Methodist holiness preacher Charles Parham, who had experienced the

"gift of tongues," in 1905 founded a school in Houston amid the fervor of revival there. One black minister who briefly attended it, William Seymour, carried its Pentecostalism to Los Angeles in the spring of 1906. The result was a major charismatic revival in a church on Azusa Street. Its influence spread rapidly nationwide and launched the modern Pentecostal movement, a movement that soon drew fire from evangelical publications.[49]

C. What Kind of Revival?

Statistics do not a reformation make, and the question of what the revival was or should be was pored over by the evangelical and secular press throughout 1905 and after. To listen to many editorial comments, not long before 1900 the United States had crawled with screaming itinerant preachers and their hysterical followers, but that was over. The Kansas City Star observed that the old shouting days were gone and the then-current revival meetings had the tone of lectures more than of religious services.[50] "The day of the illiterate and ill-balanced revivalist are gone," Charles Goodell contended. "A manly evangelism dominates the pulpit, and behind it are tremendous convictions born of prayer and consecration, and great results are already in sight...."[51]

This did not mean the spirit of evangelism was being squelched in rationality. "The people are hungry for the simple story of God's love and sacrifice," a Baptist evangelist in Oregon, expressed it:

> ...They are tired and sick of 'isms,' sensationalism, and clownishness, and are clamoring for manly men with a message....No one can note the changed attitude of the ministry and the churches toward evangelists and evangelistic meetings without realizing that this world-wide movement of evangelism is of the Lord, the Spirit....[52]

Yet this was not to be an emotionless awakening; a revival was supposed to involve joy after all. A few, like Philadelphia Episcopalian rector Floyd Tompkins, even expressed nostalgia for the good old shouting days.[53] Also, of course, weepy anecdotes and a good cry were not completely out of line. This style, as shall be discussed, particularly characterized Chapman's preaching but also that of other evangelists.

Another bugaboo, the Scylla to sensationalism's Charybdis, was the over-mechanical and under-spiritual revival campaign. By almost universal consensus the next-worst thing an evangelist could do, after making hearers roll on the floor, was to operate with machine-like precision for bloated numbers that brought no real spiritual change. "We want more heart-searching devotional experience meetings," the Philadelphia Methodist contended in March:

> ...more Holy Ghost power, less machinery used for getting up a revival, and more ardent prayers and better living to bring down a pentecostal blessing that will sweep the country....The revival must begin in the hearts of God's people.[54]

With this requirement in mind, The Watchman praised the spiritual movement in New England for both its genuine spontaneity and its durability (as opposed to a contrived or spasmodic campaign). "In the present revival can be dis-

cerned the features of a great and protracted awakening," the Baptist paper claimed. What the church now had was "many local revivals of a most satisfactory and hopeful character." Instead of a climax that spring, the paper argued, one should hope for and expect a "long reformation."[55]

These were matters more of form, but debate resumed over the spiritual content of revival. In late 1905 and early 1906 Wentworth Stewart, author of The Evangelistic Awakening, laid out elegantly the supernaturalistic position concerning what he called sometimes the present and sometimes the coming revival. The awakening could proceed spontaneously like the Welsh revival or from organized efforts "with profound passion of service," but its theology must be traditional, focusing on individual salvation by the power of God through the cross. Rather than positing an immanent but vague God, as did Lyman Abbott and his ilk, the revival would stimulate awareness of the power and presence of God. The awakening would not set out primarily to correct the ills of industrial life, which was not the church's business, but would advance religion and lead individuals to regulate their lives unselfishly. It would not be powerless, however. The next awakening would be accompanied by honest repentance for sin. "One cannot fail to connect the present uncovering of illegitimate measures in public and commercial life with the religious awakening now upon the world."[56]

Stewart, too, hurled brickbats at Abbott's favorite straw man, the formalistic church indifferent to the world

outside. He bewailed the "paralysis of a nominal Christianity exhibited through an indifferent Church, and this is especially noticeable in this day of the strenuous life." The revival would stimulate men and women to action and would demolish the distinction between "creed and deed." Its motto would be, Stewart proclaimed, "I must be about my Father's business." (This was written at the time "The King's Business" was being sung around New Jersey during the Chapman campaign there.)

The revival would be joined by "joyousness of spirit and new and hopeful visions of life." Like fiery preachers of old its leaders would catch the vision of reaching into the wickedness of the world and bringing out "the purified walls and temples of a new Jerusalem." With his activistic, expansive revival Stewart foresaw the direction evangelical Christianity would take after the revival of 1905.[57]

Stewart's position represents much of the then-current "old evangelism" position. First, doctrinal conservatives--supernaturalists--felt that the revival of 1905 sharpened belief in God's intervening power. This implied a returning sense of personal salvation and communion with God, something conservatives felt was obscured in formalistic or "new evangelism" sermonizing that bypassed the supernatural. For many conservative commentators, the events of 1905 had rehabilitated the reputation of the traditional revival (though not the shouting kind). As far as the New York Observer was concerned, "It was the old-fashioned Gospel the

evangelists preached, and the people flocked to hear as if it were something new."[58] For Editor John Buckley of The Christian Advocate, critics who considered the old-time revival out of date "...understand neither the Scriptures nor human nature. Such arousals of conscience, sympathy, aspiration for communion with God, and longing for the salvation of others are possible everywhere."[59] Since socially oriented preaching had wrought spiritual deadness, thought Charles Goodell, successful ministers were rediscovering traditional evangelism. "The churches that are crowded in the city to-day are those where the pulpit flames with the ardor of love for the souls of men."[60]

The old evangelism did meet new requirements, many asserted. In a curious answer to the charge that individualistic revivalism had nothing to offer society, an editorial in the California Christian Advocate claimed that it was just what modern society needed. The editor seemed to put modern civilization in the role of a neurasthenic individual, except, we might add, civilization was unable to follow the oft-used remedy of taking to its bed for days at a time (or claim workman's compensation for stress). So it needed a dose of character. "Society is so vitally organized, so dynamically charged, that its movements are quick, nervous, and capable of explosion at any minute," the editor noted:

> ...The world needs moral reserve, moral poise, conservative power, great inward strength, that is, Christian character....The revival means more gospel power in the individual soul, more conscience, more of the power of gentleness, more

> reasonableness, more dignity and true nobility of spirit.[61]

Also answering new evangelism critics, the Pacific Christian Advocate fit supernaturalism into the Progressive insistence on the supremacy of spirit over animal in man, with fine results for character:

> The purely emotional and animal part of human nature has been given less rein and the spiritual has dominated more than ever before. A very sound ethical foundation has been felt in all recent revivals, and the disgraceful official member...has had no encouragement in recent revivals of religion.[62]

A second way in which Stewart's views of the Revival represented the conservative position was that it suggested a pragmatic reaction against the over-scholarly Higher Criticism and all the other speculative "isms."[63] Usually we associate the rebellion against dry doctrines with liberals, but if these arose against outmoded creeds, so did conservatives take on a crusted body of sterile negations. For both it came down to what worked and imparted life. The speculations about Bible authorship had borne bitter fruit, claimed the Baptist Home Mission Monthly in March 1906: "In the light of results, the reaction has come. Men want a religion that produces righteousness, that brings peace, that enables one to face death fearlessly." Curiously, this thinking paralleled the "revolt against formalism" Morton White identified. The Home Mission Monthly declared:

> ...Negations and destructive criticism have had their day; a constructive faith that makes Christ the centre and essence of life has revealed its power anew, and Christianity needs nothing but

genuine living witnesses to press forward to conquest.[64]

A fourth theme of commentary, one which liberals could share in more enthusiastically, was the widespread unity found in the revival. The old evangelism did not have to be a divisive force--quite the opposite, according to the New York Observer: "These great revivals produce a unity of spirit beautiful to see, which binds together the pastors, and pervades the churches."[65] Some sanguine observers of Social Gospel stripe saw in the Revival and the Great Awakening signs of the coming of the prophesied universal Kingdom of God. That was the theme of the baccalaureate sermon at Ohio Wesleyan University preached in June 1905 by its acting president, the Reverend W. F. Whitlock. For the graduating seniors he painted a rosy picture (to be compared with the catastrophes foreseen by premillennialists), so that they would "know what circumstances of favor surround them, what happy conditions and superior advantages are their inheritance, what elevated privileges and commanding opportunities await their entrance into life's activities." It was the sort of speech that helps us understand what a crushing disillusionment the catastrophe of World War I was for that generation. Among evidences beckoning Whitlock's graduates to a sunny future were: the aggressive spirit of Christianity, as seen in growing churches mobilizing both for evangelism and for finding solutions to urban problems; the increasing spirituality of the churches, as seen in an awakening "in regard to Bible truth and Bible teaching"; an eth-

ical revival; the growth of knowledge; the increasing unity and greater centralization of the church; and missionary opportunities. The Spirit of God seemed immanent in all this enlightenment worldwide; the gospel of Christianity was the leaven in the lump of human progress.[66]

A Unitarian writer revealed the extent of the conciliatory feeling when he found merit in what revivals meant for individuals. After the customary denunciation of shallow emotionalism, Dr. Samuel A. Eliot, writing in the Christian Register, admitted there was truth to the crack that it would take as many Unitarian sermons to convert a sinner as quarts of skimmed milk to make a man drunk. He avowed:

> No thoughtful man can help seeing that there are "tides of the Spirit," and that men's minds and hearts are more open to religious influences at some times than at others. There is something more in the phenomenon of revivalism than the magnetism of a sensational speaker or the emotional appeal of music or the enthusiasm generated by a crowd. At the root of the matter lies the fact that man can not live by bread alone....The bottom fact of revivalism is the existence of a genuine spiritual craving.[67]

D. Masses Outside, the Spirit of the World Inside

The case was not so simple for other observers. Despite these vindications for the old evangelism in 1905, revivalism drew critics both mild and strident. Of course, nothing would have reconciled some of them to it. An unnamed Harvard professor of philosophy denounced it as "a social bane more dangerous to the life of society than drunkenness. As a sot, a man falls below the level of a brute; as a revivalist he

sinks lower than the sot." A Stanford professor called revivalism "a form of drunkenness no more worthy of respect than the drunkenness that lies in the gutter."[68]

In a much milder vein, some evangelical figures wanted more evidence of a genuine revival before they would proclaim its arrival. "Perhaps it would be better to talk about a 'great preparation' rather than to be saying too much concerning a 'great revival,'" asserted the Methodist Reverend C. M. Boswell of Philadelphia in a not-unusual comment. "Constant prophesying will not bring a sweeping ingathering of souls, but a God ordered readiness will do it...."[69] It is worthwhile to include their comments to show why the revival was not more widely proclaimed. Some evangelicals expected first a resolution of the saloon problem or social iniquities, or at least a massive return to the church. They did not perceive how ill-prepared the church was to cross social and ethnic barriers or, on the other hand, how important the changes were that the awakening was making within the church.

Even some clergymen favoring personal evangelism questioned the effectiveness of what they saw going on nationwide in 1905. Zion's Herald, which back in February had punctured the balloon of Dawson's march through Boston, wondered how many real converts there had been at his mission:

> ...That [Dawson's services] have been of unspeakable value in deepening the spiritual life of ministers and Christian disciples, in breaking down prejudices and overcoming restraining notions

> and wrong ideals, and especially in summoning the Congregational constituency back to the simplicities of the faith in Jesus Christ...all rejoicingly concede....[B]ut that the unchurched have been reached, or that any goodly number of conversions have resulted, no one familiar with the facts will claim.[70]

The Watchman agreed, asserting that Dawson's missions had not really moved the underclass of society as hoped. "His message, however, is to those who have power of will and whom a desire for a better life will bring to a decision." His main accomplishment was to awaken among church members the desire for revival.[71]

It was not only Dawson. The interdenominational evangelistic commission in San Francisco actually canceled an invitation to Chapman in October 1905 after investigating results of his campaigns on the West Coast. The commission decided that they demanded too much outlay of treasure and time and that they did not really move the city for long.[72] Ironically, just about that time Chapman accepted an invitation from Boston which he would later cancel because he judged support for his campaign to be insufficient. So even to Chapman there was an undercurrent of passive resistance.

The Boston Watchman, too, applied to Torrey's campaigns in England and Chapman's Los Angeles work what it said about Dawson in Boston. The paper believed firmly that "in the present revival the Holy Spirit is working most powerfully through the local churches. It is so in Wales, and it is the case so far here in New England....[T]he advance of the Kingdom everywhere must depend upon the ordinary work of the

local churches."[73] That would have drawn agreement from the editor of the St. Louis Christian Advocate. A column in early 1906 acknowledged the success of many revivals but lamented the fact that pastors were being pressured into supporting them, mainly because pastors had to produce measurable success in church memberships. The writer protested in effect the induction into the church of the pragmatic note of the time. "And since the church is growing more and more practical and more and more adopting the language if not the spirit of the world the evangelist comes in that there may be progress. The pastor is expected to succeed....His church must 'keep up with the procession'...."[74] Also protesting the tendency to go with the philosophical flow, a Presbyterian minister surveyed twenty-nine churches in Colorado and wondered in print whether the evangelistic spirit really would do as well as the Shorter Catechism for training the young. That formulation was being taught in only eight churches. He deplored another modern tendency: "The cry of centralization is in the air of the business, the social, the religious world. It was this cry that built the tower of Babel."[75]

On the point of worldliness, the Watchman again weighed in with criticism of revivals going around. It touched what must have been a sore spot for the conservative but flexible Chapman, among others. "This preaching has been wanting in a strong emphasis on the need of a Savior," Horr insisted:

> ...It has been pungent in its appeals to the will, and exceedingly true and forcible in descriptions

> of the necessity of turning from sin to holiness; but it has rather implied the ability of men to help themselves than presented salvation through Jesus Christ as the free gift of the grace of God. ...[N]o widespread and thorough-going revival will ever occur without a deep conviction of the real inability of men to help themselves, and an assurance that only in casting themselves utterly on the mercy of God will they find salvation for their sins.[76]

Other observers were determined to distinguish between evangelistic activity and true spiritual zeal. Despite considerable evangelistic success, the Methodist Ohio Conference's Committee on the State of the Church in autumn 1905 denied that the expected revival had come. While its annual report recognized "with gratification the growing desire of our preachers and people for the revival of God's work," a sour note was added:

> ...We feel, however, that a deeper consecration is needed, both by our clergy and laity, before the fullest outpouring of the spirit can be expected, and we believe this to be the God-given remedy for the restless spirit so painfully manifest among our preachers and for the worldly influence so often felt in our churches.
>
> The 1906 report made the same point the same way.[77]

Some liberals, for their part, had much to say about the claimed vindication of the old evangelism. Some of them, even partners in some of the revivals, renewed their complaints that revivals based on individual salvation did not focus sufficiently on social ethics. Even the hallowed Welsh revival--celebrated by no less a Social Gospelite than W. T. Stead, British author of <u>If Christ Came to Chicago</u>--could not escape criticism on ethical grounds. In February 1905 Lyman Abbott's <u>Outlook</u> explained that even that awak-

ening could not be a model in America. Even if the upheaval suited relatively primitive Wales, the more evolved American society still needed a new evangelism (i.e., intellectually cultivated and socially minded). As to Wales itself, while the revival there had produced some benefits,

> ...they are not the full fruits of a religious revival that is thoroughly ethical. It would be a mistake to suppose either that such reforms fully meet the ethical demand, or that the demand has already been satisfied by the virtuous lives that need no such reforms. Yet such a mistake is widely current.

Concerning revivals in progress in the United States, the Outlook disavowed them, too, as being insufficiently ethical. The true revival required the church to "arouse passionate enthusiasm" and foster deep religious conviction by retelling and reinterpreting for a twentieth-century society the life of Christ. "The religious revival which would make Christian morality luminous must at the same time split asunder the cave of this moral barbarism in whose darkness, mistaking respectability for morality, enormous evils flourish within hearing of church anthems."[78]

Washington Gladden joined the critical chorus, too, with a sermon in 1905, "The Church and the Nation." He referred to criticisms made about Chapman's work on the West Coast, noting that the evangelist's great crowds were mainly church members. In the Chapman team's efforts, Gladden noted ironically, "...the theology...was above suspicion, the Higher Criticism was put to shame [by a Chapman associate, undoubtedly, not the leader himself], and sociology was not

so much as mentioned; but the great outside multitude...of the unchurched, was practically untouched." Not that liberal theology by itself would have helped, he observed. His Columbus church had hosted a revival that winter by Lyman Abbott, who held forth luminously and packed the church, but without permanent results. The problem was that churches had forgotten their needed identification with the poor.[79]

Gladden showed what he meant in the spring of 1905 by leading the fight within Congregationalism to refuse a Rockefeller donation to foreign missions. For the Boston Herald, which was as eager to criticize revivalism as the Denver Post was to praise it, this "prophet's call to righteousness" was true evangelism that put most evangelists to shame because it sounded through the land "calling a mercenary and luxurious generation to consideration of the fundamental principles of the higher life."[80]

With such a perspective, crusades against card playing and dancing might seem pale. Yet Gladden's divorce from revivalism was not complete. First, he was, as we have seen, friendly to the revival spirit he witnessed at Des Moines and the vision for evangelism. The Columbus pastor had been serious in bringing in Abbott as a revivalist, not simply for an ethical lecture, and he would later host Chapman. Abbott told Gladden ahead of time that his evangelism would involve "an appeal to the will, a definite acceptance of Christ, and a definite choice of the Christian life." Gladden's biographer suggested, in view of his liberalism,

that Gladden's "...experiment with Abbott in 1905 had great significance as an attempt to preserve the evangelical appeal for decision within a liberal theological framework."[81]

Second, Gladden happily acknowledged the Progressive Great Awakening. He saw evidence of a "true religious revival which is real and essential, though not appearing in the traditional form," according to the Western Christian Advocate in January 1906. "Men [Gladden felt] are turning away somewhat from the excessive idolization of money, and material things, and creature comforts....[N]o small part of the community is seeing that there are highter things to strive for and is looking inward on the things of the soul."[82] He continued the sermon quoted above by asserting that when the church broke down the social barriers, truly identified with the poor rather than the rich, and demonstrated the brotherhood of man, "a flame of sacred love will be kindled that will run like prairie fire all over the land."[83] This Wesleyan expression of hope suggested that Gladden reserved a place in his aspirations for national revival, which even his belief in gradual Christian nurture had not eradicated. Instead, he, Abbott, and other Social Gospel critics demanded of revivalism that, to make good on its own claims, it must solve the social-ethical problems of modern civilization and address the low moral state of the churches (this state being measured by the churches' lack of

spirituality and inability to solve the social-ethical problems of society).

To disarm opponents who insisted that spiritual salvation must precede earthly reformation, these critics applied an ethical criterion, breaking down further the traditional distinction between ethics and spirituality.[84] In addition, the liberal critique demanded that the church maintain in some unbroken continuity both its grasp of the higher and inner life, and its grip on the world and outer social realities--a tall and wide order. Like the scientific connection between matter and energy, religion could not be substance if it was not also motive power. Once again, in other words, a religious sense that was intellectually vague yet emotionally profound was summoned to practical accomplishments. The Presbyterian complained of Gladden's criticisms: "Not much is often said by the Christian social reformer as to how that influence is to be exercised. We are summoned to activity, but the particular form of action is not indicated."[85]

E. Off to the Crusades

In 1905 and 1906 the high noon of optimism was reached by a large body of evangelicals. Thereafter it is possible to discern a second phase of the Great Awakening. This period matched the concurrent phase of Progressivism in its exaltation of efficient combination and its style of organized ardor. The drama shifted from the prayer meetings and spontaneous evangelism of 1904-1905 to organizations of

motivated men and women with a burgeoning interest in missions and a cheerfulness almost surpassing belief. "The King's Business" and "Onward Christian Soldiers" replaced "The Glory Song" on the minds and lips of masses of American evangelicals. Crusades were the order of the day; the church finally was setting out not only to survive, but to conquer the world.

Having been broadened and deepened by the Revival, this positive outlook remained, but it relied increasingly on faith in modern techniques and human goodness. It also yielded space to a growing unease. "The mood of optimism made anything seem possible," Robert Handy has written:

> ...and by the crusading technique the disturbing fears of the alien elements of twentieth century life could be met head on. In the crusade liberals and conservatives--evangelicals all--could march side by side in an alliance that was real if sometimes a bit uneasy....[86]

The year 1907 seems to have marked the passing of the fresh revival-borne fervor in favor of greater admiration for well-administered crusades, though neither was absent before or after. A widespread assumption that the church had the answer and power to make capital and labor live more amicably together, for example, seemed to give way to recognition that the labor problem needed special sociological attention and expertise. Evangelical newspapers had more to complain or warn about in 1907 than before.[87]

In another conceptual way, the Revival provided the atmosphere necessary for both the Great Awakening and the

era of "Crusading Protestantism," as Ahlstrom dubbed it: its fervor and good results seemed to confirm the immanence of the Holy Spirit. We have seen the convergence of Higher Life and New Theology currents on just this point. In January 1907 a Methodist minister, Ernest G. Wareing, discerned that God's new message in the revival was "The Holy Spirit Operative." For a long time, he explained, Methodists had assumed that the Comforter operated only through consecrated individuals and thus "...were losing all traces of His hand in the world's affairs." Three years of revivals, however, displayed such superhuman wonders as to correct that idea: God worked His ways independently, too, for righteousness (the Kingdom) throughout the world. This might sound like a Providence-fearing Puritan, exalting divine workings while denigrating human ones, but there was more to it. Wareing underlined that the Holy Spirit worked through non-Christians, too. "We now have a world view never before possessed, and unless we can see God advancing from our little life to that of the great world our religion will surely become effete."[88]

This was one more celebration of the cooperative spirit of modern living. Also, as Wareing himself said, this was just another way of positing the immanence of God. Through this doctrine, Borden Bowne had written in 1905, God as the First Cause of nature "...has become the Ever-present, Ever-working, Independent Cause...a cause which still maintains and administers the world, and upon whose activity all

things continually depend."[89] Or, as Social Gospel theologian John M. Barker put it, "God is real and present in these ordinary forms of social progress....He works in the orderly administration of human affairs and becomes the all-embracing power in social advancement."[90] Through this previously noted philosophy, a wide variety of social processes--and the Zeitgeist itself--were sanctified, and humanity was exalted rather than denigrated. Ironically, considering the boost the Revival gave its appeal, this idea diminished the need for personal piety, putting zeal, efficiency, and progress up there with it. While the Higher Life movement shared similar assumptions with the new Theology, this was beyond its pale. "Not in organization or human activity are we to expect the world-wide revival," admonished Henry Roller, "but through prayer, humiliation, intercession...on the part of God's people."[91]

The notion of God's immanence laid important burdens of proof on Protestantism in general. This as well as renewed concern for the problems of society pushed the concept of revival and religion further toward a demand for tangible results in both church growth and social reform. The problem was that the path had not been fully mapped out: the supposedly smooth highway from evangelism, to masses of individual salvation decisions, to social regeneration, and finally to the building of the Kingdom of God in the United States. In the minds of the leading evangelists including Chapman, before reaching its destination the road abruptly

ended.[92] They were quiet premillennialists; they believed the Lord would return before the Kingdom could be built, probably in the midst of catastrophes on earth.[93] For the sake of evangelical unity, they had to keep this detail to themselves while they moved forward to Christianize America and the world.

For both Progressives and evangelicals, crusading fervor and the pattern of letting old forms ease in new ideas combined to allow in some of the spirit of the world (new thinking about church, society, and government). This masked for the time being some baffling contradictions.

One major secular trend of the time was centralization, and in the name of Christian unity and service to God and man, evangelicals ran to it. The Interchurch Conference in New York November 1905 led to the 1908 formation of the Federal Council of Churches. The way had been cleared for this movement by interdenominational service agencies such as C. E., the YMCA, the American Tract Society, the American Sunday School Union, the WCTU, and the Salvation Army.[94] Umbrella organizations such as Ministers' Unions, local and state Federations of Churches, the Evangelical Alliance, the Open and Institutional Church League, and the National Committee on the Federation of Churches (NCFC) also pointed the way. Early in 1905 the NCFC issued the call for an Inter-Church Conference.[95]

To this process the Revival of 1905 made a major contribution. Splendid examples of church cooperation in the revivals inspired federation activists and the clergy and laity that must support unity.[96] Sharing of the common purpose of evangelism, organizing as never before, and winning success that way naturally pressed the concept of cross-denominational cooperation deep in their minds.[97] This boost toward federation was stronger because unity (not union) was almost universally felt to be based on service, not old doctrine.

