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PROFESSIONAL REVIVALISM IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY OHIO.

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PREFACE

Professor Henry F. May recently suggested that for the study and understanding of American culture, the recovery of American religious history may well be the most important achievement of the last thirty years. A vast and crucial area of American experience has been rescued from neglect and misunderstanding. Puritanism, Edwardsian Calvinism, revivalism, liberalism, modernism, and the social gospel have all been brought down out of the attic and put back in the historical front parlor.¹

Since Ohio shared in the western origins of modern revivalism in the camp meetings of the Second Great Awakening and in each of its major developments during the nineteenth century, it is hoped that the present investigation might make some contribution to the recovery of this facet of American religious history.

Until the past decade, professional revivalism rarely has been the subject of objective research. Its proponents lauded its evangelists and their methods and overestimated its impact. Its critics exaggerated its bizarre aspects and underestimated its significance. Three recent studies have marked a new departure in the analysis and evaluation of revivalism—Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America (New York, 1957), Bernard A. Weisberger, They Gathered At the River (Boston, 1958), and William G. McLoughlin, Jr., Modern Revivalism; Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham (New York, 1959). Their attempt at historical accuracy and impartiality while

analyzing the causes, expressions, and effects of revivalism from a secular rather than a theological viewpoint also has been the objective of this work. It seems obvious today that "unless Christianity is dependent upon propaganda, its case is better served when historians hew to this line as best they can, letting the chips fall where they may."²

In the course of this research into the nature and extent of professional revivalism in nineteenth century Ohio, several overriding facts have become apparent. Ohioans participated significantly in the frontier phase of the Second Great Awakening after 1798 which contributed largely to the methods, emotionalism, and theology of the revivalistic tradition. They became acquainted with itinerant evangelism in the work of Lorenzo Dow during the first decade of the century, and called for the services of nearly every other major revivalist in the years that followed. The local evangelical Protestant churches readily adopted the pattern of annual winter revival meetings and, after the Awakening of 1838, often united their efforts under the direction of professional evangelists in city-wide campaigns. Although by 1900 it became clear to many evangelicals in Ohio that revivalism had demonstrated itself to be neither an effective means of reaching the masses of citizens with the gospel thereby bringing them into the churches, nor a practical method of Christianizing society either by enforcement of the blue laws or by the implementation of the ideas of the social gospel, they continued to perpetuate what had become a vital part of their religious lives into the twentieth century.

²Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform In Mid-Nineteenth-Century America (New York, 1957), 10.
The reconstruction of the story of professional revivalism in Ohio was made possible by the availability of several principal sources of information. The biographies of the evangelists and general histories of the profession provided insight into the nature of each revivalist's ministry and his itinerary in Ohio. Religious periodicals published in the state, histories of Ohio counties, and local city newspapers (most of which could be found in the collection of the Ohio Historical Society) contained the details of their Ohio campaigns. The official membership statistics of the major participating churches gave some indication of effects produced upon them by the large urban revivals.

To the many kind persons who aided in the research and preparation of this volume, I wish to express my sincere appreciation.

Dr. Francis P. Weisenburger patiently directed the research and carefully criticized the manuscript. Numerous librarians made the investigation convenient and enjoyable by their courteous service. Of special assistance were Mr. Conrad Weitzel, reference librarian of the Ohio Historical Society, Miss Jane Gatliff, reference librarian of the inter-library loan division of The Ohio State University, Mrs. Helen Dineen, assistant circulation librarian of the Ohio State Library, Miss Lelia Holloway, reference librarian of Oberlin College, Dr. Elgin S. Moyer, reference librarian of Moody Bible Institute, Mrs. Hilda Wick, assistant reference librarian of Ohio Wesleyan University, and Mrs. Jane Secor, reference librarian of Denison University. Mrs. Laura and Miss Evelyn Bohland most hospitably provided a quiet place in their home to write the manuscript.
My wife, Mariann, was a constant source of encouragement and a tireless helper in preparing the first typed draft.
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CHAPTER I

THE GENESIS OF PROFESSIONAL REVIVALISM
IN THE UNITED STATES

When Jonathan Edwards reflected upon the cause of the First
Great Awakening which had begun in his Northampton, Massachusetts, con­
gregation in December, 1734, he could only conclude:

This work, that has lately been carried on in the land, is the
work of God, and not the work of man. Its beginning has not
been of man's power or device, and its being carried on de­
pends not on our strength or wisdom . . . ."1

However, a century later, when Charles Grandison Finney assessed the re­
vivals of religion in which he had participated from 1825 to 1835, he
concluded that "a revival is the result of the right use of the appro­
priate means" and "is not a miracle, or dependent on a miracle, in any
sense." "It is something for man to do."2

The divergent views on causation taken by these two famous re­
vival figures are indicative of the motivating forces behind the two
types of religious revivals which have been experienced in America.3

1 Jonathan Edwards, The Works of President Edwards, 4 vols.,

2 Charles G. Finney, Lectures on Revivals of Religion (Boston, 1848), 9, 12.

3 Calvin Colton, History and Character of American Revivals of
Religion (London, 1832), 2-15, 30ff. As a contemporary of Finney, Colton
recognized a difference between the Edwardsean revivals in which the
human instrumentalities were not obvious and the revivals from 1810 to
1835 in which they were.
The first type has been distinguished as the "great awakening." Great awakenings are widespread and basically spontaneous movements occurring in periods of reexamination and redefinition of the nation's social and intellectual values as tradition and change are brought into a new balance. Only four great awakenings are discernible in American history—1725 to 1750, 1795 to 1835, 1875 to 1915, and the most recent beginning by 1945 and still in progress. These show very little, if any, evidence of conscious human production, nor have social crises automatically induced them. Nevertheless, several circumstances have characterized the eras in which they have occurred. First, there is a significant theological reorientation within the churches which is linked invariably with a general intellectual readjustment throughout secular society. Second, an ecclesiastical conflict connected to this reorientation, in which strong personalities play a major part, takes place. Third, an especially "grave sense of social and spiritual cleavage both within the churches and between the churches and the world which flows from the welling up of pietistic dissatisfaction with the prevailing order" is apparent. A final essential ingredient for a great awakening is a sense by the unchurched within society that Christianity offers some valid, basic answers to the perplexities of the contemporary transitional setting, both on the individual and the corporate levels.4

The second type of religious revival has been classified as the "professional revival." Professional revivals are characterized by series of meetings which, by the calculated employment of an itinerant

evangelist and certain special measures, are designed to create a religious climate within a church or community in which Christians will renew their devotion and non-Christians will be converted. By implication, such professional revivals can be produced at any given place and at any given time by "the right use of the appropriate means." Often being planned months and even years in advance, they lack the spontaneity of great awakenings. Professional revivalism has played some role in each of the great awakenings, but did not overcome the Calvinistic prejudice against man-made revivals and become institutionalized until the Second Great Awakening at the turn of the nineteenth century.5

The hundred years after 1725 witnessed the rise of professional revivalism, as the prevailing theology of American Protestantism underwent a tedious, controversial shift from Calvinism to Arminianism. Although the First Great Awakening was not manufactured by the preconceived methods of professional revivalists, the evangelical Calvinism which Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield preached, drove an opening wedge for the introduction of pietism into Calvinistic circles. From that time on the pietistic doctrine of the priesthood of all believers and an emphasis upon the emotional, devotional, and ascetic aspects of religion--indispensable elements in the evolution of revivalism--began to find a wider acceptance in place of the intellectual, ritualistic and ethical.6 However, the taproots of Calvinism went to the very heart of the theology of the Baptist, Presbyterian, and Congregationalist Churches

5Ibid., 8, 9.

6Ibid.
(three of the most active denominations in later revivalism), and no-
thing short of the challenges which these denominations faced after the
American revolution could bring them to accept the doctrines and tech-
niques of professional revivalism which were employed during and after
the Second Great Awakening.

The basic lines of conflict between Calvinism and revivalism
were clearly drawn. They were election against free grace; lethargy
against activism. Any attempt to produce a revival atmosphere in order
to convert the unsaved, by rigid Calvinistic standards, was to tamper
with God's sovereignty concerning the predestination of the elect by im-
plying that sinners could somehow achieve salvation by the mere exercise
of their wills in deciding to believe on Christ. The Confession of
Faith of the Presbyterian Church was explicit in its assertions that
sinful man had no power to save himself by an act of his own will, that
Christ's atonement applied only to the few who were foreordained to be
saved, and that the salvation of sinners was the exclusive and super-
natural work of the Spirit of God.

Man, by his fall into a state of sin, hath wholly lost all
ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation;
so as a natural man, being altogether averse from that good,
and dead in sin, is not able, by his own strength, to convert
himself, or to prepare himself thereunto.

All those whom God hath predestined unto life, and those
only, he is pleased, in his appointed and accepted time, effec-
tually to call, by his word and Spirit, out of that state of
sin and death, in which they are by nature, to grace and sal-
vation by Jesus Christ; . . .

This effectual call is of God's free and special grace
alone, not from any thing at all foreseen in man, who is
altogether passive therein, until, being quickened and renewed by the Holy Spirit, he is thereby enabled to answer this call.

Jacob Knapp, one of the earliest Baptist revivalists, recalled that before the Second Great Awakening

our fathers taught that an attempt to instruct an inquirer, or plead with an impenitent person, would be a presumptuous interference with the inscrutable purposes of God. When God wanted to convict or convert a sinner, he knew where to find him, and how to do it, without the intervention of human effort; and in his own "good time" he would, in his own way, bring his elect into the fold.

Because of this, it was thought wrong to "exhort sinners to repentance" or to urge one's own children to pray. The standard argument was: "If my child, or neighbor, or friend is one of the elect, God will regenerate him without human intervention; and if he is not one of the elect, no human efforts will avail." Therefore, the churches waited for revivals "as men are wont to wait for showers of rain, without ever imagining, that any duty was incumbent on them as instrumentalities."³

Admittedly, the First Great Awakening had occurred almost entirely within the confines of this Calvinistic tradition. Protracted meekings and the anxious seat were unheard of, and the normal preaching and praying of the regular Sunday and mid-week services constituted the bulk of the means employed.⁹ But various factors combined in the post-revolutionary period to make these ultra-conservative ideas seem

³The Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (New York, 1850), 669, 670.

³Jacob Knapp, Autobiography of Elder Jacob Knapp (Boston, 1868), 38, 39; Colton, op. cit., 4.

increasingly untenable and the need for the promotion of a revival more compelling. As the revival fires of the first awakening died, by 1800 the churches faced what has been described as the lowest ebb tide of vitality in the history of American Christianity. Church membership was declining. In 1790, only 10 per cent of the population were church members. At the outbreak of the western camp meetings in 1800, only one out of every fifteen persons belonged to an evangelical church. The Protestant Episcopal Church was in such straits that even some of the bishops felt that it would become extinct as the old colonial families died out. The Presbyterians also had reason for concern. Their college at Princeton, which had been an evangelical center a generation before, in 1782 could boast but two students who professed to be Christians. Furthermore, even the evangelistic-minded Baptists and Methodists were experiencing similar spiritual and numerical declension.

Heading the list of challenges which faced the American churches in the post-revolutionary period was that of infidelity, especially in the form of Deism. The ideas of French and English rationalists had gained an eager hearing among the so-called "Illuminati" throughout the United States. Many of the recognized leaders of the American Revolution and Republic were attracted by this religion of reason. The hero at

12Grover C. Loud, Evangelized America (New York, 1928), 195.
Ticonderoga, Ethan Allen, wrote *Reason the Only Oracle of Man* in 1784 and Thomas Paine, the pamphleteer-laureate of the revolution, penned *The Age of Reason* in 1794 as unblushing assaults upon revealed religion. Also, all of the new converts were made to feel at home in the comradeship offered by the newly-founded Democratic-Republican party under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson. Of even more concern to some was the fact that Deism was in vogue in the church colleges. As a student in 1795, Lyman Beecher, later a leader of the conservative revival forces in the East, described Yale College as a most ungodly place where "wine and liquors were kept in many rooms; intemperance, profanity, gambling, and licentiousness were common." He also later recalled that Tom Paine was a great favorite among the students and that "most of the class before me were infidels, and called each other Voltaire, Rousseau, D'Alembert, etc., etc." The very excitement of the righteous indignation of such men as Beecher and Timothy Dwight, Yale president after 1795, over these conditions was evidence that a great awakening could be in the offing on the East coast.

A threat of another kind came to the established churches as voluntary religious affiliation became evident as an ideal of the revolution to be implemented in the newly-independent states. In 1776, nine of the American colonies had had an established church, the Congregational in

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three New England colonies and the Anglican in five Southern colonies and New York. The fight for complete disestablishment came first from the Baptists who were joined at the close of the war by the Presbyterians, Methodists, and even the Deists as the idea of a man's right to choose which religion, if any, he would support was considered of critical importance to complete liberty. Although the Congregationalist church held on until 1833 in Massachusetts, the fulfillment of the ideal was gradually attained in all of the states. Separation of church and state itself was symptomatic of the fundamental decline in the status which the churches and the clergy held in the public consciousness. The clergy of all of the churches began to realize that in such a situation of Deistic infidelity and religious voluntarism some practical method had to be found to procure members by choice and experience, in order to insure their organizations against an early demise. Revivalism offered the method, but many accepted it with mixed emotions.

Revivalism also presented a solution to the final major problem facing the American churches in the late 1700's, the unevangelized frontier. To the back country from Maine to the Mississippi Valley, people were streaming from the eastern seaboard in search of cheap land and an

17 Sweet, op. cit., 189-193.

18 J. Franklin Jameson, The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement (Boston, 1961), 83-90.

19 Weisberger, op. cit., 8-10.

20 Winthrop S. Hudson, American Protestantism (Chicago, 1961), 79.
The hardships of the rugged frontier soon produced a crude, boisterous and irreverent folk whose character was notoriously stereotyped in the minds of Easterners. In reality, even the most recent settlements usually contained a few pious individuals upon whom hardy missionaries could begin to erect the first vestiges of a Christian community. It was among these rustic, socially famished pioneers that the camp meeting found its first welcome reception and, in the caldron of their independent, democratic spirit, that the transition from Calvinistic to Arminian views was the most rapid and the most complete. Although the Methodist Church was only thirty-five years old in the United States in 1800, it was the best prepared denomination to meet the challenge of the frontier because it already had accepted the basic tenets of Arminianism and was employing the circuit-rider technique to reach the scattered rural populace. The Congregational and Presbyterian Churches marshalled their best efforts for the mission beyond the Allegheny Mountains by their cooperation in the "Plan of Union" arrangement of 1801. Under this agreement between the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the Congregational Association of Connecticut, ministers of one denomination could serve churches of the other without disrupting the affiliation of either. Nevertheless, neither the

21 See Ray A. Billington, Westward Expansion (New York, 1949) and Stewart Holbrook, Yankee Exodus (New York, 1950) for extended treatments of this westward movement.


24 Beardsley, op. cit., 108.
"Presbygationals" nor the Baptists were as well suited by church polity or theology to reach the frontiersmen as were the Methodists. In fact, the preachers of the former churches soon found themselves putting aside church prejudice and mutually cooperating with the heirs of Wesley in an all-out assault upon Satan's kingdom in the West.  

Inadvertently, in the enthusiastic camp meetings in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio from 1795 to 1810, the optimistic, "free-will" theology of the Methodists was preached right along side the Calvinistic predestination ideas of the Presbyterians and Baptists. While the preachers concentrated all their efforts on winning converts in the heated emotional atmosphere of the encampments, they unconsciously began to lay aside the fine points of their theologies, and, as a result, the conflicting views began to amalgamate. Furthermore, as the Second Great Awakening wore on after 1800, it became increasingly apparent that its early spontaneity was being replaced by the more artificial measures of producing religious enthusiasm, which eventually were systematized by Charles Finney into the mechanism of modern professional revivalism.

An Eastern and a Western phase of the Second Great Awakening, therefore, came to national attention by 1800 as the American churches responded to the late eighteenth century challenges of infidelity, religious voluntarism, and the pagan frontier. In the process, the prevailing Calvinistic tradition underwent a distinct modification toward


26McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 12.
Arminianism and pietism, most notable among the Baptists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists, which set the stage for the introduction of professional revivalism and the professional itinerant evangelist.

The very nature of religious experience on the frontier became an integral element of the evolving revivalism. The bulk of the preaching there centered upon the guilt and ultimate damnation of sinners unless they should repent, believe in the atonement through Christ, and thus be "born again."27 The concept of a process in conversion from guilt and despair to hope and assurance was nothing new among the evangelical churches (the Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist), but it was novel that this should take place within the brief scope of a single meeting. The telescoping of the time required for conversion intensified the emotions. On the frontier this meant that men and women who had pent up their feelings in the rough life of the threatening wilderness could find a legitimate outlet in the revival meeting. Furthermore, the experience was exclusively one's own because, although conversion "came about suddenly and publicly and under excruciating emotional pressure," it was for each one a personal change of heart.28 Little wonder, then, that the revival in the West witnessed physical and emotional phenomena unheard-of before in America. Tears were the least of the expression. All types of jerking, falling, dancing, running, shrieking, and barking exercises were common even among those folks who

27 Beardsley, op. cit., 98. The term "born again" is based upon Jesus' command to Nicodemus; John 3:3.

28 Weisberger, op. cit., 21, 26-29.
had merely come to observe or even to scoff at such antics.\textsuperscript{29} The revivalism that was being produced during the first years of the nineteenth century would always cling to the theology which made individual choice of crucial importance to conversion, but the emotional aspect would be considerably modified under the more businesslike, yet sentimental, approach of the later itinerants.

Nearly as important as the conversion facet for the rise of professional revivalism were certain innovations during the Second Awakening which led to the concept that "revivals" could be produced by the use of proper means. In the New England wing of the awakening before 1815, there were no protracted meetings, anxious seats, or "any attempt to influence the unconverted to commit themselves in public as seekers after religion." The only extra services in that religion were occasional prayer meetings on weekdays or Sundays.\textsuperscript{30} The "new measures" were first noticed on the southwestern frontier. One of the earliest of these, the protracted meeting, grew out of the natural setting of the backwoods. Since buildings to house large crowds were lacking, and since, in order to attend the Quarterly Sacramental meetings, people had to travel more miles than they could return easily after the services, open-air, three- to-four-day camp meetings became popular. The idea of holding a series

\textsuperscript{29}Cleveland, op. cit., 112. For a full discussion of these phenomena see ibid., 87-127, 165-205; Richard McNemar, The Kentucky Revival, 64-68; and John P. MacLean, "The Kentucky Revival and Its Influence on the Miami Valley," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, XII (1903), 248. For an attempt to account for these displays in natural terms see Frederick M. Davenport, Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals (New York, 1917), 216-245.

\textsuperscript{30}Beardsley, op. cit., 96, 97.
of "revival" meetings in the local churches in the villages developed from these. Often two or three local pastors, and a home missionary or itinerant evangelist, if available, united to direct these "revivals." The purpose of protracted meetings was to create, by concentrated effort, a renewed interest among church members and to attract sinners in order to secure their conversion. These early revivals have been characterized as consisting of

... a continuous series of meetings for preaching, prayer, and talking with the anxious from sunrise to midnight with time out only to eat and sleep. When the churches in a town began a protracted meeting, pious businessmen and shopkeepers closed their stores, wives dropped their household duties, farmers left their fields, and everybody concentrated on the task of saving souls, first their own, then their children's and neighbors'.

Although there was sentiment among many of the more conservative brethren that these measures were "disastrous to the true interests of the churches, and the grounds on which they were advocated were repudiated as positively antagonistic to the standards of doctrinal orthodoxy," the work went on.  

Along with the protracted meeting and the idea that conscientious effort could be the means of making saints out of the village ruffians went the use of the "anxious seat." Charles G. Finney, one of the

31 McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 92, 93. McLoughlin follows the lead of Johnson, op. cit., 28ff. in tracing the protracted meeting farther back to seventeenth century rural Scotland and to the Quarterly Conferences of the Methodists in eighteenth century England. Charles Finney, Lectures on Revivals, 242, contends that they existed "in some form or other, ever since there was a church on earth."

32 McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism; 92, 93.

first itinerant revivalists of the Presbyterian Church, described these as "some particular seat in the place of meeting, where the anxious may come and be addressed particularly, and be made subjects of prayer, and sometimes conversed with individually." The value of such a method was described variously as getting people to acknowledge in public their conviction of sin, "to detect deception and delusion, and thus prevent false hopes," to test the character of the seeker, and to encourage others who were anxious. It was the technique which brought the sinner to the point of immediate decision concerning whether he would accept salvation through Christ or continue in his sins. All of the evangelistic sermon built up to this crisis situation and, if the preacher had been effective, hardly an unregenerated person in the building could resist the appeal to come forward. The anxious seat was supposedly first used in a Methodist camp meeting in New York City in the winter of 1806-1807, in which the congregation had become so large that in order to pray and counsel with seekers effectively they were called forward to sit on vacated seats. This usage became known among the Methodists as the "mourner's bench," was adopted gradually by the other evangelical churches and, by 1835, was an indispensable part of revivalism.

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34 Charles Finney, Lectures on Revivals, 246, 247.
35 Ibid., 247.
36 Beardsley, op. cit., 173.
37 Ibid., 194.
38 McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 94, 95.
With the introduction of such reliable new measures for the production of religious "revivals," the final ingredient for truly professional revivalism could not be long in coming. It appeared in the form of the itinerant evangelist who both mastered the old and liberally created new means by which a high tide of religious emotion and a goodly number of converts could be produced wherever he went. His forerunner was the weather-beaten Methodist circuit-rider whose Arminian views and perpetual revival emphasis had permeated the West. Although the Methodists contributed no professional revivalists to the field before 1850, except Lorenzo Dow, John N. Maffitt, and James Caughey, in effect each of their circuit-riders was an itinerant evangelist who unwittingly impressed indelible marks upon the developing professional revivalism of the age. 39

They brought the supernatural world close for everyone to sense. Dreams might have special meanings and it was not thought strange if one should hear unexplained voices or open the Bible to passages which had particular relevance to one's future. 40 The Methodist pastors-on-horseback also perfected the emotional aspects of preaching. If properly executed, the content of the expositiorially-presented sermon would produce shouts of joy and tears of remorse from the saints and sinners of the enthralled audience. Since the conversion experience of many of these preachers was surrounded by all sorts of emotional phenomena, they, and the later revivalists, usually expected their converts to be "born


40 Weisberger, op. cit., 47, illustrates this in the experience of Lorenzo Dow, Peter Cartwright, James Finley, and Jacob Young who were all active in Ohio.
again" in the same manner. And finally, the Methodist circuit-riders were practical, plain talking men. They spoke on the ungrammatical level of the frontiersman and they drove their points home with sledgehammer blows, not by the meticulous arguments of systematic theology. Extensive formal education was lacking from their credentials, and inadvertently, the impression grew that a real difference existed between the "evangelistic" ministry and the "educated" ministry. Since most of the later professional revivalists lacked seminary training, the division thus engendered was always a permanent fixture of revivalism in America. Eventually, this concept was carried a step farther to imply that the laity itself might become the initiator of revivals, as in the 1857-58 prayer meeting revival which paved the way for the 1875-1915 awakening with its prominent lay evangelist Dwight L. Moody.

Beginning with this Methodist circuit-rider influence, then, a series of characteristics which the rising professional revivalists shared in common can be discerned. Almost without exception, they have experienced an emotional religious crisis in which they have been assured of their personal salvation and from which point they have turned from a

41 For example, see the conversion experiences of James B. Finley, Peter Cartwright, and Jacob Young in James B. Finley, Autobiography of Rev. James B. Finley, or, Pioneer Life in the West, edited by W. P. Strickland (Cincinnati, 1859), 167-181; Peter Cartwright, Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, The Backwoods Preacher, edited by W. P. Strickland (New York, 1856), 37, 38; and Jacob Young, Autobiography of a Pioneer (Cincinnati, 1857), 41-43.

42 Weisberger, op. cit., 48, 49.

life of sin into righteousness. They have often made a quick transition from a secular profession to the itinerant ministry without the delays of seminary education. Hence, Charles Finney moved rapidly from the courtroom and William ("Billy") Sunday from the baseball diamond to the pulpit. Samuel P. Jones ridiculed seminaries by dubbing them "cemeteries." This, in part, explains the frequent departure of the revivalists from the theology of the seminaries in the early nineteenth century and their failure to wrestle objectively with the challenges of Biblical criticism, social problems, and scientific discoveries as the century drew to a close. When they have used the poor English of the masses, however, it generally has been as a technique rather than as a product of little education, as with the early circuit-rider. In personality, the revivalists have been colorful extroverts with a strong individualistic bent. Many have had some kind of eccentricity which they have cultivated as a means to attract and maintain attention. The piercing eyes of Charles Finney, the course language of Samuel P. Jones, and the fact that Rodney Smith was actually a Gypsy were crowd-drawing assets. They have been restless men of great energy and considerable capacities for work during their haydays. They have maintained speaking and traveling schedules that would have prostrated less vigorous men. Some, like Dwight L. Moody and Benjamin Fay Mills, were excellent organizers. In certain cases, this, coupled with their domineering spirit, has led revivalists to supersede pastors whom they supposedly have come to assist in revival efforts. Some of the earliest criticism came to them on
The itinerant, by his own nature and the dogmatic, pointed character of his message and mannerisms, has often been a controversial figure. Not infrequently criticism has come, even from within the Christian community, because of his methods rather than his message. Whatever his methods, however, each of the revivalists has followed the major precedents of an expositoially presented sermon, freighted with emotion, and designed to achieve immediate decisions for Christ among the audience.

As they have been similar in personal traits, so the professional revivalists have held to common ideas. They have accepted a modified Calvinism, or an outright Arminianism, which has permitted them to broadcast the gospel of salvation through Christ to everyone, with the faith that anyone accepting this message will be saved. But, if salvation lay in man's acceptance of God's free gift, this has not upset their concept of God's sovereignty. They have shared a faith in the infinite power of Providence. All events have seemed to them to be the expression of a comprehensive plan embracing all people and all times. Before the Civil War, most of the revivalists thought of this plan in very optimistic terms as they linked American religious and material progress to the idea of the coming of the Biblical millennium. Early in the 1830's, Charles Finney suggested to his New York parishioners that "if the church will do her duty, the millenium [sic] may come in this country in three

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44See, for example, Heman Humphrey, Revival Sketches and Manual (New York, 1859), 212.

45Cole, op. cit., 231-238, discusses the similar beliefs of the Northern evangelists.
years.\textsuperscript{46} Two decades later, Albert Barnes, the revivalistic pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia for forty years, concurred that "Christianity never had so firm a hold on the intelligent faith of mankind as it has now. It will extend its triumphs until the world—the whole world—shall be converted to the Savior."\textsuperscript{47} However, the increasing complexity of modern life and the breakdown of traditional beliefs and values disillusioned revivalists in the post-war era. By the time of the campaigns of Moody after 1875, revivalism evidenced the pessimism of the premillennial doctrine that unaided human effort would never succeed in reforming the world, but rather that morality would sink lower and lower until the second advent of Christ which would usher in the new age.\textsuperscript{48} Moody went so far as to assert that

the word of God nowhere tells me to watch and wait for the coming of the millennium, but for the coming of the Lord. I don't find any place where God says the world is to grow better and better, and that Christ is to have a spiritual reign on earth of a thousand years. I find that the earth is to grow worse and worse and that at length there is going to be a separation of the saved from the unsaved at Christ's return.\textsuperscript{49}

That God has a master plan went unchallenged by Moody and his successors, but the assessment of it had modified under the conditions of the new era.

Although many of the characteristics common to revivalists came from the frontier, the first generally recognized American itinerant

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\textsuperscript{46}Quoted in McLoughlin, \textit{Modern Revivalism}, 105.

\textsuperscript{47}Albert Barnes, \textit{Life At Three-Score} (2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1859), 75.

\textsuperscript{48}McLoughlin, \textit{Modern Revivalism}, 257.

\textsuperscript{49}W. H. Daniels, \textit{Moody, His Words} (New York, 1877), 474, as quoted in McLoughlin, \textit{Modern Revivalism}, 258.
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evangelist, Asahel Nettleton, represents the East.\textsuperscript{50} For this reason, he, as well as three of his contemporary New England Protestant leaders, Yale College President Timothy Dwight, theologian Nathaniel Taylor, and revivalist-pastor Lyman Beecher, is a transitional figure between rank Calvinism and the Arminian-oriented, "new measure" revivalism.\textsuperscript{51} An "interval of partial suspension" had been discernible in the Second Great Awakening in the East from 1805 to 1814, but "about 1814, . . ., the clouds, laden with their rich refreshings, began to gather over more of the churches," and during this resurgence Asahel Nettleton demonstrated the career possibilities in becoming an expert in revivalistic technique.\textsuperscript{52}

Nettleton was born in 1783, the eldest son of Half-Way Covenant Congregationalist parents in North Killingworth, Connecticut.\textsuperscript{53} When a series of revivals swept through his home town in 1800, the quiet, unassuming teenager became concerned about where he would spend eternity and was converted. His immediate impulse and continuing conviction was to become a foreign missionary. However, because of his outstanding

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{50}William Warren Sweet, Revivalism In America (New York, 1944), 127.
\item \textsuperscript{51}Weisberger, op. cit., 63.
\item \textsuperscript{52}Humphrey, op. cit., 207.
\item \textsuperscript{53}Bennet Tyler, Memoir of the Life and Character of Rev. Asahel Nettleton, D.D. (Hartford, Connecticut, 1844), is a biography by a friend of Nettleton. Sketches of his life can be found in Weisberger, op. cit., 64-69; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 32-34; Phineas C. Headley, Evangelists in the Church (Boston, 1875), 112-127; Beardsley, op. cit., 110-117; and Humphrey, op. cit., 209-251.
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school debts after graduating from Yale in 1809, he was forced to refuse an offer to join a mission group bound for India. Not wishing to take a settled pastorate and thereby lose other opportunities to leave for foreign mission work after the bills were paid, Nettleton accepted a license from the Congregationalist West Association of New Haven, Connecticut, and began itinerating "in the desolate and neglected districts in Eastern Connecticut and Rhode Island" in much the manner of the western Methodist circuit-rider. Such successful revivals followed his ministry in the various churches that this became his mission field. From 1812 to 1822, when an attack of typhus brought a forced retirement for two years, he held revival services throughout New England, New York and New Jersey. After 1825, he made annual winter pilgrimages to Virginia and North Carolina in an attempt to preserve his health, preaching enroute as much as possible. Although he was in virtual retirement after 1831, in 1839 his contribution in the field of evangelism was recognized with the granting of Doctor of Divinity degrees from Jefferson College in Pennsylvania and Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia. He had initiated the novel profession of the itinerant revivalist and had done much to make it respectable.

The secret of this fact lies in the theology and manner of Nettleton himself. He has been described as an "uncompromising Calvinist, holding, without the Antinomian element, with deepest conviction, the

54 Weisberger, op. cit., 64, 65.
55 Beardsley, op. cit., 112.
56 Headley, op. cit., 119, 120.
doctrines of grace as presented in the Edwardian system of theology. He was jealous of the least departure from them." For this reason, although he preached an evangelistic message designed to make people concerned about their soul's welfare, "he never encouraged hope, but warned converts of the danger of self-deception, and dwelt much upon the distinguishing marks of genuine conversion." Whenever he spoke of those who had responded in his meetings, he referred to them as "hopeful" converts, and he did not urge the churches immediately to extend membership to these individuals. After a Nettleton meeting in Lee, Massachusetts in 1821, the pastor testified that none of the eighty-six converts had been "admitted under two to three months after they began to hope they had passed from death unto life . . . ." By a wise use of tact, meekness, and piety, Nettleton managed to escape the later prevalent charge that itinerant revivalists superseded and even undermined the influence of the pastors where they held meetings. By working in close harmony with the pastors, he always seemed to introduce his revival methods in such a diplomatic way that they would gain acceptance without lowering the status of the pastor himself. In fact, he did not encourage ministers and churches to "get up a revival," but rather to send for him only if there were certain indications of an increased religious concern which might be stimulated by the use of the proper means.

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57 Ibid., 122.
58 Ibid., 116.
59 Humphrey, op. cit., 231.
60 Beardsley, op. cit., 117.
Some of the means which he employed were innovations, but again tempered by his own conservative nature. Extemporaneous preaching, but lacking the emotional flare of the circuit-rider and later revivalists, and prayer headed the list of his measures. At a revival in Pittsfield, Massachusetts in 1821, he preached three times on Sundays, held lectures preceded by prayer services on two weekday evenings, and conducted additional services in the "outdistricts."\(^{61}\) His less conventional methods included house-to-house visitation and inquiry meetings. He was a pioneer in the use of each of these and may have been the first to initiate special meetings for "anxious inquirers."\(^{62}\) In the Pittsfield revival these were held each Monday evening while the rest of the congregation was in a prayer service.\(^{63}\) In the inquiry service, Nettleton had an opportunity to assess the state of the revival and to give instruction and counsel to those who were seeking salvation. It was such an effective technique that it became popular as a chief tool of the later revivalists who finally held such a service at the conclusion of each sermon to gather in the harvest.

This was not the only precedent set by Nettleton which was perpetuated by his successors. He made it a practice to keep a list of the names of those hopefully converted in his meetings in order to check on

\(^{61}\)Humphrey, \textit{op. cit.}, 250.

\(^{62}\)He was using inquiry meetings by 1817. See \textit{ibid.}, 343, 344.

\(^{63}\)\textit{Ibid.}, 250.
their progress when he passed their way again.64 By the inventiveness of later men, this idea was converted into asking seekers to sign cards themselves for the purposes of assessing the worth of the revival by the number of converts it produced and of handing the cards to various pastors for follow-up work. Nettleton also realized that singing had a great deal to do with the creation of a revival atmosphere and that certain songs contributed more than others. Therefore, during his forced inactivity from 1822 to 1824, after his attack of typhoid fever, he compiled a book of "Village Hymns" which could be used in his revival meetings.65 Repeatedly in the years to come revivalists followed this example and insisted that their "special" songbooks be used during their revivals to help create just the right religious feeling. By 1857, these songbooks could be filled with the actual "Gospel Hymns" which had slowly evolved in the camp meetings as "rough and irregular couplets or stanzas were put together out of Scriptural phrases and every-day speech with a liberal interspersing of hallelujahs and refrains." The spontaneity of such out-of-door type singing, which sometimes "would become incoherent and be just a common 'singing ecstasy' that rocked the rows upon rows of worshippers," eventually had been captured in the campmeeting songbooks from which the revivalists drew freely when compiling their own hymnals.66 In 1831, Nettleton set a final example for his successors

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64 Charles L. Thompson, Times of Refreshing. A History of American Revivals from 1740 to 1877 (Chicago, 1877), 115.

65 Headley, op. cit., 119.

66 Loud, op. cit., 118, 119.
when he journeyed to England. Such international contact was a nearly universal characteristic of American professional revivalists by the end of the century.

If Nettleton, by his itinerant revivalism and associated techniques, had modified somewhat the accepted usage within Congregationalism, he himself stood in open hostility to the theology and "new measures" of his immediate successor, Charles Grandison Finney. Unlike Nettleton, Finney had been reared on the western frontier of New York and brought together the lay-directed pietistic fervor of the West and the respectable, seminary-bred religious enthusiasm of New England. His intellectual qualities permitted him to "stand between the plain-spoken prophets of Cumberland Presbyterianism and such graduate theologians as Lyman Beecher and Nathaniel Taylor." Finney had his crisis religious experience in 1821 and, by 1824 was a rising star on the religious horizon, just as Nettleton's career was in serious decline. Nettleton

67 Headley, loc. cit.

finally formally challenged the bold Arminianism and the pungently effective revival methods of the Presbyterian Finney, but the latter came off unscathed and went on to solidify both his message and his measures into the foundation of professional revivalism. In many respects he was the most important figure in professional revivalism and opened a new phase of American church history. 69

In 1794, when Charles Finney was two years old, his parents took him from Litchfield County, Connecticut, to the wilderness which was then Oneida County in central New York. After a short time the restless family followed the pioneers to the southern shore of Lake Ontario in Jefferson County, New York, where Charles lived until he was twenty years old. 70 Neither parent was a professor of religion, and the seldom sermons which he heard were by "some traveling minister, or some miserable holding forth of an ignorant" local preacher. Until he was about sixteen years old he attended the primitive "common school" on the frontier and then was given charge of one of the district schools in the area. 71

By the time he was twenty, the tall, slender young man with the piercing blue eyes and sandy hair set out for his native town of Warren, Connecticut, and the completion of an academy education. 72 After finishing this discipline he might have gone on to Yale except for the dissuasion of

69 McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 11, and Weisberger, op. cit., 86.

70 Wright, op. cit., 2, 3.

71 Finney, Memoirs, 4, 5.

72 This description of the young Finney is given by McLoughlin in his introduction to Charles Finney, Lectures on Revivals, viii.
his teacher, a Yale graduate, who assured him that he could master the curriculum of that institution in two years on his own. Therefore, he began teaching school in New Jersey and engaging in private study. However, the course of his professional life was altered when, on his first visit to see his parents in four years, he witnessed the ill health of his mother. This made him decide to take up the study of law, in 1818, under Benjamin Wright in Adams, New York, a few miles from his parents' home. After the accepted time he was licensed as a lawyer.\(^7\)

The fact that Finney was once again back in the revival-prone "burned-over district" of the New York back country had a cataclysmic and permanent effect upon his life and career.\(^7\) In the interval between his admission to the bar and the autumn of 1821 when he was twenty-nine years old, he began attending a weekly prayer meeting near his office. He also started to attend the Presbyterian Church where the Calvinistically indoctrinated Princeton graduate, Rev. George W. Gale, was pastor, and became active as the director of the church choir. However, the skeptical young lawyer, who had told Rev. Gale that the latter seemed to him "to begin in the middle of his discourse, and to assume many things which," to his mind, "needed to be proved," gave no indication, as far as the pastor was able to detect, that he would ever be converted.\(^7\) Rev. Gale

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\(^7\) Finney, Memoirs, 4, 5, and Wright, op. cit., 4.


\(^7\) Finney, Memoirs, 7.
even counseled his parishioners against special prayer on Finney's behalf.76

The influence which brought Finney to buy his first Bible and begin its perusal was the frequent reference to the Scriptures which he came across in his study of elementary law. Although after extended conversation with Rev. Gale concerning the meaning of faith and repentance the critical Finney was still not convinced of the truth of the Christian Gospel, he did finally arrive at the conclusion that "if the soul was immortal I needed a great change in my inward state to be prepared for happiness in heaven."77 The doubts and fears of such a proposition had agitated him for some time when, in contemplating why the people at the Adams prayer meeting never seemed to receive any answers, he concluded that they were not meeting the conditions of faith set forth in the Scriptures which God would honor with forthright answers. This led his logically-trained mind on to suppose that God would answer believing prayer and that, therefore, the Bible must be true.78 He was now prepared to make a frontal assault upon the mercies of God for an answer with regards to preparing his soul for heaven.

It was an October Sunday evening in 1821 when the anxious Finney resolved that "I would settle the question of my soul's salvation at once."79 He abridged his duties in the law office in order to give

76Wright, op. cit., 4, 5.
77Finney, Memoirs, 9.
78Ibid., 10, 11.
79The account of Finney's conversion is taken from ibid., 12-23.
himself to Bible reading and prayer, but by the following Wednesday morning he was greatly agitated over his failure to find forgiveness for his sins. As he walked to the office that morning, an idea dawned upon him which would remain as a permanent element of his basic theology—"Gospel salvation seemed to me to be an offer of something to be accepted; and that it was full and complete; and that all that was necessary on my part, was to get my own consent to give up my sins, and accept Christ." Over a hill just north of Adams lay a seclude' woods and to this retreat Finney decided immediately to go, resolving to himself as he went that "I will give my heart to God, or I never will come down from there." After nearly despairing of keeping such a resolution, he overcame his fear that someone would see him praying in the woods, and reassuring passages of Scripture began to come to his mind which he finally seized upon in faith and found that his mind became "wonderfully quiet and peaceful." The relief which he felt was so poignant that, without waiting to contemplate if he had actually been converted, he found himself on the road back to Adams where he was seized with a new fear.80

Since he no longer was anxious over his sins or his soul's destiny, Finney began to conclude that he must have made some demands upon God in the woods which had driven the Holy Spirit from him. It was noon when he arrived back at the law office, but he had no appetite, and when the others went home at closing time he decided to stay on and pray. It was during the hours that followed that the full emotional impact of his

80Ibid., 14-17.
commitment in the woods struck. As he said good night to Benjamin Wright and turned back into the darkened room behind the front office, it appeared to him to be full of light and "it seemed as if I met the Lord Jesus Christ face to face." Although he later recognized that this was "wholly a mental state," under the impression of the moment he fell down before the figure and wept aloud confessing his sins. After a period of time he got to his feet and was about to sit down by the fireplace when, as he later recalled, "the Holy Spirit descended upon me in a manner that seemed to go through me, body and soul. I could feel the impression, like a wave of electricity, going through and through me. Indeed it seemed to come in waves and waves of liquid love . . . ." And so into late evening, as he "literally bellowed out the unutterable gushings" of his heart, wave after wave came over him until he finally cried out that he would die if they continued. As he retired to bed late that night, he was still not sure that what had transpired that day amounted to conversion, but, when he awoke the next morning to a continued ecstasy, he became fully convinced that what he had experienced as he surrendered his will to God in the forest was "justification by faith" and that the overwhelming emotional demonstration of the evening had been the assurance. He would no longer doubt but what "the Spirit of God had taken possession" of his soul.

The young lawyer had experienced the religious crisis which would be common to the professional revivalists, and there was no question in his mind what this conversion would mean to his career. While

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81 Ibid., 20, 21, 23.
he was yet in the woods on that memorable Wednesday, October 10, he vowed that "if I am ever converted, I will preach the Gospel." Although he went to the office on Thursday morning, when his first client arrived he bluntly said "I have a retainer from the Lord Jesus Christ to plead his cause, and I cannot plead yours" and left his desk to tell his religious experience to whomever he met on the streets of Adams. He would never again practice law, but the legal training of his mind would always flavor his approach to theology and revivalism. The years remaining to him until his death in 1875 would be marked by three phases of activity; the initial burst of revival effort through protracted meetings in which his fame as an evangelist would be established, the New York City pastorate in which he would attempt to systematize and solidify the revival techniques, and the Oberlin College professorship and presidency in which he would give his efforts to producing a rising generation of revivalistically-oriented pastors.

The excitement in Adams over the conversion of the village skeptic was such that the people began to seek out the church for daily meetings and, under the straightforward testimony of Finney himself, the town experienced a revival of religion. Benjamin Wright was saved and Pastor Gale publicly apologized for discouraging prayer for the erring lawyer. The first year and a half after his conversion, Finney spent in some more or less important relation to the revivals which began in the towns adjacent to Adams. His life was absorbed in prayer, fasting,

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82 Ibid., 17, 24.
83 Ibid., 28, 33.
and Bible study, with intermittent visions and other extra-sensory phenomena. Whenever the opportunity presented itself he spent time discussing the doctrines of the faith with Rev. Gale, and from the outset it became apparent that the novice differed radically with the latter's traditional Calvinistic concept of the atonement.

Finney's thinking was permeated with the basic philosophical and social principles of Jacksonian democracy—a compulsive faith in progress, in the benevolence of God, and in the worth and dignity of the common man, and a distaste for the restrictive clerical and aristocratic traditions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He was suspicious of man-made creeds and mere human authority on any doctrine and insisted on the right to sift the Scriptures through his own rational mind and his own religious experience to find the truth. He held to the priesthood of all believers and eventually saw no need for institutionalized denominational systems. Redemption through the sacrificial death of Christ must measure up to the democratic ideal of the frontier and be available to all men equally. Although he did not know it at the time, his Arminian views were the core of the controversial ideas then gaining currency within the Presbyterian Church which, in 1837, would result in the Old School-New School schism. Charles Finney and those who shared his heretical views, therefore, represented the full cycle of the pietistic, Arminian revolution which had been at work in the Calvinistic churches since the First Great Awakening.

84 McLoughlin, Introduction to Lectures on Revivals, viii, ix.
85 Wright, op. cit., 21.
In the Spring of 1822, the free-thinking zealot put himself under the care of the St. Lawrence Presbytery as a candidate for the ministry, but flatly refused its suggestion that he take up studies at Princeton. "I plainly told them that I would not put myself under such an influence as they had been under; that I was confident that they had been wrongly educated, and they were not ministers that met my ideal of what a minister of Christ should be," he later recalled. 

Permitting Finney's indictment of their training and attainment to pass without challenge, the members of the Presbytery put him under the theological tutelage of Rev. Gale and Rev. Boardman and, as he grew in favor among the young people of the church, if not closer to the traditional Presbyterian doctrines, unanimously voted to license him to preach in March, 1824. His work under Rev. Gale had been little more than a running theological debate, and when the examining board had asked him if he subscribed to the Calvinistically-based confession of faith of the Presbyterian church, he spoke in such a way that they must have known he was not familiar with it although he finally said that he received it for substance of doctrine, as far as he understood it. Actually, he had never read it, and when he did he was "absolutely ashamed of it." He could not feel any respect for a document that would undertake to impose on mankind such dogmas as those, sustained, for the most part, by passages of Scripture that were totally irrelevant; and not in a single instance sustained by passages which in a court of law, would have been considered at all conclusive.

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86 Finney, Memoirs, 45, 46.

87 Ibid., 51. Philemon H. Fowler, Historical Sketch of Presbyterianism Within the . . . Synod of Central New York (Utica, 1877), 258 n., sets the date at December, 1823.

88 Finney, Memoirs, 60. Italics are the author's.
The leniency of the examiners obviously was a move to accept Finney for his ability to win converts to Christ rather than for his doctrinal soundness. The Sunday following his licensure, Finney preached for Rev. Gale who stated after the service that he would be ashamed to have everyone know that someone with the views Finney had expressed had studied theology with him.

If Finney's theological views were started upon a radical new path from those of his forerunner, the conservative Nettleton, the "new measures" he would employ as he launched upon his itinerant career would blaze an heretical new trail. Since he had refused the regular training for the ministry, and had preached but a few times in Rev. Gale's absence, the newly-licensed preacher at first "did not expect or desire to labor in large towns or cities, or minister to cultivated congregations." Rather, like Nettleton, he "intended to go into the new settlements and preach in schoolhouses, and barns, and groves . . . ." Therefore, he readily accepted a three-month commission by the Female Missionary Society of the Western District of New York to preach at Evan's Mills and Antwerp in the northern part of Jefferson County.

From the very beginning of this ministry his unorthodox ideas and methods drew unusually large congregations and effected the conversion of significant numbers of sinners which would always be the chief evidence of the defenders of revivalism. Although Rev. Gale had

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89 Ibd., 51, 52; Wright, op. cit., 23; Weisberger, op. cit., 95, 96. Rev. Gale would later come to the New School position himself. See Finney, Memoirs, 52-60.

90 Wright, op. cit., 26; Finney, Memoirs, 61.
instructed him that unless he wrote out his sermons he would become stale and uninteresting, could not satisfy the people, and would cause schisms within congregations, like Nettleton, Finney adopted the conversational and pliable expository style of preaching so well-known in Methodist circles. A brief outline of the subject was all he ever felt need of in the pulpit. In the early days he often went to church without having given any thought as to what he would preach. "The Holy Spirit was upon me, and I felt confident that when the time came for action I should know what to preach," he later remembered. However, Finney went a step beyond Nettleton to combine the development of a topic with the emotional frenzy of the camp meeting. Fastening his hypnotic eyes upon sinners in the audience, the handsome, six-feet-two-inch spellbinder could shake the most hardened sinners over the pit of hell and bring them screaming to thir knees. He was at once magnetic and threatening, dynamic and arresting. He could adjust the mood of his approach to squeeze each drop of effect from the subject under consideration. His dramas were highly effective in creating the high-pitched religious fervor which became the stock-in-trade of professional revivalists. He also carried the use of the colloquial language of the common man over into the revival tradition. He did not hesitate to say "you" when talking about sinners, and "hell" was a frequent word in his pulpit vocabulary. The more staid members of the clergy never accepted his use

91 Finney, Memoirs, 54, 65.

92 Robert S. Fletcher, A History of Oberlin College from Its Foundation Through the Civil War, 2 vols. (Oberlin, Ohio, 1943), I, 7, 8.
of lowly examples from the lives of farmers and mechanics instead of from ancient history to illustrate the points of his sermons, but this too was fast becoming part of the revivalistic tradition as Finney's list of converts grew. His rebuttal to all protests of his style of preaching, and that of all his successors, was "show me the fruits of your ministry [i.e., converts]; and if they so far exceed mine as to give me evidence that you have found a more excellent way, I will adopt your views." His argument boiled down to: "... the results justify my methods."\(^\text{93}\)

Finney never denied the agency of the Holy Spirit in bringing in the harvest of converts, but thought of his own revival devices in terms of means approved of God to achieve the Arminian-slanted goal of revival preaching—the immediate decision of sinners for Christ. He used pointed methods from the very start of his ministry to get folks publicly to make their choice known. At Evan's Mills, where he ministered to the Baptists and Congregationalists who assembled together in the local schoolhouse, he insisted that he could not waste his time on them if they would not receive the gospel and requested that those who would pledge to make their peace with God immediately stand up. When no one rose in response to this novel "new measure" technique, he frankly told them:

You have rejected Christ and his [sic] Gospel; and ye are witnesses one against another, and God is witness against you all. This is explicit, and you may remember as long as you live, that you have thus publicly committed yourselves against the Savior . . . .

\(^{93}\text{Finney, Memoirs, 81-84.}\)
Nor was the fact that the congregation rudely made a prompt *en masse* exit an indication that the method had failed since the next night the meeting house was packed by the crowd wanting to observe this curious preacher.

A revival of religion followed in Evan's Mills. Under the influence of his powerful preaching a girl became speechless and only after sixteen hours was able to testify that "her feet were set upon a rock." An enraged Universalist, who swore he would kill Finney for having converted his wife, attended a service with a loaded pistol only to fall from his chair halfway through the sermon crying that he was falling into hell. Even the local tavern owner was converted and gave his bar-room over to nightly prayer meetings.\(^\text{94}\) The fledgling revivalist matched the increasing religious tempo with his own youthful vigor as the revival spread throughout his Jefferson County charge. Conducting house to house visitation, holding almost daily prayer meetings, and often preaching over two hours night after night as he rode horseback from town to town, his reputation for producing revivals quickly grew among the Presbyterians, Baptists and Congregationalists on the New York frontier. In July, 1824, the St. Lawrence Presbytery took courage and, after calling upon him unexpectedly at their meeting to give one of his extemporaneous sermons, blessed him with ordination as an evangelist.\(^\text{95}\) Nevertheless, by the influence of his training and by his personal

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\(^{94}\)Ibid., 62-80.  
^{95}\)Wright, *op. cit.* , 31-33; Finney, *Memoirs*, 81, 82.
characteristics, Finney would always be more of a layman than a clergyman in the pulpit.

The two years which Finney eventually spent under the Female Missionary Society at six hundred dollars a year and the subsequent years to 1832 in league with other itinerant Presbyterian preachers in the Oneida Evangelical Association gave him excellent opportunities to develop his new departures in revival technique. From 1825 to 1827, he rose from local to national fame as his methods were highly successful, not only in the small New York villages of Evan's Mills, Antwerp, Le Rayville, Rutland, and Gouverneur, but also in the more important towns of Western, Rome, Utica, Auburn and Troy.  

The protracted and inquiry meetings and the prayer services which were the mainstays of Nettleton's methods were elementary to Finney. His sermons took on a denunciatory flavor as he "broke down" people after choosing texts such as "Without holiness no man shall see the Lord," or "Say ye to the righteous that it shall be well with him; for they shall eat the fruit of their doings. Wo to the wicked! It shall be ill with him; for the reward shall be given him." "Unconverted ministers" were always open for attack and, by various means, any supposed sinners were placed in a precarious position.  

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96 McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 26, 27. See Finney, Memoirs, 98-225 for his own account of these early meetings, the measures used, and the criticism that ensued.

97 Finney, Memoirs, 65, 73.

98 For discussions of Finney's "new measures" see Sweet, Revivalism In America, 135, 136; McLoughlin, Introduction to Lectures on Revivals, xxxvi, xxxvii; Weisberger, op. cit., 109, 110; Cole, op. cit.,
encouraged people to make some particular person the subject of earnest prayer. Often at the beginning of a service notes from people requesting prayer for impenitent friends would be read and then the unregenerate prays prayed for aloud and by name. It was not uncommon for whole congregations to get upon their knees to pray and women were permitted to speak out their supplications to God even if there were men present. In order to learn who were being saved as the conversions multiplied at Rome, New York, Finney adopted the method of requesting all who had been converted that day to come forward after the evening service "and report themselves in front of the pulpit, that we might have a little conversation with them." He also organized groups of assistants called "holy bands" to help him in the struggle to win converts. The emotionally charged services created by such sermons and straightforward methods to get the unconverted to make immediate decisions for Christ often resulted in having the floors strewn with writhing seekers throughout the night. In the early days of the schoolhouse meetings, it was not uncommon to have to carry out the prostrate sinners in time to make room for the school children's arrival in the morning.

The very "new measures" and irregular theology which were winning

61-63; and Daniel Dorchester, Christianity in the United States From the First Settlement Down to the Present Time (New York, 1888), 374, 375.

99 This freedom of women in the services was particularly distasteful to Nettleton. See Headley, op. cit., 113.

100 Finney, Memoirs, 164, 165.


102 Fletcher, op. cit., 10.
Finney his stature as a revivalist drew scathing criticism from non-Christians and Old School Calvinists in the communities where he went and, by 1827, brought the conservative forces within revivalism itself, as represented by Asahel Nettleton and Lyman Beecher, to call a convention to censure this overzealous brother. It was in the revival at Western, New York, in September, 1825, that national attention was called to Finney's peculiar methods and from then on the objections became more severe. Eastern newspapers began to carry eyewitness reports of his activities as recorded in the local upstate New York papers. Individuals began publishing small tracts to attack or to defend Finney's tactics. Unitarians and Universalists were in the front line of the assault charging him that you

raise your voice, lift high your hand, bend forward your trunk, fasten your staring eyes upon the auditors, declare that they know it to be God's truth that they stand upon the brink of hell's gaping pit of fire and brimstone, and . . . denounce instant and eternal damnation upon them unless they repent forthwith.  

From the Old School Calvinists the attack came on the grounds that these revivals were being produced by unscriptural means, that they were not the special work of the Holy Spirit, that they did not yield genuine converts, and that those who opposed them were not ipso facto enemies of Christ. Particular revival measures coming under question were special prayer meetings where the faithful "approach the throne of grace

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103 McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 26, 27.
104 Quoted in ibid., 28.
105 Bernard Whitman, A Letter To An Orthodox Minister On Revivals Of Religion (Richmond, 1831) succinctly gathers together most of the ultra-Calvinistic arguments against revivalism.
without respect or reverence" and ask God to disturb sinners, house to house visitation in which people were scared in their own homes, protracted meetings in which a popular preacher by an emotional appeal frightened sensitive people into rash commitments, and inquiry meetings in which the unconverted who "have become so much terrified, as to confess themselves totally depraved, haters of their heavenly Father and enemies to all goodness" assemble to seek the advice of the evangelist. 106 Furthermore, the side effects of revivalism were cited as the production of disgust and infidelity among the "more respectable and intelligent members" of the churches, schisms, neglect of important daily duties, discouragement of all free inquiry in matters of religion, and subsequent periods of religious and moral dearth. 107

As the inexperienced and less tactful converts of Finney began to become itinerants themselves, the uproar over the "new measures" reached fever pitch in New York. Finally, in 1826, Rev. William R. Weeks, who lived near Utica, wrote to Nettleton and Beecher, who represented the conservative New England brand of revivalism, pleading that they use their influence to silence the fanatical Finney who, along with his disciples, was upsetting the tranquility of the western churches. 108 Nettleton had been extremely careful to keep his own record of itinerant revivalism clean from Arminianism and irritating new measures and for

106Ibid., 11-19.
107Ibid., 22-35.
108McLoughlin, Introduction to Lectures on Revivals, xvii, xviii; Weisberger, op. cit., 113-117. See Humphrey, op. cit., 265-267, for a conservative revivalist's indictment of the work of the western itinerants.
some time had been observing the activities of Finney in the West, himself, with a wary eye. He was more than willing, therefore, to do what he could to try to quiet Finney and thereby to preserve the conservative revivalism in which he had pioneered. Beecher, who considered himself as the rightful leader of the conservative revival forces, also had reason to keep revivalism respectable. From his Boston pastorate he was using it as a chief tool against Unitarianism. Furthermore, there was a good chance that Finney's unschooled, rash attacks upon Calvinism could upset the subtle attempts that he and Nathaniel Taylor of Yale Seminary were making to adjust Calvinism in the direction of free will. There was also the danger that the interdenominational cooperation so essential to the "benevolent societies" for evangelism, temperance, Sunday observance, dueling reform, Sunday schools, etc. which Beecher had helped found could be disturbed by the agitation over Finney's revivals. 109

Convinced that a convention of the "new measure" men from the West and the conservatives of the East was the best way to discipline Finney for the error of his ways, Beecher summoned eighteen clergymen to meet at New Lebanon, New York, on July 18, 1827. In the week-long sessions that followed, no real confrontation took place although Beecher bluntly told Finney,

I know your plan, and you know I do; you mean to come into Connecticut and carry a streak of fire to Boston. But if you attempt it, as the Lord liveth, I'll meet you at the State line, and call out all the artillery-men, and fight every inch of the way to Boston, and then I'll fight you there. 110

109 McLoughlin, Introduction to Lectures on Revivals, xvii, xviii.
Nettleton sulked, Finney held himself aloof, and the others were divided and unhappy. Finney would not submit to bowing to the will of mere authority as represented by the conservatives of the East. When the New Englanders proposed that audible groaning and public female prayer were "abuses," Finney and his supporters refused to vote and responded with resolutions of their own to condemn those who believed unfounded rumors. In short, after much prayer together, the two factions took their leave having gained the psychological release of expressing their views, but having left the unresolved issues in an uneasy peace among evangelical brethren. Nettleton's Calvinistically-linked revivalism, however, soon would be driven from the field by its more aggressive counterpart in the West. Finney would go on uninhibitedly to new heights of revival inventiveness and would eventually settle his differences with Beecher with whom he stood in close theological proximity from the first.\[111\]

The New Lebanon convention was therefore a significant watershed in the development of professional revivalism in the United States. As Finney went on to reach the zenith of his itinerant career in the half-decade that followed, there was no question but that his Arminian, "new measure" approach would be its trademark. If any final assurance was needed, it came at the meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia in May, 1828. On that occasion Beecher, acting as peacemaker between the two revival factions, got the leaders of both sides to sign a pledge "to cease from all publications,

\[111\]Weisberger, op. cit., 118-120; Wright, op. cit., 57-93; and Finney, Memoirs, 211-220.
correspondences, conversations, and conduct designed and calculated to keep those subjects before the public."\textsuperscript{112}

With renewed confidence Finney went on to establish professional revivalism as an urban phenomenon. As his services came into greater demand, he carefully selected the larger cities, with their concentrations of population, as the obvious arenas in which the most converts could be harvested. Thus, he moved from Wilmington, Delaware, to Philadelphia, Lancaster, and Reading, Pennsylvania and on to New York City and to Rochester, New York where he held his most successful campaign in 1831. As time had gone on he had felt the need of some method "that would bring sinners to a stand." He had used inquiry meetings and the idea of having people rise in the congregation to indicate in public that they were concerned over the condition of their souls, but finally in Rochester he added the "anxious seat" to his repertory of revival methods. Clearing certain seats in the front, he called "upon all that class of persons whose convictions were so ripe that they were willing to renounce their sins and give themselves to God, to come forward . . . , and offer themselves up to God, while we made them subjects of prayer."\textsuperscript{113} The Methodists, via Finney, had contributed a prominent building block to the paraphernalia of professional revivalism.

An additional aspect of the Rochester meetings which was to linger in the revival movement was implicit in the lawyer-evangelist's reflection that "the great majority of the leading men and women in the

\textsuperscript{112}Wright, op. cit., 94, 95.

\textsuperscript{113}Finney, Memoirs, 288, 289.
He was making revivalism palatable to lawyers, doctors, tradesmen and bankers, and it would later be a serious question whether the huge urban campaigns reached the lower classes to any appreciable degree at all. In a final year of protracted meetings, first in his native New York, at Auburn and Buffalo, and then in the conservative strongholds of New England, at Providence and Boston, where even Beecher joined in the invitation, Finney completed the itinerant phase of his life's work.

Although many of Finney's old friends urged him to forsake the great cities and return to the frontier villages to carry forward the revivals, in 1832 he finally yielded to the wooings of the merchant-philanthropist of reform causes, Lewis Tappan, to take up a settled pastorate in New York City. Tappan purchased a theater on Chatham Street for Finney's use which became the Second Free Presbyterian Church. In the three years which Finney spent there he further adjusted his techniques to the big city environment and did much to institutionalize revivalism. Among the several assistants which he brought to Chatham Street in 1832 was Thomas Hastings. As music director of Finney's church, Hastings became the forerunner of such revival choristers as Ira D. Sankey with Dwight L. Moody, Homer Rodeheaver with Billy Sunday, and George Beverly Shea with Billy Graham. Finney saw no reason why revivals should not use every means of advertisement which had been exploited by the political parties. In March, 1830, he had helped found

\[^{114}\text{Ibid., 293. Italics are the author's.}\]
\[^{115}\text{Weisberger, op. cit., 125.}\]
the New York Evangelist to publicize his ideas and the antislavery cause, and now felt that this should be supplemented by local newspaper coverage of revival meetings. 116

One of his most significant contributions to the permanent establishment of revivalism came near the end of his period as pastor of the Second Free Presbyterian Church in New York City. It was then that he delivered a series of sermons on the nature of revivals which, as taken down by a reporter, published in the New York Evangelist and then in book form as Lectures on Revivals of Religion in 1835, became the source book for generations to come on how to produce revivals of religion. In this manual he covered all the aspects of professional revivals from their definition to the exact methods best to bring them about. 117 By such a work, Finney placed before the pious element of the public the activistic challenge of the revivalists—there was no reason to wait for God to send a religious stirring; by the right use of the appropriate means set forth in this handbook one might be induced at any time.

Having made this contribution to the solidification of the methods of revivalism, Finney's attention was attracted to a new and hopefully even more permanent means of perpetuating this new type of revival among the churches. It was the challenge of the newly-conceived Oberlin College in Ohio, which was being erected on the principles of


117 See the 1835 edition of Finney, Lectures on Revivals. Many such manuals were forthcoming from numerous pens in the two decades that followed.
holiness and reform, as a place to train a rising generation of western pastors and itinerant revivalists in his own time-tested techniques. Both he and Beecher, who in 1832 had accepted the presidency of Lane Seminary at Cincinnati, saw the Ohio frontier as the best region in which to educate young men to carry on the task of evangelizing the West if not the nation at large. Only with reluctance, however, did Finney leave his New York parishioners in the summer of 1835 to become professor of theology at Oberlin.

By his own testimony he never meant to have his new duties interfere with his revival labors and preaching. One of the three main conditions on which he agreed to join the Oberlin faculty was that he be granted a three to five month leave of absence each winter, during the college's vacation season, to return to his New York pastorate or to carry on revival campaigns elsewhere. In the years before 1860 he was faithful to this ambition and held campaigns in New York, Syracuse, Rochester, Boston, Hartford, Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati and other large cities while keeping Oberlin in an almost perpetual state of revival. He visited England twice, in 1849 and 1858, to keep alive the international connection for revivalists, first established by the Wesleys and Whitefield and perpetuated by Nettleton. Finney's second

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118 Weisberger, op. cit., 135.

119 Finney, Memoirs, 334, 335.

wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Ford Atkinson, whom he married soon after his first wife died in 1847, began the practice of holding "women only" meetings in connection with his campaigns and thereby added a lasting innovation to professional revivalism. 121

Finney set a precedent for his itinerant successors by allying himself to various kinds of reform movements. He was concerned with abolition, temperance, dietary regulations, education, gambling, dueling and hygiene reforms, but always with the reservation that "mere outward reform is of no avail—Reform of the heart is alone able to secure permanent good."122 This approach to social reform exclusively through the regeneration of individuals to the neglect of organized political or legislative action that might have been effective in dealing with the complexities of tradition, prejudice, and class conflict, which often lay at the base of social injustice, frequently made the reform efforts of Finney and the later revivalists impotent.123 The community action which the revivalists did take during their campaigns usually was limited to an attempt to have the local blue laws enforced, and, in many cases, even these efforts were completely frustrated.124

For all his periodic revival campaigns after 1835, Finney, like Nettleton in 1831 and Beecher in 1832, had become basically an educator

121 Wright, op. cit., 110, 111, 283-285.

122 McLoughlin, Introduction to Lectures on Revivals, xliii; Fletcher, op. cit., I, 210, n. 9.

123 McLoughlin, Introduction to Lectures on Revivals, xliv.

124 In Ohio, the Cleveland convention of D. L. Moody in 1886 and the Sam P. Jones revivals at Cincinnati in 1886 and at Toledo in 1899 are prime examples of this fact.
and was president of Oberlin College by 1852. If Beecher had put revivalism upon a tentatively acceptable theological footing within the Presbyterian-Congregationalist fold by systematically undermining traditional Calvinistic concepts in relation to election, Finney had established itinerant revivalism as a profession by methodically producing revivals of religion with the skillful employment of certain means. As Finney left the full-time field after 1835, a host of new professional revivalists rushed in to accept the invitations that were flooding in from congregations anxious to secure the services of revival experts.

Although not without controversy, the idea took root among the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists that revival preachers should constitute a duly licensed special branch of the clergy. Under the "Plan of Union" cooperative arrangement of the Presbyterian and Congregational denominations to meet the challenge of the unevangelized frontier, "Presbygational" presbyteries in the West had been licensing men regardless of education to such capacities since 1801. Finney, in fact, had been such a licentiate. In the back country, men often were asked only to assent to the fundamentals of the faith instead of to the Westminster Confession in total, in order to avoid a confrontation with the controversial facets of Calvinism. As revivalism grew in popularity, it became the custom to license men specifically as evangelists and to permit them to administer the ordinances of baptism, marriage, and communion while the ordinary licentiate could not, thereby giving the itinerants a preferred status.

125 Weisberger, op. cit., 132.
126 McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 122-124, 128.
An interdenominational character was evident in revivalism from the first as believers from various persuasions united in revival efforts. Therefore, the professional revivalism of "Presbygational" Finney affected the Baptist Church by the 1830's. Although they had no fixed creed and no ecclesiastical hierarchy, the Baptists generally held to Calvinism, and the battle of the early revivalists within its organization, Jabez Swan and Jacob Knapp, were similar to those of Beecher and Finney within the Congregational and Presbyterian churches. The guidelines were well marked, however, and the transition toward the free will and new measure positions was much more rapid among the less tutored and poorer Baptists than among the Presbyterians and Congregationalists.

One thing was settled by 1835, professional revivalism was a fixed and inviting occupation for vigorous, aspiring young men. Although no towering figure rose to lead the revival movement between the time of Finney's partial retirement into the area of education in 1835 and the initiation of Dwight L. Moody's campaigns in the 1870's, all during the nineteenth century a steady stream of men from the major denominations seized the opportunity to become professional revivalists. Many of their names became household words as they were escalated to sectional and sometimes national prominence.

In addition to Nettleton and Finney, the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches were represented by Albert Barnes, Daniel Baker, Jedediah Burchard, Edward Payson Hammond, Horatio H. Wells, D.W. Whittle and Dwight L. Moody (laymen), John Wilbur Chapman, and Benjamin Fay Mills.

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127 Ibid., 136.
Jacob Knapp, Jabez Swan, Emerson Andrews, Absalom B. Earle, and George F. Pentecost were chief among Baptist revivalists. The Christian Church contributed the singing evangelist, Knowles Shaw. Although the Methodist Church did not license evangelists as such, and although the regular circuit-rider is not considered a professional revivalist, Lorenzo Dow (who was not officially licensed by the church), James Caughey, John Newland Maffitt, Dr. and Mrs. Walter Palmer (both laymen), Mrs. Maggie Van Cott (the first woman to be licensed as a preacher in the United States), William Taylor, and Samuel P. Jones do come under the definition. Since the Lutheran, Episcopalian, and Roman Catholic Churches never adopted revivalism, these denominations did not contribute any itinerants to the profession. Over the years the international flavor of revivalism was kept alive in the United States by visits from Rodney ("Gypsy") Smith and the Plymouth Brethren preachers Henry Varley, Henry Moorhouse, and George C. Needham, all from England.

The religious history of the state of Ohio presents an excellent opportunity to examine the work of most of these evangelists and the various phenomena of professional revivalism itself. Located on the frontier in 1800, Ohio was a full participant in the revolutions in religious doctrine and practice which came with the Second-Great Awakening in the West. As the revival became institutionalized in camp meetings and local revival services, it was easy for Ohioans to make the transition to the concepts of professional revivalism as represented by Charles Finney. In subsequent years, most of the major nineteenth-century revivalists named above came to the towns and cities of the state and fully displayed their ideas and methods. Therefore, in the following
chapters the nature of revivalism will be explored in the Ohio setting from the Second Great Awakening to 1900, especially as expressed in the labors of these professional itinerants.
CHAPTER II

REVIVALISM ON THE OHIO FRONTIER

"Hell and damnation," shouted a wandering evangelist as he madly dashed his straw hat and white blanket coat to the ground while striding briskly into Portland (later Sandusky City), Ohio. A crowd had already gathered under a tree near Lake Erie, awaiting his scheduled arrival and were not a little shocked as he continued to utter a string of oaths potent enough to embarrass the most wicked man in town. Then, after a solemn pause, he charged "this is your common language to God and to one another--such language as the gates of hell cannot exceed" and, while everyone's attention was keenly fixed on him, he launched into a scathing sermon denouncing the sins of the village. It was May, 1826, and the itinerant preacher was the master of all eccentric revivalists, Lorenzo Dow.¹

However, if the motley group of citizens whom Dow addressed on that spring day were surprised by his homely tactics, it was not because Ohioans had not had direct contact with the roots of revivalism--Dow himself had been traveling on preaching excursions throughout Ohio since 1804.² And before his arrival, the Ohio region had constituted part of

¹Joshua Antrim, The History of Champaign and Logan Counties (Bellefontaine, Ohio, 1872), 161.

²Lorenzo Dow, The Eccentric Preacher (Lowell, Massachusetts, 1841), 214.
the unevangelized frontier which had aroused the solicitude, if not the consciences, of Christians in the East. The Calvinistically-based Baptist, Presbyterian and Congregational denominations were the first to respond to this challenge from the Ohio frontier, but, by 1798, the Methodists came to introduce the Arminian ideas which were fundamental to revivalism. Even more significantly, there were Ohioans present at the Kentucky camp meetings in 1800 which signalled the beginning of the Second Great Awakening in the West. As the influence of this religious fervor spread rapidly into the villages above the Ohio River, the revival was soon institutionalized in the ubiquitous camp meetings. Ohio also fell heir to the church schisms and reform movements which followed in the train of the great awakening. In the multiplication of religious institutions of higher learning which was a product of the revival, Ohio was a prime example. During the 1830's, two of the most noted revivalists of the age envisaged the West as the ideal location to educate a rising generation of revivalistic preachers and therefore were attracted to two of these Ohio schools--Lyman Beecher to Lane Theological Seminary and Charles Finney to Oberlin Collegiate Institute. The very presence of these men in the state made Ohio a focus of revivalistic attention. Well before mid-century, the evangelical churches of Ohio were fully converted to the principles of revivalism and exercised them methodically in camp meetings each summer and two-to-four-week revival meetings each winter. Finally, as urbanization gradually transformed the villages of frontier Ohio into mid-western cities by the time of the Civil War, Ohio was fully prepared to display the urban phenomenon of professional revivalism in all of its varied dimensions.
Early Ohio was populated in great measure by people who themselves had migrated from churchless frontier settlements. However, as time passed, pioneers who wished to perpetuate their religious faith in the wilderness began to arrive from the centers of religion in the East. In 1788, a group of twenty-eight persons from New Jersey, several of them Baptists, settled within the present boundaries of Cincinnati. Two years later, when Rev. Stephen Gano of Providence, Rhode Island, visited them he organized the first Baptist Church in the Ohio Territory. A few of the other original settlers at Cincinnati were Presbyterians and saw to it that when the city was laid out in 1788 a lot was set aside for a church of their denomination. Under the pastoral care of Rev. David Rice, the first church was organized there in 1790. The influx of Scotch-Irish into southern and eastern Ohio gave the Presbyterians an initial advantage in that area. The "Plan of Union" agreement between the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the Congregational Association of Connecticut in 1801 also worked in favor of the Ohio Presbyterians. Under this pact a congregation of either denomination could select a pastor from the other persuasion without disturbing the affiliation of either. Since the Congregational churches, which were begun as early as 1796 at Marietta in Ohio, usually had no

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5Ibid., II, The Presbyterians, 1783-1840 (Chicago, 1936), 35, 36.

other than local organizations, Congregational ministers in the state made it a practice to join Presbyterian presbyteries, thereby swelling the ministerial ranks of the latter church. This initial thrust of Calvinism into Ohio was first challenged by the forces of revivalism in 1798 when the Methodist John Kobler, presiding elder of the Kentucky District, crossed the Ohio River to preach in the cabins of newly-arrived Kentucky Methodists. By 1800 the Miami and Scioto circuits were established, and Ohioans were being evangelized in the Arminian style of the preachers on horseback.