Men who were prominent in supporting evangelism also supported the trend toward federation, particularly John Converse (on the NCFC, also a vice-president with the Open Church League) and revival-minded Philadelphia clergymen. When five hundred delegates representing twenty-six denominations arrived for the ICC convention in November at New York, worldwide evangelism was the keynote, despite additional emphases on the Social Gospel, the Sabbath, and temperance. "It was the missionary enthusiasm most of all which made its members one in Him," observed the Episcopalian Churchman.[98] Curiously, President Roosevelt, in briefly but regretfully declining his invitation, took some space to enthuse over the possibilities of Christianizing Japan. Because of the evangelistic spirit in the meeting, J. Wilbur Chapman was an appropriate speaker as he proclaimed that the Great Awakening had arrived. The continuing Executive Committee of the ICC--and the Federal Council after its forma-

tion in 1908--kept evangelism at the center of their agenda. Their Evangelistic Committee set its seal upon the city-wide campaigns, tent preaching, and coffee club outreaches of federated bodies.[99] William H. Roberts, chairman of the ICC Executive Committee, expressed the guiding view:

> Christian enthusiasm should be the possession of all who bear the name of Jesus, a zeal which beginning with the individual shall win this friend and that for the Saviour, which widening in its sympathies...shall permeate with its quickening impulses all the churches until it includes in the scope of their cooperative work the whole round globe....[100]

The FCC was not the only success of federation in 1908, "the annus mirabilis of American cooperative Christianity." The Home Missions Council and the Council of Women for Home Missions also came into being.[101] The coming together of the denominations for Christian service prompted much rhapsodizing about the march of the forces of the church as if for war, a notion that seems to have appealed particularly to Social Gospel ministers. The field for this new optimistic crusade was now the world, and in this way, too, evangelical Protestantism in the United States reflected the impact of the Revival of 1905.

Missions interest, as we have seen, was climbing right up to 1904. Moody and the YMCA had launched missions study on a steady course in the 1880s.[102] In 1888 John R. Mott founded the Student Volunteer Movement, an outgrowth of a Moody revival among college students. SVM grew rapidly on campuses as its delegate count at quadrennial conferences grew constantly.

Also as we have seen, the revival of 1905 often was less notable for numbers of converts than for fervor passed on by the evangelist and channeled into practical service. The zeal and sense of power proved contagious for both pastors and laity. Missionary interest skyrocketed with the revival. "From every part of the country comes the cheering news of advancement in all missionary operations," rejoiced the Alabama Christian Advocate at the beginning of 1906:

> ...Every Conference in Southern Methodism seems to have caught the spirit of aggressive missionary endeavor. More money has been raised and more cheerfully has it been given. The conscience of our people seems to be stirred on giving the gospel to all the world....[A]ll the evangelical churches seem to be fired with the spirit of evangelizing the world.[103]

One way of measuring missions interest is through campus Christian associations, which reflected not only the the growth in such interest but also the fact that the Revival of 1905 was especially powerful with college students. Participation in these associations at state universities tripled in 1905, and attendance at voluntary Bible classes increased 130 percent. In two years before 1905, the thirty-year-old YMCA Intercollegiate Movement Bible Society hardly increased at all its active membership in collegiate YMCA associations (125 in two years). In 1905 alone that went up by 1,609 to 29,660. Whereas in 1904 the Collegiate YMCA had only 505 associations, in 1907 there were 667.[104] From March 1904 to March 1905, its campus Bible study enrollment jumped from twenty-five thousand to thirty-two thousand students. At Schenectady's Union College, for example, the number of

members almost doubled from fifty to ninety-nine in that period.[105]

Another measure was missions study enrollment. In 1896 two thousand college students were enrolled in missionary studies; by 1906 eleven thousand had taken up those studies.[106] The interdenominational Young People's Missionary Movement estimated those enrolled in studies nationally to number 17,000 in 1902-1903, 61,000 in 1905-1906, 100,000 a year later, and 175,000 in 1907-1908.[107] Similarly, the Methodist youth department doubled its own missions study classes between 1904 and 1905 to 17,264 members--a figure also surpassing the first three years (1901-1903) of the program. The YMCA Missionary Study Movement blossomed at the same rate as its Bible studies.[108]

The revival fervor itself spilled over into missions conferences of the time. In the winter of 1906 Nashville hosted a particularly inspiring SVM convention with 3,500 delegates and 1,500 spectators.[109] The March 1906 Indiana Missionary Convention was, Western Christian Advocate Editor Levi Gilbert felt, the most fervent missions conference he had ever attended. "We had heard most of the speakers before, but...[now their] matter was fresh and they were filled with an obvious exaltation of Spirit." Gilbert was normally a sober analyst, but an "ecstatic" audience danced on his mountaintop and drank in the breath-taking view that:

> ...Christ is to be the Saviour of all men; that humanitarian effort directed toward physical healing, mental culture and spiritual awakening simultaneously is sure to win its way; that there

> is to be a new humanity everywhere and a common brotherhood under one Father and one Master; that there is no place or excuse for doubt or pessimism....[110]

Other state conventions in the same series manifested the same "spiritual tide," according to a Methodist bishop, and were the best conferences he had seen.[111] The spirit of these conferences, like that of the Revival of 1905 in general, was contagious: while attending one a minister declared a "new crusade" for the city.[112]

John Sleman, a prominent layman from the nation's capital, attended the SVM convention in Nashville and was so inspired by the zeal of the thousands of delegates there that he initiated planning toward a missions prayer conference in New York in November 1906.[113] Out of this meeting emerged the Layman's Missionary Movement (LMM), whose goal was to inspire and mobilize laymen to support overseas missions. The LMM organized branches in the major denominations and held conferences in scores of cities from 1908 to 1910, clearly blazing the trail for the Men and Religion Forward Movement of 1911-1912. The LMM also stimulated the formation in 1908 of the Home Missions Council, made up of denominational home missions boards, which conducted its own city campaigns in 1909.[114] "The thousands of laymen awakened by the movement also became powerful agents in other crusades and campaigns during the World War and the twenties," Sidney Ahlstrom observed, "illustrating what has always been the most important aspect of the entire foreign missions im-

pulse: its reflex effect on the life and church activities of Christians at home."[115]

In the opinion of the Schenectady Gazette's "Religious Rambler," the congeries of specialized movements such as the LMM was drawing interest away from, and would soon supplant, the Chapman-type general revival.[116] It is true that the energies of the church were being dispersed. The revival zeal was not completely channeled away, however; more remained to be stirred up for one crusade or another. One example of the still pervasive fervor in 1909 was a campaign begun at a Cleveland conference, by which youths pledged to follow the example of Charles Sheldon's famous book and live as Jesus would for two weeks. Within a few weeks the movement had spread to many cities including Schenectady, where six hundred youths and adults took the pledge at Adams' church.[117]

Evangelistic revivals, too, kept right on stirring ardor. At the height of the Philadelphia Chapman campaign in 1908, William H. Roberts, who was then moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly, proposed grandly that the evangelist be put in charge of a great interdenominational campaign to evangelize the entire world. One reason he gave for a campaign then was "that American Christians everywhere cherish as never before the evangelistic spirit."[118] Nothing in particular came of this, but Chapman kept on getting people involved in "the King's Business." In 1908 in the wake of his campaign in Burlington, Vermont, First Congregational Church solemnly took a "King's Business covenant

of service"; in three months the congregation was to add new members to the working force of the church, double attendance at the midweek and Sunday services, and add large numbers of new members to the Men's League, the Women's Association, and the Young People's Society. These goals were reached.[119]

And yet this zeal was only one aspect of the revival's contribution to later crusades. Despite troubling under-currents, the fervor matured into a powerful confidence and sober dedication. This was suggested by a secular Michigan editor during the 1906 Chapman campaign in his town. "The great power of the revival is in its practical application...," he wrote:

> ...The entire nation is in a ferment of readjustment, at the present time. It has occurred to a great many of the best citizens of the country, apparently without preconcerted thought, that the direct, practical application of a few simple Christian teachings would not only be logical, but would be the essence of common sense.

The editor also asserted that the American response to rapid changes in life and the vast problems of the city had been one of fright, but a view of God's power as revealed in revival campaigns was enabling people at large to recover. "At length the churches have taken new heart, the plain truths concerning salvation in Jesus Christ being manifested."[120]

This reflects the point that the reaffirmation of old values gave some American evangelicals and Progressives the confidence to press on in new directions, assured that their

values remained dynamic. This principle was central to the power of the Great Awakening and the religious crusades emanating from the Revival. Nowhere is it better illustrated than in home missions. For years many evangelical Americans had felt beseiged and beleaguered by the tide of immigration. Open anti-Catholicism and a general fear for American culture and institutions had characterized their response to the new immigration. Then at the time of the Revival, this attitude changed to one of jaunty confidence. "Let the Romanists come to America; their coming will save the trouble and expense of sending the gospel to lands where they live...," Warren Candler chuckled in 1904, adding that revival would take care of the need.[121]

Beginning around that year, Presbyterian writers increasingly stressed the opportunity rather than the danger presented by immigrants, and this new attitude found its way into the minutes of the General Assembly in 1908.[122] Edward Steiner, a professor of applied Christianity who had challenged Congregationalists at Des Moines to "realize the full measure of Pentecostal power," and Howard Grose, secretary of the Baptist Home Mission Society, led in efforts to see immigrants as a thrilling, expanding mission field of souls for whom Christ died. The Philadelphia Methodist in 1906 urged "a new crusade" to win immigrants in cities.[123]

Steiner, a German immigrant himself, said, "The Pentecost...which is to repair the ruin wrought in the human family by the building of the towers of Babel, cannot be so far

away." Grose based his optimism on the powerful spirit of democracy and Protestantism, which were the same. "The immigrant comes into a new environment and cannot escape its influence. Political liberty leads to soul liberty," he argued. "There is no question that if American Protestantism is true to its opportunity and responsibility, the immigration problem will be solved by the evangelization, and thus thorough assimilation of all the foreign elements." With enough given in money and home missionaries, Grose exhorted a major interdenominational conference in 1907, immigrants "...would realize the American spirit and purpose and interest in him, and the birth of a new citizenship would begin."[124]

In the South similar voices were raised. One Presbyterian editor assured his readers that the region was changing rapidly--this could not be stopped--and that part of this change would involve immigration as in the North. He added this to the racial problem. "We may regret it as much as we please, or we may rejoice in it as an opportunity given us by God to render wide service to our country and our Lord. ...We have never been able to go to these people in Europe with the pure Gospel; God sends them to us...." That meant evangelism and church-wide revival.[125]

No account of prewar evangelical crusades would be complete without noting the escalating involvement of laymen, particularly through brotherhood movements and organizations such as the Laymen's Missionary Movement. Women had for a

long time been disproportionately involved in churches, missions programs, and reform movements such as WCTU. According to Charles Stelzle's figures, 54 percent of American women were church members, but only 30.7 percent of men.[126] Women's prayer groups, both regular and extraordinary, were instrumental in stirring the religious fervor before and during the revival of 1905.[127] Complaints that men were far behind the women in missions involvement were common, as has been mentioned.[128]

The "feminization of religion" was a blight many ministers and laymen expressed shame about; it seemed to reflect the worldliness of American culture and amorality of the "real" men's sphere, business. From the 1890s on, brotherhoods arose in many congregations to draw men back into the church and spiritual activities. By 1905 laymen's service was in the air along with evangelism, and wealthy businessmen such as Philadelphia's John Converse and Chicago's Cyrus McCormick set an example of involvement while trying to bring business efficiency into the church.[129] With the rising spiritual ardor of the Revival of 1905, the brotherhood movement picked up steam, benefitting also from the general momentum the Revival generated and the doors it opened for laymen to get involved. Often evangelistic campaigns originated from laymen's initiatives.[130] Speaking of Dawson and Vincent's late 1904 revivals, the Congregationalist observed, "It is significant that both the Brooklyn and the Springfield movements place emphasis on the as-

sistance of men not in the ranks of local religious leaders."[131] This could have been said about those of the other major revivalists. The revival opened both spiritual and mundane opportunities to attract businessmen to the cause. Furthermore, business practices were glorified by the campaigns, particularly Chapman's.

The years after 1905 witnessed a rise in the membership of men's religious organizations and further proliferation of those groups. In 1906 there came into being the Presbyterian Brotherhood, a national federation superimposed on church brotherhoods, and soon the Baptists, Methodists, and Congregationalists had their equivalents. As with the FCC, an optimistic evangelistic note was often sounded at the formative meetings of these brotherhoods. Critical in the masculinization of American religion, too, was the Laymen's Missionary Movement. Journalist William Ellis hit the right stride with: "It is a job for strong men. Missions thrill men, not only because of its innate heroism and chivalry, but also because they are a mighty enterprise on a sound reasonable basis." Men were drawn by that sort of rhetoric; by January 1907 the Presbyterian could pat some business-suited backs: "It looks as if the men of the Church were coming to their own."[132]

Plainly the Revival of 1905 stimulated laymen this way. Their activism helped prolong the awakening, pushing it into its crusading phase. With a mental focus on the spiritual movement that gave it birth, the laymen's movement could not

resist thoughts of supplanting the traditional revival. One promoter dubbed the LMM "a present-day revival of religion ...a revival in an up-to-date environment, having a mission of stimulus, instruction, and finely adjusted impact upon the feelings...."[133]

The men's movement shows that the same impulse informing the Progressive Great Awakening prodded the Christian soldiers in the crusading phase of the Revival. To William Ellis the LMM represented the spirit of the times--we might add, the heart of Progressivism--the spirit of self-extension victorious over self-centeredness which was so central a theme of the Progressive Great Awakening. "All-engrossing 'business' has starved men's spiritual nature...," he wrote:

> ...Jaded, wearied, dissatisfied, they hail this world-interest as an emancipator. This new sense of the unity of mankind, and of the possibility of making men's lives count for the whole world, appeals to men's noblest latent sentiments. Beneath the overlay of commercialism, sordidness, self-centeredness and articifial civilization beats a passion for life and conquest, for some larger, manlier, diviner expression of one's own personality.[134]

Here he came very close to describing the Awakening as seen by theological pragmatists. This comment, so typical and expressive of the crusading phase of both the Revival and the Great Awakening, revealed how much its mood had evolved from the early spirit of the Revival--even though the earlier movement had helped bring about the later one. In 1905 Dawson and Torrey and others proclaimed that God stood ready to send revival. Now it was laymen who stood ready to organize it. As the Revival inspired and mingled

freely with the part-religious, part-secular Great Awakening, as the men and women of the Revival took on heroic tasks with a promise of tangible results, evangelicalism and revivalism became increasingly tied to the less-spiritual concerns and demands of their consituency.

* * * NOTES TO CHAPTER VII * * *

1. Baptist Argus, March 2, 1905, quoted in Orr, Flaming Tongue, p. 69.
2. PCA, January 4, 1905, p. 5.
3. WCA, February 1, 1905, p. 30.
4. Congregationalist, January 28, 1905, p. 105; February 4, 1905, p. 148.
5. "Revival Lessons," Christian Herald, February 8, 1905, p. 124. See also "The Coming Revival," ibid., February 1, 1905, p. 102.
6. Pitt, February 18, 1904, p. 3; March 3, 1904, p. 4.
7. "Great Religious Revivals," ibid., February 16, 1905, p. 3.
8. Watchman, February 16, 1905, p. 5.
9. WCA, February 22, 1905, p. 5.
10. New York Christian Observer, February 8, 1905, p. 2.
11. NYCA, March 23, 1905, p. 23.
12. ST, March 19, 1905, p. 6.
13. BHMM, March 1905, p. 92.
14. Watchman, March 9, 1905, p. 6.
15. NYCA, March 9, 1905, p. 386.
16. Ibid., April 13, 1905, p. 24.
17. Watchman, June 1, 1905, p. 8.
18. The Commoner, June 16, 1905, p. 1.
19. For example, A. Z. Conrad wrote of the 1906 Gypsy Smith campaign in Boston, "These meetings are the most discussed topic in New England. You hear talk of Gypsy Smith and his wonderful work on the trains, everywhere, and the religious wave is sweeping over the entire East." Edward Bayliss, The "Gypsy" Smith Missions in America: A Volume Commemorative of His Sixth Evangelistic Campaign in the United States, 1906-1907, (Boston, 1907), p. 148.
20. LCO, January 25, 1905, p. 1.
21. Congregationalist, December 10, 1904, p. 891.
22. Christian Endeavor World, January 4, 1906, p. 278.
23. PCA, July 26, 1905, p. 4.
24. WCA, July 19, 1905, pp. 8-11; NYCA, July 20, 1905, pp. 19-21.
25. PCA, July 19, 1905, p. 18; July 26, 1905, p. 4.
26. SDU, January 23, 1905, p. 4.
27. Francis E. Clark, Christian Endeavor in All Lands, a Record of Twenty-Five Years of Progress (Boston, 1906), pp. 337,370.
28. BHMM, August 1905, pp. 311,312.
29. Francis E. Clark, Christian Endeavor, pp. 337,370; Christian Endeavor World, July 20, 1905, pp. 829-833; BHMM, August 1905, pp. 311,312; New York Observer, July 20, 1905, p. 372.
30. BHMM, August 1905, p. 294.
31. PCA, September 6, 1905, p. 7.

32. Christian Statesman, September 1905, pp. 309,310; New York Observer, November 14, 1905, p. 638; Christian Statesman, September 1905, pp. 309,310.
33. On the Baptists, see New York Observer, July 20, 1905, p. 72, and Helen C. A. Dixon, A. C. Dixon: A Romance of Preaching (New York, 1931), pp. 160,161; on the Keswick Convention see ibid., p. 161, and Arthur T. Pierson, "A New Pentecost at Keswick," Christian Herald, August 23, 1905; on Berlin see Clark, Christian Endeavor, pp. 173-175.
34. BHMM, February 1906, p. 70.
35. "The Revival Is Here," Michigan Christian Advocate, December 9, 1905, p. 1.
36. New York Observer, December 28, 1905, p. 1.
37. Christian Endeavor World, January 4, 1906, p. 278.
38. Southern Baptist Annual, 1906, p. 40, quoted in Orr, Flaming Tongue, p. 93.
39. "The Spiritual Renaissance," BHMM, March 1906, p. 92.
40. Pitt, January 19, 1905.
41. These figures are found in Orr, Flaming Tongue, p. 86; the 1904 gains are from Pitt, January 19, 1905.
42. Orr, Flaming Tongue, p. 86.
43. Christian Endeavor World, January 4, 1906, p. 278.
44. Sources: "Summary of Statistical Reports," Report of the Presbyterian General Assembly; "General Recapitulation," Methodist Fall Conference Report; "Statistics," American Baptist Year-Book: all 1898-1908.
45. The Presbyterian, May 22, 1907, p. 4.
46. "Episcopal Address," Journal of the GCMEC, 1908, p. 126.
47. BHMM, May 1905, p. 223.
48. Report of the Board of Home Missions, Presbyterian General Assembly, 1905, p. 303.
49. Ahlstrom, Religious History, p. 820; Earle E. Cairns, An Endless Line of Splendor (Wheaton, Ill., 1986), pp. 177-180. For criticism, see WCA, August 14, 1907, p. 5. Even Presbyterian churches were not immune to a movement that grew out of Methodism. The South Park church in Los Angeles, launched as a very successful mission in 1904 and organized as a church in 1905, expelled an elder and imposed church discipline against other teachers of "holiness," most likely including the "gifts of the Spirit" ("Session Minutes," South Park Presbyterian Church of Los Angeles, Presbyterian Historical Society).
52. Kansas City Star, January 27, 1905, p. 6.
51. Charles Goodell, "A Summer Gospel Tent Campaign," Missionary Review of the World, October 1905, p. 737.
52. H. Wyse Jones, "Evangelistic Work in Oregon," BHMM, October 1905, pp. 371-373; Annual Report of the Baptist Home Mission Society, 1906, p. 107.
53. While Philadelphia ministers were planning Torrey's campaign there, they stressed perhaps for the benefit of the lone Anglican in their midst how the evangelist was "cool, business-like, and capable of handling all excitable people." Tompkins, however, responded that he liked the old Methodist hallelujahs and amens and hoped to hear more of

them. He got warm applause from a lay audience in attendance (NYCA, October 12, 1905, p. 1633).
54. Philadelphia Methodist, March 20, 1905, p. 10.
55. "Revival or Reformation?", Watchman, May 11, 1905, p. 7.
56. Wentworth F. Stewart, "The Religion of Revivals," WCA, January 31, 1906, p. 9.
57. Wentworth F. Stewart, "What Shall We Look for in the Revival?", NYCA, December 28, 1905, p. 15.
58. New York Observer, April 13, 1905, p. 477.
59. NYCA, January 26, 1905, p. 124.
60. Charles Goodell, "A Summer Gospel Tent Campaign," Missionary Review of the World, October 1905, p. 737.
61. CCA, March 23, 1905, p. 3.
62. PCA, March 15, 1905, p. 11.
63. Dixon, Evangelism Old and New, p. v.
64. "The Spiritual Renaissance," BHMM, March 1906, p. 92.
65. New York Observer, April 13, 1905, p. 477.
66. W. F. Whitlock, "The Kingdom: Evidences of Its Coming," WCA, June 21, 1905, pp. 9-13.
67. Quoted in "A Unitarian on Revivalism," WCA, April 19, 1905, p. 4.
68. Quoted in Dixon, Evangelism Old and New, pp. 190,191.
69. Philadelphia Methodist, May 8, 1905.
70. Zion's Herald, March 8, 1905, p. 297.
71. Watchman, March 9, 1905, p. 5.
72. Congregationalist, October 28, 1905, p. 582.
73. Watchman, May 4, 1905, p. 6.
74. SLCA, February 14, 1906, p. 1.
75. LCO, May 23, 1905, p. 4.
76. Watchman, March 9, 1905, p. 7.
77. Minutes of the Methodist Ohio Conference, 1905, p. 46; 1906, p. 48.
78. Outlook, February 25, 1905, pp. 475,476.
79. Washington Gladden, "The Church and the Nation," in The New Idolatry (New York, 1905), p. 147ff.
80. Boston Herald, April 28, 1905, reprinted in the Congregational Historical Society, Boston.
81. Abbott letter to Gladden, quoted in Dorn, Washington Gladden, p. 381; ibid., p. 382.
82. WCA, January 10, 1906, p. 5.
83. Gladden, "The Church and the Nation," p. 153.
84. See Outlook, February 25, 1905, p. 475, where Abbott's periodical refused to distinguish between them.
85. The Presbyterian, November 6, 1907, p. 3.
86. Robert T. Handy, We Witness Together (New York, 1956), p. 16. In Handy's view the familiar route of crusading was a way of resolving inner tensions, such as the unresolved differences between liberal and conservative.
87. For example, "The Decadence of Pulpit Power" (WCA, September 25, 1907, p. 1), and "Christianity and the Laboring Man," (ibid., September 4, 1907, p. 1).
88. Rev. Ernest G. Wareing, "The Holy Spirit in a New Perspective," WCA, February 27, 1907, p. 11.

89. Prof. Borden P. Bowne, "The Divine Immanence," NYCA, September 14, 1905, p. 17.
90. John Marshall Barker, The Saloon Problem and Social Reform (Boston, 1905), p. 100.
91. Henry B. Roller, The Twentieth Century Revival: A Call to Prayer (Cincinnati, 1911), p. 65.
92. Alvin D. Smith, "Chapman," p. 110.
93. Premillennialists believed that both the Old and New Testaments forecast a period of tribulation and catastrophe before the bodily return of Christ to establish the millennial Kingdom. Postmillennialists, however, believed that human progress would usher in the millennium, followed by the prophesied return of Christ.
94. Franklin Mason North (vice-chairman of the executive committee of the conference), "The Interchurch Conference on Federation," Methodist Review, September-October 1905, p. 750.
95. E. B. Sanford, Origin and History of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America (Hartford, Conn., 1916), pp. 37,206. When the New York Federation of Churches and Christian Workers was launched at Syracuse in November 1900, Governor Roosevelt presided at some evening sessions and was made a vice-president of the fledgling agency. "He did not speak as one to whom religious thinking and religious action were strange matters," Sanford believed. "His personal interest in the question of church life and Christian success were deep and practical" (p. 134).
96. Ibid., p. 167. Sanford, who was central in organizing the Inter-Church Conference and the Federal Council of Churches, mentioned the Torrey campaigns overseas as a brilliant example of church cooperation. Incidentally, Sanford claimed to be a convert from the 1857-1858 revival (p. 12).
97. Some ministers saw it as the home churches getting in tune with what was already going on in missions, where agencies were learning to cooperate (Congregationalist, November 4, 1905, p. 627). Others emphasized the war against the saloon and other evils (Barker, Saloon Problem, p. 82).
98. Quoted in Sanford, Origin and History, p. 233.
99. Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Interchurch Conference, 1906, passim.
100. Sanford, Origin and History, p. 288.
101. Handy, We Witness Together, p. 18.
102. Ahlstrom, Religious History, pp. 864,865.
103. "The Missionary Thrill," Alabama Christian Advocate, January 11, 1906, p. 1.
104. Orr, Flaming Tongue, p. 87; Campus Aflame, p. 117. This church historian complained: "[I]f until now the story of the 1858 Awakening in colleges has never been written, the story of the 1905 Awakening seems not to have been suspected" (Campus Aflame, p. 114).
105. "The Y.M.C.A.--A Review of the Year," Concordiensis (Union student newspaper), April 1, 1905, p. 6; Pacific Wave (University of Washington student paper), March 24, 1905.
106. Orr, Flaming Tongue, p. 88.

107. BHMM, October 1908, p. 369. As one example of its own inspirational work, the 1905 summer conference of the YPMM stimulated an interdenominational group of Baltimore youths to launch a missionary education campaign of their own in the fall (NYCA, December 28, 1905, p. 16).
108. NYCA, December 28, 1905, p. 16; "The Y.M.C.A.--A Review of the Year," Concordiensis, April 1, 1905, p. 6; Pacific Wave, March 24, 1905.
109. Daily Pennsylvanian (University of Pennsylvania student paper), March 6, 1906, p. 1.
110. WCA, March 21, 1906, p. 1.
111. Ibid., April 18, 1906, p. 2.
112. Philadelphia Methodist, April 18, 1906, p. 3.
113. James S. Dennis, The Modern Call of Missions (New York, 1913), p. 171.
114. SG, January 16, 1909, p. 7.
115. Ahlstrom, Religious History, p. 865.
116. SG, January 7, 1911, p. 8
117. Ibid., January 8, 1909, p. 4; January 11, 1909, p. 1; January 18, 1909, p. 5; January 25, 1909, p.1.
118. PPL, April 17, 1908, p. 4.
119. Report of First Congregational Church, Burlington, 1908, University of Vermont Manuscripts Division.
120. "A Successful Revival," and "The Modern City and Evangelism," editorials, Copper County Evening News (Calumet City, Mich.), June 15, 1906, p. 11 (Chapman clippings, Presbyterian Historical Society).
121. Candler, Great Revivals, p. 272.
122. Lawrence B. Davis, Immigrants, Baptists, and the Protestant Mind (Urbana, Ill., 1973), p. 160; Paula K. Benkart, "Changing Attitudes of Presbyterians Toward Southern and Eastern European Immigrants, 1880-1914," Journal of Presbyterian History Vol. XLIX, No. 2 (1971), pp. 232,233. The year 1904 was given by Davis as the year up to which Presbyterians held the old attitude.
123. Congregationalist, October 29, 1904, p. 609; Benkart, "Changing Attitudes," pp. 222-245, passim; Philadelphia Methodist, April 23, 1906, p. 3. Laurence Davis attributed what he called "a complete about-face" to humanitarianism, increasing personal contacts with the immigrants through home missions, and the new Progressive social consciousness that characterized doctrinal conservatives as well as liberals (Immigrants, pp. 127,136,138). He contended that a Social Gospel theology did not necessarily coincide with a liberal approach to immigrants, that a welcoming attitude more often belonged to those who kept concerns for the immigrants' spiritual and material welfare balanced (pp. 162,193).
124. Benkart, "Changing Attitudes," p. 230; Howard B. Grose, "A Question of Attitude," BHMM, May 1905, p. 168; "A Twentieth Century Conversation: Some Grounds for Optimism Concerning Immigration," ibid., June 1905, pp. 240,241; Report of the Executive Committee of the Interchurch Conference, 1907, p. 47.

125. Editorial, "The Changing South," LCO, June 20, 1906, p. 3.
126. Stelzle, Son of the Bowery, p. 111. Stelzle explained that men were actually easier to reach with the gospel, but church actitivites were the only outlet for women's social instincts (pp. 210,211).
127. A good example of this, in Philadelphia, will be discussed in Chapter 9. In 1904 the Watchman carried this note about Immanuel Baptist Church in Lowell, Mass.: "The spiritual quickening and consequent prosperity [in all church activities] is traceable very largely to the influence of the ladies' prayer meeting..." (April 14, 1904, p. 25).
128. The Presbyterian seemed to understate the gap with, "At present it is women who seem ready to recognize the claims of Christ upon heart and effort in missionary activities" (June 28, 1905, p. 3).
129. Paul H. Heidebrecht has described the centrality of prominent businessmen who labored and spent to bring the church up to date in methods. He felt that the adaptations activist businessmen led the church into, with their focus on efficiency and numbers and disregard for theology, "...served to undermine the Protestant ethos of the 19th century." Heidebrecht, "Chicago Presbyterians and the Businessman's Religion," American Presbyterians, Vol. LXIV, No. 1 (Spring 1986), p. 39.
130. It was such an initiative that brought G. Campbell Morgan to Newark, New Jersey, on his American tour early in 1904 (Congregationalist, January 2, 1904, p. 34). Also, a businessmen's committee invited Chapman to Atlanta that November.
131. Congregationalist, December 3, 1904, p. 761?
132. Heidebrecht, "Chicago Presbyterians," p. 45; The Presbyterian, January 16, 1907, p. 9.
133. Dennis, Modern Call, p. 178.
134. Ellis, Men and Missions, p. 11.

CHAPTER VIII

CROSSROADS OF EVANGELICALISM

The evangelists of the Revival era needed to communicate that the old gospel was relevant not only to the personal needs of their audiences but also to the social and cultural problems they were experiencing. More than almost any other era, it appears, Americans found a vital connection between personal and social needs, and they laid these at the feet of revivalists whom they thronged to hear. Such evangelists as Chapman, Torrey, Dawson, Gipsy Smith, and George Lunn responded brilliantly to the felt needs of Americans, just as did Progressive reformers. They spoke to men and women who wanted to see their core beliefs actualized and their hopes for social and cultural progress reaffirmed in the difficult new era. The evangelists artfully combined the gospel message and evangelistic tradition they had inherited with a major effort to make that message relevant to their age.

A. Reconciling the Old and New

The evangelists of 1905 moved in three conceptual spheres. First and foremost, they accepted responsibility for disseminating in the most effective way possible the Bible's message of reconciliation by God with individuals through faith in Jesus Christ. This simple point is easily obscured if we underestimate their spiritual commitment. While the revivalists by and large found success by offering assurance that the old values and certainties held true in a disrupted world, and while they had something to say about drinking, dancing, and the Sabbath, the purely cultural side of their evangelism can be overstressed.[1] Their message was still "Come to Jesus." Droves of men and women also clamored for a personal religion, and formalistic church services and impersonal social teachings apparently were not addressing that need well. Revivals, particularly of the spontaneously spiritual sort, seemed to offer a personal touch with the divine.

The second sphere they moved in was what they perceived the temporal needs of their people to be. As they communicated the gospel, they sought to bring their own doctrinal and social concerns into contact with their hearers' felt needs. To one extent or another, in both style and content, almost all the leading evangelists of 1905 came to terms with cultural and intellectual traits we have identified with Progressivism: the desire for the revitalization of core values derived from evangelical Protestantism, for

social healing, for a democratic renaissance, and for a deeper spiritual life for the nation.

Third, the sphere that will hold our attention for now, revivalists and their clergy backers conducted campaigns within the conceptual sphere of revivalism itself, combining a certain tradition with contemporary lines of inspiration. The tradition they followed was mainly that of D. L. Moody. The Chicago preacher had anticipated the future with his business-like organization of mass evangelism, his folksy and sentimental tone, his emphasis on evangelical unity, and his joyful practicality and unconcern over doctrine.[2]

Moody arrived on the circuit in the 1870s, when Protestant ministers across the board had begun to fret over the new social and intellectual trends described by Henry May.[3] For a wide range of evangelical clergymen, finding a church-filling solution increasingly took precedence over scoring doctrinal points. Thus the unordained Moody, belittling doctrinal fine points but filling tabernacles, drew support from highbrow opposites such as Princeton's James McCosh and Charles Hodge on the one hand and Henry Ward Beecher and Lyman Abbott on the other.[4] Though Moody personally believed in a literal Bible and was influenced by Higher Life teachings, he refused to pass judgment on modern theology.

As Moody stressed God's yearning love for the individual, he used a pleading and sentimental rather than judgmental tone. This tradition sighed through the later sermons of Chapman, Dawson, and Gypsy Smith. "The number of dying sons,

redeemed profligates, praying mothers, sick children, and long-suffering wives who paraded through his sermons sometimes made Christianity seem a lugubrious business at best," commented McLoughlin. For the right touch and counterbalance to his own gruff demeanor, Moody used chorister Ira D. Sankey; he scrapped Finney's mourners' bench (on which repentant sinners sat in front of the congregation) for private inquiry rooms in order to make his prospective converts more at ease and to make up for any deficiencies in their understanding of salvation.[5]

In the 1890s Moody's campaigns became less frequent as he devoted more attention to other pursuits, such as his Bible institute in Chicago and the Mt. Hermon educational enterprises. Other evangelists, later of note, apprenticed on his campaigns, including J. Wilbur Chapman, R. A. Torrey, and Billy Sunday. When Moody died in 1899, his name was perhaps the most revered one in evangelical circles.

One major inspiration besides Moody's, however, also affected evangelists including Moody and Chapman. This was the Higher Life movement. The Higher Life, like the Social Gospel, developed in the mid- to late nineteenth century and was the informal influence of a congeries of clergymen and theologians rather than a real movement. One linchpin in it was the Bible Conference Movement, begun as an annual affair at Moody's Northfield complex and then proliferating rapidly through the country. Another was the Niagara Bible Conference, founded in 1895, with leaders such as A. T. Pierson,

C. I. Scofield, and W. J. Erdman--men involved in the premillennial dispensationalist movement.[6] Bible conferences and institutes, emphasizing both the literal correctness of the Word of God and the possibility of experiencing God's presence daily, spread the impulse of the Higher Life.

Higher Life spokesmen and women stressed the presence and empowerment of the Holy Spirit for victory over personal sin and for Christian service.[7] (This is not to be confused with Pentecostal or holiness teachings, which offered eradication of sin and/or various gifts through a Holy Spirit baptism.) They buttressed orthodox theology while displaying zeal for soul-winning, for holy living, and for service to the dispossessed of society. "Certain that the Lord's return was at hand," Grant Wacker has explained:

> ...individuals such as [A. T.] Pierson and Adoniram Judson Gordon were noted for their support of urban revivalism, world missions, and the theology and practice of divine healing and, most of all, a conviction that conversion ought to be regarded, not as the goal, but as the mere beginning of a triumphant Christian life.[8]

Reuben A. Torrey was a major architect of its theology, and the Keswick movement and the "revivalist" urban ministries to the poor studied by Norris Magnuson also reflected its inspiration.[9] With their concern for the empowerment of the Holy Spirit and sense of God's action in the present age, Higher Life advocates were very interested in spiritual revivalism. These concerns, as well as their social consciousness as we have seen, also kept the Higher Life move-

ment on good terms with the New Theology long enough to boost the Revival of 1905.

Two emphases, however, set the Higher Life movement apart from the Social Gospel. One was its determined commitment to supernaturalism, prominent in its biblical literalism and its beliefs about the Holy Spirit. The other was the growing involvement of its leaders in premillennialism, the Revelation-based teaching that Christ would return amid worldwide catastrophes to set up the thousand-year reign, rather than inspire humanity to establish the Kingdom itself. While these views set their adherents at odds with liberals of the Social Gospel stripe, the battle-lines were not yet drawn. Social Gospelites concentrated most of their fire on uncaring, dry dogmatics and wild revivalists; they worried more about performance than doctrine. Certainly the temporary nexus of Social Gospel and Higher Life impulses, both of which focused on authentic religious experience and the Spirit's immanence, paved the way for the revival of 1905. For a brief period the varied concerns and teachings of evangelicals across the board seemed in harmony so that the true power of the church united was about to be unleashed on earth.

From within this convergence of evangelical traditions and concerns arose three lines of inspiration at the time of the Revival. With J. Wilbur Chapman as its central figure, one line looked back to Moody and stressed the methods and promise of up-to-date evangelistic methods, sensitive to

cultural concerns, but bearing the old gospel. This line stressed the cooperation of God with human efforts as He showered revival blessings down.

Another line looked even more hopefully at the possibilities of a new evangelism, but one with the power and most of the content of the old. It emphasized the personal, practical Christ, who inspired and dwelled in individuals, and the socially minded Holy Spirit who was inspiring humanity to build the Kingdom. The revival would bring out the latent goodness in humanity on its upward millennial march. This line of the new revivalism, which N. D. Hillis and W. J. Dawson did so much to extend, ran through many local clergymen including George Lunn.

Finally, the most supernaturalistic line sought God's power and intervention in human affairs through old-fashioned revivals updated only in style. Torrey associated himself most with this. This hope inspired much of the teaching of an imminent awakening, which as we have seen had made the rounds of religious newspapers and sermons by the time it received a bright confirmation in Wales. Thus in 1905 a line of inspiration stretched from Wales to America as newspapers reported the powerful visitations of God's Spirit, and clergymen tried to bring the spirit to their congregations.

B. Up-to-Date, Sane Evangelism

The most prominent figure in the Revival of 1905 was forty-six-year-old James Wilbur Chapman. Considering that in 1896 Moody referred to him as "the greatest evangelist in the country,"[10] and many other clergymen and journalists voiced the same sentiment later on, the Indianian's small space in the historiography of evangelism is puzzling.

Dark-haired, with thick moustache (in 1905) and spectacles, when Chapman was not preaching his face was pleasant but not striking. To one editor he appeared "timid and shrinking."[11] Yet if true that changed when he preached. Claimed Boston's A. Z. Conrad: "His appearance is impressive. His facial expression is striking and telling." Conrad, like many other friendly observers, added, "His manner is courteous, dignified, and commanding."[12]

That dignity was an important asset. More than anyone of his era, Chapman placed the reputation of evangelists on firm ground. A generation of clergymen were fretting over whether the gospel was being discredited by wild-man revivalists, and so every city Chapman visited was shaken from core to periphery with a sigh of relief. One Dallas minister who had complained of "prostituted and abused" evangelism that put propriety and piety to shame was delighted with Chapman and associates. They "...preached a clean, full gospel, with no clap-trap or doubtful methods...."[13] A Northeastern editor glowed that the campaign in his city "...has been planned on wholly sensible, genuinely uplifting

lines ...with emphasis upon the paramount importance of character-building and right conduct as a part of the Christian ideal."[14]

Born in 1859 in Richmond, Indiana, Chapman was educated at Oberlin College and Lane Seminary. From 1881 to 1892 he served pastorates in Indiana, New York, and at John Wanamaker's Bethany Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia. Afterward he alternated between pastoring and full-time evangelism, sometimes assisting Moody and evangelist B. Fay Mills and sometimes on his own, with then-obscure Billy Sunday as an aide. In 1902 he devoted himself fully to the Evangelistic Committee. Throughout his life he exhibited exceptional success to soul winning, and the intensity of his personal attachment to it attracted others to the cause. It showed through his many sermon references to evangelism and in a rigorous preaching schedule that frequently bothered his health. He gave more than two sermons a day, very often with new material.[15]

A Chapman campaign lasted usually two or three and at most six weeks. His citywide "simultaneous plan of evangelism" was smoothly organized and media-friendly; Chapman filled all the districts at once with a team of preachers, thus benefitting from maximum media impact. Dale Soden has suggested that Chapman's procedures, designed to reach identifiable groups, reflected the Progressive stress on specialization, efficiency, and professionalization, which were key values to the rising middle class.[16] Certainly many

people drew inspiration from the fact that evangelism could be done with such modern methods.

Chapman campaigns became even more specialized after the 1905 campaign. Two mass-participation activities in 1904 and 1905 were the Tenderloin march and the citywide day of prayer, in which (as has been discussed) businesses closed down for several hours for daytime prayer and preaching services. The day of prayer was particularly successful in Atlanta, Denver, and Portland. After 1905, however, well-organized special events such as mother's days, flower days, and Good Cheer days replaced mass events. Two specialists in saloon evangelism, William and Virginia Asher, seem to have replaced the march into the Tenderloin.

The careful planning and smooth efficiency of a Chapman campaign impressed clergymen who worried that the church was floundering in a world built on efficiency. The evangelist as effective organizer, of course, was part of the Moody-Mills tradition. Chapman, however, went further in inspiring churches into evangelistic efficiency themselves. One observer praised the methodical work of fund-raising, worker training, and follow up of converts done by the St. Paul churches following Chapman's guidelines. Efficiency was such that the campaign coordinator only had to telephone seven men (one leader in each district) to have an instruction delivered to every campaign worker within an hour or two. "In organizing a church machinery that brought the attention

of every one to the movement, the churches of the city did themselves a lasting good," the writer noted:

> ...The clergymen of all denominations were brought into closer touch with each other, and in this way helped to do away with denominational prejudices. The easy, smooth-running machinery of the revival will do much to simplify the unification of the churches into a federation as is now being done.[17]

Yet with all this efficiency--smooth enough to make little noise, apparently--Chapman was able to communicate that his ministry was part of something far larger and more spiritual. This suited the wonder-laden atmosphere of 1905, and in that year Chapman often referred to the spiritual revival in progress in the United States and around the world. Throughout his ministry as well, he insisted that he came as a servant to the local church and that a campaign and its results belonged to the sponsoring churches; thus he refused to make an official count. (Many of his supporters were not so reticent.) "[O]ur object is not to bring people into the churches," he claimed in Seattle. "It is to pave the way for the churches. We start the people and leave the rest of the work to the local workers."[18] One time he avowed that his own work in Topeka had fallen short of expectations but the pastors and people had produced the revival afterwards. "If ...you measure this campaign by the number of persons added at once to the church membership you will be disappointed," Chapman once told a crowd. "What I want to do here in Syracuse is to create an atmosphere and break down the old barriers."[19]

His style suited that aim. He was self-effacing, reassuring, reconciling. His simultaneous plan made him just the first among equals in a preaching team, and often he was upstaged in local papers by his fellow evangelists. Though doctrinally conservative, Chapman refused to battle biblical modernists, and critics of the harsher Torrey and bombastic Sunday such as Congregationalists S. Parkes Cadman, Charles Sheldon, and Washington Gladden could support simultaneous campaigns in their towns.[20] Chapman even attracted cautious support from Lutherans and Episcopalians; in Minneapolis he was the first non-Episcopalian ever to preach at St. Mark's, and in 1908 Episcopalians and Lutherans in Philadelphia hosted Chapman's evangelists (one of whom was George Lunn).[21] A wide variety of clergymen not only sponsored his campaigns but also formed his teams, sometimes for one city, sometimes more. The variety represented an effort not only to specialize but also to bridge social and doctrinal gaps.

Some were with Chapman during most of his years of prominence as an evangelist (1904-1909). William Biederwolf, who often was given nearby cities during the campaigns (such as Redlands for Los Angeles and Tacoma for Seattle), delivered tougher punches than Chapman, sometimes against corporations as well as personal sin. Methodist Reverend Henry Ostrom was noted for both his biblical orthodoxy and his ability to speak to the workingman. "He has preached in all kinds of factories, in mines and on the streets as well as in the larger mercantile establishments," noted the Ballard,

Washington, News during the Chapman team's Seattle-area campaign.[22] Ostrom sounded the pragmatic note by praising the "Everyday Man," who "...makes no distinction between the divine and the secular. To him all things are imbued with the divine spirit of God."[23] The Reverend Daniel S. Toy, a reclaimed alcoholic, excelled in berating spiritual lukewarmness and speaking on the temperance issue. Another team evangelist specialized in children's audiences. From late 1905 on the Ashers carried simultaneous campaigns into saloons, factories, and jail cells.

Others stayed for less time. Labor evangelist Charles Stelzle was with Chapman for a few cities in 1905. W. J. Dawson joined the team apparently in 1907 and served in Philadelphia (1908) and Boston (1909). In Philadelphia in 1908 and Boston in 1909, Salvation Army Commander Evangeline Booth joined in. The Reverend LeRoy Butler, pastor of a black church in New York, took part in 1907 and 1908 campaigns.[24] In 1908 future fundamentalist leader William Bell Riley and future socialist mayor George Lunn journeyed to Philadelphia to aid in that Chapman campaign; in 1909 it was Frederick Winslow Adams' turn in Boston. Vermont Baptist George Stair also preached as part of that Boston campaign, while the Unitarian Reverend Samuel Crothers of Cambridge provided a service for workingmen alongside both Chapman and a Reverend Waldron from Boston's City Missionary Society. Even an evangelist whose specialty was Northwestern lumber camps, James Buswell, joined Chapman in Boston.[25]

While attracting diverse evangelists to help, Chapman was talented also at fulfilling the purpose he avowed for himself: inspiring lay people for Christian work. He began using the slogan "The King's Business" late in 1905. With churches and lay people fully mobilized, much of the revival took place (as in Pittsburgh) before Chapman arrived or sometimes after he left. Revival-inspired activities often included temperance and other reform work as well as evangelism.[26] During his Philadelphia campaign, he abruptly organized the American branch of the Pocket Testament League, previously founded in Britain by Charles Alexander's English wife, Helen (later to marry A. C. Dixon after Alexander's death).

In an age of contradictory aspirations, of practical idealism and "vague yet profound" spirituality, Chapman came across as both intensely spiritual and intensely practical. A New Jersey pastor promised that any would-be Chapman hearer:

> ...will be touched by the Spirit of worship manifest in the meeting. There is no hysteria, no undue excitement....Dr. Chapman speaks to the hearts of his hearers, appealing to the spirit of righteousness which, hidden, dormant or active, exists in every individual.[27]

His sentences were simple and to the point, heavily studded with sentimental anecdotes. The Indianian packed a lot of controlled passion into his preaching and drew his audiences into a web of both intense emotion and inescapable logic; he created an emotional atmosphere without emotionalism, elicited not hysteria but tears.[28] In the controversial

area of emotionalism, he had an amazing ability to please--to appear business-like to those who disdained hysteria and passionate to those who wanted to be moved. A Denver reporter approvingly dubbed him brisk and business-like, just like a trading insider offering a sure tip to a would-be investor, but Seattle's Dan Dean assessed his impact on an audience and judged him a hypnotist.[29]

One heart-string Chapman repeatedly tugged at was the hallowed Victorian mother of each of his hearers. There was no answer to this clincher: "I have not respect for the man who...tells me my faith and the faith of his mother is oldfashioned...."[30] Practically all the evangelists (even Torrey) preached of Mom; "Tell Mother I'll be There" was a favorite hymn at revivals. This emphasis perhaps reflected a major concern for the vitality of human relationships and the survival of traditional values in a rapidly changing society. Often Chapman urged his audiences to remember the prayers and songs of mothers, so he assumed a religious upbringing for all his hearers.

For all the sentiment, on the logical side Chapman tried to offer straight Bible gospel preaching, but in contrast to Moody's stress on God's love, he dwelt on sin and the need for escape its consequences.[31] He began his Denver campaign with a statement of purpose:

> I shall preach Jesus, the son of God. I shall also preach of the judgment....I shall further take your most respectable citizen and point him to Christ. I shall have before me some outcast woman and I shall show her the light. I shall lift up the drunken man.[32]

Chapman meant what he said about judgment; he stressed that all sin was an abomination before God and left the sinner with one escape only--faith in Christ's atonement. "There are two things to say about sin," he told an audience at West Presbyterian Church in Binghamton. "First, take it to God and He will judge it and put it away. Or, second, it will take you to God and He will judge you and put it away."[33] Because to accept salvation a sinner had to assume responsibility for his deeds, Chapman denounced repeatedly the notion that sin could be blamed on one's environment, even though he rarely tackled other elements of liberal theology. Nor could moral living atone for sin. In one sermon "filled with brilliant figures and wonderful word pictures that held and fascinated the great throng," the Presbyterian evangelist lumped infidels, dissipates, and moral people without Christ together as men and women whose sin would find them out. Yet as always Chapman dumped sugar into the medicine; the sermon ended with the story of a devoted husband who cared for his wife until she was miraculously cured.[34] Sometimes Chapman seemed too nice for his message of judgment.

This reflects the fact that Chapman, much more than Torrey, modified his preaching out of regard both for his audience's tastes and for evangelical unity. He was doctrinally flexible, even pragmatic. "His religion was not so much of theology and scholarship as it was of service and sacrifice," an associate said approvingly of him.[35] His

adaptability led to mixed messages, though an atmosphere of profound spirituality always compensated for such lapses of doctrinal vagueness. One time he was willing to allow that the old gospel needed an up-to-date communication, and he gladly pointed out that Jonathan Edwards' "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" would now be out of style.[36] Yet a few years earlier he had told a spellbound crowd at First First Methodist Church in Atlanta: "[I]n this narrow pass of life we are on a still narrower path, a hand-breadth, a hair's breadth. Today is of time, the next perhaps of eternity. Where will you spend it?"[37]

His adaptability extended to other matters. Chapman was a conciliatory conservative who was quite aware that evangelical unity might stumble over three issues. One he successfully soothed: that of raucous revivalism and anger against it. The second, Bible inerrancy, he finessed; like Moody he held to a literal Bible but did not attack modernists. Meanwhile, Chapman benefitted from and perhaps strengthened the general truce on that issue. "His preaching is thoroughly constructive...," A. Z. Conrad noted. "He wastes no time in attacking 'isms,' but graphically portrays sin and its consequences, and with passionate devotion to divine ideals reveals the glory of the life in Christ." Actually, on occasion his associate preachers did that dirty work; he played Dawson to their Torrey.[38]

The third issue was the social question. His conciliatory approach to this was what McLoughlin, always ready to

discern right from left, identified as Chapman's tendency to straddle issues and perhaps even mislead Social Gospel ministers as to his true conservatism.[39] It is true that the evangelist seemed especially eager to please everybody in this 1909 article, in which he excessively downplayed social and doctrinal differences:

> While every evangelist associated with me... holds to the old evangelical statement of truth, yet we all realize that truth has a modern application. This is the age of social service and... the church must be called upon to bear the burden of those who are oppressed. Selfishness, greed, avarice, and all kindred sins we rebuke without fear or favor. We preach no selfish salvation, but present a Savior who, when we are saved ourselves, inspires us to save others. We seek not so much to keep men out of hell as to keep hell out of them. ...But of course we insist on the acceptance of Christ as a personal Savior.[40]

If his social note seemed tinny to McLoughlin, at least that scholar conceded the evangelist some seriousness in his attention to the issue: "He, like [Bishop Warren] Candler, thought revivalism should try to soothe the antagonism of greedy gain and angry want."[41] The same could be said of George Lunn and other Social Gospelites. Throughout his career Chapman showed keen desire to break down the social barriers. As a pastor, Chapman was noted for his concern for and success with derelicts. In 1905 he introduced into his own campaigns the tenderloin march, saloon evangelism, and set times for giving to the needy. He was honestly delighted at his opportunity to preach in Seattle's Strand theater, and he later privately expressed a wish that he could preach mainly to the poor.[42]

Dale Soden has correctly argued that McLoughlin exaggerated Chapman's social conservatism, noting Chapman's early support of the institutional church movement. As pastor at Bethany Presbyterian, he helped develop a hospital and an industrial bureau. Alvin Smith considered Chapman a "frequent champion of the cause of labor," though that needs some definition or qualification.[43] He included Charles Stelzle in his team in 1905 as has been discussed.