If the initial seeds of revivalism in Ohio were planted by the Methodists, the watering and fruition of them were effected in rapid succession by Ohioans' direct contact with the Second Great Awakening which was incubated in the interdenominational, frontier camp meetings originating in Kentucky in 1800. Meanwhile, sensing the extreme need of a stirring of religious conviction on the Ohio frontier, the Ohio Presbytery early in 1796 began to encourage meetings on the first Tuesday of each quarter for the purpose of praying for an "outpouring of the Spirit of revival of religion." By 1798 there were clear signs that the religious tides were rising. The Western Missionary Magazine recorded that at a new settlement northwest of the Ohio River between the Great and the Little Beaver Rivers "the operations of the Holy Spirit . . . were very

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8 Sweet, op. cit., IV, The Methodists, 1783-1840 (Chicago, 1946), 53.
powerful, and in many instances hopefully successful. In a short space of time a considerable number, we trust, were made the subjects of a saving work of grace." Not long after, it was reported that

the churches from Lake Erie southward along the western side of the Allegheny Mountains, and through the few settled portions of the North-west Territory, which about this time were formed into the State of Ohio, felt the swelling of the river of the water of life.10

With such concern and results evident in Ohio Presbyterianism, it is little wonder that Ohioans demonstrated keen, if scrutinizing, interest in the camp meetings in adjacent Kentucky which were striking the fire of the Second Great Awakening in the West.

The Presbyterian Rev. James McGready was the key figure in starting the revival among the spiritually apathetic backwoodsmen by initiating camp meetings on the Kentucky frontier. He was representative of a vigorous new breed of activists among the evangelical churches which was not satisfied to sit back and wait for God to convert the frontier pagans in His own good time. McGready had been reared under rigid restrictions by his Scotch-Irish Presbyterian parents in North Carolina, had attended John McMillan's Log College in western Pennsylvania, and, after coming face to face with death in an encounter with smallpox while there, had had a crisis conversion experience.11 From that point on he seemed to

10Quoted in ibid., 36, 37.

11This sketch of McGready's life and role in the Kentucky camp meetings is taken from Catherine C. Cleveland, The Great Revival in the West 1797-1805 (Chicago, 1916), 37-41; Charles A. Johnson, The Frontier Camp Meeting Religion's Harvest Time (Dallas, 1955), 32-38; Bernard A. Weisberger, They Gathered At The River (Boston, 1958), 22-26; and William Warren Sweet, The Story of Religion in America (New York, 1950), 226-228.
disregard everything except the salvation of souls. In 1788, when he was about thirty years old, he was licensed by the presbytery of Redstone in western Pennsylvania and, described by contemporaries as ugly and uncouth with a "course, tremulous voice" and "small piercing eyes," began preaching a modified Calvinism.  

When he returned to North Carolina, his severe preaching on the subject of the formality and deadness of the churches brought such a negative reaction, and reportedly even a threatening letter written in blood, that he abruptly moved to Kentucky in 1798. He took up the charge of three congregations in notoriously wicked Logan County in the southwestern corner of the state and began to employ the methods which he hoped God would honor by a revival of religion. Impassioned hell-fire preaching, strenuous pastoral endeavor, and a prayer covenant by which all who signed were to pray every Saturday evening and Sunday morning and fast each third Saturday of every month constituted the measures employed. By May, 1797, there was evidence that these means were going to be successful, but the real dam of religious emotion did not break until the four-day sacramental meeting at McGready's Red River congregation in June, 1800. On the third day, Sunday, the sacrament of the Lord's supper was observed and McGready was assisted by two other Presbyterian preachers, William Hodges and John Rankin. Two other ministers, John and William McGee, who were Tennessee preachers enroute to

Ohio, also stopped in to observe the revival in Logan County which had been noised abroad. William was a Presbyterian; John a Methodist. McGready, Hodges, Rankin, and, upon the invitation of McGready, possibly one or both of the McGees addressed the overflow crowd at the Red River Church. Such a solemnity pervaded the congregation that after the service, when McGready, Hodges, and Rankin left the church, most of the people remained seated brooding over their lost estate. The McGees had stayed inside and William walked to the pulpit to speak but slumped to the floor overcome by emotion. Finally John could no longer contain his Methodist desire to give an appeal for converts. He stood up in the audience and, timidly at first, urged the congregation to submit to the Lord, but before long he found himself shouting and exhorting in a most un-Presbyterian manner. The effect was immediate. People fell to the floor, until it was covered, shrieking for pardon for their sins. Although only ten persons were reportedly converted in this service, the interdenominational and emotional qualities of the great awakening which followed had been displayed.¹⁵

Fully convinced that a great revival was under way, McGready moved on to hold meetings at his other two charges at Muddy River and Gasper River. When the phenomena of the Red River service repeated themselves at Muddy River, he gave advance notice of the next three-day sacramental meeting for late in July, 1800, at the Gasper River Church. By this time news of the revival had spread throughout the region, and from scores of miles around hundreds of excited people began to converge

¹⁵Weisberger, op. cit., 24, 25.
upon the little church at Gasper River to enjoy the spiritual blessings and to socialize with seldom seen neighbors. McGready realized that the church would not accommodate the crowds and therefore arranged for a regular encampment to be set up in the form of a hollow square, with hewn logs as seats and an interior designed for worship with a crude preaching platform in the center. Many of the people who came brought their own tents and provisions and intended from the first to camp out on the grounds. Therefore, by combining the elements of worshipers camping out, services in the open air, and a complete display of the emotional phenomena concomitant to revivalistic preaching, the Gasper River meeting became recognized as the first planned camp meeting.16

The Gasper River camp meeting was such a success that revivalistically-inclined Methodist and Baptist, as well as Presbyterian, ministers in Kentucky and Tennessee immediately adopted this rustic evangelistic tool which was so well adapted to the conditions and spirit of the frontier. Practically from the first, these three denominations promoted and participated in union interdenominational camp meetings. Ten such gatherings took place in 1800 in the Cumberland and Green River settlements in Kentucky, and between May and August, 1801, upper Kentuckians could have attended at least six such meetings.17 All of these were introductory to the emotional and numerical climax which came in the famous Cane Ridge General Camp Meeting, seven miles from Paris in

15Weisberger, op. cit., 24, 25.
17Sweet, The Presbyterians, 86.
Bourbon County, Kentucky, beginning on Friday, August 6, 1801 and continuing to the following Wednesday.\(^{18}\)

In the meantime, in the scattered settlements of the Ohio territory, where the pioneers had little chance for recreation, intellectual stimulation, or social contact, the stories concerning the Kentucky revival caused widespread excitement which permeated the region by 1801.\(^{19}\)

Of great interest to Ohioans were the tales of the physical phenomena that attended the camp meetings. James B. Finley, an irreligious, rough-and-ready Ohio youth at the time and afterwards a leader in the Methodist Church in the state, later recorded that it was reported that hundreds who attended the meetings were suddenly struck down, and would lie for hours and, sometimes, for days, in a state of insensibility; and that when they recovered . . ., they would commence praising God for his pardoning mercy and redeeming love.\(^{20}\)

Ohioans had varied reactions as they heard of Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists in the Kentucky camp meetings being seized with jerking, singing, running, falling and laughing exercises. Some felt that the world was coming to an end; others feared that God was about to place His judgement upon the nation; and still others reasoned that the Devil was behind it all.

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\(^{18}\)Johnson, \textit{op. cit.}, 62.


Many of the preachers spent whole Sabbaths in laboring to show that it was the work of the devil, and nothing but the wildest fanaticism, produced through the means of an overheated and distempered imagination. They also urged their congregations not to go near these places, as they would be sympathetically affected, and would, in all probability, be led to indulge in the same wild and irrational vagaries.21

The warning, however, fell on deaf ears as many Ohioans, like Finley himself, often prompted more by curiosity than by genuine interest, ferried across the river into Kentucky to observe the strange phenomena. Some, in the early days of the awakening, had visited the revivals in McGready's own Logan County.22 Many more Ohioans followed their example and attended the interdenominational Kentucky camp meetings in the spring and summer of 1801, which culminated in the unforgettable Cane Ridge religious extravaganza.23 Two young men among the throng at Cane Ridge, James B. Finley and Rev. Richard McNemar, were representative of the many eye-witnesses from Ohio who would weave the revival influence of the camp meeting deep into the religious fabric of the state in the years to come.

James B. Finley was the son of a Presbyterian minister (later a Methodist) who, although in the setting of the Kentucky and Ohio frontier, saw that his son received the education in Latin, Greek, and mathematics which made him a recognized medical practitioner by the fall of 1800. However, certain characteristics of the western wilderness lured the young Finley both from the medical profession and from the Calvinistic

21 Ibid., 165, 166.
22 MacLean, "The Kentucky Revival," 244, 245.
23 Cleveland, op. cit., 84.
ideas which his father had been taught at Princeton. Finley was an outdoor sportsman in all that that term implied in the frontier environment. The call of the wilderness with its plentiful supply of game and its limitless possibilities for adventure had always distracted him from his books, and he neglected his patients to go on dangerous hunting excursions into the woods. The democratic, leveling process of the backwoods also bred into the youthful Finley a native dislike for the spiritually aristocratic doctrine that God had already elected a few to be saved and the remainder to be damned. Like so many others in the West, Finley could not "reconcile the punishment of the creature for the commission of sins which God had decreed he should commit, and the justice of God in the infliction of that punishment." By 1800, when he was twenty, Finley concluded that the doctrine was "grossly inconsistent with reason and Scripture" and decided "that if God had brought me into the world, without my consent, for his own purposes, it was no concern of mine, and all I had to do was to be honest, enjoy life, and perform the errand of my destiny." Therefore, when news of the Kentucky camp meetings reached his ears he was doing his best to "enjoy life" in the crude revelries available to him in primitive southwestern Ohio.

His imagination and curiosity had been aroused by the reports of the religious orgies taking place near to his boyhood home in Kentucky, and when he learned that Cane Ridge was to be the site of such a display in August, 1801, he decided to leave his rounds of parties, card games,

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24 Finley, op. cit., 15, 16, 113-115, 147-150.
25 Ibid., 161-164.
dances and brawls to visit the encampment. As he left his homestead in Highland County, Ohio, with a group of his friends, he was determined that he should not be infected by the contagious animal emotions of those whose antics he was going to witness. "I prided myself upon my manhood and courage, I had no fear of being overcome by any nervous excitability, or being frightened into religion," he later testified.26

When Finley and his companions reached Cane Ridge, the scene was "not only novel and unaccountable, but awful beyond description."27 The camp meeting was largely under Presbyterian sponsorship, but the dozens of ministers present included many Baptists and Methodists who, along with their parishioners, were most welcome. A crowd estimated variously at from ten to twenty-five thousand, many of them from the Miami Valley region of Ohio, were present. 28 All was apparent chaos on every side. Finley later recalled:

The noise was like the roar of Niagara. The vast sea of human beings seemed to be agitated as if by a storm. I counted seven ministers, all preaching at one time, some on stumps, others in wagons, and one—the Rev. William Burke, now of Cincinnati—was standing on a tree which had, in falling, lodged against another. Some of the people were singing, others praying, some crying for mercy in the most piteous accents, while others were shouting most vociferously.

At one time I saw at least five hundred swept down in a moment, as if a battery of a thousand guns had been opened upon them, and then immediately followed shrieks and shouts that rent the very heavens.29

26Ibid., 164-166.
27Ibid., 166.
28Johnson, op. cit., 62, 63; Cleveland, op. cit., 75, 76.
29Finley, op. cit., 166, 167.
Despite his "manhood and courage," the emotional impact of the experience had an immediate and a lasting effect upon Finley, as it undoubtedly did upon the multitude of other Ohioans who flocked to Cane Ridge and the other camp meetings. To his dismay and disgust as he watched the proceedings, he was inadvertently affected. He described it later:

My heart beat tumultuously, my knees trembled, my lip quivered, and I felt as though I must fall to the ground. A strange supernatural power seemed to pervade the entire mass of mind there collected. I became so weak and powerless that I found it necessary to sit down.

After retiring to the woods to calm himself by a rational approach to these phenomena, he returned to the assembly only to find that in response to the shrieks of the crowd his hair stood on end, his body trembled and his blood ran cold. Again he fled to the woods, feeling a sense of blindness and suffocation. Even a visit to a nearby tavern for a dram of brandy did not soothe his nerves. As night came on, a deep conviction for his sins was added to his woes, and he decided that he must escape by leaving for home in the morning. However, on the way home the conviction increased until he fell prostrate in a woods crying aloud for salvation.30

Thus, as the previously bold, rollicking frontiersman returned to his Ohio homestead, he brought with him a knowledge of the spiritual and physical phenomena of the camp meeting and the conversion experience which they had induced. He also bore to Ohio the "free grace" idea which was implicit in the revival atmosphere and in his experience of

30 ibid., 167-170.
the "new birth." "Whosoever will" satisfactorily replaced Finley's doubts concerning the "elect," but, when he felt an urge to become a minister, it was sufficient to bar the Presbyterian door to his entrance. Therefore, after a disappointing search for a church which would please the various facets of his theological taste and a bout with backsliding, Finley finally felt at home among the Methodists and in May, 1809, began a long career as an itinerant on the Ohio circuits.31

The revival impetus which he, Peter Cartwright, William Burke, William McKendree, Jacob Young, and a host of other eye-witnesses to and participants in the original manifestations of the Second Great Awakening injected into Ohio Methodism, was a principal factor in the rapid growth of that denomination after 1800.32 The Western Conference which included Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio increased from nine circuits and 2,801 members in 1800 to sixty-nine circuits and 30,741 members in 1811.33 The first session of the Ohio Conference in October, 1812 reported 22,774 members and sixty-one preachers serving in five districts.34

31 Ibid., 170-190.

32 For the activities of Peter Cartwright and Jacob Young in Ohio Methodism, see Peter Cartwright, Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, The Backwoods Preacher, edited by W. P. Strickland (New York, 1856), 84-107, and Jacob Young, Autobiography of a Pioneer (Cincinnati, 1857). William McKendree had the supervision of the Ohio Methodist churches after 1801 and became the fourth bishop of the Church in America in 1808. See John M. Barker, History of Ohio Methodism (Cincinnati, 1898), 151, 162.


34 William Warren Sweet, Circuit-Rider Days Along The Ohio (New York, 1923), 32-34.
The other representative figure from Ohio at the Cane Ridge camp meeting in August, 1801, Rev. Richard McNemar, returned home, not only as a confirmed believer in the "free will" doctrine, but also as a potential schismatic within his own Presbyterian church. Unlike Finley, McNemar was at Cane Ridge as a sponsor and participant, not as a curiosity seeker. The tall, gaunt preacher with the piercing eyes had been born of Scotch-Irish ancestry in Pennsylvania in 1770, had begun school teaching in 1786, and, by 1792, had migrated to Cincinnati, Ohio, where he began preaching for the local Presbyterian Church. Between that date and the Cane Ridge encampment he was licensed to the ministry and taught school and preached both north and south of the Ohio River. As the religious awakening began among the Presbyterians in Kentucky, it became increasingly apparent that the preachers who were most active in the movement "omitted the doctrines of election and reprobation as taught in the Confession of Faith and vigorously proclaimed a free salvation to all, through the blood of the Lamb," and McNemar drank deeply of the refreshing new draught.35

Therefore, when McNemar made the trip to Cane Ridge, he was in close agreement with the implicit doctrines and the explicit physical phenomena of the camp. He admitted that the immense crowd included almost every character that could be named; but amidst them all, the subjects of this new and strange operation were distinguished, by their flaming zeal for the destruction of sin, and the deliverance of souls from its power.

Although he was cognizant of the "various operations and exercises" which

35 John P. MacLean, A Sketch of the Life and Labors of Richard McNemar (Franklin, Ohio, 1905), 3-7.
went on at the meeting, they were not something to be feared or resisted, as with Finley, but something to be participated in to the full.\textsuperscript{36} He even held his little nine year old daughter, Vincy, on his arm while she addressed the multitude.\textsuperscript{37}

Whatever religious experience McNemar himself had at Cane Ridge, it is evident that when he returned to his congregation his zeal was at fever pitch. His Arminian-slanted endeavor soon made him a focus of controversy within Presbyterianism. The heresy charges which his more rigidly Calvinistic parishioners brought against him at the Presbytery at Springfield (Springdale, Hamilton County, Ohio) in November, 1801 were a good indication of the challenge to the revival ideas which were affecting the traditionally Calvinistic churches within the state. It was affirmed that McNemar "condemned those who urge that convictions are necessary, or that prayer is proper in the sinner," that he said "that Christ has purchased salvation for all the human race without distinction," that he "expressly declared that a sinner has the power to believe in Christ at any time," and that he held "that a sinner has as much power to act faith, as to act unbelief."\textsuperscript{38} Although the Springfield Presbytery rejected the claims against McNemar, these tenets of faith, which were actually laying a theological foundation for the introduction of professional revivalism in Ohio, soon brought him into an irreconcilable conflict with the Presbyterian church. Similar charges were

\begin{footnotes}
\item[37]MacLean, "The Kentucky Revival," 247.
\item[38]MacLean, \textit{A Sketch}, 8-10.
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presented to the Cincinnati Presbytery in October, 1802, and his teachings were declared "hostile to the interests of all true religion."

When the Synod, meeting at Lexington, Kentucky, upheld this decision on September 7, 1803, McNemar and several of his fellow "New Light" pastors --Robert Marshall, John Dunlavy, Barton W. Stone, and John Thompson resigned from the Synod and carried most of their congregations with them.\(^{39}\)

Just as the Cumberland Presbytery had been dropped from the Kentucky Synod in 1802 for licensing uneducated men to preach and for holding to doctrines contrary to the Westminster Confession of Faith and had formed the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, from their split with the Presbyterians, McNemar and the other New Lights now founded the Christian Church and also peopled the first Shaker congregations. On June 28, 1804, the New Lights met at Cane Ridge, dissolved the Springfield (Springdale) Ohio Presbytery and formed the former Presbyterian Churches of the area into the Christian Church.\(^{40}\)

Before the actual formation of the new denomination, the rift between the ultra-Calvinistic Presbyterians and the New Lights became acute in the earliest Ohio camp meetings. John Dunlavy, a New Light preacher who had resigned from the Kentucky Synod with McNemar, led the first camp meeting on record in the Ohio Territory—a four day and three night encampment beginning June 5, 1801, at Eagle Creek in Adams County.\(^{41}\)

\(^{39}\)Ibid., 10-14.

\(^{40}\)MacLean, "The Kentucky Revival," 253, 254, 257-259.

Both factions uneasily worshiped together at such gatherings until the camp meeting held about five miles from Dayton in the middle of June, 1803. On that occasion, each side rigidly held its ground—James Kemper insisting on predestination and McNemar, Robert Marshall, and John Thompson advocating freedom of the will. By Sunday afternoon the contest got so heated that Kemper led his conservative supporters off the grounds. The following September, as we have seen, McNemar influenced his followers to leave the Presbyterian fold and in July, 1804, sponsored a camp meeting near Dayton at which the schismatics were in undisputed control and the phenomena of the Kentucky revival in full evidence. As McNemar's sermons attacked the Presbyterian Confession of Faith and church polity

the breaking to pieces [of] a beautiful system and a beautiful order of government on which millions were resting for support was so emphatically announced and so rhetorically pictured that it seemed as if the old heavens were already passing away with a great noise and the elements melting with fervent heat.

His very animated style of preaching, in which he would often stamp his foot, slap the Bible, and loudly roar "Hell and Damnation!", contributed to the "unbounded enthusiasm" which ensued. As the meetings progressed, "the work was powerful, the gifts and exercises singular, and the light transcendent. The jerking and barking exercises were astounding,

..."42

The import of this wholesale importation of the ideas and demonstrations of the Kentucky camp meetings which were revolutionizing religious life in Ohio and preparing its citizens for the advent of the

42MacLean, A Sketch, 19, 20.
professional revivalists can be witnessed in part in the almost complete
conversion of the Ohio Presbyterian churches to the New Light position.
The newly-formed Christian Church reaped a great harvest from among the
Presbyterian congregations. It was asserted, in fact, that "every
Presbyterian Church in southern Ohio was swept into this new organiza-
tion except those at Duck Creek and Round Bottom."43 It was a paradox
of the Second Great Awakening that the Calvinists, among whom the re-
vival began, in many cases were unable to tolerate the Arminian ideas
which it engendered. In regards to this, McNemar observed the following:

Although they had been long praying in words, for the out-
pouring of the Spirit; . . ., yet, when it came to pass that
their prayer was answered, and the Spirit began to flow like
many waters, from a cloud of witnesses; and souls were con-
victed of sin, and cried for mercy, and found hope and comfort
in the news of a Savior; they rose up and quarreled with the
work, because it did not come to pass that the subjects of it
were willing to adopt their soul-stupefying creed.44

Nevertheless, he explained that

those who had labored and travailed, to gain some solid hope
of salvation; . . .; could not, dare not preach, that any
being which God had made, was by the Creator, laid under
the dire necessity of being damned forever.45

The Presbyterians and the New Lights were not the only ones in
Ohio to be attracted to the use of camp meetings as arenas in which to
implement the awakening. As time went on, such services became the ac-
cepted summer religious festivals of nearly all of the evangelical
churches in the state. From July to late September, conveniently

43 MacLean, "The Kentucky Revival," 259; MacLean, A Sketch, 20.
44 McNemar, op. cit., 27.
45 Ibid.
scheduled between the hay and wheat harvest and the time for cutting the corn, these gatherings provided a welcome annual opportunity for Ohio frontier families to socialize and revel in more or less unrestrained religious emotion.

Since the Methodists had no qualms about the Arminian doctrines which accompanied the Kentucky revival and only objected to the more obnoxious emotional displays of the camp meetings, rather than suffering a schism as did the Presbyterians, they readily accepted the ideas and spirit of the awakening and eventually became the most prolific employer of open air services. A year before the Methodists held their first camp meeting in Ohio at Marietta in 1804, others already had carried the new religious invention as far north as the Western Reserve. However, the Methodists soon captured the undisputed lead as the most ardent sponsors of camp meetings within the state. They were the first to systematize and organize these religious outings by elaborate advance planning and advertising, thus rendering them an efficient tool for securing numerous converts and new church members. From 1804 until 1816 the Ohio Methodists held no less than fifty-nine encampments, usually four days in length, from Friday until Monday.

Although they also participated in the camp meeting movement, the Baptists never embraced this type of service to an extent equal to either the Presbyterians or the Methodists. Two reasons may account for

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46 Bittner, loc. cit.; Cleveland, op. cit., 84.

47 For examples of early advertisements for Methodist camp meetings, see Carter, op. cit., 36, n. 1.

48 Bittner, loc. cit.
this. First, the leaders of the Baptist Church found the physical exercises which prevailed on many camp grounds intolerable and denounced them in no uncertain terms. Second, Baptist preachers often made themselves unwelcome at union camp meetings by persistently emphasizing their controversial beliefs concerning baptism. 49 Therefore, the Baptists, while imbibing the invigorating influences of the Second Great Awakening and, in part, helping to institutionalize the camp meeting and later revivalism itself, continued to be critical of excessive emotional displays during services and showed reticence in cooperating in union efforts which might limit their freedom to declare their views on baptism. 50

In any case, it is apparent that by 1804, with Presbyterians leaving en masse to join the Christian Church, with Methodists welcoming the stimulating Arminian doctrines and religious excitement emanating from the south, with Baptists adjusting enough to the new ideas of the revival to experience a spurt of growth without the disruption of a schism, 51 with Shakers soon sending missionaries to proselyte generously from among the New Lights, 52 and with all taking part in summer camp

49 Carter, op. cit., 75.

50 For example, see the unfavorable Baptist editorial comments concerning the 1886 Cincinnati revival of Samuel P. Jones in The Journal and Messenger, LV (January 27, 1886), 8; (February 3, 1886), 5; and (February 10, 1886), 4.

51 Sweet, The Baptists, 29. Carter, op. cit., 93, points out that the Regular and the Separate Baptists, which had been divided in the West, adjusted their differences at this time and united.

52 MacLean, A Sketch, 21-63. McNemar himself was drawn into the Shaker fold in 1805 and spent the rest of his life in their service.
meetings, the Ohio stage was well set for the arrival of the first itinerant revivalist in the state, Lorenzo Dow.

"Crazy Dow," as he universally became known throughout the United States, was born on October 16, 1777, in Coventry, Connecticut. From his early youth, he had a mystical inclination and often had dreams which had special meanings to him. As the result of one such dream when he was about fifteen, he began to be concerned about the salvation of his soul and to pray. However, he, like many of his contemporaries, first had to wrestle with the restrictions placed upon him by the doctrines of election and predestination before he could have an assurance that he was saved, and later he wrote a treatise against Calvinism itself. On one occasion, his depression over election almost brought him to commit suicide, but soon thereafter a contact with the Methodists convinced him that all might be saved and he was not satisfied until he himself had a crisis conversion experience. It was a highly emotional event in the life of Lorenzo. "I strove to plead with God for mercy, for several hours, as a man would plead for his life; until at length being weary in body, . . ., I fell into a slumber," he recalled. In a dream that ensued, two devils tried to carry him off to hell, but finally Dow

53 The best biography of Lorenzo Dow is Charles C. Sellers, 
Lorenzo Dow The Bearer of the Word (New York, 1928). Lorenzo Dow, The 
Eccentric Preacher (Lowell, Massachusetts, 1841) is a helpful sketch of 
the basic facts of his life. Of considerable aid in understanding Dow 
and his travels is his exhaustive journal as found in Lorenzo Dow, 
History of Cosmopolite; or The Four Volumes of Lorenzo Dow's Journal 
(Wheeling, West Virginia, 1848) and in Lorenzo Dow, The Life, Travels, 
Labors, and Writings of Lorenzo Dow (Philadelphia, no date).

54 See Dow, The Life, 247-283 for his arguments against predestination.
prayed, "Lord, I give up; I submit; I yield; if there be mercy in heaven for me, let me know it; and if not, let me go down to hell, and know the worst of my case." Immediately he "saw the Mediator step in, as it were, between the Father's justice and my soul, and these words were applied to my mind with great power; 'Son! thy sins which are many are forgiven thee; thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace.'" 55

With this essential conversion experience behind him, the tall and fragile-looking, asthmatic youth with the long brown hair and bright blue eyes began to exhort in local Methodist meetings by November, 1794. 56 However, his real desire was to be an itinerant preacher, and in 1796 he went out on a temporary assignment as a circuit-rider in Rhode Island. Nevertheless, the crude straightforwardness of his preaching and the irritating rough edges of his personality met with a cold reception among the churches, and he was sent home to await further commendation by the "Society of preachers" of his home district. To the great disappointment of Dow, that commendation never came. He was rejected both by the Methodist conference at Thomas, Connecticut in September, 1796, and by the one at Wilbraham, Massachusetts in September, 1797. The latter gave him the right to travel about and preach wherever he was invited, but refused to assign him to a circuit or allow his name to appear on the conference minutes. 57 Lorenzo, instead of abandoning the eccentricities of person and method which were the cause of his

55 Ibid., 17, 18; Dow, Eccentric Preacher, 10-13.

56 See Sellers, op. cit., 5, for a complete description of the physical appearance of Dow.

57 Dow, Eccentric Preacher, 21-25.
rejection, however, resolved, "because the preachers would not receive me as a brother," to forsake the name Methodist and "set out for some distant part of America, out of sight and hearing of the Methodists, and to get societies formed, and the next year to come and offer myself and them to the convention, and by this method to get my character established."  

Dow was quite successful in establishing his character—as a highly eccentric, hell-and-damnation preacher—but this never brought him into a closer official connection with the Methodist Church. Although he was often welcomed by local Methodist groups who endorsed his transient labors, his lot after 1797 was to travel a circuit of his own design which led him into every state in the Union and to Canada, England and Ireland before his death in 1834. It was during these lonely travels that he nursed the oddities of his personality and approach which made him one of the best-known persons in the United States by the 1830's. On his journeys he became too absorbed in his mission of saving souls to think of his own personal cleanliness. Besides being soiled and unkempt in appearance, Dow spoke with difficulty in a hoarse voice and with frequent gasps which gave evidence of his lingering asthma. He was perpetually in ill health, melancholy, and unpredictable in his personal and preaching habits. Dow knew the common man as few have known him and denounced his sins in terms which he knew the ordinary individual could not fail to understand. Dow never gave a consistently  

58 Dow, The Life, 35.  
59 Dow, Eccentric Preacher, 30-131; Sellers, op. cit., 4-256.
methodical treatment to a subject in his sermons, but rather, in his own
aggressive and recklessly declaratory manner, dangled the sinner over
the fires of hell and then offered him a means of escape through the
atonement of Christ. He consciously made himself a being of unreality
and wonder, and, as all of the elements of his personality and career
congealed in the public imagination, a myth grew up about him during his
own lifetime. 60

When he entered the newly-formed state of Ohio for the first
time in September, 1804, Lorenzo Dow had then been in all of the seven­
teen states of the Union. He had married Peggy Holcomb at Western, New
York on September 3, and the following day left without her to tour New
York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Tennessee, and Louisiana. 61 He arrived and
spoke at Steubenville, Ohio on September 19, and by September 23, was
heard by "a few" in Zanesville where he observed "great marks of anti­
quity, ridges of earth thrown up so as to form enclosures of various
forms, on which three or four might easily ride abreast." 62 The next
day he preached in New Lancaster (the present-day Lancaster) while an
advertisement that he would speak in the state capitol at Chillicothe on
Tuesday, September 25, at 6:00 P.M. was appearing in The Scioto Gazette.

So it was that "LORENZO DOW, who travels over vast tracts of
country, for the purpose of spreading the gospel, and who, for his zeal
and industry in incalculating the doctrines of morality and religion has

60 Sellers, op. cit., 3-5, 129.
61 Dow, History of Cosmopolite, 212-214.
rarely been excelled . . ." was hailed into Chillicothe where he held four meetings. During his visit to the Ohio capital, Dow was entertained for two days at the home of Governor Edward Tiffin who himself was an ordained Methodist preacher with close contact to the revivalism of the Second Great Awakening. The two must have enjoyed a mutual fellowship. Dow commented about Tiffin in his journal: "In him are connected the Christian and the gentleman." However, if the Governor gave Dow a warm welcome, there were others who did not. The evangelist observed that "some of the A-double-L-part people" (his name for folks who held to the Calvinistic view of election) "were offended." Indeed, he undoubtedly would have been disappointed if his outright Arminianism had not caused some resentment. In any case, after witnessing demonstrations of the jerking exercise in the state, the transient divine moved on into Kentucky after October 1, where he attended the meeting of the western conference of the Methodist Church, spoke under the trees, and parted company with the delegates in friendship.

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63 The Scioto Gazette, September 24, 1804, 2.

64 See the sketch of the life of Edward Tiffin in James B. Finley, Sketches of Western Methodism: Biographical, Historical, and Miscellaneous, edited by W. P. Strickland (Cincinnati, 1854), 260-287.

65 Dow, The Life, 154. Although the dates are unknown, it is asserted that Dow made at least two visits to Chillicothe and in both instances preached at the market house in front of the square "using a butcher's block for a stand." Tradition has it that "at the close of his first address, he announced that he would preach from the same spot, in just one year from that day, and hour, and disappeared. Punctual to his appointment, he mounted the block when the year rolled around." For this account, see History of Ross and Highland Counties, Ohio (Cleveland, 1880), 202.

The next recorded activity of Dow in Ohio was in connection with the hanging of David Beckett on December 10, 1808, for the murder of John Lightfoot. The execution, which was to take place at West Union in Adams County, and the fact that Dow was to be on hand to use his powers to try to persuade the condemned man to tell the facts which would seal the guilt or innocence of William Faulkner who was accused of complicity in the murder, drew the largest crowd which had ever assembled in Adams County from as far away as Kentucky.  

On the morning of the execution, Lorenzo entered Beckett's cell and interrogated him at some length without avail concerning the involvement of Faulkner. Nevertheless, Dow's urgings must have had some effect because after Rev. Robert Dobbins, another Methodist, spoke to Beckett of "the awful consequences of appearing before his Judge with a falsehood upon his soul," he confessed that Faulkner was not guilty. The gibbet upon which the accused would die stood north of the northeast corner of the public square, and nearby was erected a rough platform. From here, while Beckett was being bound and driven to the place of execution on a vehicle bearing his coffin, Dow and the other attending ministers prepared to speak. As the condemned Beckett and a crowd, reported in the thousands, listened, Dow preached from the unlikely words: "Rejoyce, young man, in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth." Seemingly still composed in the face of

67 Nelson W. Evans, A History of Adams County, Ohio (West Union, Ohio, 1900), 391.

death, Beckett himself exhorted the assemblage in a lengthy confession in which he pleaded with the young people who were present to beware of the sins of intemperance, gambling, and base company which had caused his plight. As the spectators slipped away towards their homes that afternoon, they not only had seen the spectacle of a public hanging, but also they had been part of what was undoubtedly the largest Ohio crowd to ever listen to the famed Lorenzo Dow.

It is alleged that sometime in 1812 the evangelist passed through Morristown in Belmont County. One citizen later recalled that "he came riding into town on horseback preaching at the top of his voice, and opposite 'Squire Morrison's hotel he stopped and talked to the people in great earnest, entreating them to turn from their sins." Then, as he left, waving his hat above his head, he threatened "the very stars of heaven are witnessed against you."

In 1815, Dow took an extended evangelistic tour through southern Ohio. It was Sunday, October 15 when he arrived at Marietta where he preached "in the Methodist meeting-house to more than could get in—generally well-behaved." The next day was his thirty-eighth birthday and he celebrated it by three speaking engagements. At sunrise he arose and addressed a group of two hundred; about nine o'clock he spoke in the two-steepled meeting house; and later he held forth at nearby Fort Harmar. It must have been a day of reflection and rededication for him.

He confided to his journal,

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69Ibid., 78; Evans, op. cit., 391, 392.
70J. A. Caldwell, History of Belmont and Jefferson Counties, Ohio (Wheeling, West Virginia, 1880), 369.
What is ahead I know not; but this one thing I am conscious of, that it requires more grace to be able to suffer the whole will of God, than merely to do it.

"What now is my object and aim? What now is my hope and desire? To follow the Heavenly Lamb, And after his image aspire!"  

After taking meticulous notice of the ancient earthworks in the vicinity, Dow rode horseback to Gallipolis and then took a boat down the Ohio River, stopping at random points on both sides. On the Ohio shore, he landed at Portsmouth, held several meetings at Alexandria, spoke once at Limestone, and eventually arrived at Cincinnati where he spent eleven days in late October and early November, attempting to convert the few thousand citizens in Ohio's largest town.

In all probability, this visit of Dow's to Cincinnati represents, in very elementary and unorganized form, the first extended professional revival campaign in the state. His reputation as an eccentric preacher had preceded him to Cincinnati and an expectant crowd flocked around him as he came ashore. Taking full command of the situation, he preached his first sermon there on the bank of the river. Although this was his initial visit to Cincinnati, Lorenzo found many old friends in town who had migrated to the frontier from various parts of the Union. When they insisted that he stay and preach for a few days, he, of course, seized the opportunity. Setting a precedent for the widespread advertisement

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72 Ibid.
73 Ibid., 240, 241; Dow, History of Cosmopolite, 341. Annual Report of the Secretary of State to the Governor of the State of Ohio for the Year Ending November 15, 1900 (Columbus, Ohio, 1900), 780, gives the Cincinnati population as 2,340 in 1810 and 9,642 in 1820.
used by the later revivalists in their urban campaigns, Dow had "several thousand handbills printed for distribution." Other than the handbills, there seems to have been no further advertisement of Dow's Cincinnati meetings. The two local newspapers, Liberty Hall and The Western Spy did not carry any advertisements or reports of his activities.

The wandering revivalist, who now had some vested interest in Ohio by virtue of his having purchased the Brottenbargh tract in Clark County near Springfield, made his last preaching tour of the state in 1826. He began this excursion in early May by his cursing and hat
throwing session at Portland (Sandusky City), which we viewed at the opening of this chapter, and then journeyed south, preaching every day as he went. Dow had established a custom of sending word ahead to notify the people of the exact time and place where he would speak and was noted for his uncanny punctuality, even if the appointment was made months in advance. On this particular trip, he had sent the message ahead that he would speak at Bellefontaine at 11:00 A.M. on a Saturday in early May. As the appointed hour neared, Lorenzo appeared with his erratic personality and preaching style ready for display. When Judge N. Z. McColloch and others met the wagon in which Dow had borrowed a ride into town, the famed revivalist greeted the Judge's invitation to dinner with silence, directed the driver to move on a little way, then alighted from the vehicle and laid down under a shade tree where he pulled some bread and meat from his pocket to satisfy his appetite.

From the way he preached when meeting time came, some in the large audience must have felt that his picnic lunch had given him a serious case of indigestion. His denunciation of sin was not only

the road from Granville to Mount Vernon in McKean Township of Licking County on some night before 1831 and the next morning speaking in the street in Granville.


79 See footnote 65 above for an instance of Dow's punctuality in Ohio.

80 *The History of Champaign County, Ohio* (Chicago, 1881), 291; Antrim, *op. cit.*, 162. Both of these sources draw on the not infallible recollections of Thomas Cowgill in 1872. Also see Robert P. Kennedy, *The Historical Review of Logan County, Ohio* (Chicago, 1903), 199, 200.
stringent, but also discourteously personal. Pointing to an old lady sitting near him, whom likely he had never seen before in his life, he said: "Old lady, if you don't quit tattling and slandering your neighbors, the devil will get you!" Later, he admonished a youth in the crowd: "Young man, you estimate yourself a great deal higher than other people estimate you, and if you don't quit your high notions and do better, the devil will get you too!" As the blunt preacher strode out of the Bellefontaine meeting, he prophesied to another young man that "the Lord has a work for you to do. He calls you to labor in his vineyard." That evening Dow preached at a semi-private service at the home of Phineas Hunt, but the next day, Sunday, he had plenty of energy to keep his 10:00 A.M. appointment in Mt. Tabor and to thrill the curious crowd.

Certainly many, if not most, of Dow's notorious "eccentricities" were consciously employed techniques to gain and hold attention—the treasured possession of nearly all of the successful professional revivalists. In keeping with his reputation for unpredictable behavior, at Mt. Tabor, Lorenzo entered the village from the north and walked right on past the place where seats had been provided and the expectant congregation was assembled in the grove west of the meeting house. When he reached the bushy, wooded area southeast of where the people were located, he stopped and immediately began to preach. With heightened curiosity the people, most of them standing during the entire sermon, rushed to his side to hear his words of wisdom. After preaching for

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81 Antrim, loc. cit. According to tradition, the man to whom Dow spoke did later become a minister.
about one and a quarter hours, "in which he seemed to mention almost everything connected with religious subjects," and "giving a history of his life," Dow knelt, prayed and dismissed the audience.\footnote{Ibid., 162-164; The History of Champaign County, Ohio, 292.}

Then the venerable itinerant, beard reaching to breast, graying hair falling to stooped shoulders, and plain clothes reportedly neat and clean, climbed aboard a wagon which William Fyffe had sent from Urbana to carry him to his three o'clock appointment there. Once in Urbana, he again refused dinner invitations, choosing rather to recline on the cellar door of Judge Reynolds and to enjoy the bounty of meat and bread from his own pocket. After these refreshments, Lorenzo was ready to address the large congregation that awaited him in the local Methodist Church. In fact, he became so animated in the heat of his sermon that, as he swung his arms about, a hymn book slipped from his hand and struck a lady in the head. Undaunted, he reportedly paused and said: "Excuse my energy, for my soul is elated."\footnote{Ibid.}

The combined exposure that Ohioans had to the peculiar personality and career of Lorenzo Dow during his periodic treks through the state over a score of years served in several significant respects to familiarize them with what would later be called professional revivalism. His trackless and uninhibited wandering implanted the idea that a preacher need not be tied to a single church or circuit. His forthright, denunciatory and uncompromisingly Arminian sermons grew in popularity, along with that of the expanding camp meetings. His peculiarities of

\cite{Ibid., 162-164; The History of Champaign County, Ohio, 292.}

\cite{Ibid.}
personality and expository style of preaching which would draw and hold a crowd were accepted and enjoyed. When he went so far as to advertise his meetings through handbills and a published journal of his travels, few thought it strange. That the varied aspects of his unique ministry had a breadth, if not a depth, of influence upon the residents of the state is evidenced in the widespread oral tradition which so rapidly grew up concerning his work. From the nature of Dow and his methods, it would be little wonder if some citizens felt that John Newland Maffitt and Daniel Baker, the wandering divine's immediate itinerant successors in the state, were mild by comparison.

Although as a frontier state in 1830, Ohio ranked fourth in the Union in total population, it could boast only one city, Cincinnati, with over 10,000 residents and, therefore, could not be expected to be a center of urban-oriented professional revivalism at that time. However, the growing communities of the state, in which the latent elements of evangelical piety which could be activated by itinerant preachers to produce revivals of religion already existed, presented a sufficient challenge to attract some of the best-known professional itinerants of the age, if only for short engagements.

The first of the rising generation of truly professional revivalists to venture into the waiting Ohio mission field was the exotic and eloquent John Newland Maffitt. He was born to Methodist parents in

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84 Harry Hanson, editor, The World Almanac and Book of Facts (New York, 1965), 284; Annual Report of the Secretary of State to the Governor of the State of Ohio for the Year Ending November 15, 1900, 780.
Dublin, Ireland, in 1794. Like his father, he was trained to be a merchant-tailor, but, although he grew up to love fine clothes, he always was ashamed of the occupation. In the midst of strange visions, he had a conversion experience when he was seventeen, joined the Methodist Church, and soon felt a "call" to preach. However, in Catholic Ireland he soon found that the street-corner ministry was a discouraging affair and in 1819, since his two attempts in the tailoring business failed, decided to leave his young wife and four children to try his fortune in America. Neither the ministry nor tailoring seemed very promising to him when he arrived in New York City, but he eventually saw his opportunity in a revival in New London, Connecticut, and, once in the pulpit, thrilled the people with an exhaustless profusion of glittering language (supplied from his prolific novel reading) which immediately catapulted him to revivalistic fame. In 1822, the New England Conference of the Methodist Church admitted him on trial as an itinerant, and he spent the rest of the 1820's in revival activities in the New England area.

As his reputation for being able to create the desired revival

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86 Elsemore, op. cit., 3-6; Cole, op. cit., 85; Loud, op. cit., 210, 211; Emma Maffitt, op. cit., 19-22.

87 Elsemore, op. cit., 6; Emma Maffitt, op. cit., 22.
atmosphere in churches and communities was noised abroad, Maffitt received countless invitations to speak and was eventually able to get whatever fee he demanded in advance for his services. During this time, his peculiarities of person and preaching solidified into a tradition. His oratorical flourishes were developed to an almost ridiculous ethereal level. His pride in his personal appearance prompted the most elaborate attention to his costume and grooming. It was reported that while holding campaigns in Philadelphia, New York, and Cincinnati, at the height of his evangelistic career in the 1830's, he drove to the barber before the services and then rode on to the church bareheaded, hat in hand, in order not to disturb the arrangement of his coal-black hair.

Although only a few glimpses of his Cincinnati revival have survived the intervening years, they are vividly illustrative of Maffitt's pulpit style and revival techniques. In one of his sermons he described the beauties of heaven in such glowing terms and at such length that the congregation finally burst spontaneously into a united shout of "Glory!" Then, masterfully shifting the tenor of the audience's emotion by a simile of eternity, the revivalist caught up their imagination in the infinite span of time to be allotted to the punishment of the wicked. As they listened in wrapt attention, he pictured a bird coming every thousand years and carrying off a mouthful of earth and then explained: "This task, though requiring millions upon millions of ages and but

88 Elsemore, op. cit., 7; Loud, op. cit., 211.
dimly shadowing the awful word, eternity, would at last come to an end, . . ., but, the punishment of the lost shall endure forever."\textsuperscript{89}

That he used unorthodox methods with effect in Cincinnati is evident from the results on another occasion. Stepping down from the pulpit among the people and opening his hymnal, he announced: "I will sing a hymn in which the congregation will please not join." He then proceeded to render the hymn with such meaning and feeling that when he finished, mourners automatically swarmed around the altar.\textsuperscript{90}

As Maffitt left Cincinnati to pursue his progressively more controversial ministry, which led him through the chaplaincy of the United States House of Representatives in 1841, to divorce, remarriage and scathing attacks in the press that brought him broken-hearted to his grave in 1850,\textsuperscript{91} Ohioans were making the acquaintance of one of the first revivalists in the Old School Presbyterian fold to use the "new measures," Daniel Baker. Baker was a native of Georgia who, for a short time in 1834, took up residence in Ohio but came to feel so uncomfortable over the slavery issue that he moved to the Southwest and became known as the greatest Southern revivalist of the ante-bellum period.\textsuperscript{92}

\textsuperscript{89}Loud, op. cit., 212.

\textsuperscript{90}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{91}Cole, op. cit., 86; Emma Maffitt, op. cit., 23-27.

By the time he was eight years old, in 1799, both of Daniel's Congregationalist parents had died. The melancholy of his youth had soon blended into the hard work of his early jobs in Savannah. Even the gaiety of the dance and lure of the card game suddenly faded when one of his worldly companions died an unexpected death. Baker was so shaken over the event that he bought a Bible and at prayer meeting resolved to serve God all his life and to become a minister. Unlike most of the professional revivalists who had meager educational preparation, he decided to accept an offer of financial assistance and studied for the Presbyterian ministry at Hampden-Sydney College and Princeton from which he graduated in 1815. He was licensed in 1816, ordained in 1818, and taught school and served as pastor in various churches, including the one in Washington D.C. where John Quincy Adams rented a pew, until 1831. 93

As an itinerant revivalist, the methods which Baker employed place him in a middle position between the conservatism of Asahel Nettleton and the liberalism of Charles Finney. Even before he began his itineracy in 1831, he successfully had introduced the "protracted meeting" at his Independent Presbyterian Church in Savannah. As he began to travel about under the recommendation of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, he accepted invitations from Baptist and Episcopal as well as Presbyterian churches and adopted new revival tactics as he went. Inquiry meetings and "union revivals," in which various denominations participated, became common with him. Cautiously, he even used the Methodist "anxious seat" idea by asking people to come forward to be

prayed for. Sunrise prayer meetings and services for designated groups only (such as the unsaved) were among his inventions. Often he would have certain types of people, such as children, mothers, or young men sit together in a special section at a regular meeting, and then address his message especially to them. Like all of the revivalists, his sermons were delivered extemporaneously, but his conservatism was shown in his careful preparation of them. He actually wrote cut over two hundred sermons during his lifetime and this practice was adopted generally by itinerants after 1860. Following Baker's example they developed a supply of stock messages which they reproduced in almost exact duplication wherever they went, linking different sections of the nation by a common experience in much the same way as nationwide radio and television programs do at present. Finally, it must be noted that Baker was careful, in the Nettletonian fashion, to keep on good relations with the pastors he assisted. He tried to preserve and strengthen the status of the pastors among their parishioners and did not set fees for his services.

When the ambitious young revivalist resigned his Savannah pastorate in 1831, he had intended to itinerate in the South for about six months and then to take up permanent residence in and to attempt to evangelize Ohio. However, the great demand for his skills in the

94 Ibid., 183, 189; Thompson, op. cit., 117, 122, 126.
95 Baker, The Life, 189; Thompson, op. cit., 127-129.
96 Thompson, op. cit., 126; Baker, The Life, 196, 200, 201.
97 Baker, The Life, 199.
South detained him so that he and his family did not enter Ohio until May, 1834. Inquiring as to what was the "garden spot" of the state, he settled at Lancaster. Once his family was established there, he journeyed on to Springfield in Clark County and held a protracted meeting for Rev. John Galloway for about ten days. During the course of the meeting, a highly respected Springfield resident became progressively more distressed as the meetings wore on. Then, suddenly one day the man came to the pastor's house "with joy beaming in his countenance, and his mouth filled with praise to God. . . ." The peace which he sought had been found when he sent an old associate two hundred dollars to atone for the one hundred and thirty dollars out of which he had secretly defrauded him years before. In all, as a result of Baker's revival in Springfield, about thirty individuals were taken into the church. Apparently most were heads of families.\textsuperscript{98}

Obviously, Baker felt this was success enough from which to initiate a wholesale revival in the entire state. He immediately contracted with a carpenter to build him a fifteen hundred dollar brick house at Springfield, "intending to make the State of Ohio my field, and Springfield my radiating point." At first the residents in the surrounding area seemed to react favorably to the presence of the southern evangelist and appeared just as optimistic as he over the potentials for a revival. The invitations began to pour in, and Baker began to hold protracted meetings in various villages and towns.

However, although only a handful of details concerning these

\textsuperscript{98} Ibid., 205-207.
services remain, enough evidence is available to indicate that the great success which Baker and the others anticipated was not forthcoming. One insurmountable obstacle met the revivalist wherever he went in the state—the divisive slave question. The discouraging results of his campaign in Circleville, beginning on Friday, July 25, 1834, were characteristic of the general lack of response to his message and methods. He entered in his journal the following commentary on the services:

Preached at night on Saturday, and Sabbath. Prospects encouraging. In the early part of the week, strove hard to bring about a reconciliation with certain professors, who, for some time, had been at variance with each other. All in vain. The Spirit's influence seemed gradually to be withdrawn; and at the close of the meeting on Wednesday, whilst we rejoiced over three or four hopefully converted, we had to lament that the sins of the professed people of God had prevented richer blessings.99

That the slavery issue was behind whatever antagonism the Ohioans had for this southern preacher and played a part in his general ineffectiveness might be seen in his own confession:

Finding myself in the midst of rabid Abolitionists, who poured almost unmeasured abuse upon my southern friends, I felt myself, as it were, in a nest of hornets. Although I was myself no slave-holder, yet I was no Abolitionist.

Baker believed that the relation of master and slave was recognized in the Bible and that ecclesiastical bodies had no right to legislate concerning the institution. Obviously, this was enough to render him ineffective as an evangelist and uncomfortable personally north of the Ohio where slavery was fast becoming an issue enwrapped in emotion. "Pained by the harsh remarks which poured into my ear from day to day," Baker became very restless and longed to return to the South. Therefore, when

99 Ibid., 207.
he received an invitation to travel as a missionary in Kentucky, he felt that Providence had supplied a way of escape.

Daniel Baker was not the only revivalist to be affected by the slavery controversy in Ohio. When Lyman Beecher and Charles Finney, two of the most famous revivalists in the intellectual and itinerant phases of revivalism respectively, came to make their homes in Ohio in the 1830's, they found themselves in the midst of a heated debate on this very question. In fact, the impact of each of these men's efforts in the state revolved in part around Beecher's attempt to delay and even silence discussion of the slavery issue at Lane Seminary and Finney's outright abolition stand at Oberlin Collegiate Institute.

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100 Ibid., 207, 208.
CHAPTER III

LYMAN BEECHER, CHARLES FINNEY, AND THE SOLIDIFICATION
OF THE OHIO REVIVAL TRADITION

That the two most prominent revivalists of their generation, Lyman Beecher and Charles Finney, should choose to give up their influential positions and fruitful labors in eastern metropolises to live near the edge of civilization in the Ohio of the 1830's was not the result of the possibilities of direct evangelism which the Buckeye state provided. It was the result of the fact that Ohio was strategically located for the erection of institutions in which young men could be schooled in the ideas and methods of revivalism and then sent out to evangelize the West.

As a full participant in the Second Great Awakening on the frontier, Ohio had witnessed the multiplication of church schools, which was one of the chief by-products of the revivalistic fervor. Actually, the educational urge was so strong in Ohio that by 1860 it had more permanent colleges, seventeen, than any other state in the Union. All but two of that number had been founded by the churches, and even the remaining state institutions were subject to significant religious influence.¹

Growing out of the great awakening as they did, many of these Ohio schools became hotbeds for the perpetuation of revivalism of the institutionalized, stereotyped variety,² and it is no mystery why their

¹Donald G. Tewksbury, The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War (New York, 1932), 211-220.
²See the revealing investigation of revivalism at Western Reserve
boards of trustees cast about for men like Beecher and Finney to serve on their staffs or why these men were prone to accept.

When the Presbyterians established Lane Seminary at Cincinnati in 1829, one of their early decisions was that Lyman Beecher, who from his Boston pastorate was one of the nation's best-known reformers and revivalists, should be solicited to fill the presidency. Although it took him a year and a half to decide finally to accept the offer, from the first Beecher felt that his experience as a pioneer in revivalism had prepared him uniquely for such a position and could not have been unaware of what the association of his name with the institution could mean to its popularity and growth. He had been born in 1775 in New Haven, Connecticut, and, after his mother's death, had received both high school and Yale College education at the beneficent hands of his uncle. His association with Timothy Dwight, Yale president after 1795, and Nathaniel W. Taylor brought him to reject the strict interpretation

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4 Arthur Tappan of New York had already let it be known that he would give the school twenty thousand dollars if Beecher accepted the presidency. See Beecher, *Autobiography*, II, 242, 243.
of Calvinism and eventually adopt the strong evangelical approach implied in the Arminian free grace position. His formal departure from the old theology came after his ordination as a Presbyterian minister in his second pastorate at Litchfield, Connecticut. In a sermon titled "The Faith Once Delivered to the Saints," which was published in 1823, he declared that "men are free agents, in the possession of such faculties, and placed in such circumstances as render it practicable for them to do whatever God requires."\(^5\)

For whatever Arminian connotations these words implied, by his ingenius tact, Beecher, like Nettleton, was able to become a leader of the Eastern, Conservative wing of revivalism without completely offending the rigidly Calvinistic brethren until 1835. However, the revivals which he initiated, in part to combat Unitarianism, demanded but a fraction of his energies. When he moved to Boston at the peak of his career in 1826, he also was busily engaged in all kinds of projects for social and moral reform. The interdenominational societies which he helped found struck hard at dueling, intemperance, lotteries, Sabbath-breaking, and deism, among other things. Skillful use of publicity, a natural gift for popular oratory and writing, and ingenuity as an organizer, therefore, brought Beecher to the front ranks of the evangelical clergymen of his day, and it was not without some definite purpose that he left the lustre of the East to accept the presidency of Lane Seminary in primitive Ohio.\(^6\) After very carefully weighing the relative worth of

\(^5\)Ibid., I, 554.

\(^6\)McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 30, 31.
his services in Boston, where he was never accepted by the aristocratic element, and at the new school, he finally wrote a prayer in which he concluded:

... if Thou hast called me to resign a field of such deep interest and high promise, Thou, Savior, Thou wilt not permit Thy cause to be injured here by my removal, and wilt not send me unaided and unblessed to my new field of labor.

I do, therefore, now consecrate myself to Thee, O Lord, my Savior and my God, in the service to which Thou hast called me, to assist in raising up the foundations of Thy kingdom in the West.7

With the die thus cast, the fifty-six year old Beecher and his large family set out for Ohio in October, 1832. Since at that time Cincinnati was in the throes of a cholera epidemic, he accepted an invitation to stop in Granville, Ohio and participate in a protracted meeting already in progress. Therefore, in November, while the Ohio Democrats were harvesting a sizeable majority of votes of the state to help Andrew Jackson to his second term in the White House,8 the noted revivalist from the East was attempting to direct the attention of the people of Granville toward eternal concerns. He preached on five occasions in all and was confident that at least forty-five persons were converted in the meetings. However, his modified Calvinism "astonished" some of the folks at Granville who explained that "they never saw the truth so plain in their lives." An Andover Seminary student, who preached there one Sunday during Beecher's visit, confused the theological issues, "sometimes directing to repent, and sometimes to read and pray, in order to

8The Ohio State Journal, And Columbus Gazette, November 17 and December 15, 1832, 3.
prepare for repentance." Reveling in having propagated his New School ideas in Ohio and in having set this eastern student straight as to the "principles of moral government and free agency," Beecher and his family moved on, arriving at their destination in Cincinnati on November 14. On December 16, 1832, he was installed as President and Professor of Theology of Lane Seminary.9

Beecher had never been an itinerant evangelist and now he was primarily an educator, but for the more than fifteen years that he lived in Ohio he helped to make the state a focal point of revival ideas and interest.10 Inasmuch as the Lane trustees had called him to the presidency and he had accepted, he felt that the institution had affirmed itself as a "revival seminary" from which would radiate the doctrines and spirit that would save the trans-Allegheny region for Protestant Christianity.11 Furthermore, an integral part of his agreement to go to Lane was that he be permitted to carry on his revival interests as pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Cincinnati.12 Although he submitted to the Presbyterian discipline, he hoped rapidly to convert his congregation and Presbyterianism throughout the West to his New School concepts.13 Therefore, he now expanded his revivalistic efforts into the


12Cooper, op. cit., 11, 12.

broad framework provided by the seminary, his pastorate and occasional speaking engagements.

Records remain of his holding only one protracted meeting in the state, except for his participation at Granville and his efforts in his own Cincinnati congregation. This revival occurred at Oxford in May, 1839. He went to the college town on an invitation to hold meetings for a single Sunday. Arriving the evening before his scheduled services, however, he consented to lecture in the Miami University chapel and was greeted by rowdy students and others who attempted, without success, to break up the meeting. By the end of the Sunday evening service, though, Beecher had gained the confidence of the youth of the community. One young man walked up to the pulpit and asked him to invite all present who would like to discuss the interests of their individual souls to remain. When the evangelist did so, seven or eight came forward. As the hour got late, Beecher suggested that he would be available at his quarters the next day for counseling sessions. Although he had intended to return to Cincinnati on Monday, he was flooded with callers all day and, touched by the wholesale response, began a protracted effort in Oxford which he continued for two weeks.  

He set a prodigious schedule for himself during the revival, but found the work extremely refreshing. On May 26, he wrote to his wife:

I have never been placed in more interesting circumstances—so accordant with my desires—so calculated to task my powers, and in the best manner to bring out all the resources of my mind, and all my knowledge of human nature, . . . It is delightful. My intellect is invigorated by heaven and by use, and my heart

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rejoices, and my health rises, while I preach every night, and thrice on the Sabbath, attend morning prayer-meeting at five and talk, and four o'clock prayer-meeting and talk, and inquiry meeting after preaching every night, and converse with forty or more, and talk with young men from eight till twelve A.M. besides.  

The aging revivalist may have felt that he had missed a calling to the itinerancy as an estimated one hundred (eighty from the university) were converted during his labors in Oxford. 

Before leaving the thrilling scenes at Oxford, Beecher expressed his trust that

God is preparing for me at the West a more open door, with less distraction from adversaries, and preparing my mind for an atmosphere where my character needs no establishment, and where the co-operation of cordial friends will afford me opportunities of cheerful and efficient action.

It is little wonder that the traveling ministry and the protracted meeting where "so sudden and signal a change as now every day greets my eyes and cheers my heart" should have a particular attraction for him. In the years immediately preceding the Oxford revival, Beecher had felt the reproach of having his character called into question by the Presbyterian Church because of his New School theological persuasion and had experienced a great deal of "distraction from adversaries" in the slavery controversy at Lane.

That Beecher was a major figure in the effort of conservative revivalists to revise Calvinism from within toward a more free-will orientation, was well known before he came to Cincinnati. However, in 1831,
the year before he assumed the Lane presidency, Beecher took actions which closely identified him with Finney's brand of revivalism and eventually led him to an open break with Old School Calvinism. Although Beecher continued to fear the effects of Finney's radical revival doctrines and methods upon his own revival and reform efforts in Boston, in August, 1831 he wrote to the latter that "with very little difference and that now on points of discretion unessential, you and I are as much, perhaps even more, one than almost any two men whom God has pleased to render conspicuous in his church," and Catherine Beecher even suggested that the two revivalists might some day be "fellow laborers in the West." After some misgivings, therefore, Beecher had joined with the other Congregational ministers of Boston in inviting Finney to the city to hold revival meetings which lasted from August, 1831 until April, 1832. Beecher's worst fears were realized when Finney preached a sermon entitled "Sinners Bound to Change Their Own Hearts." This gave the ultra-Calvinists their chance to denounce the New York revivalist's doctrine as heresy, and Beecher, to his dismay, found himself having to forsake his Old School allegiance in order to defend the radical revivalism of Finney.

The ultra-Calvinists at the Second Presbyterian Church in Cincinnati neither overlooked this new expression of Beecher's heterodoxy, nor hesitated to inform him while still in Boston that they would not consider him an acceptable pastor. Under the influence of Rev. Joshua

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18 Lyman Beecher and Catherine Beecher to Finney, August 2, 1831, quoted in McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 60.

19 Ibid., 60-64.
Wilson, acting president of Lane Seminary and conservative revivalist, two of the elders of the Second Presbyterian Church wrote to Beecher on June 16, 1832, warning him that if he should accept the pastorate there would ensue "a considerable secession from the Church." The Boston revivalist countered by sending a copy of the letter to the Session the members of which suggested that he ignore it, but, in January, 1833, he found that Wilson, who was persistent in his opposition to free grace ideas, had asked the local Presbytery to appoint a committee to investigate the reports of his unsoundness in the faith.

Despite these forebodings, which eventually bore bitter fruit, Beecher had an initial period of cooperation in the West in which he thrust the ideas of revivalism deep into the heart of Ohio Presbyterianism and later led those won to the New School position out of the Presbyterian fold. Musterling all of his skill in debate and kindly affection, Beecher won the Presbytery to his side and foiled the designs of Wilson. When the latter appealed the case to the New School-dominated General Assembly in 1834, it refused to act. The initial reception of the official bodies of the church thus seemed favorable to the noted revivalist, and the bulk of his parishioners at the Second Presbyterian Church, in fact, received him gladly. He could soon testify that even the two elders who had written the threatening letter were his "right-hand men."

Beecher lost no time in initiating the work in Cincinnati by the use of all of the means of systematic, organized action which years of revival


\[21\] Ibid., 285-287.
effort had taught him. He established a monthly concert in which the
Second, Third, and Sixth Presbyterian Churches united. He recalled
later of having done "all a man could" to produce a revival in the city,
but with discouraging results at first. "I preached for a revival.
Fifteen were converted early. There were signs of a work; I expected a
great revival; but, after a few conversions, it faltered and stopped."22

He concluded that the problem lay in the fact that there were
none in his church "who knew how to lead out, and watch, and follow up
the work. . . ." However, even this obstacle was overcome by June, 1834,
when, as the result of Beecher's constant revival efforts, his parishion-
ers were "baptized with a revival spirit, and united happily in revival
enterprises" with about sixty new members and formed "a host of discreet
and able auxiliaries in bringing souls to Christ." He confidently re-
joiced that

the congregation have also felt the power and are now under a
strong pressure of evangelical influence which promises most
hopeful results; so that in the Second Church, both for reviv-
als and missions, I count that from this time to the millennium
the point is gained—a citadel established and manned to last
through all time.23

Such optimism hardly took account of the dark clouds which hung
over the ministry of the New England evangelist at Cincinnati. The Old
School and New School factions within the Presbyterian Church were
hastening toward an irreconcilable clash. It was only too obvious that
the revivalists, with Beecher and Finney in the lead, departed very
sharply in their teachings from the Confession of Faith. The defense

22Ibid., 295-298.

23Ibid.
which Beecher had already given for his son, George, during his examination before the local Presbytery to show that his ideas did not differ in substance from the Confession, he was soon obliged to employ for himself. He was brought to trial before the Synod of Cincinnati in 1835 for his Arminian-slanted teachings, and, although he was able to squirm through to an acquittal for himself, he was unable to reconcile the positions in the broader theological controversy which were splitting the denomination. At the 1837 General Assembly the Old School group, of which the Southern Presbyterians were an important element, was able to abrogate the Plan of Union as unconstitutional and then expel several New School synods on the grounds that they were composed mostly of Congregational churches. Beecher led a fierce fight against this action in order to save the West from being engulfed by Old School Presbyterianism, but, when at the 1838 General Assembly he realized that the conservatives still held the balance of power within the Church, he helped found the New School Presbyterian Church and the schism was complete. In 1843, the elders of Beecher's own Second Presbyterian Church, who opposed his plans for prayer meetings and for building a Sunday School in the western part of the city, were finally successful in getting him to resign from that pastorate. He then took up ministerial duties at the Walnut Hills Church in Cincinnati which he had helped to found and preached in various churches in the area until he resigned the Lane presidency in 1850 and moved back to Boston.


25 Ibid., xxviii, xxxi, xxxii; Cooper, op. cit., 67.
The second most vexing problem for Beecher while in Cincinnati was the heated debate at Lane Seminary over the slavery question which contributed materially to the early growth of Oberlin College where Finney and others took an abolitionist viewpoint in sharp contrast to Beecher's passively anti-slavery position. The Lane President felt that colonization of American Negroes in Africa was the most promising solution to the slavery evil and was himself active in the Colonization Society of Cincinnati, but he stalwartly refused to lend the influence of his name to the Abolition movement as represented by William Lloyd Garrison and was willing to muzzle student discussion of slavery at Lane in order to please the cautious trustees.26

The doors of Lane Seminary had been open to Negroes from the very first, but when Theodore Weld, a Finney convert and eloquent leader of the student body, began to organize discussions on the evils of slavery and the desirability of immediate emancipation and to encourage students to mingle intimately with the Negroes of Cincinnati on a social basis, the trustees of the seminary called a halt. Caught between the enthusiasm of the youthful students for debate and reform and the fears of the trustees that the infant school might lose financial support and die if identified with abolitionism, Beecher rather unsuccessfully attempted to postpone open discussion of the volatile issue and to dissuade students from indiscriminate association with local Negroes. However, Theodore Weld and the other Lane students, who were thoroughly committed to the abolition cause, refused to comply with the restrictions.

which Beecher and later the directors themselves placed upon them. In
the midst of a severe imbroglio in which Lane, if not Beecher himself,
was branded by many as proslavery, these disgruntled students met with
John Shipherd who was passing through Cincinnati on a fund-raising and
student-recruiting tour for a proposed college at Oberlin, Ohio. They
finally compacted with Shipherd that, if he could secure the services of
the renowned Charles G. Finney of New York City as Professor of Sacred
Rhetoric and Theology and assure them of freedom of speech and discus-
sion, they would make a mass exodus from Lane and matriculate at the new
school. True to their word, after Finney was brought to accept the
Oberlin appointment, the Lane rebels, leaving their alma mater almost
completely devoid of a student body, gathered at Oberlin for the spring
term in 1835, and with them was Asa Mahan, the only Lane trustee to
sympathize with the students, as the first president of the new col-
lege.\textsuperscript{27}

It was in the midst of such heated conditions over the slavery
issue that Finney came to Ohio to begin forty years of educational and
revivalistic efforts. His own views on slavery, like those of Beecher,
were well known by this time and it was not without significance that
Arthur Tappan, philanthropic president of the New York Antislavery
Society, who was greatly upset over the restrictive policies at Lane,
had pledged to Finney that he would give aid to Oberlin College until

\textsuperscript{27}For the details of the impetus given to Oberlin College from
the slavery controversy at Lane, see Gilbert H. Barnes, \textit{The Anti-Slavery
Impulse} (New York, 1933), 64-72; Robert S. Fletcher, \textit{A History of
Oberlin College from its Foundation through the Civil War} 2 vols.
(Oberlin, Ohio, 1943), I, 168-178; Beecher, \textit{Autobiography}, 321-332; and
Cooper, \textit{op. cit.}, 25-39.
it was beyond financial want. Finney, who, in his own way, was as much an addict to numerous reform movements as was Beecher, exceeded the latter in the crusade against slavery by openly giving his support to the radicals who were gradually abandoning the antislavery position for outright abolitionism after 1830. In July, 1833, Finney was among a group of New Yorkers, including Arthur and Lewis Tappan and Theodore Weld (then at Lane), who signed an open letter to the American Colonization Society asking pointedly whether that organization actually aimed at the complete abolition of slavery in the United States. After receiving a rather evasive reply, the abolitionists founded the New York Anti-slavery Society at Finney's own Chatham Street Church and used the Emancipator as their official organ. The revivalistic pastor further lent his support to the cause by refusing communion to slave holders in his church.

If, therefore, Finney was enough of an abolitionist to fit nicely into the reform climate which prevailed at Oberlin, and if some of his converts, such as Theodore Weld and Charles Stuart, became leaders in the abolition movement, he insisted that his own energies must be used primarily in educating young men in the doctrines and methods of revivalism while he promoted revivals of religion at the school and, during the long winter vacations, in the major cities of the nation. He never

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30 Fletcher, op. cit., 147, 148.
31 Cheesebro, op. cit., 326.
abandoned the position that "there can be no legitimate, no lawful slavery in the universe—that is, no lawful converting of moral agents into mere chattels and things," but he held to the conviction that "the only hope of the country, the church, the oppressor & the slave was in widespread revivals." He told his theological students at Oberlin: "Nothing will make the slave holder unclinch his grasp but the horrors of Hellfire. These must be made to thunder open his conscience or he will still oppress." Thus, Finney came upon the Ohio scene in 1835 as a revivalist rather than as an abolitionist, and with his coming, as with Beecher's arrival at Lane three years before, came a revival influence of the first magnitude. As Charles Finney and Oberlin College became inseparably linked in the public mind, the school became a focus of international evangelical attention, and the town became the most revival-visited one in the Buckeye state decade after decade.

At the request of the officials of the college and by means of the benevolence of certain New Yorkers, Finney brought with him to Oberlin a circular tent one hundred feet in diameter which was erected every Sunday in the Oberlin square for public services in lieu of any building large enough to seat all of the student and local worshippers. With its "Holiness unto the Lord" streamer floating from the top of its center pole, this tent became a fitting symbol as Finney carried forward

32 "First of August — Meeting In Oberlin," The Oberlin Evangelist, XIII (August 13, 1851), 134.

33 Fletcher, op. cit., 252.

34 Ibid.
his revivalistic designs in and around Oberlin. For years Oberlin College was the most fertile breeding grounds for revivals of religion within the state. No school year, which was begun each February with a day of prayer, was thought successful unless a revival took place. From 1836 until 1842 the students and faculty experienced an almost continuous spirit of revival. Since Finney insisted that the college "should make the conversion of sinners and the sanctification of Christians the paramount work and subordinate to this all the educational operations," it is not surprising that, when the revival fires burned the brightest at Oberlin, classes were suspended and everything gave way to religious activities. In October of 1836, the students passed a resolution to begin a protracted meeting and a day of fasting and prayer and, with a moratorium on classes and President Mahan and Professor Finney preaching, a revival followed.

In November, 1831, the college began publishing *The Oberlin Evangelist* to broadcast the good works of the institution and the ideas of its faculty. In its first number at the end of the 1838 term it rejoiced that "during the entire year" "a revival of religion . . . has been constantly enjoyed." In February, 1840, one student noted the "uncommon interest" in the special meetings in which Finney was speaking twice a day. "Everyone seems to have set himself to seek the Lord and

36Quoted in Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 209.
37Ibid., 211.
38"Oberlin Collegiate Institute," *The Oberlin Evangelist*, I (November 1, 1838), 8.
he has certainly not forgotten to be gracious," he observed, as Finney "seems every day to gather more strength and fresh energy." After a special prayer for rain during a severe drought at Oberlin in July of 1841, a revival which had already been under way for several weeks was given a "new impulse" as "both the natural rain and the rain of grace seemed to descend together" and finally "the interest was so great that most of the recitations were suspended a few days."  