Chapman's vague formulations satisfied most evangelicals on the issue of poverty, but he was not so successful in matching the two themes of salvation for sinners and a pure life based on character. Like his contemporaries, his message for right living often translated into condemnations of drunkenness, card-playing, riotous living, etc. Chapman would have hated McLoughlin's depiction of his evangelism as "moral uplift revivals," for he wanted to emphasize that one's standing with God depended on faith in Christ alone. McLoughlin's label was unfair but it grew less and less so as time went on; by the time Chapman preached in Philadelphia and Boston he was emphasizing more the desirability and duty of pure living than the power that would make it possible. His real views on sanctification recalled the Higher Life movement: the Christian must regularly appropriate the power of the Holy Spirit, who dwelled only in believers.[44] This implied distrust of human nature and a secondary role to character, which would never do in the Progressive era. So on the hustings Chapman emphasized more the desirability

and duty of pure living than the power that would make it possible.

One time he urged Boston listeners to apply what in essence was the pragmatic test to their Christian lives. If they were constantly living right, he told his hearers, "...it may be an indication that you have already accepted Jesus Christ as your Savior and your life. However, let me say again, that in order that we may live lives pleasing to Him we must be born again."[45] This disclaimer, putting the cart back behind the horse, indicated the stress to which he put his orthodoxy in order to emphasize right living.

The clarity of that message suffered in other ways, too. The nineteenth-century "mourner's bench" was long gone, and now so was Moody's inquiry room, in which prospective converts (like Chapman himself in 1878) received a thorough going over. Mills, Chapman, and succeeding evangelists turned the altar call into no more than a request to raise hands or mark a card and attend a general after-meeting. This decision, in Chapman revivals, was phrased as no more than a determination to lead a better life. The Presbyterian evangelist finished one service by exhorting 2,500 men to pledge themselves to "live better lives, to try to make others better, to listen to the cries of need, and 'to get in line with every decent man who is trying to make Boston better.'" In other words, be a good Progressive. The decent unconverted man or woman could draw renewed inspiration to lead a good life. This aspect of his evangelism drew fire

from conservatives such as Editor E. F. Merriam of the Boston Watchman.[46]

By then the spiritual ardor had cooled, worries about American society were deeper, and ongoing crusades such as prohibition demanded encouragement. Still proving that the old-time gospel was relevant in the new century, the earnest Chapman had to address "here and now" issues more directly, so his message for right living often translated into condemnations of drunkenness, card-playing, riotous living, etc. After all, his audiences felt victimized by these things. Once, when he asked his hearers how many had been affected directly or indirectly by intemperance, two-thirds raised their hands. That was in Boston in 1909 where, as much as he said against saloons and drinking, he was criticized for not saying more.[47]

Despite such difficulties, that Boston campaign appears to have been the climax of his career. Alexander said it was the greatest he had done with Chapman (including Philadelphia the previous year).[48] For Grover Loud, writing in 1928, it marked the consummation of modern revivalism and was "the last thorough-going, durable Awakening." The 166 sponsoring churches, with 120,000 members, added ten to fifteen thousand members as a result of the work.[49] At one impressive service, some 5,500 people who had already listed themselves as converts were serious enough to attend a rally at Tremont Temple and hear Chapman exhort them to join churches. "Compared with what happened to the big revival in subsequent

years," Loud asserted, "the Boston result was definitive and intrinsic rather than inconclusive and transitory."[50]

Chapman and Alexander went on an overseas preaching tour for eight months in 1909, stopping in Korea, Australia, the Philippines, China, and Japan. After their return to this country the magic seemed gone from the simultaneous campaigns; "It was perfectly evident that Chapman's method had palled upon the devotees of revivalism," McLoughlin has explained. Chapman and Alexander went on two more overseas trips between 1911 and 1914, and Chapman continued evangelism on his own off and on until 1918, the year of his death.[51]

C. Higher Life and New Theology

In contrast to Chapman's earnest, embracing style was Reuben Archer Torrey's more formal and aggressively orthodox one. He represented the supernaturalistic line of inspiration in the Revival of 1905 for which his own overseas campaigns and the great Welsh revival were foremost symbols. His tours with Alexander were supposed to have won 102,000 converts and greatly stimulated hope for revival.[52] Torrey himself often spoke of the worldwide awakening he saw and stimulated many men and women to pray for it. He was known a co-heir with Chapman of the Moody mantle; but while Torrey had Moody's institute, Chapman had the great evangelist's style.

The scholarly Torrey was unsparing in his denunciations of the Higher Criticism. "Although he claimed to be Moody's direct heir in mass evangelism, it sometimes appeared that he was more intent upon saving 'the fundamentals' than upon saving souls," McLoughlin felt.[53] The idea of good people without personal faith in Christ roasting in hell somehow came to symbolize Torrey for many good people; some liberals, even some who embraced Chapman, denounced him for it. The Reverend S. Parkes Cadman of Brooklyn, for example, warned his Congregationalist brethren in Philadelphia not to support the upcoming Torrey mission there. Cadman objected to Torrey's authoritative tone, his limiting salvation to one way, his literalistic exegesis, and his belief in a personal devil.[54] As one Philadelphia headline showed during the campaign, anyone with Cadman's tastes who heeded not his warning got exactly what he deserved: "HELL IS ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN, DR. TORREY WARNS HIS HEARERS."[55]

On the other hand, his scholarly manner and avoidance of showmanship (apart from his song leader's) endeared him to others, in fact including England's Dr. Watson ("Ian Maclaren").[56] Bald, with trimmed sideburns and a pointed beard, Torrey looked the part of a pedantic preacher. "On the street he usually wore a high hat, and he always talked as though he had one on," McLoughlin put it.[57] Born in 1856, he graduated from Yale College and Yale Seminary. Four years of theological studies at Leipzig and Erlangen imparted to him not what one would expect from German studies: Torrey

learned to hate modernism and remained a confirmed Bible literalist. In the 1880s he founded the Open Door institutional church in Minneapolis. From 1889 to 1908 Torrey served as superintendent of Moody Bible Institute and from 1894 to 1896 pastor of Chicago Avenue (Moody) Church, positions he was able to keep despite lengthy absences.[58] From 1905 to 1911 he preached lengthy central campaigns in major cities such as Toronto (where John Wanamaker went to recruit him for his hometown), Philadelphia, Atlanta, Chicago, San Francisco, Cleveland, Nashville, and Omaha.

Torrey's unyielding, demanding stance in evangelism was out of step with the accommodating spirit of a Chapman and the informality of D. L. Moody and many of his successors. His campaigns were often highlighted by attacks on evolution and other modernist notions, prompting headlines on those topics. Perhaps, as Weisberger suggested, having the good-natured "Charlie" Alexander loosen up his audiences first made Torrey's logical, austere manner more palatable (in an interesting variation upon this theme, McLoughlin suggested that a debonair Sankey compensated for a gruff Moody).[59] Chapman, who planned to use Alexander the same way, certainly thought Torrey was wise in doing so when he wrote privately to Converse just before taking on Alexander, "It has always been understood that Mr. Alexander was rather the heavier and better part of the combination and his influence throughout the Christian world is quite phenomenal."[60]

Where Chapman was less so, Torrey was aggressively clear concerning sin, the cross, and salvation. In contrast to "The King's Business," his slogan in an Omaha revival was "Get Right With God." He used one invitation to the unsaved which stood in crisp contrast to Chapman's and left converts with little doubt what cause they were enrolling in:

> I want to ask every man or woman, young or old, in this audience tonight, who will accept Jesus Christ as your personal Savior, who will surrender to Him as your Lord and Master, will begin here and now to confess Him as such before the world, and will strive to please Him in everything, day by day, to stand right up until we see you, and take your seat again.[61]

Campaign workers got busy with those who responded, and eventually they went to seats in the front.

Torrey's scholarly, uncompromising manner may have needed an Alexander with the people, but it enhanced his true appeal to clergymen and concerned laymen: he seemingly could meet the higher critics on their own intellectual ground. "His direct manner and his evident familiarity with all phases of present-day thought have made his discourses exceedingly effective," came a report from the 1907 Cleveland campaign.[62] Some may have appreciated the fact that Torrey was not nearly as accommodating as Chapman toward worldly fashions in evangelism. His dislike of commercialism finally led to his parting with Alexander, and Chapman picked the singer up.[63]

Meanwhile, Torrey's contagious vision for prayer, evangelism, and spiritual revival propelled others. In 1904 A. C. Dixon was inspired afresh to evangelism in a personal

meeting with Torrey and Alexander, and the Baptist's renewed vigor had good results in 1905 for audiences from Vermont to Georgia. "The most important feature of a revival is prayer. Every true revival has been the child of prayer,"[64] Torrey was quoted in a book by someone he inspired. In a "Message to America," he promised, "A revival can be had in any Church that is willing to pay the price." Exactly this sentiment was being voiced by W. J. Dawson, an odd kindred spirit for him. In his message Torrey summarized strictly pietistic conditions for a revival:

> ...If a few devoted Christians will get themselves entirely at God's disposal for Him to use as He will, and then will begin to pray unitedly for a revival in their church, and be willing to pray on and on until they have prayed it through, and then will go out and do personal work among their friends and others, a revival will soon break out.[65]

Torrey was often quoted challenging people to prayer and soul winning. During his Philadelphia campaign in 1906, it was claimed, hundreds of thousands of people were doing their own personal evangelism around the city.[66] His campaigns in Australia, New Zealand, India, and Britain were accompanied by a spreading prayer circle movement; thirty thousand were enrolled in circles in 1904 in Britain and Ireland. Two women missionaries from Khassra Hills in India, stimulated by the Torrey mission in Calcutta, carried back home a passion for prayer which, according to the Torrey chronicler, was largely responsible for eight thousand new members for that region's churches in 1905.[67] By the end of that year a Torrey-led pledge campaign had enrolled fifty

thousand people to pray faithfully for a worldwide revival of religion.[68]

No famous Torrey campaign took place after Alexander and Torrey parted ways. In 1911 he became head of the new Bible Institute of Los Angeles, and about that time he threw himself into writing The Fundamentals and into battling modernism after that. Reuben Torrey exemplified the Higher Life spirit that sparked the Revival of 1905 at the beginning. His evangelism reassured those who held troubling doubts concerning the intellectual relevance of the Bible.

Another major figure can be said to exemplify the Pentecostal zeal that catalyzed the Revival. Yet William James Dawson had little in common with Torrey in other respects. Having discovered the evangelistic note, the English pastor doggedly sounded it on tours through much of the United States (particularly New England). For the many open doors in America he owed much to Brooklyn pastor Newell Dwight Hillis, who promoted Dawson's message vociferously, finding success in that endeavor partly by tying the new evangelism to broad civic and national aims.[69] One young clergyman impressed with that vision was George R. Lunn.

What was the "New Evangelism"? The Christian Herald carried an effective summary what Dawson thought it was:

> ...an appeal to people to all that is highest and best in men; an appeal to follow Christ because that is the right thing to do....[I]t emphasizes the life of union and fellowship with God, getting right with Him, and through realizing God in all things, realize the sacredness of life in all its

> aspects, whether commercial, social, industrial, or religious.[70]

Dawson's tone was not very different from Chapman's. A satisfied writer for the Congregationalist commented concerning his performance in Brookline, Massachusetts: "The sermon was simple, direct and vital. The peculiarly tender and pleading note which creeps into his voice now and then is more effective than many gestures." Perhaps Dawson did not communicate a strong enough sense of duty, but, the writer continued, he urged his hearers to a "social love," to minister personally to others because "the love of Christ in the heart will prompt one to Christ-like deeds."[71]

At a time when many Congregationalists particularly admired their seventeenth-century ancestors, Dawson seemed like one. "Mr. Dawson in personal appearance suggests one of the old Puritans," claimed an editor who did not mind them:

> ...and his utterance has a touch of the passion of the old-time leaders for righteousness. In phraseology, however, he is distinctly modern. His emphasis...rests more on the love than on the fear motives in religion, and strikes harder on the intellect than on the emotions.

In content, moreover, he was not that far from John Wesley:

> ...But the message is thoroughly evangelical. Sin and salvation are the great themes upon which the changes are rung, while Christ is exhibited throughout as the one sufficient Redeemer, who is even now sovereign over humanity, and is drawing men to Himself.[72]

Dawson had a talent for harping on old themes while not leaving his liberal moorings. The Congregationalist summarized principal notes of Dawson's 1905 mission in Pitts-

field, statements that were not so different from what Torrey might have said:

> A Christianity that doesn't "evangelize" has lost not only its right to live but the very means of its existence.
>
> A revival is dependent upon the spirit of prayer. The prayer meetings of the Church must restore prayer to its dethroned place of pre-eminence.
>
> The minister of a parish must be his own evangelist and "preach for a verdict," a lost note in the ministry of today.

On the other hand, Dawson felt that faith could accommodate evolution and the Higher Criticism.[73]

Like Torrey and Chapman, much of Dawson's importance was in his power to impart vision to others in the church. This is why glowing reports of his missions stressed more their impact on clergymen than on anyone else. Dawson seemed to be at his best preaching revival to ministers, especially Congregationalists, urging them not to rely on their intellectual abilities but to "seek a deeper spiritual life, that you may be the channel of a new spiritual power."[74] The Congregational National Commission on Evangelism reported in mid-1905 that in dozens of evangelistic conferences and missions aided by Dawson since the Des Moines conference, a "real and deep and growing spiritual movement" had resulted mainly because of the enthusiasm of the Congregational clergy. Many ministers visiting campaign cities or conferences "...have gone back to their churches to lift up new ideals and kindle new enthusiasm in their people. In this way many pastors have discovered the evangelistic gift

within themselves." Inspired by Dawson, for example, Boston Congregational pastors launched regular evangelistic Sunday evening services in April 1905.[75]

Like Torrey he enthusiastically proclaimed the great awakening. "The Spirit of God already moves upon the face of the waters," he wrote in The Evangelistic Note. "New tides are beginning to flow in the life of the nations. The great Revival is coming--not an ethical revival only as some would say, but a spiritual revival first, because the spiritual must precede the ethical." For the conservative editor of The Watchman, Dawson's effectiveness in awakening within the church a desire for revival was at least as important as deficiencies in his theology.[76]

To some hopeful observers, Dawson appeared to be presiding over a great reunification of divided Christian brethren. While the English divine was preaching in Lynn, Massachusetts, in February 1905, that city's Congregational churches and Schenectady's exchanged fraternal prayer and greetings. As Schenectady pastor W. B. Allis wrote to his Lynn brethren, "Brooklyn churches were praying for Schenectady, Schenectady is praying for you, and England, in her great poet-preacher and interpreter, is reaching out hands to us all. The barriers are down--may the tide come in!"[77]

Part of the excitement of the 1905 revival was the awareness of being part of a national or worldwide community, recently reunited. It was also in sensing that the old divisions were being blurred into nothingness. In fact this

was one way in which the revival of 1905 had a fundamental resonance within Progressivism and society's general aspirations, since breaking down barriers of one sort or another was such a common theme for Progressives in revolt against formalism. At various times philosophers, reformers, and revivalists grasped for a general spiritual impulse that would transcend or break down the artificial or obsolete barriers between subject and object, between rich and poor, between creed and deed, between liberal and conservative, between rival denominations, between Christianity and politics or business, between laymen and pastor, between theoretical and practical.

Through 1905 Dawson's celebrity status remained strong, as we have seen with regard to Schenectady. Attendance after that, however, seems to have been disappointing. Eventually he joined up with Chapman for several years before resuming evangelism on his own, apparently with small audiences.[78] McLoughlin regretfully confined his treatment of Dawson to a footnote, noting his "brief but highly popular vogue."[79] Dawson did have more importance than that, largely as a catalyst but also as a symbol. Just as Torrey excited conservatives about the enduring applicability of the gospel in the new era, Dawson did so for moderates and liberals. He was yet another tie linking revivalism and the Social Gospel wing of Progressivism. Moreover, the curious similarities in Torrey and Dawson's relationship to the revival represent the conmingling of Higher Life and new theology discussed by

Wacker. Those favoring a mingling of the best of the new evangelism with the best of the old seemed to transpose their fond hopes onto these men, even though their ideas of what was best may have differed. Unfortunately for their admirers, both faded in the era of crusades and then Billy Sunday.

D. The Evangelist in Politics: George R. Lunn

Perhaps no one illustrates better the convergence of the revivalist, Social Gospel, and Progressive inspirations than Schenectady's premier revivalist-turned-socialist, the Reverend George Lunn. Lunn was born in 1873 on an Iowa farm, but later his family moved to Nebraska. At age seventeen he decided to become a minister. He put himself through college, graduating in 1897, and then served in the Spanish-American War in a Nebraska regiment under the command of William Jennings Bryan. After studying at Union Theological Seminary he began his career as assistant pastor at a Presbyterian church in Brooklyn. While in New York he developed a keen awareness of urban poverty, complementing his own experience as a poor boy in the West, and advanced it through courses in the new economics and sociology.[80]

When in 1903 First Reformed Church of Schenectady was searching for a new pastor, a Union College professor involved with ministry to working-class families recommended the dynamic, scholarly Brooklyn clergyman. Lunn went up to Schenectady and preached; the congregation called him and

was so pleased with him that they exceeded their original agreement by providing a rent-free parsonage. He began his pastorate in January 1904.[81]

Lunn was dark-haired and handsome with a thin, triangular face, a dark moustache, and serious eyes. Despite his powerful stands on issues, he made few enemies; he had a knack for making and keeping friends and loyal followers. Lunn's style was "not emotional, appealing more to the intellect and conscience," yet he was a gripping speaker.[82] An Episcopalian rector in Philadelphia, in whose church Lunn was the first non-Anglican ever to preach, praised the visitor's style as well as the size of the crowds he drew:

> His scholarship, rare in so young a man, showed in every discourse, and made a logical appeal, especially to men....[I]n Dr. Lunn the people were not slow to discover a real prophet. His message was virile and backed by the evidences of personal conviction that compelled a hearing.[83]

Judging from some similarities in style and phrasing, it is possible that he took Chapman as a model. Like Chapman he used intensity and control rather than bombast in his preaching, but it appears that he was even more direct. When the Schenectady pastor broke down dramatically in a revival sermon of January 1905, he had the audience weeping with him--"even strong men were drawing their hands across their eyes." Lunn followed by calmly apologizing for the outburst and calling for converts, and people got up or raised hands all through the auditorium. The Evening Star reporter deemed the entire performance masterful.[84] Indeed, Lunn pulled the heart strings effectively but, unlike other evangelists,

this often seemed to enhance rather than dilute the clarity of his message. "What is sorrow?" he asked in a sermon on compassion during the big Schenectady revival. "Ask the bereaved mother, she knows. Compassion spells crucifixion to Jesus Christ. It spells sacrifice to us." Sometimes he used Chapmanesque mother appeals, such as this one: "If there are any young men and women here, with mothers praying for them, I say to you, in God's name, live a true and noble life."[85]

Incidentally, Lunn's gift of oratory stayed with him even after he left the pulpit. One Democratic committeeman in 1911 confessed that he had to leave the Lunn rally he attended out of curiosity, because if he had stayed:

> ...he would have had me sure as I'm a foot high, and I would have looked nice yelling for Lunn and holding the positions I do. I tell you he is the greatest campaigner in the State to-day....I've heard Bryan and Roosevelt, but neither has a thing on Lunn.[86]

Not only did Lunn possess an impressive gift of persuasion, but he also believed in the power of exhortation to effect change--an article of the Progressive faith. For him, until 1908, that meant evangelism. Every year from the January 1905 revival to then he took a week or two off from the church to preach the gospel in other Eastern cities; eager, attentive throngs no doubt helped Lunn keep his faith in gospel preaching and exhortation.[87]

He also placed faith in the worldwide spiritual Awakening whose dawn he proclaimed in 1905. Nor, like Dawson, did he believe this simply an ethical awakening; he told a New York City audience that the Schenectady revival had been

brought about through prayer.[88] One core belief supporting his faith in revival was that everything proceeded from an individual's relationship with Jesus Christ. Christ, he preached, was divine and "the center of all things."[89] As an evangelist, Lunn dwelt on the person's inner relationship with God more than on the specifics of outward behavior, though he opposed the liquor traffic and the worldly activities Chapman condemned. How terrible it was, he declared, "to lose the consciousness of God through sin. Young men, you talk about going out to see life as it is; it is going out to see Hell....You will never be a man until Jesus Christ comes into your life."[90] Whatever sin in your heart keeps you from enthroning Christ, he told an audience in a Schenectady-wide revival in January 1907, fight it, uproot it, fast and pray for a month until you are white-haired if that is what it takes. Indifference was catastrophe. "If a man neglects the soul, the soul dies....Every life either tends upward toward God or downward toward the loss of the spiritual."[91]

For this reason as a pastor he rejected "scientific socialism" (as opposed to Christian socialism) for being external: Christ approached individuals first. "If we would uplift our fellow men, we will...seek to reveal the great fact that true life can proceed from an interior of righteousness, and peace and joy....[T]he basis of all our best life is individual righteousness."[92]

Lunn constantly expanded on the theme that all love--mother love, brotherhood love, even romantic love--was a touch of the divine. The problem was that other impulses suppressed the divine ones, especially amid the materialism and busy shallowness of modern life. Sounding very much like the Jeremiahs of 1901, he declared, "The curse of to-day in this city and this nation is lack of meditation."[93] He firmly believed that not only did individuals need Christ, but society's prospects too depended upon the spirit of love, of brotherhood permeating individuals through whom God worked progress--and that this depended upon persuasion and encouragement. This is where his faith in revivalism joined his Social Gospel hopes and the Progressive Great Awakening.

This is also where he began to depart from the non-Social Gospel orthodoxy. Like Chapman, he had an abiding faith that people listened to spiritual truth, but like other Social Gospel clergymen he expanded this into a formal teaching of God's immanence. Christ dwelled in everyone, and everyone was inherently noble and sometimes felt the call to higher things.[94] "Let them hear a voice that seems to speak from the eternal and they will hear," he asserted another time in January 1905:

> ...They will feel a response to the words that come from God. Why so? Because God is the best part of their hearts....[E]very impulse for goodness, every impulse for truth, every impulse for love is that which is God-inspired.[95]

Unorthodox? Fine. He saw orthodoxy, particularly biblical literalism, as a positive impediment to the message of

Christianity. Doctrines limited the experience of God. Like Dawson, he declared: "Our appeal must ever be to the personal in Christ....Religion is the intimate contact of the soul with God." The sublime relationship of God and man transcended human understanding:

> When I speak of the preciousness of Jesus Christ, mystical though that thought is, and yet most real, it means different things to different men according to the experiences of those men. Have we not made a great mistake sometimes in our uncompromising insistence upon intellectual assent to doctrine? I care not what the doctrine is, I care not how great it is.[96]

Lunn was unsparing of dry dogmatics. "Do you not see that your creed must flower into righteous conduct or else remain a curse?" he demanded in one morning sermon. A doctrine, after all, he asserted, "...is simply the expression of life."[97] Lunn also criticized otherworldly evangelism: "I am not talking about the loss of the soul in the next life. I am talking about its being lost here and now."[98] Christ, he insisted, did not demand right doctrine but right living. With strong faith in the value of modern thought, Lunn would not even categorize such skeptics as Huxley and Spencer as infidels. "Many a man who doubts is sincere and honest," he declared, "and if in the spirit of doubt he is earnestly striving to know what is the truth, and earnestly endeavoring to live a noble and true and pure life, that man should never be stigmatized by the opprobrious title of infidel." For those who still wanted to apply the title, however: "To be empty of all sympathy toward the rude and vulgar and sin-

ful ones of the earth is to be an infidel in the heart of Christ."[99]

From this September 1906 sermon it was not a very long intellectual journey to a disavowal of evangelism. His personal faith in Christ and in the power of the gospel to inspire love and betterment, however, kept him going as an effective evangelist. In January 1907, for example, the Schenectady ministers attempted a union campaign similar to that of two years before. Again, record-breaking crowds attended services at State Street Methodist to hear Lunn, and he did not disappoint them. Lunn still cared enough about evangelism to journey to Philadelphia in March 1908 for the Chapman campaign there. For the first three-week period he took charge of services in West Philadelphia's St. Andrews' Episcopal Church, the first time a non-Anglican had preached in a Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia.

The Public Ledger, which with effort learned not to refer to him as "Lund," showed mild interest with the title "Dutch Reformed Pastor Leads Episcopal flock." The sermon beneath that may have offered a clue to changes in Lunn's thinking. "Often a doubt is a holy joy...," he declared:

> ...Somewhere in his life every man has touched this love of God, which permeates the world. When you were a young man perhaps you saw a vision of yourself gaining knowledge and power and going forth to arise to heights through your industry. Then something happened which forced you to abandon your vision and to work--for a mother, for a brother or a sister. Isn't there a greater love of which these are but the broken parts?[100]

Something soon happened to Lunn, and he abandoned his vision of worldwide awakening, picked up a broken part from an increasingly fragmented body of beliefs, and went to work for his mothers, brothers, and sisters in Schenectady. For he soon discovered that revivalism had lost its tilt with wickedness in Philadelphia, perhaps when the Penrose machine won yet another victory over an indifferent citizenry right after the campaign (which would make Lunn not the only reformer whose heart was broken by Boise Penrose). Perhaps it resulted also from watching the suffering associated with the 1907 depression, which hit Schenectady hard, and reading the disturbing literature that arose from it such as Rauschenbusch's Christianity and the Social Crisis.

At a pastors meeting soon after his return to Schenectady, Lunn reviewed the campaign's "meager" results for ethical and political betterment. Individualistic evangelism, he had decided, must give way to "socialistic" teaching in order to usher in the Kingdom, because the only real sin was selfishness and society was full of it. "I don't care whether anybody gets into heaven. I want to get heaven into men," he told the aroused clergymen, and he called for "a greater church which should be a union of the different denominations working together on the basis of human brotherhood."[101]

Pontius, DeJong, and Dykstra wrote of an evolution in Lunn's preaching from familiar religious themes in 1905 and 1906 to much greater attention to reform in local affairs in

1907 and 1908, taking on specific issues.[102] There may have been movement that way, but clearly during all his time at First Reformed, Lunn could not leave politics alone. From the pulpit he voiced socially conscious, typical Progressive sentiments with atypical flair. During the January 1905 revival he turned a standard denunciation of saloons into an attack on churchgoers' neglect of other social problems.[103] In his sermon "Politics and Faith" delivered just before election day of 1905, he denounced bosses and graft and joined a throng of ministers nationwide in praising President Roosevelt and New York District Attorney Jerome. Lunn promised that men "of honor and integrity" were coming to their own, then warned that citizens generally got just the kind of government they deserved. "A people's own morals have greater influence on their destinies than their despots or legislators...," he admonished his people. "[F]or the greater number of errors committed by their rulers the blame must be laid on the people's own want of character or intelligence." Should a voter let his religion influence his vote? Not strong enough! "A man's politics are absolutely determined by his religion," he declared. "If he attempts to separate the two you have in that attempt proof positive that the man has no vital religious faith....It is utterly impossible to separate politics and faith."[104]

Nor was God uninterested in affairs of state. In a 1906 sermon that was more sublime than the headline it bore, "Dr. Lunn Scores Filthy Streets," he asserted that organizations

both civil and ecclesiastical had no inherent value, apart from the spirit of Christ permeating them. The spirit of betterment, including that animating both the labor movement and "the moral upheaval in America today," was the spirit of Christ, and He sought through them to save the world progressively. This was classic Social Gospel and classic Progressivism. Lunn thus mingled the Revival of 1905 and the Great Awakening of Progressivism. He went on to touch on his Progressive's faith in democracy. Organizations, he asserted, were:

> ...but the outward expression of the inner spirit of man, and that inner spirit is constantly growing upward toward the likeness of the Son of Man. That inner spirit was intended to be free, and every organized attempt to throttle that freedom is foredoomed to defeat....[105]

Lunn put hot mustard on his denunciations of the depradations of wealth. "If the people as a whole produce the wealth of the nation," he asked, "why are ten million people in the United States barely able to gain a hand-to-mouth existence?"[106] Soon before his Philadelphia trip he earned the headline "Dr. Lunn Bitterly Flays Plutocrats" with a prophetic and judgment-laden note:

> America, the land of the free and of the Pilgrims' pride, where their children are without work and hungry. The horrible injustice of it has come to many for the first time. It is said, "Let justice be done thought the heavens fall." In the interests of the masses I say, "Let justice be done lest the heavens fall.[107]

Nonetheless, his faith in Christ-permeated progress kept him in the reformist Progressive mode. To a labor audience in December 1906 he gave a speech that was anything but

a call to revolution. Scientific socialism, he insisted, was no remedy, but scientific study of social problems would bring a solution. Men of wealth such as Andrew Carnegie were beginning to see their responsibilities. The spirit of democracy, already triumphant in political and ecclesiastical government, would inevitably conquer in the economic realm as well. A jeremiad against the concentration of wealth was quickly followed by a Progressive's praise for the rising of the people against the plutocracy. The country was already "rushing" toward industrial democracy, Lunn maintained; actually it needed not more momentum but steering. Class hatred was wrong and constituted "treason against democracy." "I address you as American citizens, not as laboring men...," he insisted. "Let us work together for improved conditions [such as the eight-hour day], at the same time striving to make ourselves better men." Despite the optimistic tone and content, he concluded the talk with a reformer's sense of urgency, quoting from the Reverend Charles Parkhurst to the effect that socialism as a political issue would settle coming presidential elections.[108]

Just before departing for Philadelphia in 1908 he described further "the world's great awakening":

> Great movements, intellectual, industrial, social and moral are stirring to its bottom the stream of modern life. Tremendous changes for good are revolutionizing the world of today....The solidarity of the human race is for the first time being deeply realized.

Lunn closed the sermon with an exhortation which, if McLoughlin had caught J. Wilbur Chapman saying it, would have constituted further evidence of his true conservatism:

> Therefore, my appeal to you is that the spirit of brotherhood be cherished, whatever your station in life. We will solve our problems only as we cultivate the Christ spirit, and in all our strivings for human betterment let each one remember that we are all brothers. That is the spirit which will yet conquer the world.[109]

In 1908 and 1909 Lunn stepped up his attacks on the plutocracy, the protective tariff, child labor, and utility rip-offs, while devoting attention to the problems of labor and kind words to labor unions. By now he was quite blunt in denouncing "so-called Christians" and failed evangelistic methods. A minority in the church could not accept his advanced notions and political involvement. In late 1909 the elders voted to accept Lunn's resignation.

After Lunn left First Reformed, fifteen hundred local admirers signed a petition urging him to stay and form a new church. Always energetic, he obliged them and founded not only the People's Church but also a newspaper, the Schenectady Citizen. He and his muckraking newspaper drifted into socialism, completing the journey late in 1910. But the ex-revivalist was drawn not by doctrine but by vague principles and profound anger at injustice. Still captivated by Lunn and tired of social ferment, political scandal, and two inept parties--but with few thoughts of becoming a socialist utopia--Schenectady in 1911 elected Lunn mayor. A socialist majority rode his coattails into city council.

On the surface he was a born-again socialist, but orthodox socialists had about as much fun with Lunn as had orthodox Calvinists. "He thinks, decides and acts quickly, but stands firmly and squarely upon the principles he believes to be right," Editor Thomas Curry contended after a post-election interview:

> ...He is a Socialist, out and out, and through and through, because he honestly believes that Socialism, or its principles, possibly under some other name, is destined to solve all our social, economic and governmental problems. His weapons of militancy are education, discussion, fraternity and organization, and his campaign charts are the statute and moral laws [italics mine].[110]

This suggests that he remained a Progressive--a firm believer in action based on principle not doctrine, in education, organization, and brotherhood. Like revivalist Progressives, too, he still believed in exhortation. Once he was mayor, Lunn showed alarming symptoms of reformism that sickened fellow socialists, including his aide, Walter Lippmann, who lasted only four months. In his inaugural address, rather than sounding capitalism's death knell or even a redistribution of wealth, Lunn promised efficient government. He and a rather unferocious Socialist majority in city council enacted reforms such as cleaner streets, better public health care, more parks, a municipal employment bureau, cheaper coal (for which he had to found a private company because of a court injunction), and other improved services, but never forced anything more severe. In fact he and the party hierarchy battled each other from his inauguration on, chiefly over patronage.[111]

In the 1913 election a fusion ticket of Democrats and Republicans evicted Lunn from City Hall; he claimed re-election in 1915 and then promptly left the Socialists over a patronage battle. He went on to a distinguished public service career as a Democrat, the party he really belonged to: he was elected to Congress in 1916, defeated in 1918, elected mayor again in 1919 and re-elected 1921. He served as Al Smith's lieutenant governor and was a state Public Service Commissioner from 1931 until 1942.[112]

Lunn illustrated how deeply the revival impulse penetrated among Social Gospel ministers. It is interesting to compare him with another gripping young pastor, one who played a similar role in Seattle politics. Together the two clergymen suggest the convergences that were then possible in revivalism, before social and doctrinal tensions split them apart. They also illustrate mingling streams within Progressivism. Like Lunn, the Reverend Mark Allison Matthews brought a powerful social and political vision for righteousness to the pulpit and exercised a decisive influence over city politics. Like Lunn also, he formulated a trenchant critique of the American prenomic system and used the term "Christian socialism" approvingly. Matthews, too, was a powerful evangelist. But his orthodoxy and particular concept of righteousness, which had led him into 1890s populism, later led him into the fundamentalist movement, and he fought socialism with a passionate pulpit after 1912.

Mark Allison Matthews, born into poverty in 1867 in the path of Sherman's march in Georgia, experienced conversion at age thirteen and quickly decided to become a preacher. Without seminary he attained that goal in 1887. By 1893 his evangelistic and organizing talent had helped build a new church and quadruple the membership.[113]

As a Georgia Presbyterian preacher in the 1890s, Matthews involved himself in Farmer's Alliance and Populist politics. He was heavily influenced by fellow Georgian Tom Watson. "We have had capitalistic feudalism--the tools are owned by the few, and the many work by their consent...," Matthews declared in a speech praising the memory of the French Revolution.[114] Sermonettes he delivered in 1906 or 1907 approved of the principle of Christian socialism, which "...believes in consecrated individualism, devoted to the highest interest and good of the community, and as a means to a wholesome individualism."[115] He insisted that capital and labor must learn to live by the Golden Rule and that the church must bring its influence to bear on both. But something was lacking there; only 10 percent of church members were alive or awake. That was where revival came in; it was revival or revolution. "The need for revival is greater than ever before because the responsibilities of the church are greater," he told First Presbyterian in Seattle. "The field is whiter, the laborers are few. The revival must come or disaster will follow."[116]

Matthews, who coined the term "graftitis" in a January 1905 sermon, during that year sounded a Progressive note that might have been heard in Philadelphia or Schenectady. "Our problem is gigantic," he thundered:

> ...This country must be saved, and saved quickly. ...Commercialism is insane, and money-madness arrogant and unblushing, political corruption is entrenched. Therefore, in the future, every man who exercises the privilege of municipal suffrage will be known as a Decent Citizen, or the henchman of an infamous Grafter.[117]

One clue to the divergence of the Lunn and Matthews, Presbyterians of similar drive and ability, was that Matthews came upon a four-hundred-member church in 1902 and built it into the largest Presbyterian church in the world within a decade. In one year he doubled its membership; two years later (1905) it had doubled again. In 1906-1907 he led First Presbyterian into constructing a new edifice to seat three thousand which would also provide a wide variety of services to the needy. Meanwhile, he kept his congregation growing. "Matthews boasted that the building could be emptied in five minutes; it appeared to take him only slightly longer to fill it."[118] Lunn, on the other hand, came upon a five hundred-member church in 1904, and when he left it in 1910 it still had about five hundred members.

The development of Lunn toward socialism, and Matthews away from it, is related to their views on evangelism. Matthews' theologically orthodox ideas made him an ideal church-builder, and that was where his primary loyalty lay; Lunn's made him a good evangelist in the Progressive mold,

for the community at large was his congregation. Matthews placed his faith for both individual and society in the spiritual power of the church, which he preached constantly; Lunn traced the redemptive qualities throughout society. Matthews delineated sharply between good and evil; for Lunn, evil seemed to get swallowed up in progress. Matthews' more orthodox Presbyterianism, with its lingering Southern aroma of the apocalypse, turned him away from the same sort of evolutionary immanence that attracted Lunn to new ideas of brotherhood. Yet Matthews and Lunn's convergence in the temporarily juxtaposed causes of revival and social reform, similar to the shared aspirations of Torrey and Dawson, made up much of the power of the last Great Awakening and of Progressivism.

The Revival of 1905 was borne by preachers of surprising diversity. Into the revival they deposited a variety of social and cultural aspirations, not only their hopes to see conversions take place. As the revivalists pitched their appeal to increasingly demanding audiences and promised that their preaching contained solutions for increasingly knotty problems, revivalism became less distinguishable from a host of prescriptions for progress. Yet it remained a solution that, for all its lack of clarity and ambiguity between secular and spiritual concerns, carried the motive power Progressives counted on for their Great Awakening.

* * * NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII * * *

1. For a good summary of this aspect of evangelism, see Weisberger, They Gathered, p. 229.
2. For a good summary of these points, see McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp. 219-281.
3. Henry F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America, (New York, 1949).
4. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp. 219,220.
5. Ibid., pp. 240,246.
6. Fred W. Hoffman, Revival Times in America (Boston, 1956), p. 144.
7. A brilliant example of the teaching is Hannah Whitall Smith's The Christian's Secret of the Happy Life (New York, Grosset and Dunlap, n.d.).
8. Wacker, "Holy Spirit," p. 46.
9. Muncy, Evangelism, p. 131; Magnuson, Salvation in the Slums, passim.
10. The Family Call, November 23, 1896, quoted in McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 377.
11. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 384.
12. Conrad, Boston's Awakening, p. 40.
13. Dallas Morning News, April 1906 (Chapman clippings, Presbyterian Historical Society).
14. Editorial, Binghamton Press, November 14, 1904, p. 6. On the same page the Press claimed to be among the first Eastern papers to have called attention to Joseph Folk, whose election as reform governor of Missouri the Press was pleased to announce.
15. Biographical summary is found in McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp. 377,378; Muncy, Evangelism, p. 147. In his letters Chapman frequently complained of troubled health but did not cut back on his schedule. Early in the 1904-1905 campaign a fellow evangelist, Henry Ostrom, publicly requested prayer for Chapman because of the strain (Chapman letters, Presbyterian Historical Society); Binghamton Press, November 29, 1904, p. 3; Alvin Duane Smith, "The Evangelistic Preaching of J. Wilbur Chapman," pp. 65,184).
16. Dale Soden, "Anatomy of a Presbyterian Urban Revival: J. W. Chapman in the Pacific Northwest," American Presbyterians, Vol. LXIV (Spring, 1986), pp. 49,50.
17. St. Paul Pioneer Press, October 5, 1905 (Chapman clippings, Presbyterian Historical Society).
18. SPI, April 20, 1905, p. 9.
19. Minneapolis Journal, November 14, 1905, and Syracuse Post-Standard, January 30, 1906 (Chapman clippings, Presbyterian Historical Society).
20. Smith, "Evangelistic Preaching of J. Wilbur Chapman," p. 86.

21. Minneapolis Tribune, November 9, 1905 (); McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 379.
22. Ballard (Wash.) News, April 15, 1905, p. 2.
23. Roanoke (Va.) Times, October 1906 (Chapman clippings, Presbyterian Historical Society).
24. Christian Statesman, November 1907, p. 332; PL, February 21, 1905, p. 13; March 13, 1908, p. 2.
25. Conrad, Boston's Awakening, p. 104; Loud, Evangelized America, p. 269.
26. Mobile Herald, 1906 (Chapman clippings, Presbyterian Historical Society).
27. Rev. Charles Ellis Smith, "Evangelistic Work in New Jersey," New York Observer, November 30, 1905, p. 735.
28. Syracuse (N.Y.) Post-Standard, January 30, 1906 (Chapman clippings, Presbyterian Historical Society); Conrad, Boston's Awakening, p. 79; Loud, Evangelized America, p. 275.
29. Denver Post, January 5, 1905, p. 5; Seattle Star, April 15, 1905, p. 1.
30. Conrad, Boston's Awakening, p. 215.
31. Smith, "Evangelistic Preaching of J. Wilbur Chapman," p. 118.
32. Denver Post, January 5, 1905, p. 5.
33. Binghamton Press, November 18, 1904, p. 16.
34. Ibid., November 26, 1904, p. 7.
35. Smith, "Evangelistic Preaching of J. Wilbur Chapman," p. 314.
36. Conrad, Boston's Awakening, pp. 52,53.
37. "Thousands Under Spell of Powerful Emotion," Atlanta Constitution, November 3, 1904, p. 1.
38. Conrad, Boston's Awakening, p. 40; see, for example, the large headline "Liberalism in Religion Denounced" (Binghamton Press, November 17, 1904, p. 3), referring to an Ostrom sermon. Underneath is a subtitle, "Greatest Sin Rejection of Christ, Says Dr. Chapman."
39. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 378.
40. Chapman article in New England magazine, February 1909, quoted by McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp. 382,383.
41. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 385.
42. Ford C. Ottman, J. Wilbur Chapman (Garden City, N. Y., 1920), p. 71; Chapman to Converse, January 24, 1908 (Chapman papers, Presbyterian Historical Society).
43. Dale Soden, "Anatomy of a Presbyterian Urban Revival," p. 54; Smith, "Evangelistic Preaching of J. Wilbur Chapman," p. 63.
44. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 387; Smith, "Evangelistic Preaching of J. Wilbur Chapman," p. 111.
45. Conrad, Boston's Awakening, pp. 57,58.
46. Ibid., p. 106; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 382.
47. Conrad, Boston's Awakening, pp. 214,215.
48. Ibid., p. 10.
49. Loud, Evangelized America, pp. 278,268.
50. Conrad, Boston's Awakening, p. 111.
51. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 388.

52. Ibid., p. 367.
53. Ibid., p. 366.
54. The Presbyterian, January 3, 1906.
55. PNA, March 6, 1906, p. 1, quoted in McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 366.
56. WCA, January 31, 1906, p. 5.
57. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 371.
58. An interesting comparison between the two evangelists draws attention to their administrative backgrounds, a proficiency that definitely was within the Moody tradition. "Dr. Chapman and Dr. Torrey," LCO, June 20, 1906, p. 2.
59. Weisberger, They Gathered, p. 233; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 233.
60. Chapman to Converse, January 9, 1908 (Chapman papers, Presbyterian Historical Society).
61. "Torrey Mission in Omaha," New York Observer, December 27, 1906, p. 856.
62. WCA, January 30, 1907, p. 27.
63. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp. 376,377.
64. H. C. A. Dixon, A Romance of Preaching, p. 154; Roller, Twentieth Century Revival, p. 7.
65. "Dr. Torrey on the Revival," WCA, January 17, 1906, p. 6.
66. George T. B. Davis, "Personal Work the Revival Watchword," Christian Endeavor World, March 15, 1906, p. 482.
67. John Shearer, Old-Time Revivals (Philadelphia, 1932), p. 104.
68. Christian Statesman, January 1906, p. 1.
69. Dawson, Evangelistic Note, p. 59.
70. Christian Herald, February 15, 1905, p. 157.
71. Congregationalist, November 4, 1904, p. 641.
72. New York Observer, March 30, 1905, p. 397.
73. Congregationalist, February 11, 1905, p. 183.
74. Dawson, Evangelistic Note, p. 37.
75. Congregationalist, July 8, 1905, p. 47; New York Observer, April 20, 1905, p. 493.
76. Dawson, Evangelistic Note, p. 61; Watchman, March 9, 1905, p. 5.
77. Congregationalist, February 18, 1905, p. 235.
78. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 393n.
79. Ibid.
80. Biographical details drawn from Kathryn Rich, "George R. Lunn: Socialist Mayor of Schenectady," unpublished paper, Union College, April 17, 1966 (Schenectady Public Library); Kathryn Sharp Pontius, Gerald F. DeJong, and J. Dean Dykstra, Three Centuries: The History of the First Reformed Church of Schenectady, 1689-1980 (Schenectady, N. Y., 1980), pp. 132-134; Kenneth E. Hendrickson, "George R. Lunn and the Socialist Era in Schenectady, New York, 1909-1916," New York History, Vol. XLVII, No. 1 (January 1966), pp. 22,23; Thomas H. Curry, "That Man Lunn: The Mayor-Elect of Schenectady," (1911 newspaper clipping, Lunn file, Schenectady Historical Society).

81. Pontius, DeJong, and Dykstra, Three Centuries, pp. 133,134.
82. Curry, "That Man Lunn"; SDU, January 9, 1905, p. 2.
83. "Rector Praises Dr. Lunn's Work," SG, April 4, 1908, p. 2.
84. Ibid., January 9, 1905, p. 2; SES, January 9, 1905, p. 7.
85. SG, January 9, 1905, p. 2; January 13, 1905, p. 1.
86. Curry, "That Man Lunn."
87. Pontius, DeJong, and Dykstra, Three Centuries, p. 137.
88. SG, September 11, 1905, p. 2; PL, February 21, 1905, p. 13.
89. SDU, January 6, 1905, p. 5.
90. SG, January 12, 1905, p. 1.
91. Ibid., January 14, 1907, p. 5; January 19, 1907, p. 6.
92. Ibid., April 9, 1906, p. 2.
93. SES, January 5, 1905, p. 7.
94. SDU, January 6, 1905, p. 5; January 9, 1905, p. 2.
95. Ibid., January 13, 1905, p. 5.
96. Ibid., January 7, 1905, p. 2.
97. SG, October 16, 1908, p. 7.
98. Ibid., January 14, 1907, p. 5; January 19, 1907, p. 6.
99. Ibid., September 24, 1906, p. 2.
100. PL, March 13, 1908, p. 2.
101. SG, April 21, 1908, p. 5.
102. Pontius, DeJong, and Dykstra, Three Centuries, p. 137.
103. SDU, January 19, 1905, p. 2.
104. SES, October 30, 1905, p. 7.
105. SG, April 9, 1906, p. 2.
106. Ibid., December 17, 1906, p. 7.
107. "Dr. Lunn Bitterly Flays Plutocrats," ibid., February 17, 1908, p. 2.
108. Ibid., December 17, 1906, p. 7.
109. Ibid., February 24, 1908, p. 2.
110. Curry, "That Man Lunn."
111. Hendrickson, "George R. Lunn," p. 28.
112. Rich, "George R. Lunn."
113. Biographical information on Matthews drawn from Dale Soden, "Mark Allison Matthews: Seattle's Southern Preacher," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1980, pp. 10-16,38-40.
114. Undated speech quoted by Dale Soden, "Mark Allison Matthews," p. 51. It probably was given in 1893, the year marking both a major depression and the centennial of the execution of Louis XVI.
115. Undated speech quoted by Dale Soden, "Mark Allison Matthews," p. 69.
116. Matthews sermon, "Revival Assured" (Box 7, Folder 5, Special Collection and Preservation Division, University of Washington Libraries).
117. C. Allyn Russell, "Mark Allison Matthews," p. 454; Matthews sermon, "The Pastor as Evangelist" (Box 7, Folder 5, Special Collection and Preservation Division, University of Washington Libraries).

118. C. Allyn Russell, "Mark Allison Matthews: Seattle's Fundamentalist and Reformer," Journal of Presbyterian History, Vol. LVII, No. 4, p. 450.

CHAPTER IX

A MORAL AND SPIRITUAL AWAKENING

"I have been in the habit of saying until recently that we were soon to be visited...with a great awakening," J. Wilbur Chapman confessed to the delegates at the great Interchurch Conference in New York, just after the November 1905 state and local elections:

> ...I have now changed my statement and believe that the American revival is now on. It is manifesting itself in such an influence as flows forth from the White House, and from the executive mansions in States like Indiana and Missouri, and from those who have in charge city governments like...Minneapolis and Philadelphia. It is manifesting itself in the quickened consciences of the American people.[1]

Chapman was one of many evangelicals and reformers who assumed a continuity from the Revival of 1905 to the Great Awakening generally. We might expect an evangelist to associate his profession with worthwhile reforms, but Chapman was joining a host of secular observers who said the same thing. Reformers had preached a revitalization of old values for new times, a turning from Mammon to unselfishness--and an aroused citizenry cheered. Favorable observers felt that a great moral and spiritual awakening had paved the way for

the evangelical constituency to embrace their cause. As Progressive leaders and activists began to envision an array of ground-breaking measures to transform state and society, they rested their confidence largely on the new sturdiness in their constituency of the core values of morality, humanitarianism, and democracy.

Thus began the Progressive era of crusades concurrent with similar movements within the church. It is hard to exaggerate the giddiness of the Progressive crusading spirit. It seemed that the spirit-numbing winter of formalism, fatalism, and cynical realism gave way to a fragrant springtime of human potential. The perfume of perfectibility permeated the church, the state, the press, and even the halls of academia. Vast golden horizons beckoned to those who valued joyful service to God and man. This rarified atmosphere was largely the product of the Great Awakening and the Revival of 1905.