Several later Finney-led revivals at the college and in the community were of special proportions. The educator-revivalist preached every day for at least three weeks in September and October, 1851. The comments of the *Evangelist* give some insight into the "manifest tokens of divine power" which attended his ministry and the methods he employed:

A very large number of youth are solemnly thinking and enquiring; many who have previously professed religion are searched and revived and cases of hopeful conversions are frequent. We are not able to give numbers; but we see crowds coming forward in token of personal interest and anxiety for an effective and full salvation.

When Finney returned from his second and last two-year evangelistic tour of England in 1860, he undertook revival efforts in the fall term at Oberlin which brought religious excitement on the campus and in the village to a pitch which had not been reached there for years. As

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39 James H. Fairchild to Mary Kellogg, February 11, 1840, as quoted in Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 211.

40 *The Oberlin Evangelist*, III (July 21, 1841), 120.

41 "Religious Interest in Oberlin," *The Oberlin Evangelist*, XIII (October 8, 1851), 166.

the eight hundred students arrived for classes in September, the skilled revivalist initiated enough special services to halt the academic machinery of any institution. Daily at 8 A.M. and on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday at 4 P.M. there were prayer meetings; on Tuesday and Thursday at 4 P.M. there was preaching; and on Friday at 2 P.M. there was a general church meeting. Every evening was reserved for young people and public prayer and inquiry meetings, and "female prayer meetings" were held at various times during the week. All of this activity to generate a revival certainly demonstrated to students and Oberlin residents alike that Finney had not departed from his basic premise, as stated in his New York lectures on revivals years before, that religion and revivals were "something for man to do."44

Although the faculty never encouraged religious demonstrations of the Kentucky camp meeting variety,45 the entire 1860 fall term had an atmosphere of pious fervor with conversions thought to be occurring daily and with many renewing their commitment to Christ.46 The revival spread rapidly throughout the community for about four months and "seemed to bid fair to make a clean sweep of the unconverted in the place" until the hectic pace overtook the stamina of the aging Finney and prostrated him. All could then observe that, true to the nature of

43 The Oberlin Evangelist, XXII (October 24, 1860), 175.
44 Charles G. Finney, Lectures on Revivals of Religion (Boston, 1848), 9.
45 Fletcher, op. cit., 212.
46 The Oberlin Evangelist, XXII (October 24, 1860), 175; The Oberlin Evangelist, XXII (November 21, 1860), 191.
professional revivalism, with the fallen leader went the mainspring of the revival effort. Finney himself observed that

the change of preaching soon let down the tone of the revival; and not suddenly, but gradually it ceased. . . . the conversions grew less frequent, and from week to week, the week-day meetings gradually fell off in their attendance; so that by the time I was able to preach again, I found the state of religion interesting, but not what we here call a revival of religion.  

However, the seasoned revivalist, who for years had been the pastor of the First Congregational Church which itself long had been the spiritual focal point for both Oberlin students and townsfolks, was determined to mount a new offensive. He had always attempted to "plow my own church up afresh every year," but, now that he had laid aside his annual winter revivalistic tours to the metropolises of the United States and England, he longed to produce one last major revival in Oberlin which would affect every saint and sinner in the area. In the autumn of 1865 Finney put his shoulder to the wheel and it seemed as though the desired revival was on the way. The services at the First Church on Sunday, December 31 appeared to confirm it. Pastor Finney, "strong and vigorous in spite of the burden of years," preached both morning and afternoon until "waves of feeling seemed to roll over the whole audience." Then he drew upon his time-honored "new measures" and had the pews near the pulpit cleared and invited all the unsaved who wanted to become Christians to come forward. Soon "all classes" of

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47Finney, Memoirs, 471, 472. This fluctuation of religious enthusiasm with the relative efforts of the professional revivalist was one of the most telling pieces of evidence for the critics of revivalism.

48The Oberlin Evangelist, XIII (May 21, 1851), 82-84.
people occupied the empty seats. Having called for the vacating of more front rows, Finney redirected the call to include backsliders and Christians who wanted to reconsecrate themselves to Christ until "the lower floor of the house was filled" with individuals participating in a scene the magnitude of which had not been witnessed for years in Oberlin. The inquiry meeting held that evening seemed to indicate that a great revival was under way as the attendance was so large that Finney abandoned his usual individual instruction to seekers and addressed the group as a whole. At least twenty-seven persons joined the First Congregational Church as a result of this stirring, and special services continued for some time. But Finney's frail health again refused to support the weight of his increased labors. By late January he could no longer carry on, and the revival languished.

Undefeated, however, as his strength returned by the fall of 1866, Finney once again put into effect the methods which faithfully had rewarded him with revivals over the years, and this time he reaped the bountiful harvest he had so long desired at Oberlin. As the Oberlin College term drew to a close in November of 1866, the master revivalist instituted three daily prayer meetings to supplement the regular religious services at the First Church and, standing before his congregation

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49 *The Lorain County News*, January 3, 1866, 3.


with tears, told his people that after a final great stirring he could say, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." 52

Soon the revival became the main topic of conversation in Oberlin, and at the Sunday services on January 20, and February 3, 1867, scores of seekers filled the front pews of the church in a manner reminiscent of the memorable Sunday a year before. 53 Since it was taking place while the students were on winter vacation, this revival was unique in that the business element of the town was drawn into the activities and spirit. Their interest became so great that, on January 30, a weekly prayer meeting exclusively for businessmen was begun. The work was also marked by "its strong, deeprunning and quiet current" rather than by mere emotionalism. 54 The local newspaper observed that many long-time Oberlin residents were being converted for the first time and that the businessmen who were being drawn in were "not the men to give way to unreasoning excitement." It further asserted that "the calmness and heart sincerity and earnestness so manifest, leave no place for cavilling." 55 Eventually, fifty different meetings were being held weekly in connection with the revival. Meetings for young people, for men only, for clerks, for businessmen, and for young converts gave the residents in the Oberlin region an adequate introduction to the "special

52Ibid., December 26, 1866, 3; February 13, 1867, 3.
53Ibid., January 23 and February 6, 1867, 3.
54Ibid., February 6, 1867, 3.
55Ibid., February 13, 1867, 3.
services" technique employed so frequently by later revivalists in Ohio.  

Finney's sermons during the revival, which were charged with "resistless arguments," "probing rebukes," and "wonderfully winning appeals," were especially effective. On Sunday, February 10, about five hundred responded to his call to come forward for prayer.  

Finney's health held firm, and when the Oberlin College term began in late February the revival got its second wind. Conversions were reported daily, and so many applications for membership poured into the First Church that its bi-monthly communion service was delayed one week until Sunday, March 10, in order to finish their processing and allow as many as possible to participate. Unfortunately, by March 10, Finney's endurance once again had reached its limit, and he was not privileged to behold the actual ingathering of the harvest that he had done so much to produce. However, he could rejoice in the knowledge that the one hundred and eight individuals who joined his church that day represented more than had ever been admitted before at one time, and that a goodly proportion of the new members were citizens of the community.  

Although the revival efforts of Finney at Oberlin College and in the Oberlin community constitute the overwhelming bulk of his evangelistic

56 Ibid.
57 Ibid.
58 Ibid., February 20, 27, and March 6, 1867, 3.
59 Ibid., March 13, 1867, 3. As late as April 17, the revival meetings were still in progress "though the apparent interest has somewhat abated." See ibid., April 17, 1867, 3.
labors in the state, the direct impact of his work in solidifying the
tradition of professional revivalism in Ohio was also felt in its two
largest cities, Cincinnati and Cleveland, and was vigorously but unsuc­
cessfully, sought in others. As early as 1826, some of Finney's rela­
tives in Cleveland attempted without success to get him to come and
preach in that village of less than one thousand citizens.60 In January,
1831, the famed revivalist received a letter from Rev. Amos Blanchard, a
convert to the New School persuasion, who, along with future Oberlin
president, Asa Mahan, and others, had been trying to generate a revival
of religion in Cincinnati. Blanchard pictured a city of 28,000 "increas­
ing in wealth and numbers beyond a parallel in the history of any other
city," located "in the heart, almost, of a country containig more than
4,000,000 of inhabitants," and with pressing spiritual needs. He esti­
imated that not more than 6,000 attended evangelical churches in the town
and that even in those they did not find a warm religious climate. The
Presbyterian churches were in "a state of spiritual torpor," he said,
with "worldlymindedness" creeping in among the elders who went "so far
as to keep their pork houses open on the Sabbath where hogs are cut up
for the Market on Sunday . . . ." Blanchard further tried to challenge
Finney's fighting spirit by mentioning the "large number of Infidels,
Owenites, Atheists, and Fanny Wright men" at Cincinnati. He pleaded:
"O do take this matter into serious & prayerful consideration,"

do not disregard the cry of dying millions who are rushing dark
and unholy into the gates of eternity . . . . Do not wait till

60Cheesebro, op. cit., 177; Annual Report of the Secretary of
State to the Governor of the State of Ohio for the Year Ending Novem­
ber 15, 1900 (Columbus, Ohio, 1900), 780.
Satan has made this city the high place of Belial—a brimming mountain of sin, which will hereafter send its torrents of spiritual death over these fair and fertile regions.\(^6^1\)

The following summer nine other Cincinnati clergymen joined Blanchard in petitioning the popular Finney to give their city the advantage of his revival know-how, but all to no avail.\(^6^2\) Twenty-three years would elapse before he would fit Cincinnati into his crowded schedule and then, if he judged by the low magnitude of the awakening which ensued, he may have felt that Blanchard's dark prediction had come true.

When, in 1835, the famous evangelist took up residence at Oberlin, the pastors and laymen of Ohio thought that their opportunity to engage his services had come. Letters poured in from such towns as Akron, Mt. Vernon, Middleburg, and Huron in the hopes that Finney might bring his big tent and hold protracted meetings there.\(^6^3\) No record remains that any of these early invitations were accepted, but additional ones continued to arrive throughout Finney's career at Oberlin.\(^6^4\) It is clear, however, that during the prime of his life, Finney reserved nearly all of his winters—the revival season—for campaigns in the large

\(^6^1\) Amos Blanchard to Finney, January 1, 1831, quoted in Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 47, 48.

\(^6^2\) Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 48.

\(^6^3\) See Boswell Brooks to Finney, July 16, 1835; Members of First Congregational Church of Akron to Finney, August 25, 1835; B. W. Higbee to Finney, July 27, 1835; Presbyterian Church of Middleburg, Ohio to Finney, August 24, 1835; B. L. Baldwin to Finney, September 15, 1835; and John W. Beecher to Finney, July ?, 1838 in the Finney Papers, Oberlin College Library.

\(^6^4\) See especially the insistent letters of Baptist layman F. J. Tytus of Middletown, Ohio to Finney dated January 14, 1863; January 26, 1866; and December 11, 1866; and Finney's reply dated January 16, 1863 in the Finney Papers, Oberlin College Library.
cities of the East and that it was not until the winter of 1853-1854 that he gave his attention to any major revival efforts in Ohio outside of Oberlin.

Therefore, when Finney finally did attempt to produce revivals in Cleveland and Cincinnati, The Oberlin Evangelist correctly sensed that "these efforts in Western cities form in some respects a new era in his evangelical labors," and urged: "Hence let there be such prayer and such trustful labor attending it, that God can honor himself by the gift of the greatest blessings." 65 From November, 1853 until March, 1854, Finney, who was by this time president of Oberlin College, labored to produce revivals in Ohio's two largest cities. His first objective was Cleveland where he held a series of meetings in the Plymouth Congregational Church in November and December. In accordance with his philosophy that revivals should receive an amount of public attention at least equal to political and business affairs, advertisements of his meetings appeared in the two leading Cleveland newspapers. These invited everyone to daily union prayer meetings at 8:00 A.M., to evening preaching services Tuesday through Friday, and to morning and evening services on Sunday. 66 Additional details of these Cleveland meetings are wanting, but it is apparent that the nation-wide dearth of general religious interest which had been noticeable for over a decade was reflected in

65 "President Finney," The Oberlin Evangelist, XVI (January 18, 1854), 13.

66 The Daily Cleveland Herald, December 9, 1853, 3; December 10, 1853, 3; Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, December 10, 1853, 3.
the meager effects of this campaign. Without becoming specific, The Oberlin Evangelist reported that Finney had met "many and serious obstacles" in Cleveland, but that "a considerable measure of Divine influence and blessing has attended his efforts." It could only hope "that the resident pastors and Christians of that city are fully awake to their responsibilities and that great blessings will yet be granted to their united labors."68

With the somewhat discouraging results of the Cleveland meetings behind him, Finney turned his attention to the regeneration of the populace of Ohio's metropolitan hub—Cincinnati. From January until May of 1854, under the overlapping ministries of the Congregationalist Finney and one of the only internationally active Methodist revivalists before 1860, James Caughey, the Queen City became the subject of the most sustained revivalistic efforts there to that date. Even before the Oberlin President took up his labors at the Tabernacle Presbyterian Church on January 8, the Daily Cincinnati Gazette was heralding him as an evangelist of "considerable celebrity" and encouraging all to make an effort to hear him.69 Finney himself seems to have made use of every means available to him to make the meetings known. That his method of advertising revivals in local newspapers was novel in Cincinnati might be inferred from the fact that the editor of The Columbian & Great West

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67"Revival," The Oberlin Evangelist, XVI (January 4, 1854), 6.
68"President Finney," The Oberlin Evangelist, XVI (January 18, 1854), 13.
69Daily Cincinnati Gazette, January 7, 1854, 2.
reported that he had never been called upon before to make mention of
them. In addition to the newspaper advertisements, Finney tried to
attract attention to his meetings by having placards placed "among the
Concert and theatre bills at the street corners." Partly out of curiosity, the editor of The Columbia & Great West went to hear the renowned evangelist on Sunday evening January 8, and found that there were not seats enough in the Tabernacle Church to accommodate the potential hearers. The newspaperman was especially interested to hear Finney pray because he had heard that he addressed God like a child would an indulgent father. He was not disappointed; in a gentle supplicating manner the revivalist prayed: "Gracious God, we have kept our appointment. We are here; you are here. Now, oh God thou knowest all these people, their names, their spiritual wants, wilt thou not give to each one the blessing he needs."

The sermon on skepticism which followed was significantly autobiographical as Finney posed the rhetorical question of a skeptical young lawyer (which he had once been in Adams, New York), "How much shall I admit" concerning God and the gospel? At one point he soliloquized: "God is--I am--If God were not, I should not be. I am not right, conscience tells me that--I am displeased with myself--God is displeased with me; if he were not, I should be displeased with him." Whether any of the numerous infidels, Owenites, and atheists reported to have

70 The Columbia and Great West, January 14, 1854, 2.
71 Ibid.
72 Ibid.
73 Ibid.
been active in Cincinnati twenty years before by Rev. Amos Blanchard\textsuperscript{74} were on hand and affected by Finney's logic is not known, but the curious reporter was impressed that the sermon was "more eccentric than powerful" and yet he advised that "even those who think they do not need 'reviving,' or those who will not be 'revived,' may find it profitable to hear him."\textsuperscript{75}

The evangelist from Oberlin preached every weekday evening and twice on Sundays\textsuperscript{76} while his wife carried out her usual revival function by holding women's prayer meetings every afternoon at the Tabernacle Presbyterian Church.\textsuperscript{77} However, as January moved into its last half, the chief topic of conversation in Cincinnati was the senate debate on the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, not the Finney revival.\textsuperscript{78} Furthermore, the crowds which were nightly attending the National Theatre to have their heartstrings plucked by the scenes of Uncle Tom's Cabin, a wholesale denunciation of the slave system based upon a narrative written, interestingly enough, by Lyman Beecher's daughter Harriet, testified to the fact that one of the reform movements which in part had been spawned by the vigorous activism of revivalism itself was now a formidable competitor in the struggle for the attention of the minds of men.\textsuperscript{79}

\textsuperscript{74}Rev. Amos Blanchard to Finney, January 1, 1831, quoted in Fletcher, op. cit., 48.

\textsuperscript{75}The Columbian and Great West, January 14, 1854, 2.

\textsuperscript{76}Daily Cincinnati Gazette, January 14, 1854, 2.

\textsuperscript{77}The Columbian and Great West, January 14, 1854, 2.

\textsuperscript{78}Daily Cincinnati Gazette, January 17, 1854, 2.

\textsuperscript{79}Ibid.
Even so, Finney could take courage that both the secular and religious press, except the Baptist Journal and Messenger, were taking note of his meetings and that from night to night the church was "jammed to its utmost capacity" with "multitudes" being turned away at the door. The Presbyterian Central Christian Herald stated very optimistically:

"We verily believe that this movement is of God, and that his set time to visit our city has come," and described one after service in which "the inquirers retired to the lecture-room, . . . while about two hundred Christians spent an hour in the church in special prayer." In some respects this campaign might be considered the first "union" revival in Cincinnati since members and ministers of various denominations attended and took part in the services. The impressions of the work gotten by these differing participants, however, were not all the same.

On Sunday, January 29, Finney preached his last sermons in the Tabernacle Church on "The Nature of Sin" and "The Infinite Worth of the Soul" while religious interest in the city increased, and then took up his labors at the Third Presbyterian Church. The Central Christian Herald testified that

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80 "Church Items," The Western Christian Advocate, XXI (January 18, 1854), 10.
81 Quoted from the Central Christian Herald of January 17, 1854 in "President Finney in Cincinnati," The Oberlin Evangelist, XVI (February 15, 1854), 32.
82 Ibid.
83 Daily Cincinnati Gazette, January 28, 1854, 2.
84 Ibid., January 31, 1854, 2.
the work that the Spirit of God is doing through him, is not loud and rapid, but deep and solemn, and, we trust, will be abiding. We see every reason to hope for good and only good from his visit to our city. His appeals are to the conscience, not to the feelings. He is not a declaimer or rhetorician, but an expounder of the Word of God—a powerful logician . . . . His conclusions, danger—duty—salvation by repentance and faith.

A Methodist who attended the service on Friday evening, February 10, was well pleased with Finney's sermon on "Confessing and Cleansing," but was upset over the stuffy formality which prevailed. He complained that after the revivalist had preached for over an hour "with great feeling and earnestness,"

. . . yet there seemed to be no movement in the congregation. We felt odd—very odd. We had not been in a Presbyterian church for some years before, and when the people came in and took their seats, and sat in their seats when they sung [sic], and sat in their seats when they prayed, and sat in their seats when they heard the preaching, and sat in their seats all the time, and let the choir in the back end of the church do the singing . . . we say, when we saw all this formality in the exercises, we felt very solemn, and very tired, and very much of the opinion that a regular moral earthquake would do good in turning matters upside down, and in getting the people to cry out at once and without hesitation, and with thunder tones if need be, "O, Lord, have mercy on us."

The Methodist's words rang disturbingly similar to Finney's own denunciations of the cold formality of the churches of western New York thirty years before. That the evangelist had had a hand in accommodating revivalism to the demands of mid-century Presbyterian taste was apparent.

The revival effort seemed to reach its high tide in the first

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85Quoted from the Central Christian Herald of January 26, 1854 in "President Finney in Cincinnati," The Oberlin Evangelist, XVI (February 15, 1854), 32.

86"Church Items," The Western Christian Advocate, XXI (February 15, 1854), 26.
ten days of February as daily advertisements of the meetings and the
topics of Finney's sermons appeared in the Daily Cincinnati Gazette. 87

Then the strain of the winter's work began to reap its effects upon the
aging revivalist and he eventually fell prey to the ill health that
plagued him in many of his later revival labors. Although he continued
to preach in the city until about March 20, arriving at his home in
Oberlin on March 24, 88 his attempt to convert a great number of Cincin­
natians had met with no outstanding success. Writing to Dr. Lyman
Beecher from Lane Seminary in March of 1854, Professor D. H. Allen said
that that school was having a revival of religion within its student
body, but that the Finney campaign had brought about "no general move­
ment" in the city. The best that Allen could say of the results was
that "many minds are deeply affected, and there have been a considerable
number of very interesting conversions." 89 Even the Central Christian
Herald, which had enthusiastically supported the revival work, had to
admit that the evangelist's two and a half months of earnest labor had
only met with "some success" and that "the additions to the Churches
have not been numerous." 90 As was so often to be the case after pro­
tracted revival efforts in the state, the results were rather nebulous

87 See the daily "Religious Notice" in the Daily Cincinnati Gaz­
ette, February 1-10, 1854, 2.
88 "President Finney," The Oberlin Evangelist, XVI (April 12,
1854), 63.
89 D. H. Allen to Beecher, March 10, 1854 as published in The
Congregational Herald and quoted in "Revival in Lane Seminary," The
Oberlin Evangelist, XVI (April 26, 1854), 69.
90 Quoted from the Central Christian Herald in Daily Cincinnati
Gazette, April 1, 1854, 2.
when the revivalist left the scene of action, leaving the Christian community with the vague wish that "many, we hope, have been converted."\textsuperscript{91}

The unfortunate epilogue to Finney's Cincinnati campaign presents an even more serious question as to the long-range effects of such professional revivalism upon the churches which he came to serve. Whatever factors were at work before Finney arrived at the Tabernacle Presbyterian Church to produce the decline of its membership and the eventual disbanding of its congregation were obviously not corrected, and even may have been aggravated, by the revival effort. In any case, slightly more than three years after the campaign ended, the pastorless congregation suspended services for eighteen months.\textsuperscript{92} On January 8, 1858 a group from the declining congregation met to decide whether to sell their church building at the corner of Clark and John Streets to pay off an $8,000 or $9,000 indebtedness or to reopen services.\textsuperscript{93} By securing the services of its former pastor, Rev. D. D. Gregory, meetings at the Tabernacle Church were begun by the congregation again in March of 1858,\textsuperscript{94} but the Church once again faltered and, by 1861, had sold its building to the congregation of the Fifth Presbyterian Church (Old School).\textsuperscript{95}

When Finney left Cincinnati nursing his health in March of 1854, the professional revival efforts for the season in the city were by no

\textsuperscript{91}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{92}Cincinnati \textit{Daily Gazette}, January 9, 1858, 2.
\textsuperscript{93}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{94}Cincinnati \textit{Daily Gazette}, March 27, 1858, 1.
\textsuperscript{95}Williams' \textit{Cincinnati Directory} (Cincinnati, 1861), 25, 26.
means at an end. The Methodist clergy of Cincinnati were undoubtedly aware of the fact that Methodist membership in Ohio had declined from 107,062 in 1843 to 106,503 in 1853 while the population of the state had increased by about 30 per cent to reach the two million mark. Undiscouraged by the knowledge that the intense use of revivalism within the local churches had not been able to stem the tide of this declension, these men obviously envisaged the solution as a huge dose of the same remedy—only this time administered by a professional revivalist. Therefore, they had invited the internationally known holiness evangelist, Rev. James Caughey, to hold protracted meetings in the several churches of their denomination within the city. On Sunday, March 5, 1854, beginning at the Ninth Street Methodist Church, Caughey initiated a two and a half month siege upon the unrighteousness of the community. From the numerous reports in both the secular and religious press at that time of local revival meetings in many of the villages and towns of Ohio, most of them conducted by the pastors themselves, it is clear that the annual winter, revivalistic, protracted meeting technique was well solidified into the religious usage of the various evangelical denominations of the state. Nevertheless, Caughey discovered the Queen City almost as

96 See the figures given in John M. Baker, History of Ohio Methodism (Cincinnati, 1898), 123.
98 "Rev. James Caughey," The Western Christian Advocate, XXI (March 8, 1854), 38.
99 During the winter revival seasons The Oberlin Evangelist for the Congregationalists, The Journal and Messenger for the Baptists, and The Western Christian Advocate for the Methodists ran weekly columns on the local revivals occurring among their churches. The secular papers
unresponsive to his methods of revivalism as did Finney, with the possible exception that, since the bulk of the former's message—i.e., perfectionism—was directed primarily toward Christians rather than sinners, he was somewhat more content to address church members exclusively.

James Caughey had been born in Ireland about 1806, had come to the United States as a youth and was converted about 1831. Two years later he was admitted on probation at the Troy Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church and ordained a deacon in 1834. He had practically no formal education but he had read English writers rather widely and was especially influenced by Dr. Adam Clarke. He possessed a "vivid imagination, which, in its ardent flights, sometimes, . . ., soars into the suburbs of fanciful regions." Thus, endowed with a pleasant and effective voice, he was able to produce sermons full of literary and imaginative flourishes. His rise to fame above the scores of local revivalists of the age came only after July 9, 1839. On that date he had an experience in which he felt that God had instructed him
drew most of their reports from these church organs. See, for example, the note taken of revivals in Ohio and other states by the Daily Cincinnati Gazette during these winter revival seasons.

The sources are not definite on Caughey's birthdate, but he was forty-eight when in Cincinnati in 1854. See "Church Items," The Western Christian Advocate, XXI (March 22, 1854), 46. Biographical material on his early life is scarce. The account here is based upon the short introductory essay on his life by Daniel Wise in James Caughey, Earnest Christianity Illustrated (Boston, 1855). The record of many of his revivalistic endeavors, although not his Cincinnati campaign, can be found in James Caughey, Methodism In Earnest (Nashville, 1854); James Caughey, Helps To A Life of Holiness and Usefulness (Boston, 1852); and James Caughey, Glimpses of Life in Soul Saving (New York, 1868).

Caughey, Earnest Christianity, 9, 18.
to visit Europe on an evangelistic tour on which he would be rewarded
with many converts.

Therefore, like Dwight L. Moody in the 1870's, Caughey made his
professional revivalistic reputation abroad and then returned to the
United States as somewhat of a celebrity among evangelical circles. In
1840, Caughey got official permission at the Church Conference to carry
out his plan and, after holding meetings in Canada, landed in Liverpool,
England on July 29, 1841. The effect of his itinerant ministry in
England and Ireland was such that by 1847, twenty-two thousand report-
edly professed conversion and ten thousand sanctification. 103 When he
returned to his home in Burlington, Vermont, his services were, of
course, in great demand. He held revivals in New York City and Albany,
New York; Providence and Lowell, Massachusetts; Warren, Connecticut; and
elsewhere before accepting the call of the Cincinnati Methodists in 1854.
After the Cincinnati revival, his work led Caughey to other cities in
this country and back to Canada and England. 104

Throughout Caughey's campaign in Cincinnati, he received the
valuable support of favorable reports in the weekly Methodist organ The
Western Christian Advocate which was published there. According to its
columns, a packed house met at Asbury Chapel on his first Sunday in town
to hear him preach a characteristically short sermon on "There is a sin

102 Ibid., 12-14.
103 Ibid., 16-18.
104 Ibid.
unto death." The bulk of Caughey's work was at the Ninth Street Methodist Church during the first two weeks of the revival, and it was here that he struck the Christian perfection keynote of the meetings on Tuesday evening, March 7. Assuring the congregation that he had not changed his own views on holiness in the previous twenty-two years, he admonished them:

The little treatises of John Wesley and of John Fletcher, on perfection, are the best and the clearest in the world. There is no need of troubling or perplexing yourself with controversial works on the subject. Read your Bible, and then read these works of Wesley and Fletcher, and you will, any of you who desire the blessing, learn what it is, how to get it, and how to keep it when you have got it. Whether this message had its desired effect or not, the attendance at the subsequent meetings at the Ninth Street Church seems to have fluctuated considerably. William Fee, revivalistic Methodist preacher and later pastor of this church, attended one evening and, to his surprise, found the sanctuary only one-third full. In any case, amid calls by cities farther west to hold meetings there—all of which he rejected on the grounds of delicate health, the unfinished task of completing a book on revivals and how to promote them,

105 "City Items," The Western Christian Advocate, XXI (March 8, 1854), 39.

106 "Church Items," The Western Christian Advocate, XXI (March 15, 1854), 43. Professional revivalism was obviously not blazing new theological paths or promoting free inquiry by the 1850's, but rather attempting to give audiences simple, satisfying, and even pat, answers to their complicated questions. See the observations along this line by Sidney E. Mead in The Lively Experiment (New York, 1963), 123-125.

107 See Fee's comparison of Caughey's 1854 and Samuel Jones' 1886 Cincinnati revivals in "Sam Jones in Cincinnati," The Western Christian Advocate, LIII (January 20, 1886), 37.
and his desire "to gather in a few more thousand souls into the fold of Christ from my native ocean isle, before I go up to my father's house in the far land of immortality" — Caughey moved on to Christie Chapel where he spoke every afternoon and evening during the third week of March. The next week he preached in the Park Street Methodist Church and the following one at Morris Chapel where large crowds reportedly attended his two daily services. The editor of The Western Christian Advocate attended these meetings and was so well pleased with what he saw and heard that he published an editorial on Caughey's favorite theme, holiness.

By the last week in April, the persistent evangelist was at Wesley Chapel where he would continue until the close of his city-wide effort in the middle of May. The local Methodist weekly reported that "the work is of a most extraordinary character as to the purification and justification of the Church members" and on May 3, gave an unprecedented full column of its front page to a resume of the revivalist's

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108 "Church Items," The Western Christian Advocate, XXI (March 22, 1854), 46.
109 "City Items," The Western Christian Advocate, XXI (March 22, 1854), 47.
110 Ibid.
111 "Church Items," The Western Christian Advocate, XXI (April 5, 1854), 54.
112 Editorial, The Western Christian Advocate, XXI (April 5, 1854), 54.
113 "Church Items," The Western Christian Advocate, XXI (April 26, 1854), 66.
sermon at Morris Chapel on April 9. From this report it is obvious that Caughey spoke in the usual extemporaneous, familiar style of the professional evangelists. "...I propose to say only a few things," he said, "just talking along without any pretensions to sermonizing, so I can just quit when I have talked long enough." Nevertheless, as he warmed up to his subject, it was reported that a "copious stream of expressive words" flowed in rapid succession while he emphasized his points with "frequent and luminous illustrations."

A paradox concerning the assessment of the actual benefits derived from Caughey's labors, not uncommon in the wake of professional revivalists' efforts over the years in Ohio, lingered in the Queen City as he gave his farewell address at Wesley Chapel on May 16, 1854 and finally left for his home in Vermont on June 12.

By his twelve-week crusade, in which he had spoken in at least six local Methodist churches, he had attempted to raise the religious plane of the city and had had the official support and praise of the Methodists throughout. The immediate reactions to the effects of Caughey's work were quite favorable. A local parishioner, Thomas Crow, ventured that "he is accomplishing much permanent good in Morris Chapel

\[114\] "Rev. James Caughey," *The Western Christian Advocate*, XXI (May 3, 1854), 69. It is interesting that the Cincinnati Daily Gazette, which had given some attention to Finney's Cincinnati efforts did not follow Caughey's.

\[115\] Ibid.

\[116\] "Church Items," *The Western Christian Advocate*, XXI (May 24, 1854), 82; "Church Items," *The Western Christian Advocate*, XXI (June 14, 1854), 94.
The Methodist periodical at Cincinnati reported thirty conversions at Ninth Street Church with twenty becoming members and a similar number having experienced the "blessing of purity." And by the middle of June, the Methodist pastors totaled about 123 conversions and 142 sanctifications. Although of the former cases "the largest number were members" of the churches already, it was concluded that "had brother Caughey visited our city in the fall, and labored with us through the winter the results would have been more glorious."

However, the long-range results did not seem to bear out the optimism of these on-the-spot appraisals. Twenty-two years after the Caughey meetings, William Fee, who had been in attendance, recalled that "Cincinnati Methodism was then a power, but this effort did not enlist the public attention nor arouse the public conscience. Although the meetings continued for weeks, there was but little apparent good accomplished." Fee happened to be appointed to the Ninth Street Church pastorate by the fall 1854 Conference and testified that instead of the thirty reported at the time, he "only found two persons who were converted at these services, although the reputation of Mr. Caughey as a most successful evangelist was then at its height." As a matter of

118 "City Items," The Western Christian Advocate, XXI (March 22, 1854), 47.
119 "Church Items," The Western Christian Advocate, XXI (June 14, 1854), 94.
120 "Sam Jones in Cincinnati," The Western Christian Advocate, LIII (January 20, 1886), 37.
121 Ibid.
fact, the official membership in four of the six churches in which the
revivalist had spoken, as reported at the September, 1854 Cincinnati
Conference, showed declines from the previous year of from six to
seventy-one. Morris Chapel, where Mr. Crow had felt that "much perma-
nent good" was being done, experienced the greatest loss. Whether
the Ohio metropolis had been neglected so long by the professional re-
vivalists that her citizens were nearly impervious to the techniques
that were so effective in producing revivals elsewhere or, as Fee sug-
gested, "there was too much reliance upon the man and too little upon
God," the paradox of the immediate appearances of success and the
hard facts of stalemate and decline which later faced most of the spon-
soring churches remains.

If five months of effort by two of the major revivalists of the
1850's had failed to move the citadel of sin in Cincinnati, it had set
significant precedents for professional revivalism in the minds of the
people which would help to bring a greater measure of success to later
revivalists in the city. Furthermore, by mid-nineteenth century the
revivalistic tradition had become an integral part of the workings of
the evangelical churches throughout the state, and the long-term presence
of Lyman Beecher at Cincinnati and Charles Finney at Oberlin had added
the flavor of true professionalism. As new revival fires began to burn
brightly on a national scale with the prayer meeting revival of 1857-58

122 Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal
Church for the Years 1852-1855 (New York, 1856), 291, 463, 464. Wesley
Chapel declined by 49, Ninth St. Church by 6, and Christie Chapel by 12.
Asbury Chapel increased its membership by 27 and Park St. Church by 34.

123 "Sam Jones in Cincinnati," The Western Christian Advocate,
LIII (January 20, 1886), 37.
and with the advent of the general awakening during the most conspicuous campaigns of Dwight L. Moody in the United States after 1875, these sparks of revivalism in Ohio would be ready to be fanned by skilled professionals into the leaping flames of community-wide interdenominational revivals of religion.
"A score of years has passed since any 'Great Awakening' or general revival of religion has been witnessed in this country," lamented the Congregationalist Oberlin Evangelist in 1854, as it observed that "the church is spiritually prostrate, while the institutions, forms and ceremonies of religion remain." It counseled that all "ministers and all Christians, must feel the necessity of the blessing--must confess to God and man their backslidings and other sins--must meet to weep and pray for forgiveness, and for the descent of the Holy Spirit" and "wrestle with God until they prevail," but the low tide of religious spirit continued. The Baptist Journal and Messenger evidenced a similar concern on the part of that denomination as the arresting statistics became known that while the population of Cincinnati had grown 150 per cent between 1842 and 1853, the number of Baptists in the city had increased by less than 3 per cent. The decade of the 1850's also saw Presbyterianism in a frustrating lull as its membership receded between 1850 and 1857.

1"Revival," The Oberlin Evangelist, XVI (January 4, 1854), 6.
2Ibid.
3Quoted from The Journal and Messenger in "Baptist Churches," The Western Christian Advocate, XXI (March 29, 1854), 50. Whereas one out of every ninety-seven persons in Cincinnati had been a Baptist in 1842, by 1853 the ratio was one to one hundred and ninety.
4See the statistics for the Ohio Presbyteries in Minutes of the
As the latter year opened, the editor of the Methodist Western Christian Advocate, who had witnessed a decline of over 15,000 in the membership of his own church in Ohio since 1850, was wrestling with the relation of human agency to the production of revivals, attempting rather unsuccessfully to get his readers to contribute their ideas on the religious decline, and asking in desperation: "... ought we not to pray that God will make sinners willing to be converted?" By November, while this same editor was blaming the slavery controversy, the wealth of the Church, the meddling of ministers in politics, the over-education of the clergy, and the diversion of energy from soul saving to work on literary and educational projects for contributing to the lack of revivals, the desired awakening was already in its infancy, having been sparked in great measure by a catalytic agent far removed from the religious world.

For years the tenets and practices of revivalism had been increasingly permeating the American churches and, for at least two years

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General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Philadelphia, 1850-1857).

5Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the Year 1850 (New York, 1850), 484, 491, 514-516; and ibid., (New York, 1857), 381, 412, 449, 469. The total memberships in the Ohio charges was about 107,096 in 1850 and 88,514 in 1857.


7"What is the Reason," The Western Christian Advocate, XXIV (November 11, 1857), 178.

8See the discussion of the growing use of revival techniques after 1840 by those denominations and sections of denominations which had not generally accepted them before, in Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform In Mid-Nineteenth-Century America (New York, 1957), 45-62.
before the autumn of 1857, hundreds of churchmen had been laboring to
effect a nation-wide Pentecost, but it was a financial panic which
finally brought the people to their knees. The preceding years had
found the United States in an industrial revolution comparable to that
of late 18th Century England. Expanding business enterprise, multiplying
manufactures with products of growing value, lengthening railroad mile-
age, and increasing urbanization and disparity between the upper and
lower classes gave evidence of the changes taking place. The prevailing
capitalistic cupidity, land speculation in the West, and overexpansion
of credit finally began to bear bitter fruit. Public confidence in the
economy was first severely shaken when, in August, 1857, the New York
branch of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company with five million
dollars tied up in railroad loans, failed, causing alarm among New York
banks which began demanding payment of their call loans and curtailing
their usual facilities. As specie was withdrawn from the principal
financial centers of the East, the panic spread rapidly to all parts of
the country. By September 26, the banks of Philadelphia, unable to meet
the demand for specie, closed, and those of Baltimore and Providence fol-
lowed suit. The days that followed brought no relief from the drain

\[9 \text{Ibid., 62.}

10 \text{George W. Van Vleck, The Panic of 1857 (New York, 1943), 1-21, 64, 65. For a complete resume of the economic conditions which pre-
vailed before and during the 1857 crash, see the first four chapters of
this work. Accounts of these economic factors in relation to the awaken-
ing of 1857-58 can be found in Carl L. Spicer, "The Great Awakening of
1857 and 1858," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State Univer-
sity, 1935), 21-28; and in Russell E. Francis, "Pentecost: 1858, A
of Pennsylvania, 1948), 50.}
upon the resources of the banks of the nation, and on October 13, fourteen New York banks failed and the following day, as the banks throughout New England and elsewhere closed their doors, the collapse was complete.  

As speculative fortunes disappeared over night, factories became silent, and railroads ground to a halt, the world seemed to tumble in upon the laborer and the businessman alike, and both began to seek the religious solace offered by noon prayer meetings which were already in progress in New York City when the financial crash occurred. In connection with Sunday School Union efforts to evangelize New York City, several churches had initiated such services in the summer of 1857, and the one in the Fulton Street Dutch Reformed Church eventually became famous as the starting place of the awakening of 1857-1858. Lay missionary Jeremiah C. Lanphier began this particular interdenominational noon prayer meeting on September 23, and soon started advertising it in the *Journal of Commerce*. As the economic problems of the people in the area became more unbearable, he saw the attendance at these gatherings increase until three separate services were being held in the Church each noon.  

As news of the success of Lanphier's meetings spread, similar prayer services were begun on an interdenominational basis by individual churches and the newly-formed Y. M. C. A.'s in cities from Boston and

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11 Van Vleck, *op. cit.*, 65-77; Francis, *op. cit.*, 50; Spicer, *op. cit.*, 23.

12 Smith, *op. cit.*, 65, 66.

Philadelphia to Cincinnati. As the enthusiasm snowballed, the "penny" press and the national telegraph system, two recently developed means of mass communication, helped make this the most publicized revival to date. In February, 1858, the editor of the New York Herald began to capitalize upon the opportunity to include sensational reports of the revival in the columns of his paper, and Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune, soon followed his example. By April, when the awakening reached its zenith and the economy began to right itself, the religious and secular press of the nation was filled with news of the varied revival activity.14

From the Atlantic coast to the frontier, revivalistically minded clergymen and laymen had seized upon the opportunity presented by the troubled times of the financial slump to employ all of the tactics of revivalism at their command. The most active denominations in the awakening—the Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Baptist, Methodist, Disciples of Christ, United Brethren, and Protestant Episcopal Churches—carried on significant efforts in Ohio.15 By the winter of 1858, the typical interdenominational prayer meeting, in which informality prevailed and any person might pray, exhort, give a testimony or lead in song as he felt "led" as long as he kept within the customary five-minute time limit and avoided controversial subjects such as baptism and slavery,

14Smith, op. cit., 63. Spicer, op. cit., 215, notes the rapid decline of the services connected with the revival movement as soon as the worst financial hardship eased after April, 1858.

15Spicer, op. cit., 177.
was in prominent use in Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati. Morning prayer meetings were begun in the basements of a number of churches in Cleveland and were soon being frequented by nearly two thousand people, many of them men on their way to work. Interest eventually grew to the point that business was almost completely suspended during the hours set aside for prayer, and at the height of the awakening in the lakeside city, the Plymouth Congregational Church held as many as five daily meetings between 6:00 A.M. and 9:00 P.M. to accommodate all of the worshippers. Within a period of a few weeks it was reported that nearly a thousand persons had been received into the evangelical churches in the Cleveland area.

The situation was the same in Cincinnati. The interdenominational noon prayer meetings which filled various churches to overflowing soon became the center of attention, and religion became a common topic of discussion in the shops and offices. The lecture room of the First Presbyterian Church was thrown open for prayer meeting use with the expectation that the increasing attendance would soon demand the use of rooms in the basement as well. As in Cleveland, conversions and accessions to church membership in Cincinnati were numerous. The general

16 Ibid., 210, 211; Smith, op. cit., 64.
17 William C. Conant, Narratives of Remarkable Conversions and Revival Incidents (New York, 1858), 375.
18 Charles L. Thompson, Times of Refreshing. A History of American Revivals from 1740 to 1877 (Chicago, 1877), 167.
19 Ibid.; Conant, loc. cit.
revival of religion for which Ohio evangelicals had waited so long truly was under way!

Possibly of even greater influence in the total impact of the awakening of 1858 upon the religious climate of the state were the protracted meetings held in the local churches of the towns, villages, and rural areas in which the ideas and techniques of revivalism composed an accepted tradition. By January, 1858, the Cincinnati Daily Gazette was publishing a weekly religious intelligence column in which it reported scores of such revival meetings throughout Ohio. It was finally asserted that no less than two hundred towns in the state had been affected by the awakening and that about twelve thousand had been converted, with the Methodists reaping the lion's share of the harvest. 20

It is apparent from the very nature of this prayer meeting revival of 1858, which was the first nationwide awakening to be directed in great measure by laymen as well as local clergymen, that the immediate role of the professional revivalist on both the national and the Ohio scene was not of prime importance. When Charles P. McIlvaine, bishop of the Ohio Diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church, addressed the annual convention at Newark, Ohio on June 3, 1858, he devoted a major part of his message to the praise of the current awakening and especially to the fact that it was not produced by professional revivalists. 21 Having been ushered in more or less spontaneously in simplicity and quietness

20 Conant, op. cit., 433.

21 Charles P. McIlvaine, Bishop McIlvaine's Address to the Convention of the Diocese of Ohio on the Revival of Religion (Cincinnati, 1858), 4-15.
by the usual local ministrations of preaching and prayer and not by
itinerant evangelists who "went to work with a machinery of measures,
and a bold, revolting manifestation of reliance on their own skill,"
Bishop McIlvaine counted this a true revival and pointed to the salutary
effects which it was having upon the Ohio Episcopalian Churches and upon
that denomination's church school, Kenyon College. The significance
of the revival for the various denominations in Ohio is shown clearly in
the abrupt upturn in church membership after 1857. The Methodists, who
had diminished to about 88,500 in 1857, by 1860 were counted at over
130,000. The Ohio and Cincinnati Synods of the Presbyterian Church,
which reported 21,894 members in 1857, had 24,418 in 1860.

To say that professional revivalists played a slight part in the
awakening of 1858 is, however, neither to imply that they played none at
all, nor that this national religious stirring had no effect upon the
development of professional revivalism. Widely known itinerant preachers,

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22 Ibid., 8, 9, 12-15. McIlvaine had been converted in a revival
of religion while a student at Princeton and therefore was basically an
influence for revivals on the Ohio scene. His criticism of professional
revivalism was primarily on the grounds of the emotional, denunciatory,
and mechanical dimensions which it had displayed in the 1820-1858 period.
He was Bishop of Ohio from 1831 until his death in 1873. See ibid., 7;
and William Carus, editor, Memorials of the Right Reverend Charles Pettit
McIlvaine (New York, 1882), 10.

23 Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal
Church for the Year 1857, 381, 412, 449, 469.

24 John M. Barker, History of Ohio Methodism (Cincinnati, 1898),
123.

25 Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church In
The United States of America (Philadelphia, 1857), 86; ibid. (Philadelphia,
1860), 114.
such as Dr. and Mrs. Walter Palmer, Charles G. Finney, Emerson Andrews,
James Caughey, John S. Inskip, William Taylor, Jacob Knapp, Edward Payson
Hammond, and Absalom B. Earle, were especially active during and after
the 1858 revival. All of these evangelists, except the Palmers,
Emerson Andrews, and William Taylor, either already had held campaigns
in Ohio or, along with several other evangelists of less renown, would
do so in the 1858-1875 period. In two fundamental ways the 1858
awakening aided these and later revivalists to work a revolution in the
development of professional revivalism. First, the overwhelmingly suc­
cessful interdenominational prayer meetings, where folks shared a common
religious experience in Christian fellowship and worship, served to
break down long-standing sectarian barriers, to inculcate unity on the

26 See Smith, op. cit., 72-74 for an outline of the activities of
these evangelists during and immediately following the 1858 awakening.
Mrs. Maggie Van Cott, a Methodist who was the first woman to be licensed
to preach in the United States, became a celebrated itinerant revivalist
after 1868, but there is no record of her having held any campaigns in
Ohio. See John O. Foster, Life and Labors of Mrs. Maggie Newton Van Cott
(Cincinnati, 1872); Maggie Van Cott, The Harvest and the Reaper (New
York, 1876); and Phineas C. Headley, Evangelists In the Church (Boston,
1875), 391-393. However, Mrs. Van Cott's activities were followed by
the Ohio press by 1870. See, for example, Cincinnati Daily Gazette,
January 15, 1870, 1.

27 The sources give no indication that the four revivalists cited
ever held meetings in Ohio. For accounts of their respective careers
see George Hughes, The Beloved Physician, Walter C. Palmer, M.D. (New
York, 1884); Emerson Andrews, Living Life; or, Autobiography of
Rev. Emerson Andrews (Boston, 1872); and J. H. Paul, The Soul-Digger; or,
Life and Times of William Taylor (no citation of place, 1928). John S.
Inskip was a revivalistically-oriented Methodist minister who held numer­
ous protracted meetings in connection with his pastorates at Cincinnati,
Dayton, Urbana, Springfield, and Troy, Ohio between 1846 and 1852.
Later, he itinerated elsewhere. See E. I. D. Pepper, editor, Memorial
basis of experimental religion, and to pave the way for "union" city-wide revival campaigns. Second, the unusual degree of lay effort involved in the various revival services and in the newly formed Y. M. C. A.'s gave impetus to the rise of a generation of Christian workers and evangelists who were not necessarily licensed or ordained by the churches, but whose work was nevertheless accepted by the church-going public. The impact of the first influence would be felt to a significant degree in many cities during the decade of the Civil War and that of the second would flower in the great awakening after 1875, which was personified by the most important of all lay-evangelists, Dwight L. Moody.

While the revival of 1858 was in progress throughout the country, there was only one nationally known evangelist, Jacob Knapp, holding meetings in Ohio. By this time, Kan-p was in the evening years of a long and highly controversial career as the first itinerant revivalist of the Baptist persuasion. He had been born on December 7, 1799 in Otsego County, New York and reared as an Episcopalian. When he was


29Smith, op. cit., lists seven large city-wide revivals during the Civil War.

30Jacob Knapp, Autobiography of Elder Jacob Knapp (New York, 1868), is the best source of material on his life and thought. Short sketches of his revivalistic work can be found in William G. McLoughlin, Jr., Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney To Billy Graham (New York, 1959), 140-144 and Smith, op. cit., 47-49, 72, 73. Like many of the revivalists Knapp compiled his own hymnal for use in his meetings; Jacob Knapp, The Evangelical Harp (Utica, New York, 1845).
seventeen, his mother died, leaving him with a keen sense of a "need of a Comforter and Friend which this world could not afford." Therefore, as his distress continued to mount, much in the manner of Charles Finney, the young Knapp repaired to the woods, Bible and hymnbook in hand, with the determination not to return without relief to his soul. Under the overwhelming weight of the guilt of his sins, he closed his eyes and fully expected to see the scenes of hell about him when he opened them, but he later testified:

... to the joy and rapture of my soul, after a short space of time passed in this condition, my load of guilt was gone. I rose up quickly, turned my eyes toward heaven, and thought I saw Jesus descending with his arms extended for my reception.31

This occasion would always represent for him the personal conversion experience which is the principal goal of all revivalistic preaching.

After poring over his Bible and attending an inspiring Baptist meeting at Masonville, New York, the recently converted Knapp found himself rejecting the "forms and ceremonies" and the baptism by sprinkling practiced by the Episcopal Church. When his father and grandparents refused to permit him to join the Baptist Church, he began to hold himself aloof from all denominations and, when he moved with his father to the frontier at the headwaters of the Ohio River, he heard no sermons for a year. Then, in 1818, he was sent to Delaware County, New York to school. While a revival was in progress there that winter he publicly confessed his faith in Christ at a Baptist prayer meeting and, in February, 1819,

was baptised without his father's consent. At nineteen he felt a call to preach, held meetings in the churchless wilderness near his father's homestead, and a year later rejected his father's offer to purchase him a farm as he determined to study for the ministry. In the spring of 1822 the Baptist Church at Masonville, New York licensed him to preach, and he matriculated at the Literary and Theological Institute at Hamilton, New York. In June, 1825, he received a diploma in recognition of his studies, was ordained in August and accepted a call to the Baptist Church in Springfield, New York where he served for five years. It was not until 1833, after an additional three-year pastorate at Watertown, New York, that Knapp became a professional, itinerant revivalist.

For some time the influence of Finney's "new measure" revivals in western New York had been seeping into Baptist circles, and Knapp, who from the first had slanted his ministry toward evangelism, was attracted to the idea of traveling about in an effort to produce revivals. Although the ideas and tactics of professional revivalism would be under constant attack by a great section of the Baptist Church for decades to come, Jacob Knapp and Jabez Swan, who graduated from Hamilton two years after him, became the pioneers of these new measures within that denomination. By 1833, as Knapp surveyed the results of the protracted

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32 Ibid., 15-18.
33 Ibid., 19-27.
34 McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 136. Swan confined his work to the New York and New England areas. See F. Denison, editor, The Evangelist: or Life and Labors of Rev. Jabez S. Swan (2nd. ed., Waterford Connecticut, 1873). That Knapp was the first itinerant among the Baptists is confirmed on page 183 of this work.
meetings held by Finney and others, his "soul was set on fire with zeal for the spread of the kingdom of Christ," and, viewing the unconverted as "toppling on the brink of hell" and many of the churches and ministers as "sleeping at their post," he felt a "special moving of soul that God called me to devote the remainder of my life to the direct work of an evangelist." Although as he began holding his first revival meetings in Jefferson and Lewis Counties of New York in 1833, he felt that he was entering upon a path that had not been trodden before him, he rode over it so roughshod with a wholesale display of all kinds of new measures that he met with stringent criticism. He eventually engaged in the commercialism, flamboyance, and publicity-seeking which marked the worst sector of the profession.

His sermons were characterized by dramatics, by colloquialism which some thought bordered on vulgarity, and especially by denunciation. He delighted in attacking local gambling dens, the liquor interests, Universalists, slave holders, "hyper-Calvinists," and ministers and churches which were not revivalistically oriented. He even seemed to enjoy the counter attacks by his foes as evidence that he had hit his target. In Auburn, New York, he was threatened with a ride on a rail; in Rochester he was arrested after denouncing the gambling interests; in Baltimore a mob armed with missiles surrounded the church when he insisted upon speaking out against slavery; and in Providence he was fined

35 Knapp, Autobiography, 28, 29. See pages 40 and 41 for his appraisal of Finney's work.

36 Ibid., 41; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 137.

37 McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 141, 142.
one hundred dollars for slandering a woman from the pulpit. 38 Knapp made use of all of the conventional new measures such as the anxious seat and inquiry room and was not slow to admit: "Many thought me crazy when I urged the members of the church to go from house to house, and compel sinners to come in to the services." 39

The issue over which the sentiment against Knapp came to an abrupt crisis in 1842 concerned his alleged attempts to get the largest possible offerings from the congregations in which he held meetings. As his fame for securing large numbers of converts spread (he was one of the first to keep statistics on conversions to demonstrate the effectiveness of his meetings), he was invited to hold revivals in the more important cities in the East. However, even when he preached in Utica, Rochester, and Brooklyn, New York, and in Washington D. C., he persisted in wearing the humble garb to which he had grown accustomed on the New York frontier. This poverty-striken appearance, coupled with Knapp's own insistence that his compensation should come only by way of personal contributions sent to him in separate notes by the individuals in the congregation, suggested to some that he was playing upon their sympathies in order to line his own pockets. After his meetings in Boston in 1841-1842, as a result of which he asserted that two thousand joined the churches, 40 the charges against him became formalized. He had worn old clothes on purpose to increase the offering from the people, said many

38 Knapp, Autobiography, 69, 94, 102, 123.
39 Ibid., 42.
40 Ibid., 128.
Bostonians. Knapp felt that this was a concerted plot to undermine his ministry and, to protect his own reputation, asked for a full investigation. A committee of ten reported that there was "nothing in the case which ought to interrupt Elder Knapp's connection with the church, or his labors as a minister."\footnote{Reuben Jeffrey, Introduction to Jacob Knapp, Autobiography, xx-xxiii} However, the dark shadow of doubt which the charge had cast across Knapp's career became a permanent stain in the minds of the public which even a second investigation by Knapp's home church could not erase. His invitations to hold revivals in the East fell off from that time on, and by 1844 he decided to launch a fresh revivalistic work in the West where his past activities were not so well known.

It was in this western phase of his itineracy, then, that Knapp visited Ohio during the awakening of 1858 and after. As early as 1839 he had received an invitation to preach at Middletown, Ohio, from a man who assured the evangelist one hundred dollars beyond whatever the rest of the congregation might give him, but Knapp had refused, as he later recalled, "lest I might, even unconsciously, be actuated by a mercenary spirit."\footnote{Ibid., 170.} When the prayer meeting revival was at its height after February of 1858, however, Knapp finally accepted this persistent call to Middletown and found the same "dear brother's heart, house, and purse all open to do anything for Jesus."\footnote{Ibid. Knapp here misdates this 1858 Middletown campaign as 1859.}
"The great revivalist," as Knapp was heralded by the Cincinnati Daily Gazette, began his crusade at the First Baptist Church in Middletown on Sunday, February 28.\textsuperscript{44} To assure an initial acceptance in town, Knapp told the people that he did not always like his own sermons which varied greatly. Then he requested them to suspend their judgement on his ministry until they had heard twenty sermons, and then if they did not feel themselves profited he would excuse them. The evangelist later remembered that an infidel lawyer had attended faithfully in response to this request and had submitted a jesting prayer request that the devil might be converted, but finally had accepted Knapp's invitation to "come out, and take the seat for prayers," and was eventually converted.\textsuperscript{45}

Others also must have found the revivalist's messages palatable since, by March 13, it was reported that he was preaching every afternoon and evening to "crowded houses."\textsuperscript{46} Knapp's Middletown revival received so much attention at Cincinnati where daily businessmen's and other prayer meetings were in progress that he was invited to come and speak at the First Baptist Church of Cincinnati on Monday evening, April 5.\textsuperscript{47} The Knapp meetings in Middletown, which continued on until placing it in March, 1859, but during March of 1859 he was actually in Warren, Ohio, see below. The persistent inviter of Knapp to Middletown was probably Baptist layman F. J. Tytus who, when he wrote trying to get Finney to come there later, spoke of his being instrumental in getting Knapp there earlier. See F. J. Tytus to Finney, January 14, 1863, in the Finney Papers, Oberlin College Library.

\textsuperscript{44}Cincinnati Daily Gazette, March 6, 1858, 1.
\textsuperscript{45}Knapp, Autobiography, 170, 171.
\textsuperscript{46}Cincinnati Daily Gazette, March 13, 1858, 1.
\textsuperscript{47}Advertisements for both local prayer meetings and the Knapp meeting in Cincinnati appear in \textit{ibid.}, April 5, 1858, 2.
April 11, carried the interdenominational flavor of the 1858 awakening itself, with Methodists and Presbyterians participating in the services as "union workers" at Knapp's request. However, some of the revivalist's innate prejudice for his own Baptist fellowship showed through painfully in one of his sermons on the final Sunday of the revival and may have alienated many of his former supporters. The Western Christian Advocate was quick to report that on that occasion the itinerant preacher had charged the Methodist Church "as being the granddaughter of the great harlot of Rome" and that he had suggested that he would not commune with Methodists because that would lead to communion with Presbyterians and finally with Universalists, and that he would rather commune with the devil himself than with the last. Although Knapp had always been strictly a closed communionist and often had spoken his views out in just such an insulting way, The Western Christian Advocate felt that his remarks were "a hail shower to some of our friends who worked to the tune of 'union' with the elder." 48

The Baptists, however, seemed quite pleased with the effects of Knapp's five-week crusade in Middletown. The week after Knapp left, the Cincinnati Daily Gazette reported fifty public inquiries, nearly forty conversions, and twenty-six baptisms stemming from the revival. 49 F. J. Tytus, a local Baptist layman, later testified that the evangelist's "labors were greatly blessed" and "45 precious souls were converted and

48"Baptist Churches," The Western Christian Advocate, XXV (April 14, 1858), 58.
49Cincinnati Daily Gazette, April 17, 1858, 1.
Knapp himself was convinced that between seventy and eighty, some of them "influential members of society," had been saved. Regardless of the exact figures, the Middletown Baptists were appreciative enough of Knapp's work to invite him to hold meetings there again in 1864, and the Baptists in other Ohio cities, undoubtedly impressed by the broad publicity of his 1858 revival, invited him to come to their communities.

Records of two of these later Knapp revivals in the state, at Dayton and Warren in 1859, have weathered the years. In Dayton, where the evangelist held meetings in the First Baptist Church and Huston Hall from early January until February 27, his long-standing assaults upon Universalism blazed into an open conflict. By January 18, Knapp had discharged enough volleys from his pulpit fortress fully to arouse the Universalists in the town of some twenty thousand citizens. On that date

50 J. Tytus to Finney, January 14, 1863, in the Finney Papers, Oberlin College Library.
51 Knapp, Autobiography, 171.
52 Ibid. Knapp here mentions his 1864 Middletown revival as successful and as the one in which his son, Luther, was converted, but no other account of these meetings is extant.
53 It is quite possible that Knapp held meetings in Ohio from time to time besides the ones in Dayton and Warren discussed below and for which no records remain. For example, in the Cincinnati Daily Gazette, December 22, 1869, 1, J. S. Cantwell, a Universalist, attacked Knapp for an anti-Universalist sermon which he supposedly preached in that city "two years ago," but no newspaper coverage was given to any Knapp meetings in Cincinnati in the four years previous to Cantwell's charge.
54 Annual Report of the Secretary of State to the Governor of the State of Ohio for the Year Ending November 15, 1900 (Columbus, Ohio, 1900), 780.
an open letter to Knapp appeared in the Daily Dayton Journal from the pastor of the local Universalist Church, W. S. Burton, inviting him to engage in a public debate in that newspaper's columns as

a more courteous, gentlemanly, and honorable method of treating Universalists . . . than that of falsely charging them with being Infidels, and otherwise basely slandering them, behind the shield of your own pulpit and congregation.\(^{55}\)

Burton suggested two questions for discussion—"Does the Bible teach the final holiness of all the human race?" and "Does the Bible teach the doctrine of endless misery?"—and outlined his own position "that all will finally become holy and happy; that God, in His infinite wisdom and goodness, has apportioned unto all, the glorious destiny of entire freedom from sin."\(^{56}\)

On the front page of the Daily Dayton Journal on January 22, Knapp's answer appeared. There would be no public debate on the future state of the wicked. Knapp stated his reasons in the form of a caustic attack upon Burton himself. He charged that "a man who professes to believe the Bible to be a revelation from God, and then denies or perverts all that God has said in that Book, upon future and eternal punishment of the wicked, cannot be an honest man;" that no "sane man" could read the Biblical passages on hell and still be a Universalist; that "no man is worthy of public notice or respect, who teaches that a life of drunkenness, of profanity, adultery, and murder, will as surely lead to heaven" as a moral one; and that Burton would not admit defeat even if

\(^{55}\)Daily Dayton Journal, January 18, 1859, 1.

\(^{56}\)Ibid.
he was beaten in the debate. The evangelist refused to dignify and perpetuate Burton's ideas by discussing them in the public press. It reminded him, he said, of the legend in which the lion refused to do battle with the skunk because, even if he won, everybody for months would know he had been in the company of a skunk.

Some of the venom of Knapp's argument against Universalism in general can be sensed in this open letter as he wrote that Burton's teaching made men worse than ever by taking off all the restraints of God's holy law; by opening the sluices of human depravity; by unchaining the lion; . . . ; by throwing the reins upon the neck of depraved men, and letting them ride on to destruction.

He advised Burton: "... cast away your damning heresy, recover yourself out of the snare of the devil, and become as zealous in defending the truth, as you are now in promoting a lie."

The itinerant revivalist's admonition went unheeded, however, and the heated controversy continued in newspaper and pulpit. Although Knapp had refused an open debate, Burton felt that he must clarify his own ideas, which he asserted the former had distorted, for the Dayton public. Therefore, on January 26, Burton's open letter appeared explaining that he did not believe that a life of debauchery led to heaven, but rather that the disciplinary punishment of God in this life would work eventual salvation in all, and that he did believe all that the Bible had to say on eternal punishment, but that he differed from Knapp on its

57 Ibid., January 22, 1859, 1.
58 Ibid.
59 Ibid.
interpretation. Then, in reference to the lion and skunk fable of the evangelist, he suggested in retaliation the one in which the ass put on the lion's skin in order to scare people and, when he tried to roar, his bray revealed his true character.  

Thus, the battle raged on. Knapp made Universalism his topic at Huston Hall on Friday evening, January 28, and Burton, who must have made it a point to attend some of the revival meetings, made a reply to the preacher's message from his own Universalist Church pulpit the next Sunday morning. Finally, the Universalists began to evidence a revival-like effort of their own to counter the offensive of Knapp and the local Baptists. On Sunday, February 6 and on other occasions, Burton spoke morning and evening at Clegg's Hall on topics related to human destiny. Capitalizing on the excitement which the Knapp-Burton confrontation was causing in town, the Daily Dayton Journal reprinted the former open letters of these men in a full column on February 8.

For his part, Knapp was in his element, staving off the Universalists with one hand and carrying on the varied activities of the revival to save souls with the other. He preached nightly at Huston Hall the week of Monday, February 7. On Tuesday he spoke on "The Twin Sister of Universalism"; on Friday he proved that all men in the state of

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60 Ibid., January 26, 1859, 1.
61 Ibid., January 28, 1859, 1.
62 Ibid., January 29, 1859, 1.
63 Ibid., February 5, 1859, 1.
64 Ibid., February 8, 1859, 3.
nature hate God; and on Saturday he explained how to be saved. On Wednesday, February 9, he demonstrated his use of the "special meeting" technique as he spoke especially to firemen. Several fire companies obligingly marched to the meeting in procession and refused to budge from their seats when someone sounded the fire alarm "doubtless intending to break up the meeting." Since local churches of various denominations were holding nightly services in Dayton at this time, Knapp's meetings technically did not represent a union city-wide revival, but he was asked by some non-Baptists to devote a sermon to baptism and communion in an effort to help eradicate the ill will among the churches which arose from a misunderstanding of each other's views. He complied with their request on February 26 at Huston Hall, but whether his remarks were as cutting on this occasion as they had been in Middletown when he insulted the Methodists and Presbyterians is not known.

It is certain, however, that the Universalist counter-offensive continued until the end of the Baptist protracted meetings. While at Huston Hall on Sunday morning, February 27, Knapp gave his farewell address to those who had supported the revival, Burton was scheduled to show at Clegg's Hall that Universalism had been orthodox doctrine in the early centuries of the Christian Church. That evening, as the evangelist addressed his last sermon to the unsaved of Dayton, the Universalist was

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65 Ibid., February 8, 1859, 1.
66 Ibid., February 10, 1859, 1.
67 See ibid., February 22, 1859, 1.
68 Ibid., February 26, 1859, 1.
to analyze "Revivals." Whether or not Knapp felt that he had won the struggle against heresy, he must have been pleased when fifty new converts joined the First and Wayne Street Baptist Churches on the final morning of the revival. Having administered the communion to these who represented the visible harvest of his efforts, he, in the manner of all itinerant evangelists, left the Christian community to care for the converts and controversies that he had helped produce and moved on to his next scene of battle with the forces of evil at Warren, Ohio.

If, however, Knapp was looking for a fight in Warren from the forces of unorthodoxy, he was disappointed. The Trumbull Democrat hailed him into town as "a distinguished Baptist Revivalist," and, for the first twenty-seven days of March, he was made welcome at the local Baptist Church. He held services each afternoon and evening and was sometimes greeted by overflow crowds. The amount of personal affection which could be aroused by a professional itinerant during a revival campaign was demonstrated here when Knapp left town on Monday morning, March 28. The Western Reserve Chronicle reported that "a large number of his congregation accompanied him to the depot, and after singing a hymn, took leave of him." The inevitable statistics by which the

69 Ibid., February 25 and 26, 1859, 1.
70 Cincinnati Daily Gazette, March 5, 1859, 1.
71 The Trumbull Democrat, March 10, 1859, 3.
72 Ibid.; Western Reserve Chronicle, March 9 and 30, 1859, 3.
73 Western Reserve Chronicle, March 30, 1859, 3.
success of revivals so often has been measured stood at seventy-five conversions and forty to fifty admissions to church membership.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}; Cincinnati \textit{Daily Gazette}, April 2, 1859, 1.}

Jacob Knapp was not the only Baptist revivalist to labor in the Ohio vineyard in the wake of the 1858 awakening. Absalom B. Earle, known eventually from coast-to-coast as "The Union Evangelist," held at least two extended campaigns in the Buckeye state.\footnote{Absalom B. Earle, \textit{Bringing In Sheaves} (Boston, 1869) and Absalom B. Earle, \textit{Work Of An Evangelist} (Boston, 1881) are Earle's own recollection of incidents from his revival work and advice on how to produce revivals. Very little chronologically developed biographical data is available on Earle, but there are brief accounts of his life and work in Phineas C. Headley, \textit{Evangelists In The Church}, 346-359; Charles L. Thompson, \textit{Times of Refreshing. A History of American Revivals from 1740 to 1877} (Chicago, 1877), 172, 173; Frank G. Beardsley, \textit{A History of American Revivals} (2nd. ed., New York, 1912), 250, 251; and McLoughlin, \textit{Modern Revivalism}, 153-155.}

Earle's life and career spanned approximately the first century of professional revivalism in the United States. He was born at Charleston, New York, in 1812, began preaching when he was eighteen, and did not leave the pulpit until 1897.\footnote{Beardsley, \textit{op. cit.}, 250, 251; Earle, \textit{Work of an Evangelist}, 9.}

In 1859 he left his Baptist pastorate in New York and for ten years itinerated through the New England and New York region. Then he toured through the Midwest and on to the Pacific coast where he held his first large union campaign in San Francisco in 1866. The remainder of his active evangelistic efforts took him to Oregon, Nevada, and cities of the eastern seaboard.\footnote{McLoughlin, \textit{Modern Revivalism}, 154.} In 1881, Earle calculated that in fifty years in the ministry he had held eight hundred series of meetings, had
preached an average of more than a sermon a day, had seen 150,000 conversions, had sold 200,000 copies of his books, and had had thirteen or more different denominations cooperate together at his "union" revivals.\textsuperscript{78}

The enterprising evangelical efforts of Earle, as well as those of Edward Payson Hammond and Mrs. Maggie Newton Van Cott, his contemporaries, represented a new departure in the direction of stereotyping and ritualizing the management of professionally induced revivals. By the use of their organizational and administrative skills, they opened the door to the efficient, businesslike production of revivals by elaborate machinery which finally would be perfected, in some cases, to the detriment of spontaneous religious stirrings as the century progressed.\textsuperscript{79}

From the first, Earle's approach was non-emotional, and he relied in great measure upon the simple methods of preaching, singing, and personal conversation in the inquiry room to secure converts.\textsuperscript{80} However, he was a pioneer in the practice of handing a printed card to each seeker who came forward after his sermons. On one side of the card were "Ten Evidences of Conversion: For Young Christians," and on the other were ten questions of "Self-Examination for Older Christians."\textsuperscript{81} If this device suggested a more impersonal route to the heart of the potential convert, it also, by its questions, such as "Am I sweetly resting in Christ, by faith, now?," hinted at a sentimental approach which would

\textsuperscript{78} Earle, \textit{Work of an Evangelist}, 16, 20; Earle, \textit{Bringing in Sheaves}, 240.

\textsuperscript{79} McLoughlin, \textit{Modern Revivalism}, 153, 154.

\textsuperscript{80} Beardsley, \textit{op. cit.}, 251; Thompson, \textit{op. cit.}, 173.

\textsuperscript{81} Earle, \textit{Bringing in Sheaves}, 226, 227.
reach its zenith in the work of Dwight L. Moody and his successors. 82
The paramount feature of Earle's work, however, was its interdenомина­
tional character. Although he did not intimate that Christians should
not hold to separate communions, he felt that for revival efforts the
churches should unite their strength. He was convinced that such
"union" efforts not only produced better understanding and closer affil­
iation among the denominations, but also that they convinced the unconverted that there was reality in religion. 83

Absalom B. Earle and the other professional evangelists found
the military conflict during the first half of the 1860's detrimental to
the promotion of revivals, but, when the Civil War ended, they dis­
covered that the spirit of interdenominational cooperation which had
been stimulated by the awakening of 1858 was still intact. Thus, before
Earle arrived in Cincinnati to begin a month of evangelistic meetings on
December 9, 1865, at least seventeen local churches had banded together
to reach the unsaved of the city through a program of mass visitation
and special services. 84 Earle had been invited by the Ninth Street Bap­
tist Church to hold a revival as part of its contribution to the city­
wide effort. 85 Nightly meetings had been held in that church the week
of November 27-December 1, and after Earle arrived he held services
there both afternoon and evening.

82 Ibid.; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 155.
83 Headley, Evangelists in the Church, 346.
84 Cincinnati Daily Gazette, November 25 and December 13, 1865, 1.
85 Ibid., December 9, 1865, 2.
The coming of the professional revivalist seems to have made the Ninth Street Baptist Church the headquarters of the interdenominational labors in the city. On Tuesday, December 12, a mass meeting of the evangelical pastors and church officers, who were carrying on revival efforts in their own sections of the city, was held there. Reports were given on the activities and achievements of each church. Pastor Wayland Hoyt of the Ninth Street Baptist Church told of its visitation program, which had been initiated only after a day of fasting and prayer, and of its schedule of special services from before Earle's meetings up to that time. Before the meeting adjourned for two weeks, Earle himself told those in attendance that this movement in Cincinnati had caught the attention of Christians in the East and should not be allowed to flag.  

On Sunday, December 17, the evangelist preached the sermon, "The Unpardonable Sin," which was a kind of trademark of his ministry. Very seldom did he allow a series of meetings to pass in which he did not select this message from among his ready-made supply. It dwelt upon the danger of the sinner's rejecting God's offer of salvation so repeatedly that the Holy Spirit finally left him to his chosen fate. By 1881, Earle estimated that this sermon alone had been the means of effecting more than twenty thousand conversions. As a forerunner of Edward Payson Hammond's preoccupation with child evangelism, Earle held a meeting  

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86 Ibid., December 13, 1865, 1.  
87 Ibid., December 16, 1865, 2.  
88 Earle, Work of an Evangelist, 25. Earle did not recommend the repeated use of stock sermons as a means for others to employ, however. See ibid., 23.
exclusively for children at the Ninth Street Church on Saturday afternoon, December 23. Although this church remained the center of his activities in Cincinnati, the revivalist was undoubtedly gratified when three other Baptist churches invited him to hold "union" services there, and when the city-wide evangelical alliance selected the Ninth Street Church as the place to hold a day of union prayer meetings. 89

As the revival ran its course, Earle held union meetings at the First Baptist Church on December 24, 31 and January 7; at the Freeman Street Baptist Church on January 4; and at the Second Baptist Church on January 6, while he regularly held two daily meetings at the Ninth Street Church. 90 In fact, from about December 25, the First, Second, and Ninth Street Churches unitedly supported all of Earle's services in a "union" effort, and the union prayer meeting under the sponsorship of all of the evangelical churches at the Ninth Street Church on January 2 was well attended. 91

Unlike the animosity aroused by Knapp in Dayton, only favorable impressions were vocalized in the press concerning Earle's efforts in Cincinnati. Although the Cincinnati Daily Enquirer overlooked this local religious news, the Daily Gazette and The Cincinnati Commercial followed Earle's schedule with care, and, just as significantly, the Baptist Journal and Messenger gave a favorable account of Earle's work and its results. Concerning the last three services of the revival on Sunday,

89 Ibid., December 28, 1865, 1.
90 Ibid., December 30, 1865, 2; January 4, 1866, 2; The Cincinnati Commercial, January 6, 1866, 5.
91 Cincinnati Daily Gazette, January 3, 1866, 2.
January 7, the Journal and Messenger reported that in the morning at the Ninth Street Church the regular order of service was dispensed with, "and an hour devoted to prayer and short addresses," in which some testified to having been converted, others that they were seeking salvation. In the afternoon, Earle spoke at a crowded First Baptist Church, participated in communion there, and then received one of the official commendations which congregations or the churches of a whole city often felt they should give to an evangelist to put a seal of approval on him and his work. In this case it was in the form of a resolution which stated that the three Baptist churches--First, Second, and Ninth Street--which had been

united in this work, esteem it simply due our brother, that, in this public manner, we express our confidence in him, declare our Christian affection for him, thank him for the great good he has done among us, and that we do now most heartily commend him to the churches in his important work.

Such recommendations were, of course, of invaluable aid to a professional revivalist and helped to account for the fact that for many years Earle had so many invitations that he could accept only about one out of forty.

Whether or not Earle was paid for his services in Cincinnati in accordance with his usual custom of having each person on a voluntary

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92 From The Journal and Messenger as quoted in Earle, Bringing in Sheaves, 51, 52.

93 Quoted in Earle, Bringing in Sheaves, 52. The unblushing manner in which Earle presents such laudatory material in this volume is suggestive of the interesting combination of defensiveness and self-confidence which is found in many of the professional revivalists.

94 Earle, Work of an Evangelist, 27, 28.
basis write him a short letter enclosing a free-will offering is not known, but everyone seemed satisfied that the revival had been worthwhile. The influx during the revival had encouraged the Ninth Street Church to make the decision to enlarge their building, erect a Gothic front, "and otherwise beautify the edifice." The Journal and Messenger was content that many sinners had been saved, that many Christians had been stirred to action, and that the moral level of the churches had been raised. With regard to the new-found union and increased emphasis upon organized effort among the Baptist churches in town, it said: "The churches have clasped each other's hands, and felt their warm pressure, and do not mean to let go. As churches, we are better organized for work than, perhaps, we ever were before." If Earle himself had any doubt of the effectiveness of his work upon the Cincinnatians, the letters which his devotees subsequently sent to him (two of which he later published in one of his books) must have given him new confidence.

The evening after he closed his Cincinnati campaign on January 8, 1866, Earle opened the second of his two known protracted meetings in Ohio at the First Baptist Church in Dayton where Knapp had preached seven years before. Earle's Dayton revival was not destined to reach the proportions of a union effort, but the religious climate was similar

95 Ibid., 18.
96 Cincinnati Daily Gazette, December 18, 1865, 1.
97 From The Journal and Messenger as quoted in Earle, Bringing In Sheaves, 52, 53.
98 See ibid., 157, 166. One lady wrote: "You will always be remembered, for you were instrumental in having my name written in the Lamb's book of life . . . ."
to that which prevailed when he entered Cincinnati, and he was careful not to trouble the waters by randomly splashing the Universalists in the Knappian fashion. The Dayton *Daily Journal* had prepared the public for Earle's arrival by including a report of his Cincinnati crusade, taken from the *Journal and Messenger*, in its columns which described his preaching as "simple and deeply experimental, abounding in illustrations drawn from the Bible and his own experience and observation." Furthermore, during the first week of the Dayton campaign, the evangelical churches in town were holding nightly union prayer meetings in conjunction with the International Week of Prayer. No sooner had Earle arrived than his two daily meetings were systematically advertised in the *Dayton Daily Empire*; and his first Sunday afternoon in town, January 13, 1866, he took the opportunity to preach his famous sermon on "The Unpardonable Sin."

Earle was scheduled to hold services in Dayton for only two weeks. He was then to go immediately to Brooklyn, New York for his next engagement. However, as he started the second week, the press reported well attended meetings and an "unusual degree of interest manifested by the congregation," and by January 17 it was said that "large and deeply interested congregations are attending the preaching of this able and earnest minister . . . . The services are quiet and solemn, but very

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100 Ibid.
101 See *The Daily Empire*, January 9ff., 1866, 3.
102 Ibid., January 13, 1866, 3.
impressive; and it is evident that a profound religious feeling is awakened. Besides, he united people of various religious persuasions behind him because his sermons were "not denominational, but on subjects in which all evangelical Christians agree," and therefore the people were loath to see him leave. Letters were sent to Brooklyn requesting permission to retain Earle for an additional week, and their plea was granted.

During the extra week which Earle spent in Dayton he held his regular two daily services at 3:00 P.M. and 7:00 P.M. at the First Baptist Church and on the morning of January 24 held his only service outside that church at the Wayne Street Baptist Church. As the three-week effort drew to a close, the Dayton Daily Journal summed up the effects upon the First Church as salutary: "The Church has been greatly revived, and a number of non-professors have been awakened to a sense of their true condition, and, . . . , a number have signified their purpose of uniting with the Church." Beyond the purely religious results of Earle's two Ohio campaigns, his work gave Ohioans one of their first favorable impressions of professional revivalism of the new union,

103 Ibid., January 15, 1866, 3; Dayton Daily Journal, January 17, 1866, 3.

104 Dayton Daily Journal, January 17, 1866, 3.

105 Ibid., January 22, 1866, 2; The Daily Empire, January 22, 1866, 3.

106 Dayton Daily Journal, January 24, 1866, 3.

107 Ibid., January 27, 1866, 3.
organized variety, and later evangelists would find it easier to get support which cut across denominational lines because of his having been in the state.

Before surveying, in the next chapter, the largest union city-wide revivals of the pre-Moody era in Ohio, conducted under the leadership of Edward Payson Hammond, it is appropriate to consider the work of lesser magnitude carried on by four other well-known evangelists, three of whom were native Ohioans. Knowles Shaw, who rose to prominence as "The Singing Evangelist," was one of the first professional revivalists to have been born in Ohio. A short while after their first child was born in Butler County in October, 1834, Knowles' Scotch-American parents moved to Rush County, Indiana where they reared their son with very little opportunity for formal schooling or religious instruction. Before his father died when the lad was twelve, he gave Knowles a violin, and music became the controlling passion of Shaw's youth. He finally became known as the area fiddler and helped his mother keep the family together by playing at frontier dancing parties. This led Knowles to a life of frolic and drink until the haunting memory of his father's death brought him seriously to consider his future. Finally, while playing at a dance, his thoughts became so sober that he stopped playing, walked to the center of the floor, announced to the crowd that he regretted his

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108 William Baxter, Life of Knowles Shaw the Singing Evangelist (Cincinnati, 1879), 7, 17, 18. This is the only extended account of Shaw's life.
past wickedness and would play for no more dances, and had those present to promise not to hinder him in his new search for a better life. 109

For several days Shaw ate only bread and milk and slept in a blanket on the floor, saying that he was having a battle with the devil. Then he emerged, attended a service at a nearby church where he publicly confessed belief in Christ, was baptized on September 13, 1852, and became a member of the Christian Church. The six-foot-three frontier youth then attempted farming and school teaching, but after 1858, as invitations to preach began to be extended to him, he found the itinerant ministry to best fit his talents. The profession did not demand formal theological training, and rustic clothes and habits could even prove an asset. Besides, Shaw had creative new facets to add to revivalism itself. 110 Converting his musical and dramatic aptitudes to religious purposes in his meetings, he soon became known as "The Singing Evangelist" and brought the world of showmanship very near to the realm of piety. The following description of his pulpit style pictures him as a pioneer in the dramatic flare that brought fame to Billy Sunday a half century later:

He can support the character, in the same scene, of clergyman or clown, actor and ape, nightingale and parrot. During his discourse you may see him pacing the platform singing some thrilling song of Zion, or seated by the organ playing some touching sentimental ballad. You may behold him on bended knee, before some cruel king, in tender tones imploring mercy; or perched upon the end of a bench . . . stiff as a poker and cold as a midnight spook, burlesquing the lukewarm Christian. You may behold the audience baptized in tears, while he stands in

109 Ibid., 12-21.
110 Ibid., 21-31, 183.
memory by the bedside of a beautiful dying daughter . . . or you may see them convulsed with laughter, as he portrays, in pantomime, with walled eyes and distorted countenance, gestures and grips, grimaces and grins, a balky horse or a bad boy.\textsuperscript{111}

Obviously, as Shaw conceived them, revival meetings presented an arena for the nearly uninhibited exercise of his skills to move the emotions of audiences. Professional revivalism had entered a new dimension.

Ohioans in various towns had the opportunity to witness the animated revivalism of Shaw as some of his most successful meetings were held in the state in the 1860's and 1870's. There was no organized Christian Church in Lebanon, Ohio when Shaw arrived there on January 8, 1868 to begin a protracted meeting. However, by January 20, Shaw's effective revival techniques, which usually included much house-to-house visitation and three or four sermons per day,\textsuperscript{112} had produced enough converts that he had baptized fifteen, organized a church, and was planning to erect a permanent building for worship.\textsuperscript{113} By March 5, the congregation of the newly-established Christian Church at Lebanon numbered one hundred, and Shaw was still holding revival services in town at Washington Hall. Furthermore, by this time he had initiated a Sunday school which was being attended by about three hundred every week.\textsuperscript{114}

When a tally was taken on March 18, it was learned that the winter efforts of Shaw and the local Methodists and Baptists had reaped

\textsuperscript{111}Baxter, \textit{op. cit.}, 152.

\textsuperscript{112}Ibid., 35, 39.

\textsuperscript{113}Lebanon Patriot, February 20, 1868, 13.

\textsuperscript{114}The Western Star, March 5, 1868, 5.
241 converts, of whom 191 had joined Shaw's new Church. The field was so ripe, in fact, that Shaw continued his protracted effort, baptizing converts from week to week, and eventually accepted the temporary responsibility of pastoring this new congregation. At the end of a year in Lebanon he wrote that nearly 290 had joined the church and that about six hundred were attending the Sunday school in Washington Hall.

Although sometime after mid-February, 1869, he left his Lebanon pastorate to pursue his itinerant endeavors in Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa and elsewhere, Shaw's arduous follow-up work in this instance was a wholesome departure from the usual practice of professional revivalists who customarily washed their hands of the care of the converts once their revival meetings were completed, and moved on.

Only a few facts are known concerning Shaw's other meetings in Ohio. Early in 1871 he held a revival at Bellaire which drew twenty-nine new members into the Christian Church there. In the spring of that year he labored among the same denomination at East Cleveland for three weeks and saw thirty converts join the church. Later, in September, 1877, he began a revival in Harrison which produced 144 additions to the local Christian Church, and in subsequent meetings at Hamilton and

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115 Ibid., March 19, 1868, 5.
116 Ibid., April 2, 1868, 5.
117 Baxter, op. cit., 40, 41.
118 Ibid., 44-46, 105.
119 Ibid., 42, 43.
Waynesville one hundred twenty-two and sixty-one respectively became members. Less than a year later, at age 43, Shaw lost his life in a train wreck with over 11,000 converts to the credit of his revival ministry.

A second Ohio-born evangelist who added his influence to the growing interdenominational revivalistic fervor in the state during this period was David B. Updegraff. Since two of his grandparents had been ministers and his mother had been a successful evangelist among the Friends, it is not surprising that David should develop into one of the best-known revivalists among that denomination. Throughout his life, from 1830 to 1894, Updegraff made his home and focused most of his work at his birthplace, Mount Pleasant, Ohio. Oddly enough, it was 1864 before he was converted, and that took place in a Methodist protracted meeting. But by 1869, after much heart searching, he experienced sanctification, or heart purity, and from that date began a career of itinerant revivalism with "holiness" as his chief theme. He began to hold revivals with John H. Douglas as his co-evangelist and to conduct conventions to promote "scriptural holiness" with Mr. and Mrs. Boardman.

120 Ibid., 39.
121 Ibid., 173-183.
122 Dougán Clark and Joseph Smith, David B. Updegraff and His Work (Cincinnati, 1895) gives the most complete account of his life. There is also a valuable sketch in Phineas C. Headley, Evangelists in the Church, 429, 430.
123 Headley, Evangelists in the Church, 429.
124 Ibid.; Clark, op. cit., 17, 26-34, 47, 163.
Most of his early meetings were held at Friends churches and camp meet-
ings, although the use of protracted meetings was still a debated issue in that denomination. However, as the word of the effectiveness of Updegraff's preaching was spread, he finally received and accepted numerous invitations to speak in Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian and even Episcopalian churches and held annual union revivals at his home church in Mt. Pleasant from 1870 to 1874.

Although no accounts of his particular Ohio campaigns remain, a general picture of his pulpit manner and the nature of his meetings can be gained. His expository preaching was in much the same vein as Shaw's. It was as natural and easy as its manner and spirit were supernatural and mighty. Now conversational and colloquial; now argumentative and oratorical; now serious and solemn; now playful and humorous. Weeping now, and then working everybody up by some sally of characteristic wit.

He was fully committed to the value of various "new measures" such as having folks raise their hands or stand to indicate their concern over the condition of their souls,

yet he was never satisfied till that step was followed by the next and the next, and on until the man was on his knees, then praying audibly for himself, and in many cases crying aloud, and at length trusting, perhaps shouting, and at all events telling what God had done for his soul.

During a typical after service, the church was described as "a busy

125 See "Protracted Meetings," *Christian Worker*, I (February 15, 1871), 11, 12.


127 Clark, *op. cit.*, 57.

128 Ibid., 69, 70.
"beehive" which might have appeared to the onlooker as mere "disorder," but Updegraff tactfully directed the serious business that was transpiring as he moved among the seekers periodically remonstrating: "Pray, pray, pray"; "Not too much singing, brethren"; or "Give way there, you who are used to praying, and let this sister, who has never opened her mouth in prayer, get her liberty." 

Another native Ohio evangelist, Horatio Harold Wells, held two significant union revivals (at Norwalk in 1872 and at Ashtabula in 1873) and numerous meetings in the small towns of the state, but his work, like Updegraff's, never commanded national attention. Wells had been born one of seven children to strict, Presbyterian parents in March, 1842, in Meigs County, Ohio. His mother early urged upon the boy his need of a "change of heart" and from age six onward he repeatedly asked God to forgive his sins. As the result of a protracted meeting at the Presbyterian Church at Chester, Ohio in 1858, the youthful Wells was converted and soon felt a call to preach. Intermittently for the three years after the spring of 1861 he attended Ohio University and supported himself by teaching music and penmanship. In 1863 he became a delegate to the wartime offspring of the Y.M.C.A., the United States Christian Commission, and worked among the sick and wounded of the Cumberland Army.

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129 Ibid.

130 Biographical material on Wells is limited, but A. W. Taylor, The Great Revival At Norwalk, Ohio (Cleveland, 1873), 72-77 does detail his life and revival work to 1873.
Later, in May, 1864, he volunteered during the call for One Hundred Days men and nearly died of typhoid fever.\textsuperscript{131}

Determined to complete his education and enter the ministry, Wells then entered Marietta College, in June, 1865, where he studied until 1868. After another year of concentration on theology under Rev. H. B. Scott, Presbyterian pastor at Middleport, Ohio, he was licensed to preach by the Athens Presbytery on April 20, 1869. This same Presbytery ordained him as an evangelist two years later, and Wells proceeded to go well beyond the educational achievements of most of his revivalistic colleagues by graduating from Lane Theological Seminary in May, 1871. While still a student, Wells held evangelistic meetings in and around Cincinnati and at Solon, Chagrin Falls, Aurora, and Lenox. By 1872 his reputation as a revivalist was so well established that the Cleveland Presbytery agreed to put him on a fixed salary if he would circulate among its churches for one year.\textsuperscript{132}

It was while serving in this capacity, and in connection with his work for the Y.M.C.A., that Wells became a part of one of the most spontaneous and extended union city-wide revivals to that time in any Ohio city. The part played by the Y.M.C.A. in this awakening in Norwalk, which occurred in the fifteen weeks following November 25, 1872, was prophetic of the significant role which this interdenominational organization was to have later in Ohio's greatest city-wide campaigns. For some time before the revival the evangelical churches in Norwalk had

\textsuperscript{131}Ibid., 72-76.

\textsuperscript{132}Ibid., 76, 77.
shown evidence of a growing unity of fellowship. Union prayer meetings had been held the winter before, and the pastors had shown a considerable cordiality with one another. Therefore, a delegation from the Cleveland Y.M.C.A. had no difficulty in holding a union meeting at Norwalk on October 27, 1872, or getting support for the establishment of a "y" in town. When members of the Cleveland "y" came to Norwalk on November 24, 1872 to join the members of the newly-formed chapter in a combined service, Horatio Wells was along as a special speaker. That Sunday, as he preached to interested congregations three times at the local Presbyterian Church and once at the Congregational Church, the skilled evangelist was quick to sense that the religious conditions in town made it ripe for a revival.  

Therefore, he told the pastors that he could see the elements of a religious stirring and counseled that a union meeting should be held the next day. Taking his advice, and without consulting their official boards, the pastors of the Baptist, Episcopalian, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches called such a meeting and, of course, asked Wells to stay over and speak. Not only did he agree to this, but he also wired to Cleveland for a supply of special revival hymn books which were used in the meetings that ensued. When much interest was shown in the union meetings in the morning at the Methodist Church and in the evening at the Congregational Church on Monday, November 25, the pastors persuaded Wells to continue the services throughout the week. 134

133 Ibid., 5-10. This volume was written to commemorate the revival and gives a completely uncritical view of the work.

134 Ibid., 11, 17, 82, 83.
By the end of the week, Wells, holding daily morning and evening services, had spoken in each of the five evangelical churches in Norwalk and had shown a command of most of the prominent revival measures of the era. He himself led the one-half hour of singing from the special hymnal which preceded the sermon at each meeting. After the sermon, he invited seekers to come forward to seats which had been vacated. Then he asked them to go to adjacent "inquiry rooms" where he and local pastors counseled and prayed with them. The tenor of these sessions, and of the revival in general, seems to have been more of sober contemplation of eternal values and deep conviction of soul than of any camp meeting type hilarity. At various times inside the inquiry rooms there was said to have been an "almost death-like stillness," a melting together, and brief, direct and fervent prayers. Those most closely associated with the revival felt that perhaps its most outstanding feature was "the entire absence of that high state of excitement and wild enthusiasm which sometimes characterizes extensive revivals." The secular press later concurred that "the movement has not been characterized by that wild and almost fanatical excitement which too often accompanies such efforts, but all classes, and especially the business men, have been pervaded by a quiet, but deeply earnest spirit."

Wells used the morning meetings to prod the churches to action. Testimonies of new converts were given and prayer requests made. People were urged to pray for the conversion of specific individuals as they

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135 Ibid., 17-22.

136 The Norwalk Reflector, January 29, 1873, 5.
went about their daily activities. All reference to divisive matters of
doctrine or polity were by common, but unspoken, agreement avoided, and
unity prevailed. The evening meetings grew so rapidly that by the end of
the first week no church in town could hold everyone who wanted to at-
tend. The revival, in fact, went so well and the evangelist became so
popular that a committee was appointed to attempt to get the permission
of the Presbytery of Cleveland, by whom Wells was employed, and the
pastor at Willoughby, where he was to begin a series of meetings the
next week, to permit him to stay on in Norwalk. This granted, the meet-
ings entered their second week. 137

Since the Presbyterian Church was the largest available, seating
about one thousand, it now became the site of Wells' meetings while the
pastors kept up the usual services of their own churches, only with
modified schedules in order to let all who could to attend the union
gatherings. New measures were constantly added to those already in use
to increase the extent of the revival. Daily "young convert" meetings
were held each afternoon, neighborhood prayer groups met in many homes,
and on Wednesday, December 4 there was a children's meeting in which
Wells "affectionately urged upon them immediate submission to Christ." 138

As the number of folks streaming into the inquiry rooms began to reach
the hundreds, Wells made a novel suggestion to the participating pastors.
They were to draw up a "covenant" much like a temperance pledge which

137 Taylor, op. cit., 23-42.
138 Ibid., 62, 135.
the new converts could sign. As finally prepared and endorsed by hundreds it read:

Believing that God, for Christ's sake, has pardoned all our sins and adopted us into his family, we do now covenant with Him, and with each other, that we will love and serve Him as long as we live.\textsuperscript{139}

With only slight alteration this idea would be turned into the famous convert cards by which later revivalists counted and pastors divided the harvest of souls produced in the large city-wide revivals.

That the revival of religion in Norwalk at this time was not of the usual professionally inspired type is illustrated by the fact that as the itinerant preacher left, the revival continued. Several factors may have contributed to this. First, there had been a considerable inter-denominational religious concern in the community before Wells began the protracted meeting. Second, somewhat out of the usual character of professional revivalists, on Friday, December 6, Wells' last day of services before leaving for Willoughby, he took special care to deemphasize his own role in the awakening and to elevate that of the pastors. At the "Consecration Meeting" that morning he said:

\begin{quote}
I have been fearful that some might grieve our blessed Saviour by giving glory to a man which belongs only to God. Whatever of human honor may be rightly bestowed, belongs to these faith-ful pastors, and not to me. I beg you to consider the very favorable circumstances under which I have been permitted to labor among you, to wit: large and enthusiastic audiences, very great and ever increasing religious fervor, blessed and immediate results, and added to all this, the fact that I came among you fresh, and have preached sermons which I have spent years in preparation.\textsuperscript{140}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{139}Ibid., 57.

\textsuperscript{140}Ibid., 68, 69.
After further challenging the people to stand behind their pastors that the work might continue, Wells made a unique request: "... allow me to leave your city as quietly as I came; without any demonstration which shall call the attention of the people from the all-engrossing subject of the soul's salvation ... 

A third factor which stimulated a continuing and even growing religious interest in Norwalk after Wells' departure was an agreement made by the pastors of the five local evangelical churches to keep all of the meetings of the revival intact by conducting them themselves. Furthermore, the Y.M.C.A. proved to be a dynamic, new, missionary-minded religious force in town.

As the revival passed through its third week, now under the protecting care of the pastors, the meetings grew rather than diminished. The regular church prayer meetings (held at 6:00 P.M. on Thursdays so as not to conflict with the nightly revival services) had doubled their original sizes. An overawed observer stated by the end of the week that the revival was "the all-absorbing topic of conversation; indeed little else seems to be thought of but the incidents connected with this astonishing work of grace." He felt that the revival was "unparalleled in its extent and importance, in the history of the country."

By Christmas a business men's prayer meeting had been started and was meeting at 9:00 A.M. daily at the Y.M.C.A. headquarters. When Wells returned to Norwalk to preach on the single Sunday night of December 29, he found the revival fires blazing even higher than when he had

141 Ibid., 69.
142 Ibid., 85.
143 Ibid., 86-110.
left. As the meetings and fervor progressed unabated into the new year, the newly-founded Norwalk Y.M.C.A. began to show itself an effective tool for spreading the movement into the surrounding area. Under its direction delegations full of revival zeal were soon sent to nearby Huron, Milan, Fitchville, and Townsend as gospel teams. As the eighth week of the movement closed, the Norwalk Reflector spoke of the revival as especially effective among the business, professional, and youthful sectors of society. If, as the Reflector estimated, four hundred had already been converted, it was justified in calling the revival "without a parallel in this vicinity." 

In fact, as the pace of the revival with its fatiguing schedule of special meetings was maintained for a total of fifteen weeks in and around Norwalk, the contention of the Reflector that this was the most extensive religious awakening ever to have occurred in Ohio must be conceded. The Norwalk Y.M.C.A., which mushroomed from a membership of twenty when it was started in November, 1872 to two hundred and eighty in mid-February, 1873, sent over thirty delegations to evangelize nearby towns. The reputation of the daily business men's prayer meeting spread so rapidly that by March it was receiving prayer requests from places as distant as Massachusetts and Iowa. The single fact that

144Ibid., 131, 132, 136.
145The Norwalk Reflector, January 29, 1873, 5.
146Ibid., February 26, 1873, 5.
147Ibid., February 12, 1873, 5.
148Ibid., March 12, 1873, 5.
the saved were finally estimated at six hundred, ranks the Norwalk re-
vival as one of the most outstanding awakenings in Ohio during the first
three-quarters of the nineteenth century. It was undoubtedly the
sense that this movement did represent an unusually profound religious
stirring and possibly the hope that such a venture might help defray the
expenses of the revival that prompted the ministers of Norwalk to commis-
sion the compilation of the first memorial volume to preserve the memo-
 ries of an Ohio revival. Rushing into print as quickly as possible, The
Great Revival at Norwalk, Ohio, was ready for sale by March 19 while
interest in the movement was still intense. Thus, the memories of
the revival were solidified in the minds of the faithful. Professional
itinerants, such as Samuel P. Jones and Benjamin Fay Mills, later would
see to it that such commemorative volumes were published in connection
with their Ohio revivals in order to publicize the nature and magni
ude of their work.

Horatio Wells, however, did not need to wait for the publication
of the memorial volume at Norwalk for his reputation for initiating re-
vivals to bear fruit. His success in the churches of the Presbytery of
Cleveland to which he had committed his services for the year was as-
sured. In rapid succession he held meetings in Willoughby, Grafton, and
Newburgh after leaving Norwalk. Meanwhile, J. N. McGiffert, Pastor
of the Presbyterian Church in Ashtabula, had heard of the Norwalk

149 Ibid.
150 This memorial volume was reviewed in ibid., March 19, 1873, 5.
151 Taylor, op. cit., 77.
meetings and had written to Wells requesting that he "visit and assist
him for a time." When the evangelist consented and began services at
McGiffert's church on Sunday, March 2, 1873, he was greeted by an over­
flow crowd which testified to his popularity in northern Ohio. However,
Wells protected the interests of professional revivalism in a manner
characteristic of his itinerant colleagues by allowing the intelligence
to be circulated that the meetings would continue for one week "and
longer if the interest warrants." Such a stipulation always assured
the revivalist that if his efforts did not produce the desired revival
he could save face by merely moving on.

Wells faced no such problem in Ashtabula, however. He set up a
schedule of services similar to that at Norwalk, and interest increased
satisfactorily for him to stay for five weeks. Special services, such
as "convert meetings," women's prayer meetings, and young people's
prayer meetings, were held, but the revival centered in the two daily
services in which Wells was the commanding figure. Each morning at ten
o'clock he led a semi-social hour filled with singing, prayer, testimony,
and confession. In the evening at seven o'clock he conducted a long
period of singing not only to express various religious emotions, but
also "to allay nervousness, uneasiness or weariness, to quiet noise or
disturbance, to avoid excitement, and generally to harmonize the facul­
ties of the mind and soul, and fit the person for candid thought and

152 The Ashtabula Sentinel, February 6, 1873, 1.
153 Ibid., March 6, 1873, 1.
Then Wells would read previously submitted prayer requests, which had never been done before in Ashtabula, and preach one of the sermons which had been effective at Norwalk. The climax of each day's activity was the inquiry meeting which two-thirds of the congregation sometimes stayed to attend.\textsuperscript{155}

The effectiveness of Wells' revival methods was in evidence especially among the youth of the town by the end of the first week as about fifty conversions were reported.\textsuperscript{156} If it had not been a city-wide revival from the first, as the Congregational, Baptist, and Methodist pastors of Ashtabula observed the influx due to Wells' meetings, they decided to put their support behind the campaign and it became truly interdenominational.\textsuperscript{157} Wells responded to the union aspect of the effort by holding some of his meetings in the Methodist Church and possibly the other two cooperating churches. After three weeks of meetings, one hundred converts had been obtained.\textsuperscript{158} Those closest to Wells accounted for his revival success by the evangelist's "great physical endurance, mental power, cultivation, education, suavity, human nature, ..., faith and works."\textsuperscript{159}

Whatever credit Wells should receive for creating the revival in

\textsuperscript{154}Aaron Pickett, \textit{The Revival At Ashtabula} (Ashtabula, Ohio, 1873), 8, 29-32.

\textsuperscript{155}\textit{Ibid.}, 9, 17, 31.

\textsuperscript{156}\textit{The Ashtabula Sentinel}, March 13, 1873, 1.

\textsuperscript{157}Pickett, \textit{op. cit.}, 34.

\textsuperscript{158}\textit{The Ashtabula Sentinel}, March 27, 1873, 1.

\textsuperscript{159}Pickett, \textit{op. cit.}, 23.
Ashtabula at this time, as at Norwalk, must be shared in part with the Cleveland Y.M.C.A. During the last two weeks that Wells spent in Ashtabula, Y.M.C.A. delegations came from Cleveland and held meetings of their own throughout the town. By the combined efforts of all, the statistics for the Ashtabula campaign showed nearly three hundred converts, and, that their star should not pale by the side of Norwalk's, the sponsors of the Ashtabula revival hastened to publish The Revival at Ashtabula to immortalize their success.

Finally, before considering the Ohio revivals of Edward Payson Hammond, the contribution of Orson Parker to revivalism in the state in the pre-Moody era must be noticed. Parker's career ran strangely parallel to that of Charles Finney and exercised a similar continuing effect upon the Ohio scene. Orson had been born in 1800 in Methuen, Massachusetts, but after the death of his mother when he was ten, the family moved to the hotbed of revivalism in Jefferson County, New York where he spent his youth. In 1821, after winning a public speaking contest, Parker decided to become a lawyer. Oddly enough, he went to Adams, New York, where Finney was already a practicing lawyer and religious skeptic, and became an apprentice in May, 1821. Even though the conversion of Finney and the ensuing revival at Adams that fall seems to have left Parker unaffected, the deaths of his infant son in 1827 and his wife a year and a half later did awaken him to his spiritual need. A promise

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160 *The Ashtabula Sentinel*, April 3, 1873, 1.

161 *Pickett, op. cit.*, 33.

162 Orson Parker, *The Fire and the Hammer; or, Revivals, and How To Promote Them* (Boston, 1877), 11-14.
to his dying wife that he would try to meet her in heaven brought him to intense Bible study, the rejection of Universalism, and finally to conversion in 1831 during a revival at Adams, led by the famous revivalist Jedediah Burchard. Like Finney, he immediately laid down his law books and took up the Bible with the itinerant ministry as his objective.  

Even though Parker took time to study theology at Auburn Seminary for one year, there was no question as to whether he agreed with Finney on the principles of revivalism. With the idea that "revivals of religion have ever been promoted by special means, and only by means," Parker began his itinerant career as an apprentice to Burchard in Jefferson County and soon began holding revivals of his own. Having been licensed by the Presbyterian Church, Parker accepted a settled pastorate for two years until 1836, but from that date until his death in 1876 he itinerated. Seeking unevangelized fields to harvest, he first entered Ohio's Western Reserve in 1836 when Beecher and Finney were still fresh revivalistic forces in the frontier state. However, Parker was interested only in the itinerant, not the educational aspects of revivalism which had attracted Beecher and Finney. Therefore, after holding several protracted meetings in northern Ohio and supplying the Presbyterian pulpit at Paynesville for a few months, he left the state with his second wife, whom he had married in 1832, and his three children in August, 1837, for Henderson, Michigan where his wife's father was starting a colony. Except for short periods, Parker's permanent home

\[163\] Ibid., 15-17, 42-44.

\[164\] Ibid., 18, 49.
would always be in Michigan thereafter, while he, often accompanied by
his family, toured the northern states from New England to Michigan con-
ducting an estimated four hundred protracted meetings. 165

It was on these preaching excursions over a forty-year period
that Parker came to exert a continuing revivalistic influence upon the
citizens of Ohio. Ironically, however, the only labors of Parker in the
state to have survived in the records are those regarding his first
visit to the Western Reserve in 1836 (already referred to) and those of
his last meetings in Ohio in 1875-76 a few weeks before his death. When
he left his home in Flint, Michigan in October, 1875 to hold these last
four revivals in Ohio, he was a venerable old champion of revivalism re-
ferred to in the press as "father Parker." 166  On Sunday, October 24, he
began the first series of meetings of this trip at the Congregational
Church in Austinburg near Lake Erie. 167  During the previous summer
Parker had been engaged in the writing of a book containing his autobiog-
raphy and revival hints. Since this work had appropriated time which he
had usually used in resting, he now found himself more fatigued than
usual during the fall and winter revival season. 168  Although he had
brought a Mr. Clark along as his assistant, the aged evangelist found
that the two daily sermons, the inquiry room work, and the utilization

165 Ibid., 19-22, 44.
166 The Ashtabula Sentinel, November 18, 1875, 1.
167 Ibid., October 21, 1875, 1.
168 Parker, op. cit., 32.
of spare time to work on his uncompleted book were sapping his last strength. 169

Nevertheless, Parker, who boasted that "in this warfare, I have used every available weapon within my reach," saw his efforts produce a revival of religion in Austinburg. 170 Actually, over the years he had modified his use of new measures. He had used the anxious seat for fifteen years until he saw that the seekers began to trust in it instead of in Christ. He even discarded the method of having people stand for prayer since he felt that if they were convicted enough to stand they should be directed immediately to Christ in the inquiry room. He finally came to rely mostly upon "the Holy Spirit, prayer, the preached word, tracts, personal instruction, singing, and social and home influences" as the means for promoting revivals. The "after service," a relatively new and finally widely used method, was also employed by Parker. As he described it: "I generally at the close of my evening sermon let all leave who wish while the people are singing, and invite all to remain who will, for private conversation, and so turn the whole house into an inquiry room." 171

Whatever revival-producing means Parker and his assistant chose to use before leaving Austinburg on November 10, the evangelists seemed to have been successful. "Indications are that they have been blessed,

169 The Ashtabula Sentinel, November 11, 1875, 1; Parker, loc. cit.
170 Parker, op. cit., 44.
171 Ibid., 47, 48.
and their efforts crowned with success in quickening religious interest," concluded the Ashtabula Sentinel. Evidence that at least one person had had his conscience concerning liquor sharpened during the revival was provided when a young man in the town, where sixty gallons of the beverage had been sold in the last six months, told his employer that he no longer could conscientiously sell it. The Austinburg Congregational pastor was undoubtedly convinced of the worth of Parker's services when fifty-two new members were admitted to his church on January 2, 1876.

The only information that remains concerning the meetings that Parker held in Conneaut, which lasted from about November 11 to December 5, 1875, is contained in a letter which he wrote from there on the latter date. It was the message of a nearly-exhausted man at the end of a strenuous but satisfying career. "I am sensible that I am almost worn out, and am doing up my last work," he wrote.

My book is nearly ready to take my place. I was so tired I did not know how I could get through the day, but I have been miraculously sustained. Three long sermons, besides other talking. I have a pressure of blood on the brain after preaching, which I do not like. I hope it will not be anything dangerous.

It was in this precarious physical condition that Parker opened a union revival campaign in Ashtabula on December 6. The activities of that Sunday alone seem numerous enough to have upset his frail

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172 *The Ashtabula Sentinel*, November 11, 1875, 1.
175 Quoted in Parker, *op. cit.*, 32, 33.
equilibrium. On that day the Methodists joined the Congregationalists in their morning service as the evangelist spoke. In the afternoon at the Methodist Church, a Methodist, a Baptist, and a Congregationalist, as well as Parker, admonished the youth of the town; and in the evening, the revivalist preached at the Methodist Church.  

Somehow, amid the hectic schedule of revival activities in Ashtabula, Parker not only maintained his measure of health, but also managed to finish the last pages of his book. Then, addressing a last sermon to new Christians there on Sunday, December 27, and leaving Mr. Clark to continue the meetings into the new year, he left for his last Ohio revival at Madison, of which nothing is known.  

On March 9, 1876, he suffered a paralytic stroke while holding a revival in Havana, New York, and put together his last audible sentence five days later: "I have fought the good fight."  

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176 The Ashtabula Sentinel, December 16, 1875, 1.  
177 Ibid., January 6, 1876, 1.  
178 Parker, op. cit., 33.
CHAPTER V

THE ROLE OF E. PAYSON HAMMOND IN OHIO'S EARLIEST CITY-WIDE REVIVALS

The greatest union city-wide revivals in Ohio before those of Dwight L. Moody were led by Edward Payson Hammond who introduced several new facets into itinerant evangelism in the state. Hammond had been born in Ellington, Connecticut in 1831, and reared by pious parents who were anxious that he have an evangelical conversion experience. However, it was not until he was seventeen years old and at school in Southington that he became concerned enough about his soul to fall on his knees in his closet and repeat the words that his mother had taught him: "Alas, and did my Savior bleed, and did my sovereign die . . . ."2

It became clear to him that Christ had paid the penalty for his sins by His death on the cross and that all he need do to be saved was to accept that atonement. Having done this, he immediately wrote to his mother to let her share the news that he had "found Jesus." While


continuing his education at Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts, and at Williams College, from which he graduated in 1858, the young Hammond took every opportunity to hold revival meetings. In 1858 he entered Union Theological Seminary in New York to prepare seriously for the ministry, but, after a short time there, he left for a tour of England, Ireland, and Scotland which gave his ministry the international characteristic which was shared by many of the most successful professional revivalists.3

It was, in fact, while he was in Scotland that Hammond achieved his initial reputation as an evangelist of special talents. When funds from home had not arrived as planned for his return trip, he had taken up studies at the Free Church College in Edinburgh and had accepted preaching engagements in the countryside. By May, 1860, his work had come to such prominence that he was permitted to speak at the anniversary meeting of the Congregational Union of Scotland in Glasgow. After this public introduction to revival work at Glasgow, but while still unlicensed, Hammond proceeded to capture town after town in Scotland and England by his revivalistic tactics. Children's meetings (for which he would later become famous), women's meetings, and inquiry meetings were effective in securing about 1,700 conversions in Hammond's revivals in 1860 alone.4

Such results assured him a blossoming career among the evangelical

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3Headley, The Harvest Work, 41-48; Headley, Evangelists in the Church, 363, 364.

churches of the United States as a specialist in the production of revivals upon his return in July, 1861. To Hammond's delight he found that renowned revivalists in their own right, such as Rev. Edward Norris Kirk, pastor of the Vernon Congregational Church in Boston where the young Dwight L. Moody was attending in 1855 when he was converted, were willing to endorse his work.\(^5\) By the time the Presbytery of New York took action to ordain him as an evangelist in January, 1863, he had obtained a Master of Arts degree from Williams College and had held revival campaigns throughout New England and in points as far distant as Beloit, Wisconsin, and Montreal, Canada.\(^6\)

Hammond's meteoric rise to revivalistic fame had given him ample opportunity, by the time he began his first Ohio campaign at Painesville in March of 1865, to display the characteristics which would mark his entire career. Chief among these, and the source of most of the criticism leveled at his ministry by believers and unbelievers alike, was his disproportionate emphasis upon and his approach toward child evangelism. As the years passed, in fact, he became known nationally as "The Children's Evangelist." He made it a practice in the first week or so of a revival to hold union meetings exclusively for children. Then, after a significant number of these had taken a public stand for Christ, Hammond would turn his attention to the adults in the community who were solicited to attend his meetings by their converted children. He once


\(^6\)Headley, The Reaper and the Harvest, 258, 290, 323. The fact that Moody attended Hammond's Chicago meetings in the spring of 1864 may have had some influence upon the former's decision to initiate his own revival work abroad. See ibid., 300.
frankly admitted to Moody that he found it much easier to lead children than adults to the Lord and therefore contemplated the discontinuance of the adult phase of his ministry. However, Moody contended that he should always remain in a town until "the Christians' hearts are thoroughly warmed, so that they will take care of the little children," and Hammond decided to continue both aspects of his work, realizing also that the "quickest way to reach adults,..., is often through the children."7

The secrets to successful child evangelism, Hammond disclosed in The Conversion of Children, were four-fold,—love for children, faith in the power of God's Spirit and God's truth, a sermon stressing the substitutionary atonement of Christ on Calvary, and personal conversation with the children after the sermon.8 Many came to feel, however, that Hammond's incessant use of the dramatic scenes of the crucifixion in order to bring children to a decision to accept Jesus as their Saviour was an unwarranted sentimental play upon the emotions of susceptible juveniles. Nevertheless, Hammond's flare for the theatrical in pulpit style made him counsel that the best way to convert children was for the preacher to
dwell on the sufferings of Christ until the children see Him vividly crucified before them. They must see the crown of thorns upon His brow. They must see the heavy lashes laid upon His bare, bleeding back. They must hear the shouts of the mob as they cry: "away with Him! away with Him! -- crucify Him!"

7 Hammond, op. cit., 179, 180, 200.
8 Ibid., 97-100.
They must see the cross laid upon His bleeding, quivering form, and then follow Him, sinking beneath its weight, as He bears it along the Via Dolorosa.  

In addition to this pathetic attempt to secure conversions, Hammond introduced Ohioans to another revivalistic measure which was just then in the experimental stage. After preaching to them he would come down from the pulpit into the audience and ask the children individually: "Do you love Jesus?" He found that many would respond to this direct approach who had been seemingly unmoved by the sermon, and would follow the more willing seekers into the inquiry room for prayer and counsel.

On Tuesday, March 21, 1865, while revivalism was still experiencing the slump which came with the Civil War, Hammond started a short campaign at the Presbyterian Church in Painesville, Ohio. The local newspaper recognized him as "quite a noted revival preacher" and several clergymen from nearby towns came to share in the meetings and observe the evangelist's techniques. True to form for a Hammond revival, the Painesville Telegraph soon reported that "an unusual religious interest was manifested by the large congregation, especially among the children." Nevertheless, it appears from the comment of the Telegraph editor that Hammond's week in town failed to produce a newsworthy religious awakening. On March 30 he lamented:

Local items are scarce. No terrible railroad accidents in this vicinity--no order to commence the draft--the news from the

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9Ibid., 98, 99.
10Ibid., 100.
11Painesville Telegraph, March 23, 1865, 3.
12Ibid.
seat of war fails to startle the people, and dullness reigns supreme. We have nothing to jubilate over, be horrified at, or stand in dread of.\textsuperscript{13}

If Hammond had failed to attract much attention in Ohio during the war years, he would secure more interdenominational support for his post-war campaigns than any revivalist to preach in the state up to that time. When the Ministers' Association of Cincinnati, "after most thorough consideration and much prayer," unanimously decided to invite him to hold union services there during the regular revival season in the winter of 1869-1870, Hammond became the first evangelist to receive such broad backing for a city-wide campaign in a major Ohio city.\textsuperscript{14} In the seven weeks following Sunday, November 28, 1869, the thirty-eight year old evangelist of medium height, rotund frame, and round, cheerful face\textsuperscript{15} would demonstrate his organizational skill and child evangelism techniques. He would arouse a serious public debate over his attacks upon Universalism and over his sermons which emphasized in an extreme way the sufferings of Christ and abounded in anecdotes. And in the process he also would promote the most widespread revival of religion which had ever occurred in the Queen City.

Weeks before Hammond's arrival, special union prayer meetings at the Y.M.C.A. and the Second Presbyterian Church and evangelical sermons by the pastors had been paving the way for a revival. However, when the skilled evangelist came upon the scene, he assumed command of the

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., March 30, 1865, 3.

\textsuperscript{14}Cincinnati Daily Gazette, January 20, 1870, 1; The Cincinnati Commercial, January 21, 1870, 5.

\textsuperscript{15}Cincinnati Daily Gazette, November 29, 1869, 1.
revival forces, deployed ministers here and union workers there as he saw best, and began generally to orient Ohioans to the developing role of the professional itinerant as the undisputed general during his stay in town. At the very first meeting, a mass Sunday school rally at the Central Presbyterian Church, there was clear evidence of this. Many sat anxiously awaiting a glimpse of the hero of so many successful revivals. When he arrived, he "walked nervously about the platform; seated this man; spoke to that, and at once gave unmistakable signs that he was a man of business, and in the habit of having things his own way." It was soon obvious that his influence lay "in his capacity for organization." He gave the local ministers little choice but to engage in his new measures with him. As soon as he ended his message that evening on the sufferings of Christ and the choir sang "Come to Jesus," he motioned to the remainder of the ministers to follow him, and hastily descended to the children standing about the platform, to whom he began whispering words of Jesus and His love. He moved hurriedly from one to another. At first the resident ministers appeared to hesitate in this aggressive warfare, but they were soon with their leader moving down the aisles, in the pews, and indeed everywhere, speaking words of encouragement and hope.17

Finally, hundreds were in tears and one news reporter speculated that no such scene had ever been enacted in Cincinnati as the emotions of the congregation were stirred to the depths and men of all denominations passed through it "carrying cheering messages."18

16 Ibid.
17 Ibid. Italics are the author's.
18 Ibid.
Hammond later confessed: "I know I have sometimes hastily taken these ministers by the hand or by the coat collar and perhaps said 'Why don't you go down there and speak to those people?'" But his control, in fact, quickly and effectively had been established in the Cincinnati campaign. The elevated position which Hammond enjoyed in the meetings throughout the revival was brought into focus by a statement of one of the cooperating ministers, Rev. B. P. Aydelott:

... we have noticed that when a meeting has been going on for some time with apparently much earnestness and edification in the hands of other men—ministers quite able and faithful—the instant M. H. comes in and assumes the lead fresh attention is aroused, a deeper solemnity comes over the whole assembly, and a larger baptism of the Holy Spirit is seen in the anxious countenances of inquirers and in the grateful, joyous faces of Christians. This intense individuality of Mr. Hammond manifestly outweighs in power, impressiveness and efficiency all the ministrations of others associated with him, however able and faithful these men of God may be.

Hammond opened his Cincinnati effort in his usual manner by directing all of his initial messages from Sunday, November 28 until Tuesday, December 7 to children, although sometimes the adults at the meetings outnumbered them. The interdenominational nature of the crusade could be seen in that these daily meetings had been held on different days in the Central Presbyterian Church, Ninth Street Baptist Church, Wesley Chapel, and the Seventh Presbyterian Church, while the 8:30 A.M. prayer meetings continued every day at the Second Presbyterian Church. Throughout this first week of the revival, "The Children's Evangelist"

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19 The Cincinnati Commercial, January 21, 1870, 5.

20 Cincinnati Daily Gazette, January 20, 1870, 1.

21 The Cincinnati Commercial, November 29, 1869, 8; Cincinnati Daily Gazette, November 30, December 1, 3, and 7, 1869, 2.
centered his sermons around his favorite topic—the sufferings and atonement of Christ. The interest of the audiences and effects of the preacher's constant message grew from night to night. On Tuesday evening, November 30, fifty children came forward for prayer. By Thursday one hundred claimed to have been saved, and on the following Monday at Wesley Chapel two hundred of the youth of Cincinnati rose to testify to conversion or to request prayer. On the other hand, Hammond's perpetual use of the story of the agonies of the crucifixion to secure converts was already causing resentment among his adult listeners. In a letter to the editor of the Cincinnati Daily Gazette on December 3, one of these persons sincerely questioned whether "Christians do right to hold up the sufferings of Christ for the purpose of drawing out the sensitive feelings and compassions of our nature."23

Although Hammond held three more mass children's meetings during the course of the revival,24 beginning on Wednesday evening, December 8, he turned his attention toward the unsaved adults of the city. His effect upon this class of citizens was apparent when seventy-two stood for prayer after his sermon at the Seventh Presbyterian Church on December 9, presenting, as the Daily Gazette put it, "a spectacle as has not lately been seen in any church in this city."25 As the tempo of the

22 Cincinnati Daily Gazette, December 1, 3, and 7, 1869, 2.
23 Ibid., December 2, 1869, 1.
24 These were held on December 11, 12, and 18. See ibid., December 13, 1869, 2 and The Cincinnati Commercial, December 18, 1869, 7.
religious fervor quickened, a daily afternoon ladies prayer meeting was begun at the Vine Street Congregational Church, the 8:30 A.M. prayer period at the Second Presbyterian Church grew so large it had to be moved to the main audience room, and local pastors reported greater attendance and better spirit in their regular church services.26 By Monday, December 13, the Daily Gazette reported that all of the Protestant Churches were affected by the swelling revival tide and that the Central Presbyterian Church had admitted twenty-one new members as the first fruits of the awakening on Sunday, December 12.27

However, on that same day, there was evidence that not all of the evangelical pastors in town were in agreement with Hammond's methods. Rev. W. T. Moore, pastor of the Christian Church at Eighth and Walnut Streets, used his evening message to launch an attack upon the "popular methods used to bring about religious excitement" during the current Hammond-led meetings. Moore's argument was that artificially induced revivals were unscriptural for the following reasons: they undervalue the power of the gospel, they create the impression that the Holy Spirit is not always present and must be drawn into the work by means other than just the preaching of the gospel, they generate excitement in which people profess conversion without being grounded on scriptural proofs and therefore return to sin when the excitement abates, and they leave the impression that the sinner's prayers and those of his Christian friends have saved him. Moore suggested that the only real solution to

26Ibid., December 10 and 13, 1869, 2; The Cincinnati Commercial December 11, 1869, 11.

27Cincinnati Daily Gazette, December 13, 1869, 2.
evangelizing the growing population was for all of the Protestant churches to forsake their sectarian ideas, "unite in one glorious body as Christians, and draw their methods of revival from the word of God." 28

Others, for a variety of reasons, would join their voices with Moore's, but the general support of Hammond held firm. By mid-December the Methodist Western Christian Advocate noted that "Mr. Hammond has, to a very full degree, the cooperation of both the ministry and membership of the various evangelical Churches," and that members from the Episcopalian and Disciples of Christ persuasions were attending the union services even though their churches were not officially participating in the revival. 29 Contrary to the stand taken by Rev. Moore, the Methodists were delighted that

Presbyterians the most decided, Baptists the most rigid, and Methodists the most enthusiastic, without compromising in the least their sectarian preferences, unite cordially in pushing forward the work of the Master, thus proving the catholicity and unity of Evangelism to be better, a thousand fold, than ecclesiastical sameness or mere uniformity of externals. 30

As the revival continued, the morning prayer meetings at the Second Presbyterian Church, at which Hammond usually gave a short Bible lesson, were compared by the Daily Gazette to the headquarters of an armed force where news of the progress of the revival in the various churches, like outposts of an army, was shared. 31 And well might the revivalist have

28The Cincinnati Commercial, December 13, 1869, 3.
29"City," The Western Christian Advocate, XXXVI (December 15, 1869), 397.
30"Religion In The City," The Western Christian Advocate, XXXVI (December 15, 1869), 396.
31Cincinnati Daily Gazette, December 22, 1869, 2.
gloated in the reports that were made there as numerous churches began to report significant additions to their church rolls.  

However, while Hammond continued his nightly union rallies at Wesley Chapel and the First and Third Presbyterian Churches in the last half of December, the aura of a controversy with the local Universalists, reminiscent of the Knapp-Burton encounter in Dayton in 1859, surrounded and threatened to stifle the revival. Hammond, who made it a practice to bait Universalists in all his revivals, had done so in Cincinnati by using an illustration in one of his sermons according to which, in answer to the prayer of a Pennsylvania clergyman, the tongue of a troublesome Universalist preacher had been paralyzed. Immediately a question arose in the minds of many of Hammond's supporters as well as his critics as to the validity of this story. In order to calm the growing concern, Rev. Reuben Jeffery, pastor of the Ninth Street Baptist Church and author of the introduction to the autobiography of revivalist Jacob Knapp, at the morning prayer meeting on December 17, attempted to give evidence to substantiate Hammond's tale. The next day Jeffery's defense appeared on the front page of the *Daily Gazette*. Hammond had reference, said Jeffery, to an incident in Erie, Pennsylvania in which Knapp had prayed that a Universalist agitator in his meetings either be converted or silenced, whereupon the man lost his voice. Furthermore,

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32 Ibid., December 14 and 21, 1869, 2.
33 Ibid., December 18, 1869, 1.
34 Ibid., December 18, 1869, 1.
Jeffery asserted that a certain M. J. F. Liddell could be called in as an eye witness to the event.

A letter to the Cincinnati Commercial on the same day represented the feelings of those who could not bring themselves to believe the Hammond story. A person who maintained that he was not a Catholic, Universalist, Athiest or foe of the revival stated sarcastically that he must now pity all Universalist clergymen after hearing of this "well authenticated" occurrence. He suggested that it would be better "for Mr. Hammond, in his work, to leave out statements which are only suitable for children and the credulous, and are at variance with the laws of God."³⁵

Finally, by December 22, the Universalists themselves took up their own defense. J. S. Cantwell, editor of the Universalist Star in the West, publicly announced that he might have overlooked the matter if it had come only from the mouth of Hammond whom he detested as a professional revivalist, whose vocation might be considered in danger, if a strict adherence to truth and decency were required, and whose attack on Universalists and their faith is due to ignorance of our religion, added to the original misfortune of a limited endowment of brains.³⁶

But, since Rev. Jeffery, a respected pastor, had brought evidence forward to substantiate Hammond's anecdote, Cantwell felt compelled to recount the "true" story of the Universalist preacher, Henry Gifford, whom Knapp's prayer had allegedly silenced. Therefore, Cantwell went to great length to show how Gifford had suffered only from common bronchitis.

³⁵The Cincinnati Commercial, December 18, 1869, 2.
³⁶Cincinnati Daily Gazette, December 22, 1869, 1.
Frustratingly enough for both Cantwell and Jeffery, Hammond later disclosed that the Knapp-Gifford incident was not the one on which he had based his controversial illustration.  

Nevertheless, the Universalist irritation over the attacks of the evangelist upon their faith continued as S. P. Carlton, pastor of the First Universalist Church of Cincinnati, devoted his sermon on Sunday evening, December 26 to an analysis of Hammond's statements. In fact, as the controversy mounted in intensity, and the distracting activities of the Christmas season increased, there was concern among the evangelical Christian community "that a reaction was going on and the interest subsiding" in the revival itself. Attendance at the meetings had shown some decline, and at the morning prayer service on December 23, Hammond said that he half felt like leaving Cincinnati since no minister had arrived until after eight o'clock to open the union meeting the night before. However, he was soothed by the clergymen at the prayer meeting who assured him of their sincere interest in the revival, and that evening no less than twelve local ministers shared the platform with him at the First Presbyterian Church as his vivid sermon on the crucifixion induced sixty to stand for prayer.

Actually, there were several occurrences just before and after Christmas which Hammond and his supporters might have taken as omens of

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37 The Cincinnati Commercial, January 14, 1870, 4.
38 Ibid., December 25, 1869, 5; Cincinnati Daily Gazette, December 27, 1869, 2.
39 Cincinnati Daily Gazette, December 28, 1869, 2.
40 Ibid., December 24, 1869, 1.
an ultimate success. On the mornings of December 20-22, Hammond held meetings at the Cincinnati Wesleyan Female College. On the last day, eighty indicated that they had been converted, and there were signs that the whole student body of two hundred had been moved by his message.\footnote{Ibid., December 23, 1869, 1; "Cincinnati Wesleyan Female College," \textit{The Western Christian Advocate}, XXXVI (December 29, 1869), 413.}

In addition, the hopes of many were revived when attendance showed a resurgence on Monday evening, December 27 as the Third Presbyterian Church was filled and two hundred rose to indicate recent conversion or a desire to be saved.\footnote{\textit{Cincinnati Daily Gazette}, December 28, 1869, 2.} Hammond, furthermore, might have been personally gratified to know that the nationally-known champion of women's rights, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, could not even attract two hundred to hear her lecture at Pike's Music Hall on Thursday evening, December 30, whereas two nights before he had preached to about one thousand in the sanctuary of the Third Presbyterian Church while an overflow crowd of three hundred met in the lecture room below.\footnote{"City," \textit{The Western Christian Advocate}, XXXVII (January 5, 1870), 5; \textit{Cincinnati Daily Gazette}, December 29, 1869, 2.} A final assurance that the revival would be a success came on December 29 when two itinerant lay evangelists on tour in the United States from England, Henry Moorhouse and Herbert W. Taylor, arrived in Cincinnati and for a few days became an added speaking attraction for the Hammond revival.

Henry Moorhouse had been converted in Manchester, England in 1860, soon had become a well-known street preacher without the benefit of theological training or ministerial license, and now was carrying
forward the international tradition of professional revivalism by this, his second of five tours of the United States. He had met Dwight L. Moody in Dublin in 1867 and had urged him to take him back to America with him. When Moody ignored his plea, the young Plymouth Brethren lay evangelist decided to make the trip on his own. After Moorhouse arrived in the United States in September, 1867, Moody reluctantly permitted him to speak in his Chicago church for two nights. Nevertheless, he found the English revivalist was so effective that he allowed him to continue. For seven consecutive evenings Moorhouse preached from his favorite text, John 3:16. It was an incessant call to the sinner on the basis of the love of God from a boyish-looking preacher whose eyes grew moist with tears and whose voice became tender and pathetic as he spoke. For Moody, who previously had been known as a hell-fire preacher, Moorhouse's emphasis upon God's love was a new and even more effective approach to winning converts, and from that time on it would become a hallmark of his own ministry.

By thus winning the confidence of Moody, Moorhouse had secured for himself the speaking engagements in the local Y.M.C.A.'s and churches where Moody had contacts. It was during his second itineracy in the United States, then, having been accompanied by a fellow lay evangelist, Herbert Taylor, that Moorhouse came to Cincinnati.

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44 George C. Needham, Recollections of Henry Moorhouse, Evangelist (Chicago, 1885), 14, 20, 27, 39, 40, 106.
46 Ibid., 121-124. Moorhouse already had been to Columbus, Ohio with Moody a few weeks before, as will be shown in Chapter VI.
sentimental nature of Moorhouse's message stressing the love of God undoubtedly blended well with the pathetic quality of Hammond's crucifixion theme. In any case, the appearance of Moorhouse and Taylor at the revival services and at the Y.M.C.A. through January 3 was a stimulus which helped bring the religious fervor in Cincinnati to the peak which many had feared would not be achieved. After December 28, the nightly congregations at the Third Presbyterian Church were so large that two simultaneous services were held, and, in order to accommodate greater crowds, as of Sunday, January 9, Hammond's evening services were held in the Central Presbyterian Church, but its facilities immediately were taxed to overflowing.

Evidences of success were on every hand. The Cincinnati press coverage of the awakening attracted ministers to come from many cities in Ohio, some on money raised by their own parishioners, in order to observe the methods and scenes of the revival and to carry some of the ideas and blessings back to their home congregations. The 8:30 A.M. union prayer meetings became so engrossing that the worshipers sometimes stayed almost until noon. The crowds were so large at the evening services that the Cincinnati Daily Gazette advised anyone who wanted a seat to be there one-half hour ahead of the scheduled 7:30 P.M. starting

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47 See Cincinnati Daily Gazette, December 30 and 31, 1869, 2; January 1 and 4, 1870, 2, for the various services at which Moorhouse and Taylor spoke.

48 Ibid., December 30 and 31, 1869, 2; January 1, 4, and 10, 1870, 2.

49 Ibid., January 7, 1870, 2.

50 Ibid., January 11, 1870, 2.
time since the services would begin as soon as the church was full.\textsuperscript{51}

Businessmen, who previously had stood aloof from the revival, were showing tangible signs of interest by January 11.\textsuperscript{52} Possibly the most encouraging evidence of the ultimate success of the revival for the sponsoring pastors was that they could announce new additions to their churches.\textsuperscript{53}

However, if the revival machine appeared to have temporarily overcome the adverse effects of the controversy concerning Hammond's statements about the Universalists and now to be running smoothly at high speed, there was still a chronic problem which, in the end, would become acute. Hammond, the chief cog in the revival machinery, could not keep pace with the increasing momentum. As early as December 15 he had had to absent himself from an evening service because of his health, and by January 6 he was showing signs of sheer exhaustion.\textsuperscript{54} He was unable to attend a children's meeting the following day, but on the next he launched the seventh week of the crusade at the Central Presbyterian Church despite the insistence of his physicians that he take a rest from his labors.\textsuperscript{55} While the meetings were attracting the largest crowds to date and the inquiry meetings were lasting as late as midnight, Hammond was forced to bow to the doctors' wishes and to his own fatigue and to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{51}\textit{Ibid.}, January 10, 1870, 2.
\item \textsuperscript{52}\textit{Ibid.}, January 12, 1870, 2.
\item \textsuperscript{53}\textit{Ibid.}, January 4, 1870, 2.
\item \textsuperscript{54}\textit{Ibid.}, December 17, 1869, 1; January 6, 1870, 2.
\item \textsuperscript{55}\textit{Ibid.}, January 11, 1870, 1; January 13, 1870, 2.
\end{itemize}
announce that the Friday evening, January 14 service would be his last of the revival.\textsuperscript{56}

As the Cincinnati pastors who had cooperated in the union revival began to lay plans to continue all of the special meetings under local leadership once the incapacitated revivalist should be unavailable,\textsuperscript{57} Hammond prepared to make evidence public which supposedly would substantiate the "paralyzed tongue" story for which he had come under attack earlier in the meetings. At his request, the Cincinnati \textit{Commercial} published two letters on January 14 which Hammond had taken some care to obtain in order to rebut his critics. One was written by William C. Wisner, Jr., dated January 10, 1870, and affirmed that the author had told Hammond of an incident in which, as the result of a prayer of his father, William C. Wisner, Sr. in Athens, Pennsylvania, a Universalist minister, Mr. J. Parks, had had his tongue palsied and therefore had been unable to preach again. The second letter, dated January 3, 1870 was written by William C. Wisner, Sr. himself and recounted the details of the case substantially as Hammond had represented them originally.\textsuperscript{58}

However, if Hammond and his supporters received any satisfaction from this obvious vindication, they hardly could have been unmoved by the criticism on more basic and sobering grounds which now was forthcoming from Christians and non-Christians alike. In the same edition of

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\item \textsuperscript{56} \textit{Ibid.}, January 13, 1870, 2.
\item \textsuperscript{57} \textit{Ibid.}, January 14, 1870, 2.
\item \textsuperscript{58} \textit{The Cincinnati Commercial}, January 14, 1870, 3.
\end{itemize}
the Commercial in which the Wisners' letters were printed for Hammond, the editor presented several probing criticisms of the whole concept that God would act to silence those supposed to be in error at the request of those who supposed themselves to be guardians of the truth. He then threw the whole issue back into the teeth of Hammond by tauntingly suggesting that the evangelist might have been more effective if he had prayed for the paralysis of his Cincinnati critics instead of telling tales of the silencing of heretics elsewhere. 59 A week later the columns of this same newspaper carried a letter from Chester Parks, a Methodist minister and the son of J. Parks who had allegedly been paralyzed in response to William Wisner's prayer, rebutting the story as it had been recounted in the Wisner letters which had appeared on January 14. Although he expressly did not become a witness in the issue to aid the Universalist cause, Parks testified that he had been about ten years old when William Wisner had pastored in Athens, Pennsylvania and that "in all that time, and at no other time, did I know of my father's being paralyzed in either tongue or limb." 60

Hammond took no public cognizance of this new piece of adverse evidence, but in the meantime the pot of controversy had begun to boil among the evangelicals over his revival methods in general and his use of anecdotes in particular. On January 12, in a letter to the editor of the Commercial, a person styling himself "TRUTH" lashed out at a letter which had appeared the day before which had praised Hammond and his work

60 Ibid., January 21, 1870, 3.
and had implied that, although some Christians had been reluctant to participate in the revival because of the excitement it produced, all others who disagreed with Hammond and refused to cooperate were ipso facto opponents of Christ and His gospel.61 "Truth," however, pointed out that the so-called excitement was one of the least objectionable facets of the meetings and that some folks who opposed Hammond's work on other grounds were Christians. He said that the basic objections were that while he supersaturated his messages with mere personal and hearsay illustrations, Hammond rarely mentioned the Bible; that his asking people to stand for prayer to be saved and calling people forward to pray for them were not scriptural methods to secure converts; and that as more and more of the public identified Hammond's unorthodox methods with those of Christianity they would reject the latter with the former and the revival, therefore, would produce more infidels than Christians.62

At the same time the Methodist Western Christian Advocate, published at Cincinnati, was counseling its readers not to consider professionally conducted revivals all good or all evil. It was willing to concede that "it is quite possible that in every revival there are some elements of good and some of evil; some wise and some unwise sayings and doings; and some deeply earnest converts, some superficial, and some spurious."63 With respect to the employment of professional revivalists,  

61See ibid., January 11, 1870, 5.  
62Ibid., January 12, 1870, 4.  
63"Suggestions About Revivals," The Western Christian Advocate, XXXVII (January 12, 1870), 12.
however, the stand of the Advocate seemed ambiguous. It first advised pastors against relinquishing their authority to such evangelists who almost invariably require that the whole management of the meeting be given up to them, and instead of helping the pastor in his work, they overshadow the pastor and every one else, for the time being, and make their word the law, and employ methods that can not become permanent, so that, when they are gone, the work ceases, and in many instances the convert fails to transfer his interest in the revivalist to the Church, and looks upon the pastor only as a secondary authority.

Then, immediately retreating from the indicting implications of this statement upon the current Hammond crusade, the Advocate hastened to add that it meant to "cast no reflection on revivalists or their work," and that it was encouraged to see the diverse methods by which revivals were being promoted.

Nonetheless, when the local Presbyterian organ, the Herald and Presbyter, went so far in its defense of Hammond's prolific use of homely illustrations to suggest that "if his sermons were printed in parallel columns with the preaching of the Savior, the parables of the one would equal the anecdotes of the other," the editor of the Advocate stood in open dissent. He felt that many might misconstrue the Herald and Presbyter statement to mean that Hammond's stories were equal to Christ's parables when in fact, as he caustically pointed out, many of Hammond's tales were "fictitious, and dealt so extensively in the

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55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 Quoted in "Notes," The Western Christian Advocate, XXXVII (January 26, 1870), 28.
marvelous that thoughtful people pronounce them incredible." Hammond himself, however, had had the audacity to ask the editor of the Cincinnati Commercial to republish the laudatory Herald and Presbyterian article in order to correct the false impressions which Commercial subscribers supposedly had gotten of his conduct and career during the recent controversy. In an editorial on January 19, the editor did print excerpts from the article which he promptly bathed in critical remarks. But the next day Hammond's spleen must have been somewhat appeased when the Daily Gazette carried a two column, front-page account of his life and work which pictured him, in comparison to St. Paul, as a fool for Christ's sake, and ranked him as an evangelist second only to George Whitefield, famed preacher during the First Great Awakening.

Amid such winds of criticism and praise, Hammond began to regain his physical strength and decided to hold two farewell services—one for adults and one for children—before leaving the Queen City for his next campaign in Evansville, Indiana. On Thursday evening, January 20, the Central Presbyterian Church was filled, mostly by women and children, to hear the evangelist's last sermon to the adults of Cincinnati. Rev. Mr. Brauns, chairman of the committee of the Ministers' Association which had invited Hammond to Cincinnati, took care both to declare the association well pleased with Hammond and his work and to clarify the

67 Ibid.
68 The Cincinnati Commercial, January 19, 1870, 4.
69 Cincinnati Daily Gazette, January 20, 1870, 1.
70 Ibid., January 19, 1870, 2.
financial arrangements in connection with the special preacher's services which had come under some question. Brauns asserted that "any insinuation, such as has been frequently cast out in regard to his being actuated by mercenary motives, or by a love of gain, are false, are unjust, are unkind and ungenerous." He then explained that, according to a well-formed revivalistic tradition, Hammond had written to Cincinnati before his coming to say that he would ask for no guarantee of remuneration and would accept only what the people chose to contribute to him as a free-will offering during the meetings. Although at face value this would appear to be a benevolent procedure on the part of the evangelist, in fact it often seemed to work in his own favor since, when he became endeared to the local Christians and converts, he might realize a considerable financial response from them and all the while keep his total earnings a secret. It was rumored after Hammond left Cincinnati that he had received $2,000 in offerings for his seven-week effort.

It was at the farewell meeting for adults that Hammond gave his final defense of his role as a revivalist in Cincinnati:

The ministers of the different denominations have been trying to call sinners in all parts of Cincinnati, "Turn ye, turn ye, why will ye die?" And yet they have seen sinners hurrying down, down to the pit of hell. And they have sometimes felt as though they needed help, and that if a stronger voice would come, one who was in better practice than they, no better man

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71 The Cincinnati Commercial, January 21, 1870, 5; Cincinnati Daily Gazette, January 21, 1870, 2.
72 Cincinnati Daily Gazette, January 21, 1870, 2.
73 The Cincinnati Commercial, January 27, 1870, 1.
than they, but yet a stranger, just as in times of political agitation a lawyer, a politician from another city or State is sent for, not because he is a better speaker, but a stranger, because the people will be more likely to come out, so I say then ministers have felt they needed help, and I have come to help them, and, help pile on the truth, and we have prayed for the baptism of fire to come that sinners might see their danger and "flee from the wrath to come."74

Furthermore, he pled with the faithful, as he had done that same morning in the regular union prayer meeting, that if they had any love or regard for him they should continue the special revival services every night indefinitely.75 Although this request was beyond the physical endurance of the pastors to whose care such meetings would fall, they did keep the revival spirit alive at the daily morning prayer meetings at the Second Presbyterian Church and at Tuesday and Thursday evening union rallies at the Central Presbyterian Church for several weeks.76

While the breezes of controversy over his revival methods continued to blow both pro and con,77 the itinerant himself gave his farewell remarks to the children on Friday evening, January 21 at the Central Presbyterian Church, rested in Cincinnati the following week, and then moved on to start his Evansville meetings on January 31.78 If his efforts had stirred the most publicized controversy over professional

74Cincinnati Daily Gazette, January 21, 1870, 2.
75Ibid.
76See ibid., January 24, 1870, 1; January 26, 1870, 1; January 28, 1870, 2; February 2, 1870, 2; February 12, 1870, 1; and February 25, 1870, 1.
77See The Cincinnati Commercial, January 25, 1870, 3; January 27, 1870, 1.
78Cincinnati Daily Gazette, January 22, 1870, 2; January 31, 1870, 1.
revivalism in the history of the city, they had also created the greatest evangelical religious enthusiasm which Cincinnatians had ever experienced. During the heat of the debate, the editor of the Cincinnati Commercial had thrown out the challenge that those who were praising Hammond spoke only in general terms and made no attempt "to reduce the facts to statistical form." Therefore, his journalistic rival at the Daily Gazette made a laborious effort to show by the statistical evidence of new church members gained during and in the weeks following the meetings that Hammond had been successful. By the middle of March, 1870, he reported that a total of 1,259 persons had joined the churches of the greater Cincinnati area, and that of that number "less than one-half of one per cent. are under 8 years old; 11 per cent. between 8 and 12 years; 41 per cent. between 20 and 50 years; and 3 per cent. between 50 and 70 years. Over 70 there does not appear a single convert." By the time Hammond would return for his second campaign in Cincinnati in 1897 the fires of the controversies of the 1869-70 revival would have faded into oblivion, but the memory of the new church members achieved would have swelled to glowing estimates from three thousand to twenty-five thousand.

The reputation which Hammond made for successfully promoting a widespread revival of religion in Cincinnati helped to pave the way for

79 The Cincinnati Commercial, January 19, 1870, 4.
80 Cincinnati Daily Gazette, March 14, 1870, 1.
81 Cincinnati Enquirer, February 3, 1897, 10; Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, February 21, 1897, 15. The second Hammond revival in Cincinnati is treated in the concluding chapter below.
the reception which he was given in 1878 when he made a Lorenzo Dow-like tour of the state. From early January until the middle of May of that year, except for several weeks, he evangelized the communities of Marietta, Zanesville, Columbus, and Delaware. Even though "The Children's Evangelist" had added gospel team or excursion and tent meeting features to his campaigns by this time, neither his general methods and message, nor the criticisms that followed their employment had changed substantially.