A. The Turnabout: 1904-1906

The evangelistic flavor of the Progressive awakening is often lost in studies that dwell on the top layer of reform journalists, politicians, and philosophers. "[T]oo much focus on leadership conceals more than it discloses about early twentieth-century reform," Link and McCormick have observed:

> ...The dynamics of progressivism were crucially generated by ordinary people--by the sometimes frenzied supporters of progressive leaders, by rank and file voters willing to trust a reform

> candidate. The chronology of progressivism can be traced by events which aroused large numbers of people.[2]

Up through 1904, evangelical leaders and secular reformers both despaired over the refusal of the American people to rouse themselves. The rule of gold prevailed; saints and citizens either worshipped the idol or slept. William Allen White, about the time of the November 1904 election, needled those who put national bosses such as Mark Hanna beyond the moral pale; he wrote that the GOP boss and his "cash-register conscience" were a "walking, breathing, loving body of the American spirit." Well, then let Hanna's critics themselves exemplify high ideals. "Until then criticism of Hanna may be esteemed only on account of its literary excellence. For human nature in this perverse generation of vipers admires palpable results rather than impalpable rhetoric."[3]

Where was the American conscience? Ministers, too, wanted to know. "The [reform] forces on the firing line are totally inadequate to meet these increasing attacks on American institutions," complained one minister a few months later. "The front attacks of the foe, however, are not half so hard to bear as the indifference of so-called 'Christian soldiers' who keep far back to the rear...."[4] Concerning a disappointing Missouri Supreme Court decision in some "boodle" cases at that time, the Pittsburgh Christian Advocate spat that the court's failure "...simply emphasizes the difficulty of obtaining a rigid enforcement of the laws in a

community where civic consciousness is dulled, and in which the management of municipal affairs is left to the ward heelers and their bosses."[5] The president of the National Reform Association, at its annual meeting early in 1905, painted a dark picture of the national mood for reform. As paraphrased, he:

> ...referred to the disheartening difficulties which surround us, the apparent 'slump' in the public conscience which cannot be aroused even in the presence of the greatest evils; the apathy of even good citizens; our inability to gain a hearing before church courts....[6]

"Are we ever to have a better State of affairs?" cried the Western Christian Advocate in the thick of the 1905 campaigns. "Have we not been sickened with the accumulating revelations of rottenness in political life and graft; defalcations in business; the immoral speculative manias...?"[7]

Then the turnabout came. In his essay "The Discovery That Business Corrupts Politics," historian Richard L. McCormick observed, "[T]he brief period from 1904 to 1908 saw a remarkably compressed political transformation.... [T]icket splitting increased, and organized social, economic, and reform-minded groups began to exercise power more systematically than ever before." Compressing things further, he wrote, "During 1905 and 1906 in particular, a remarkable number of cities and states experienced wrenching moments of discovery that led directly to significant political changes."[8]

In 1906 Clinton Woodruff, secretary of the National Municipal League, offered a sample of recent editorials and

articles to buttress his point that municipal conditions had improved: "The Day Dawns," "Conditions Are Getting Better," "A Municipal Easter at Hand," "The General War on Machines," "The New Note in Politics." President Roosevelt's attitude, he claimed, had helped create a public sentiment intolerant of dishonesty in public affairs. It was plain to Woodruff that "...public interest is being developed along wholesome and encouraging lines and that the years 1904 and 1905 may properly be considered as recording wider and more substantial progress than any two preceding years."[9]

In a year's-end retrospective, The Congregationalist narrowed it down even further. "Will not 1905 go down into history as the year of the awakened conscience?" it exulted:

> ...More persons than ever before have been asking, and with unprecedented directness and insistence, "Is it right?" "How did he get it?" "What would Jesus do?"...[T]he fact that they are being asked, casts a shaft of light on the horizon of the dawning year.[10]

The moral awakening, it was widely felt, was extending even into American business. "Even" the Wall Street Journal perceived the surge, noted the Alabama Christian Advocate. "A tremendous moral revolution is taking place," the Journal was quoted:

> ...Many practices which ten years ago, five years ago, one year ago, and even six months ago, were in favor, public opinion having no condemnation for them, are now held to be odious and even criminal.
>
> This is perhaps the most notable development of the day, namely, the creation of a higher standard for the conduct of American business.[11]

In 1906 journalist Philip L. Allen wrote in a similar vein of the previous two years: "The suddenness as well as the tremendous power of the forces which have been stirred up make the word 'upheaval' accurately descriptive of this period."[12] Before 1904, he said, civic reformers existed in abundance and so did defeats for them. What was new after 1904 was was the popular support bearing them up. "If the people had not followed," he insisted, reformers "...could have accomplished nothing at all....Evidently the change has been less in the candidates and issues than in the people themselves."[13]

But what roused voters and activists in the first place? McCormick attributed "the awakening of 1905 and 1906" to discoveries produced by muckraking journalists.[14] Yet the muckrakers themselves--influenced as they were by the Oberlin revivalist tradition--felt that their mission was not to inform so much as to wake up the nation's conscience.[15] Many observers of the time, moreover, emphasized that it was not the level of knowledge but the public conscience that had changed. The Wall Street Journal recognized that the revelations were a shock to the national pride, "...and yet there is hardly an American who does not know that in one form or another graft has entered largely into the corporate life as into the political life of the country." Philip L. Allen concurred. "The fact is that our standards have changed more than the times in which we live," he enthused. "We see the

evil more plainly in practices that were once accepted as natural and inevitable."[16]

That even secular papers were noticing the great revival sweeping the United States was additional Christmas cheer at the Michigan Christian Advocate in December 1905; it quoted some to this effect: "So completely have the principles of righteousness permeated the common thought and feeling that even the long tolerated forms of stock gambling and swindling rate-methods have come in for exposure and sharp censure...."[17] Furthermore, also like secular newspapers it quoted, the Methodist paper was pleased to draw a straight line from moral to spiritual awakening. "Along with these startling denunciations of wrong-doing there is manifested a new degree of spiritual power in the churches," it insisted. Some observers noted that the change in perception involved a broadening of individual morals into the public and economic spheres. "[M]en are just awakening to the fact," intoned the Cumberland Presbyterian in 1906, "that the conscientiousness which was and is applied to our dealings with individuals should also be applied to corporate, social and national affairs."[18]

As Link and McCormick suggested, Progressivism cannot be understood unless we assess how Americans then perceived conditions and responded to them. John C. Burnham pointed out that the Progressive movement differed from other reform movements by the quality of its moral fervor.[19] Scholars may be convinced that self-interest dictated reforms, but they

could not have persuaded many Progressives of that; that would be like calling a proudly reformed alcoholic an old drunk. Missouri Governor Joseph Folk declared in 1906: "The fact that this awakening against wrongs has come when prosperity [sic] shows that it does not proceed from a spirit of discontent, but springs from the moral sense of the people. We are entering upon the best age the world has ever known." Like Folk, editors both secular and religious eagerly embraced the notion that morality was back, stronger than ever. During the November 1905 election campaigns, the Philadelphia Public Ledger happily contended, "Never before have the people been divided on questions so purely ethical and moral."[20] During the Chapman revival in his town at about the same time, a Minneapolis editor decided, "[T]his movement of the churches toward righteousness was part of a broader movement seen in politics, in business, especially in municipal reform, through which movement the American people were returning to old and sound standards of righteousness."[21]

It was not a change of perception alone, according to Philip L. Allen. He also saw this broader movement in behavior. "Conscience funds" and victims of theft benefitted from that "still, small voice," as this writer put it, prompting reimbursements ranging from twenty-five cents, "for apples taken off your property before I found Christ," to grander sums for past overcharges by a Philadelphia city contractor. Contributions to the U. S. Treasury conscience fund rose

significantly for 1905 and the first quarter of 1906. Even employee shirking and pilfering declined, as reflected in bondedness of individuals by companies. In short, in his view the turnabout was a moral and spiritual awakening.[22]

The connection between public ethics and religious revival might have been made even more explicitly, but there were good reasons for evangelical reformers to play it down. For one, they needed to build political coalitions with non-evangelicals who might be offended by an overly Protestant style. But in an era where distinctions between ethics and spirit were losing favor, and in the heat of battle when the two inspirations sounded alike, a reform-minded evangelical or two might wander across the border. The Chicago Methodist Preachers' Meeting rampaged over it in a call for a moral awakening, whose need they said was evidenced by a host of evils: graft, abuse by the trusts, politicians' untrustworthiness, protection of vice, cut-throat competition, transgressions by both capital and labor, "unholy" franchise sales, adulturation of food, and corporate mismanagement--a Progressive's hit list. Then the ministers declared, "[T]here can be no revival of morality apart from a genuine revival of spiritual religion." Morality and religion, they claimed, were inseparably connected because religion offers what morality needs: "an enlightened conscience, an unchanging standard, an organizing motive, a moral dynamic, and absolute loyalty to one's moral ideals."[23]

A secular newspaper drew the string even tighter between political and spiritual revival. "Every turning toward righteousness is a turning toward God, even though the religious motive may be unrecognized," suggested the St. Paul Pioneer Press:

> ...A religious revival on a grand, all-pervading scale should, then, naturally correlate with the intense yearning noticeable in all parts of America--especially in some communities where corruption has been rampant--for civic purification and reform. Not merely for honesty and integrity in office; but for a better, purer, and more conscientious citizenship.

This hits the mark when we consider the stress muckrakers, reform activists, and evangelicals all placed on the moral redemption of the citizenry--or perhaps their own--which was being perfected by the awakening from selfishness and political lethargy. Furthermore:

> ...And just as such a yearning may bring about a revival, so a revival--a quickening of the spiritual nature, in antagonism to the commercialism which has dominated our nation--may prove to be the most powerful instrumentality for making thorough and effective the needed work of civic reformation.[24]

This is exactly what Progressives saw as the prerequisite to building a righteous or just society. As the "Kansas Republican" put it, "We've really been converted."

B. Preachers of Civic Righteousness

Just as Progressive leaders trusted in the people, popular Progressivism reposed many hopes on individual leaders. Palermo noted this concerning the Midwestern Republican insurgency, but his findings can be generalized nationwide.

Popular hero-worship, he argued, reflected the traditional belief in the virtuous man; in Midwestern towns the lure of partisanship and pure bread-and-butter issues abated before it.[25] We should also note the impact of magazine journalism in boosting a leader's image.

But particularly relevant to the awakening of 1905, Progressive hero-worship fit the old revivalistic pattern. As Atkins later wrote, Roosevelt and other reformers were the Finneys and Moodys of their day. They declared the old public virtues and high ideals and denounced the sin of materialism. Like evangelists, they put solid faith in the power of their oration and exhortation to influence behavior.[26] Finally, they accomplished one thing more needed at that time: they personified, even dramatized, the continuing vitality of old values in the industrial age. "Assuredly in the career of Gov. Folk so far," wrote a delighted Missouri Methodist in a typical comment:

> ...we have the lesson, that it pays every way for a man to do right. And our faith in men is strengthened when we see how men will stand by a man who, in the face of all opposition, persistently pursues the right.... [Folk's career] teaches the lesson that in politics, as well as in elsewhere honesty is the best policy....[27]

To many contemporary admirers, including parlors-ful of magazine readers, Theodore Roosevelt fully lived up to the billing as a revivalist of the era. To youthful idealists like William Allen White, he was a prophet. His smashing re-election victory added greatly to his reputation, and in 1905 he built it up further by grabbing public attention

with pronouncements and policies.[28] "The whole sum of what he has accomplished could not possibly balance what he has inspired others to accomplish," Allen claimed.[29]

The Republican Roosevelt lectured eager listeners on the duties of American citizenship and civilization, keeping up the refrain that materialism undermined national character. He focused public sentiment against the malfeasance of great wealth and commercial dishonesty, and he pitched in moral terms other issues such as child labor and conservation. The President repeatedly preached that individual standards of morality and integrity should prevail even in the massive and increasingly remote worlds of finance and industry. His constant harping on but one or two central themes, thought the Western Christian Advocate, set a good example to preachers who sought variety for variety's sake.[30]

Alongside Roosevelt in newspaper celebrations of the moral awakening stood a state celebrity, Joseph W. Folk of Missouri, elected governor in 1904. "No other state contest ...this year aroused half the interest Joseph W. Folk's singlehanded fight with the powerful Democratic 'machine' in Missouri has stirred up; and...newspapers of every political hue are celebrating his victory with congratulatory editorials."[31] Aside from the President, Folk was the foremost political revivalist of the time, the most prominent in the first wave of local and state reform leaders emerging with the moral awakening. He expressed its spirit well. In Jan-

uary 1905 the Schenectady Evening Star, among others, traced the budding of the national reform spirit back to Folk and his "singularly practical and successful work," declaring that if even one-fifth of the movements he inspired nationwide for municipal reform came to anything, the country would be in Folk's debt.[32]

People were eager to claim him for their own. Upon his election the Binghamton Press asked its readers to remember that they had first read of Folk there; it had been about the first Eastern paper to call attention to the St. Louis district attorney. The Watchman declared that "all Baptists" were interested in their Missouri co-denominationalist's 1904 campaign for governor, and that his nomination was "the most distinct triumph for reform in this country in recent years." The editor gladly pointed out that Folk's brother edited the Nashville Baptist and Reflector. Christian Endeavor claimed Folk, too.[33]

A circuit attorney in St. Louis since 1901, Folk had made a reputation plucking city officials, bankers, and franchise operatives out of a web of city corruption and delivering them to a grand jury. In 1902 he was catapulted into the national press largely with the help of "Tweed Days in St. Louis," Claude Wetmore and Lincoln Steffens' article in McClure's. He won nomination as governor because of his widespread support among rank and file Democrats, especially rural evangelicals. His opponents' hamhanded ways helped Folk's reputation further; ministers "of every denomination"

signed a petition urging that election thugs be punished.[34] In the general election he ran on a Progressive platform, with a theme of battling for democracy and against corruption and unfair privilege. Rather than offering specifics, however, Folk pitched his appeal to the common man as "a call to battle against the evil forces of corruption and special privilege." This was intellectually vague if emotionally profound--and why not? Specific promises might suggest an appeal to self-interest, breaking the spell of the call to higher things.[35]

Folk often tied his message to the biblical injunction against serving two masters and to other religious themes, and revivalistic impulses spilled into his campaign, particularly in rural Missouri. "The ordinary atmosphere of a political meeting," as journalist Allen described it:

> ...was exchanged for one almost religious. When the talk was over and the meeting broke up there was a quiet pressing forward to grasp the new leader's hand, a few "God bless yous," and the audience turned homeward determined, indeed consecrated, but with hardly a thought that the conventional cheers were the proper ceremonials for ending political meetings.[36]

As chief executive, Folk promoted good government and strict enforcement of the laws. Though he was sympathetic to a wide range of reform legislation, he fit the revivalistic Progressive mold in emphasizing exhortation over institutional change; his biographer stated, "He was less interested in writing new legislation to extend popular government than he was in arousing the public to exercise the power it already possessed." Similarly, Folk (like the Pres-

ident) never tired of preaching that vigorous enforcement of all laws was more necessary than new ones. Though he was no prohibitionist, he enforced an old law closing saloons on Sunday as well as a new law against race-track gambling. These measures endeared him to evangelicals.[37]

So he had a message, the gospel of civic righteousness, and he took it all over the United States with more than thirty speeches during the 1905 campaign. He aroused mass enthusiasm for reform candidates in New York, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Portland.[38] "The moral revolution which is sweeping over the land is merely a revival of the rule of the people," he proclaimed:

> ...Unless the spirit of civic righteousness now abroad in the land dies out, and there is no likelihood of that, we will pass from the sordid age of pure commer-cialism into the age of high ideals. Even now wealth is not regarded with awe as it used to be....The idea everywhere is to get right and stay right.[39]

Joining Folk in the revolution was a rising constellation of local and state heroes who often relied on the same revivalistic style. In 1905 newspapers around the country eagerly reported the reform victories in New York City, Maryland, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. Their cause was so popular nationally that even machine politicians decided it helped to praise some other place's anti-machine crusader of the hour. "If the records of our nation in this time were to get into holy Scriptures," enthused the Congregationalist, "the name of Roosevelt would stand as Josiah's stands, and among the names of prophets would be Folk and Jerome and Weaver

and Riis and others no less worthy than these in the books of Kings and Chronicles."[40]

The people were confessing their subservience to sin in response to men such as William Jerome, re-elected district attorney in New York, who could "purify a good many square yards of political atmosphere" and who "preached with the zeal of an evangelist the law of righteousness and the gospel of free and untrammeled conscientious citizenship."[41] Such was his ability to capture the spiritual tension that at one rally in a church, as soon as he arose to speak, the audience on impulse stood and bowed for prayer. Jerome, the Congregationalist marveled, was one of many who turned the 1905 elections almost into an old-time revival:

> Conscience has been directly addressed from political platforms during the campaign of the last few weeks as it had not been for many a year. Politicians have preached repentance, and have exhorted the people to bring forth fruits worthy of it....A wave of conviction of sin and repentance has therefore swept down political fences, and majorities have rolled up all over the land against political bosses.[42]

A Methodist, also in Boston, made the same point. "Righteousness was so conspicuously the controlling element of the November elections this year," he wrote, "that not only is the press comment largely upon that point, but there is little popular dissent from that judgment." That the reformers' elections were aided by ticket-splitting--virtue over party--was taken as a sign of momentous progress.[43]

Once elected, many of these leaders inspired evangelicals to believe in the connection between spiritual and

political revival; some were devout evangelicals themselves. Indiana's reform governor, Frank Hanly, an active Methodist whom opponents accused of grandstanding, like Folk preached the majesty of the law. He also spoke of the "present passion for righteousness in political and social life" and asserted, "[W]e ought to see the evidences of revival on every hand in the present passion for righteousness in political and social life, and for men to conduct business along strictly ethical lines." Hanly was known for cleaning house in Indianapolis against graft and speculation with state monies.[44]

Minneapolis Mayor David P. Jones, former moderator of the Minnesota Congregational Association, after election in 1904 broke the power of the gambling syndicate; then, at the outset of the November 1905 Chapman campaign, he initiated Sunday closings of saloons. Another executive who did that was a devout Methodist governor of Kansas, Edward Hoch, who lowered the boom on saloons in Kansas City and on its defiant mayor in 1906.[45] Another reformer, Jersey City Mayor Mark Fagan, whom no evangelical church could claim because he was Roman Catholic, nonetheless gratified many churchgoers with his avowal to Lincoln Steffens that he prayed over his official actions. Ohio's governor James Pattison, a Methodist elected in 1905, won on a platform endorsing local option and opposing bossism. In the view of many evangelicals, he also deserved credit for his forthrightness on such "losing" (in statewide politics) issues as keeping the Sab-

bath holy. As governor (his term was cut to a few months by his untimely death), he espoused a program of law enforcement, banking reform, anti-corruption measures, temperance, and forest preservation. Joining Pattison in commitment to Sunday saloon closings was Cincinnati's new Democratic mayor.[46]

In 1906 Baptists could claim as their own Charles Evans Hughes, investigator of the insurance scandals in New York and elected governor of that state in 1906. Son of a Baptist minister, this "reformer of the true type" had founded a men's class at his Fifth Avenue Baptist Church and was an activist in the movement toward church federation. To add to the list of Methodist governors, Coloradoans in 1906 elected the Reverend Henry Buchtel to the office once fought over by Adams and Peabody. Though he originally had not sought the position, the Denver University chancellor won with a margin of twenty thousand votes, a sizable one in Colorado.[47]

Implicit in all this is that it takes a ready congregation for a revivalist to succeed. The mainly municipal elections of 1905 revealed a nationwide movement of surprising power. Indeed, letters to the editor and diaries show that newspaper readers devoured the increasingly numerous tales of heroism. One Indiana Methodist appreciated his governor: "If the politicians have it in them to rebuke the governor," he wrote, "the people...will in due time rebuke the politicians. The people are slow to get aroused, but they are awaking, and when they speak in no uncertain voice the

machine may well beware."[48] In November 1905 Katherine Benedict, a middle-aged Vermonter acquainted with Gaius G. Atkins and fully involved in her Burlington church, rejoiced with friends over Jerome's victory hundreds of miles away.[49] The Reverend John Wesley Miller of Bethel, Vermont, was devoted to spiritual revival, prohibition, and the Democratic party. While this Methodist pastor's diary could take no delight in Roosevelt's 1905 inauguration, considering Republican inflation and the trusts, he did rejoice over the 1905 election of Democratic reformers in Ohio (Governor James Pattison), Pennsylvania (State Treasurer William Berry), and New York City and Boston (District Attorneys William Jerome and James Moran). "On the whole it is the best year that the reformers have ever had."[50]

The moral and spiritual awakening reopened the difficult question, To what extent was the church to go forth into the affairs of the world? In 1905 and beyond, reformers were carrying revivalism into politics; much of the church willingly came with it.

The results cheered many editors, both religious and secular. For a long time, chuckled the St. Louis Christian Advocate after the 1905 elections, it was assumed "that the churches had no influence and...that the views of church people might be ignored or even scoffed at." But now, when voters demanded enforcement of blue laws they got it.[51] Leslie's Weekly said as much, informing its readers:

> A prominent party leader in New York...[declared] some years ago that one saloon was worth more as a political influence any time than ten churches. It must be confessed that this seemed to be the case...but many things go to show that the period of saloon dominance in politics is nearly, if not quite, over. To the influence of good women, combined with that of the churches, the success of the political reform movement in the recent elections in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio is attributable in no small degree.[52]

Methodist journals and the Congregationalist claimed that participation by clergymen and denominational journals and active laymen tipped the scales to victory for James Pattison in Ohio and Frank Hanly in Indiana.[53] Francis Clark, too, claimed credit for Christian Endeavorers in Ohio and around the country in what he called "the splendid moral upheaval of 1905." Since 1893 C. E. had organized tens of thousands of prayer meetings along the lines of Christian citizenship, attacking the evils of the day. "Is it too much to believe," its founder inquired:

> ...that the marvellous civic awakening of the past two years, the like of which has never been known in America...is due, in some measure at least, to the civic awakening in the hearts of many young Christians? ...These [prayer] meetings could not have been held without a vast influence....[54]

Working with such interdenominational groups as C. E., the YMCA, the National Reform Association, many churches grounded their people in the concept of Christian citizenship. This vague if profound notion varied from stimulating Christians to vote to formally founding government on Christianity. The widely mentioned concept insisted, at least, that religious righteousness should always inform voting and other civic responsibilities, and it was held to be the nec-

essary practice of the republic's virtuous citizenry.[55] It fit very well the Progressive faith. "The man whose vote is swayed by any other consideration than the public weal cannot claim to be a Christian citizen," Franklin Edmonds, a Philadelphia evangelical reformer, told a Christian Endeavor conference at the height of the 1905 municipal campaign.[56]

Christian citizenship departments and committees based in churches cooperated with civic organizations such as the Municipal Voters League, the Citizens Association, the Anti-Crime Committee, the Young People's Christian Temperance Union, and others. In 1907 the Baptists, like other denominations, appointed a Committee on Civic Righteousness:

> ...to study creating a more wholesome public opinion; for making the laws more certain, more prompt, and more effective; so as to take away the reproach resting on civilization and religion by the prevalence of crime and lynchings; and so as to make the law respected and effective in all parts of our common country.[57]

This was not far from what even nonevangelical Progressives wanted to accomplish in politics. In the heat of a campaign especially, preachers in the pulpit and press burned with the political fervor of Progressivism as hot as anyone. As we have seen, they rampaged across the border between secular and sacred impulses. For one Methodist editor, for example, these were the issues of the day:

> It is The People versus The Boss and the Whiskey Oligarchy. It is The Man versus The Machine. It is The Reputable Citizen versus The Gang. It is Honesty versus Graft. It is Political Independence versus Cowardly Submission. It is The Home versus The Saloon, The Gambling Den and The Brothel. It is Righteousness versus Iniquity.[58]

The power of religious revivals to stimulate reform was sometimes appreciated by some nonevangelical religious journals. T. E. Schmauk, a Lutheran editor who questioned the value of revival campaigns early in 1905, reversed this animosity and praised revival preaching even to the extent of defending R. A. Torrey in January 1906. He attributed to the revival the "wave of civic and commercial righteousness" that characterized 1905.[59]

Yet the charge was continually raised, even by some inside it, that the church was doctrinally irrelevant to the modern world and thus had little to do with the wave of reform. Strict theological liberals were convinced that supernaturalism was so much narrow dogma, irrelevant to ethics and learning, and that revivalism could not possibly influence the modern mind to worthwhile change. The idea was abroad, too, that revivalist ministers did not sound the clarion call for reform but wasted their efforts on narrow dogma and Puritan personal strictures. President Faunce of Brown University, a Baptist, agreed that a great moral awakening had taken place but insisted that the church had had nothing to do with it.[60] Such statements caused resentment. "Now, when the age is morally awake...," complained a contributor to the Western Christian Advocate:

> ...It is announced to us that the Kingdom of God ...has for its evangelists newspaper reporters, magazine writers, social-settlement workers, political agitators, men of daily life, lowly workingmen; but that priests and clergymen have nothing to do with it. What a strange fact this would be if it were true that a hundred thousand Churches or so, with their ministers and priests, the reli-

> gious press, the Sunday schools, which instruct millions in ethics...had had no part in the moral impetus given to modern life.[61]

Strange indeed. On the other side, however, hyper-orthodox clergymen and machine politicians preached that churches should stay out of politics in deference to the separation between church and state. Though the pragmatic mood was eroding such barriers, as was the belief that democracy must depend on the things of the spirit, a few purist voices caused annoyance that way.[62] Numerous evangelical thinkers, even reform-minded ones, shared a profound uneasiness about tying God's interests with man's. While Lyman Abbott was calling the religious awakening insufficiently ethical, the Christian Statesman worried that the moral awakening was insufficiently spiritual. Reformers, it said, denounced crime, not sin, defended not God's laws but the public treasury, and advocated not the rule of righteousness but a square deal. Some perceived that if evangelicals opened the door to infuse politics with the Revival, the door would stay open for the spirit of the world to flow back in the other direction. A Southern Methodist editor put the matter succinctly: "Will the revival for which we are praying be no more than a movement for the moral reformation of our people? If so prepare to battle with the skepticism of the coming generation."[63]

C. The Philadelphia Story

Perhaps the best illustration depicting the confluence of moral and spiritual streams into the Progressive Awakening is the Philadelphia civic movement of 1905. This "revolution," as it was commonly called, borrowed heavily from the revivalistic style and gained force from the spiritual revival itself.