By the time New Year's Day 1878 was being celebrated at Marietta, Hammond already had spent three weeks just across the Ohio River at Parkersburg, West Virginia producing a revival. Excitement had grown in Marietta as the local Register carried the news that Hammond had secured about three hundred converts in Parkersburg. 82 Therefore, the evangelical pastors of Marietta invited Hammond to come and hold two union services there on Monday, January 7 in connection with the national "week of prayer" which their churches would then be observing. Hammond, accompanied by forty Christian workers from Parkersburg, arrived on schedule, held union meetings at the Congregational Church in the afternoon and at City Hall in the evening, and, by vote of the congregation at the latter service, was given a unique invitation to begin a series of revival meetings in Marietta three days later. 83

By the time the first service was held on Thursday evening the churches showed a significant unity of spirit, and the local interest in

82 Marietta Register, January 3, 1878, 3.
83 Ibid., January 10, 1878, 3.
the revival effort was evidenced by the fact that two thousand jammed City Hall to hear the revivalist's initial message. Hammond brought over sixty volunteer helpers from the Parkersburg revival to aid him in the daily work at Marietta which included 9:00 A.M. union prayer meetings and 3:00 P.M. children's meetings at the Congregational Church and 7:00 P.M. evangelistic services at City Hall. By the end of a week's meetings all of the elements of a Hammond revival were present. The content and style of his message had not changed. The Register remarked:

Christ and Him crucified, is his constant theme. The life, sufferings and sacrificial death of Jesus—His atonement for sin—as offering the only hope for salvation, is presented in every form of statement and illustration. --And that fact, we suppose, is an objection in the minds of some.

It hardly would have been a Hammond revival without "objections."
The principal criticism in Marietta came over his means of meeting children's spiritual needs through an emphasis upon the agonies of Christ as He endured the cross. The only solace the Register could offer to those who distrusted Hammond's methods was that he must stand or fall on whether good results followed his work. Rhetorically it asked: "Has any community been made worse by his presence?" Regardless of local criticism, as usual, huge crowds were attracted to Hammond's meetings. "Such numbers have never before, we believe, gathered in one place for worship in our ancient city," concluded the Register at the end of his

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84 Ibid., January 10 and 17, 1878, 3.
85 Marietta Times, January 10, 1878, 3.
86 Marietta Register, January 17, 1878, 3.
87 Ibid.
first week in town. The Marietta Times estimated that three thousand "different persons" heard the revivalist on Sunday, January 13 at City Hall while those who could not gain entrance were welcomed at the adjacent Baptist church.

That the attendance and general interest were growing was no accident, however. For one of the first times in a revival in Ohio, committees had been appointed to advertise the meetings in the press and to see to the comfort of out-of-town guests. An advertisement made it perfectly clear that "persons from adjoining townships and counties are earnestly requested to attend these meetings," and that if they would make their identity known at City Hall the entertainment committee would make them comfortable. Nor was this the only factor which stimulated interest in the surrounding communities. The first Saturday of the Marietta revival, January 12, by holding a children's meeting at nearby Harmar, Hammond began what became elaborate evangelistic excursions to towns in the area. As the meetings progressed, as many as fifty people accompanied the evangelist on trips to Newport via the steamer Kittie Nye and to Beverly on board the Hubbell to hold meetings for a single day. Later, those interested from Newport traveled to Marietta to attend the services there.

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88 Ibid.
89 Marietta Times, January 17, 1878, 3.
90 Ibid.
91 Marietta Register, January 17, 1878, 3.
92 Marietta Times, February 7, 1878, 3; Marietta Register, February 7, 1878, 2.
All the while, Hammond was using an old revivalistic technique for maintaining interest while protecting his own reputation for promoting religious revivals. He would not guarantee to continue his services for more than a week at a time with the next week's committal based upon enthusiasm shown during the present week of meetings. This always insured him the possibility to move on gracefully if he did not feel the town was responding to his message and measures while it kept the sponsors of the meetings fervently trying to generate local interest enough to convince him to stay. In Marietta there was sufficient response to keep Hammond in town for four weeks. As the local newspapers cooperated by printing such items as a testimonial of the excellent results of the Parkersburg revival and a biography of Hammond, the City Hall eventually was packed with more people than ever before in its history the weekend before Hammond held his last service on Wednesday, February 6.

The folks at Marietta had found several of the features of Hammond's work novel. The inquiry meetings after each evening sermon in which personal counseling took place were new to many. The extensive use of vocal and instrumental music as a means to create religious fervor in the meetings was also a new measure to the people at Marietta. In fact, Hammond now had adopted the use of a special revival hymnal, Song Evangel, which was used in these meetings. Another revivalistic

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93 Marietta Register, January 31, 1878, 3.
94 Ibid., January 24, 1878, 1; February 7, 1878, 2; Marietta Times, January 31, 1878, 3.
95 Marietta Register, January 31, 1878, 3.
96 Marietta Times, January 17, 1878, 3.
method which Hammond was now using was the "Covenant" which he would have each of his converts sign. Similar to those employed previously by H. H. Wells in his campaigns at Norwalk and Ashtabula, Hammond's convert pledge read:

I, the undersigned, believe I have found Jesus to be my precious Savior and I promise with His help, to live as His loving child and faithful servant all my life.97

During the Marietta meetings between eight hundred and nine hundred reportedly signed this covenant of whom an estimated three hundred were actually new converts.98 Undoubtedly some people were shocked at the boldness of Hammond's tactics when he and a few of his Christian workers visited the city saloons at noon on February 1 to invite the owners to the revival meetings.99

If none of these measures caused an open controversy in Marietta, it is apparent that Hammond's continuing attack upon the Universalists in his sermons produced an undercurrent of heated debate here as it had in Cincinnati eight years before. Now, however, the clash was not over the "paralyzed tongue," story, but over the existence and nature of hell which Hammond insisted upon picturing in the literal fire and brimstone fashion. The Marietta Times responded to the controversy by publishing

97 Quoted in Zanesville Daily Courier, February 2, 1878, 4.
98 Marietta Register, February 7, 1878, 2; Marietta Times, February 7, 1878, 3.
99 Ibid.
the views of a Unitarian, a Presbyterian, a Jew, and a Swedenborgian on the subject. 100

Despite the seemingly unavoidable problems of justified and unjustified dissent which a Hammond revival always appeared to entail, its sponsors always seemed to overlook the undesirable effects and to attempt to perpetuate the spirit of the revival after the evangelist himself had departed. Thus the pastors of Marietta continued to hold nightly union meetings at City Hall until the middle of February and were still holding such services each Sunday evening by March 3. 101 By way of results of the total evangelistic effort, the pastors could point to not only the numerous signatures on the "Covenant," but also to the fact that all but four of the students of Marietta College had been converted. 102 The local Times saw the salutary results as two fold—"breaking down the strong sectarian feeling that on many occasions has been manifested in the churches," and "bringing many persons into the church and under the influence of better teaching and a sounder morality, who could not have been reached by any of the churches singly." 103

While the Marietta meetings were in progress, the pastors of the evangelical churches of Zanesville, a town of twenty thousand located fifty miles to the northwest of Marietta, had debated what manner of

100 Marietta Times, January 24, 1878, 3; January 31, 1878, 2.
101 Ibid., February 14, 1878, 3; February 21, 1878, 3; Zanesville Daily Courier, March 6, 1878, 4.
102 See the letter from E. B. Andrews in ibid., February 21, 1878, 4.
103 Marietta Times, February 7, 1878, 3.
revival they should promote during the 1878 season, and finally had agreed to invite Hammond. However, when "The Children's Evangelist" arrived in Zanesville on Thursday, February 7, he was so exhausted from his month in Marietta and so hoarse from a cold that he could not address the crowds which flocked to the First Baptist Church to greet him. Although the Zanesville Daily Courier lauded his "superior generalship" and maintained that "the work of no one has been more extensive, or more universally successful," it was later revealed that some of the sponsoring ministers and others were frightened at first that the revival would not be "a profitable investment."  

The initial fears were in vain. Hammond, aided by volunteer Christian workers from Marietta and a system of committees even more elaborate than had served in that town, would not fail. His second evening in Zanesville, Hammond managed to speak to a filled First Baptist Church, and since, as was his usual practice, he held no service on Saturday, he was ready to begin the revival in earnest by Sunday, February 10. He wasted no time in establishing his position of leadership over the dozen local pastors who shared the specially-built platform with him. He was quick to direct them to go into the audience to speak to the anxious after the sermon while the selected choir of twenty sang

104 The population is cited in Zanesville Daily Courier, February 15, 1878, 4. See the comments of Rev. H. A. Delano on the thinking of the Zanesville pastors before and after inviting Hammond in Daily Ohio State Journal, April 24, 1878, 4.

105 Zanesville Daily Courier, February 8, 1878, 4; Daily Ohio State Journal, April 24, 1878, 4.

106 Ibid. See Zanesville Daily Courier, February 19, 1878, 4, for an example of the committees used here.
from his designated revival hymnal. He further saw that each minister was presented with a complimentary copy of his recently published book, *The Conversion of Children*, so that he could familiarize himself with the Hammond technique. One of the Zanesville pastors, Rev. H. A. Delano, later confessed that "it hurt the ministry to hear a leader tell them what to do" and that after the first children's meeting on Sunday, February 10 "several of the pastors wished they were out of the revival."

Nevertheless, success from the standpoints of large crowds and much religious excitement was soon the reward of those who remained loyal to the professional revivalist. The original schedule of services included a daily union prayer meeting at 9:00 A.M. at the First Baptist Church where songs, testimonies, prayer for special requests, and Bible reading prepared the Christians for the labors of the periodic afternoon children's meetings at the Seventh Street Methodist Church and the nightly evangelistic services. The huge crowds which wanted to hear the famed evangelist made it almost immediately apparent that neither the Seventh Street Methodist Church, the Music Hall, nor City Hall, which were used intermittently, could accommodate the evening throngs. After ten days of meetings, the local press announced: "... all classes have been warmed into active, religious effort. Religion in the abstract is more talked about than ever before, and is the uppermost

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107 *Zanesville Daily Courier*, February 9 and 11, 1878, 4.
thought in the public mind." On the same day an open letter from
eleven Zanesville pastors praising Hammond's labors and challenging the
people to rally to the revival cause appeared.

Hammond had already pronounced the churches in Zanesville too
small for his purposes of reaching the masses for Christ. Therefore,
after seeing between three and four thousand attend his open-air service
at the Court House Esplanade on Sunday afternoon, February 17, and after
using the "new measure" of admitting people to the evening service at
Music Hall by ticket only, he urged the local sponsors to secure a large
circus tent in which to hold his meetings. Had it not been for
Finney's use of a gospel tent decades before in and around Oberlin, the
suggestion might have been completely new and revolutionary to Ohio ears.
Even as it was, Hammond's idea met with opposition among the cau­tious.
Would the added expense become a burden to the sponsoring
churches? Was it proper to encourage the obvious association which
would occur in the minds of many between revivalism and secular enter­tainment by holding the evangelistic services in a circus tent? The com­mittees in charge of the revival, along with a number of local business­men, met at the Y.M.C.A. on February 18 to decide. The "yeas" prevailed,

\[\text{\textsuperscript{110}}\text{Ibid.}, \text{February 18, 1878, 4.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{111}}\text{Ibid.}, \text{February 18, 1878, 4.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{112}}\text{Ibid.}, \text{February 15, 1878, 4.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{113}}\text{Ibid.}, \text{February 18, 1878, 4; Daily Ohio State Journal, April 24, 1878, 4.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{114}}\text{Daily Ohio State Journal, April 24, 1878, 4.}\]
and six new committees were formed to secure and maintain a tent from Sells Brothers in Columbus for the duration of the revival.115

Once the decision was made, interest in the revival was stimulated and the committees strained every nerve to make preparation for the initial service in the tent on Thursday, February 21. Three thousand five hundred chairs were rented from Marietta to place on the plank floor of the tent which was stove heated and had a capacity of five thousand.116 Within the so-called Tabernacle, which was erected on North Street between Sixth and Seventh Streets, a fifty by twenty-five foot platform was built to accommodate the choir, sponsoring pastors, and Hammond's pulpit.117 Therefore, with Hammond "master of the field" and "the revival meetings . . . the one topic of conversation, not only in the city, but for miles around in the rural districts," the stage was set for the largest religious gathering ever seen before in Zanesville.118

If the scenes at that first tent meeting were unique for professional revivalism in Ohio, they were also prophetic of the forms it would take in the decades that lay ahead. The members of a huge choir totaling three hundred sat on the platform in a random fashion without regard to their singing parts, and an assemblage of musical instruments including violins, flutes, cornets, bass viols and five cabinet organs, made

115Zanesville Daily Courier, February 19, 1878, 4.
116Ibid., February 20, 1878, 4.
117Ibid., February 20 and 22, 1878, 4.
118Ibid.
what was described as a joyful noise.\textsuperscript{119} Out of curiosity or devotion, however, there were between three thousand and six thousand on hand to witness the ceremonies, and because of the lack of chairs all except about one thousand had to stand. Nearly all of the Protestant pastors of Zanesville were there to assist in the inquiry meeting which followed the sermon.\textsuperscript{120}

Despite some inclement weather, thousands attended nearly every daily afternoon children's meeting and evening service in the tent for the next two weeks while Hammond remained in town.\textsuperscript{121} Inquiry meetings sometimes lasted until nearly midnight. On Sunday afternoon, February 24, with the tent filled with a congregation of five thousand while two thousand looked on from outside, the local sponsors of the revival collected an offering of $300 to help defray the estimated $1,500 expense of the Hammond meetings.\textsuperscript{122} Just as the services were reaching their zenith in an all-day meeting on Tuesday, March 5, in which the pastors were taking turns preaching to a tent full of interested citizens, the unwelcome news arrived from Rochester, New York, that the evangelicals there had all in readiness for Hammond to begin a series of meetings on March 10.\textsuperscript{123} Three weeks before they had sent Rev. T. A. Newton to Zanesville to make arrangements with Hammond for this, his

\textsuperscript{119}Ibid., February 22, 1878, 4.
\textsuperscript{120}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{121}Ibid., February 23, 25, 27, March 2, 4, 5, and 7, 1878, 4.
\textsuperscript{122}Ibid., February 25, 1878, 4.
\textsuperscript{123}Ibid., March 5, 1878, 4.
third, revival in Rochester. Opinion wavered in Zanesville as to whether to send a delegation to Rochester at this late date to try to get them to permit Hammond to stay another week. However, after receiving a laconic, uncharitable telegram from Rochester--"Mr. Hammond must come to us: shall give up our meeting, if he dont [sic]"--and after "canvassing the whole matter," the Zanesville pastors decided not to struggle against the evangelist's leaving.

Hammond's last evening service at the tent on Wednesday, March 6 may have attracted the greatest crowd ever to have attended a religious meeting in the state up to this time. Many came for the children's meeting in the afternoon, ate picnic lunches which they had brought, and stayed over for the evening service. An estimated seven thousand finally swarmed in and around the large tent as Hammond delivered his farewell message that evening. The next morning, Hammond made his last appearance at the regular prayer hour, received the gratitude of the revival sponsors, and accepted a "Covenant Book" which contained the signatures of 1,040 children who had been converted and had signed the usual pledge to live a Christian life.

On March 8, the day Hammond was to leave Zanesville, a two-column, one-half page picture and biographical sketch of the evangelist appeared in the local Daily Courier as a souvenir of the revival.

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124 Ibid., February 16, 1878, 4.
125 Ibid., March 5, 1878, 4. Telegram is quoted in Ibid., March 6, 1878, 4.
126 Ibid., March 7, 1878, 4.
127 Ibid., March 8, 1878, 4.
And when he left by train that morning, he was accompanied as far as Cambridge, Ohio by a delegation of fifty-five from Zanesville who sang all the way. Arrangements had been made for the evangelist to speak at Cambridge during a layover there, and one thousand interested folks filled the stands which had been erected in the public square when he arrived. After holding this service and taking leave of the excursionists from Zanesville, Hammond journeyed on to Cleveland where he addressed about six thousand people at the Tabernacle that evening. Back in the tent at Zanesville that same evening, the local pastors, who had decided to continue the revival meetings themselves, were rejoicing, as two thousand attended the service, that "there was really great encouragement to be found in the work, even if the 'General' had gone."

Not only had the "General" helped produce a religious fervor in town, but also, as usual, he had rustled the leaves of controversy. Out of his sermons themselves came most of the fuel for debate. By emphasizing the scenes of a literal, physical hell, he brought a question which was being aired nationally to the doorsteps of the residents of Zanesville with the local press supporting the revivalist's position. By insisting upon the use of questionable miracle stories as illustrations

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128 Ibid., March 8, 1878, 1.
129 Ibid., March 9, 1878, 4.
130 Ibid., March 7, 1878, 4.
131 Ibid., March 9, 1878, 4.
132 Ibid., February 13, 1878, 1.
of God's wrath, he again engendered doubt even among the Christian community. This time it was a tale of how God had blasted a wheat field near Utica, New York a few years before. Interestingly enough, the Zanesville Daily Courier, although it stated that "not a few have expressed grave doubts as to its truthfulness," backed up Hammond's story by a similar one of its own. 133 By using examples of Roman Catholics who had been converted in his meetings, the preacher had upset the Catholic element of Zanesville. Hammond made a practice of reading mail from his converts at his services, and had read one from a Catholic girl who had been saved in his campaign in Newark, New Jersey. The letter had then been published in the Daily Courier and in the Catholic Columbian. On the day the itinerant left town, a Catholic of Zanesville was successful in getting a letter of rebuttal from a Catholic priest, Rev. Louis DeCailly of Newark, printed in the Daily Courier. DeCailly made use of the space to denounce Hammond as a "street preacher" who in Iowa some years before had ridden through the streets on horseback in red shirt and trousers shouting "come to Jesus." DeCailly maintained that the one Catholic convert whom the revivalist had claimed in that Iowa meeting was soon back at confession. 134 Finally, by being secretive concerning the total amount of the personal offerings by which he insisted upon being paid for his work, Hammond left the Zanesville public questioning the extent to which he had been remunerated. A curious Daily Courier reporter could only discover that members of the finance

133 Ibid., March 5, 1878, 4.
134 Ibid., March 8, 1878, 4.
committee had acted as gatherers of funds for him during the revival, but had given them to him without totaling them for their own intelligence.  

If Hammond left the Zanesville community puzzling over his compensation, however, he also left it with a mind to work. Before leaving town he had helped found the Evangelistic Union to carry the revival spirit into the surrounding area by means of gospel teams. By the middle of March, this organization had begun revivals at Cambridge, Duncan's Falls and McConnelsville. Furthermore, for one of the first times following an Ohio revival, there was evidence of an organized effort to help the poor and unemployed of a city. Those interested, mostly women, were to meet on March 11 to carry forward this Christian benevolence. Of some note also is that Hammond's meetings pointed out the fact that Zanesville lacked an adequate place for large union religious gatherings. Therefore, a number of concerned citizens met on March 22 and established The Zanesville Tabernacle Association, the chief project of which was to raise funds for the construction of a three thousand seat building to house future union services. On May 7 it was announced that one-half of the $4,000 which was needed for  

135 Ibid., March 8, 1878, 4.  
136 Ibid., March 11, 1878, 4.  
137 Ibid., March 14, 1878, 4.  
138 Ibid., March 8, 1878, 4.  
139 Ibid., March 23 and April 4, 1878, 4.
the construction had been donated and that the rest would be secured by asking folks to subscribe to fifty-dollar promissory notes.  

In the meantime, the meetings in the circus tent had continued until inclement weather had forced the Tabernacle Committee to decide to return it to Columbus by March 13. Then the union services had been transferred to Music Hall, ending on March 15. After that date individual churches had kept the revival alive around their own hearthstones by special nightly services for another week. The Zanesville evangelicals seemed pleased by the results of their effort. The pastors were more congenial than ever, and four hundred new members were expected to be admitted to the several churches.

The folks at Rochester, New York had not been the only ones to send a representative to Zanesville in an attempt to engage Hammond for a future revival. Twelve Columbus, Ohio pastors of evangelical churches had sent one of their number, Rev. W. E. Moore of the Second Presbyterian Church, to Zanesville to solicit the services of "The Children's Evangelist." The success of this mission brought Hammond to Columbus on April 13, 1878, after a month of revival meetings in Rochester. When

140 Ibid., May 7, 1878, 4. The Tabernacle Association went so far as to engage an architect later, but the Zanesville Daily Courier does not indicate whether a building was actually erected.

141 Ibid., March 13, 1878, 4.

142 Ibid., March 16, 1878, 4.


144 Daily Ohio State Journal, April 20, 1878, 4; Zanesville Daily Courier, February 12, 1878, 4.
the revivalist arrived, the arrangements for the assault upon lethargy and sin in the Columbus area were still in the planning stage. A nine-man committee of city pastors had been appointed to receive the evangelist and to make the initial plans for the meetings, but the actual preparation proved very scanty. Hammond himself was quite content that the plans were still fluid enough to allow him to grasp the reins of control easily. But, by the time he met with the sponsors of the revival after his second evening service in town on Sunday, April 14, he must have realized that short-sighted preplanning was going to have some adverse effects upon the campaign.

That very Sunday evening the meeting had been held under extremely undesirable circumstances at City Hall. People had jammed the building to overflowing, windows had remained closed, and the heat had become so suffocating that two women had fainted. Besides, no seats had been placed near the platform, and therefore the only ones who could hear Hammond's lengthy sermon were a select few in the middle section near the front where it was audible over the occasional noise of feet on the uncarpeted floor. Even the choir was poorly prepared. In an attempt to overcome these difficulties, separate committees on music, ushers, and order immediately were created, and eighteen different pastors were assigned specific days to preside at the union meetings and to assist

145 Daily Ohio State Journal, April 9, 1878, 3.
146 Ibid., April 18, 1878, 1.
147 Ibid., April 14, 1878, 4.
148 Ibid., April 15, 1878, 4.
the evangelist. Also, the evening meetings were suspended until Wednesday, April 17, when the revival was ready to progress in organized earnest. Nevertheless, the unfavorable impression which the first City Hall meeting left in the minds of many, and the subsequent warning of fire Chief Heinmiller that the building should not be filled so full again, doomed the later services held there to discouragingly low levels of attendance.

Meanwhile, the regular features of a Hammond revival were initiated. Beginning on Sunday afternoon, April 14, daily children's meetings were held for one week at the Second Presbyterian Church and then in various ones of the cooperating churches. These services were marked by interest and enthusiasm even though one pastor admitted that at his first observation of a Hammond children's meeting he had recoiled at the preacher's use of fear to gain conversions. Beginning on Monday, April 15, daily union prayer meetings were held at 9:30 A.M. at the Town Street Methodist Church and after April 22 at Wesley Chapel.

It was at these morning sessions that Hammond made the greatest use of letters from his converts and testimonials from those of other cities where he had held meetings to establish the potency of his revivalal techniques. Not staggering under the attack of DeCailly for his

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149 Columbus Evening Dispatch, April 15, 1878, 4; Daily Ohio State Journal, April 16, 1878, 4.
150 Columbus Evening Dispatch, April 15, 1878, 4.
151 See the Daily Ohio State Journal, April 15, 1878, 4; April 18, 1878, 1; April 19, 1878, 4; April 20, 1878, 4; April 22, 1878, 4; April 25, 1878, 4; and April 26, 1878, 4.
152 Ibid., April 30, 1878, 4.
having read a letter in the Zanesville meetings of a Roman Catholic con-
vert, Hammond read one in Columbus regarding a Catholic boy in Cincin-
nati who requested prayer that he be saved. On other occasions per-
sonal testimonies of conversion and of the general effectiveness of
Hammond's work were given. A number of Christian workers from Zanes-
ville came to Columbus for the duration of the revival and willingly told
of the fruit of his previous labors there. Students from Marietta
College related the impact of Hammond's efforts upon the school during
the Marietta revival. One told that when the itinerant preacher spoke
on the College campus "the President was so deeply moved that he could
not utter a word," and nearly all of the students were saved. At
other times men from Parkersburg, West Virginia and Newark, New Jersey
were on hand to add their testimonies to the others.

In addition to the regular meetings that all expected with a
Hammond revival, during the Columbus crusade he broadened his efforts in
the area of special services. On Sunday afternoon, April 21, he held an
open-air meeting on the east terrace of the Capitol, and, finding the
reception good, conducted a second out-door service at the corner of
Third and State Streets the next Thursday. The idea caught on rapid-
ly and soon open-air meetings, conducted by local pastors and Christian

153 Ibid., April 18, 1878, 1.
154 Ibid., April 22 and 24, 1878, 4.
155 Ibid., April 19, 1878, 4. See also Ibid., April 25, 1878, 4.
156 Ibid., April 25 and 30, 1878, 4.
157 Ibid., April 22 and 26, 1878, 4.
lay workers, could be heard in session at various times of the day and at sundry locations throughout the city. Furthermore, the revivalist went out of his way to hold special services for those who found it inconvenient or impossible to attend the regular ones. On Saturday evening, April 20, he conducted a praise service at the Institution for the Blind which later favored him by having its orchestra play at one of his regular evening revival services. On Sunday morning, April 21, he addressed the inmates of the Ohio State Penitentiary.

The nightly evangelistic services at City Hall were by now running smoothly. There was a good supply of ushers and an adequate number of well-placed seats to accommodate the people. The seventy-five to one hundred-voice choir was now well drilled in the songs from Hammond's special hymnal, and was accompanied by an organ and a piano. However, the increasing number of empty seats at the evening meetings made sponsors of the campaign realize that the revival needed some new stimulant if it was to succeed. Beyond the poorly managed start of the crusade, growing criticism of Hammond and his tactics to secure converts was keeping people from the meetings. Therefore, the revival sponsors attempted at least to allay the questions of the Christian community by announcing publicly on April 19 that twelve city pastors had joined

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158 Ibid., May 3, 1878, 4.
159 Columbus Evening Dispatch, April 22, 1878, 4; Daily Ohio State Journal, April 26, 1878, 4.
160 Daily Ohio State Journal, April 22, 1878, 4.
161 Ibid., April 18, 1878, 1.
162 Ibid., April 19 and 20, 1878, 4.
unanimously to invite Hammond to town and were supporting his activities.\textsuperscript{163} When mediocre crowds continued to greet the evangelist at City Hall as the revival entered its second week, the cooperating pastors, probably at the insistence of Hammond, decided that moving the services to a tent would create the enthusiasm which could save the revival.\textsuperscript{164} Therefore, plans went forward to erect a large tent at the corner of Gay and Eighth Streets, on a lot as near to the center of town as could be secured. While this work was going on, thirteen of the supporting pastors addressed an open letter to the people of Columbus in the \textit{Daily Ohio State Journal} defending Hammond's revivalistic work and inviting all to attend the meetings.\textsuperscript{165}

After the first service at the new location on Friday evening, April 26, there could have been little doubt in anyone's mind that the tent was a proper cure for the anemic revival. The tent, which would seat three thousand and stand another one thousand had been filled, and many more had stood outside during the service.\textsuperscript{166} Why would a multitude come to worship in a tent when only a mere handful could be coaxed to City Hall or to a local church? The answer was not profound. As in other cases, this revival now had allied itself to the informal setting and spirit of the camp meeting, of secular-like entertainment, and of the great out-of-doors itself. A reporter for the Columbus \textit{Evening}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{163} \textit{Ibid.}, April 20, 1878, 4.
  \item \textsuperscript{164} \textit{Ibid.}, April 23 and 24, 1878, 4.
  \item \textsuperscript{165} \textit{Ibid.}, April 25, 1878, 4.
  \item \textsuperscript{166} \textit{Ibid.}, April 27, 1878, 4.
\end{itemize}
Dispatch noticed that "the absolute freedom with which people come and go, and stand about, and whisper, and talk in low tones, and laugh outside, without interfering with the general enjoyment of the religious exercises is one of the striking features." He also surmised why many came to the tent who would not go to church:

One solid comfort found at these meetings, as compared with meetings in churches and halls, is that the men are not obliged to sit upright. They can lean against a post. They can stand up in the outer circle. They can chew and spit upon the all-absorbing saw-dust, with freedom. They can smoke outside and look in, or lay down on a rear vacant seat, if one can be found. They can wink and smile, and laugh in a subdued manner, and whisper, and stir up the saw dust with a cane, or listen to the sermon and enjoy the singing . . . . Two hours there to such persons, is short in comparison with a thirty minute sermon addressed to a sparsely located and sleepy audience in a church with fine pews, and carpets, and curtains, and stained glass, cushioned seats, and stately ushers, and but few handsome female faces, and—no liberty to sit at ease.

Some of the features of the Hammond meetings in the Columbus tent had implications for the direction in which professional revivalism as a whole was moving. The fresh sawdust, itself, which was spread over the bare ground would later be immortalized when people began to hit "the sawdust trail" to shake the preacher's hand and be numbered among the converts. Dividing the congregation into sections and assigning a pastor to each one as his arena for personal counseling after the sermon was another relatively new measure which would be perpetuated in

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167 Columbus Evening Dispatch, May 8, 1878, 4.

168 Ibid.

169 Hammond's Columbus tent meetings are the first in Ohio in which the sources mention the use of sawdust as a floor covering during a revival.
various forms by many revivalists.\textsuperscript{170} Another aspect of the tent meetings was the distribution of tracts and pamphlets which contained Christian messages and challenges.\textsuperscript{171} This seems to have been a new addition to Hammond's revival tools, but he also was still holding to such faithful devices as the "covenant" pledge and sermons centering around the crucifixion and eternal punishment.\textsuperscript{172}

Even the tent and an assemblage of new and old revival measures could not solve all of the problems involved in holding such a campaign. What one minister had contended earlier about the youth of the city being disinterested in revivals because there had been none in town for twenty years may have had some validity.\textsuperscript{173} At least, a goodly number of "mashers" and "roughs" were reported at the meetings from time to time throwing rocks onto the tent and otherwise causing trouble.\textsuperscript{174} On Sunday afternoon, April 28 a group of boys arrived early, occupied the seats of the choir on the tent platform, and refused to move. Consequently, the choir had to find seats elsewhere and their musical efforts on that occasion left much to be desired. That evening, when others, who, as the local press stated, "know not what part they sing, and create a discord and break the time of the singers," occupied the choir seats, it was announced that thereafter only \textit{bona fide} ticket holders

\textsuperscript{170} \textit{Daily Ohio State Journal}, April 27, 1878, 4.
\textsuperscript{171} \textit{Ibid.}, April 27 and May 3, 1878, 4.
\textsuperscript{172} \textit{Ibid.}, May 8, 1878, 4.
\textsuperscript{173} \textit{Ibid.}, April 26, 1878, 4.
\textsuperscript{174} \textit{Ibid.}, April 27 and 29, 1878, 4.
would be permitted to sing with the choir. Another problem, that of financing the meetings, was presented openly to the public by a ten-member finance committee as daily offerings were collected. Hammond, of course, accepted only personal donations for his pay, as usual.

On the whole, the afternoon children's meetings, which were moved to the tent after April 29, and the evening evangelistic services at the tent were well attended. By the end of April, four hundred had signed the "covenant" as the pastors had been faithfully at their after service posts for personal work night after night. In the boldness with which revivalists sometimes acted, during one of his sermons Hammond asked anyone to rise who never intended to become a Christian. When a young man in the rear of the crowded tent stood, "a thrill of horror" passed through the audience, folks gathered around to dissuade him from his decision and Hammond prayed for him from the platform. On another occasion, the evangelist addressed his message primarily to Freemasons whom he said accepted Christ intellectually, but rejected Him as the "keystone of the double arch." On Monday evening, May 6, Horatio H. Wells, the native Ohio evangelist of the Norwalk and Ashtabula revivals...

175 Ibid., April 29, 1878, 4.
176 Ibid.
177 Ibid., April 30, 1878, 4.
178 Ibid., May 1, 1878, 4.
179 Ibid., May 3, 1878, 4.
and still in the employ of the Cleveland Presbytery, was the featured speaker as Hammond rested.\textsuperscript{180}

While the attendance at the meetings held steady, Hammond found reason to commend the zeal of the Columbus pastors,\textsuperscript{181} and they found cause to defend his revival methods. Rev. Poindexter, who at first had been skeptical, after observing the tent services, concluded in a public statement:

God has sent Mr. Hammond here for the double purpose of bringing a large number of persons to Christ who cannot be reached by other methods than those employed by Mr. Hammond; and to instruct the ministers of the city in, . . ., a new and better way of reaching the masses.\textsuperscript{182}

The only voice of rebuttal rose not to attack Hammond's new methods, but to defend the continuing validity of the old measures by which new churches, new members, special services in jails, infirmaries, and asylums, and the growth of Christians to maturity had been achieved in Columbus and which Poindexter suggested had been rather fruitless.\textsuperscript{183}

Regardless of such staunch support, when the tent shrank and leaked and the audiences began to be reduced after the rains came on Sunday, May 5, Hammond began to think of other fertile fields waiting to be evangelized.\textsuperscript{184}

\textsuperscript{180}Ibid., May 7, 1878, 4.
\textsuperscript{181}Ibid., May 4, 1878, 4.
\textsuperscript{182}Ibid., April 30, 1878, 4.
\textsuperscript{183}Ibid., May 1, 1878, 4. See Poindexter's rebuttal in \textit{ibid.}, May 2, 1878, 4.
\textsuperscript{184}Ibid., May 6 and 8, 1878, 4.
Certain pastors from Delaware, fifteen miles north of Columbus, had been watching Hammond's work and were interested in getting him to speak in their town. Therefore, while the enthusiasm in Columbus momentarily was dampened, Hammond decided to let the local pastors carry on the tent meetings as he favored Delaware by an "excursion" on Friday, May 10. Although the arrival of the evangelist and his Christian workers from Columbus caught most of the villagers unaware, the Opera House was quickly filled that afternoon as the curious and the devout alike scrambled to witness the preaching and children's service that followed. The reception was so heartening, in fact, that "contrary to expectations in any quarter at the time of his first coming, Mr. Hammond's stay was prolonged until Tuesday morning," May 14.

The Delaware pastors and the faculty of Ohio Wesleyan University and the associated Female College "without questioning or criticism . . ., humbly willing to be led, believing the work to be the Lord's and not Mr. Hammond's," cooperated freely in the endeavor. The revivalist held as many as three services daily while in town. On the mornings of Saturday, May 11 and Tuesday, May 14, he spoke in the chapel at Ohio Wesleyan University with "both visits being of unusual interest, many

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185 Ibid., April 19, 1878, 4.

186 The Delaware Herald, May 17, 1878, 3; The Delaware Gazette, May 16, 1878, 4. The latter paper felt that Hammond had come to Delaware without a formal invitation "and seemed himself hardly to know how or why he came."

187 The Delaware Gazette, May 16, 1878, 4.

188 Ibid.
On Monday morning, May 13, after his service in Monnett Chapel at the Female College, interest was so intense that "ordinary college work had to be suspended, and very clear and satisfactory conversions were going on all day, while the interest in the University was quite as great."\textsuperscript{189}

As Hammond journeyed back to Columbus for his final service in the large tent on Tuesday, May 14, the citizens and students at Delaware were left to ponder the facets of the whirlwind of evangelism through which they had gone. While the Delaware pastors attempted to perpetuate by special services the religious stir which had been created, the editor of the Delaware \textit{Herald} confessed that he was "somewhat disappointed in the Rev. Hammond," and the students at the University brought the itinerant's brand of revivalism to task on basic, theological grounds.\textsuperscript{191}

An article in the school paper, \textit{The College Transcript}, expressed appreciation of the fact that a deep religious feeling pervaded the village and the University as a result of Hammond's meetings, but was slow to pronounce the long-range effects of the revival truly beneficial. It frankly stated:

\begin{quote}
We are apprehensive that much of the results incident to the labors of this above named evangelist, is nothing more than religious sensationalism. If he would give us a little more of "that patient continuance in well-doing" of which the apostle speaks, and a little less of his creed of "only
\end{quote}

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\textsuperscript{189} The Delaware Gazette, May 16, 1878, 4.  \\
\textsuperscript{190} Ibid., May 16, 1878, 4.  \\
\textsuperscript{191} The Delaware Herald, May 17, 1878, 3.
\end{flushright}
believe and yours is heaven," we could have more faith in the permanent good of his efforts.192

Further, it charged that this "faith alone" approach is the parent of that sickly religious sentimentality that, at the present time, floods many churches and estranges reasonable and thinking men from the public sanctuary. It is this ebbing religion, attendant upon the efforts of some evangelists, that is cursing the church.193

The writer envisaged the proper approach to the religious life as a fine balance of love, works and faith.

By the time these criticisms appeared in print, however, Hammond was opening a new series of meetings in Missouri.194 In the meantime he had held his last service in the Columbus tent on Tuesday evening, May 14, where he had expressed his satisfaction with the reception and cooperation which he had received during the preceding month. To show their appreciation, the sponsoring pastors had given five-minute addresses commending Hammond and his work, and had made it clear that, although the tent would be dismantled the next day, the evening union services would continue at the Second Presbyterian Church through the remainder of the week.195 As Hammond left Columbus on May 15, he had more to rejoice about than that upwards of one thousand had signed the "covenant" in Columbus.196 In the preceding five months he had held

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192 The College Transcript, XII (May 18, 1878), 9.

193 Ibid.


195 Ibid., May 15, 1878, 4.

196 By May 8, over seven hundred had signed the "covenant." See Ibid., May 8, 1878, 4.
the largest city-wide campaigns to date in Ohio and had done more to acquaint Ohioans with the new highly organized, sentimental, semi-entertainment type of professional revivalism than any other evangelist.
By its very nature, the Awakening of 1858 did much to elevate the position of laymen as spreaders of the gospel, but the extent to which their work was proper in the field of professional revivalism was an open question among the clergy of Ohio for a number of years thereafter. The issues at stake were brought into clear focus in 1875 in a debate in Cincinnati which was begun by Rev. Thomas H. Skinner when he asserted in a pamphlet that the Presbyterian Church was "threatened with a great and fundamental revolution." He outlined the danger as real and present:

... unordained men are going forth from their churches, expounding the Word of God to Christians, addressing audiences just as do the ordained ministry from platforms and pulpits, taking texts and delivering sermons, and in some instances administering the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper; and this with the sanction and approval of ministers of the Presbyterian Church, directly in the face of the most specific and positive decisions and deliverances of our General Assemblies.

The winter revival season in Cincinnati which had preceded Skinner's warning had provided the flint with which to spark a lively controversy concerning lay revivalism. During that time three lay

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2Cincinnati Daily Gazette, April 15, 1875, 4.

3Ibid.
evangelists, one a woman, had carried on interdenominationally sponsored campaigns in the city. Miss Sarah F. Smiley, a member of the Society of Friends and the only nationally known female itinerant preacher to tour Ohio in the nineteenth century, had paid visits to various churches in the Queen City during February. Having preached in town the year before, the unlicensed and unordained Miss Smiley, on February 10, 1875, had been greeted by a crowd which filled St. Paul Methodist Church.

For the two and one-half weeks that followed, the Cincinnati Daily Gazette often carried multi-column reports of her sermons which were delivered to receptive audiences not only at this initial church, but also in the Seventh Street Congregational, Ninth Street Baptist, Fifth Presbyterian, Central Christian, and Walnut Hills Methodist Churches and Resor Hall.

In most of these messages, in her characteristic manner, Miss Smiley selected an Old Testament story, such as Jacob's wrestling with the angel, and related it to a pertinent theme, such as prevailing prayer in the case of Jacob. In pursuing this kind of allegorical

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4Phineas C. Headley, Evangelists in the Church (Boston, 1875), 432. There is no biography of Miss Smiley, but the basic allegorical approach of her sermons can be found in Sarah F. Smiley, The Fullness of Blessing; or, The Gospel of Christ, as Illustrated from the Book of Joshua (New York, 1876) and Sarah F. Smiley, Garden Graith; or, Talks Among My Flowers (New York, 1880).

5Cincinnati Daily Gazette, February 11, 1875, 8.

6See ibid., February 15, 1875, 2; February 16, 1875, 3; February 18, 1875, 3; February 20, 1875, 4; and February 21, 1875, 3.

7For her sermon on Jacob, see ibid., February 20, 1875, 4.
preaching she was found "sometimes straining a type or symbol or hidden meaning a little, but always instructive and impressive." Actually, the teaching aspect of her ministry seemed to predominate over the purely evangelistic, and at times she was willing to devote entire sermons to subjects bordering on themes of secular reform. This was particularly evident in her message "The Duty of Christian Women" at the Central Christian Church on Tuesday evening, February 16, in which she emphasized that plainness and simplicity of dress were significant factors in making all feel at home in the churches. The evangelistic dimension of Miss Smiley's work was further restricted by what seems to have been a total neglect of such devices as hand raising, after services, and inquiry rooms to secure converts. In fact, she herself seems to have made no boasts as to the number saved by her efforts, but the consensus that she stimulated the religious fervor in town certainly was shared by Rev. Dr. C. H. Payne, pastor of the St. Paul Methodist Church where she had held forth for nearly a week, who had about one hundred additions to his church roll by the end of February.

The meetings held by Miss Smiley actually constituted only a part of the efforts of the evangelical churches in Cincinnati to produce a general revival of religion there during the 1875 season. Rev. Dr. Payne had addressed the Evangelical Ministerial Association of the city on

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8 Headley, Evangelists in the Church, 432. In her introduction to The Fullness of Blessing, 1-19, Miss Smiley gives her rebuttal to the critics of her "typical" method of treating the Scriptures.

9 Cincinnati Daily Gazette, February 17, 1875, 4.

10 Ibid., February 27, 1875, 10.
this topic just after Miss Smiley began preaching at his church, and the Association had cast about for various means of inducing such an awakening. Then, when glowing reports of a revival in Louisville, Kentucky, led by two Chicago lay evangelists, the preacher Major D. W. Whittle and the soloist and chorister Philip Paul Bliss, began to reach the ears of these Cincinnati pastors, they began to feel that possibly the employment of these specialists was the answer. On February 24, as Miss Smiley was bringing her services in town to a close, the Evangelical Ministerial Association met to consider inviting Whittle and Bliss to hold union meetings in the Queen City. Although the pastors were too cautious to engage the lay revivalists without scrutinizing their efforts further, they did select a committee of three, including Payne, to visit Louisville "quietly and examine into the character and results of the work."

When this investigating committee reported that it had discovered "a genuine, hopeful revival, unattended by the objectionable features which have characterized the operations of some of the traveling evangelists," twenty-two pastors joined in an invitation to Whittle and Bliss to come directly to Cincinnati and conduct a series of meetings. Union noon prayer meetings were initiated immediately at the Y.M.C.A. to

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11 Ibid., February 13, 1875, 2.
12 Ibid., February 13, 1875, 6, reported that the majority of the clergy in Louisville favored the Whittle-Bliss revival.
13 Ibid., February 25, 1875, 3.
14 Ibid., March 24, 1875, 5.
15 Ibid.
promote the interdenominational revival movement, and all was in readi­
ness when the evangelists arrived on March 23. At the first service
that evening at the St. Paul Methodist Church with the supporting pastors
sitting on the platform, Payne and Rev. H. Thane Miller announced that
all denominations were welcome in the union effort and that the two
evangelists were employed only after "careful judges had pronounced
their work permanent and real."\textsuperscript{16} Rather than attempt to conceal the
fact that the revivalists were unlicensed, Miller used the fact to chal­
lenge the congregation to greater efforts since these men had "signal­
ized their devotion to the cause by giving up valuable positions in
business to build up the Kingdom of Jesus Christ."\textsuperscript{17}

Whittle and Bliss, as well as their friends Dwight L. Moody and
Ira D. Sankey, were in fact pioneer lay professional revivalists. A
year before coming to Cincinnati, Whittle and Bliss were employees of
Chicago business firms and were engaged in gospel meetings on a part­
time basis only. As Superintendent of the Elgin Watch Company, the for­
mer reportedly was drawing a $10,000 annual salary when the two decided
to quit their jobs and devote all of their time to promoting revivals
in the urban centers of the nation.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., March 24, 1875, 5. There is no biography of Whittle,
but brief treatment of his work can be found in Frank G. Beardsley, A
Bernard A. Weisberger, They Gathered at the River (Boston, 1958), 199;
and William G. McLoughlin, Jr., Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison
and Other Poems (Chicago, 1900) is a collection of Whittle's verses
Bliss, born in Pennsylvania in 1838, had remained a song-loving farm hand and country schoolmaster until 1860 when he began attending the winter sessions of a Normal Academy of Music in Geneseo, New York and became a professional music teacher. By 1864 he was successful in getting the first of his homey, sentimental ballads published by the Root and Cady Company of Chicago and in 1865 moved to the Windy City as an employee of the publishers. In this capacity, Bliss continued his efforts at composition while traveling about to hold musical conventions and to give vocal concerts. He had been a pious youth and in 1850 had confessed faith in Christ publicly during a revival conducted by a Baptist minister, but it was not until 1869 that his music began to develop a definite religious theme and that he started to think in terms of active Christian service. Much of the shift is credited to the fact that in that year Bliss first met Moody and was challenged by the opportunity to serve as song leader in his Chicago meetings. In May, 1870, Bliss became acquainted with Whittle with whom he began holding local services. A few months later he accepted the positions of choir leader and Sunday school superintendent at the First Congregational Church of Chicago. Thus began both his voluminous production of revivalistic gospel songs—such as "Hold the Fort," "I Am So Glad That Jesus Loves

which were set to music as gospel songs. After Bliss' accidental death, Whittle edited the only biographical work on his song evangelist, Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss (New York, 1877). Weisberger, op. cit., 199, 232, and McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 178, also give glimpses into Bliss' evangelistic career. Bliss' hymns are preserved in Philip P. Bliss, Sunshine for Sunday-Schools (Cincinnati, 1873) and Philip P. Bliss and Ira D. Sankey, Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs (Cincinnati, 1875).

Me," "Let the Lower Lights Be Burning," "Where He Leads Me I Will Follow," and "Almost Persuaded"--and his progression toward full-time evangelistic work. By 1873 Bliss ranked second only to Philip Phillips as a writer and singer of gospel music, and when the latter refused an invitation by Moody to accompany him as song evangelist on his monumental evangelistic tour of England beginning in that year, Bliss was urgently solicited for the job.20

Although Bliss at that time could not conceive his leaving the security of his Chicago job for the tenuous and novel position of revival song leader as the Lord's will (thereby leaving the door ajar for the unknown Ira D. Sankey to rise to fame by Moody's side), after continued pressure by Moody and others he and Whittle began accepting several-day revival engagements as a lay gospel team. They made a four-day meeting in Waukegan, Illinois in mid-March, 1874, a test case as to whether they were to become full-time itinerants: "If the Lord blessed us and souls were converted, we would take it as indication of His will, that He called us into the work."21 The revival was a success, and the novice evangelists met privately one afternoon during the meetings to consecrate themselves to God in the light of their newfound work. When they returned to Chicago, Whittle resigned his position with the Elgin Watch firm, and Bliss gave up his musical conventions and the writing of secular music which were winning him financial security as well as some reputation in the musical world. Before being invited to Cincinnati in 1875, the two

20 Ibid., 11, 18, 30-49; Weisberger, op. cit., 199; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 178.

21 Whittle, Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss, 49, 50.
lay revivalists held successful campaigns in Detroit, Pittsburgh, Lex­
ington and Louisville, and afterward they numbered St. Paul, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, St. Louis and other major cities among those stirred by their message of salvation until the abrupt death of the song evangelist less than a year later in the Ashtabula, Ohio train crash of December 29, 1876.22

If Miss Smiley had attempted to create a revival spirit in Cin­cinnati without the use of a great many special measures, Whittle and Bliss would now attempt it with a multitude of tactics both old and new. The very fact that they were a team of revivalists--specialists in ser­mon and in song--was novel. It was a double attraction. Whittle did not have to rely upon local talent or his own skill to stir the emotions with preliminary singing. Folks came to hear the baritone solo voice of Bliss as well as Whittle's sermons and joined enthusiastically in the congregational singing as Bliss led them from the special revival hymnal. Furthermore, the song evangelist was a useful aid in setting the senti­mental tone for the call for converts at the end of each sermon. While Bliss, accompanying himself at his cabinet organ, sang "Almost Persuaded" and other appropriate numbers, Whittle pled with sinners to stand if they were willing for the Holy Spirit to show them the truth. Then he invited them into the time-honored inquiry room for prayer and counsel.23

22 Ibid., 51, 52, 290-296. Since the Cincinnati meetings of Whittle and Bliss aroused such a controversy about the propriety of lay preaching, it is of some significance that Whittle did not include these Cincinnati services when he listed the twenty-five crusades which he conducted with Bliss. See ibid., 52.

23 Cincinnati Daily Gazette, March 24, 1875, 5.
The bold goal-oriented nature of their methods testified to the revivalists' business background. Admission to their ever-evolving evangelistic services, which were held variously at St. Paul Methodist Church and Pike's Opera House until April 2, was by ticket only, a new measure at that time. The tickets were of two types. Workers' tickets were given to "working Christians" who were to attend all of the services and promote the work by personal effort in and out of the meetings. A principal responsibility of these individuals was to distribute the general admission tickets to "downright sinners." Whittle and Bliss made it plain that "after awhile it is the design to confine the attendance to these two classes--workers and sinners," thereby eliminating the curiosity seekers and securing converts in the most efficient manner.24

Finally, these lay evangelists were among the first to employ the "after service" technique in Ohio—a measure in which all who wished to do so remained in the sanctuary after the sermon for a second service of prayer, testimony, singing and special counsel from the evangelist.25

The two lay evangelists supplemented these measures by special services in addition to the regular noon prayer meeting at the "Y," an afternoon Bible lecture at the First Presbyterian Church and a nightly evangelistic service. As the interest in the revival mounted and scores made their way to the inquiry rooms, the evangelists on Friday, March 26, started a daily out-door meeting on the Esplanade after the 3:00 P.M. Bible lecture. Such a large crowd gathered for the first of these that

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24 Ibid., March 25, 1875, 8; March 29, 1875, 4.
25 Ibid., March 31, 1875, 8.
it was reported that "there was a little alarm in some quarters lest the crusade on rum was about to be renewed, but it gradually subsided on the assurance of some of the ladies that their mission was strictly of a religious character." In a further attempt to reach the unchurched, the lay revivalists held two services especially for young men on Sunday, March 28, at Wood's Theater in the afternoon and at Mozart Hall in the evening. Nearly one thousand ticket-holders, "representing all grades of morality, and immorality," attended the evening service to hear Whittle apply the lessons of the parable of the prodigal son to the young men of Cincinnati. The preacher expressed himself as "greatly pleased" with the results at the two services in which he felt several sound conversions had occurred. The revivalists held two other special meetings—one in connection with the chapel service at the all-girl Mt. Auburn Institute on Tuesday morning, March 30, and a children's meeting at Pike's Opera House on Saturday afternoon, April 3.

The Whittle-Bliss campaign received lengthy and laudatory coverage in the Cincinnati Daily Gazette, which, at one point, even exceeded the bounds which the evangelists themselves could tolerate in comparing their meetings favorably to those previously held in town by John S. Inskip and Edward Payson Hammond. Describing the Whittle-Bliss service on Tuesday evening, March 23, the Daily Gazette said:

The proceedings of the principal meeting were lacking in all the

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26 Ibid., March 27, 1875, 3. See also ibid., March 26, 1875, 8.
27 Ibid., March 29, 1875, 4.
28 Ibid., March 31, 1875, 8; April 5, 1875, 2.
noisy accompaniments of the Inskip and Hammond revivals. There were no demonstrative altar scenes, the penitents not being invited forward at all. There was no shouting of "Amen" and "Glory to God" on the part of the audience; but still there were not wanting indications of deep feeling."\textsuperscript{29}

A week later at a meeting in Pike's Opera House the layman Whittle came to the defense of the work of his ordained revivalist brethren. He assured those present that he and Bliss held Hammond and Inskip in high esteem, preached the same gospel as they, and regretted any ideas to the contrary which had become current.\textsuperscript{30} Nevertheless, the general business-like atmosphere of the Whittle-Bliss meetings, which would reach its most pronounced expression in the revivals of D. L. Moody, was readily recognizable during their Cincinnati campaign.

Regardless of the conscientious employment of usual and unusual methods by Whittle and Bliss, several factors worked effectively against the widespread revival of religion which the Cincinnati Evangelical Ministerial Association had hoped could be produced. Nearly a full-page advertisement in the Daily Gazette on Friday, April 2 detailed the type of competition which the revival would have the following week in holding the attention of the general public. It announced that the America's Racing Association would hold its first week-long "International Hippodrome, Menagerie, and Congress of the Nations" featuring Roman chariot and standing races and a steeple chase for a silver cup in Cincinnati beginning Monday, April 5.\textsuperscript{31} Just as the sponsoring pastors had solved

\textsuperscript{29}Ibid., March 24, 1875, 5.
\textsuperscript{30}Ibid., March 31, 1875, 8.
\textsuperscript{31}Ibid., April 2, 1875, 8.
a second problem—the need for a larger hall in which to house the nightly union services if the revival was to successfully enter its third week—another and insurmountable one presented itself.\textsuperscript{32}

The Achilles heel of all professional revivals, the indispensable quality of the revivalist himself, was struck with a two-fold effectiveness. Serious illness in the families of both Whittle and Bliss in Chicago demanded that the lay evangelists return home at once.\textsuperscript{33}

Therefore, most of the revival activities were suspended after Sunday, April 4, when the two left town, less than two weeks after they had begun their meetings. The Evangelical Ministerial Association hoped to reactivate the special services the following Wednesday when the revival experts were to return. However, while thousands of Cincinnatians could be found daily under the tent of the Hippodrome near Lincoln Park enjoying the circus,\textsuperscript{34} the Association received word that the leaders of the revival movement could not continue the meetings as scheduled. In their stead they sent a man who had accompanied them on some of their previous campaigns, Major J. H. Cole, who spoke to a good-sized audience at Robinson Opera House on the evening the evangelists were to have restarted the revival services (April 17). In a telegram they assured the Cincinnati pastors that they would return as soon as possible.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{32}Robinson's Opera House had been rented for further meetings. See \textit{ibid.}, April 3, 1875, 2.

\textsuperscript{33}\textit{Ibid.}, April 2, 1875, 5; April 3, 1875, 2.

\textsuperscript{34}\textit{Ibid.}, April 6, 1875, 4; April 8, 1875, 8.

\textsuperscript{35}\textit{Ibid.}, April 8, 1875, 2.
reappearance never materialized, however, and the general revival move-
ment was frustrated. 36

Not only were the members of the Evangelical Ministerial Asso-
ciation thwarted in their efforts to promote a city-wide revival, but
also they were heirs to the controversy which their employment of lay
evangelists Smiley, Whittle and Bliss had produced. The issue had been
joined in early April when Rev. Skinner, pastor of the Second Presby-
terian Church, issued his pamphlet denouncing the practice. While
aspirations for a general revival under the direction of Whittle and
Bliss were still high, Skinner presented his ideas before the Cincinnati
Presbyterian Ministerial Association. He envisaged lay evangelists as
uneducated, unordained religious practitioners who were invading the
sacred office of the ministry in direct opposition to the declarations
of the General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church. 37 When Skinner's
own Second Presbyterian Church was dedicated on April 11, Rev. Henry J.
Van Dyke of Brooklyn, who gave the dedicatory address, used the occasion
to state:

This noble edifice which you dedicate to-day to the worship of
God, . . ., I humbly trust will never be defiled by any secular
use, and the pulpit . . . I trust will never be invaded by any
man not an ordained minister of the Lord Jesus Christ . . . ." 38

By this time, the discussion within Presbyterian circles con-
cerning the propriety of employing lay preachers had become one of gen-
eral interest, and the Evangelical Ministerial Association had announced

36 Ibid., April 10, 1875, 2.
37 Ibid., April 15, 1875, 4.
38 Ibid., April 12, 1875, 2.
that a paper on the subject would be presented at its Monday meeting, April 12. The paper, which was presented by Rev. A. Ritchie who had already read the same essay before his Presbyterian brethren, gave the case for lay evangelism. Using the current examples of the successes of Moody and Sankey in England and Whittle and Bliss in the United States, Ritchie grounded his argument upon the value of lay preaching as a means to reach the masses untouched by the ordinary ministries of the churches. He urged:

Send men free from the objection now so effectively used by infidelity, suggested by the expression, "hireling priesthood" and "professional preachers," after these dying men, and when they are brought into the Church let pastors nurse them, feed them, and train them, and finally send them after others still lost on the dark side of sin.39

He further contended that, although all men needed "the call of God" to preach, ordination, as such, was not essential to the public proclamation of the gospel. He did concede, however, that the regular clergy should be prominent in any revival movement, should control the arrangements, and should scrutinize its activities to make sure that it was receiving the sanction of the Holy Spirit. 40

In the discussion that followed Ritchie's presentation of his paper at the Evangelical Ministerial Association meeting, several members expressed agreement while others were not totally satisfied with the position that had been stated. Rev. S. W. Duncan, pastor of the Ninth Street Baptist Church, stood with Ritchie. Rev. Smith felt that Moody, Sankey, Whittle and Bliss were called to preach as truly as were the

39Ibid., April 13, 1875, 8.
40Ibid.
Apostles. The Methodist Rev. A. B. Leonard explained that the question was not one to agitate his denomination since it employed more unordained workers than regular, prepared ministers. Leonard contended that the seminaries could not produce enough educated men "so God is filling the place by calling men from the ranks of the laity; men who may be deficient in learning, but who may have a deep knowledge of the science of salvation." "Shall we step between these men and perishing souls and stay their work?" he asked. 41 Rev. William Young supported lay evangelism, but he objected to the regular clergy's suspension of their functions during a revival while letting an outside layman do their work. He further felt that some of the modern methods, such as preaching in theaters and opera houses led five astray for every one they saved. The ministers' meeting finally adjourned after deciding to continue the discussion at a later session. 42

The real rebuttal to Ritchie's arguments came two days later when the Daily Gazette printed an article, obviously written by Skinner, denouncing "uneducated, self-sent, irresponsible preachers, who assume to be judges of their own divine call, saying, 'The Lord hath sent me.' . . . " 43 He drew his evidence primarily from the example of the early Christian Church and from pronouncements of the Presbyterian General Assemblies of decades past. He held that

... never in a solitary instance did the apostolic or primitive Church degrade the function of preaching to a mere

41 Ibid.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid., April 14, 1875, 2.
profession any man who felt like it might assume and demit at
taste, nor leave the door open to the possibility of a swarm
of self-judging, self-sent men, amenable to nothing but popular
opinion, and under no jurisdiction but that of a voluntary un-
ecclesiastical association of ministers and laymen who usurp
for their organization the functions of an established spiritual
court of the Church. While the most abundant encouragement was
given in all the apostolic churches to individual activity and
exhortation by experienced Christians in public worship, it was,
nevertheless, done where every one was under authority to the
powers God had sent in the Church, and where no functions in the
Church of God was [sic] usurped by any.44

He marshaled two official statements of the Presbyterian Assemblies to
the support of his position:

As to supposed calls to preach the Gospel, no man can rightly be
called to that sacred work now out of the regular order which
Christ has established in His Church. No supposed inward call
can be judged of by any church judicatory, nor distinguished by
any criterion from visionary impulse.

Listen to no self-sent or irregular preachers, whatever may be
their pretensions to knowledge, piety, and zeal.45

Although Skinner felt that the attempt to justify lay evangelism
with, as he said, its "irresponsible, self-licensed, self-sent, and self-
judged, uneducated, and enthusiastic men" who "with their melodeons and
songs and harangues, . . . aim for the pulpits and churches of the land,"
was one of the darkest signs of the times, the growing consensus was in
its favor.46 The day after the editor of the Daily Gazette permitted
the anti-lay evangelism article to be published, he wrote his own re-
buttal to Skinner's pamphlet. He contended that Christ Himself was
itinerant and irregular, that Sunday school teachers were not ordained,

44Ibid.
45Ibid.
46Ibid.
and that some educated men did not make good preachers. He emphasized the ability of the Moody and Whittle type of preacher to secure converts among the masses as a chief validation of God's satisfaction with their work. As to the very old Presbyterian declarations used as evidence by Skinner, the *Daily Gazette* editor questioned their infallibility. 47

If neither this pronouncement for lay evangelism nor those expressed by subsequent letters to the editor bore significant weight, 48 the final conclusions of the Cincinnati Presbyterian Ministerial and the Evangelical Ministerial Associations did. Early in May the former body expressed its favorable view of lay evangelism by publishing a pamphlet by Dr. Stanton on the subject and intimating that some of the former decisions by the Church in this regard needed to be revised in the light of changing conditions. This organization could not overlook an increasingly more pertinent case in point which was receiving the support of Presbyterians in Scotland—the Moody and Sankey meetings. 49 Nor was the Evangelical Ministerial Association unaware of or unexcited by the successes of these lay revivalists during their European tour which was followed closely by the local *Daily Gazette* as it reached its zenith. That this organization emerged from its debate over lay evangelism on the positive side is evidenced by the fact that in the ensuing summer of 1875 it established a committee to attempt to lure Moody and Sankey

48 See *ibid.*, April 19 and 27, 1875, 2.
50 See *ibid.*, April 17, 1875, 8; April 19, 1875, 4; ff.
to hold meetings in the Queen City when they returned to initiate their itineracy in America.  

Although Moody could not be attracted to Cincinnati until 1884, the issue had been settled. Despite the disappointments of the Whittle-Bliss campaign and the debate that followed, an overwhelming majority of the evangelical clergymen of Ohio's largest city had committed themselves to the support of professionally-conducted city-wide revivals even if the preacher was unlicensed and unordained. Moody would take full advantage of the fact that this same sentiment eventually prevailed throughout the state to bring lay professional revivalism to its peak in Ohio in the two decades that followed.

Dwight L. Moody, who was rising in 1875 to take his place beside Charles G. Finney was the second outstanding revivalist of the nineteenth century, already was no stranger to Ohioans. Many of them had met him as an enthusiastic Y.M.C.A. and lay church leader at the first Ohio State Christian Convention held in Columbus late in 1869. Although at that time he had not begun the itinerant evangelism phase of his career which would bring him international fame, his contributions in the area of interdenominational evangelistic work as a layman already had been conspicuous. He had been born in the rural setting of Northfield,
Massachusetts in 1837 near the region in New York and Vermont where professional revivalism was spawned. By an ardor akin to that which brought John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, Leland Stanford, Mark Hanna and many others to prominence in the years after the Civil War, Moody attained a place as the most articulate and commanding voice of America's fundamentalist evangelical piety when the nation entered the throes of its third great awakening after 1875.53

The energy, if not the piety, which marked Moody's later career was evident from the first. Since his father had died suddenly when the lad was only four years old leaving his mother penniless with seven dependent children, an imperative struggle for existence was a real part of Dwight's first impressions of life. He soon matured into a strapping country youth under the demanding farm labor which fell his lot. Too restless to be confined by the academic pursuits in the Northfield one-room school house where he had managed to attain to the seventh grade, the enterprising teenager convinced his mother to allow him to seek his fortune in Boston where two of his uncles owned shoe stores.54

1899) is representative of the host of laudatory accounts that were produced just after Moody's death. The latest full-length biographies to have appeared are Gamaliel Bradford, D. L. Moody, A Worker in Souls (New York, 1927) and Richard Day, Bush Aglow: The Life Story of Dwight Lyman Moody, Commoner of Northfield (Philadelphia, 1936). James F. Findlay, Jr., "Dwight L. Moody, Evangelist of the Gilded Age: 1837-1899" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1961) is the most recent of a number of theses and dissertations devoted to the study of Moody's career. 53

See the interpretive accounts of Moody's life and relation to the national awakening after 1875 in Weisberger, op. cit., 175-219 and in McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 166-281.

54 William Moody, op. cit. (1900), 19-36.
The seventeen year old Moody's religious inclinations to this point had not extended beyond the obligatory attendance upon Unitarian services which his mother had rigidly enforced. Although he felt that he might even escape this burden when he took up residence in the big city, as a condition of employment his uncle, Samuel Holton, made him agree to attend church and Sunday school services regularly and to refrain from attending places where he knew his mother would not approve of his going. Thus it was that the enthusiastic young shoe salesman came to attend the Mt. Vernon Congregational Church of the widely-known Rev. Edward N. Kirk. Between 1829 and 1842 Kirk had accepted the new measure revivalism of Finney and had even itinerated for awhile, but after he accepted his Boston pastorate in 1842 he had repudiated Finney's perfectionism and antislavery views, and by 1854, when Moody began attending his church, was preaching an ineffectively vague mixture of Calvinism and free will which did not arouse the youth's latent religious senses. It was therefore not Kirk, but layman Edward Kimball, leader of the young men's Bible class, who made the Scriptures and the plan of salvation meaningful to the future revivalist.55

Through a realistic portrayal of Bible characters as flesh-and-blood individuals with natural abilities and human faults, Kimball made them alive for Moody. When at one Bible class session the novice shoe clerk became so excited that he blurted out, "Say, Mr. Kimball, that man Moses must have been smart," the teacher knew that he had broken through

55 Ibid., 37-39; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 171, 172.
Moody's shell of apathy concerning religious matters. Now that he had reached his pupil with the message that a man could be both led of God and "smart," which meant to Moody's New England mind all that was involved in native ability and intellectual endowment in combination with initiative, Kimball realized that the opportune time had arrived to confront him with the further conclusion that he could be both a servant of Christ and an aggressive man of business.

Prayerfully selecting the exact time and place for a personal interview in order to impress the need of a personal acceptance of Christ's atonement upon Moody, Kimball stopped in at Holton's shoe shop on April 21, 1855 and approached the lad at work. As he later recalled:

I found Moody in the back part of the building wrapping up shoes. I went up to him at once, and putting my hand on his shoulder, I made what I afterwards felt was a very weak plea for Christ. . . . I simply told him of Christ's love for him and the love Christ wanted in return. That was all there was. It seemed the young man was just ready for the light that then broke upon him, and there, in the back of that store in Boston, he gave himself and his life to Christ.

It was in a real sense a novel type of conversion experience for a man who would become a professional revivalist. It had none of the emotional aspects of agony and ecstasy which had marked the religious crises in the lives of most of the itinerant preachers. For Moody, conversion was a matter-of-fact business transaction; he by faith accepted Christ's atonement and according to His promise God forgave his sins and accepted him as His own child. It was a simple, yet firm contract between a man and his God which Moody would popularize nationwide later as he urged

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56Quoted in William Moody, op. cit., 40.
57Quoted in ibid., 41.
his hearers to accept God's free gift of salvation by making their decision for Christ.

If, however, Moody's conversion seemed a passive affair, it was an immediately active yeast within the energies of his vigorous nature. The next morning he found his whole outlook on life changed: "I thought the old sun shone a good deal brighter than it ever had before - I thought that it was just smiling upon me; . . . ." "I fell in love with the birds. I had never cared for them before. It seemed to me that I was in love with all creation. I had not a bitter feeling against any man, and I was ready to take all men to my heart." By means of Kirk's sermons, through which he previously had slept, it now seemed "as if God set me afire," he later recalled. "I could not sit still, but I had to go out to preach." A month after his conversion he applied for membership in the Mt. Vernon Congregational Church, but was rejected when he gave a vague answer to the examiners' question as to what Christ had done for him and all mankind to deserve love and obedience. He stated: "I think He has done a great deal for us all, but I don't know of anything He has done in particular."

After a year of badly needed religious instruction and a second examination, Moody was welcomed into the fellowship of the Church. However, already he felt his youthful ambitions stifled by two conservative

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59 Quoted in William Moody, op. cit., 42.

60 Quoted in Bradford, op. cit., 49.

61 Quoted in William Moody, op. cit., 44.
forces in Boston. The church leaders did little to help channel his zeal for soul-saving and his uncle had no desire to adjust his business methods to fit the enthusiastic designs of his nephew, even though Dwight had become his most lucrative salesman. Therefore, in the fall of 1856 the adventurous and aspiring Christian shoe clerk set his sights upon the symbol of opportunity in the West, Chicago. His dreams of success were not long in coming true. At once he found employment with the Wiswall boot firm which promised real opportunities for advancement. Though still under twenty years of age, Moody's previous experience, aggressive spirit, and conscientious handling of business matters soon led him to a position as one of the company's commercial travelers with dreams of some day being worth $100,000. 62

Also, Moody was finding fulfillment in the other area in which he had felt frustrated in Boston. He joined the Plymouth Church by letter and began to create his own avenues of Christian service. He began by renting pew after pew in Plymouth Church and filling them each Sunday with young men whom he invited from street corners and boarding houses. Finding this activity insufficient to exhaust his supply of energy, however, the young zealot began recruiting scholars for a little mission Sunday school in the slums on North Wells Street. After a few months, having succeeded in building up the attendance of the Sunday school until its quarters were filled and having met one of the teachers, fifteen year old Emma C. Revell whom he would marry four years later, Moody decided in the fall of 1858 to start a Sunday school of his own.

62 Ibid., 44-49.
Renting a former saloon on Michigan Avenue in "the Sands" slum area of Chicago, Moody and two of his friends began rounding up and teaching the local ragamuffins. The attendance grew into the hundreds, new teachers were added, and finally Moody was able to convince the mayor of Chicago to donate the use of the hall over the North Market for the meetings. 63

It was in this work that Moody gained a wide range of organizational and leadership experience. His duties ranged from janitor to superintendent. Always making it a point to return from his shoe-selling tours each Saturday night, he would rise at 6:00 A.M. each Sunday and spend the morning clearing the hall of beer kegs from the weekly dances of the German society the night before and arranging the chairs for the 2:00 P.M. service. Then he would go out to invite boys and girls to the meeting, keep order while the speaker of the day tried to hold the children's attention, and visit the absentees in the late afternoon. On his visiting rounds he would invite the parents to attend the Sunday evening gospel meeting at which he himself preached. The activities were demanding enough to tax even the energies of a Moody, but it was a satisfying and successful endeavor. As the attendance grew toward the one thousand mark, Moody solicited the financial backing of dry goods merchant, John V. Farwell, and bank president Isaac H. Burch, and sold forty thousand shares of stock in the North Market Sabbath School Association at twenty-five cents each to construct a new building to house his meetings. 64

63 Ibid., 47-56; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 173, 174.

64 William Moody, op. cit., 56-60.
By his businesslike management and unquestioned earnestness, the Chicago shoe salesman had invested his Christian endeavor with the confidence of the evangelicals of the city and had created an arena of service among the common people where it made little or no difference that he was unordained and that his sermons were beset by language that was hopelessly ungrammatical. But Moody was fast approaching a crisis point in his life. Added to the increasing duties of his Sunday school, he had accepted an assignment by the newly formed Chicago Y.M.C.A. as head of the Visitation Committee which made his own spare time and physical stamina the only limits to the amount of work that was under his care. By 1860 he faced what he described as "the greatest struggle I ever had in my life." He had become an unusually successful wholesale shoe dealer for the Buel, Hill and Granger Company and had already saved $7,000 toward his $100,000 vision, but he knew that he could not continue the pace needed to maintain both his business and his Christian activities. Finally, with soul saving looming as the most significant and challenging occupation to which he could devote his efforts, the twenty-four year old Moody decided to leave the shoe business and make evangelism his full-time job. He would live a life of austerity from his own savings and others' voluntary contributions. If at the end of seven years, when he supposed his $7,000 would be gone, the Lord continued to bless his labor, he would assume that he had chosen the right course and that God would provide for his future livelihood.

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If in the immediate years that followed, the evangelistically-minded layman's financial status was often embarrassing, his record of Christian service was enviable. His Sunday school grew to be one of the largest in the nation, and when his converts from the slums requested that he found an interdenominational church and become their pastor he did so in 1864. This Illinois Street Church (later the Chicago Avenue Church that was finally known simply as Moody Church) represented the first of the independent fundamental tabernacles which were begun in the years that followed to protest the starchy formality and sophistication of the regular churches which seemed to exclude the common man. Here Moody, although unordained, performed all of the rites of the church except marriage, for two years, and then insisted that the congregation employ a regular minister although his own control was always paramount in the Chicago Avenue Church.

In the meantime, his name had become a familiar one in nearly all Christian work in and near Chicago in which a layman was welcome. He helped organize the national Sunday school movement, became an agent for the City Relief Society, and ministered to the spiritual and physical needs of wounded soldiers during the Civil War as a member of the United States Christian Commission. However, the involvement which was most responsible for bringing Moody to national attention and eventually into professional revivalism was that in the Y.M.C.A. His natural abilities for raising funds, filling noon prayer meetings with folks right off the streets, and generally winning converts by a blunt, but irresistibly concerned "are you a Christian?," brought him to the presidency of the Chicago Y.M.C.A. in 1866. It was in connection with this position as
well as his Sunday school work that he made brief visits to the British
Isles in 1867, 1870, and 1872 to attend international religious conven­
tions, and there he made the contacts which helped to make his first re­
vivalistic tour of England from 1873 to 1875 so successful.67

It was in this phase of Moody's career, then, as a champion of
interdenominational cooperation through the Y.M.C.A. and Sunday school
conventions that he made his debut on the Ohio scene in 1869. The occa­
sion to which he was summoned as a special speaker and consultant on
methods of conducting and stimulating church activities was itself in­
dicative of the increasing spirit of unity which was being shared by the
evangelical denominations of the state.68 The American Christian Com­
mission of which Moody was a member was responsible for calling upon the
churches of Ohio to send representatives to this first Ohio State Chris­
tian Convention held at Columbus, Tuesday through Thursday, November 30
to December 2, and seventeen local host churches welcomed the three hun­
dred delegates. The program of the convention which was held at the
Second Presbyterian Church provided for several sessions during each
morning and afternoon in which a separate topic was introduced by a main
speaker and then discussed by a panel which accepted questions from the
delegates. The evening meetings were devoted to further discussion and
evangelistic messages.69

Moody, who announced at the first session that a prime object of

67 Ibid., 73-122; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 175-177.

68 "The Ohio Christian Convention," The Western Christian Advo­
cate, XXXVI (December 8, 1869), 388.

69 The Ohio State Journal, December 1 and 2, 1869, 4.
the convention was to knock down sectarian walls and to arouse Christians to action, undoubtedly relished the opportunity the next day to introduce the topic "What can businessmen do for Christ?" He also added his thoughts upon the subject of how to organize Christian activities so all members could participate, and endorsed interdenominational cooperation when the topic arose of how far union efforts among evangelical Christians were practical and desirable.70 Moody showed the practical common sense approach which made his own meetings lively and productive when he gave his suggestions for a successful prayer meeting: sit close, ventilate the room well, sing, and bell down anyone who prays over four minutes before he kills the spirit of the service.71

In addition to his participation in the topical discussions, the lay Y.M.C.A. and Sunday school leader spoke at children's meetings at the Second Presbyterian Church on the afternoons of November 30 and December 2, and addressed the convention every evening.72 Accompanying Moody to Columbus and also participating in the convention were his Plymouth Brethren lay evangelist friends Henry Moorhouse and Herbert W. Taylor. Moorhouse, whose persistent theme of the love of God had deeply affected the tenor of Moody's own ministry as has been shown above, was now on his second tour of the United States. He accompanied Moody in a total of seventy-two meetings in various cities during the several

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70Ibid.
71"The Ohio Christian Convention," The Western Christian Advocate, XXXVI (December 8, 1869), 388.
72Daily Ohio Statesman, December 1, 2, and 3, 1869, 1; The Ohio State Journal, December 1 and 3, 1869, 4.
At the convention Moorhouse introduced the topic "Great Hindrances to the Progress of Christ's Kingdom and What Can Be Done About It," served as a panel member during various discussion sessions, and joined Moody in addressing the convention on Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

If any of the clergymen at the convention balked at the idea of sitting under the preaching of laymen such as Moody, Moorhouse, and Taylor or of listening to their helpful hints on how to conduct services so as most effectively to save souls, none voiced such an opinion to the press. In fact, except for two minor objections, Moody's reception in the Buckeye state seems to have been completely favorable. The first grew out of his straightforward, even blunt, manner of stating his thoughts. In his keynote address calling the Christian army to action, he had said that the Church at that time resembled a "disorganized mob" more than anything else. The Methodist Western Christian Advocate, which was basically sympathetic both to Moody and the convention, felt that this was "an unfortunate expression, and was not a good beginning for the brother," but it charitably and correctly attributed the statement to his "warmth of feelings and anxiety for activity on the part of Church members." The second unfavorable reaction was sparked by Moody's insatiable desire to exercise leadership in matters relating to

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73 William Moody, op. cit., 140. Moorhouse's second visit is here misdated as 1868 instead of 1869.

74 The Ohio State Journal, December 1 and 3, 1869, 4.

75 "The Ohio Christian Convention," The Western Christian Advocate, XXXVI (December 8, 1869), 388.
interdenominational organizations. Partly as a result of the Christian
convention, women of Columbus met to form the first local Y.W.C.A. When
Moody attempted to use his influence as a Y.M.C.A. leader to force a de­
cision to retain the word "Evangelical" in the constitution of the new
Y.W.C.A., those women who held to the need of the support of non­
evangelicals for the association protested. In a letter to the editor
of The Ohio State Journal one lady asked how "one man, hailing from
Chicago, should have the hardihood to come to Columbus and dictate to
the women of this city what they shall do in regard to the Christian
Association proposed." "What right has Mr. Moody who has talked so
generously during the convention," she queried further, "to act so un­
generously in the first step of active Christian work?"76

Although this disgruntled correspondent concluded that "if this
painful narrowness is the first fruits of the convention . . ., we sug­
gest that the less we have of them the better off we shall be," the
general impression of the gathering and of Moody were affirmative.77

The editor of The Western Christian Advocate recommended future conven­
tions of delegates from all churches in which "real progress might be
made toward unifying and assimilating the plans by which we expect ulti­
mately to achieve the conquest of the world."78 Moody, himself, and his
associates, Moorhouse and Taylor, were invited to remain and hold several
evangelistic services after the conference ended on December 2, and did

76The Ohio State Journal, December 4, 1869, 4.
77Ibid.
78Editorial, The Western Christian Advocate, XXXVI (December 8, 1869), 388.
so. On Sunday evening, December 5, the Opera House was filled as Moody and Moorhouse spoke. The next evening, before they left for their next engagement in Terre Haute, Indiana, the three lay preachers spoke at the Second Presbyterian Church and saw fifty persons come forward to become Christians. Thus, Moody's first contact in the state had shown Ohioans his warmhearted interdenominational concern, his straightforward leadership, and his evangelistic effectiveness, and his services would be solicited in the state for city-wide revival campaigns as well as Christian conventions in the years that followed. Meanwhile the women of Columbus would proceed with the formation of their Y.W.C.A. without further interference.

By the time Moody returned to Ohio a decade after the 1869 Columbus convention, the spirit of the nation had been fully aroused by the forces and ideas which ushered in the Third Great Awakening, and the former Y.M.C.A. administrator from Chicago had become the most prominent professional revivalist of the new age. Significant developments in the social, economic, and political as well as the theological realms helped to produce the reorientation of American life in the 1875-1915 period. During that time the population became concentrated in urban centers and its composition became much more heterogeneous due to massive immigration. The economy shifted from agrarian to industrial, and, as the social classes began to be more clearly defined, the laboring "masses"

79 The Ohio State Journal, December 6, 1869, 4.
80 Ibid., December 7, 1869, 4.
81 Ibid., December 6, 1869, 4.
came to feel themselves set apart from and often victims of "the idle rich" of big business. National domestic policy put the laissez-faire philosophy of the past to one side, and initiated the era of governmental social control. Foreign policy forsook anticolonialism for the challenge of imperialism. For theology there was the imperative of dealing with the implications which the transitions in the above areas had with regard to the changing conditions under which men were living, and of wrestling with the far-reaching effects which the ideas presented by the study of comparative religions, higher criticism of the Scriptures, and scientific research into biological evolution and geology were having upon the Christian Faith. 82

As it happened,

these profound changes and the shocks that accompanied them registered most heavily upon those country-bred, evangelically oriented, intellectually unsophisticated, and sentimentally insecure individuals who made up the bulk of the nation's churchgoers. 83

Since it was from this group that the professional revivalists received the bulk of their support, the answers which they offered to the problems of the period had a telling effect upon the mind of the evangelicals across the country. Significantly, Moody, J. Wilbur Chapman, Reuben Torrey, Billy Sunday and all of the other major evangelists during the awakening except Sam. P. Jones and B. Fay Mills couched their solution in an appeal to the evangelicals to rally about the nostalgic standard of the "old-time religion" which presented individual salvation

82 McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 167, 168.
83 Ibid., 168.
as the panacea for the nation's social and economic as well as spiritual ills and a completely literal interpretation of the Bible as the only Christian attitude toward the findings of science and Biblical scholarship. At the same time, most of those Christians and churches which wished to come to grips with the transitions and new discoveries of the late nineteenth century and evolve solutions with new dimensions, found themselves embracing "the new theology" which included theistic evolution, Biblical criticism, and the social gospel. Had it not been for the overwhelming conservative influence of the itinerant evangelists led by Moody, it is altogether possible that an amalgamation of the democratic and humanitarian elements of rural Protestantism with the scientific enlightenment which supported the progressive movements of the twentieth century would have occurred. As it was, Moody helped to update revivalism in form to fit the age of big business and high-pressure advertising while he left its theological underpinnings unexamined. By the end of the century, although Moody was distraught over the situation, evangelicalism itself had divided into two camps. The "fundamentalists" would hold to revivalism with its traditional methods and theology; the

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84 Weisberger, op. cit., 177, 178. Each in his own way, Jones and Mills attempted to use revivalism as a device to reform society. Jones conceived a muscular Christianity which would rid communities of saloons, theaters, and dance halls. Mills felt a more pervasive need to Christianize economics and politics as well as society, and finally became an exponent of the social gospel movement. However, neither man found the revival platform effective in working the reforms he sought.

85 McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 168. For analysis of the effects which this struggle had in the lives of many leading Americans and their churches see Francis P. Weisenburger, Ordeal of Faith: The Crisis of Church-Going America, 1865-1900 (New York, 1959).
"modernists" would seek new measures and would accept new theological positions to deal with the problems of the new age. 86

In the interim between Moody's appearance in Columbus in 1869 and his first major revival crusade in Ohio at Cleveland in 1879, a series of events had cast him in the role of an internationally renowned professional revivalist who would soon rank with Charles Finney as one of the two most important evangelists of the century. His Chicago work had been as a training school for the ambitious layman. His confidence had mounted as his labors had been rewarded by his own well attended Sunday school and church. He had been successful in tapping the wealth of Chicago's captains of industry to erect a handsome Y.M.C.A. hall.

His attendance at state-wide Sunday school conventions had shown him the effectiveness of his straightforward approach in directing assemblies toward decisions. He had gained considerable preaching experience in his own church, had perused the Bible until its verses would always be available for quick recall, and had made the potent message of Henry Moorhouse that God is love his own. 87

The special work for which his experience had prepared him, began to dawn upon Moody when in 1872 he received invitations from three of his English acquaintances asking him to come and hold a series of evangelistic meetings. Had it not been that the Chicago fire of October, 1871 had laid his home, Sunday school, church, and Y.M.C.A. all in ruins and that his energies could not be fully exploited there during their

86. Weisberger, loc. cit.; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 169.
87. William Moody, op. cit., 115-143.
reconstruction, he probably would not have considered such a venture seriously. Under the circumstances, however, he decided to accept the challenge of a few weeks of full-time revivalism.

Long before, he had come to realize the relation of well-directed singing to success in evangelistic services, and now he cast about to locate a song evangelist to accompany him on his English mission. When both Philip Phillips and Philip P. Bliss, the best-known gospel singers and song writers of the times, refused to accompany him, Moody turned to Ira D. Sankey whom he had met at a Y.M.C.A. convention in Indianapolis two years before and finally had convinced to leave his job as a revenue collector in New Castle, Pennsylvania and become chorister and soloist at his Illinois Street Church and at the Chicago Y.M.C.A. 88 Sankey's musical credentials were those of a pleasant singing voice, knowledge of the rudiments of piano and organ, and years of experience in leading choir and congregational singing at the Methodist Church in New Castle and at numerous Sunday school conventions. 89 By professional standards his qualifications were meager, but they exactly fitted the use to which Moody would put them. When the two men joined forces for their English venture in the summer of 1873, they unwittingly had formed what would be the most successful lay evangelistic team in the history of American revivalism. They would make it as easy for men to be converted as some of their predecessors had made it hard.

88 Ibid., 125-127, 154, 155.

Sankey's music would put congregations in the desired receptive mood and Moody's simple and direct message that God's love had purchased salvation which need only to be accepted to be received brought sinners to the very doorstep of conversion.

Nothing at first, however, seemed to point in the direction of their ultimate triumph as professional revivalists. When the pair arrived in England, to their dismay they found that two of their three English sponsors had died and that no arrangements had been made for their evangelistic project. "God seems to have closed the doors," was Moody's response. He told Sankey: "We will not open any ourselves. If He opens the door we will go in; otherwise we will return to America."90 Actually, various factors did work to open the doors to the largest cities and to the hearts of the most influential clergymen and nobility of the United Kingdom in the two years that lay ahead. For the moment, Moody decided to accept an invitation from a Y.M.C.A. secretary to speak in York, and saw the meetings there grow into a five-week crusade sponsored by four local churches. While there, The Christian, a non-denominational weekly published in London, let it be known that Moody's services were available to those who would contact him. In response to the calls that came in, the American revivalists preached and sang for the Baptist supporters of a revival in Sunderland for five weeks, and then moved on to Newcastle where Presbyterians for the first joined the ranks of the revivalists' sponsors.

90Quoted in William Moody, op. cit., 155.
91Ibid., 156-168; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 181, 182.
During their first three series of meetings, however, the somewhat unorthodox Yankees had met with more criticism than support. Some of the ordained ministers of each denomination questioned the worth of lay evangelism. Anglicans and many middle-class dissenters disliked Moody's unconventional style of preaching and felt that Sankey's solos were out of place in a religious service. Nevertheless, the less formal evangelicals of the lower middle class were attracted by the lively proceedings and informal atmosphere at Moody's meetings. Furthermore, the general religious trends in England in the years before 1873 in some ways prepared the churches for Moody's work. The 1859-60 revival in the United Kingdom, which was in part induced by the 1858 awakening in the United States, had produced a generation of lay evangelists who had won the affection of many, including bishops of the established churches in England, Ireland, and Scotland. A second broad factor working in Moody's favor was the fact that in the United Kingdom as in the United States a basic motivation growing out of the awakening at the end of the 1850's was an urge for interdenominational cooperation for evangelical purposes. The turning of the tide in Moody's favor with his Edinburgh campaign during December, 1873 and January, 1874 was in great measure due to this last trend. Since by 1873 the three factions of Presbyterianism in Scotland had declared a moratorium upon their interchurch struggle, Moody was finally able to attract nearly all of the major churchmen of the city to his interdenominational standard after his first month in town.

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Once Edinburgh had been captured for revivalism by a multitude of Moody's noon prayer meetings, afternoon Bible meditations, and evening evangelistic services, and by the sentimental songs of Sankey, the door of virtually every major city of the United Kingdom was opened to the American lay workers. Then they simply chose which cities' requests they would honor with their efforts. They had succeeded in fusing the fundamentals of the old orthodoxy with a new dimension of informality which included congregational singing of gospel songs to the accompaniment of an organ in the place of the singing of Psalms a cappella. In order to use the revival songs familiar in America in their English meetings, the evangelists had a small song book published while on this mission, and later, in 1875, enlarged it into the *Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs* volume which sold thousands of copies in America and England.

Newspapers in the United States as well as in the United Kingdom followed the Moody and Sankey trail after the evangelists entered the successful, though not totally uncriticized, phase of their two-year campaign. By the time they finished their grand finale—a five-month labor in London—both were seasoned revivalists and as well-known on both sides of the Atlantic as any former itinerants. They had conducted services in thirteen of the largest cities in the United Kingdom including

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94 William Moody, *op. cit.*, 170-175. Moody and Sankey always were careful to see that the profits from the sale of these books did not accrue to themselves personally.
Glasgow, Belfast, Manchester, Birmingham, and Liverpool. Now their proven skills were in demand in the metropolises of their homeland, and the two largest cities in Ohio, Cincinnati and Cleveland, added their voices to the call.

Having been convinced of the merits of lay-led revivals in part through the reports of the success of the Moody-Sankey meetings in England, the evangelical clergy of Cincinnati had emerged from their debate over the propriety of such endeavor in time to be among the first to request their services. However, they, and the Cleveland evangelicals who also anticipated such a lay-directed revival at an early date, had to wait their turns while Moody initiated his itineracy in the more promising centers of population--Brooklyn, Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, Boston, and Baltimore. Cincinnati would have to bide its time until 1884 to attract Moody for even a five-day Christian conference, and would not be the scene of one of his extended revivals until he was well past the peak of his evangelistic ministry in 1897. Cleveland, in 1879, would be the only Ohio city to secure Moody and Sankey for a full-scale city-wide revival during the era of their greatest crusades.

When word finally came that the evangelists would favor Cleveland with a series of meetings, the local evangelicals bent all their efforts to creating a fitting atmosphere in which their first city-wide revival and the establishment of lay revivalism in Ohio could occur.

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95 Ibid., 197-253. See McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 195-216 for an evaluation of the total effect of the English revival under Moody.

96 See Cincinnati Daily Gazette, October 11, 1875, 8, and October 12, 1875, 3.
The preparation was forwarded on four fronts. Nearly a month before the revivalists' arrival, the committee which had gotten their consent to come was reformed into an executive committee to make the necessary arrangements for the coming meetings and to facilitate the carrying out of Moody's ideas when he arrived and took charge. The second center of fervor was the Y.M.C.A. which helped by holding special meetings to generate religious interest and by providing quarters for the interdenominational meetings in which the plans of the revival were laid. Nearly all of the Protestant pastors of the city resolved to support the cause and began devoting their energies to a renewal of spirit within their own congregations. Rev. N. M. Calhoun of the Jennings Avenue Congregational Church found that "the simple announcement of the coming of the great evangelist" had been sufficient to put new life into the members of his church. The laity itself was the fourth source of activity for the revival. Mr. W. H. Doan, a Protestant Episcopal deacon, was a member of the executive committee. Furthermore, the churches were asked by the chairman of the executive committee to select one layman each to meet with him weekly as a special advisory group.

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97Cleveland Leader, September 12, 1879, 8.
98Cleveland Daily Herald, September 15, 1879, 8; September 18, 1879, 7.
99Ibid., September 23, 1879, 6. Twenty-two Methodist ministers made a formal pledge to this effect. See Cleveland Leader, September 9, 1879, 8.
100Cleveland Daily Herald, September 23, 1879, 6.
101Ibid., September 18, 1879, 7.
As the time for the arrival of the famed evangelists approached, the pace of the religious activities in town quickened. Periodic union young people's meetings were held in various churches. The daily noon prayer meetings at the Y.M.C.A. grew so large that by September 26 they were moved to the First Presbyterian Church (the Old Stone Church). The First Congregational Church employed Rev. S. E. Wishard from Chicago and Professor William Johnson from Philadelphia to begin a campaign there on September 19, and these men assumed the leadership of the noon union prayer meetings and assisted at some of the Moody meetings later. On the two Wednesday evenings before Moody arrived, the executive committee sponsored mass union rallied at seven of the cooperating churches with as many as two thousand people attending. A feeling of great expectation seemed to permeate the religious community of the city as the executive committee finally decided that the Moody meetings should be held in the large Ontario Street Tabernacle, created new finance, music, and tabernacle committees to see to the details of the revival, and made plans for excursions to be received from points throughout Ohio and the adjacent parts of Canada. At the personal request of Sankey the music committee selected his own Gospel Hymns song book

102 Cleveland Leader, September 13, 1879, 8.
103 Ibid., September 26, 1879, 8.
104 Ibid., September 19 and 24, 1879, 8.
105 Ibid., September 23 and 26, 1879, 8; Cleveland Daily Herald, September 25 and 30, 1879, 7.
106 Cleveland Leader, September 23, 1879, 8; Cleveland Daily Herald, September 23, 1879, 6.
to be used at the services, and began to solicit a choir which would hopefully grow to five hundred. The anticipations of many were summarized by Rev. F. A. Horton when he said to the people of his Case Avenue Presbyterian Church:

We hope the heavy encrustment of worldliness and folly, of selfishness and hollow living that has formed over our city, may be broken up and washed out into the deep before this"rain of righteousness." We wait for a voice that shall penetrate to alleys and wealthy mansions, into the business houses and club rooms, into beer gardens and gambling dens, and hold the undivided attention of this city for weeks together to sober thoughts of duty and destiny.

Since Moody delayed the original date of his scheduled arrival from October 1 to October 4, the executive committee planned an "Inaugural Meeting" on Thursday, October 2 at the Ontario Tabernacle in order to introduce the people of the city to the type of mass meetings which were about to begin. Although the weather was disagreeable, the Tabernacle was reportedly jammed to the doors and the meeting "a splendid success." Rev. J. L. Robertson of the Euclid Avenue Presbyterian Church and chairman of the executive committee for the revival led the service and the evangelists Wishard and Johnson sang, possibly being accompanied on Sankey's famous organ which had arrived and been placed in the building ready for his use.

\[\text{\footnotesize footnotes:}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize 107 Cleveland Leader, September 30, 1879, 8; Cleveland Daily Herald, September 23, 1879, 7.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize 108 Ibid., September 22, 1879, 5.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize 109 Ibid., September 12, 1879, 8.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize 110 Ibid., October 2, 1879, 8; Cleveland Daily Herald, October 3, 1879, 8.}\]
When the long-awaited Moody finally did make his appearance in the lake-side city on Saturday, October 4, he was animated by his characteristic energy. As the newly-elected president of the Y.M.C.A. International, it was to be expected that he would want to inspect the facilities of the local association. After looking at the rooms and asking questions about the management of the various departments, the burly evangelist pronounced his benediction on the Cleveland "y" and was off to see the Tabernacle in which he was to preach for the next month. When he discovered a large ornamental glass stand filled with plants in front of the platform he immediately called for its removal. "It would feel like an iceberg between me and my congregation," he objected. When told that the acoustics in the Tabernacle were not the best, he assured everyone that he could *make* them hear. Then he visited the Old Stone Church where the afternoon services would be held during the revival, and his concern was the same. "I hope that reading desk on the platform is moveable, for it must come down when I speak here." He even felt that the platform itself was too far away from the audience and asked to have a wooden one erected in front of it temporarily "so that I can be with them, and not feel as though I was talking across a street."¹¹¹ The same suggestion was also implemented in the Tabernacle as a small elevated platform was built in front of the original one to accommodate the lay preacher.¹¹²

While rushing about handling the details of the meetings, Moody

¹¹¹*Cleveland Daily Herald*, October 6, 1879, 7.

¹¹²*Cleveland Leader*, October 6, 1879, 1.
did not overlook the fact that a Cleveland *Daily Herald* reporter had been following along to record the great revivalist's actions for the local public. Moody was fully aware of the value of such publicity to advertise his crusade. He therefore suggested that the newsmen accompany him to his hotel where they could discuss the work at length. It was an informal and revealing interview. When asked if he would be in town about a month, Moody answered:

> Yes, about that. I can't spare any more time here. I shall go to St. Louis then, and will probably stay there some time. After that my movements are undecided. I shall go wherever I think there is the most pressing need.

The general plan of the revival was clear in the evangelist's mind. Most of the evening work would go on in the Tabernacle,

> but I shall speak in many of the churches. We want to reach everyone we can. When we get fairly started I shall preach two or three times a day, and I trust—indeed I feel sure—that God will bless my efforts, and that we shall do a great work here.

However, as with any itinerant preacher with a ready supply of sermons, the specific plan for any single service could be left until the last minute if necessary. When the reporter asked Moody if he had thought over the subject of his sermon for the opening service of the revival the next afternoon, he replied:

> No. I shall make out my week's assignment to-night. Mr. Sankey will arrive this afternoon and I shall probably consult with him before I arrange anything definite. Sometimes I take a text and sometimes a subject; it makes little difference what I speak on.

When he stood before the more than five thousand that had thronged into and around the Tabernacle the next afternoon, Sunday, October 5, Moody made it known that he would speak from a subject--

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113 *Cleveland Daily Herald*, October 6, 1879, 7.
Christ. He used the opportunity to sound the keynote of the meetings. "We have come to this city to preach Christ, and I want to commence the services by just asking this congregation what Christ is to you." In appearance, the lay preacher himself was "far from resembling the popular idea of a gentleman of the clerical profession. His dress, except his vest, which was cut high, betokened a business man rather than a preacher." A Daily Herald reporter described him as a man of powerful will and great force of mind. His figure is not tall, but broad and heavy, indicating great physical strength. The quick, bright eye, the broad, massive forehead, the mobile mouth and square, firm chin, and the whole expression of the face mark a man quick in thought and decided in action.

Behind Moody on the main platform sat many of the pastors of the city and a choir of three hundred. In his own way, Sankey had already preached his message to the assemblage. When he rose to sing "The Ninety and Nine" he paused to pray that God would apply the message of the song to the needs of the audience, and summarized his conception of his role as a gospel singer: "That is what we sing for--to try to sing the truth into men's hearts."

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114 Ibid., October 6, 1879, 8; Editorial, Cleveland Leader, October 6, 1879, 4.

115Quoted from the Cleveland Leader in D. L. Moody, The Great Redemption; or, Gospel Light, Under the Labors of Moody and Sankey (New York, 1888), 51. This volume contains a collection of twenty-six of the sermons which Moody preached during the Cleveland revival as printed originally in the Leader from the stenographic reports of newsmen at the scene. That these reports were chosen for reprinting here testifies to the completeness of the coverage of Moody's Cleveland messages in the local press.

116Cleveland Leader, October 6, 1879, 1.

117Cleveland Daily Herald, October 6, 1879, 7.

118Cleveland Leader, October 6, 1879, 1.
ushers wearing white badges, was composed of the various strata of Cleveland society.  

The team of lay evangelists could well be pleased with the results of their first day's labor in Cleveland. It was estimated that a total of ten thousand people had made their way to the Tabernacle to witness the afternoon and evening services. When no more could enter the Tabernacle in the evening, the nearby Old Stone Church was filled for an overflow service. The local press responded with highly favorable and lengthy coverage. The revival was front page news for the Leader which carried multi-column stenographic reports of many of Moody's sermons throughout the revival and whose editor had only praise for the movement.  

The Daily Herald described Moody's Sunday evening message with uncritical abandon:  

The sermon can only be characterized as perfection in oratory, feeling, and power. As the speaker warmed with his subject he held the assembled thousands spell-bound. Every eye hung with "mute observation" on the motions of the great master, and the fire of his genius swayed the mighty congregation as the corn is bent by the tempest.  

Moody frankly admitted that it usually took him a week to "get down to the real work" in a revival, and when that length of time had expired in the Cleveland campaign it was asserted by the press that his were the largest religious meetings ever witnessed in the town's  

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119 Ibid. Cleveland Daily Herald, October 6, 1879, 7.  
120 Editorial, Cleveland Leader, October 6, 1879, 4.  
121 Cleveland Daily Herald, October 6, 1879, 8.  
122 Cleveland Leader, October 8, 1879, 3.
history.\textsuperscript{123} The schedule of services was designed to inspire and to instruct Christians as well as to convert sinners. The daily noon prayer meetings at the Old Stone Church were informal periods for discussion, prayer, and testimony. These were led sometimes by Moody, Wishard, or Johnson and sometimes by local clergymen.\textsuperscript{124} By the end of the week the church was filled for these occasions of Christian fellowship.\textsuperscript{125} At 3:00 P.M. on Tuesday through Friday afternoons, Moody gave Biblical meditations and practical evangelistic instruction at the Old Stone Church.

That lay professional revivalism had won the minds of Ohio evangelicals was never in better display than at these last mentioned meetings. They had not only accepted the role of the layman as preacher, but also had welcomed him in the position enjoyed by all successful professional revivalists as evangelistic expert. While Moody spoke at the afternoon meeting on October 8, one Cleveland newsman observed that it was an interesting sight, indeed, to see servants of God, grown gray in the Master's work, sitting around the earnest evangelist, with note books in hand, busily jotting down the gems as they dropped from the rich store-house of this inspired Christian worker.\textsuperscript{126}

The nightly services (except Saturday) at the Tabernacle were the harvest times for the crusade. These meetings generally followed a

\textsuperscript{123}\textit{Ibid.}, October 13, 1879, 3.

\textsuperscript{124}\textit{Ibid.}, October 7, 1879, 2; \textit{Cleveland Daily Herald}, October 9, 1879, 5.

\textsuperscript{125}\textit{Cleveland Daily Herald}, October 10, 1879, 5.

\textsuperscript{126}\textit{Ibid.}, October 9, 1879, 5.
similar pattern. As the crowd gathered, Sankey, using his famous organ, would lead in a period of congregational singing for about one-half hour. Then, after a prayer and possibly the reading of a short passage from the Bible, there would be choir numbers and solos and finally Moody's sermon. After his pointedly straightforward message came the inquiry service which was Moody's principal method for securing personal decisions for Christ. While Sankey and the choir sang softly, Moody would call for those whose consciences were aroused by the sermon to move from the Tabernacle to the adjacent Old Stone Church where he would go and address them as a group. After speaking to the anxious seekers in a body there, he then would invite them into the inquiry rooms where he and other designated workers would deal with them individually. 127

As far as Moody was concerned the inquiry room was the heart of the crusade, and during the course of the Cleveland meetings he advised his aids:

> It is of the utmost importance to have inquirers alone with you. There are so many classes, so many different grades, that what you say to one may not be suited for another. You must treat some in a different way from others. Conviction must be fully accomplished with all. I would sooner have 100 genuine conversions than 1,000 who [sic] are not genuine. It is not quantity we want, it is quality.128

He was thoroughly convinced that instantaneous salvation was available to anyone who decided to accept it.

If Moody and Sankey had been looking for evidence of their acceptance and success by the end of their first week in Cleveland, they

127Ibid., October 9 and 10, 1879, 5; October 11 and 13, 1879, 7; Cleveland Leader, October 11, 1879, 3.

128Cleveland Daily Herald, October 18, 1879, 7.
could have easily found it. The Cleveland Leader and the Cleveland Daily Herald were trying to outdo one another in their sympathetic coverage of the revival. The Standard of the Cross, a local Protestant Episcopal organ, quickly had pronounced the work full of common sense and the evangelists completely in earnest.\textsuperscript{129} As many as forty clergymen from near and far had sat on the platform during a single service to indicate their support for the Chicago lay evangelists' efforts.\textsuperscript{130} Although originally there were to be no Saturday evening meetings during the crusade, interest was so keen during the first week that one was held on October 11.\textsuperscript{131} Further, the crowds at the Tabernacle on the second Sunday of the campaign approximated those of the first. Upwards of five thousand managed to get into the Tabernacle before the afternoon and evening services began, an overflow meeting was held at the Old Stone Church during the latter service, and those seeking the solace of the inquiry rooms brought the total number of converts into the hundreds.\textsuperscript{132}

That the religious movement was capturing an increasing public interest was especially impressive due to the fact that these were also the last days of the 1879 election campaign in Ohio. The sponsors of the revival were undoubtedly aware of the fact that the Republican

\textsuperscript{129}Quoted in \textit{ibid.}, October 11, 1879, 4. It is curious on the other hand that the Methodist Western Christian Advocate, published at Cincinnati, gave no coverage at all to the Cleveland revival.

\textsuperscript{130}Cleveland Daily Herald, October 10, 1879, 5.

\textsuperscript{131}Ibid., October 11, 1879, 7.

\textsuperscript{132}Ibid., October 13, 1879, 7.
candidate for governor, Charles Foster, had introduced modern methods of campaigning into the political arena of the state which were designed to attract people's attention. Moody himself had admitted candidly that the political fever threatened to distract attention from the revival and that he wished that election day had fallen before the scheduled October 14. However, even on that day, as the Republicans captured majorities in both houses of the Ohio legislature as well as the governorship, support for the revival meetings held firm. "Undisturbed by Politics the Workers for Christ Watch and Pray" blazed the subtitle of the Daily Herald coverage of the day's religious activity. The Leader confirmed that "immense audiences" had been in attendance.

Confident that the faithful would be there, Moody used the afternoon session on election day to launch his usual effort to allay their fears concerning higher criticism of the Scriptures by rallying them about a completely literal interpretation.

It is amazing to hear some Christian people talk at the present time. They seem to think that some parts of the book will do—that they are quite good—but they are not to take the whole of it.

I know some skeptics . . . say, "You don't pretend to stand up in this 19th century, in this enlightened age, and tell us the whole Bible is reliable!" Yes, the whole Book, from back to back, from Genesis to Revelations [sic]. I believe in

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133 Eugene H. Roseboom and Francis P. Weisenburger, A History of Ohio, edited by James H. Rodabaugh (Columbus, Ohio, 1956), 238.
134 Cleveland Daily Herald, October 6, 1879, 7.
135 Ibid., October 16, 1879, 6.
136 Ibid., October 15, 1879, 7; Cleveland Leader, October 15, 1879, 6.
Genesis just as much as I believe in the gospel of John; and I will tell you what grounded me in a belief in the word of God. It was this: If I threw out any part of it, all of it had to go. It was either the Bible or infidelity out and out.\textsuperscript{137}

By reinforcing the conservative evangelical position in such a rigid posture which could not adjust to any of the current geological or biological discoveries or to the ideas of Biblical critics, Moody unwittingly forced those sincere individuals who felt that they had to face the facts of honest research to assume that this precluded their continued faith in the Scriptures. For the evangelist himself there was no problem. He was willing to pursue his reckless faith in the Bible as God's infallible word well beyond the realm of reason if the occasion presented itself as he testified in a hypothetical conversation with a skeptic during this same sermon.

"You don't believe that the whale swallowed Jonah, do you?" "Yes." "Why it is an impossible thing; the whale could not swallow a man. That has been demonstrated. It's [sic] throat ain't large enough." "Well, the Bible tells me that God prepared a fish to swallow a man, and if the Bible told me that God prepared a man to swallow a whale I would believe it."\textsuperscript{138}

Moody then asserted that "the God who created heaven and earth is above reason," and suggested:

> You bring God down on a level with your reason, and why are you not just as great a God as the God you have got? If you can reason out about God, why cannot any one of us become a God? O when will men learn the lesson that we are to believe the Word of God because it is true?\textsuperscript{139}

\textsuperscript{137}Cleveland Leader, October 15, 1879, 6.

\textsuperscript{138}Ibid. See also Moody's comments along this line the next day as reported in ibid., October 16, 1879, 3.

\textsuperscript{139}Ibid., October 15, 1879, 6. Moody returned to this theme at the evening service on October 27, when he challenged those present: "Let
However, when it seemed to his own reasonable to do so, Moody himself took liberties with the literalness of the Scriptures. Cleveland evangelicals who heard his sermon on October 14 may have been somewhat puzzled, if not startled, a week later to read Moody's interpretation of future punishment as told to a reporter. "I do not believe in a material hell of brimstone," he admitted. "I believe conscience will be a sufficient punishment. To sit alone and face the records of one's past sinful life, to feel the burden of guilt upon us eternally, will be sufficient." It seems that he could tolerate a figurative approach to the Bible provided he was the "higher critic."

By the second week of the crusade, excursion trains were bringing as many as 1,200 visitors in an evening from points in Ohio and beyond to sit under the teaching of the celebrated evangelist and thrill to the music of his song evangelist. As Moody had suggested to the reporter earlier, no matter what the text or subject of his evangelistic sermons, the core was always the same—God loved mankind enough to provide salvation through the death of His Son and all anyone had to do to be saved was willfully to accept this provision. Interspersed in any sermon the audience might expect to hear one of Moody's famous narrations us defend the work of God - let us fight Christ's battles." See Cleveland Daily Herald, October 28, 1879, 3.

140 Cleveland Daily Herald, October 20, 1879, 8.
141 Cleveland Leader, October 14, 1879, 3; Cleveland Daily Herald, October 21, 1879, 7.
142 See the collection of his Cleveland sermons in Dwight L. Moody, The Great Redemption, 51-390.
of a Bible story in which he always invested the characters with the warmth of real life. Sankey often used a pathetic story related to the hymn he was about to sing to arouse the sensitivity of his hearers. And it was not unusual after one of his solos such as "Where is My Boy Tonight?" for many to be in tears and a mother to be heard sobbing aloud.

When Moody was asked at the beginning of his third week in town whether the meetings had been as successful to that point as he had anticipated, he said: "Yes. I have no reason to be dissatisfied. A great many souls have been brought to Christ. Still I hope to accomplish much more before I leave." He also explained that during the last week or so of a revival the interest usually reached its peak because "people get kind of worked up by that time, and begin to feel their situation." The editor of the Daily Herald was convinced by now that no evangelists since Wesley and Whitefield "have taken a stronger hold upon the popular heart." He asserted that all good citizens of Cleveland wished Moody and Sankey well in their "great and grand work."

If the revival successfully had competed with the excitement of the election during its second week, it would sweep all subsequent

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143 For examples, see Cleveland Leader, October 27, 1879, 3, and Cleveland Daily Herald, October 31, 1879, 3; November 6, 1879, 2.

144 For example, see Cleveland Daily Herald, October 15, 1879, 7; October 25, 1879, 3.

145 Ibid., October 14, 1879, 7.

146 Ibid., October 20, 1879, 8.

147 Editorial, Cleveland Daily Herald, October 21, 1879, 4.
challenges before its rising tide of interest so effectively that Moody would be convinced to extend his efforts in the city. The renowned "Buffalo Bill" Cody and his Wild West troop began an engagement at the Academy of Music on October 23, but still thousands flocked to the Tabernacle night after night. Interest had reached the point that special services were added to the previous schedule. Since the nightly 7:30 P.M. meeting was too early for many business men to attend, one beginning an hour later in the Old Stone Church was begun for them on October 21. While this meeting was in progress, a special devotional and prayer service was held for the women in the parlors of the same church. Eventually the noon prayer sessions at this church grew so large that they were divided with the men meeting in the sanctuary and the women in the rooms upstairs.

The reaction of the Spiritualists of Cleveland to bold charges which Moody made against their faith also seemingly had no adverse affect upon the revival enthusiasm. Moody had said of Spiritualism: "It strikes at the very root of civilization and threatens the very existence of society. It is a religion whose four corner stones are infidelity, superstition, sexual lasciviousness, and morbid insanity."

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148 Ibid., October 23, 1879, 7; Cleveland Leader, October 23, 1879, 3.
149 Cleveland Daily Herald, October 22, 1879, 7; Cleveland Leader, October 21, 1879, 8.
150 Cleveland Daily Herald, October 23, 1879, 3.
151 Ibid., October 27, 1879, 7.
152 Ibid., October 20, 1879, 8.
The main thrust of the counter-offensive came in two lectures by Spiritualist E. V. Wilson at Halle's Hall on November 2. On both occasions he attempted to clear Spiritualism of the traits ascribed to it by the evangelist, and repeatedly challenged Moody to meet him in open discussion on the subject. There was no reply from the revival camp.

When Moody was interviewed on October 19, he had said that he would leave Cleveland on the last day of the month, and when he addressed the overflow crowd at the Tabernacle on October 26, he alluded to that as being his last Sunday in town. However, during the fourth week of the revival as the Tabernacle could not even hold the weeknight throngs from Cleveland and neighboring regions and the Old Stone Church was "crowded" with inquirers, Moody yielded to the "general desire for a longer visit." It was announced that the lay evangelists would remain for a week or two into November, but that instead of preaching at the Tabernacle they would concentrate their efforts by speaking in various churches throughout the city. This method, in fact, had been a new approach to city-wide evangelism which Moody had begun in Baltimore the previous winter. The idea was to divide a city into several districts and speak in the largest cooperating church in each for several weeks.

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153 Cleveland Leader, November 3, 1879, 5.
154 Cleveland Daily Herald, October 20, 1879, 8.
155 Ibid., October 27, 1879, 7.
156 Ibid., October 30, 1879, 8.
157 Ibid.
158 See McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 271. B. Fay Mills would develop this plan to its fullest extent later in his Ohio revivals.
Thus, when the four weeks of meetings ended in the Tabernacle on Friday, October 31, Moody and Sankey moved into the churches to bring the work close to as many Cleveland citizens as possible. Besides leading the daily noon prayer meetings at the Old Stone Church, the revivalists appeared on the evenings of November 2-4, at the Franklin Avenue Methodist Church; November 5-7 at the Woodland Avenue Presbyterian Church; and November 9 and 10 at the East Cleveland Congregational Church. Each weekday afternoon from November 3 to 7 they conducted Bible meditations at the First Methodist Church. Since so many wished to attend these services, Moody resorted to the ticket system on some occasions. While the professional revivalists were occupied in this way, the revival spirit was perpetuated elsewhere in town by special meetings at the Y.M.C.A., protracted meetings in individual churches, and a continuous inquiry meeting at the Old Stone Church on November 10 from 10:00 A.M. to 10:00 P.M. The religious fervor had reached such fever pitch that "some of the leading merchants" were allowing their employees time out of business hours to attend the noon meetings.

According to his custom, the successful lay evangelist called for a two-day Christian convention to climax the revival effort. On

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159 Cleveland Daily Herald, October 31, 1879, 8; November 3, 4 and 8, 1879, 3; Cleveland Leader, November 5, 1879, 5; November 6 and 7, 1879, 3.

160 Cleveland Leader, November 1, 1879, 2; Cleveland Daily Herald, November 5, 1879, 2.

161 Cleveland Leader, November 3, 1879, 8; November 10, 1879, 5; Cleveland Daily Herald, November 1, 1879, 3; November 5, 1879, 7; November 6, 1879, 2.

162 Cleveland Leader, November 5, 1879, 5.
November 11 and 12, pastors and church workers from northern Ohio gathered at the Tabernacle to hear Moody and others discuss the practical means to most effectively carry on the gospel work in the churches. Moody confidently advised those present how to infuse new life into their churches—get right yourself, visit in the community, avoid stiffness in church services, introduce fresh gospel songs, and have a thirty minute prayer period immediately after the sermon. "There would be a revival in every church in Cleveland if that were done," he predicted. He was fully convinced that by laying "plans at least as carefully as we would for a business enterprise" general awakenings could be produced, but he never lost sight of the fact that "you can't reach people by wholesale, personal contact is what is wanted." During the conference Moody went on to speak out on subjects as divergent as how to make prayer meetings more effective and what more can be done for the intemperate, but he also gained at least one significant inspiration from listening to the others who were present.

Rev. H. B. Hartzler, editor of the Evangelical Messenger, led a period of prayer for the churches after the morning session on November 11, which he prefaced by a short meditation. As Moody listened, an idea formed in his mind. After the service he drew Hartzler aside and abruptly announced to him that he wanted him to come to Northfield.

163 Cleveland Daily Herald, November 12, 1879, 7.

164 Ibid. This very admission later caused Moody to question the true value of attempts at mass evangelism.

165 Ibid., November 13, 1879, 7.

166 Ibid., November 12, 1879, 7.
Massachusetts (the location of Moody's new girls' school) the next summer. "I want to have a meeting to wait on God, and want you," Moody insisted. This was the genesis of the annual Bible Conferences at Moody's Northfield schools, and of a firm friendship between the evangelist and Hartzler who eventually became not only a manager of the Northfield meetings but also a worker at Moody's Mount Hermon School for boys which was opened there in May, 1881.

After the afternoon session on the second day of the conference, Moody left the evening gospel service in the charge of Rev. Needham, pastor of his Chicago church, and took the Pacific Express out of Cleveland for the windy city without summarizing his impressions of the revival for the press. Before Sankey made his exit for New Castle, Pennsylvania the next day, however, he had some telling observations for the reporters. He compared the Cleveland meetings to those in other cities. "Our meetings in towns where we have never been before are much alike. There has been one point of difference, and that is in the number of outside excursions. We never had so many before." Instead of applauding such efforts to visit the revival, though, the song evangelist frankly said that neither he nor Moody felt they worked for the betterment of the effort. He astutely observed that on excursions "people come just as they would go to a fair or any entertainment," and

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167 William Moody, op. cit., 361.
168 Ibid., 362, 363; Day, op. cit., 259.
169 Cleveland Daily Herald, November 13, 1879, 7 and 8.
170 Ibid., November 13, 1879, 8.
he objected to the fact that "we do not meet the same people in that way more than once. We think it does some good to have them come, but not much." Then Sankey openly discussed the relative brevity of the Cleveland meetings in relation to other Moody revivals which often lasted for months.

Now to give Cleveland only a month seems rather queer. We came here, however, only on account of the importunity of Mr. Doan, the Rev. Mr. Haydn [pastor of the Old Stone Church and chairman of the invitation committee] and others, and Mr. Moody said: "We will go and give them a start. They can get along well enough by themselves after that." Indeed, Sankey made it clear that Moody was completely disillusioned with the use of central tabernacles in such city-wide efforts. "We shall never speak in tabernacles again," he declared. "Mr. Moody is tired of them. The Baltimore plan of visiting the churches, ticketing the congregation by sections, and thus reaching them all is the best."

Finally, it was obvious that the Cleveland revival had not been one of Moody and Sankey's major efforts. It had been preceded by a seven month campaign in Baltimore the winter before and was followed immediately by a six month visit to St. Louis. Nevertheless, the faithful in Cleveland could point to some solid achievements, and they would attempt to improve upon the advantages already gained by vigorous action in their separate churches throughout the winter months. Moody had used his influence in the temperance cause during the latter part of the campaign to the point that the revival and the temperance movements were fused at times. Two

171 Ibid.
172 Ibid.
173 Ibid.
mass temperance rallies had been held at the Tabernacle on Sunday, November 9 at which two Moody converts from Chicago, former alcoholics W. O. Lattimore and M. L. Hallenbeck, had come via his special request as the featured speakers. Although the evangelist himself did not preach on these occasions, Sankey and the revival choir sang and a largely attended inquiry meeting was held.\textsuperscript{174} Later, on November 12, the last afternoon of the Christian convention, a whole session was devoted to alcoholism, and Lattimore and Hallenbeck once again repeated their pathetic life stories.\textsuperscript{175} After Moody left Cleveland, these two men remained to address further rallies at the Tabernacle on November 13 and 15.\textsuperscript{176} By the end of the month the anti-liquor forces showed continuing signs of life with plans to hold union gospel temperance services at the Tabernacle every Tuesday evening indefinitely.\textsuperscript{177}

There was also renewed benevolent activity among the women of the city. On November 4, the Women's Christian Association had held its first annual meeting and expressed interest in establishing an institution to reclaim fallen women.\textsuperscript{178} One session of the Christian convention at the Tabernacle had been utilized in discussing how women could forward the cause of Christ through visitation in hospitals and

\begin{footnotes}
\item \textsuperscript{174}Ibid., November 10, 1879, 8; Cleveland Leader, November 7 and 10, 1879, 8.
\item \textsuperscript{175}Cleveland Daily Herald, November 13, 1879, 7.
\item \textsuperscript{176}Cleveland Leader, November 14, 1879, 8.
\item \textsuperscript{177}Cleveland Daily Herald, November 25, 1879, 8.
\item \textsuperscript{178}Ibid., November 5, 1879, 5.
\end{footnotes}
workhouses, and similar projects. A Women's Christian Convention with delegates from the various local women's organizations for social betterment met on November 20 to stimulate charitable efforts in the city.

That general interdenominational cooperation, whether for benevolent programs, the temperance crusade, prayer meetings, or union gospel services had been promoted, was amply demonstrated in the weeks that followed the Moody meetings. The indefatigable layman, W. H. Doan, even suggested that a one thousand seat tabernacle similar to the one on Ontario Street be constructed to house union meetings on Cleveland's south side. Local laborers began their own Saturday night prayer meeting in a blacksmith shop where a curious reporter found a large number of "hard toilers, some seated on chairs, some upon nail kegs, and some on the anvils, ... all engaged in singing gospel hymns." And of real significance to inter-church affiliation was the fact that in late December the Methodist pastors yielded to the suggestion of the General Preachers' and Pastors' Society of Cleveland that they change the conflicting hour of their weekly meeting in order to

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179 Ibid., November 12, 1879, 7.
180 Ibid., November 21, 1879, 5.
181 See, for example, ibid., November 26 and 29, 1879, 8; December 1 and 2, 1879, 7; and Cleveland Leader, November 24, 1879, 8; November 28, 1879, 6; December 12, 1879, 8.
182 Cleveland Daily Herald, December 23, 1879, 8.
183 Cleveland Leader, December 2, 1879, 5.
make evangelical attendance at the monthly gathering of the latter association complete.\textsuperscript{184}

The sponsors of the revival also may have rejoiced to learn that Moody's attack had been effective against the First Religious Society of Progressive Spiritualists in Cleveland. Mr. Thomas Lees, head of the local group of some one hundred and fifty members, admitted that "Mr. Moody has hurt Spiritualism here considerably; that is, he has driven many believers in Spiritualism who were about ready to confess, back into their holes."\textsuperscript{185}

Those cooperating pastors who publicly voiced their opinion as to the impact of the revival were cautiously optimistic. Rev. J. L. Robertson, pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church and Chairman of the executive committee for the movement, pointed out the increased attendance at regular prayer meetings and greater enthusiasm for Christian work as salutary results. Rev. H. C. Haydn was impressed by the number of converts. Rev. Charles T. Collins of the Plymouth Congregational Church felt that "much good will yet come of it," but observed an important phenomenon with regard to the appeal of professional revivalism itself. Sankey's sentimental ballads and Moody's simple, ungrammatically worded sermons had affected the rural folk at the meetings much more than the urbanites. As Collins said: "I do not think the city itself has been thoroughly touched, though. The country people have received many more benefits than those of the city. That is, I see more of them

\textsuperscript{184}\textit{Ibid.}, December 23, 1879, 8.

\textsuperscript{185}\textit{Cleveland Daily Herald}, November 8, 1879, 5.
at the inquiry meetings." For the churches of Cleveland which had provided the funds for the Moody meetings, such a fact could be of considerable moment.

If, however, the sponsoring churches accepted trends in the size of their own memberships as valid criteria on which to judge the value received from employing Moody and Sankey, they must have been convinced of its merit. The religious fervor of the 1879-1880 revival season reinforced and slightly stimulated the growth pattern already established in Rev. Collins' own Congregational denomination in the city. The local Presbyterian churches, which had increased their combined yearly net membership by an average of ninety-five in each of the four years preceding the special effort, added four hundred and forty-six during the year following the crusade, and maintained an average annual gain of one hundred and fifty-five for the four years that followed it. Although the Methodist membership statistics during this period are incomplete, it is apparent that the churches of that persuasion had been relatively static in membership at about 2,400 in the years immediately before the revival. After the Moody meetings an upward trend was

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186 Ibid., November 7, 1879, 8. See also the favorable editorial assessment of the results in F. W. Reeder, "Moody Review," Cleveland Daily Herald, November 11, 1879, 4.

187 Moody was opposed to having offerings taken at his meetings, and therefore each sponsoring church was supposed to pay its share of the revival expenses. See Cleveland Leader, November 18, 1879, 5. The total cost of the Cleveland campaign never was made public.

188 See The Congregational Year-Book (Boston, 1879 ff.).

189 See Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (New York, 1875-1884).
established which brought the number of Methodists in Cleveland to over 3,400 by 1884.\textsuperscript{190}

For whatever the salutary effects of his relatively brief visit, Moody later confided that he regarded Cleveland among the most difficult cities in which to produce religious interest, and his own efforts there to have amounted to a defeat.\textsuperscript{191} Anyone who compared the 160,000 total population of the city to the handful of converts and new church members gained as a result of the special labors might well have questioned the effectiveness of professional revivalism as a means of reaching the masses with the gospel message, but the meetings had demonstrated one act at first hand to the evangelicals of the state.\textsuperscript{192} A skillful, earnest team of lay evangelists, if supported by a broad section of the local churches, could create the religious fervor which was generally identified as a successful city-wide revival. For most evangelistically-minded Ohioans such success itself was proof enough that lay revivalism was an acceptable form of spreading the gospel. Therefore, Moody, Sankey, Whittle, and other lay workers would find a constant demand for their services in the Buckeye state in the years that followed.

\textsuperscript{190}See Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York, 1875-1884).

\textsuperscript{191}G. R. Leavitt, "Mr. Moody In Cleveland," The Independent, XXXVIII (January 21, 1886), 14.

\textsuperscript{192}Annual Report of the Secretary of State to the Governor of the State of Ohio for the Year Ending November 15, 1900 (Columbus, Ohio, 1900), 780. Moody himself became increasingly disillusioned with large crusades as a method to reach significant numbers with lasting results. See Winthrop S. Hudson, The Great Tradition of the American Churches (New York, 1953), 150, 151.
Dwight L. Moody and his assistants exercised the most constant, if not the most spectacular, revivalistic influence in the Ohio of the 1880's. Since he adopted a plan of holding shorter campaigns after 1884, the renowned evangelist was able to visit a greater number of Ohio cities than would have been possible otherwise.\(^1\) However, those who invited him with expectations of his producing a full-scale religious awakening were often frustrated by the fact that he usually cast these brief efforts into the framework of a Christian convention designed primarily to stir the local churches to action rather than to effect a general city-wide revival. The professional revival activity in Ohio in the 1880's in addition to that of Moody was carried on by Samuel P. Jones, Joseph H. Weber, and Rodney ("Gypsy") Smith whose work represented facets of a new trend in the profession. For their message and their methods these men actually drew upon patterns which had been current in revivalism before, such as the frontier Methodist spellbinders' vernacular, denunciatory attacks upon sin and sinners, Charles Finney's concern for moral reform movements, and the more recent identification of revivals with popular entertainment. However, by beginning to mold such fringe attributes of revivalism into extreme forms, these itinerants

\(^1\)Winthrop S. Hudson, *The Great Tradition of the American Churches* (New York, 1953), 143, 144.
helped to pave the road down which Billy Sunday would take the tradition to its lowest point after the turn of the century.

Moody's decision to confine his protracted meetings to a week or so each after his second tour of England (1881-1884) rested upon two considerations. First, the demands upon his time from various sources made prolonged visits impractical. In addition to his responsibilities in connection with his Chicago Avenue Church, his two schools at Northfield, Massachusetts and the Y.M.C.A., he constantly was inventing new ones. Chief among these was the Chicago Evangelization Society which he conceived as a means to train laymen to work among the unsaved masses of the city, and which grew into The Chicago Bible Institute (later Moody Bible Institute) in 1889. The second factor contributing to Moody's shorter crusades was their adaptability to Christian conventions in which Moody could instruct pastors and laymen at the daytime sessions in methods of evangelism and could preach to the unsaved in the evening gospel services. By 1884, in fact, Moody, in his own way, had entered the phase of his career comparable to that in the lives of Charles Finney and Lyman Beecher when they had sacrificed full-time preaching activities to become educators. Obviously, Moody's inadequate schooling nullified any such conspicuous educational endeavors as theirs, but he had outstanding ability in raising funds to erect Bible schools in which others could teach, and at his own Christian conferences from town to town he himself was the learned "professor of revivalism" instructing

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the clergy and laity alike as to methods to make their church programs more effective.

It was in this role as instructor in revivalism that Moody held conventions at Toledo, Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Dayton, Ohio in the 1880's. The nature of these meetings was not unlike that of the post-revival Christian conventions which he previously had held at the close of all of his extended campaigns. The morning and afternoon sessions were taken up in the discussion of practical topics on how the churches might make their ministrations more effective. Each subject was introduced by a short lecture by Moody or a local pastor, and then discussed by a panel on the platform in round-table fashion. Between topics there was time for the singing of the familiar gospel songs, and at noon between sessions there was an informal prayer meeting. The evening and possibly other special services were reserved for Moody's sermons to the unsaved of the community.

When Moody arrived in Toledo on Friday, December 5, 1884 to begin a three-day convention, he had just held four other such meetings since November 18 at Buffalo, Detroit, Elmira (New York), and Toronto. To assist him in the work at Toledo he brought James McGranahan, gospel singer and composer similar to Sankey, from Kinsman, Ohio; Mrs. McGranahan, soloist; and the already familiar D. W. Whitle, lay evangelist. Some misunderstanding was created by the requirement that only ticket holders could enter the daytime conference meetings at the First Congregational

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3 Hudson, loc. cit.

4 Toledo Evening Bee, December 4, 1884, 2.
Church in the first fifteen minutes after the doors were opened. Finally, Y.M.C.A. secretary, Mr. Goodman, explained publicly that anyone could secure tickets from pastors and the "Y," and that "the meetings are not intended to be exclusive, but the tickets are issued to insure promptness in attendance." The evening gospel services and the 11:00 A.M. meeting on Sunday were explicitly for "non church goers," but Moody was such a celebrity among the church members that they seemingly crowded all of the services themselves regardless of the nature of the evangelist's sermons. At the Sunday morning gathering it was so obvious that many were already Christians that Moody himself urged the church members to go to their own regular services while he addressed the unsaved.

The pastors, choir and congregation which assembled for the first session of the convention at 10:00 A.M., December 5 were disappointed not to see the world-famous revivalist on the platform. After a two hour wait which was occupied by singing and a lecture on "The Bible In Christian Work" by a local minister, the audience was rewarded by Moody's appearance, and willingly remained seated to hear his discourse on the value of prayer. One reporter observed that "there was an immediate reviving of freshness the minute he began to talk."

At this and every service warmth of feeling was stimulated by

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5 Toledo Daily Blade, December 3, 1884, 2.
6 Ibid. Toledo Evening Bee, December 8, 1884, 4.
7 Toledo Evening Bee, December 5, 1884, 1.
8 Toledo Daily Blade, December 5, 1884, 3.
abundant singing. The choir, a male chorus, and the McGranahans provided special music which supplemented congregational singing. In the evening services the feeling became intense. "It is simply impossible to be present and not be worked up to a pitch of enthusiasm over its services. From such enthusiasm comes the converts," reported the same newsman. Moody insisted upon lively participation by the congregation during the singing periods. On Friday afternoon he had one song repeated over and over until it was sung loud enough to please him.

Moody and Whittle spoke freely on the topics that were before the convention. On the question of how to lead men to Christ, Moody advised that the best way to influence young men between seventeen and twenty-one was to expose them to "the prominent men of the church; men whose success made their advice valuable to the inexperienced." As to reaching non-church goers, he recommended evening services with much attractive singing and abolition of the rented pew system. Although he also voiced his views on the subjects of "Buried Talents" and "Spiritual Awakening," nothing at the conference struck closer to his heart than a question from the floor on Saturday afternoon. Someone wished to know if he thought the churches were making a mistake to delegate the work of soul saving to the Y.M.C.A. Probably considering the query impertinent, the international "Y" leader retorted that the

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9 Ibid.
10 Toledo Daily Blade, December 6, 1884, 6.
11 Toledo Evening Bee, December 6, 1884, 2.
12 Ibid., December 6, 1884, 4.
Y.M.C.A. was the church itself, and that he had been worth a thousand times more to the church because of his connection with it.  

Moody preached sermons to instruct Christians in the life of faith on Friday and Saturday afternoons at 4:00 P.M., but the bulk of his full-length messages in Toledo were evangelistic in nature. The First Congregational Church could not contain the hosts that desired to hear these gospel messages on the first two evenings. Five of the seven services conducted by Moody and Whittle on Sunday were devoted to evangelism. Whittle's efforts in a morning service at St. Paul's Methodist Church and afternoon and evening ones at the First Congregational Church were witnessed by large crowds. They were not so large, however, as those which, despite the inclement weather, filled Wheeler Opera House where Moody spoke at four services during the day. An estimated two thousand attended the meeting exclusively for women in the afternoon, and a similar number attended the "men only" meeting in the evening. Mrs. McGranahan sang "Come, Oh Come Unto Me" for the ladies, and the evangelist used these words of Christ as his text. That evening Moody urged the men to seek the Lord while He could be found and to beware of the wild rush for riches.

In the meantime, the evangelicals of Cincinnati who had solicited the services of the famous layman unsuccessfully earlier, saw in his Toledo visit a possible opportunity to induce him to favor them at this

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13 Toledo Daily Blade, December 8, 1884, 2.
14 Toledo Evening Bee, December 6, 1884, 2; December 8, 1884, 4.
15 Ibid., December 8, 1884, 4; Toledo Daily Blade, December 8, 1884, 2.
later time. Therefore, the Evangelical Alliance of the Queen City sent the secretary of the local Y.M.C.A., George F. Howser, to Toledo to ask Moody to come to Cincinnati that winter for a three month crusade. Several factors acted upon the lay evangelist's reply. Since his current assistant, Whittle, had not been wholeheartedly received in Cincinnati in 1875, Moody wanted to be sure that both the church and the business communities had come to favor such a lay-directed movement. Mr. Howser could assure him of the solid support of the member churches of the Evangelical Alliance, but as a condition to his coming Moody insisted that a meeting be called for the business men of Cincinnati to voice their sentiments. At such a gathering on December 12, a long resolution was drafted by a good representation of local business men cordially welcoming both Moody and Whittle. To show their good faith, these men even appointed one of their own number to serve with the revival transportation committee in securing reduced railroad rates for excursionists coming to the services. A second element in Moody's thinking with regard to a Cincinnati visit was his decision to limit all of his campaigns to Christian conferences of a week or less. Consequently, he informed Howser that he could not give Cincinnati three months, but only five days—from Wednesday evening, December 17 through Sunday, December 21, 1884.

16 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, December 9, 1884, 8; December 13, 1884, 4; Editorial, The Journal and Messenger, LIII (December 24, 1884), 4.

17 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, December 13, 1884, 4.

18 Ibid., December 9, 1884, 8.
There were two final prerequisites to the bargain. The preparation for Moody's coming must be as complete as time and facilities would permit. He wanted nothing of the mediocre response before experienced by Whittle. His suggestion was that preliminary union meetings throughout the city be held for a week and a half to raise the religious temperature, and the Evangelical Alliance duly engaged Whittle and the McGranahans for the job. Furthermore, Music Hall, which reportedly seated more people than any building the evangelist had spoken in in the United States (over five thousand), must be rented for the upcoming Christian convention. To handle this and other arrangements for the meetings, the Evangelical Alliance divided itself into enough special committees to have provided for the three-month campaign it had originally sought, and estimated the total cost of the revival effort at $2,500 to $3,000.

Whittle and James McGranahan went to Cincinnati directly from the Toledo meetings to begin the preliminary union rallies. These services began at the Mt. Auburn Presbyterian Church on Tuesday evening, December 9 and were held at a different church each weekday evening until Moody arrived on December 17. Afternoon meetings also were held.

19 Ibid.
20 Cincinnati Enquirer, December 10, 1884, 4. Until Moody insisted that it be held in Music Hall, the convention was scheduled for Wesley Chapel. See Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, December 9, 1884, 8.
21 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, December 13, 1884, 4.
daily at the Second Presbyterian Church after December 10. The principal message of the unlicensed Whittle during these days was that a revival could be generated in town if the church members got right with God and then exercised prayer, consecration and humility. In addition to leading the singing at these meetings, McGranahan was busy gathering together a five hundred voice choir to sing at the convention, and molding it into an effective singing group at two practice sessions.

From all indications and aspirations Cincinnati was on the eve of a city-wide revival, the fruits of which would enliven the winter evangelistic season to come. Folks attended the Whittle-McGranahan preparatory meetings in good numbers. Free tickets for the daytime sessions of the convention itself were in such demand that all had been distributed before Moody even arrived in the Queen City. Rev. H. Thane Miller, chairman of the arrangement committee, urged everyone to buy a copy of the special Moody-Sankey hymnal which was being used so that all could heartily enter into the revival spirit at the services.

Whittle optimistically predicted that, since Music Hall would seat 5,310 and stand another 3,000, this would be the largest four-day

22 The complete schedule of pre-convention meetings can be found in Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, December 9, 1884, 8; December 16, 1884, 2; and December 17, 1884, 8.

23 Ibid., December 12, 1884, 8.

24 Ibid., December 17 and 18, 1884, 8. Cincinnati Enquirer, December 10, 1884, 4.

25 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, December 17, 1884, 8.

26 Ibid., December 16, 1884, 2.
Christian convention ever held in the United States. The Western Christian Advocate and The Journal and Messenger, local Methodist and Baptist official organs respectively, sounded the call for their members to attend. The latter defined the purpose of the conference as "to promote a revival of spiritual life in the churches, by awakening slothful members, and arousing all to a sense of their responsibility to Christ, the church and the world," and to reach the masses through such revived churches.

If, . . ., the visiting evangelists and their Convention succeed in calling out the silent members, reviving and bringing them to a proper sense of their responsibility, and instructing them in methods of Christian work, who can doubt that an abundant harvest will be gathered from the world.

Secular press coverage was fully adequate and basically sympathetic during the days of preparation. Calling Cincinnati the "Paris of America" and deploring the low state of morality and the recent riots in which the court house was burned, the Commercial Gazette summarized the reasons for calling upon the skills of Moody:

It is profound anxiety on this subject, and an intense desire to reach the people, and all this under the conviction that righteousness is our one hope, that people are high wrought in expectation and hope for good results from special evangelistic effort.

Noting the elaborate preparations for the convention, it further observed

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27 Cincinnati Enquirer, December 14, 1884, 16.


30 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, December 18, 1884, 8.
that "although the Evangelists and all most humbly and sincerely avow, our only hope is in God, still the machinery has been most complete."  

The evangelicals of Cincinnati had gone to great lengths to provide optimum conditions for Moody to conduct his work, but, for various reasons, the general awakening for which they longed would evade them. The unusually critical attitude of Moody himself during the meetings seemed to be a central factor in the alienation of support and the dampening of public interest. In a city which had never been moved by a lay revivalist, he might have guarded his remarks cautiously, especially with regard to the clergy. Instead, at the very first service on Wednesday evening, December 17, with ministers from Kentucky and Indiana as well as Ohio on the platform, he launched an attack upon written sermons which was "regarded by many as ungracious and unnecessary." The 5,677 that heard this message that night at Music Hall was the largest group to assemble during the entire convention.

The fact that the vast hall was without adequate heat the next morning as Moody faced a meager 1,200 of the faithful who had come to hear his views on getting non-church goers into the sanctuary, did not improve his disposition. The cold rain and sleet which had begun would

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31 Ibid.
32 Ibid., December 23, 1884, 3.
33 Ibid., December 18 and 19, 1884, 8. Several Protestant Episcopal ministers, who did not usually indorse revival efforts but were cooperating now and who made a practice of writing their sermons, were present. See ibid., December 23, 1884, 3.
34 "Mr. Moody in [C]incinnati," The Western Christian Advocate, LI (December 24, 1884), 415; Editorial, The Journal and Messenger, LIII (December 24, 1884), 4.
prevail throughout the remainder of the meetings and take its own toll on the attendance. Only a few of the pastors were present on that Thursday morning, but the expert layman advised them to be more persistent in inviting strangers to church and to be more enthusiastic, less conventional, and even sensational if necessary. In the afternoon he demonstrated the same impatience with half-hearted congregational singing that he had in Toledo, and prescribed the same remedy; the chorus had to be sung over and over until it was done loud enough to satisfy him. In the message that followed, he voiced an opinion which undoubtedly would have been cause for mirth to the ultra-Calvinists of a century before. To express his despair at the negligence of people to win souls he said: "I wonder sometimes that God, in disgust, does not take the work out of our hand." At another point in the day's activities the Commercial Gazette noted that the evangelist had made "some unguarded remarks about the Jews, who constitute a very large element of our population, [which] would hardly be regarded as complimentary and edifying by this class if there were any Hebrews present." In the paper's opinion it did not seem to be in accord with the spirit and purpose of the convention to sacrifice influence otherwise helpful and surely needed, or unnecessarily alienate any class of people, especially when they constitute a large portion of the people the Church is anxious to reach.

Although the Commercial Gazette guarded its own criticism by stating that "Mr. Moody says it takes no brains to criticise, and therefore the
view may be wrong," the very statement of ideas critical of Moody's actions was indicative of a growing reaction by the Cincinnati press to the evangelist's impetuosity and cocksureness. By the end of the convention the editor of the Commercial Gazette was charging boldly: "Speaking of Mr. Moody's opinion of critics, it is noticeable that Mr. Moody is himself a shade critical." 38

Although the news reporters were provided with a table near the platform during the conference, Moody did not always use their presence to the best advantage. At one service he unnecessarily embarrassed a Times-Star reporter who had to leave the building just as a congregational hymn was to be sung. Pointing to the newsman, the revivalist shouted from the platform: "There goes a young man who can't sing." The audience craned to see the self-conscious reporter and began to laugh. 39

The press reacted to Moody's mannerisms by describing his sermons with a pungent realism. Of his Thursday evening message the Enquirer said: "Mr. Moody's address was in his usual disconnected but thoroughly interesting style. In it theology, philosophy, doctrine, anecdote, quotations and personal experience were incongruously mixed, yet making a symmetrical entirety." 40 If the newspapers could respond to Moody's criticism in kind, they also took notice that he and his gospel team

37 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, December 19, 1884, 8.
38 Ibid., December 21, 1884, 4.
39 Cincinnati Enquirer, December 21, 1884, 12.
40 Ibid., December 19, 1884, 4.
could manage as many as six services daily at Music Hall with "the discipline of tried soldiers." Since Whittle and the McGranahans had worked with the famous evangelist for some time, the Cincinnatians were impressed by the fact that "they know when and how to act, what to say and who to say it to" so that "not a word or note is misdirected." In addition to his regular aids Moody was assisted by a local song leader, D. B. Towner, who, some predicted, would become a traveling member of his group. "It is a powerful combination," was one estimation of the assistants, "and, with Moody's aid, if a sinner is not converted he is brought so near to it as to make his hair stand on end."

Pastoral support remained fairly stable throughout the conference, but the small audiences were dwarfed by the huge hall and Moody continued his barrage of straightforward criticism which many felt was too caustic at times. On the subject of how to win children, the revivalist chided the ministers "with good natured vehemence: 'You don't want children to come to church; you don't want to have any special services for them; you prefer being ponderous and logical, think that the adults are your sole interest.'" On another occasion when he

41Ibid., December 21, 1884, 12.
42Ibid.
43Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, December 19, 1884, 8. Towner did become a member of Moody's evangelistic team and returned to Cincinnati with him for his campaign there in 1897. See Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, February 27, 1897, 7.
44Cincinnati Enquirer, December 21, 1884, 12.
46Ibid.
charged that even some Methodist preachers and churches were afraid of revivals, a minister on the platform behind him replied aloud: "I don't know any of them." Moody held his ground: "Own up, own up; the Methodists are getting stuck up, and getting just as bad as the rest of us." As he pursued the theme further he found himself giving a full defense of revivalism itself and striking out at ministers who insisted that only ordained men were fit preachers. Ironically, he had entered Cincinnati as a renowned revival expert and had ended by defending lay revivalism itself.

After the last of the thirteen Moody meetings closed on Sunday evening, December 21, the dam of frustration that no city-wide awakening had been produced broke loose in several faultfinding articles. The Baptist Journal and Messenger felt that the results of the convention left "room for considerable difference of honest opinion." The weather, the size of the hall, and the distance between the speaker and the audience were all adverse factors according to this editorial. However, one consideration was thought paramount:

... it seems to be a matter of regret that instead of four days or so, Mr. Moody did not comply with the request of the Ministers' Alliance, which invited him to devote three months to evangelizing work in Cincinnati. In such a work, it seems to us, the power of Mr. Moody is best exerted.

In the opinion of the Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, Moody was in his element as strictly an evangelist preaching the simple gospel to the

47 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, December 20, 1884, 3.
48 Ibid.
masses, but when he attempted to give counsel on pastoral theology and homiletics to the local ministers he went beyond his competency. This newspaper characterized Moody in the role of advisor as

nothing if not positive and dogmatic. He always speaks as one having knowledge and authority. He draws his sword immediately, and at one blow cuts the gordian knot, which hopelessly perplexes the most scholarly theologian of the church. He was not in doubt about a single question put to him in the convention.50

As far as Moody's criticism of the pastors was concerned, the Gazette recommended that such remarks should only be made in closed sessions where their impact could not affect the laities' opinion of the clergy.51

A letter to the editor of the Gazette by someone who professed to be willing to receive the evangelist in town again if he would come with more charity, tenderness and consideration for all classes, noted further objections which Moody had aroused. Although Moody had advised others not to be critical, he himself was found "the most severe and uncharitable in his criticism of ministers, churches, and methods of work other than his own."52 According to this writer, the convention was completely lacking in deliberation and discussion, and Moody's sermons were cluttered with exaggerated expressions, misstatements of Scriptural teaching and one-sided presentations of truth. He assessed the efforts of Moody in Cincinnati as "almost a complete failure."53 Moody himself was as disgruntled as anyone over the cool reception which his blustering

50 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, December 22, 1884, 8.
51 Ibid.
52 Ibid., December 23, 1884, 3.
53 Ibid.
approach had received, and later was reported as having labeled the Queen City the graveyard for evangelists. The only ones to voice a positive impression of the Christian convention in Cincinnati were the Methodists who seemed pleased both with Moody and his services.