In 1905 Philadelphia was in the grip of a powerful Republican statewide machine led by U. S. Senator Boies Penrose and its local affiliate under State Insurance Commissioner Israel Durham, who after taking power in 1899 built up an apparatus of ten thousand officeholders.[64] To clergymen and reformers, the Gang's rule meant, as Editor Edward Van Valkenburg of the North American summarized it:

> ...[T]he policeman is the protector of vice, and into the coffers of his machine comes the tribute of the illicit liquor seller, of the debaucher of innocent girls....Under the system...there are not schools enough for the people's children; there has not been for forty years a drop of water fit to drink from a public pipe; a City Hall has been built at a cost nearly four times its worth; franchises have been given away which ought to be able now, had they been leased, to pay half the city's expenses, and the people's money has been squandered upon favorites until there must be further borrowing or sharp advance of the tax rate.[65]

Challenging these abuses, Philadelphia clergymen--Torrey's "most orthodox in America"--had a tradition of involvement in reform politics. Bishop Alexander MacKay-Smith and Rector Floyd Tompkins were Episcopal leaders in the crusade against vice; Bishop Cyrus Foss was prominent among active Methodists. Presbyterians, too, refused to

separate religion and politics; in 1895 they described themselves as "wide awake on all questions of reform," both clergy and lay. The Reverend Hughes O. Gibbons served as vice-president and later president of the Law and Order Society. John Converse, Vermont-born president of Baldwin Locomotive Works, and John Wanamaker, owner of the major department store, were prominent among good government Republican businessmen who also supported evangelism.[66]

Crusading newspapers helped the cause of cleanup, notably the North American, owned by Wanamaker's son, and the Public Ledger. Aided by the Law and Order Society's attorney, D. Clarence Gibboney, the Public Ledger also launched its own campaign to expose police protection of vice.[67] By February 1905 Gibboney, who had seen to it that nearly a hundred pimps were arrested and indicted, had lurid details of shame which he was eager to share. Tales from the Tenderloin shocked prominent clergymen and galvanized them to demand the ouster of Public Safety Director David Smyth. Unfortunately, Mayor John Weaver, an Organization good-government figurehead in whom the clergymen once had had some hope, severely disappointed them by backing Smyth and espousing a hands-off policy to the Tenderloin.[68]

Gibboney's revelations suggest much about the bond between revival and political reform. Simply put, reformers understood that vice--moral, political, and economic--came in a package.[69] Dens of vice were packed to bursting with imaginary voters; the same cabal that perverted democracy,

robbed taxpayers, ruined city services, and emptied the treasury also corrupted public morals, shielded saloons, and encouraged prostitution.

On Lincoln's Birthday, a Sunday, in church after church clergymen urged their congregations to "smite" the system. "To these pleas worshipers responded with enthusiasm," the North American reported, "evidencing the quickening of the civic spirit by adopting...resolutions praying for relief. ...[T]his unequaled wave of an aroused public conscience was sweeping nearly every church in the city...."[70] A few days later five hundred clergymen and a thousand men from their churches gathered and, after hearing a rousing speech by Gibboney, appointed a committee (including a Roman Catholic rector, Bishops Mackay-Smith and Foss, and Floyd Tompkins) to agitate against Smyth. After the rally Foss, to broaden the movement, recruited a Jewish rabbi for the committee. Alas, Weaver still held firm, and clergy indignation was insufficient to lead the City party, founded months before by municipal reformers, to even a respectable showing in the February elections.[71]

Beseeching divine intervention where human efforts seemed in vain, clergymen planned a prayer meeting at Tompkins' Holy Trinity Church for February 28. This blossomed into a general prayer movement. A mass meeting at the North Philadelphia Law and Order Society to protest liquor licenses also urged all Philadelphia Christians to join in the fasting and prayer. Then a branch of the Women's Christian

Temperance Union, noting as an inspiration the revival at Ocean City (where the mayor and several officials were converts), summoned women to a six-hour prayer gathering at a Methodist church on February 28. Even the Evangelistic Committee of the Philadelphia Presbytery joined the movement, planning regular prayer meetings for March; S. H. Hadley was a scheduled speaker.[72]

It was just then, as we have seen, that the revival spirit intensified in Philadelphia. The North American gladly combined the yearnings: "Hope of Purification of City Leads Pastors and People of Many Churches to Join in Great Religious Movement."[73] Then on February 28 about 150 ministers attended the prayer rally.[74] Pastor after pastor prayed so fervently, often for citywide revival, that the leader was unable to give his talk until the end. The women's prayer rally also was impressive. "Speak to the hearts of the business men and merchants," came one prayer, "that they will not allow public duty to be left to the hoodlums."[75]

Reporters pestered the mayor, who wanted to ignore the matter, about whether he felt any different after all that prayer. Machine politicians jeered. Even religious newspapers elsewhere were critical, according to the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, because "...the publicity given the incident has hurt the cause of Christianity....Prayers without political work in this case are like words without deeds."[76] Van

Valkenburg felt constrained to admonish that votes as well as prayers were needed, but he cheered on the revival:

> "Faith without works is dead!" With this for its reveille, a religious revival might purify us municipally as well as morally and lead us to civic as well as personal righteousness.....The spirit of the impending revival seems to be the practical application of religion to life.[77]

Reform seemed more remote as Weaver insisted that vice was under control. Then in March the state legislature passed two "ripper" bills (effective in 1908) taking away the mayor's power to dismiss city department heads and giving it to the councils. Since independence was more likely from the mayor than the councils, a flurry of protests and petitions arose from, among others, the Committee of Seventy and the Philadelphia Presbytery.[78]

Philadelphia's great showdown came at the end of April over an unexpected development. United Gas Improvement Company (UGI), a consortium with Standard Oil connections that leased and operated the city's gas works, made an offer the councils could not refuse: $25 million to extend its lease from thirty to seventy-five years. (This had been in the works since the previous fall, apparently, when UGI stock began to rise.) The new proposal would freeze the high price of gas for much longer than the old contract. Thus even in 1980, the North American figured, when four-fifths of the 1905 population would be dead, Durham would still be filching dollars from every Philadelphian's pocket.[79]

Reformers responded to this grab by calling for a mass rally. A proclamation bore the signatures of twenty-five

noted reformers and pastors including Converse, Foss, and Tompkins. The monster gathering, chaired by John Converse, was comprised of "merchants, doctors, lawyers, preachers, taxpayers." Guided by the chairman of the Evangelistic Committee, people seethed over sin and delighted in their group confession that they had been content with corruption and were now making a break with the past.[80] They might have declared with the "Kansas Republican," "We were taking the short-sighted view....We've really been converted." Declared one Presbyterian reverend, victory in this endeavor "...may be better than though Mr. Moody came back to life again and filled up the Academy of Music for three months."[81]

The mass meeting ratified a new Committee of Nine, chaired by Converse, to carry on the fight. As May wore on, this second Converse committee displayed acumen at pushing the rising popular clamor into ward after ward. Indignation rallies took place constantly everywhere and pulpits were pounded against the gas steal. On May 18, at the committee's instigation, droves invaded a hearing room in City Hall shouting "Thieves!" and "Shame!" at the councilmen.[82]

Apart from rowdiness, in many ways the uprising kept the character of spiritual revival. Not that morality alone was at stake. One journalist pointed out that in a city with three hundred thousand privately owned homes, more than New York and London combined, "...an issue that might not stir even a languid interest among the flat and apartment dwellers...[elsewhere] might work a social upheaval among the

proletariat of Philadelphia."[83] Yet it is not necessary to prove that selfish motives were absent to show the revival's impact. Religious ideals were appealed to, the revival style was chosen, and rallies trumpeted their own religious character. "There are many thousands of Philadelphians," Allen wrote:

> ...whom nothing could persuade that the events of May and November were not direct providential answers to that prayer [of February and March]. As much was said by grave businessmen at the mass meetings. The old, long-metered doxology was sung, as if by common impulse, at almost every meeting. "Onward Christian Soldiers" was a favorite marching tune.[84]

Meanwhile, embarrassed after learning about the UGI deal from a newspaper, the mayor quickly came around. Over his opposition the measure was jammed through the city councils by a vote of 111-13. But Weaver, consulting closely with the Committee of Nine, determined to make a veto stick. On May 22 a procession of 120 Methodist ministers joined by an equal number of pedestrians wended its way to his office, where he received them and pledged faithfulness to God to do his utmost. It was high drama, page 1 on the North American complete with a six-column illustration.[85]

Thus began John Weaver's sixteen-month career as a reform politician. Beefy, curly-haired, with piercing brown eyes, the English-born Weaver looked more the tough reformer than he was. From the Ring he emerged--an honest figurehead, to be sure--and to the Ring he would return. Local journalist William Stewart thought he was well-meaning, but unorig-

inal and plastic, floating with the tide.[86] At the high tide of the reform movement, Stewart shrewdly noted:

> So long as there are public-spirited men in Philadelphia willing to give of their time and energy to back a well-meaning mayor of this type, so long will the city government be reasonably clean. But let there once be a lapse of interest, and the fangs of the machine may again be fastened upon the municipal throat. The ring is not dead, nor yet even sleepeth.[87]

The drama continued. On May 23 Weaver fired Smyth and Public Works Director Peter Costello. A rolling schedule of meetings all over town drew enthusiastic crowds to cheer on the fight. On May 26 "Stand by the Mayor" rallies in the Academy of Music and Association Hall drew ten thousand people inside. Dense overflow crowds outside cheered and sang in response to all they could hear inside--which was the cheering. Meanwhile, pro-UGI councilmen, harassed by both neighbors and strangers, were jumping ship in droves.[88] On May 27 UGI surrendered and withdrew the offer.

In a celebratory editorial the North American directed the reader's attention back to the dark days when reformers were so discouraged that some "...really began to believe that the experiment of free popular government, undertaken by our fathers, was ending in outright failure." The ministers and women gathered for prayer, and now look. Van Valkenburg had no trouble finding the moral: "An aroused Christian spirit was instrumental in the result." He went on:

> The victory in Philadelphia, sudden, unexpected, overwhelming and complete as it was, ought to teach the people of this community, first, that

> the fundamental principles of our form of government are absolutely sound; second, that there is always and everywhere a force working for righteousness, which will give the battle to virtuous men if they will fight with patience as well as with courage.[89]

"The fight shall go on," Weaver declared, and the Committee of Nine backed him by calling for more rallies. Surrounding himself with reform appointees and an advisory committee including Converse and several ministers, Mayor Weaver undertook to clean house. He barred political assessments from policemen and firemen, ousted the secretary of the Civil Service Board, and arrested a councilman over his connection with a past scandal. Then Weaver attempted to repeal an obnoxious streetcar franchise grab. Again a huge town meeting cheered him on. Reviled in March, he was now "leader of the greatest and most radical reform movement ever undertaken in an American city."[90] A satirist had it, "[T]he Republican bosses were letting the saints do all the talking, and between the Mayor and the papers and the saints, the poor sinners could not get a word in edgeways."[91]

In September the City party held a nomination convention for the November elections. The delegates made their choices, ratified a stirring reformers' "Declaration of Principles," and marched in procession to City Hall to receive the mayor's blessing.[92] State elections were at stake, too, and the Lincoln party of Pennsylvania arose with the same purposes as the City party. It nominated William Berry, new reform mayor of Chester and an ardent prohibitionist.

This party officially recognized the hand of Providence in the political upheaval in Philadelphia.[93]

This time the City party mounted a deadly campaign. Clergymen preached it; a Women's Committee organized prayer, publicity, fund-raising, and house-to-house canvassing. The women arranged about 250 meetings of many kinds, for men and women, for blacks, ethnics, and workers. City party secretary Franklin Edmonds estimated that forty to fifty meetings went on somewhere nightly, "ranging in size from a division meeting of neighbors called at a private house to mass meetings held in the largest halls of the city."[94] Apparently confident of working class support, activists induced factory employers to juggle work hours on election day so that their men could vote; according to the Public Ledger the Organization had narrowed the laborers' vote by making late-hour voting difficult. The City party also received help from black pastors and organizations.[95] The intense public involvement inspired friends of reform elsewhere. "From the captain of industry to the wife in a humble home, everybody in Philadelphia is getting into the fight," the Schenectady Evening Star observed, pointing in particular at women's involvement in the campaign.[96]

The City party campaign surged toward an emotional climax when, in mid-October, Joseph Folk arrived to pitch in. So packed was the Academy of Music for his rally that Floyd Tompkins, who was part of the welcoming group, could not get inside. This was political revivalism in its purest form.

After waiting a minute and a half for the cheers to subside, the Missouri governor delivered a rousing call to civic virtue. "If corruption exists," he declared:

> ...the people are to blame; if corruption is to be eradicated the people alone can do it. The fight you are making here is a battle which will be felt by every town, city, and State in the land....The moral revolution that is now sweeping over the land is merely a revival of the rule of the people.[97]

The revivalistic inspiration was also apparent in how the audience received him. Following that speech three thousand enthusiasts proceeded to Israel Durham's house. "We have come to show you that we disapprove almost to revolution your thieving and prostitution of the public weal," the group's leader shouted in the era's most inflammatory terms. "...and to say that there is a just God in heaven and that you have to repent of your evils and make restitution of your ill-gotten gains." An "evangelist" then tried to "proclaim the rights of the people and to call down the wrath of God" on the Gang, but his hearers left him for a march to the Inquirer office to denounce its pro-Organization stance. Then all went down to cheer Governor Folk at the Bellevue-Stratford.[98]

On a splendid sunny election day, with blue and gold city flags flapping all about in the breeze, voters trooped to the polls. Authorities had exorcised some fifty-one thousand phantoms from the voting lists, and dutiful policemen and deputies sworn in by the mayor overcame the threat of Gang shenanigans.[99] It worked. Philadelphia gave City party

candidates a stunning victory with forty-three thousand votes to spare. At the same time voters statewide elected as state treasurer William Berry. And so in January, when the state legislature met to consider reform measures such as open primaries, the Methodist chaplain inserted into the prayer, "And now, O Lord, help these men, for they are all reformers, get down to work, for the men who refuse to indorse the cast of reform will be consigned to political oblivion next November."[100]

In 1906 Weaver gratified his new constituency further by enforcing Sunday blue laws. But all was not to be well. An angry split and vicious recriminations resulted in September 1906 when Weaver's man lost the nomination for district attorney to Gibboney. Weaver later quietly returned to the regular Republicans. Meanwhile, the Gang recovered, defeated Gibboney, and won the municipal elections the following February. Groused a Philadelphia paper, citizens "...have wearied of the fight for the civic redemption of their city, and are willing to accept the conditions which will come with the full restoration of the old forces to power." Forget excuses, came a scolding from Cincinnati: "The reformers were asleep."[101]

So the "cats" came home, chuckled a Republican satirist who had "stayed." For a time they had been "...fooled into believing in saints on earth when they would to know that saints are only in heaven....." Well, laughed this "cat," "...the people who try the saint business on earth are a

job-lot--neither fit for heaven nor earth."[102] Perhaps there was something to the saint business if the best that earth-bound cats could do was the UGI deal, but then no amount of fervor and efficiency could bring heaven to earth for long.

By 1908 the Organization was fully back in business. For the April primary City party activists hoped to ride the local option issue to victory over Penrose and his locals, who opposed it. But they lost humiliatingly. Perhaps local option hurt them, but worst of all, erstwhile supporters of the party failed to get out and vote, which the Public Ledger blamed on both returning Republican loyalty and reform fatigue.[103] Ironically, this was during the Chapman revival there, whose schedule probably had something to do with the local option fight. "Don't blame the saloon keeper when by your votes yesterday you made it easier for him to secure a license...," Chapman scolded. "I'd rather beg on the streets than cast a vote for a party that encourages whiskey selling."[104]

Popular fickleness turned out to be the Achilles' heel of more than one reform movement. As Mark Fagan, Hazen Pingree, and Tom Johnson discovered, reformers "...could not compete on the basis of periodic short-run campaigns with disciplined party hierarchies controlling patronage and other material rewards."[105] When one came down to it, the people were usually asleep. There came a time when many urban reformers, like many denominational leaders, ceased to rely on waves of popular or divine support and became stu-

dents of power and efficiency. According to Dale Soden, Mark Allison Matthews had learned how to adapt to the urban power structure when he had been a few years in Seattle. But in Philadelphia the anti-boss ideology sustained by popular revival kept many reformers from making that transition before 1908.

D. Waves of Reform Elsewhere

Philadelphia was one of many communities in which the revival spirit was translated into political or social reform. Across the nation people rose in support of Progressive causes, and one reform in particular benefitted from the Revival of 1905: temperance. Though some scholars have felt that involvement with this cause marked the departure of evangelicals from true reform, that issue was at the heart of revived evangelical Progressivism. The dynamic of an unusually conscience-stricken public rising to support them parallels the story of other Progressive reforms, including railroad regulation, child labor, and democratic reforms. It also led many Americans into the reform arena where they embraced other causes, too.

The commitment of Protestant evangelical clergymen to temperance predated the revival of 1905, but the new century gave it particular urgency for several reasons. Blue-nosed fear of someone else's fun accounted for little of that; the central focus of the cause was the saloon as a vicious social force. Temperance activists continually fretted over

the impact the saloon was having on the American family. The fabric of society was threatened as long as it boosted crime and pauperism and undermined personal character.[106]

Social Gospelites in particular contended that the saloon halted the nation in its mission to build the Kingdom of God and the just society. In that pursuit, the church was "the chief agency for the reconstruction of society upon the laws of divine Brotherhood," insisted Social Gospel theologian John Marshall Barker, and there was "nothing more fundamental to the kingdom than the suppres-sion of all forms of social evil." The saloon, the force for social disintegration, must be squashed by the church, the force for social upbuilding.[107]

Furthermore, as Timberlake has shown, the anti-saloon cause crossed paths with Progressivism in certain shared political convictions. It was an article of the old republican faith that liberty demanded a virtuous, informed citizenry. By 1900, it was felt, democracy was being atrophied by the rising corporations and undermined by industrial unrest and droves of unrepublican immigrants. Progressives confronted two urgent issues: to reclaim control of government from the special interests and to uplift the lower classes, relieving their misery.[108] The saloon stood in the way of both, offering perpetual affronts to the majesty of the law. Timberlake contended that "what aroused special hostility was its arrogant and ruthless control of government and its practice of gross political corruption." The industry sometimes showed

little scruple in how it wielded its influence, and some saloons found that hosting a range of immoralities could be profitable. A Methodist paper complained that the saloon "...has no conscience to which one can appeal. It is governed by the instinct of self-perpetuation."[109] And so the saloon was entrenched in the system of political corruption that cheated Americans of their democratic birthright, undermined all idealism, destroyed civic life, and robbed city treasuries.

As Patrick O'Brien put it in the context of Kansas, "Curbing exploitation, promoting public and personal virtue, and suppressing threats to the public welfare, all goals of the prohibitionists, were consistent with the progressive ideology."[110] Reformers, Timberlake pointed out, perceived:

> ...by removing a key link in the corrupt alliance between business, vice, and politics, [prohibition] would also help free government from the control of other predatory interests and thus open the way to reform in general. As long as the liquor industry remained entrenched, they believed, no lasting reform was possible.[111]

In summary, throughout the nation prohibition was bound up with other reform issues in one way or another. Particularly in the South, involvement by pastors and church members in the prohibition cause (especially by women) led them to investigate and seek out legislative remedies for other social and political needs such as woman suffrage, direct democracy, education, child labor reform, and working conditions. Though prohibition competed with other issues for attention and energy, it was not simply a distortion of reform

or an easy escape from it, as Hofstadter and McLoughlin have suggested.

One further attraction of the temperance issue for evangelicals and Progressives deserves mention. It thrust a colorful moral issue into every political campaign, and evangelicals and Progressives throve on clear-cut moral issues.[112] We have seen delighted press comments over the morality of the 1905 elections, and this reflected a generation eagerly reclaiming the vitality of morality.

In the first decade of the century, the nature of the temperance battle varied from place to place. Energies often were focused on either statewide prohibition or on local option, the state-granted right of a community to exclude the saloon entirely. In a state with local option, attention focused on bringing about local and then statewide prohibition. In states with neither, the alternative for a city or town was to license saloons annually, with the possibility of setting higher or lower standards and fees for renewal. (In 1905 these fees ranged from a paltry $84 in San Francisco to $900 in Los Angeles and $1,000 in Seattle.[113]) Activists might harass saloons by raising complaints before the licensing board when renewal came up. Gibboney told a gathering in a Congregational church in the Germantown district of Philadelphia, where eight saloons were trying to join forty-two already there, that fifty residents at the Licensing Court could defeat them.[114]

The years after 1905 saw a great advance along all these battle lines, with the chief agency being the church-based Anti-Saloon League. It made full use of the rising fervor of the churches but superimposed a well-organized lobbying and publicity machine; this worked through both parties like a modern PAC.[115] Yet the ASL needed a mass of at least partially aroused opinion to form into a winning movement. Thus Ernest Cherrington, leading spokesman for the Anti-Saloon League, tied the ASL cause to the religious revival and to civic reform. "The widespread and sweeping wave of reform...," he asserted, "marks a new era in American history. Not only, however, are these forces ushering in a new era, but they are just as surely at the same time laying a foundation for the greatest revival of religion that the world has ever seen. Never were the signs so full of promise."[116]

He was right about that. Beginning in 1905, when less than twenty thousand churches were actively supporting the ASL, that involvement made spectacular gains so that by 1915 forty thousand churches were ASL-affiliated.[117] The new sentiment often helped a community vote itself dry. "Your great work here has reached its culmination," the mayor of Burlington, Iowa, wrote Billy Sunday in December 1905 just after his revival there:

> ...Over a year ago I said to the preachers and the public that whenever public sentiment would sustain me I would close the saloons on Sunday. Today my proclamation is published....This result was brought about by your work in Burlington.[118]

We have seen that revivalism and temperance grew together in eastern Ohio in early 1905. Then, fifty church organizations representing half the Protestant churches in the state passed resolutions condemning Governor Herrick for gutting restrictive legislation.[119] That November, James Pattison's election to replace him was accomplished largely through the churches' influence; this surprise victory dramatically displayed ASL clout statewide. It gave momentum to what was called the "Ohio idea" of the ASL working through the churches in politics on the one issue of prohibition. In 1906, with Pattison in, temperance forces fought to raise the annual licensing fee from $350 to $1,000 and narrowly passed it in the statehouse.[120]

The city of Chicago similarly raised its fee to $1,000 about that time. In Indiana, where half of the thousand townships already were dry, 114 more dried up between May 1905 and the end of that year.[121] Another example is the Los Angeles area. In the wake of the Chapman campaign in Southern California, four of nine area counties voted themselves dry, and in the other five so many communities became dry that, in the words of an Anti-Saloon League spokesman Ernest Cherrington, "the map begins to look white all over." "Saloon" candidates were defeated in San Bernardino and San Diego, a fact for which the ASL claimed credit.[122]

Much of the battle against the saloon, on the other hand, was enforcement of laws already in place. Public sentiment often rose with religious revivals. In Philadelphia

in March 1905, at the height of revival sentiment there, mass meetings in various neighborhoods protested the rising issuances of licenses. Similarly, in rapidly growing Schenectady the number of licensed saloons fell in 1906, perhaps because that winter the police had declared "open warfare" on Sunday violators. This followed a fruitful winter of evangelism as well as strong stands by the pastors including Lunn. Then, almost all the churches in Schenectady united with churches statewide to protest the tabling in committee of the Wainwright local option bill.[123]

Around the country numerous movements of moral and political reform, some small and some great, also illustrated the revivalist flavor that tinged reform politics nationwide in 1904-1906 and beyond. In Nebraska a reform-minded Republican party in 1904 captured many pietists who had voted for Bryan, and elected a devout Methodist governor. Then the state entered its "first progressive period," as politics shifted to implementing programs of business regulation, local option, and direct democracy. Pietistic evangelicals became the Republican party's "left periphery," according to Robert Cherny, and they later heavily supported Roosevelt's Progressive party candidacy.[124]

It was after 1905, according to Lewis Gould, that Texas Democrats devoted increasing attention to moral and social matters, along with regulating industry and beefing up the role of government in general. "Innovative party members

devoted themselves to the purification of the electoral process, the enfranchisement of women, and, above all, temperance."[125] In Nelson and Washington counties, Kentucky, around 1905 residents shared a premillennial vision and decided that the day of the Lord was near. These expectations, according to James Hood, heightened the urgency of secular reform and evangelism for church people in the counties.[126] But rising religious fervor cemented their commitment to reform in a way that has been generalized throughout this study. "Manifestations of religious faith," Hood wrote, "provided added reassurance that the pursuit of reform would not threaten long-held values, that changes would improve upon and not radically alter the traditional life-style."[127] So in 1906 interest in temperance climaxed, and as elsewhere in the South this cause involved people further in causes of reform rather than taking them from them. It brought women into politics and developed in them the inspiration, self-confidence, and talent for organizing that could be used in crusades for better education and other community needs.[128]

It was not only prohibition that led evangelicals to countenance other reforms. Expanding home missions revealed to their now tenderized social conscience that other reforms were necessary, and more attention was focused on them in the evangelical press. One such issue was child labor. In unsparing terms the Baptist Home Mission Monthly demanded remedial legislation, declaring that this ought to receive the support of all Christians. "Human greed will oppose it,"

the writer conceded, "and this greed, as represented by capital invested in factories and other fields of child labor, is mighty, but it is not so mighty as Christian sentiment when this is awakened and massed."[129]

New York State, which was the scene of so many revivals in 1905, also saw surges of moral reformism. Ministers saw their opportunity in a new public receptiveness. At Ballston Spa, which had had an impressive revival in the winter, the local Federation of Churches launched a campaign against liquor and gaming on Sundays that resulted, for a time at least, in "hard work" to get a Sunday quencher and "nothing doing" at the poker joints on the Lord's day. In New York City that summer, ministers and other activists campaigned to close a major loophole in the Raines Act that allowed dives to pose as hotels on Sundays and serve liquor. This was called a "spreading moral revival."[130] These local pressures worked their way upward, and a local option bill and the tough Harte-Agnew Act of 1908 against race track gambling marked their statewide culmination. The issues stuck with rural New Yorkers for years; Alfred Rollins, Jr., has traced the impact on Franklin Roosevelt's early career (1911) of the evangelical moralism of his small-town constituents, combined with their support for democratic reforms--views FDR was largely in sympathy with.[131]

Denver ministers led a movement in 1905 that closed down public gambling; in Kansas City, Missouri, ministers also warred on vice.[132] Houston, as we have seen, banned

gambling after Mordecai Ham's 1906 visit. In an interesting combination of sociological and evangelical influences, the National Purity Federation in 1906 held a convention at a social settlement, the Abraham Lincoln Centre in Chicago. After sessions spent condemning sex discrimination and the nonenforcement of vice laws, three dozen delegates, mainly women, took the trolley into the Tenderloin to investigate conditions there. They interviewed and exhorted the women they found and brought some of them into a dance hall for a revival service.