Two years later when the Union Ministers' Meeting of Cleveland invited Moody to hold a Christian convention there, he hesitated to return to the Buckeye state and to a city which had not been greatly moved by his efforts seven years before. G. R. Leavitt, writing in The Independent in 1886, rated Cleveland on a level with Boston as one of the most difficult cities in the nation in which to engender religious fervor. A spirit of reserve and a feeling of satisfaction because of birth, culture, and wealth made Cleveland, as well as Boston, especially impervious to religious conviction according to Leavitt. With regard to amusements and Sunday observance he ranked Boston more pious than the Ohio city. In any case, the gallant Moody finally decided to try his skills against the evils of the metropolis once more. But this time he would make no pretense at creating a full-scale revival. Rather, he would limit his services to the bounds of a Christian convention which hopefully would inspire the local churches to win the city for Christ.

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54 See Walt Holcomb, Sam Jones, An Ambassador of the Almighty (Nashville, 1947), 68.
55 "Mr. Moody in Cincinnati," The Western Christian Advocate, LI (December 24, 1884), 415.
56 G. R. Leavitt, "Mr. Moody In Cleveland," The Independent, XXXVIII (January 21, 1886), 14.
57 Ibid.
Several factors tended to prepare the Cleveland soil as well as could be expected for Moody's work. For four months before the evangelist's arrival in mid-January, 1886, the city had been the object of one of Francis Murphy's famous temperance crusades. Murphy had emigrated to the United States from Ireland in 1852, had become addicted to alcohol, and had joined the temperance movement after signing a total abstinence pledge in 1870. In Cleveland from September 6, 1885 to January 3, 1886, the reformer had held one hundred fifty-four large temperance rallies, one hundred twenty-six prayer meetings, six children's meetings, and had gotten about 28,000 to sign his total abstinence pledge (only an estimated one-fourth of whom were former drinkers). After 5,000 people gathered to bid Murphy farewell at the Music Hall near the First Presbyterian Church, their sentiment was carried on into and further stimulated by the Moody convention which was held in the same building.

Other elements also helped to compose the favorable conditions which prevailed when Moody arrived. The Union Ministers' Meeting had solicited and received the widespread cooperation of the evangelical ministers of the vicinity. The finance committee set out to raise the estimated $1,000 needed to pay for the four day affair by personal

58 Cleveland Plain Dealer, January 4, 1886, 8.

59 Francis P. Weisenburger, Triumph of Faith: Contributions of the Church to American Life, 1865-1900 (Richmond, Virginia, 1962), 141, 142.

60 Cleveland Plain Dealer, January 4, 1886, 8.

61 Cleveland Leader, January 2, 1886, 3. The Western Christian Advocate, LIII (January 13, 1886), 21, reported that all of the Protestant denominations were cooperating.
subscription among the churches. While pastors worked within their own churches to stir enthusiasm for the coming meetings, the Y.M.C.A. served as an interdenominational clearing house and as a stimulant to interest young men in the evangelistic effort. As the administrator for the tickets to the convention sessions, the "y" distributed them to non-church goers and to pastors in proportion to the size of their congregations. It also held preparatory rallies especially for young men at Music Hall.

It was also to Moody's advantage that the sponsors of his Cleveland meetings were fully aware that his convention would not constitute a city-wide revival. The Union Ministers' Meeting declared publicly that "the object of the convention is not evangelistic, but rather a stimulating of Christian effort in the various churches." At the first session of the conference on Tuesday evening, January 12, Moody further enunciated this purpose to the 5,000 people who filled the Music Hall. "The object of this convention is not so much for the unconverted," he asserted, "we have ministers enough to attend to them." If Moody's faith in huge city-wide revivals to reach the masses for Christ had

62 Cleveland Leader, January 2, 1886, 3; Cleveland Plain Dealer, January 16, 1886, 8.
63 Ibid., January 9, 1886, 8; Cleveland Plain Dealer, January 11, 1886, 8.
64 Ibid., January 13, 1886, 8.
been shaken, he was still calling for the church militant to attempt the task:

For twenty-five years, to my personal knowledge, all that Christianity has done has been to "hold the fort." What we want to do is to open the doors of the fortress, and beat down the walls of oppression. We have been on the defensive long enough, and it is now time to become aggressive. But we must have these doubters and unbelievers who throw cold water on every movement sent to the rear.67

This last remark and the theme of his message on Wednesday morning made it clear that his own personal war with the higher critics was as present as ever.68

Moody was to have been accompanied on the Cleveland mission by Ira Sankey with whom he had finished a convention in Montreal on January 6, but when the revivalist wired the committee that his song leader could not come, it quickly secured the services of O. E. Excell, another Chicago singer in the Sankey and P. P. Bliss tradition.69 The large choir under the direction of Professor N. Coe Stewart, a local Cleveland, and Excell provided special music until unexpectedly on Wednesday morning Sankey and his little cabinet organ made their appearance.70 The famous song evangelist's arrival brought a renewed demand for tickets. That evening at a "men only" meeting at Music Hall there assembled "one of the largest cosmopolitan gatherings that has ever been witnessed in this city. Side by side on the front row sat the laborer, mechanic,

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67Ibid.
68See ibid., January 14, 1886, 8.
69Ibid., January 11, 1886, 8.
70Ibid., January 13, 1886, 8.
merchant, and capitalist. . . .” At the same time an overflow meeting, mainly for women, was held at the First Methodist Church. The response was so gratifying, in fact, that Moody consented to extend his originally-announced three-day stay an extra twenty-four hours. In making the announcement on Thursday, Moody said the harvest was so ripe in Cleveland that he would like to stay a month.

Although the winning of converts was not the prime object of the convention, Moody now found the people of Cleveland more responsive to his evangelistic calls than during his expressly revivalistic meetings there seven years before. He held his first inquiry meeting on Wednesday afternoon, January 13, and two on each of the remaining days. The composition of the groups in the inquiry room was as significant as the numbers. Leavitt reported that "not only were there many Catholics in the audiences, they were in the after-meetings, and gave as good tokens as any present of sound, intelligent conversion." Of the two hundred who went into the inquiry room on Friday evening, "many of them were men in the middle of life, and a large percentage colored people."

The rising revival spirit was evidenced in several other ways as

71Ibid., January 14, 1886, 8.

72Ibid.

73Ibid., January 15, 1886, 3.

74C. R. Leavitt, "Mr. Moody In Cleveland," The Independent, XXXVIII (January 21, 1886), 14. He also states that Catholic priests obtained tickets to the convention. This seems to be the only time in the nineteenth century when Catholics showed any direct interest in revival activities in Ohio.

75Cleveland Plain Dealer, January 16, 1886, 8.
well. Press coverage remained large and favorable. The official Gospel Hymns song book sold in quantity at the services. On Wednesday evening the people were so moved by one of Excell's solos that they burst into applause. Although Moody immediately admonished "let us have no applause in this meeting; we are here to offer our hearts to God," on the last night of the convention the crowd of six thousand could not resist the temptation of applauding the famous layman himself when he walked onto the platform. Furthermore, the Methodist Western Christian Advocate, which had given no recognition to the Moody meetings in Cleveland in 1879, now printed the evangelist's hints for inducing revivals and rejoiced in the interest which the meetings were producing.

Considered in its entirety, the response which Moody received in this convention was the best that he ever was given in Ohio. Even so, there were facets of discouragement associated with the effort. The total expenses for the four-day conference amounted to about $1,000, but by the end of the meetings the finance committee had only realized $750 from the sponsors. It was even rumored about town that Moody was being paid $1,000 for his part alone, whereas he actually was given $125 while Sankey and Excell got $100 each. Those who looked upon the convention as a climax to the temperance and Sunday observance crusades in town

76 Ibid., January 13, 1886, 8.
77 Ibid., January 14, 1886, 5; Cleveland Leader, January 16, 1886, 5.
79 Cleveland Plain Dealer, January 16, 1886, 8.
were completely frustrated. Although several mass meetings were held at Music Hall in connection with the conference "to arouse, and unite public sentiment" and "to protest against the (illegal) opening of liquor saloons on Sunday," nothing short of organized political action could have brought enforcement of the local blue laws. 80

G. R. Leavitt, writing in The Independent a week after the convention, lamented that "in spite of this protest, and a public agitation, in which every pulpit, including that of the Catholic Cathedral, and all the newspapers of the city were enlisted, the Common Council, by a large majority, voted to open the saloons." In his righteous indignation Leavitt charged that "if the Aldermen had been men of higher principle we should not have suffered this serious blow at the observance of the Sabbath day." 81 However, Leavitt and the evangelicals of Cleveland continued to hold faith in the same vision. If the churches would use the impetus of the Moody meetings to produce a general awakening across Northern Ohio, revivalism would demonstrate itself a panacea for virtually every problem of the new age. As Leavitt expressed it: ". . . such a work, deep and thorough, will alone settle the labor question, the Sunday question, and all the ethical questions so pressing for solution in our great cities, East and West." 82

Northern Ohio never realized the general revival which some envisaged, but Moody himself continued to be revivalism personified in the

80G. R. Leavitt, "Mr. Moody In Cleveland," The Independent, XXXVIII (January 21, 1886), 14.
81Ibid.
82Ibid.
minds of most evangelicals in the state. Wherever he was, there was revi-
vival. Therefore, in the remaining years of the decade he was welcomed
as a guest speaker on several occasions in Kinsman, Ohio (home of his
assistants the James McGranahans) and for a week-long series of meetings
in Dayton.

The Dayton Ministerial Association brought Moody to town in
November, 1889 to prepare the churches for a productive winter revival
season. The effort was to be in the form of a modified Christian con-
vention in which Moody alone would give all of the lectures on revival
methods as well as the gospel sermons. Twenty-three local churches com-
bined their influence and financial support in what became the largest
religious meetings ever held to that time in Ohio's fifth largest
city. In addition to the denominations which usually were active in
such efforts (Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and United Brethren),
there was Lutheran, Reformed, and Episcopal cooperation in this Moody
convention. The schedule after an initial address by the evangelist
on Wednesday evening, November 13, was for three daily services through
the following Tuesday. At the morning services, held at the First

83Western Reserve Chronicle, November 9, 1887, 1 and Western
Reserve Democrat, November 11, 1887, 1, tell of Moody's speaking in
Kinsman on Sunday November 6, 1887. There is a picture of Moody speak-
ing to an assembly in the forest at Kinsman in William R. Moody, The
Life of Dwight L. Moody (New York, 1900), 290.

84Dayton Daily Democrat, November 15, 1889, 4.

85Ibid., November 23, 1889, 4; Annual Report of the Secretary of
State to the Governor of the State of Ohio for the Year Ending Novem-
ber 15, 1900 (Columbus, Ohio, 1900), 780.

86Dayton Daily Democrat, November 23, 1889, 4.
Presbyterian Church, Moody gave Bible lectures. At the afternoon and evening ones at the Rink, which seated 2,500, he gave advice on church work and usually concluded with an evangelistic appeal. Local talent was employed to direct the congregational singing and to lead the special one hundred voice choir at these latter meetings since Moody was itinerating without assistants at this time, but the customary Gospel Hymns song book was used.

When Moody arrived in Dayton on November 13 from a meeting at Lafayette, Indiana, he found the atmosphere of the town still charged by the results of the gubernatorial election of the week before. Democrat James E. Campbell, Congressman from the Dayton district, had defeated Republican Joseph B. Foraker who was seeking a third term. However, other than the inconvenience of having to hold the Saturday evening service one-half hour early in order to clear the Rink for a political rally there later that evening, the Moody convention seemed unaffected by the local political fervor.

Three thousand managed to gain entrance to the Rink to hear Moody give a "common sense business talk on how to succeed in religious work" while another thousand were turned away on the first evening. All

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88 Dayton Daily Democrat, November 12, 14, and 15, 1889, 4.
89 Ibid., November 12, 1889, 4.
90 Eugene H. Roseboom and Francis P. Weisenburger, A History of Ohio (Columbus, Ohio, 1956), 246.
91 Dayton Daily Journal, November 18, 1889, 4.
of the pastors of the city reportedly were to be seen on the platform. A reporter for the Dayton Daily Journal observed that Moody "is very much unlike the trained preacher, and yet there is nothing in matter or manner but what the churchly people of Dayton heartily approved." In his opinion, the famous Chicagoan was completely free from what was "objectionable in so many evangelists" and therefore "acceptable to all men and all churches." That Moody was not an ordained clergyman was considered of no consequence since he had proven himself to be "one of America's greatest preachers; ... great in his practical views and understanding of scripture and duty, and in his adroit presentation of his subject."

On Thursday afternoon about two thousand people, comprising "the largest daylight meeting held during the week that Dayton has ever seen," gathered to hear Moody who was repeating the same concerns that he had voiced repeatedly in the state. Written sermons should have no place in the church. Higher criticism of the Scriptures should be abandoned. "There are not two Bibles, as some people imagine," Moody stormed. "They think the Old Testament is out of date. They can't believe it all. But the things hardest to believe in the Old Testament are those spoken

92 Ibid., November 14, 1889, 4.
93 Ibid.
94 Ibid.
95 Ibid., November 15, 1889, 4.
96 Ibid., November 14, 1889, 4.
of by Christ, and if we believe Him we must believe them." Therefore, to Moody's mind, since Jesus made reference to Noah, the flood, manna, Lot's wife, and Jonah, "if you blot out these records, you destroy some of the best teachings of Christ." He predicted that "the preachers who are finding fault with parts of the Bible will only have a scrap Bible left."98

Among other suggestions regarding the securing of public interest in church services, Moody attacked the rented pew system, expensive carpets, and other ostentation which alienated the common man. The Daily Journal agreed: "The people have not left the churches but the churches have left the people; too fine, too aristocratic, too much society, not enough of the spirit and practice of the Nazarene."99

Finally, the evangelist, frustrated with mass temperance crusades, reasserted his faith in personal salvation as the only effective means of reforming the drunkard. He maintained that "if you are born again, you will not only hate liquor, but you will fight it." Then he added: "I'm tired of reforms. What we want is regeneration."100

The attendance held firm throughout the seven days of meetings with many folks traveling from adjacent towns to see and hear the famous itinerant. On Thursday, November 14 there were delegations from Springfield, Franklin, and Troy, and the students and faculty from the United

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97 Ibid., November 18, 1889, 4.
98 Ibid., November 20, 1889, 4.
99 Ibid.
100 Dayton Daily Democrat, November 20, 1889, 4.
Presbyterian Seminary at Xenia came in a group. The next day students from Wittenberg Theological Seminary at Springfield were present to glean what truth they could from the master revivalist. That Moody had become a revivalistic legend in his own times was shown not only by the crowds he could attract, but also by the extreme interest which even an article such as his well-worn Bible could excite. In Dayton, Moody favored the men of the local Y.M.C.A. Bible class by loaning them one of his Bibles containing his own marginal notes to peruse at their Sunday afternoon meeting.

An estimated aggregate total of 33,500 persons heard Moody before he left on the midnight train on Tuesday, November 19 to open a meeting the next day at Jamestown, New York. The meetings had cost the cooperating churches $971.14. Of that amount Moody had been paid $400 plus lodging at the Phillips House and railroad fare. Some criticized the Ministerial Association for spending so much for a one-week crusade. But the local press felt that such feeling was not expressed "by the spiritually minded, not by the real life and strength of the church. On the contrary, true Christians and benevolent men have welcomed the coming of one who has been so signally useful in this as

101 Ibid., November 15, 1889, 4.
102 Ibid., November 16, 1889, 4.
103 Dayton Daily Journal, November 16, 1889, 3.
104 Ibid., November 20, 1889, 4.
105 Dayton Daily Democrat, November 23, 1889, 4.
well as other places." The consensus seemed to be that although there had been only about fifty inquirers and but few converts at the Moody meetings, "the great object was justified by the arousing of the churches." The convention approach was further justified by suggesting that "if strictly evangelical services had been held, the churches might have been satisfied with what had been done and made little effort themselves, but if the Christian people are started to work, great results may be reached." Thus, Moody concluded his Ohio labors for the decade in meetings that the Daily Democrat felt probably had been "the greatest Dayton ever had." At least thirteen of the churches that had participated in the convention immediately initiated revival meetings of their own to implement the evangelistic methods and spirit which Moody had engendered. The lay preacher himself would return to Ohio to hold one final full-scale revival at Cincinnati in 1897, two years before his death.

The other major revivals in Ohio in the 1880's, as conducted by Sam P. Jones, Joseph Weber, and "Gypsy" Smith, bore the earmarks of a new departure in professional revivalism. Jones was sometimes referred to as "the Moody of the South," and did pursue the Chicagoan's basic revival methods and theory, his interdenominationalism, and his deemphasis

107 Ibid.
108 Dayton Daily Democrat, November 20, 1889, 4.
109 Ibid.
110 Ibid.
of doctrine. Nevertheless, the tenor of Jones' ministry differed from that of Moody in significant ways. Whereas Moody preached individual conversion as an end in itself, Jones preached it as the starting point to a moral activism which would work reform on the city, state, and national levels. In so doing, he became a pioneer in the unsuccessful effort to make the mechanism of revivalism compatible with the goals of the social gospel. He saw his mission as that of a Christian general to marshal the religious forces of city after city in an assault upon the elements of sin that infested the urban centers. However, unlike the emphases of the true social gospel leaders such as Walter Rauschenbusch and Washington Gladden upon economic, political, and social injustices, Jones' stress was upon ridding the cities of the enemies of Christianity as he viewed them from a rural Georgia conscience. With Jones, saloons always headed the list. Then followed everything from recreational pursuits such as dancing, card-playing, circuses, baseball, and novel reading to prostitution, "modernism," and criticism of his approach to evangelism.

Jones also departed from the Moody tradition (although not totally from an older pattern in revivalism itself) in his pulpit manner. Moody's message that God is love usually was delivered in the tones of a sentimental pathos, Jones' appeal for moral reform was given in a consciously-created style which included a vicious, vernacular assault upon specific sins, sarcastic (often humorous) ridicule of the sinner himself (always spoken of in the second person), and his own brand of pathetic anecdotes. Jones' fiery spirit was tempered only by the delicate balance of his constitution which subjected him to frequent
cessation of his labors because of exhaustion. The language and antics which he employed in the pulpit made him a forerunner of Billy Sunday who would carry the entertainment trend of revivalism to its natural extreme at the beginning of the twentieth century.\footnote{111}

In 1847, Samuel Porter Jones had been born in Chambers County, Alabama.\footnote{112} His father was a lawyer and businessman, but his grandfather and four uncles were Methodist preachers. When he was nine years old his mother died. For three years he and his two brothers and sister lived with their pious grandparents until their father remarried and made a permanent home for them at Cartersville, Georgia. During the Civil War his father fought in the Confederate ranks while Sam pursued his formal education which culminated with graduation from high school in 1867.\footnote{113}

Since Sam's collegiate aspirations were nullified by a chronic "nervous dyspepsia," he began reading law at home and after a year was admitted to the Georgia bar. Although his early legal practice seemed

\footnote{111}The most extensive analysis of Jones' revivalistic approach is in William G. McLoughlin, Jr., Modern Revivalism; Charles Grandison Finney To Billy Graham (New York, 1959), 282, 283, 288-314. See also Bernard A. Weisberger, They Gathered at the River (Boston, 1958), 235, 236, 241.

\footnote{112}Laura M. Jones, The Life and Sayings of Sam P. Jones (Atlanta, 1906) and Walt Holcomb, Sam Jones, An Ambassador of the Almighty (Nashville, 1947) are the two major (laudatory) biographies of Jones' career. Sam P. Jones, Sam Jones' Own Book: A Series of Sermons (Cincinnati, 1887) contains an autobiographical sketch. His preaching style can be found in his own Sermons and Sayings By Sam P. Jones (Cincinnati, 1886) and Sam Jones' Anecdotes and Illustrations, Related By Him In His Revival Work (Chicago, 1899). McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 283-288, traces his rise to revivalistic fame.

\footnote{113}Laura Jones, op. cit., 42-47; Holcomb, op. cit., 35-40; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 283, 284.
to point toward a successful career in the profession of his father, the young Jones' efforts soon were impaired by an excessive use of alcoholic beverages. Neither the pleading of his wife nor the arrival of two children could dissuade him from the bottle. By 1872 he had lost his law practice and had accepted a job shoveling coal in a local factory. In August the crisis finally came. His father lay dying and as a last request asked his wayward son to promise that he would abandon the drink habit. Sam could not refuse. A week later he was converted under the gospel preaching of his grandfather, and determined to become a preacher. 114

Jones immediately was granted Methodist church membership and delivered his first sermon a week later at a church on his grandfather's circuit. By November, 1872, he was given a circuit of his own by the North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. During the two years on this Van Wert Circuit, Jones proved by the revivals which he produced in his five churches that he had special talents in the evangelistic field. Soon pastors of other nearby churches were requesting his help during protracted efforts in their charges. The name of Sam P. Jones eventually was current throughout Methodist circles of northern Georgia in connection with revivals of religion. By 1880 he was numbering his converts in the thousands, and the North Georgia Conference decided to release him from the confinement of the circuit by allowing him to visit Methodist churches throughout the country as a

114 Laura Jones, op. cit., 47-51; Holcomb, op. cit., 40-47.
revivalist and a fund-raising agent for the Methodist Orphanage Home in Decatur, Georgia which was then $20,000 in debt.\textsuperscript{115}

This work gave him the opportunity to develop his peculiar pulpit style and to receive wider acclaim. Almost out of necessity to draw a crowd to a service where a plea for money for the Orphanage was to be the climax, Jones resorted to exciting interest through a bizarre display of oratorical antics. Now he would "hammer the brethren" in the amen corner for self-conceit and self-satisfaction. Now he would tell a story bordering on the ribald to illustrate a point. Now it was humor, now pathos, but always with telling effect upon the congregation.\textsuperscript{116} He later admitted that his jokes and slang were all devices calculated to attract attention. "You needn't bother about my eccentricities," he advised. "I only put them on to get you here." "I am ready to change myself if any fellow gives me a method to catch more fish."\textsuperscript{117} He would excuse his denunciatory style by saying that "amid all the harsh and seemingly unamiable expressions by which I have reached consciences, my heart has always looked in sympathy and love upon the man whose life I laid bare by truth."\textsuperscript{118}

Jones began his solicitation work in one-night engagements in the small towns of Georgia, but was soon welcomed in Macon, Savannah, and Atlanta. Then his unique style began to bring him invitations to

\textsuperscript{115}Laura Jones, \textit{op. cit.}, 51-57; Holcomb, \textit{op. cit.}, 53-91.

\textsuperscript{116}Holcomb, \textit{op. cit.}, 58.

\textsuperscript{117}Laura Jones, \textit{op. cit.}, 229, 230.

\textsuperscript{118}Sam P. Jones, \textit{Sam Jones' Own Book}, 27.
hold full-scale revival meetings even outside the state. In 1883, when he held a two-week revival for the Methodist churches of Louisville, Kentucky, the secular press concluded that it had been the most exciting one since the D. W. Whittle-P. P. Bliss meetings there in 1875.\textsuperscript{119} When thirteen pastors of five different denominations united to sponsor a crusade in Memphis, Tennessee in 1884, Jones was employed to conduct his first large city-wide revival. The Memphis \textit{Avalanche} testified to the fact that his unique style was well formed by this time. "He is an original character," it said,

and preaches in a way peculiarly his own. At one moment he raises a smile at his quaint and homely illustrations or his incisive way of presenting a truth, and the next he melts to tears by his tender pathos or carries his congregation by the vehement way in which he denounces sin or urges his hearers to a better life.\textsuperscript{120}

Successful in securing four hundred conversions in Memphis, Jones began a rapid rise to the status of a revival celebrity and to receive invitations from the metropolises of the South. After campaigns in Chattanooga, Jackson, and Knoxville, Tennessee and Waco, Texas, the spirited Georgia evangelist finally attracted the attention of the North by a spectacular revival in Nashville, Tennessee in May, 1885. For a month he held four daily tent meetings in what was obviously a combination of popular entertainment and a crusade for certain civic reform. The reputation of having secured as many as ten thousand converts in Nashville won Jones his first opportunities to hold full-scale revivals

\textsuperscript{119}Mcloughlin, \textit{Modern Revivalism}, 285, 286.

\textsuperscript{120}Quoted in \textit{ibid.}, 286.
in western and finally in northern cities. Late in 1885 he held forth in St. Joseph and St. Louis, Missouri. He is said to have "waged the most up-hill single-handed battle of his life" in the latter city where many sincere individuals assaulted his bare-fisted methods of accosting sinners. Nevertheless, the daily press coverage which his crusade received there brought his name before evangelicals farther east. By his quick response to this new light on the evangelistic horizon, Rev. Dr. I. W. Joyce, pastor of Trinity Methodist Church in Cincinnati, made the Queen City the site of Jones' first extended campaign in the North, and one which paved the way for his ultimate acceptance in Chicago, Baltimore, and other metropolitan centers, both East and West.

As president of the executive committee of the Cincinnati Evangelical Alliance, Joyce found that that organization, which had sponsored the Moody-Whittle convention there two years before, was too cautious to unite in a call for the services of Sam P. Jones in 1886. Therefore, he and his church board extended an invitation on their own to the Georgia evangelist and his assistant Samuel W. Small to begin services at the Trinity Methodist Church on Sunday, January 10, 1886. Since the name of Sam P. Jones was widely known, Joyce had no difficulty securing the aid of the Cincinnati press in heralding his coming. Letters began to pour in to Joyce inquiring as to whether his church which seated about 1,800 would accommodate delegations from distant towns,

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121 Holcomb, op. cit., 60-66 (quotation is from page 62); Laura Jones, op. cit., 101-175.

122 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, January 23, 1886, 16.
while the *Commercial Gazette* expressed a prevailing optimism that Jones might move the city as it had not been moved for years.\(^\text{123}\)

The campaign was one day late getting started because the two evangelists were snowbound on the Cincinnati Southern Railroad, but Trinity Methodist Church was filled with folks intent upon seeing and hearing the unique Jones on a cold Monday evening, January 11. After the customary singing and a prayer in which Joyce asked that the writings of the reporters who were present might permeate the countryside with the influence of the meetings (a request that was "refreshing" to the ears of the newsmen), from behind his long mustache in a slow Southern drawl the thin, small-framed Jones began to set the atmosphere for the revival. "I want you to feel perfectly free in these services," he told the congregation. "If you feel like crying—why cry. If you feel like shouting—why shout. If you feel like laughing—laugh." Jones urged the people to "go into these services unconstrained and unrestrained by any influence of earth," and as the meetings progressed, not only the emotions he had mentioned, but also spontaneous outbursts of applause did go unrestrained.\(^\text{124}\) For those who might be tempted to be critical of his tactics Jones bluntly exclaimed that "the most effective critics that can be found are in the asylum." Inadvertently, by his invective the eccentric itinerant made it clear that he had been hurt that the Evangelical Alliance had not united to support his Cincinnati crusade.

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\(^{123}\) *Ibid.*, January 9, 1886, 16.

A great many men say: "I can't indorse that man Jones." I never asked a man for indorsement. If all the preachers and churches in Cincinnati were to give me an indorsement I don't know whether it would be worth anything to me or not. I declare I don't. You haven't done anything yourself and your indorsement might set me back. I ask for your cooperation. Give it to me and let God indorse the work, and then we'll glorify His name and save thousands of souls.  

The first glimpse the Cincinnatians got of the thirty-five year old lay preacher, Sam Small, Jones' "helpmate and color-bearer in the war to be inaugurated on Cincinnati sinners," revealed him to be a tall, slender, nervous man who wore gold-rimmed glasses and a blonde mustache which hung over his lips and curled at the ends. A year before, Small had been the well-known editor of the Atlanta Constitution, and a periodic victim to alcohol. Small had been born in Knoxville, Tennessee in July, 1850, and had attended Emory and Henry Colleges before becoming a journalist. He had traveled extensively in Europe as well as in the United States. When Jones held a crusade in Atlanta in 1885, Small was one of the converts, and decided to leave his profession to become an assistant to Jones on his evangelistic tours. Whereas Jones was creative, but soon fatigued, Small was of ordinary gifts, but could work three times as hard as Jones. In Cincinnati the effort of Small,  

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125 Ibid.  
127 There is no biography of Samuel Small. The sketch of his life is taken from several newspaper accounts. See Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, January 9, 1886, 6; January 16, 1886, 3; Cincinnati Times-Star, January 14, 1886, 8; January 19, 1886, 1; and Cleveland Plain Dealer, May 10, 1891, 4. The last of these notes that by about 1890 Small had left Jones to become president of the Utah Methodist University at Ogden, but that in 1891 he was resigning the post because the directors had charged him with the misuse of funds and he had refused to appear before them to offer an explanation.
speaking at special services and filling in when Jones could not stand the pace, must not be overlooked in the overall success of the revival. Furthermore, the fact that thousands of Cincinnatians were content to sit time after time under the preaching of a layman whose conversion had taken place only four months before demonstrated very pointedly the degree to which lay revivalism had become acceptable by this time.

As the daily afternoon and evening meetings at Dr. Joyce's church continued to draw huge crowds, Jones made it clear that his mission was to effect civic moral reform. In a sermon on Wednesday evening, January 13 which was printed in the Leader at Cleveland (where Moody was holding his Christian convention) as well as in the Cincinnati press, the Georgian burst his first bombshell. "What's the use talking to sinners when thedeacons and leaders of the churches, and stewards, and Judges and big men rent your houses to women of ill-fame, and rent out your property to bar-rooms, and whiskey shops, and gambling hells, and worse?" he asked.

A gentleman told me to-day that after he had run down and treed every gambling hell and lewd house in this city by degrees, that the next thing he did was to send one of his reporters to the office of Recorder of Deeds and Records in this city, and he said he determined to publish the name of every man who owned those houses, but when the reporter came back with his report he saw that it contained the names of some of ourdeacons and members and stewards of the churches and Judges, and he said: "I can't publish that--I'm afraid."

128 The biographies of Jones give Small no credit for aiding Jones in the Cincinnati revival.

129 Cleveland Leader, January 17, 1886, 10.
Brethren, you can scare an editor, but you can't scare me. I'm going to tell tales out of school while I'm here. I will! I do it, brother, not because I may bring shame to your cheek, or paint your town blacker, but I do it because I want to save sinners from hell. We can't put our arms around Cincinnati and bring her to God as long as we are loaded down with lewd houses and bar-rooms and gambling-hells. We can not do it. It's impossible.

Since, as was his usual custom, Jones made no plea for sinners to come forward to be saved after his first few sermons in town, many became perturbed at what seemed to be a calculated neglect of reaching individual sinners with the gospel in favor of a general effort to save the city. The Baptist Rev. Dr. J. M. Pendleton attacked both Jones and Moody for their lack of emphasis upon the need for repentance as a prerequisite to individual salvation. Moody, he charged with having stated: "When I preach to sinners, I do not specially mention repentance; but I hold up Christ, and he [sic] makes them feel like repenting." Pendleton viewed Jones in the same light.

It is one of the unfavorable signs of the times that much of the preaching of "evangelists" and "revivalists," so-called, ignores repentance, or so defines it that it amounts to nothing. The celebrated Sam Jones, who has attracted so much attention in many parts of the South, does not preach repentance. All the proof of conversion he asks is that persons will resolve to change their manner of life, and give him the hand in token of their purpose to join some church next Sunday.

Other Baptists were quite content with Jones' balance between the need for repentance on the individual and on the community levels, however.

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130 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, January 14, 1886, 5.
132 Ibid.
133 "Cincinnati and Vicinity," The Journal and Messenger, LV (January 20, 1886), 5.
And the Methodists were convinced that his messages were meeting with "general approval." William I. Fee, former pastor of Trinity Methodist Church (earlier called Ninth Street Church) where Jones was preaching, compared the contemporary effort very favorably to that of evangelist James Caughey there in 1853. After one week, Fee concluded that Jones "has already awakened an interest vastly greater. The present outlook is the most hopeful for good that I have ever seen in the city."  

Regardless of disagreeable weather and some adverse criticism, it was no secret why Trinity Church could no longer contain the crowds seeking to hear Jones after his fourth night in town. The local press saw the revival as excellent human interest material, and, by giving broad coverage to Jones' entertaining sermons, made them the most popular amusement in the Queen City. Reminiscent of Lorenzo Dow, the Commercial Gazette spoke of Jones as "an erratic, eccentric, inexplicable ministerial tornado." The Enquirer compared Jones' addresses to those of the famous agnostic lecturer, Bob Ingersoll, except that Jones argued the question from the other side. "Quaint figures of speech, striking analogies, homely comparisons and contrasts flow from his lips in profusion," it maintained. It assured everyone that to hear a Jones sermon was a most pleasant way to assimilate truth:

Solid chunks of good, hard sense are contained in almost every sentence he utters, and through the whole runs a vein of humor.

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134 "Sam Jones In Cincinnati," The Western Christian Advocate, LIII (January 20, 1886), 36, 37.
135 Ibid.
136 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, January 15, 1886, 5.
and pathos which keeps his audience alternating between smiles and intense feeling. He does not preach, but rather talks to his hearers, . . . .137

What more entertaining and wholesome way to spend an evening out than to attend a Jones meeting? Besides, it was free!

The evangelist himself was as keenly aware as anyone of the critical relation which the favorable and expansive coverage provided by the newspapers had to the success of his meetings. Before he left Cincinnati he acknowledged: "I feel that I could not have done what has been done without their cordial sympathy and aid."138 The press did, in fact, give the Jones-Small revival considerably more notice than any that had preceded it. On Friday, January 15, the Enquirer devoted three and one-half columns of its front page to a description of the meetings of the day before and to large pictures of Jones, Small, and M. J. Maxwell (revival choir leader and chorister with whom Jones formed a lasting partnership while in Cincinnati).139 Not only did the local newspapers show unusual interest in promoting the meetings, but also for the first time an Ohio revival became newsworthy in cities outside the state. The Buffalo Courrier, Louisville Times, Philadelphia Press, Chicago Inter Ocean, and several others gave the meetings particular attention.140

137 Cincinnati Enquirer, January 13, 1886, 8.

138 Cincinnati Times-Star, February 13, 1886, 5.

139 Cincinnati Enquirer, January 15, 1886, 1; Laura Jones, op. cit., 179.

140 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, January 18, 1886, 5; January 21, 1886, 3. Some of the out-of-state coverage was in jest and some extensive and serious. The Buffalo Courrier sympathized: "Sam Jones and the cold wave struck Cincinnati on the same day. Poor old Cincinnati!"
The extensive publicity brought the crowds out in such numbers by Sunday, January 17 that Joyce, the sole official sponsor of Jones to this point, felt confident that the Evangelical Alliance now would be ready to give its support to the crusade. However, when he presented the matter at the January 18 meeting of that organization and suggested that Music Hall be rented for Jones' subsequent meetings, the Alliance was hesitant, so Joyce decided to rent the Hall and proceed with the revival on his own personal responsibility. He took charge of details from the securing of ushers to the calling for large offerings to meet the mounting expense of the campaign.  

By Tuesday, January 19 the revival moved into its new phase. The revised schedule called for Small to speak each morning at Trinity Methodist Church and at noon to conduct the prayer meeting at the Y.M.C.A. Each afternoon and evening Jones was to address the crowds at Music Hall. Thirty-five hundred, mostly women, attended Jones' first afternoon service at Music Hall, on Tuesday, February 19, and that evening the building which could seat over five thousand was nearly filled. Dr. Joyce, who was in charge of the services, urged the faithful to buy extra newspapers and send them to their friends in order to broadcast the revival news. He spurred the press to greater coverage by suggesting that he hoped their subscriptions would increase through their faithfulness.

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141 *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, January 19, 1886, 4.
Finally, on Saturday, January 23 after Jones had demonstrated that he could attract five thousand people to the Hall night after night, it was made public that the executive committee of the Cincinnati Evangelical Alliance, headed by Joyce, had passed a resolution on January 20 endorsing the Jones meetings and calling upon the ministers of the city to give their support to a movement that "promises to be the greatest of the kind that has ever occurred in this city." Ironically, The Light of the West, a Spiritualist organ, had preceded the Alliance in endorsing the Georgia evangelist since "his peculiar mannerisms or quaint sayings amuse or argue men into a frame of mind which will allow the seed of the great truth of immortality beyond the grave to take root and bear fruit."

With the cooperation of the press and a sizeable sector of the evangelical community, Jones and Small went on in the three weeks that followed to create the most profound interest in religious meetings that Cincinnatians had ever witnessed. When more than a thousand had to be turned away after eight thousand already had squeezed into Music Hall on Sunday evening, January 24, the Enquirer concluded that never had the city seen such a huge religious assembly. By the end of January the nightly crowds were averaging about six thousand. The Commercial Gazette, January 27, 1886, 5.

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144 Ibid., January 21, 22, 23, 1886, 3.
145 Ibid., January 23, 1886, 16.
146 Quoted in Ibid., January 21, 1886, 3.
147 Cincinnati Enquirer, January 25, 1886, 8.
148 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, January 27, 1886, 5.
Gazette estimated that an aggregate of nearly 125,000 out of a total population of 250,000 in Cincinnati had heard Jones during his first three weeks in town and that the rest had read his sermons in the press.\footnote{149}

As early as Thursday, January 22, Jones had allowed Small to test his speaking skills upon the throngs at Music Hall while he himself recouped his strength. The audience was as responsive to the former editor as to Jones. When he launched an attack upon intemperance, which the Gazette said rivalled in eloquence the famous "Plumed Knight" speech of Bob Ingersoll there in 1876, the audience broke into unrestrained applause.\footnote{150} Some felt that "Sam Jones' and Sam Small's drawing abilities with the masses are greater, undoubtedly, than any other men in public or clerical life to-day."\footnote{151}

Jones utilized revival methods old and new to stimulate interest, to secure converts, and to stir Cincinnati to moral reform. Beginning on Friday, January 22, after his sermons, which were delivered from a rostrumless platform extending in front of that upon which the choir and cooperating ministers sat, Jones held after meetings and gave altar calls.\footnote{152} The usual procedure was to vacate several front rows after the sermon and to call the seekers forward where they could be counselled...
and could sign their names to the growing list of converts.\textsuperscript{153} When some questioned the object of the name signing, Dr. Joyce explained that it was "not with a view to committing them to any particular denominations, but simply for the purpose of recording the committal of their souls to God."\textsuperscript{154} It was nothing new for a revivalist to want to keep his own account of the Lamb's Book of Life. What better way to prove the worth of his services?

Jones also used the method of making some meetings exclusively for men or for women to good advantage. On the mornings of January 28, 30 and February 2 at Music Hall, Jones addressed "women only" meetings.\textsuperscript{155} On each occasion the Hall was filled as he spoke first to mothers, then to daughters, and on the third morning to wives. At these services he denounced marrying for money, pouting, Toddy-mixing, and progressive euchre. The ladies at one of these meetings contributed $270 to the Methodist Orphans' Home in Georgia for which Jones was still the agent.\textsuperscript{156} Instead of altar calls on these occasions, Jones merely had the women stand \textit{en masse} to indicate that they wished to live better lives. The men showed no less interest and enthusiasm at meetings designed for their exclusive instruction (and enjoyment) than did the women. At three such rallies on the Sunday afternoons of January 24, 31 and February 7 the Hall was filled, and on the second day it was reported

\begin{footnotes}
\item[153]Ibid., January 27, 1886, 5.
\item[154]Cincinnati \textit{Enquirer}, February 5, 1886, 8.
\item[155]Cincinnati \textit{Commercial Gazette}, January 29, 1886, 5; January 31, 1886, 7; February 3, 1886, 3.
\item[156]Cincinnati \textit{Enquirer}, February 12, 1886, 8.
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that six thousand were turned away. Since the men frequently interrupted Jones' lectures with thunderous applause, they obviously enjoyed hearing him violently condemn a whole catalogue of misconduct which included card playing, usury, drinking, profanity, Sabbath-breaking, and licentiousness.

While Jones and Small continued to pick at the motes which they saw so clearly in the eyes of the Cincinnatians, many sincere folks of the Queen City began to wish that the revivalists first would deal with the beams in their own. Some felt that Jones' pulpit language dipped to the level of profanity. One lady complained in a letter to the editor of the Commercial Gazette that "his discourses are interlarded with ejaculations of 'My God!' 'My Lord!' etc., which grate most painfully on ears accustomed to hear that name spoken only in tones of reverence." She maintained that Jones used such language "to express astonishment or disgust, just as any street reveler might use it, and such a use of God's name is simple profanity, whether heard in the pulpit or on the street."  

Even if this stylistic manner was overlooked, Jones and Small both openly violated a customary evangelical shibboleth. Although they themselves were among the most vehement in denouncing a long list of pastimes and habits with drinking at the head, both evangelists were prodigious smokers. A church conference in Cincinnati the summer before had declared against the use of tobacco in any form and had refused one

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157 Ibid., January 25, 1886, 8; Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, February 1 and 8, 1886, 3.

158 Ibid., January 18, 1886, 5.
minister admittance until he agreed to stop the habit. Therefore, some were shocked into disbelief when they read a reporter's account of finding Small in his room at the Gibson House "puffing vengefully" on a cigarette. Nor could some believe at first that Jones both smoked cigars and chewed tobacco. After one service an elderly lady decided that she would find out the truth for herself. Going to the front she asked Dr. Joyce if it was true that the evangelists had tobacco in their rooms. "Well, what of it," was Joyce's irritated reply. "Oh, I think it's dreadful! It is just frightful!" she exclaimed. And, as she left, she was heard to say that she was sorry she had given $10 toward the revival effort. When a newsman confronted the revivalists with the smoking issue, they spoke freely of the brands of tobacco that they preferred, but insisted that the habit was purely a matter of manners, not of morals. During an interview in Chicago later, Small pointed out that he had gotten 1,200 men to stand during a meeting in Cincinnati to

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159 Cincinnati Enquirer, January 19, 1886, 8.
160 Cincinnati Times-Star, January 14, 1886, 8.
161 Ibid., February 16, 1886, 8.
162 Cincinnati Enquirer, January 19, 1886, 8.
163 Cincinnati Times-Star, February 16, 1886, 8. During August, 1886, while Jones was speaking at the Lancaster, Ohio camp meeting, the Columbus Manufacturing Company sent him a box of its Tit Bits cigars and, for several days as a four-by-six inch advertisement, published his thank you note in his own hand writing in the Daily Ohio State Journal as follows: "Gentlemen: The nice Present received: thank you. With good wishes, and a prayer for your success for both worlds I am fraternally yours, Sam P. Jones." See Daily Ohio State Journal, August 20 ff., 1886, 4.
indicate that they would stop gambling, but admitted that "as far as cigarettes . . . go, I've not reformed yet." 164

Some found cause to criticize Jones when he accepted a $100 lecture engagement in Covington, Kentucky on Saturday evening, January 30 when there was no meeting scheduled at Music Hall. The Scott Street Methodist Church of that city had him to speak on "Character and Characters" at the Odd Fellows Hall, and charged fifty cents admission. Although Jones advertised the lecture at his Cincinnati meetings, not enough people attended the Covington affair to allow the sponsoring church to pay Jones $100 and still make a profit. 165 Word spread that Jones had accepted the $100 while knowing that the church had not made sufficient to pay him. Finally, Rev. W. F. Taylor, pastor of the Scott Street Church came to Jones' rescue by announcing publicly that the evangelist-lecturer actually had accepted only half of the original amount offered to him and therefore that the church had shown a profit from the lecture. 166

Continuing discontent over Jones' somewhat lackadaisical approach to the winning of individual sinners to Christ and his preoccupation with the sins of the city, finally brought the preacher to define his own position. He saw the old measures of altar calls, after services and inquiry rooms as now outdated, and envisaged a new wholesale approach to saving hundreds at a time. "We have reached the point where this hook

164 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, February 20, 1886, 16. Italics are the author's.

165 Ibid., January 28, 1886, 5; January 30, 1886, 8.

166 Ibid., February 5, 1886, 3.
and line business won't pay," he announced. "I want to see a Gospel
seine a thousand miles long dragged through the sea of sin and death,
and I want to see a hundred thousand caught at one haul, and I'll rejoice
then at the fact that the millennium is coming, and that God will con­
vert the world.\textsuperscript{167} It was a vision which far transcended the laborious,
personal endeavors of a Moody, but it would not meet the needs of indi­
vidual men in an age when their identity was already lost in the urban
throng. It was a dream which Finney had experienced decades before as
B. Fay Mills and others would do thereafter, but no matter in what mold
it was cast revivalism was never to make the millennial hope a reality.
Jones' own conception of his role in Cincinnati was demonstrative of the
vagueness and ineffectiveness of this approach to reform through mass
revivalism. He saw himself as "going around in the pond here and chunk­
ing the fish out from under the rocks and stumps and muddying the pond."
He asserted that "when you get a pond good and muddy the fish'll all
come to the top and you can kill 'em with a stick.\textsuperscript{168}

The evangelical discontent over the whole nature of Jones' and
Small's ministry actually ran deeper than the surface success of the
meetings permitted many to perceive. Although the Methodists of the
city held steady in their support,\textsuperscript{169} the Baptists never gave their
unreserved endorsement. The official Baptist organ, \textit{The Journal and

\textsuperscript{167}Ibid., February 15, 1886, 3.\textsuperscript{168}
\textsuperscript{169}"Sam Jones In Cincinnati," \textit{The Western Christian Advocate},
LIII (January 27, 1886), 53; "Sam Jones In Cincinnati," \textit{The Western
Christian Advocate}, LIII (February 3, 1886), 68, 69.
Messenger, noted as the revival passed into February that all of the evangelical clergy in town were attending the meetings "more or less regularly," that some churches were realizing converts, and that Jones' anecdotes if not his sermons as a whole were very good, but flatly stated: "We still reserve our judgement as to the value of Mr. Jones' labors." Later, during the evangelists' last week in town The Journal and Messenger editor admitted that they had created a major religious stir, had told Cincir-atl of its sins unreservedly, had made job-operators less successful there, and may have been responsible for the overthrow of "our infamous police board." Nonetheless, the editor came down hard on Jones' shallow preaching. "His theology consists too largely of 'Quit your meanness' and 'Join the Church!!'" he complained. To his mind, Jones did not hold Christ "before the mind in just such characters as he [sic] is represented in by the Bible, and in which he [sic] appears to the experienced Christian." Of fundamental significance was the fact that the Evangelical Alliance, in reality, never assumed the responsibility for the Jones-Small revival. Many evangelical pastors and their congregations participated, but Dr. Joyce emphasized repeatedly, as he pleaded for funds at the Music Hall services over which he presided, that he was personally responsible for the revival expense which totaled $250 per day. The

170 "Cincinnati and Vicinity," The Journal and Messenger, LV (February 3, 1886), 5. See also "What The People Think Of Jones," The Journal and Messenger, LV (January 27, 1886), 8.


172 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, January 25, 1886, 3.
fact that Joyce was the sole administrator of the meetings was further indicated when, in his own name rather than that of the Alliance, he addressed an open letter to the Cincinnati churches on January 30, appealing for their support.\(^{173}\) He suggested that they all suspend their own services during February while Jones was in town and bend every effort in what he considered the greatest revival for decades in the city. Regardless of the points of controversy over the evangelists' ideas, presentation, and general conduct, there was enough response to Joyce's plea for widespread participation that the first week in February, 1886 witnessed the largest religious meetings ever before held in Cincinnati.\(^ {174}\) This was partly due to the fact that enthusiasm for the Jones meetings had spread throughout the state. In Springfield, St. Paul's Methodist Church held special "Sam Jones" nights, and attempted unsuccessfully to attract the evangelist to their town.\(^ {175}\) The Georgian, in fact, was scheduled to finish his Cincinnati campaign on February 7, but was persuaded to remain a week longer due to the huge audiences that he was drawing. In order to dramatize the Cincinnatians' appreciation of Jones' efforts and their desire to have him extend his visit, Rev. T. M. Hopkins of the Third Presbyterian Church came before the crowd at Music Hall on Thursday evening, February 4 to complement Dr. Joyce's administration of the meetings and to make a formal motion that the evangelist stay an extra week. The audience immediately stood


\(^{175}\) *Ibid.*, February 6, 1886, 3.
to second the motion and broke into applause to indicate its passage. Rising to his feet Jones said triumphantly: "I have been elected without opposition for another week of work in this city." "God bless you, I'm in this work as long as I can get a square meal and clothes to keep me warm, and, God willing, we'll have piety turned loose in this city."\[176\]

During its last week the Jones revival reached its climactic peak as the size of the evening meetings eclipsed all previous records. Jones himself had considerable assistance by this time. In addition to Small, who had been holding numerous special services as well as supplying the pulpit at Music Hall whenever Jones needed to rest, the evangelist had employed the services of a personal secretary, Frank Taylor, who answered his mail and handled matters of publicity.\[177\] Furthermore, for the last two weeks his wife and three of his six children had been sharing his quarters at the Gibson House and giving him moral support.\[178\] Spirits in general ran high. Even at the noon prayer meetings, which were addressed by Small and which had been moved from the quarters of the Y.M.C.A. to the First Presbyterian Church to accommodate the crowds, folks laughed aloud and applauded with an informal abandon that would have been unthinkable before the revival movement.\[179\] On Tuesday,

\[176\]Ibid., February 5, 1886, 3.
\[177\]Ibid., February 15, 1886, 3.
\[178\]Cincinnati Times-Star, January 25, 1886, 1.
\[179\]Ibid., February 10, 1886, 5.
February 9 the largest weeknight throng of the crusade stormed the Music Hall, and thereafter the crowds far exceeded its capacity.

The response to the meetings on the last day of the crusade, Sunday, February 14, exceeded that given to any cause championed in the Queen City up to that time. In the morning Jones spoke at the place where he had begun his labors in town, Trinity Methodist Church. In the afternoon, Small addressed a capacity "men only" meeting in Music Hall. That evening Jones gave his farewell message at Music Hall, and Small delivered his to all who could manage to gain entrance to the Odeon. 180

It was estimated that fifty thousand people had sought to hear the two evangelists on the last day of the five-week campaign. On the front page of the Enquirer the Sunday evening crowd was spoken of as "the most remarkable religious gathering that has ever occurred in the history of America" since the capacities of the Music Hall and the Odeon had been exceeded by thirty thousand. 181 The doors of Music Hall were opened at 6:00 P.M. In ten minutes the building was filled while

the street in front of Music Hall was rendered impassable, and the crowd stretched in a black struggling mass down both sides of Elm Street to Twelfth, completely blockading the street cars, and rendering the approaches to Music Hall and the Odeon utterly impassable . . . .182

Those who did gain admittance had a last opportunity to applaud "the two

180 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, February 13, 1886, 3; February 15, 1886, 8.

181 Cincinnati Enquirer, February 15, 1886, 1; Cincinnati Times-Star, February 15, 1886, 2; and Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, February 15, 1886, 3, set their estimates of those turned away at fifteen thousand.

182 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, February 15, 1886, 3.
Sams” and hear their final adieus. Jones praised the Cincinnati newspapers and challenged them to stand by the pure people of the city who were seeking enforcement of the blue laws. He expressed his appreciation of having seen numbers of Negroes at the meetings, and reassured all of the people that "whenever I hear Porkopolis spoken of as the most wicked place in America, I will say it is a lie. A nobler and a better sort of people I have never mingled with in my life." There was no question but that by a combination of controversial measures and a more social orientation to the gospel message Jones and Small had captured the public imagination in Ohio to a degree never before attained and had produced the most spectacular city-wide revival to that date.

For Jones, himself, the successful Cincinnati campaign was a stepping stone to acceptance not only in Ohio, but also throughout the North. After he had been in Cincinnati only two weeks he was being solicited to come as the featured speaker at several Ohio camp meetings the following summer. As a result of these invitations he, Sam Small, E. O. Excell, and J. M. Maxwell visited the Loveland, Lancaster, and Urbana, Ohio camp meetings during August. Since these camps were maintained by gate receipts, Jones and Small served as crowd drawers (on August 11, Ohio Governor Joseph Foraker attended the Lancaster Camp.

183Ibid.

184Ibid., January 30, 1886, 8.

185See ibid., July 30-August 9, 1886 for details of the Loveland camp; The Semi-Weekly Lancaster Gazette, August 7-25, 1886, Ohio Eagle, August 12 and 19, 1886, and Daily Ohio State Journal, August 12-17, 1886, for details of the Lancaster camp; and Urbana Citizen and Gazette, August 19-25, 1886 and Daily Ohio State Journal, August 18-31, 1886 for details of the Urbana camp.
to hear Jones), but their presence severely disrupted the purely religious atmosphere of each camp by producing controversies ranging from the amount they were to be paid, their smoking, and the kind of newspaper coverage they were given to the issue of prohibition.

Of significance to Jones' developing national career was the fact that his Cincinnati crusade brought him to the personal attention of two notable evangelicals, Methodist Bishop John H. Vincent and D. L. Moody. As founder of the Chautauqua movement in New York, Bishop Vincent was always on the lookout for new speaking talent. Therefore, when Jones showed so much promise at Cincinnati, the Bishop journeyed there to interview the potential Chautauquan. From the contract which the two made there, Jones began a career on the Chautauqua lecture circuits which took him throughout the West, Southwest, and North during each of the next twenty summers before his death in 1906. Beginning at the Lakeside Chautauqua in July, 1887, Jones was heard periodically in Ohio, and visited the Miami Valley Chautauqua every summer during the last ten years of his life.

D. L. Moody passed through Cincinnati during Jones' revival, visited one evening service, and was impressed by what he saw and heard. Afterward he wrote a note to the eccentric revivalist stating that he felt God had given Jones a sledgehammer with which effectively to shatter

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186 Daily Ohio State Journal, August 12, 1886, 1.
187 Laura Jones, op. cit., 326.
188 The Chautauquan, VIII (October, 1887), 43, 44.
189 Holcomb, op. cit., 151.
the formalism of the churches and to batter down the strongholds of Satan. Before Jones left the Queen City he had received an invitation from Moody and other Chicago ministers to hold his next crusade there. Accepting this widening opportunity in the North, Jones sent Small directly to Chicago after the Cincinnati meetings to prepare the religious climate there for his own efforts beginning on February 28. Not wishing to lose the increased circulation they had gained during Jones' Cincinnati crusade, the Enquirer and Commercial Gazette published verbatim accounts of Jones' and Small's sermons in the Windy City, sometimes on the front page.

With all of this good fortune, it is little wonder that when a reporter asked Jones if he was satisfied with the results of the Cincinnati campaign he said: "Very much so. The results of the work have been all that I could have expected." Having preached about one hundred and fifty sermons, Jones estimated that he had converted five thousand sinners and invigorated twenty thousand Christians. His and Small's only direct monetary compensation for the five weeks was in the form of personal donations and the $802 given in a single offering at the meeting on Thursday evening, February 11, but Jones helped support

190 Laura Jones, op. cit., 185.
191 Holcomb, op. cit., 73.
192 Cincinnati Enquirer, February 19 ff., 1886; Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, February 22 ff., 1886.
193 Cincinnati Times-Star, February 13, 1886, 5.
194 "Sam Jones In Cincinnati," The Western Christian Advocate, LIII (February 17, 1886), 100, 101.
himself while in town by advertising and selling his book, *Sermons and Sayings*, and his monthly periodical, *The Southern Evangelist*, at the services. He urged folks to subscribe to the latter at fifty cents per year. When soliciting people to purchase his recently published *official* volume of sermons, Jones often became quite vehement in denouncing an *unauthorized* edition which he said a New York firm had pirated and which he hoped everyone would boycott since he received no royalty from its sales. During the Cincinnati meetings the editor of his authorized volume of sermons, Rev. Dr. W. M. Leftwich, even came from Nashville and announced that the book was about to go into a second thirty thousand edition. If Jones delighted in and profitted from the sale of his original book of sermons, he must have been overjoyed to announce that a memorial volume containing a few of his Cincinnati sermons would appear within two weeks after the close of the meetings.

For the Cincinnatians, the final assessment of the crusade rested upon its longer-range results with which they would have to live. No one contested the fact that "never before was such a religious awakening known in Cincinnati," but whether the six hundred daily seekers

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195 *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, February 10, 1886, 3; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, February 13, 1886, 8.

196 *Cincinnati Enquirer*, February 11, 1886, 8.

197 *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, January 26, 1886, 3.

198 Ibid., January 27, 1886, 5; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, January 27, 1886, 5.

199 *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, February 13, 1886, 3. This collection of sermons appeared as *Sam P. Jones, Sermons and Sayings By Sam P. Jones*, edited by W. M. Leftwich (Cincinnati, 1886). Dr. I. W. Joyce, Jones' principal sponsor in Cincinnati, wrote the introduction.
which the newspapers were proclaiming at the end of the meetings would become active members of the churches, whether the interdenominational spirit generated by the meetings would continue afterwards, and whether the civic moral reform spoken of by Jones could be effected, all remained to be seen.\textsuperscript{200} The editor of the Baptist Journal and Messenger viewed the situation thus: "Sam has been driving a six-horse mower for about four weeks, and the pastors and Christians generally, have been standing looking on, admiring the working of the machine." "As it looks to us, the grain lies in all conceivable positions, heads and points, in heaps and in swaths -- cut down, it may be, but in such a tangle that it will be quite impossible to gather and house it in good condition."\textsuperscript{201}

Although most of the evangelical churches took the advice of the Evangelical Alliance and held protracted meetings of their own after Jones left, the pessimism of the Baptist editor with respect to the prospects of gaining new church members seems to have been born out.\textsuperscript{202} All of the evangelical churches, including the Baptists,\textsuperscript{203} did realize some harvest from the meetings, but their net increase for the year did not seem to indicate that any great awakening had occurred. For the year, the Congregationalist net increase was less than one hundred, the Presbyterian just over one hundred, and the Methodist one hundred and fifty-

\textsuperscript{200}\textit{Cincinnati Enquirer}, February 15, 1886, 1.

\textsuperscript{201}\textit{Editorial, The Journal and Messenger}, LV (February 17, 1886), 4.

\textsuperscript{202}\textit{Cincinnati Commercial Gazette}, February 13, 1886, 16.

\textsuperscript{203}See \textit{The Journal and Messenger}, LV (February 24 and March 3, 1886), 5.
three. 368 Ironically, even though Dr. Joyce's own Trinity Methodist Church, which was the principal sponsor of the Jones-Small crusade, received at least forty-eight new members from the effort, it showed a decline in net membership during the year.205 Concerning the longer-range trends in church membership, if the revival stimulated any group it was the Presbyterian. The Cincinnati Presbytery, which had declined from a peak membership of 7,682 in 1882, began to show an increase again in 1885, and, with the revival of 1886, showed substantial gains in the six years that followed.206 Congregational and Methodist membership in Cincinnati had alternated between increase and decrease in the years preceding the 1886 revival and did the same thereafter.207

Interdenominational cooperation in Cincinnati continued on in three forms: union meetings, gifts for a new Y.M.C.A. building, and efforts to have the blue laws enforced. Before he left, Jones urged the churches to maintain daily union meetings.208 The churches responded

204 See The Congregational Year-Book (Boston, 1886, 1887); Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (New York, 1885, 1886); and Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York, 1885, 1886).

205 See "Sam Jones In Cincinnati," The Western Christian Advocate, LIII (February 10, 1886), 84, 85, and Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York, 1885, 1886).

206 See Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (New York, 1881-1891).

207 See The Congregational Year-Book (Boston, 1883-1890) and Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York, 1880-1890).

208 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, February 12, 1886, 3.
partly by holding daily noon prayer meetings at Trinity Methodist Church for two weeks and then at the Y.M.C.A. indefinitely. They also responded by holding mass union rallies at Music Hall each Sunday evening for several weeks. Jones and Small had also made appeals for funds to construct a new Y.M.C.A. building in Cincinnati. Since the goal was $100,000, Small delighted in pointing out that the money spent for beer in Cincinnati in four days would pay for the new hall. Thousands of subscription cards were handed out (especially to businessmen), and Jones' special appeal at the First Presbyterian Church on February 11 was productive of pledges amounting to about $12,000.

The main force of Jones' message with respect to saving the city had to do with achieving full enforcement of the blue laws, especially in connection with saloons and theaters. Applause had been long and loud at Music Hall on Friday evening, February 12 when Jones asserted that if he were mayor of Cincinnati he could clean it up by the help of the police, if he could "get them straight to start with." "I trust that the next Mayor you may have will enforce the laws of the State and of the city if he has to die in the ditch trying to do it," the reforming preacher had exclaimed, as he reassured his hearers that if he were

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209 Ibid., February 15, 1886, 3; February 27, 1886, 16.

210 Ibid., February 22, 1886, 8; March 1, 1886, 5; March 6, 1886, 16; Cincinnati Enquirer, March 8, 1886, 8; March 15, 1886, 4.

211 Cincinnati Enquirer, February 13, 1886, 8; Cincinnati Times-Star, February 12, 1886, 7.

212 Ibid.
in office he would have a thousand in the workhouse and jail within the week. 213

While the revival was still in progress, the Law and Order League and the Citizens' Hundred Committee, with praise from Jones, made a concerted effort to have Cincinnati theaters and saloons closed on Sundays. 214 On February 8, they were victorious in shutting down all of the theaters, but, as the Enquirer observed, the concert halls and the saloons were filled as a result. 215 During March, while the reformers were out on Sundays making sure that the theaters were closed and having a few violators arrested, a counter-reform movement began. 216 Originating among the German element of the city for whom the more liberal European Sabbath was customary, the Society for the Maintenance of Liberty and Right opposed the attempt of the Law and Order League to curtail their Sunday activities. A German-American tailor, Carl Schalz, stated the case of the Society for the Maintenance of Liberty and Right against the evangelical reformers. "We are in a free country and want nothing to do with their religion." "Let them do as they please and we will do as we please." 217

213 Cincinnati Enquirer, February 13, 1886, 8. Jones' most famous battle with the forces of City Hall would come in his Toledo, Ohio campaign in 1899.

214 Ibid.

215 Ibid., February 8, 1886, 8.

216 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, March 8, 1886, 4. "Religion and the Good Order of Cincinnati," The Western Christian Advocate, LIII (March 3, 1886), 128, maintained that the Cincinnati police had reported a lower crime rate since the revival and the subsequent reform efforts.

217 Cincinnati Enquirer, March 29, 1886, 8.
The Law and Order League rallied nearly one thousand supporters at a meeting at the Odeon on March 29, but were eventually frustrated in their desire to force their own revival-sharpened, evangelical convictions upon the whole community. When Jones and Small got word while they were at the Loveland Camp Meeting the next summer that the Cincinnati moral reform movement was climaxed in defeat as the Board of Councilmen took positive action on August 6, to allow the Sunday sale of beer and native wines in the city, they could only reply in a "scathing rebuke of the officials and press of Cincinnati—the former for not enforcing the laws and the latter for advertising the Sunday amusements" and suggest that the godly people of the city boycott the Cincinnati newspapers which had made their own meetings there successful. The Jones-Small crusade had been the most spectacular display of professional revivalism that had ever been seen in the Queen City, but it had left neither evidence that the masses had been reached with the gospel nor that revivalism could work meaningful reform commensurate with the objectives of the social gospel.

The Ohio revival efforts of the Cincinnati-born Methodist revivalist Joseph Hulse Weber also exemplified facets of the new trend in the profession in the 1880's. He used the fact that he was a

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218bid., March 30, 1886, 5.

219Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, August 6, 1886, 5; August 7, 1886, 16.

220There are two biographical works on Weber. W. A. Yingling, The Experience of a Converted Catholic (Cincinnati, 1883), deals extensively with his conversion and the details of his life before his evangelistic labors. Martin W. Knapp, Revival Tornadoes; or Life and Labors of Rev. Joseph H. Weber, evangelist, the converted Roman Catholic (Boston, 1889) traces his career to 1889.
converted Catholic to draw crowds to his meetings and denounced sin in no uncertain terms. That he stood in the "hell fire and damnation" tradition of the early circuit riders rather than in the "God is love" school of Moody was quite evident. "It seems as if many more sinners are moved by fear than love," he remarked in 1886. For this reason his sermons centered "largely on the doom of the damned, the trickery of the devil, and the deceitfulness of sin" which at times he made "awfully vivid and impressive." Similar to Sam P. Jones, Weber made his language fit his theme. "He calls Sin, Satan, and Hell by their Scripture names," testified his biographer. "He uses plain English, -- so plain that sensitive, silken-eared people often are 'shocked' by it, and which falls harshly on the ears of some good people . . . ." Weber spanned the whole spectrum of the revivalistic tradition for special measures. He visited the homes of prospective converts; wrote many original gospel songs; edited his own hymnal from which he and his song evangelist, Charles Blakeslie, led the singing; attempted every description of dramatics in the pulpit to arouse religious emotion; spent much time among the congregation pleading with sinners to come to the altar; and, if they refused, sometimes even used physical force to get them there. Weber's biographer felt that he was being both realistic and

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221 Knapp, op. cit., 178.
222 Ibid., 298.
223 Ibid., 294.
224 Ibid., 222, 239-241, 302-308. Joseph H. Weber, The Evangelist Nos. 1 and 2 Combined (Preston, Ohio, 1892) and Joseph H. Weber, Abridged Edition of the Evangelists No. 3 and 4 (Preston, Ohio, 1899) are two editions of his special hymnal which he sold at his meetings.
complimentary when he compared the itinerant's revival campaigns to tornadoes. He felt that they both were "a terror to the wicked," were attended by chain-lightening which often hit someone, were "a source of alarm," were "preceded by a dead calm," payed "no attention to men's ideas of dignity," provoked "unfriendly criticism," and "notwithstanding all opposition" moved on.  

Joseph Hulse Weber was born the second of eleven children to Louis and Elizabeth Weber at Cincinnati, Ohio on October 12, 1835. His father was a German-American who was brought to the United States in 1833 from Alsace by his parents. Joseph's mother was born on Blennerhassett Island located in the Ohio River and adopted the Roman Catholic faith of her husband at the time of their marriage in 1852. By the time Joseph was thirteen years old, after a sporadic experience with public school, he secured a job in a paper mill at Hamilton, Ohio where his parents had recently moved. After two years at the mill and four with the Hamilton branch of the Cincinnati Ice Company he became apprenticed as a carriage trimmer in Cincinnati in May, 1874.

He had become associated with rowdy company, but never seemed comfortable in his pursuit of pleasure. In an attempt to reform he had even become a total abstainer from drink in March, 1873, and, although he refused to sign a temperance crusader's pledge later, he could assert "that he had signed it in his heart and had kept it."  

\[^{225}\text{Knapp, op. cit., 78-108.}\]
\[^{226}\text{Ibid., 16, 30; Yingling, op. cit., 7-9.}\]
\[^{227}\text{Yingling, op. cit., 18, 19.}\]
in Cincinnati, Weber was a regular attendant at Roman Catholic services but did not find the peace he sought until he had a crisis religious experience. It occurred when he took a walk on Sunday, August 14, 1875 and was attracted by a crowd which was listening to Joseph Emery, a Baptist missionary, who was holding an open air service. Weber later related that at the close of the meeting he was charmed as the people sang "Almost Persuaded." When the minister lined the last line of the hymn, "Almost, but lost!," Weber was deeply stirred. "When he said 'Lost,' I never had anything to pierce my heart through as this did," he testified, "it seemed as though a dagger pierced my heart; and, for a moment, I quivered, but with lightning thought, I raised my eyes to heaven and my heart to God, and said, 'I will not be lost, I'll be saved.' And as if tons of weight had been lifted, my burden was gone, my sin-sick soul free." The following week the new convert attended St. Paul's Methodist Church in Cincinnati where it was explained to him that his new joy was due to salvation through Christ. By November 1, 1875 he was accepted into this church on probation and on April 9, 1876 into full membership.

Like many revivalists, Weber was not without some link with the other evangelists of the times. A few weeks after he was converted, he lost his carriage trimming job and began traveling for a Cincinnati firm. In this capacity he was in Chicago during a series of Moody and Sankey

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228 Ibid., 20, 21. Quotation is from Knapp, op. cit., 278, 279.
229 Knapp, op. cit., 280.
230 Yingling, op. cit., 25.
meetings and took the opportunity to attend. Having grown "cold and somewhat indifferent religiously" for lack of Christian associates, Weber sought the solace of the inquiry room after the service.\textsuperscript{231} It was evidently this new impetus that gave him courage to accept a call to the ministry which he had felt since his conversion, but had evaded because of his lack of education. On February 2, 1877 he asked God to give him a final, tangible sign if it was really His will that he become a minister. The sign was to be Weber's finding of a piece of money during the following week, and the two pennies which he found on the floor at the Mt. Auburn Methodist Church on Wednesday evening, February 7, he took to be his answer. Therefore, he began to make plans to enter Ohio Wesleyan University in the Fall.\textsuperscript{232}

From 1872 to 1881 Weber attended Ohio Wesleyan University, from time to time dropping out to seek employment in order to replenish his resources. Even while enrolled he often laid aside his studies in order to hold services at a jail, among the poor, in local Sunday schools, or in nearby churches. In March, 1879, the Methodist Church granted the zealous student a license to preach, and soon he was so successful in producing revivals during vacation periods that he began to feel the urge to leave his formal studies altogether and become a professional evangelist. Having attained more higher education by 1881 than most revivalists, Weber did, in fact, leave the University, but, instead of

\textsuperscript{231}\textit{Ibid.}, 25, 26. There is no indication that he actually talked to Moody or Sankey.

\textsuperscript{232}\textit{Ibid.}, 27-29.
Immediately going out on his own, he accepted an apprenticeship on the South Lima Circuit. 233

In his new position as an ordained minister in the Central Ohio Conference, Weber preached at the three stations on his circuit, carried on extensive house-to-house visitation and held revival services from which one hundred and twenty persons were eventually received into full membership. Soon he began to receive numerous requests to hold revivals outside his own circuit. Those which he held resulted in between three hundred and four hundred conversions and two new churches. After one year on the South Lima Circuit, such successes made the lure of independent itinerancy irresistible. Therefore, he began to tour Ohio holding protracted meetings in Methodist churches in the fall of 1882 and was granted his request that he be relieved of all his formal duties with the Central Ohio Conference at its meeting in September, 1883. Since the Methodist Church did not give official appointments in the capacity of evangelist, the Central Ohio Conference did the next best thing for Weber by recommending him to the churches, and from this time on he was known in an ever-broadening circle as a professional revivalist. 234

Most of Weber's Ohio evangelistic labors were during the years from 1882 to 1885 before a trip abroad and invitations to preach in churches from coast to coast captured his attention. 235 Since Weber,

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233 Ibid., 35-40.
234 Ibid., 40-47; Knapp, op. cit., 76.
235 Knapp, op. cit., 163-222.
unlike Jones, usually confined his Ohio efforts to the Methodist churches of the communities he visited, the local press coverage often was limited to advertisements placed there by the sponsors themselves. Sometimes, however, the fever of the meetings did arouse newspaper interest. At one of his first series of meetings after becoming a full-time evangelist at Republic, Ohio in the fall of 1882, one hundred and twenty professed conversion and the local press responded. The nature of the meetings reminded it of the days of smiting with the "flaming sword and thunderbolts of fire." Weber, it said, "came to us like a comet, and like a comet was brilliant and attractive." He was a "host in himself, bringing many bathed in tears of contrition to the penitential altar."236

Bellevue, Wauseon, and Defiance, Ohio were visited in succession by the Weber revival tornado the same autumn. At Bellevue hundreds reportedly had to be turned away night after night, and over one hundred were converted. But by telling his life story and attacking the Catholic faith in his usual manner, Weber "greatly enraged" those of that persuasion in Bellevue. On November 30, he began services at Wauseon. Noticing that the church there had no altar at which seekers could bow to pray, Weber announced that unless the people contributed enough to build one he would donate the needed money himself. The congregation immediately rose to the occasion to provide the needed revivalistic tool. Although criticism of Weber's methods ran high for awhile in Wauseon, with some of the young folks of the church even holding a mock

236Quoted in ibid., 109, 110.
revival service to imitate the evangelist after the regular meeting one night until the pastor discovered and stopped their sacrilege, interest in the services grew. About one hundred and fifty, including many of the young jesters, were numbered as inquirers before the revival closed.