Citizen reform movements appear to have grown out of revivals: Tacoma, Washington, evangelicals launched a "citizens' reform league" at the close of a Biederwolf rally, and at Duanesburgh, New York, a handful of ministers formed one two years later. "It is planned to make this a rousing affair and the speakers will be those capable of stirring enthusiasm to no mild degree."[133]

E. From Revival to Crusades

Examples of the combination of revivalistic and reform impulses can be multiplied for those and the remaining years of the Progressive era. One more deserves attention: the Men and Religion Forward Movement, a catch-all movement of modern Social Gospel revivalism beginning October 1911. It revealed the continuing appeal, on the one hand, of the revivalistic style and call to conscience and, on the other, revivalism's connection with Progressive causes. Launched by

the Federal Council of Churches and spearheaded by a team of speakers including William Biederwolf and Charles Stelzle, MRF mobilized laymen and clergymen through public conferences and religious meetings. The teams visited more than sixty cities from October 1911 to May 1912 and left behind local chapters which continued the work for several years. With three sessions a day for eight days in each place, it kept the pace of a week-long revival.[134]

MRF was initially inspired by an episode of religious fervor in 1907 typical of the Revival.[135] Partly as a result of this experience, lay evangelist Fred B. Smith and the Reverend Clarence Barbour, then with the YMCA, began to explore possibilities for social service revivalism based on men. (This was at the height of the denominational brotherhood movements.) Eventually they won the backing of the Federal Council of Churches for what was christened the Men and Religion Forward Movement.

No Progressive organization ever strove as mightily to mingle efficiency and uplift: for the Reverend Allyn Foster of Worcester, Massachusetts, the movement was "the climax of that adaptation of the spirit of the times to the Christian enterprise." The keynote of that spirit, he recognized, was efficiency.[136] Reflecting the age of specialization, too, MRF divided its work into six parts with experts over each: evangelism, boy's work, Bible study, community extension, social service, and missions. Among other things the campaign drew a total attendance of 1.5 million men and re-

sulted in 7,580 professions of faith. In April 1912, moreover, MRF held a congress in New York City which attracted Walter Rauschenbusch, Washington Gladden, Jane Addams, and Booker T. Washington.[137]

Its purpose was vague--to evangelize, to broaden church participation, to stimulate churches to social service, to enable them to cooperate with major service organizations. Harry G. Lefever has written of its work, "Although begun as an effort to increase the participation in the life of the church, the Movement's emphasis soon shifted to a broader concern for social justice." Among projects undertaken in Atlanta were homes for unwed mothers, prison reform, support of child labor laws and and prohibition, and labor justice, basic Progressive goals in the South.[138]

One important activity was building bridges to the labor movement, a cause for which Charles Stelzle had lobbied hard for years. Churches involved with the movement held "Labor Sundays" with union speakers, and the Atlanta chapter publicized the labor side of industrial disputes and tried to mediate.[139] Seeking both uplift and respectability, trade unions formed their own "Labor Forward" movements in the wake of MRF campaigns. Samuel Gompers, delighted over results of "labor revivalism" in Minnesota, explained that the aim was "to increase the numerical strength of the trade union movement; to serve a 'revival' function by arousing the members to renewed and increased activity, and...to disseminate more widely information of the principles of union-

ism among citizens." Their own evangelists used the Bible to denounce both low wages and low morals. There were hopes that mass revivalistic techniques of pageantry and parades would attract restive immigrant workers to trade unions and not socialism; in fact this was temporarily successful in New York State.[140]

William Warren Sweet has maintained, "None [of the revivalists] seems to have effected any large social reform, except as that was brought about through reformed lives."[141] If that alone were true, the contribution to Progressivism of the Revival of 1905, though difficult to track, still would deserve attention. That is, however, but one contribution among many. The revivalists of 1905 inspired their audiences to actualize their Protestant values for themselves and their society. Bearing the evangelical conscience that characterized the leading "ministers of reform," their hearers responded with a flood of support for droves of local, state, and national reform causes around the country. They demanded that their secular leaders live up to the ideals to which they were rededicating themselves. Reformer leaders who had been been impatient for the Great Awakening to spread to the American people took heart, and they began to plan more extensive changes ennobling state and society. Thus a major threshold was reached in Progressivism.

* * * NOTES TO CHAPTER IX * * *

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4. CCA, March 23, 1905, p. 7.
5. Pitt, January 28, 1905, p. 5.
6. Christian Statesman, January 1905, pp. 23,24.
7. WCA, October 18, 1905, p. 1.
8. Richard L. McCormick, "The Discovery That Business Corrupts Politics," in Gerald N. Grob and George Athan Billias, eds., Interpretations in American History, Vol. 2 (New York, 1987), pp. 271,272.
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11. Quoted in Alabama Christian Advocate, July 12, 1906, p. 1.
12. Philip Loring Allen, America's Awakening: The Triumph of Righteousness in High Places (New York, 1906), p. 17.
13. Ibid., p. 31.
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15. Wilson, McClure's Magazine, passim.
16. Quoted in Alabama Christian Advocate, July 12, 1906, p. 1; Allen, America's Awakening, p. 6.
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20. Alabama Christian Advocate, April 30, 1906, p. 2; PPL, November 7, 1905, p. 8.
21. Editorial in Minneapolis Journal, paraphrased in Congregationalist, November 25, 1905, p. 772.
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23. "Religion the Foundation of Morality," WCA, February 21, 1906, p. 11.
24. Quoted in "A Religious Revival and Civic Righteousness," ibid., April 26, 1905, p. 8.
25. Palermo, "Republicans in Revolt," pp. 40,95.
26. Ibid., p. 77.
27. Dr. H. K. Hinde, "Governor Joseph W. Folk," SLCA, October 18, 1905, p. 16.
28. Independent, January 4, 1906, pp. 1,2.
29. Johnson, "Social Significance of Religion," pp. 35,47; Allen, America's Awakening, p. 45.
30. WCA, December 13, 1905, p. 8; December 11, 1907, p. 8. See his speech to the National Education Association reported in "Life's Higher Rewards," WCA, July 26, 1905, p. 8.

31. "The Folk Victory in Missouri" Literary Digest, May 28, 1904, p. 766.
32. SES, January 21, 1905, p. 4. Also see Wayne MacVeagh, "A Great Victory for Honest Politics," North American Review, January 1906, pp. 1-18, in which he credits Folk for initiating the "conflict between honest politics and dishonest politics."
33. Binghamton Press, November 9, 1904, p. 4; Watchman, March 10, 1904; July 28, 1904, p. 12; Christian Endeavor World, January 2, 1905, p. 294.
34. Louis G. Geiger, Joseph W. Folk of Missouri (Columbia, Missouri, 1953), pp. 41,63; Allen, America's Awakening, p. 131.
35. Geiger, Joseph W. Folk, pp. 63,64,76,77. Geiger stated that though Folk's inaugural speech was short on specifics, and was called "a sermon on public morality" by one historian, still critics at the time felt it made too many recommendations (p. 89).
36. Johnson, "The Social Significance of Religion," p. 233; Allen, America's Awakening, p. 132,133.
37. Geiger, Joseph W. Folk, pp. 88,89,102-104.
38. Ibid., pp. 106,107.
39. PPL, October 17, 1905, p. 2.
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41. WCA, November 8, 1905, p. 8.
42. Congregationalist, November 18, 1905, p. 701.
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44. WCA, October 16, 1907, p. 8; September 27, 1905, p. 4.
45. WCA, July 4, 1906, p. 8.
46. PCA, April 4, 1906, p. 9; "Ohio's New Governor," Zion's Herald, January 17, 1906, p. 73.
47. BHMM, November 1906, p. 396; WCA, November 21, 1906, pp. 6,7.
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50. Diary of Rev. John Wesley Miller, entries for March 4, April 2, and November 11, 1905 (Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library, University of Vermont).
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52. Quoted in PCA, January 17, 1906, p. 4.
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54. Clark, Christian Endeavor, p. 498.
55. See for example R. C. Wylie, "Studies in Christian Citizenship: I. Christian Citizenship Defined," Christian Statesman, December 1906, pp. 346-349; Reverend J. Logan Irvin, "Christian Citizenship Defined," LCO, p. 7.
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58. Editor Levi Gilbert, WCA, quoted in Watchman, October 19, 1905, p. 8.
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71. Ibid., February 19, 1905, p. 1; PNA, February 19, 1905, p. 2; February 21, 1905, p. 1; February 22, 1905, p. 1.
72. Ibid., February 27, 1905, p. 1; February 28, p. 1; PPL, February 28, 1905, p. 1.
73. PNA, February 28, 1905, p. 1; PNA, March 1, 1905, p. 3.
74. The Philadelphia Methodist (March 13, 1905, p. 8) claimed only between 125 and 150, while the North American (March 1, 1905, p. 1) asserted two hundred ministers.
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98. PPL, October 17, 1905, p. 1.
99. Ibid., November 8, 1905, p. 1.
100. Christian Endeavor World, February 1, 1906, p. 362.
101. Unnamed Philadelphia reform newspaper, quoted in editorial, "Reaction to Political Reform," WCA, March 6, 1907, p. 4; ibid., p. 5.

102. "Cat That Stayed Home," "The Cats," p. 13.
103. PPL, March 12, 1908, p. 4; April 13, 1908, p. 1.
104. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp. 386,387; PPL, April 13, 1908, p. 2.
105. Eugene M. Tobin, "The Progressive as Politician: Jersey City, 1896-1907," New Jersey History, Vol. XCI, No. 1 (1973), p. 18
106. See Norman Clark, The Dry Years; Timberlake, Prohibition, p. 7.
107. Ibid., pp. 17,38; Barker, Saloon Problem, pp. 25,77,78,93.
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110. Timberlake, Prohibition, pp. 106,108-112; Patrick G. O'Brien, "Prohibition and the Kansas Progressive Example," Great Plains Quarterly, Vol. VII, No. 4 (1987), p. 220.
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112. Charles Sheldon of In His Steps fame pointed this out (Christian Statesman, April 1906, p. 104).
113. CCA, October 19, 1905, p. 5. The paper asserted that expenses to the city of San Francisco resulting from saloon-bred crime cost ten times the license fees (January 26, 1905, p. 5).
114. "Germantown Cries Halt to the Saloon," PPL, March 3, 1905, p. 2.
115. Timberlake, Prohibition, pp. 133-135. An article in the St. Louis Christian Advocate, "The Missouri Anti-Saloon League: Its Principles, Personnel and Plan of Work" (October 25, 1905), well summarizes the organizational structure and activities of the ASL in Missouri. A tribute to the ASL's effectiveness was also paid by Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular (quoted in WCA, April 24, 1907, p. 1): "The Anti-Saloon League is not a mob of long-haired fanatics as some...have declared, but it is a strongly centralized organization officered by men of unusual ability, financiered by capitalists with very long purses, subscribed to by hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children who are solicited by their various Churches, advised by well-paid attorneys of great ability, and it is working with definite ideas to guide it in every State, in every country, in every city, and in every precinct."
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118. Mayor J. S. Caster to William Sunday, December 20, 1905 (William A. and Helen Sunday papers, UMI microfilm).
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122. PCA, April 4, 1906, p. 9; CCA, April 20, 1905, p. 9.

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125. Lewis L. Gould, Progressives and Prohibitionists: Texas Democrats in the Wilson Era (Austin, Texas, 1973), pp. 25,26.
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127. Hood, "The Collapse of Zion," pp. 145,305.
128. Ibid., pp. 99,100.
129. BHMM, January 1907, p. 5.
130. SG, January 22, 1906, p. 2; WCA, June 28, 1905, p. 8.
131. Alfred B. Rollins, Jr., "Young F. D. R. and the Moral Crusaders," New York History, Vol. XXXVII, No. 1 (January 1956), pp. 3-16.
132. PPL, October 29, 1905, p. 12.
133. SG, October 13, 1906, p. 3; PCA, May 10, 1905; SES, October 29, 1907, p. 5.
134. Stelzle, Son of the Bowery, p. 112.
135. After the closing dinner of a convention in Portland, Maine, addressed by Josiah Strong and Fred B. Smith, a procession of lay and clergymen marched the speakers to the train station. "By some impulse the company stopped and an improvised gospel meeting was kept up until past midnight. The deeps had been stirred..." (Reverend Allyn K. Foster, "The Dream Come True," in Clarence Barbour, ed., Making Religion Efficient, New York, 1912, p. 10).
136. Foster, "The Dream," p. 7.
137. Barbour, Making Religion Efficient, p. 23.
138. Harry G. Lefever, "The Involvement of the Men and Religion Forward Movement in the Cause of Labor Justice, Atlanta, Georgia, 1912-1926," Labor History, Vol. XIV, No. 4 (Fall 1973), p. 521.
139. Lefever, "Involvement," p. 524.
140. Samuel Gompers, "Editorial," American Federationist, October 1912, pp. 828,831; Kenneth Fones-Wolf, "Revivalism and Craft Unionism in the Progressive Era: The Syracuse and Auburn Labor Forward Movements of 1913," New York History, Vol. LXIII, No. 4 (October 1982), pp. 399,404.
141. William Warren Sweet, Revivalism in America, Its Origins, Growth and Decline (New York, 1944), p. 171.

CONCLUSION

Around the outset of the European war the FCC issued a call reminiscent of a decade before, "to unite in prayer for a world-wide Revival of true Religion." The text explained with reference to great awakenings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries:

> To-day our country needs more and greater revivals, revivals more thorough and far-reaching in their results in individual salvation than any in the past, and more complete and permanent in the moral reformation both of individuals and our nation. For the situation in our country is, from a spiritual viewpoint, at a critical stage....The great need is for a change of heart; for a return to the simple virtues of the pious life....[1]

Many crusades launched in spiritual fervor at that time caught on big. But there is no evidence that this appeal led to any large prayer circles or powerful revivals. The FCC was in charge of many causes, bringing the power of the church to bear on social needs, and promoting a "Revival of true religion" appears to have been just one of them. This task had been delegated to the Evangelistic Committee of the FCC, and that committee was attempting to rekindle spiritual fire as committees like it had successfully in 1904.

This appeal must have met with some skepticism. War was on, but not in America. Perhaps Torrey and Chapman had faded, but Billy Sunday was commanding ever-grander masses of hearers and recording unheard-of numbers of conversions.

Revival was his area of expertise; maybe he should take care of that rascal the devil himself, one might be tempted to think. Furthermore, a cause dear to the hearts of revivalists was also making rapid strides around the country: prohibition. For that matter, the church was making strides in many areas. In general, every day and in every way the country was showing a much enlarged heart and a sensitivity to the things of the spirit.

Religious imagery had even dominated the presidential campaign of that protagonist of national efficiency, Theodore Roosevelt. That the battler at Armageddon had lost was no reflection on the power of religious symbols, for the prize had gone to a politicized Presbyterian, Woodrow Wilson. Moreover, his secretary of state was another political revivalist and a battler for righteous causes. The Great Awakening had fully arrived on the political scene. The days of gold Democrats and Mark Hanna must have seemed strange and remote.

Yet the great triumph was about to become a rout. In an amazing turnabout, evangelical Christianity soon not only lost the respect of society's cultural and intellectual leaders, but also fell to vicious internecine warfare. Meanwhile, the cultural consensus that gave Progressivism its footing crumbled. Hopes that a common struggle might preserve unity were placed too heavily on the righteous cause in France. The war to end all wars became the crusade to end all crusades, and when it was over the nation had a nervous

collapse. Thereafter, to borrow Vernon Parrington's label for the Gilded Age, another great barbecue was on.

In the Revival of 1905, two attractive movements had cooperated in a similar stress on the immanent spiritual power of Christianity and its relation to personal and social realities. But the Higher Life and Social Gospel had fallen apart over the linked issues of supernaturalism and individual versus social salvation, and a vocal core of each had rapidly evolved into fundamentalists and modernists. Rather than making peace with each other, the two stressed issues that divided them such as premillennialism and evolution. The evangelical consensus just could not hold together; some doctrines were too important to paper over, and they were the ones gaining prominence.

What went wrong with the evangelical church? Many fingers are pointed at revivalism. "For all their pietistic fervor, modern revivalists have been a primary factor in the increasing secularization of American Protestantism," McLoughlin has contended.[2] From his perspective, evangelists pandered to their hearers' secular desires and confused the message by trying to get it to a low common denominator. They increasingly equated decent Americanism with the sainthood traditionally attained only by conversion. As Mcloughlin commented perhaps too sweepingly concerning Billy Sunday:

> Like all professional evangelists his primary intention was to make the average, respectable citizen give up his bad habits, profess his belief in the fundamentals, and pledge himself to join a church. In

> Sunday's eyes this was not difficult, because the average man was not such a bad fellow at heart....As Sunday saw religion, it was merely 'a question of whether you are interested in decency.'[3]

In the Revival of 1905, however, a very different sort of revivalism had prevailed. Its surge of zeal added a fresh dimension to revivalism, and the apparent arrival of times of refreshing upon the church left many evangelists and their hearers with a sense of awe. For a moment it seemed that the Kingdom of God was at hand. The moral awakening of society around them added to the conviction that evangelism was realizing the Kingdom. At first the enhanced sense of the Holy Spirit freed many preachers from temporal cosmetics to concentrate on preaching the Kingdom and winning souls. The impact of many conversions and an aroused Christian conscience nationwide, ministers thought, would solve even difficult social problems.

By 1907, however, the bloom was off the rose. In that year of Wall Street panic, Walter Rauschenbusch published an alarming challenge to fond evangelistic assumptions in Christianity and the Social Crisis, and many evangelicals quietly agreed with the Baptist theologian. Others were increasingly uneasy. "It is idle; it is fatuous," warned Washington Gladden in October 1907, "to hide from ourselves the fact that we are facing, here in the United States of America, a social crisis. The forces which are at work here --the forces whose operation I have been pointing out--mean destruction."[4] Not all were so alarmed, but perhaps many eyes lost their fire and glazed over relentless statistics

showing that the social problem would either be resolved scientifically, not moralistically, or would not be solved at all. On the other hand, modern methods could solve modern problems, so specialists organized crusades.

Moreover, just about then many evangelicals complained with increasing vigor of a loss of spiritual powers. A 1907 editorial in Presbyterian complained that that denomination's own brotherhood movement was working along social, not spiritual lines. About the same time the magazine passed on complaints that accessions by faith into the Presbyterian church were falling off due to a decline of evangelistic spirit. Also that fall the Presbyterian fussed over the coarseness of that emerging evangelist, Billy Sunday.[5] It was not alone. In September 1907 the Western Christian Advocate devoted a whole page to Sunday for the first time, protesting as "monstrously irreverent" one of his over-casual references to prayer. Editor Gilbert complained concerning him, "One of the outstanding vices of our American life is its irreverence, and anything that tends to break down our remaining stock of reverence is a crime against religion and morality." On the other hand, Gilbert felt constrained to note, an estimated one hundred thousand people had been added to churches in the Midwest through his preaching. His converts stayed converted, most observers said, and he cleaned up towns. The results were nice; if only he would mind his reverence.[6]

The Progressive movement, for its part, seems to have passed a turning point just about that year. The sense of awe at the extent of the people's awakening resembled the Revival, but that had passed, and many Progressives experienced Gladden's unease. On the other hand, in 1907 muckrakers, by Bloomfield's account, began to explore more thoroughly underlying social problems and form new ideas of the role of the state. John Burnham assigned the change to 1907 and 1908 and discerned a shift from defensive criticisms to the positive promise of American life. Similarly McClure's, according to Wilson, passed from a posture of equating reform and obedience to the law, to a new openness to innovative legislation.[7]

So there was rising unease, but also renewed optimism for both evangelicals and Progressives. Testimonies to this are endless. Francis Pickens Miller, who deferred to no one as an idealistic liberal (he ran for the Virginia governorship in 1949 espousing equal rights for blacks), attended the 1913 Student Volunteer convention in Kansas City. "There was present an air or invincible confidence and optimism," he recalled:

> ...which swept many of the delegates out of their narrow and parochial lives and inspired them with a vision of a new heaven and a new earth. For those who were present, this conference in retrospect seemed like the glory of a golden sunset before black darkness descended upon the earth the following summer.[8]

In 1901 optimism and pessimism had mingled, but later Progressive and evangelical optimism rested on the perception of a powerful awakening of the American conscience and

on the perennial faith in progress. If unease now forced evangelicals and Progressives to restudy old problems, optimism enabled them to countenance innovative programs. In the mix they grabbed more tightly for the religious spirit and became mighty crusading armies.

Like Henry May's picture of the guardians of culture then, evangelicals and Progressives were trying to hold too many opposites together: naturalistic and supernaturalistic ideas, a faith in the goodness of man and a gospel essentially denying it, individual and social salvation. They tried to hold heaven and earth together. It was a large part of the Progressive's optimism that the two mingled; in that sense Billy Sunday was a perfect Progressive. Yet scorning doctrine, evangelical and Progressive Americans lacked a blueprint for the bridge taking them from the uplifted individual to the uplifted society. Furthermore, no thinking had been done about how to secure a place for evangelical Protestantism, with its values and symbols, in the emerging secularized, pluralistic society.

This Great Awakening proved to be the last. Yet Progressivism still casts a glow of sorts across the decades of the century it helped launch. The American conscience was at times quite ready to be touched by appeals to justice that recalled a common body of core values derived from religion. For years the reform tradition in America strayed not far from the quest for wholeness and morality that had reached

an apogee with the Progressive Great Awakening and the Revival of 1905.

* * * NOTES TO CONCLUSION * * *

1. Commission on Evangelism, Federal Council of the Churches, "Call to Prayer for a World-wide Revival," n.d. (Presbyterian Historical Society).
2. Ibid., p. 524.
3. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p. 434.
4. Quoted in editorial, "The Present Social Crisis," WCA, October 16, 1907, p. 6.
5. The Presbyterian, November 13, 1907, pp. 5,7; September 25, 1907, p. 4.
6. Editorial, "The 'Rev. Billy Sunday,'" WCA, September 18, 1907, p. 8.
7. Bloomfield, Alarms and Diversions, p. 112; Burnham, Buenker, and Crunden, Progressivism, p. 5; Wilson, McClure's Magazine, p. 151.
8. Francis Pickens Miller, Man From the Valley: Memoirs of a 20th-Century Virginian, (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1971), p. 24.

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