Rev. S. L. Roberts, pastor of the Defiance Methodist Church, had kept his engagement of Weber a secret from his congregation until the week before the itinerant arrived on December 20, and many criticized his decision to hold a revival during the Christmas holidays. Some were further upset when, according to his custom, Weber announced at the opening service that he would stay until a set number were converted. The quota for Defiance was two hundred. The other churches in town remained aloof from the Weber campaign, but those individuals who remained faithful eventually saw the fiery preaching induce a reign of religious fervor which even saw young children going throughout the congregation pleading with sinners, and a total of nearly three hundred responding to the altar calls. On one occasion Weber turned the ringing of the town fire alarm just before he got up to preach into an occasion for mounting the chancel-rail and warning the people that the eternal fire should be their chief concern. Roberts' church reportedly admitted almost two hundred and fifty new members either on probation or by letter as Weber left town on January 15. 237

The year 1883 was the most active one for Weber among the Methodist churches of Ohio. He produced revivals in eight towns and at two camp meetings in the state besides broadening his work to accept

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237 Ibid., 111-115; Democratic Times, December 16, 1882, 4. This newspaper gave no further coverage of the meetings.
 invitations from Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Michigan. At Marseilles, Ohio, beginning on January 15, 1883, Weber set one hundred and twenty-five converts as his goal for the meetings. By the end of the month he was rejoicing that one hundred and forty had professed conversion and that his meetings had driven a village saloon, which had survived the best efforts of the local temperance people, completely out of business.

Weber then moved on to Findlay to begin what became his most successful Ohio revival in point of the number of converts. However, at first, circumstances did not seem to favor the evangelist. After he had been preaching for two evenings a flood caused the gas to be cut off, and the meetings had to be cancelled for nine days. Beginning again on February 11, he found the criticism of his methods inside and outside the church to be exceptionally potent. 238 "The devil is very mad, and many of the church members are on their dignity," he confided to his diary. "If you ask them if they are saved, they get real mad." "Some said they would strike me. All right, dear Jesus, I am ready to bear anything for you. Glory to God, we can glory in tribulation. The devil knew we were going to have a good time, and that is the reason he gets so mad." After spending nearly a whole day praying for power, Weber regained his usual determination and resolved: "I mean to stick to the truth if they tear my head off." 239 As usual, however, as his vivid portraits of the region of the damned began to rivet upon the consciences of his hearers and as the church became convinced of his earnestness,


239 Quoted in ibid., 118.
discontent over "his dash and bodily demonstrations and eccentricities" turned to enthusiastic endorsement. The persistent preacher was soon recording in his diary that "the ice is broken; the officiary say they will stand by and work." A reporter to *The Western Christian Advocate* spoke of Weber's Findlay revival which continued until March 13 as the most profound in twenty-five years in that region. For four weeks, nightly congregations numbering one thousand jammed into the local Methodist Church. Other evangelical churches finally cooperated in the effort and shared in the harvest of over five hundred converts. The form of gospel service that effected this religious concern was outlined by the *Advocate* article.

The first fifteen or twenty minutes of each evening's service was devoted exclusively to singing. It filled the whole house, and thrilled all hearts. The singing was followed by prayer. This was followed by an earnest appeal to sinners, averaging in length from twenty to thirty minutes. The evangelist makes every word tell directly on sinner's hearts and consciences. After this he gives the invitation to the altar. He leaves the pastor in charge, and spends from thirty to forty-five minutes in the congregation, persuading sinners to surrender to Christ at once. By his own personal efforts, he has led hundreds to the altar.

By spending more time speaking individually to people in the audience than preaching to them from the pulpit, Weber had carried the innovation of Edward Payson Hammond to extreme lengths, and had developed a most

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241 Quoted in *ibid.*, 118.
242 Quoted in *ibid.*, 117.
direct means of pressuring the supposed sinner for a decision to accept Christ.

To show their appreciation for the work, the evangelicals of Findlay gave Weber a calagraph valued at seventy-five dollars and "Charlie" Blakeslie, his song evangelist, a valuable watch before the two journeyed on to McComb. McComb had the reputation of being "half a mile from hell." Campbellism was particularly entrenched there. While at McComb, the invitations to Weber to preach elsewhere rivaled the number of his eighty-five local converts. Therefore, in less than two weeks, he moved on to the more promising field at Marion. Here he spoke of the Last Judgement with such effectiveness that "the people became terrified, and some came very near rushing to the altar before the sermon was done. When the invitation was given, it seemed a race as to who should get there first."244 With the local press exclaiming that "Bro. Weber for breakfast, Bro. Weber for dinner, Bro. Weber for supper, day after day, for four weeks, has been a rather tiresome dish," and with over three hundred converts to his credit, the indomitable itinerant moved on to Ridgeway.245 Although he only stayed in Ridgeway a few days, Weber supposedly saw the last saloon close its doors before he left for Clyde.

In Clyde, the young men were noted for their licentiousness and many adults had adopted Spiritualism and Universalism, but the hardy Methodist would not be denied a religious awakening. When over one

244 Ibid., 119-121. Quotation is from page 121.

245 Quoted in Ibid., 122, 123.
hundred converts in town brought the grand total of his meticulously-counted roll of converts for 1883 to the two thousand mark, Weber invited the people to join him one afternoon in a jubilee street parade to celebrate. In a display similar to that of the Sunday school parades in the nation's largest cities during the campaigns of Billy Sunday three decades later, several hundred people with Weber and his sponsoring ministers in the lead marched through the streets of Clyde "praising God and singing songs of Zion." The evangelist was overjoyed with the effects of the march. His diary entry demonstrated his emotion. "Oh, what consternation it produced on the people! Saloon keepers trembled, business men feared; but God was in it. We went back to the church, and the whole altar was flooded with penitents, and many saved." 246

Summer protracted meetings are almost nonexistent in the revivalistic tradition, but Weber attempted with success to produce religious fervor in Marysville, Ohio from June 10 until July 9, 1883. The Methodist and Congregational Churches in the town of about three thousand inhabitants united their efforts for the Weber meetings, with the local Presbyterians giving their tacit support. The budding young evangelist did not disappoint them. Long before, he had proven that he was never at a loss for a new surprise or measure to stimulate interest, and the Marysville campaign was no exception. His sermons induced such poignant conviction that, combined with the heat of the summer, the seekers often had to be fanned to keep them from suffocating. When Webber declared June 27 a day set apart for fasting and prayer, hundreds came from

246 Quoted in ibid., 123. Weber seems to have recorded the name of everyone who professed conversion in his meetings.
neighboring areas to join in the day-long activities at the Marysville Methodist Church. Since the jubilee parade had been such a success during the revival at Clyde, Weber decided to try the measure at Marysville on July 5. Several hundred gathered in the afternoon, marched through the streets singing, stopped in front of one saloon for prayer, and went on to a grove outside of town where upwards of one thousand assembled for a gospel rally. At one service Weber reserved a section for members of the militia who turned out in full uniform. When he gave the altar call one of the militiamen was so anxious to go forward that he jumped over the seat in front of him. On another occasion a young man who was unable to gain entrance to the church because of the crowd became so eager that he climbed through the window saying, "For God's sake, let me get in to be saved." In all, over four hundred were counted as new converts.247

During the remainder of the summer of 1883 Weber was engaged at camp meetings at Bayshore and Lakeside, Ohio and Franklin, Pennsylvania. By this time his reputation as a revivalist had spread abroad and he was receiving calls for his expert assistance beyond the borders of Ohio. In the two months after September 30, 1883, he attempted his first revival outside the state at Jackson, Michigan.248 When the itinerant's peculiar methods eventually produced nearly eight hundred conversions there, even his hometown Cincinnati Commercial Gazette carried an article titled "Extraordinary Religious Revival--Phenomenal Success of A

247 Ibid., 124-127. Quotation is from page 127.
248 Ibid., 128-244.
Young Cincinnati Evangelist." In the last weeks of 1883, Weber produced an awakening in Millersburgh, Ohio where one hundred and forty professed to be saved, and in Fort Wayne, Indiana where there were over four hundred converts.

In 1884 Weber limited his Ohio meetings to four in order to accept invitations as far afield as Indiana, Michigan, Iowa and the Dakota Territory. The Methodist Church and the faculty of Baldwin University at Berea, Ohio joined to invite Weber for a month of meetings there beginning in January, 1884. The evangelist found his work easier than usual in this pious, college town and produced a revival in which about five hundred were converted. In Harrison, Ohio several weeks later he launched an attack on the local saloons and Campbellites, and induced a renewal of Methodist piety and zeal which doubled the attendance at class meetings and the pastor's salary as well. In May, the busy itinerant held a campaign in Springfield, Ohio which was productive of over two hundred converts. His work for the year in Ohio was completed by a crusade in Geneva where again hundreds were reportedly converted.

The campaigns which Weber held at Bedford, Cleveland, Strongsville, and Royalton, Ohio in 1885 were his last in the state during the decade since a European tour in 1886 and revival meetings from New

249 Cited in ibid., 138.
250 Ibid., 145-147.
251 Ibid., 148-158.
252 Ibid., 148-152, 156.
Hampshire to California thereafter commanded his full attention. By the sale of his special hymnals and the contributions of the churches which he served, Weber earned much more than would ever have been possible as a local pastor. After only four years of itinerating he was able to finance a tour abroad which included visits to England, France, Egypt, Greece, and Palestine. He showed his sensitivity with regard to the amount of money he was making in evangelistic work when a reporter in Adrian, Michigan pressured him on the matter. "Yes," he said, "I get good money; and it's nobody's business how I use it." Nevertheless, he went on to explain the benevolent uses, such as helping young men through college, to which he was putting his money. In addition to his financial success, Weber's achievement of a national reputation as an evangelist, even if primarily among his own Methodist ranks, gives him the status of being Ohio's most conspicuous contribution to the profession in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, by resurrecting and popularizing the "hell fire and damnation" tradition of his own Methodist Church, he helped to establish the new (and less savory) direction of revivalism in the state.

A final contribution to the new departure of the profession in Ohio in the 1880's came in the two-week Cincinnati campaign of Rodney Smith in May, 1889. Smith did not employ the denunciatory pulpit style of Jones and Weber, but did use the fact that he was a full-blooded

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253 Ibid., 158-222. Weber continued to maintain his permanent home at Preston, Ohio, however. There is no biographical coverage of his career after 1889.

254 Ibid., 221, 222.
Gypsy from England to cast an aura of mystery about himself which aroused interest in his meetings.

When Smith visited Cincinnati in 1889 he was on his first of numerous evangelistic tours of the United States. He had been born in a Gypsy tent near Leytonstone, England in March, 1860. The tragedy of his mother's death when he was but a lad, stamped an indelible pathos upon Smith's life which seems to have carried over into the sentimental-ity of his evangelistic ministry. Soon after Rodney's father promised his dying wife that he would live a good life, he experienced a highly emotional conversion crisis at a Methodist chapel in Cambridge. Since the elder Smith and his two brothers held tent meetings of their own after this, Rodney himself came under a constant Christian influence and soon felt that he must follow the example of his father, two sisters and brother in giving his life to Christ. He began to identify being a Christian with being a success. One evening while he sat on a tree stump near his father's wagon he asked himself: "Rodney, are you going to wonder about as a gipsy boy and a gipsy man without hope, or will you be a Christian and have some definite object to live for?" He found himself quickly answering aloud: "By the grace of God, I will be a Christian and I will meet my mother in heaven!" Doubts as to whether he had actually been saved by his decision that night harassed him until,

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255 The details of Smith's life and work can be found in Rodney Smith, Gipsy Smith: His Life and Work By Himself (New York, 1907), Rodney Smith, Forty Years an Evangelist (New York, 1923), and Edward E. Bayliss, The Gipsy Smith Missions in America (Boston, 1907).

256 Rodney Smith, Gipsy Smith: His Life, 17-79. Quotation is from page 79.
on November 17, 1876, he went forward during a Primitive Methodist meeting, "placed myself by simple trust and committal to Jesus Christ," "and assurance came." 257

The teenaged Gypsy began immediately to seek the success which he had envisaged. Since no more than eight weeks of schooling one winter had constituted his formal education, Smith now began a program of self education designed, as he hoped, to prepare him for the Christian ministry. A Bible, a Bible dictionary, and an English Dictionary were his academic schoolmasters. Random open-air singing and preaching and witnessing to the folks who bought his Gypsy wares were his evangelistic teachers. His first real opportunity came in 1877 when Rodney was asked to sing at the annual conference of the Christian Mission by William Booth who later formed the organization into the Salvation Army. After hearing the song, Booth offered the Gypsy youth a position as a missionary in the Christian Mission which he accepted. 258

During his five years with this organization, "Gypsy" Smith, as he became known, gained experience in holding gospel services, developed a revivalistic style which he would use in the United States as well as England, and found a wife. He had shown his ability to draw crowds to his services in several towns where he had been stationed, but the publicity he received when Booth ousted him from the Salvation Army in 1882 for accepting a gold watch from the people at Hanley in appreciation for his work boosted him to some fame as a gospel preacher in England.

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257 Ibid., 80, 81.
258 Ibid., 68, 69, 84-96.
Staying on at Hanley by popular demand for three years, Smith took time to read Charles Finney's *Lectures on Revivals*, among other works, and began to accept invitations to hold revival campaigns in various towns. When, in December, 1885, he drew greater crowds at St. James' Bible Christian Church in London than Charles Spurgeon had at the church's opening, Smith felt that his eyes had been opened to his "true gifts and capacities" and he saw clearly that he "was called to the work of a general evangelist." Resigning his obligations at Hanley, Smith held successful crusades in England from 1886 to 1889. In 1886 he met B. F. Byrom, a cotton and wool manufacturer from Saddleworth, who urged him to follow the tradition of other revivalists and make an evangelistic tour of the United States. Therefore, with Byrom underwriting the venture and with letters of recommendation from several English clergymen, "Gypsy" Smith set sail for America on January 19, 1889.

Arriving in New York City, the evangelist ingratiated himself with the local Methodists and held a three week campaign at the Nostrand Avenue Methodist Church, Brooklyn's second largest. After that he held further meetings in New York City, Trenton, New Jersey, and Philadelphia. Finally, in mid-May he came to Trinity Methodist Church in Cincinnati where Sam P. Jones had begun his assault upon the sins of the city three years before. Pastor Howard Henderson, who had replaced I. W. Joyce at Trinity since the Jones meetings, had invited the English stranger

259 *Ibid.*, 101-158. Quotation is from page 156.
to hold a somewhat unusual spring revival. The Cincinnati press welcomed the unordained gospel preacher into town on May 11, 1889, as "a thoroughbred gypsy, and one of the singular agents that appear at intervals whose power baffles all analysis while dispelling all antagonism."

While Smith held as many as three services daily at Trinity Methodist Church and one special meeting for men only at the Y.M.C.A. in the two weeks that followed, the newspapers aroused public interest by focusing upon his Gypsy heritage and his peculiar pulpit style. The Times-Star described the dark olive skin, jet-black hair, and lustrous eyes that unmistakably marked the evangelist as a Gypsy. The Commercial Gazette further helped to lure the curious to the meetings. "Put into civilized clothes one of those stalwart, swarthy, black-eyed men whom everyone has seen marching in a caravan of Gypsy wagons," it suggested, "and you have an exact reproduction of 'Gypsy' Smith, the evangelist...." As Cincinnatians began to conjure up the classical mysterious image of the roaming, peddling, fortune-telling Gypsies, many decided that they would like to see and hear the Gypsy who had become a "civilized" evangelist. Soon Trinity Church's 1,800 seat capacity could not hold those who wished to attend the meetings.

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262 "Trinity Revival," The Western Christian Advocate, LVI (June 5, 1889), 356.
263 Cincinnati Enquirer, May 11, 1889, 16.
264 Cincinnati Times-Star, May 11, 1889, 2; May 18, 1889, 8.
265 Ibid., May 15, 1889, 8.
266 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, May 12, 1889, 8.
267 Cincinnati Times-Star, May 20, 1889, 2; "Trinity Revival," The Western Christian Advocate, LVI (June 5, 1889), 356.
Smith added to the excitement by announcing nearly a week in advance that he would give his life story, "From Gypsy's Tent to the Pulpit," on Thursday evening, May 23. In order to leave no doubt about his Gypsy origins, the itinerant also made a well-publicized pilgrimage to an encampment of his people at nearby Cumminsville. Smith was accompanied by Pastor Henderson, Rev. T. A. Snider (pastor of Clifton Methodist Church), and an Enquirer reporter who succeeded in getting his full-column account of the adventure in the next edition. It was apparent to all that professional revivalism had brought Smith a success which set him apart from his Gypsy cousins. The newsman noted that there was a striking contrast between this civilized Romany Rye and the untamed ones that soon gathered around him. He was attired in a three-button cutaway black coat and black and gray-striped pantaloons, and a white tie peeped out from under a turned-down collar. Surrounding him was a motley gathering of men, women, and children. . . . The young men wore rather shabby attire, with the never-absent colored handkerchief about their necks.

Smith liked to visit such Gypsy encampments to invite the inmates to his meetings and, if possible, to discover some of his own relatives, but he had no desire to rejoin them. In fact, he confessed to the reporter that "such meetings gave him a new zeal for his work."
Smith's services at Trinity Church displayed his simple, tender, pleading pulpit manner and his adaptable methods for getting people to accept Christ. "He is in earnest, he tells the truth in a pointed way, he is a master in managing the services that succeed the sermon," said the Times-Star. 273 If Cincinnatians found Smith's pulpit style "simple and rough" as he spoke out "directly to the point" not hesitating to "enliven his talk with touches of humor," they also were quick to notice that unlike Sam Jones he did so "without the use of any vulgar 'claptrap'" which would offend "the cultivated classes." 274 His message and methods could be adjusted to the specific needs of any particular meeting. It was observed that at his services there are no pre-arranged, cut-and-dried plans which cannot be altered; no set sermons that must be preached ..., no inflexible rules which must be carried out whatever the indications of special need may be; no formal, mechanized plans for arousing an interest or compelling men to declare themselves. 275

Of his own preaching Smith said: "I try always to give the Holy Spirit a chance to speak through me. I just let my heart flow out over the congregation." 276

Since Smith was chiefly concerned with winning individual converts rather than with saving the city as Jones had been, he paid little attention to a renewed effort in town while he was there to close the

274 Cincinnati Enquirer, May 11 and 18, 1889, 16; Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, May 12, 1889, 8.
275 Bayliss, op. cit., 30.
276 Ibid., 31.
saloons on Sundays, but concentrated his efforts in extended altar calls and after services. Once he had the members of Trinity Church to come forward to reconsecrate themselves to Christ and to pledge their support in the revival effort. Once he asked all of the Christians in the audience to stand and "show your colors." During the altar calls he often went down into the audience to talk to prospective seekers in the Hammond and Weber fashion. On Tuesday evening, May 14, "all through the congregation he walked, now stopping to shake hands with a zealous brother, now stepping over seats to reach some sinner in whom his quick eye detected some interest."

The response to Smith's message and measures by "the fashionable congregation" of the Trinity Church and the others who were attracted there during the two-week revival must have gratified the Gypsy evangelist. Not only were some of his evening meetings as large as any ever held in Trinity Church, but also a canvass was made at one time to see if Smith, like Jones, should be accorded the use of Music Hall. Although this union city-wide campaign idea was smothered in the growing heat of the approaching summer, the folks at Trinity Church invited him to return the next winter for a three-month effort which hopefully would

277 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, May 15, 1889, 4.
278 Ibid.; "Trinity Revival," The Western Christian Advocate, LVI (June 5, 1889), 356.
279 Cincinnati Times-Star, May 15, 1889, 8.
280 Quotation is from ibid.
281 Ibid., May 14, 1889, 5; May 20, 1889, 2.
become an interdenominational movement. Even though Smith seemingly never returned to Ohio for this engagement, the Methodists testified to the value of his visit to the Trinity Church:

Scores of members were satisfied who had been discontented. Misunderstandings, heart divisions, family troubles, etc. were healed; backsliders were reclaimed, letters long withheld were deposited, strangers were introduced to the pastor, [and] members were made acquainted with each other, . . . .

Nevertheless, the net membership of Trinity Church showed the same downward trend when the statistics were submitted at the fall conference after the Smith revival as it did after the Jones-Small campaign in 1886, only this time it plummeted even more precipitously. Although seventy-three had reportedly professed conversion at Smith's meetings and others decided to join the church by letter, the net membership at Trinity dropped from five hundred and fifty-one in the fall of 1888 to four hundred and sixty-five a year later.

During the 1880's Ohioans not only had heard the familiar "God is love" message of D. L. Moody, but also had become acquainted with a new trend in professional revivalism. The harsh, denunciatory language, the pulpit showmanship, the attempt to call attention to one's self by extraneous traits (such as being a converted Roman Catholic or a Gypsy), and the emphasis upon a muscular Christanity to effect moral reform were all elements of the new approach which Ohioans had witnessed in the

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282 "Trinity Revival," The Western Christian Advocate, LVI (June 5, 1889), 356.

283 Ibid.

284 Ibid.; Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York, 1888, 1889).
combined work of Rodney Smith, Joseph Weber, and Sam P. Jones. In the last decade of the century the two traditions would be operative simultaneously in the state. D. L. Moody would hold one last Ohio campaign and B. Fay Mills would make a conspicuous but unsuccessful attempt to combine the traditional revival emphasis upon individual salvation with the newer thrust towards social responsibility. However, the older pattern of revivalism would give way to the less salutary extremes of the new pulpit dramatics and vernacular sermons represented by the work of Sam P. Jones at Toledo as the century came to a close.
CHAPTER VIII

B. FAY MILLS AND OHIO'S LARGEST NINETEENTH CENTURY REVIVALS

Just as Ohioans played a key role in bringing Sam P. Jones to national attention by their response to his 1886 Cincinnati campaign, they helped to focus nationwide evangelical attention upon B. Fay Mills by their support of his revivalistic efforts in the state in the early 1890's. By cooperating with this ingenious young evangelist, they helped him to develop his District Combination Plan for effecting thorough city-wide revivals in large urban centers and, in the process, they produced the three most highly organized and most universally sponsored Ohio campaigns in the century—at Cleveland in 1891, Cincinnati in 1892, and Columbus in 1895.

Benjamin Fay Mills was born in Rahway, New Jersey in 1857.¹ His father, a Presbyterian minister, Dr. Thornton A. Mills, had been a student at Lane Seminary during Lyman Beecher's presidency, at one time had been pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church of Cincinnati and in 1860 was moderator at the Old School Presbyterian General Assembly. The younger Mills received his formal education at Phillips Academy, Hamilton

¹There is no biography of B. Fay Mills. Sketches of his life and work can be found in Dictionary of American Biography (New York, 1946), XIII, 2, 3 (by Luther A. Weigle); John J. Francis, editor, Mills' Meetings Memorial Volume (Cincinnati, 1892), 88-95; Henry Stauffer, editor, The Great Awakening in Columbus, Ohio Under the Labors of Rev. B. Fay Mills and His Associates (Columbus, Ohio, 1895), 11, 12; and
College, Wooster College, and Lake Forest College from which he graduated in 1879. When he was only nineteen years old he was given a license to preach in the Congregational Church, and in 1878 was ordained by a Congregational Council in Cannon Falls, Minnesota. After serving as pastor to churches in Minnesota, New York, and Vermont, and holding protracted meetings at other churches on invitation, Mills began to feel that he should become a full-time evangelist. Therefore, in May, 1886, with numerous calls for his services before him, he resigned his pastorate at Rutland, Vermont and became an itinerant. It was in the third year of this traveling ministry, while most of his work was confined to the small towns of New England and New York that Mills held a campaign at Youngstown, Ohio in 1889.2

During this eleven-day series of meetings from December 27, 1889 to January 6, 1890, Ohioans in the Youngstown area had an opportunity to become acquainted with the short, boyish-looking, and soft-spoken revivalist and with his song evangelist, Lawrence B. Greenwood.3 The twenty-five year old Greenwood, who had attended Boston University and was a licensed Baptist minister, had been itinerating with Mills for over a year and later attended him at his huge Cleveland and Cincinnati campaigns.4 After greeting the two itinerants at a supper at the


2Francis, op. cit., 88-91; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 330; Weigle, loc. cit.

3See the description of Mills as quoted from The Advance in the Oberlin Weekly News, October 16, 1890, 2.

4There is a brief outline of Greenwood's life to 1892 in Francis, op. cit., 96.
Y.M.C.A. on Friday, December 27, the evangelicals of Youngstown were soon aware of the fact that these revival specialists lacked neither energy nor methods.5

With the endorsement of the Youngstown Ministerial Association and at least eight local churches, Mills and Greenwood held three meetings nearly every day they were in town, either at the First Presbyterian Church or at the Trinity Methodist Church.6 Many of these were designated as special services. On Saturday evening, December 28, Mills held a Sunday school conference, a feature which became a trademark of all his campaigns.7 In these meetings, in the Moody fashion, he would offer practical suggestions to Sunday school workers and then urge them to have a "decision day" in their own Sunday schools the next morning to get the children to accept Christ. Since Mills had a particular aptitude for commanding the attention of young people and men, he tended to hold more special services for them than those exclusively for women. In Youngstown there were well attended meetings for young people from ten to thirty and for "men only" on his first and last Sundays in town.8

Mills' Sunday evening service on January 5 at Trinity Church was specifically for the "unconverted," and, while it was in progress, those

5Youngstown Evening Vindicator, December 28, 1889, 3. Mills seems to have held a revival at Marietta, Ohio at some time before the Youngstown campaign. See Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, March 3, 1892,1.

6Youngstown Evening Vindicator, December 30, 1889, 4; January 8, 1890, 1.

7Ibid., December 28, 1889, 3.

8Ibid., December 28 and 30, 1889, 3; January 4, 1890, 4; January 6, 1890, 3.
who were already Christians held a union meeting at the Baptist Church. 9

Finally, there were the two farewell services on Monday, January 6 at which Mills challenged the churches to care for the converts who had been won. 10

If Mills' sermons were simple and straightforward without the pathetic flights of eloquence or fiery outbursts of passion characteristic of a Sam P. Jones or a Joseph Weber, the methods which he was using by this time to effect revivals of religion showed clear signs of the sophistication which would eventually characterize his efforts. He was employing the use of a special hymnal for his meetings, and when their sale at the Youngstown services fell behind his expectations he reduced the price from a quarter to twenty cents. 11 His principal method for securing converts after each gospel message was the traditional after service. 12 In connection with these, he also used inquiry rooms if they were available. 13 Numerous evangelists before Mills had counted and even taken the names of their converts, but Mills pioneered in a new method, the "resolution card." 14 On this card the convert signed his name, address, and preference of church or pastor beneath the printed

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9 Ibid., January 4, 1890, 4; January 6, 1890, 3.
10 Ibid., January 7, 1890, 1.
11 Ibid., December 31, 1889, 3.
12 Ibid., December 28 and 30, 1889, 3; January 4, 1890, 4.
13 Ibid., January 7, 1890, 1.
14 Ibid., January 3, 1890, 1.
resolution: "I desire henceforth to lead a Christian life."\textsuperscript{15} The utility of such a technique in large union revivals not only for totaling the decisions, but also for informing the pastors of the converts which preferred their churches brought it into widespread usage. After his final services at Youngstown on January 6, the inventive young evangelist left for his next engagement at New Brunswick, New Jersey, but he would return to Ohio repeatedly, and each time with new revival ideas and methods.

Before the year had elapsed, Mills and Greenwood were holding a two-week union meeting in the often-revived former home of Charles Finney, Oberlin, Ohio. Once the churches of Oberlin welcomed the evangelists into town for the union effort on October 15, 1890, it became apparent that the two had added several significant revivalistic techniques to the ones they had used at Youngstown. There were still the official revival hymnal (\textit{Gospel Hymns No. 5});\textsuperscript{16} the special services exclusively for young people, men, women, and the unconverted; the Saturday evening Sunday school conference; the after services, and the "resolution" cards.\textsuperscript{17} But Mills by now had devised more efficient and more elaborate methods of awakening communities to their spiritual needs. Central to his plan was the organization in each town before his arrival of six select committees (advertising, finance, music, devotional, canvassing, and ushers) to carry out to the most minute detail the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{15}See Francis, \textit{op. cit.}, 78 for a facsimile of the cards used in the 1892 Cincinnati meetings.
  \item \textsuperscript{16}Oberlin \textit{Weekly News}, October 16, 1890, 3.
  \item \textsuperscript{17}Ibid., October 16, 23, 30 and November 6, 1890, 3.
\end{itemize}
instructions which he had carefully outlined in a booklet entitled "Suggestions to Committees in Charge of Special Meetings Conducted by the Rev. B. Fay Mills." He met with these committees as soon as he arrived in Oberlin to see that all was in readiness and then launched one of the most pervasive revivals in the pious town's history.

Mills spoke three times nearly every day at either the First or Second Congregational Churches during his two-weeks in town. Oberlin College curtailed its purely educational functions in order to allow its students to attend the services. Nearly all of the local businessmen responded to the request that they put supplied placards in their store windows to indicate that they were closing at 6:45 P.M. each day in respect to the evening gospel services. The general response to Mills' meetings was so favorable, in fact, that he called for two week days, Tuesday and Friday, October 21 and 24, to be set apart for religious worship in a manner which he would call "Midweek Sabbaths" in his later campaigns.

On the first of these days, prayer meetings in each church at 9:00 A.M. began the activities. Mills spoke at the Second Congregational Church at 10:00 A.M. There was a prayer meeting there at 2:00 P.M., and Mills preached at the same place later in the afternoon and in the evening. Secular business in town almost came to a complete standstill.

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18 See Francis, op. cit., 48-70.
19 Oberlin Weekly News, October 16, 1890, 3.
20 Ibid., October 16 and 23, 1890, 3.
21 Ibid.
Yielding to evangelical pressure, most of the stores were closed from 10:00 A.M. to 12:00 noon and again from 2:00 P.M. to 5:00 P.M. The students at the college "were given extra privileges and many recitations were entirely omitted." At the evening service, folks clogged the four aisles of the church and even stood around the pulpit in order to hear the evangelist. On the second Midweek Sabbath, the same conditions and scenes were repeated, except that more attended the evening service, if that were possible. In any case, there was elbow room enough left for Mills after he spoke on the topic "Who is on the Lord's side?" to have a few Christians stand to tell the crowd why they had joined the Lord's side, and then to give an opportunity for others to stand to indicate their decision to join.

One element of Mills' ministry which was only faintly discernible at Oberlin would develop into the most preeminent thrust of his message in years to come. In a voice that was "clear and distinct" and a manner that was "earnest and impressive," Mills presented sermons rooted in the idea of winning individual souls to Christ, but it was clear that, like Sam P. Jones, he felt that the redeemed individual had an obligation to help regenerate the society about him. On his last Sunday in town, he summed up in four points at a "men only" meeting the reasons one should serve God: It constituted the way to real manhood; it stimulated one's responsibility to his fellow men; it provided the

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22Ibid., October 23, 1890, 3.  
23Ibid., October 30, 1890, 3.  
24Ibid., October 16 and 30, 1890, 3.
great blessing that is derived in God's service; and it insured the "good hope of everlasting life."  

That Mills was able to create a widespread revival productive of a significant number of new church members in a community so familiar with, and possibly calloused by, the message and methods of professional revivalism was a feat of no small consequence. True enough, some "lovers of classical music" had taken exception with the homely hymns sung from the special song book and others had spread the rumor that the itinerants had been guaranteed a large sum for their labors, but, when literally hundreds of the seven to nine hundred who signed cards during the meetings began to join the local churches in Oberlin after Mills left, the depth of his work was vindicated. The Sunday after the Mills meetings, the First Congregational Church admitted fifty-nine new members and the Second Church thirty-four. On December 7 the Second Church admitted more new members than at any single time in its previous history, seventy-eight, while the ninety-eight who became members of the First Church the same day represented more than had been admitted at once since Finney's own revival there in 1867.

By far the most significant result of the Oberlin revival with

25 Ibid., October 30, 1890, 3.

26 Ibid. Actually, in accordance with their set policy, Mills and Greenwood accepted only the voluntary donations of private individuals in Oberlin.

27 Ibid., November 6, 1890, 3; The Exponent, November 5, 1890, 3.

28 Oberlin Weekly News, December 11, 1890, 3. The Baptists also received new members from the campaign. See ibid., November 20, 1890, 3. An Oberlin Evangelistic Union was formed during Mills' visit and
respect to the evangelistic career of B. Fay Mills was the fact that his success there attracted the attention of the evangelical church leaders at nearby Cleveland. Just after the Oberlin campaign closed it was announced that Mills had accepted an invitation to hold a series of meetings at the lakeside city the following spring. 29

The Cleveland campaign was of prime importance for Mills in two respects. First, the churches that united to invite him devised a somewhat revolutionary new method by which a union revival could be brought close to each of the far-flung sections of a modern metropolis while still uniting the whole in the spirit of a combined effort. This method Mills not only agreed to utilize, but also came to adopt himself as his District Combination Plan. 30 Second, since Mills had never before demonstrated his ability to effect a city-wide revival in a large urban center, the success of this one in Cleveland stimulated the invitations from Cincinnati, Omaha, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Providence, Columbus (Ohio), and Portland, Oregon where successful meetings brought him to the first ranks of the profession in the five years that followed. 31

In the early fall of 1890, four Cleveland churches invited Mills to come and hold meetings among them. Later, sixteen Congregational

carried the religious fervor into the nearby towns thereafter. See ibid., December 18, 1890, 3.

29 Ibid., October 30, 1890, 3.

30 Mills seems to have had less to do with the actual invention of his District Combination Plan than is suggested in McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 331. See Cleveland Leader, April 29, 1891, 6.

31 McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 330, 331.
churches sent a similar call. And finally, forty-five churches from all of the evangelical denominations in town supported Mills' coming under the auspices of the Cleveland Ministers' Union. It was during a conference in which representatives from twenty-four churches of six denominations were planning for the Mills crusade that the "district plan" was suggested. Since there was a division of opinion as to the effectiveness of merely holding a series of mass meetings at Music Hall, the group drew upon an earlier Moody method to piece together a new revival strategy. It was well-known that in London, Baltimore, St. Louis, and even in Cleveland in 1879, Moody had forsaken the central tabernacle approach to preach for a period of time in large churches in the various sections of a city. The idea of the Cleveland churches now was simply to employ Mills' highly-organized, committee revival technique first in three designated areas of town and then to climax the effort by two weeks of united mass rallies at the central Music Hall.

By the conscientious implementation of the explicit instructions laid down in Mills' "Suggestions to Committees," not only by the six committees and their chairmen (who made up an executive committee in each district), but also by a grand executive committee composed of the chairmen of each of the district executive committees, the Cleveland churches produced the most elaborately mechanized revival Ohioans had ever seen. Although some criticized the minute attention to every detail as productive of a "machine" or a "scheme for getting up a revival,"

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32 Cleveland Leader, April 18, 1891, 1; April 29, 1891, 6.
33 Ibid., April 29, 1891, 6.
the fact that it worked ultimately convinced almost everyone of its worth. Following Mills' plan, the advertising committees saw that pastoral letters, pulpit notices, posters, cards in store windows and on street cars, newspaper reports, and an extensive ticket system made the people of Cleveland aware of the movement. The canvassing committees attempted to have "every house and store and factory and office" in the city visited by someone bearing an invitation card as Mills suggested. The music committees duly secured and put on sale at the meetings the designated revival hymnal and, in cooperation with Greenwood, solicited and selected the special choirs for each of the districts and Music Hall. The committees on ushers were careful to have an adequate supply of badge-wearing men at each service to seat the crowds and to pass out "resolution" cards (along with pencils to sign them) at the end of each Mills message. The devotional committees scheduled daily union prayer meetings at 8:00 A.M., twelve o'clock noon (for businessmen at the Old Stone Church after April 7), and 2:45 P.M. (for women only). Finally, the finance committees assessed the sponsoring churches in proportion to their memberships to pay the revival expenses (which amounted to nearly $2,000 in advertising alone) and distributed the envelopes in which

34 Ibid.
35 Ibid., January 19, 1891, 8; April 29 and 30, 1891, 6.
36 Francis, op. cit., 57; Cleveland Leader, March 9, 1891, 3.
37 Francis, op. cit., 59, 60, 67, 69, 70. See the schedule in Cleveland Leader, March 30, 1891, 3 and April 8, 1891, 8.
folks were to put their personal offerings which comprised the only remuneration for the evangelists.\textsuperscript{38}

Even though the Mills meetings were not to begin until Easter Sunday, March 29, 1891, the committees began preparation by mid-January.\textsuperscript{39} By then, eleven churches were cooperating in the East District where Mills was to initiate the crusade, ten in the West, and twenty in the Central.\textsuperscript{40} As early as March 8, the Clevelanders began holding localized union meetings to start generating spirit for the approaching movement. At one of these earliest rallies at the First Methodist Church, Rev. J. H. Selden, chairman of the executive committee of the East District, confessed that Mills was being brought in because "each pastor has acknowledged that there is a crying need in his church, and that his preaching has been of little effect."\textsuperscript{41} However, Rev. Dr. George R. Leavitt, chairman of the grand executive committee for the revival, took exception to Selden's statement. Leavitt contended that sending for an expert revivalist and uniting the churches in a combined effort did not brand the Cleveland clergymen as failures.\textsuperscript{42}

\textsuperscript{38}\textit{Cleveland Plain Dealer}, April 9 and May 12, 1891, 8; Cleveland \textit{Leader}, May 9, 1891, 8.

\textsuperscript{39}\textit{Cleveland Leader}, January 19, 1891, 8; February 2, 1891, 8.

\textsuperscript{40}\textit{Ibid.}, April 29, 1891, 6.

\textsuperscript{41}\textit{Ibid.}, March 9, 1891, 3.

\textsuperscript{42}\textit{Ibid.}, February 2, 1891, 8. Leavitt had been active in the Moody convention in Cleveland in 1886, and undoubtedly felt that Mills now could effect the widespread Northern Ohio awakening which Leavitt had envisaged then. See his article "Mr. Moody In Cleveland," \textit{The Independent}, XXVIII (January 21, 1886), 14.
The week before Easter was dedicated to nightly union services in various churches throughout the city.\(^{43}\) Professor Frank H. Foster of Oberlin College attended the one at Euclid Avenue Congregational Church on Monday, March 22 to testify that Mills had mental power, was an eloquent and convincing speaker, was characterized by manliness, and that the results of his work in Oberlin were "as permanent as work of this kind can be."\(^{44}\) By the time that Mills and Greenwood held their first meeting in the East District at the same church on March 29, it was obvious that the evangelicals already had produced significant religious fervor in town. At least six union meetings were held in Cleveland on the opening day of the crusade.\(^{45}\) When the Euclid Avenue Congregational Church, where Mills was speaking that evening, overflowed, the nearby Euclid Avenue Methodist Church was filled and, by starting the first service early, the evangelist managed to preach to both congregations.\(^{46}\) The Baptist Journal and Messenger, an organ that was not easily aroused over revival movements, admitted that "Mr. Mills has begun on the top wave. Never has there been such preparation to pass the entire field on to the hands of one man, as is witnessed here." It even displayed an element of optimism: "The city is truly awake, and if the blessing shall

\(^{43}\)See the schedule in Cleveland Leader, March 21, 1891, 6.

\(^{44}\)Ibid., March 23, 1891, 8.

\(^{45}\)"Cleveland and Vicinity," The Journal and Messenger, LX (April 2, 1891), 5.

\(^{46}\)Cleveland Leader, March 30, 1891, 3.
be commensurate with the expectation it will be so large there will not be room to contain it." 47

Except that they were on a grander scale, most of the features of the nine days of Mills' meetings in the East District in Cleveland were reminiscent of those of his former Oberlin campaign. The Cleveland Leader stated that nearly all of the businesses in the east section of the city were closed from 10:00 A.M. until noon on Thursday, April 2, in deference to Mills' Midweek Sabbath while hundreds attended the revival services during the day. 48 At Mills' Sunday school conference, held at the Euclid Avenue Church of Christ on Saturday evening, April 4, he made it clear that he was not in favor of converting children by playing upon their sentiments in the Edward Payson Hammond tradition. "I would not tell them a pathetic story about the sufferings of Christ and ask them to stand up if they believed it," counselled Mills. "I would not undertake to make them cry. I would explain their obligation to the Saviour and ask them to lead Christian lives." 49 Mills distributed his usual "resolution" cards to the Sunday school teachers who attended this conference and suggested that the children in their classes the next morning be asked to register their decisions to be Christians by filling them out. 50

On Sunday, April 5, Mills held two of his customary special

47 "Cleveland and Vicinity," The Journal and Messenger, LX (April 2, 1891), 5.
48 Cleveland Leader, April 3, 1891, 6.
49 Ibid., April 5, 1891, 7.
50 Ibid.
services; for young people in the morning at Calvary Presbyterian Church and for men only in the evening at the Euclid Avenue Congregational Church. 51

All of these services were well attended and numerous folks remained for the after meetings, went into the inquiry rooms, and about 1,400 signed the convert cards. 52 The interest was so stimulated in the East District that each of the cooperating churches held nightly gospel meetings the rest of the week after Monday, April 6, when Mills moved on to the West District. Furthermore, upon the suggestion of Mills, the executive committee of the East District engaged evangelist Ford C. Ottman of Newark, New Jersey to hold union meetings at the Euclid Avenue Congregational Church for a week before Mills opened at Music Hall. 53

The revival services in the West District which were held primarily in the Franklin Avenue Methodist Church from Tuesday, April 7 until Wednesday, April 15 followed the pattern established in the East District, except that, if anything, they were more enthusiastically received and more largely attended. 54 When Mills and Greenwood moved into the Central District on Thursday, April 16, however, they faced their most

51 Ibid., April 6, 1891, 3.

52 See ibid., April 2 ff., 1891 and April 29, 1891, 6.

53 Ibid., April 6, 1891, 3. Mills had wanted his evangelistically-minded friend, Rev. John Wilbur Chapman, to come as the minister for these union meetings, but Chapman was unable to leave his pastoral responsibilities in order to come, see ibid. Chapman would be Mills' assistant evangelist during his Cincinnati crusade a year later. Ottman became Chapman's biographer.

54 Ibid., April 8 ff., 1891 and April 18, 1891, 4. The coverage by the local press decreased noticeably, however.
difficult challenge in Cleveland. The churches in that area of the city did not seem to afford the solid support that Mills had received elsewhere. Two churches there were without pastors, one church was in the process of relocating outside the downtown district, and two pastors were out of town during some of the meetings. If that were not enough, an outbreak of the flu there was reaching nearly to epidemic proportions by mid-March. The first three afternoon meetings at the First Baptist Church and the evening ones at Plymouth Congregational Church gave little reason for optimism, but on Sunday, April 19 the people of the Central District responded. 55

On that single day eight hundred children signed pledge cards in their Sunday schools, and at Mills' three services it was estimated that one thousand had been converted. 56 After having two thousand cards signed on the following day and after going on to hold a successful Midweek Sabbath in the Central District on Wednesday, April 22, Mills exclaimed that he had never seen such results as were being achieved in Cleveland. 57 Therefore, by the time he left the lakeside city on April 25 for a four-day rest at his home in Providence, Rhode Island before launching the final stage of the revival at Music Hall, Mills was thoroughly convinced that the district plan was the most effective he had ever used to awaken the citizens of a sprawling metropolis. 58

55 Ibid., April 29, 1891, 6; "Cleveland and Vicinity," The Journal and Messenger, LX (April 23, 1891), 5.
56 Cleveland Leader, April 20, 1891, 3; April 29, 1891, 6.
57 Ibid., April 20, 1891, 3; April 23, 1891, 8.
58 Ibid., April 25, 1891, 6.
While Mills was taking his brief vacation, the churches of Cleveland used Sunday, April 26 to begin gathering the harvest of new members. The Euclid Avenue Congregational Church, where Mills had held most of his East District meetings and where Ottman was currently holding forth, added eighty to its roll.\(^5^9\) It was apparent that by his meticulous attention to organizational detail and his straightforward, unemotional pulpit manner, Mills had won the hearts of the evangelical community. The Methodists were promoting his meetings in the columns of The Western Christian Advocate, and the Baptists were pronouncing his message "thoroughly orthodox.\(^6^0\) The Baptists maintained that Mills is so loyal to Christ and makes Christ so desirable that after all the impression made is Christ himself. He is entirely free from religious cant and ostentation, and appears only as the friend and advocate of Jesus, and has wonderful tact in adjusting the sinner to the source of all life.\(^6^1\)

The Baptists further testified that "the evangelists are very popular, and no criticisms against them are heard, while words of gratitude and praise to God fill the air."\(^6^2\)

Before Mills had left to recoup his strength, with nearly six

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\(^5^9\) Ibid., April 27, 1891, 3.

\(^6^0\) "Cleveland," The Western Christian Advocate, LVIII (April 9, 1891), 212; "Cleveland," The Western Christian Advocate, LVIII (April 16, 1891), 228; "Cleveland," The Western Christian Advocate, LVIII (April 23, 1891), 244; "Cleveland and Vicinity," The Journal and Messenger, LX (April 9, 1891), 5.

\(^6^1\) "Cleveland and Vicinity," The Journal and Messenger, LX (April 9, 1891), 5.

\(^6^2\) "Cleveland and Vicinity," The Journal and Messenger, LX (April 23, 1891), 5. At least one Baptist championed the more sectarian tradition, however. In "Union Meetings," The Journal and Messenger, LX (May 7, 1891), 5, Thomas Davis warned against excessive participation in union meetings since in them "you dare not say a word on baptism."
thousand converts already having signed cards, he had promised that all of the work in the districts had been but preparation for the thirteen days of meetings at Music Hall yet to come. Therefore, from March 29 to May 11 he and Greenwood labored to bring the movement to an impressive climax. Women's prayer meetings were held daily at 2:45 P.M. at the First Methodist Church, and Mills spoke there at 3:30 P.M. until the crowds by Wednesday, May 6 warranted the move to Music Hall. Each evening Mills addressed the multitudes at the 4,800 seat Music Hall. Numerous sponsoring pastors and a large interdenominational choir occupied the platform with the revivalists, but it was nearly a week before the capacity of the building was taxed by the crowds.

By Sunday, May 3, the revival tide was once again on the increase as about four thousand attended in the afternoon and four thousand five hundred men came to the meeting especially designed for them in the evening. In the latter service Mills used a device to demonstrate the worth of revivals which became a kind of trademark of his later meetings. Stating the thesis that few are converted outside of revivals, Mills had all the men who had been saved after the age of twenty-five and not during a revival effort to stand. That only a carefully counted forty-four stood, Mills said proved his point.

Mills evidenced another of his characteristics at the service

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63 Cleveland Leader, April 25, 1891, 6.
64 Ibid., April 23, 1891, 8; May 7, 1891, 6.
65 Ibid., April 30, May 1, 2, and 4, 1891, 6.
66 Ibid., May 4, 1891, 6.
the following evening when he spoke on "Infidelity in History." In his message Mills asserted that many infidels had never read the Bible, generally had not denied the purity of Christ's exemplary life, and had often acknowledged the truth of Christianity on their death beds. After the sermon, the evangelist asked everyone who wished to live a life of faith in Christ to stand, and nearly all did so except a few folks sitting together in one small section of the hall. Unlike the probable reaction of a Sam P. Jones, Joseph Weber, or even a Dwight L. Moody, when a man from that group rose to contest some of Mills' statements as the rest of the congregation was seated once again, the logically-minded, undogmatic Mills allowed him to speak. The man announced himself as one of the Sons of Liberty, and several near him applauded. When the audience rejoined with hisses, Mills championed the right of the dissenter to speak, heard his arguments very courteously, and finally replied that his own remarks had been made on sound historical authority, but that he would address himself to the subject further at a later meeting.  

It was in great measure this sense of fair play and an intellectual curiosity which could not be satisfied by mere dogmatism in the face of the questions of the age whether they be religious, social or scientific which set Mills apart from his revivalistic colleagues and which eventually led him in an unorthodox direction.

The six-week crusade reached its zenith on Wednesday, March 6 when a city-wide Midweek Sabbath was observed. Revival committeemen went to the businessmen of the city and were successful in getting about

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67 Ibid., May 5, 1891, 8.
five hundred of their stores and offices closed during the hours of the morning and afternoon services. Those who did not cooperate may have wished they had when the names of those closing were given some free advertisement by being printed in the Leader. Among those businessmen who did respond was John D. Rockefeller who telegraphed his order that all of the Cleveland offices of the Standard Oil Company should be closed during the meetings, and the local employees planned to march as a group to Music Hall to attend. Judge Noble even consented to adjourn his branch of the common pleas court for the day, but Judge White refused to do the same in the probate court. Mills had urged children to get excused from school for the Midweek Sabbath in the Central District and, on Sunday evening, May 3, the members of the congregation at Music Hall stood to indicate that they would like to have the Cleveland Board of Education dismiss all of the schools on the afternoon of the city-wide Midweek Sabbath. That the high tide of the crusade had been reached seemed evident when 3,500 attended the Music Hall meeting in the morning, nearly 5,000 in the afternoon and when the building overflowed with 5,500 packed inside to hear Mills' sermon on the unpardonable sin in the evening.

68 Ibid., May 7, 1891, 6.

69 Ibid., May 6, 1891, 6.

70 Cleveland Plain Dealer, May 6, 1891, 8.

71 Ibid.

72 Cleveland Leader, April 20, 1891, 3; May 4, 1891, 6. There is no evidence that the schools were closed.

73 Cleveland Weekly Leader, May 9, 1891, 8.
While the attendance remained large, Mills and Greenwood brought the revival to a close in the five days that followed. Since it had been rumored that the evangelists were to receive as much as $15,000 for their six-week labor, Dr. Leavitt, chairman of the grand executive committee for the movement, took special care at the Friday evening, May 8 service and in a letter to the Plain Dealer to dispel such charges. The two men had refused any set guarantee of pay and received no royalty from the hymnals sold at the meetings, he said. Their sole income in Cleveland was that contributed through the personal offerings handed to them or to two designated pastors. Envelopes in which such offerings could be placed had been distributed in each district and at Music Hall, and the executive committee published a plea for a substantial response from the public in the Leader on Saturday, May 9.

The only other vocal criticism leveled at Mills came from a traditional source, the Spiritualist camp. At a Spiritualist rally at the Memorial Hall on Mills' last Sunday in town, Mr. W. J. Colville denounced the evangelist as a mesmerist who so emotionally aroused people by hell fire sermons that it was easier for them to obey his suggestion to stand or to go forward than to refuse. Colville argued that the real teaching of Christ was to help others, not to accept Him as Savior. The Spiritualist view of Mills and his methods differed sharply from those

74 Cleveland Leader, May 9, 1891, 8; Cleveland Plain Dealer, April 9, 1891, 8.

75 Ibid. The final amount received by the evangelists was never made public.

76 Cleveland Plain Dealer, May 11, 1891, 8; Cleveland Leader, May 11, 1891, 3.
of the editor of the Leader who registered his approval of the itinerant's reasonable and moderate measures which had consciously avoided the usual revivalistic bent toward demonstration and excitement. Especially did the journalist feel that Mills' logically argued sermons had put the campaign on a solid base by appealing to thinking men.  

It was apparent that the local pastors who had supported Mills' meetings and who met with him on Monday morning, March 11, to discuss methods by which the fervor of the revival could be put to the best uses agreed with the editor's opinion. After Mills advised the clergymen to admit the card signers from his services to their churches at once and to continue Sunday union meetings at Music Hall, the ministers passed a resolution endorsing the young evangelist's message and methods. That night at Mills' farewell service at Music Hall the 5,500 who managed to gain entrance registered their approval with a handkerchief-waving Chautauqua salute when he walked onto the platform. The choir members showed their appreciation by presenting Mills and Greenwood with gold fountain pens inscribed with "God be with you" and "Christ in you" respectively. Mills gratefully thanked the newsmen, ushers, choir members, and sponsors for their cooperation in helping him to produce what had been his first large city-wide crusade. Then came the announcement that many felt should silence any sincere discontent with the movement. Seven thousand five hundred persons had signed the cards stating that they desired to live a Christian life.

77 Editorial, Cleveland Leader, May 8, 1891, 4.
78 Ibid., May 12, 1891, 5.
79 Ibid., May 12, 1891, 8.
Many churches took Mills' advice and immediately admitted numerous card signers as new members, but the effect of the revival upon the direction of the net membership in the churches in the several-year period that followed probably was a more accurate yardstick as to its result. The Congregationalists who had been instrumental in initiating the attempt to bring Mills to Cleveland found that although their yearly net increase in membership had dropped from 296 in the five years preceding his visit to 241 in the year of the revival, in the four years after the crusade it increased to an annual rate of 485. Contrariwise, the Presbyterians of the Cleveland Presbytery discovered that their churches' yearly net increase had jumped from 302 in the five years before the campaign to 387 in 1891, but that in the five years after the revival it decreased to 277. Perhaps dissension over alleged heresy in the denomination contributed to the unfavorable trend. The Methodists seemed to be the only ones who could boast a substantial net increase in the years that followed. In the five years before 1891 the Methodist churches of Cleveland had been growing at the net rate of 218 per year. In 1891 they experienced a net increase of 592 and maintained the situation with a net average addition of 482 in the following four years.

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80 Ibid., May 12, 1891, 5.
81 The Congregational Year-Book (Boston, 1886-1896).
82 Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (New York, 1885-1895).
83 Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York, 1885-1894). The statistics for the fifth year (1895) are incomplete.
If the long-range effects of the Mills-Greenwood Cleveland campaign upon the churches seemed as salutary as any previous city-wide revival in the state, its apparent immediate success stimulated unbounded praise from the cooperating evangelicals and brought Mills invitations to hold union meetings in cities to which he would not have had access previously. The Baptist Journal and Messenger spoke the sentiments of the sponsors of the revival as Mills left the city. "Never was Cleveland so moved by the spirit of God; never in the memory of the oldest Christians were evangelistic efforts so salutary and gave such promise of great blessings to follow." As to Mills himself, the same article advertised in very complimentary terms the qualities which the Baptists felt made him the greatest revivalist yet seen in the 1890's. "Mr. Mills is a little wonder, a royal 'good fellow' in the universal approval," it said. "Now add to this his organizing powers, his ever active and present good sense, his kindly spirit, . . ., his unquestioned sincerity, his marked loyalty to Christ, his voice that penetrates and thrills like a silver trumpet . . ." and you have an "attraction to the highest degree." It pointed out explicitly that "Mills is orthodox to the core," "is all right on all social questions and amusements," "has no hobbies, no slang, nothing that offends refined ears, shows no irritation, is always himself, and himself one of the most rounded men in the evangelical work." "In fact," it ventured, "he is without a peer to-day in the work to which the Lord has called him." 84

84 "Cleveland and Vicinity," The Journal and Messenger, LX (May 14, 1891), 5.

85 Ibid.
With such credentials to recommend him and his work, it was no secret why evangelicals in various major cities, including Cincinnati, began to demand Mills' services.

When the Evangelical Alliance of Cincinnati at its November 10, 1890 meeting adopted as subjects for discussion the difficulties obstructing a general revival and the methods by which such an awakening could be achieved, it laid the first foundation for what was to be the most elaborate revivalistic structure in the history of nineteenth century revivalism in the state. 86 The week following January 5, 1891, the Alliance promoted an interdenominational "Week of Prayer" and in February appointed a committee to report on "a co-operative plan" to evangelize the city. This committee suggested that a weekly union rally and union revival services in various sections of the city be started, and that "an evangelist of accredited power and usefulness be secured, to spend several months in our city and vicinity, taking the leadership of the work." 87 The implementation of these ideas fell to the executive committee of the Alliance (which later became the grand executive committee for Mills' meetings) and, chiefly because of Mills' successful Cleveland services then in progress, attention was turned toward him as the man to effect the awakening which they had envisaged for Cincinnati.

Rev. Dr. J. W. Simpson, chairman of the executive committee and pastor

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86 Francis, op. cit., 6. This memorial volume of the Mills Cincinnati crusade draws upon the minutes of the Evangelical Alliance and of the grand executive committee for the revival, news reports, and comments by the sponsoring pastors to give a most complete, if biased, account of the origins, progress and results of the movement.

87 Ibid., 7-9; Cleveland Leader, April 29, 1891, 6.
of the Walnut Hills Congregational Church, went to Cleveland in April to impress upon the young evangelist the urgency of his coming to Cincinnati for a series of meetings the next fall. After the pastors of the Alliance agreed to Mills' requirements as stated in his "Suggestions to Committees" that all regular services of their churches would be merged into the union movement, that their churches would donate all of the necessary funds, and that they would permit Mills "the sole direction of the meetings," the Vermont revivalist contracted to come at a mutually acceptable date. 88

In this manner, the preparation for the crusade began nearly a year before the first Mills' service in Cincinnati on January 21, 1892. Immediately after his Cleveland meetings on May 12, 1891 Mills visited the Queen City to finalize the agreement and to survey the scene of his future work. 89 Then, while he held seven campaigns in cities as large as Chicago in the intervening months, the revival expert and the executive committee of the Alliance carried forward the plans for his Cincinnati labors. In collaboration with the churches of adjacent Covington, Kentucky across the Ohio River, the executive committee divided the Cincinnati area into five districts and established the six committees in each which Mills' "Suggestions to Committees" stipulated. The campaign, in fact, was a demonstration of revival by committees. The chairmen of the thirty district committees formed six "general" committees to oversee the work in each district and to provide for the central mass

88 Francis, op. cit., 10, 11, 16, 35.
89 Ibid., 35; Cleveland Plain Dealer, May 12, 1891, 8.
meetings at Music Hall as the revival would come to a climax. Above all other committees stood the executive committee of the Alliance which, after September 28, 1891, assumed a distinct identity as the Mills meetings executive committee to direct the entire work. Seventy-three Cincinnati and Covington churches (more than had ever cooperated during an Ohio revival) representing sixteen denominations and about twenty thousand communicants eventually united in support of the work of these committees. An estimated two thousand citizens volunteered their services as committeemen, canvassers, ushers, and choir members.

During the meetings the extent of the work of the committees staggered the imagination. No detail was overlooked. The devotional committees made arrangements for numerous daily prayer meetings. The advertising committees kept in touch with the daily newspapers; placarded hundreds of bulletin boards, street cars, churches, and hotels with the constantly-changing announcements; attempted to keep the pastors informed of important developments; and distributed thousands of ever-changing announcement cards and tickets of admission to special services. The canvassing committees carried out a vast plan of visitation which "bore to every street and alley and home and factory the tens of thousands of personal and printed invitations." The usher committees provided Mills with a force of "assistant evangelists," as he called them, which

90 Francis, op. cit., v, 1, 36, 91.
91 Ibid., 3, 52. Facsimiles of the many forms of tickets that were used for ushers, pastors, choir members, and general admission can be found in ibid., 61-66.
92 Ibid., 3.
numbered one hundred and twenty-five at the Music Hall meetings. These men not only seated the crowds, but also passed the all-important decision cards to those who responded to the evangelist's message, and counselled seekers in the inquiry rooms. The music committees solicited choirs of from one hundred to two hundred members in each district and combined them in a one thousand voice chorus during the Music Hall meetings. As usual, *Gospel Hymns No. 5* was the official song book.

Finally, the finance committees went about collecting from the participating churches in proportion to their memberships the estimated $5,000 needed to pay for the revival, paid bills as they came in, and provided for the usual personal thank offering for the evangelists. And from a "room in the Gibson House, the hand of the one remarkable man [Mills] who planned it all rested daily and hourly upon every part of the work, and held in its grasp every detail."

Charles Finney, Jacob Knapp, and other "new measure" proponents of the early days of professional revivalism might have stood in envious awe at the sophisticated revival apparatus which Mills had invented and now had at his command. At first it was sensed in Cincinnati, however, that to many of those who, under his direction, have been engaged in the construction of this extensive and apparently complicated machinery, the mechanical features of the preparations seemed at times unpleasantly obtrusive, and some were disposed

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occasionally to criticize, and to question the necessity or propriety of it all, for a great spiritual work. 96

Nevertheless, in the end the faithful generally were convinced that Mills' insistence upon attention to every detail of his plan paid high dividends. They finally testified that:

When at length the time came for the services to begin, the wisdom of the master-mind, which in the light of a large experience and under the guidance, as no one now doubts, of God's Spirit, had devised the entire scheme from beginning to end, became at once apparent. The great machine, so perfect in all its parts, was put in motion, and unseen and unheard by the gathered multitudes, itself hidden entirely from view, as noiselessly and smoothly, and yet as efficiently, as the mighty Corliss engine at the Centennial, it did its work, and accomplished its purpose. There was no further thought of criticism. Every one who was familiar with its workings saw the value of it all, and the marvelous wisdom with which it had been planned. 97

The concept of "man made" revivals of religion had reached its most elaborately organized nineteenth century dimensions in the state.

Late in November, 1891, two months before the Cincinnati revival was to begin, Mills and Greenwood visited the city to hold a brief conference with the sponsoring pastors to see that all preparations were being carried out according to the grand design. The district committees had been formed over a month before, and by the time that the two revivalists arrived to start their work it was apparent that the planning groups had executed their wishes to the letter. At the evangelist's request, thousands of copies of a nine-page manual outlining the organizational structure and schedule of the work in each district and listing

96 Ibid., 2, 3.
97 Ibid.
all of the participating churches had been distributed. Interdenomi-
national cooperation had been honed to a sharp edge as the pastors re-
peatedly received letters from the Mills meetings executive committee
urging them to the utmost cooperative effort in preparation for the
coming crusade. On January 7, 1892 a mass meeting of pastors and
Christian workers listened to complimentary talks by two Clevelanders
concerning Mills' work there and heard Bishop Walden of the Methodist
Church survey the possibilities of revival in Cincinnati. Union prayer
meetings were conducted in each of the five districts the Sunday before
the itinerants came. As a final preparatory measure on Wednesday, Janu-
ary 20, the day before the crusade officially was to begin, prayer meet-
ings were held in each section from 9:00 A.M. until 4:00 P.M. with the
leaders and subjects changing every half hour.

On the very afternoon that Mills and Greenwood arrived, they met
with the grand executive committee, then with the supporting pastors, and
that evening opened the campaign at the First Presbyterian Church in the
Walnut Hills District. From January 21 to the end of the month the two
revivalists followed a plan in Walnut Hills which was a carbon copy of
that used in each of the districts in Cleveland, and with similar effect.

\[\text{Ibid.}, 18, 19, 41. \] This manual is inserted at the very end
of this memorial volume.

\[\text{Ibid.}, 13, 14, 22-26.\]

\[\text{Ibid.}, 24, 25. \] The Cincinnati press did not publicize the
preliminary meetings and did not give as much space to the early Mills
services as was given in Cleveland. However, as the campaign progressed
toward the Music Hall rallies the treatment by the Commercial Gazette,
Times-Star, and Enquirer became massive. See the Baptist Journal and
Messenger, LXI (January 21, 1892), 5 for the nature of the pre-revival
coverage in the religious press.
The regular afternoon meetings were conducted in the Walnut Hills Methodist Church and the evening ones in the First Presbyterian Church.
The only service on Saturday, January 23 was the Mills Sunday school conference in the evening at the Baptist Church of Walnut Hills. The day that followed was one of special services for youth in the morning and afternoon and for men in the evening. As usual, however, the peak of interest in the vicinity came with the Midweek Sabbath which was held on Wednesday, January 27. At the meeting for men only the previous Sunday, Mills had encouraged the closing of stores for the occasion by asserting that a man who had cooperated in Cleveland found that he had done more business in the few hours his business was open on that day than he usually did in a full day. On another occasion, the evangelist advised Christians to be careful to patronize the Catholics, Jews and infidels who closed their stores in favor of the Midweek Sabbath. As a result of the effort, over one hundred places of business in Walnut Hills were reported closed for several hours during the meetings of the Midweek Sabbath while the Cincinnati Enquirer carried a three-column report of the meetings and pictures of Mills and other revival dignitaries.102

After a final Sunday in the Walnut Hills District marked by growing crowds in attendance upon separate special meetings designed exclusively for men, women, youth, and non-church members, the initial thrust of the revival ended, and, with the first of February, it entered a second,  

101Francis, op. cit., 101-122; Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, January 25, 1892, 3.

102Francis, op. cit., 126-134; Cincinnati Enquirer, January 27, 1892; Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, January 28, 1892, 12.
more elaborate phase which brought urban professional revivalism to its nineteenth century pinnacle in the state. 103

In October, 1891 Mills had written to the grand executive committee that he had secured the services of his ministerial friend, Rev. Dr. John Wilbur Chapman of the Bethany Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, to be an assistant evangelist with whom he would hold simultaneous meetings during the first three weeks of February, 1892. 104

Born in 1859 in Richmond, Indiana, and the product of Christian nurture, Chapman had confessed Christ at an early age and joined the Presbyterian Church when he was seventeen. 105 He later attended Oberlin College for one year and, in 1878, entered Lake Forest College where he became a classmate of B. Fay Mills. Since Chapman had never had the usual evangelical crisis religious experience, while he was a student at Lake Forest he sought out a Moody meeting in Chicago, attended the inquiry service, and was persuaded through the Scriptures by the renowned revivalist himself that his faith in Christ had in fact saved him. 106 From that time on he felt that he should become an evangelist. 107

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103 Francis, loc. cit.; Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, January 30, 1892, 8.

104 Francis, op. cit., 17.

105 Ford C. Ottman, J. Wilbur Chapman: A Biography (Garden City, New York, 1920) is the best complete biography. There is autobiographical comment in Chapman's introduction to his own Revivals and Missions (New York, 1900), and he outlines his own system for producing revivals (patterned after that of Mills) in his Present-Day Evangelism (New York, 1903). A brief outline of Chapman's life to 1892 is in Francis, op. cit., 215-217.


107 Chapman, Revivals and Missions, vii.
Mills graduated in 1879 and immediately entered the ministry, Chapman pursued the three-year theological course at Lane Theological Seminary. By the time he graduated in 1882 he had demonstrated his aptitude as a gospel preacher in various churches in the Cincinnati area. All the while he kept in contact with Mills who was instrumental in securing him a pastorate at the Dutch Reformed Church at Schuylererville, New York. Both men employed revivalistic techniques in their churches, and Chapman confessed that "the conviction grew upon me that I ought to devote my entire time to the work" of evangelism. Therefore, although he saw his churches at Schuylererville, then at Albany, and finally at Philadelphia grow rapidly under his revival emphasis, Chapman could not resist the temptation occasionally to join Mills in the city-wide campaigns for which the latter already had abandoned a fixed charge. The Cincinnati crusade was the fifth and largest such effort in which the two had united their skills, and its success lured Chapman into full-time itinerancy, at least for awhile.

Not only was Chapman brought to Cincinnati as an assistant preacher, but he was also provided with his own song evangelist, former Moody and Sankey associate, itinerant, and gospel hymn writer, George C. Stebbins. Therefore, two highly specialized gospel teams, Mills-Greenwood and Chapman-Stebbins, together with the zealous local committees were now ready to begin the most intensive effort to evangelize

110 An outline of Stebbin's life is given in Francis, op. cit., 218-220.
the citizens of the Queen City and Covington that had ever been attempted. The plan itself was relatively simple. The four remaining revival districts would receive the attention of the evangelists from February 1 to 21 before Mills began his final two-weeks of mass rallies at Music Hall. The first ten days would be devoted to the well-to-do Mount Auburn and the Covington districts while the last eleven would be spent in stimulating religious fervor in the Cincinnati East and West Districts which were combined as the United Central District.

Beginning on Monday, February 1, Mills and Chapman traded pulpits daily for the afternoon and evening services at the First Presbyterian Churches in the Mount Auburn and Covington Districts. This gave the folks of each area the opportunity of hearing preachers and singers of varying styles while all shared the common sermons which were repeated in each section. The secular press was quick to notice, however, that there was a significant contrast in the kind of response which the revival methods received in the two districts. While they easily stimulated an emotional involvement among those on the Kentucky shore, "the cold, calculating Buckeyes, whose lives have been spent with a practical wrestling with the world and a lack of the emotional" were not so visibly moved. The wealthy folks of the Mount Auburn, Clifton and Avondale areas were willing enough to help finance the movement, but they did not attend the services in large numbers until the last few meetings,

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111 Ibid., 147, 198.

112 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, February 5, 1892, 4.
and the emotion that they displayed was of "the sort that puts off action for cool, sober second thought." 113

In the Mount Auburn District the usual special Mills meetings, such as the Sunday school convention at the local Baptist Church on Saturday, February 6, were supplemented by an added attraction when Mrs. Ballington Booth from London, England addressed a gathering for women only at the same Baptist Church on February 7. 114 Nevertheless, the fact that no Midweek Sabbath was reported in this district seems to indicate that Mills was aware of the opposition with which such a measure might be confronted there.

Meanwhile, the response in Covington exceeded the original one in Walnut Hills. The sponsors observed that "the hearts of hundreds of people were reached with very little apparent effort, and the responses to the invitations to remain to the after meeting, to rise for prayer, and to sign the cards, were so large as to approach unanimity." 115 Not only were the regular and special services well attended there, but also the Midweek Sabbath idea was adopted wholeheartedly. Upwards of two hundred businesses (ten of them saloons) closed at stated hours during the morning and afternoon of Tuesday, February 9 in respect to the services. 116

113 Quotation is from ibid. See also ibid., February 6, 1892, 8 and Francis, op. cit., 145, 146.

114 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, February 8, 1892, 5; Francis, op. cit., 145.

115 Francis, op. cit., 167.

116 Ibid., 169, 170; Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, February 9, 1892, 4.
If Mills was encouraged by the fact that well over two thousand people already had signed the resolution cards in the first three districts, he also might have felt assured to know that his efforts were receiving a more thorough support from the Cincinnati evangelicals than they had ever accorded a city-wide movement. In token of this cooperation, the editors of the local evangelical organs (The Journal and Messenger, The Western Christian Advocate, The Herald and Presbyter, and The Christian Standard) along with Bishop Walden of the Methodist Church and Professor E. D. Morris of Lane Theological Seminary served as an advisory committee to the fifteen-man Mills meetings executive committee.117 The religious press reflected this close association in both advertisement and favorable comment. The Methodist periodical suggested that "the work has been organized on a basis of extent and perfectness not hitherto known, and it goes forward with the precision of movement that characterizes a well-ordered military operation."118 The Baptist comments made it clear why they could unitedly back Mills when they had been divided in opinion over Sam P. Jones. "Mr. Mills' methods are somewhat different from those of most evangelists," it explained.

There is less of the sensational, and very little that any one would consider objectionable. It has been remarked that he has a good deal of method and a good deal of machinery, but

117Francis, op. cit., 351. See page six in manual at end of volume.

118"The Mills Meetings," The Western Christian Advocate, LIX (January 27, 1892), 52. See also "Cincinnati and Vicinity," The Western Christian Advocate, LIX (February 10, 1892), 84 and "The Mills Meetings," The Western Christian Advocate, LIX (February 17, 1892), 100.
there are no objectionable methods and no useless machinery. There is no claptrap, no humbug, nothing to be concealed.\textsuperscript{119}

While on the wall behind him an arch of gas jets spelled out in large letters "Glory To God In The Highest," Mills initiated the series of meetings in the United Central District at St. Paul Methodist Church on Thursday, February 11. At the same time Chapman started the other wing of the Central District revival at the Central Congregational Church.\textsuperscript{120} The schedule in this largest of districts was for five meetings each weekday which either Mills or Chapman or both attended. At 10:00 A.M. a service was held at the Central Congregational Church, at noon a prayer meeting was conducted at the First Presbyterian Church, at 3:30 P.M. the service was at the Ninth Street Baptist Church, and two gospel meetings were held each evening at the St. Paul Methodist and Central Christian Churches at which the evangelists spoke alternately.\textsuperscript{121}

The impetus created by the increasing momentum of the vast revival machinery became increasingly evident during the regular and special meetings in this district. When Mills held his customary Sunday school conference at the Y.M.C.A. on Saturday, February 13, over one thousand came.\textsuperscript{122} The following Monday noon prayer meeting was designated a "Good Cheer" meeting and nearly all of the students from Lane

\textsuperscript{119} \textit{"The Mills Meetings,"} \textit{The Journal and Messenger}, LXI (February 25, 1892), 1. See also \textit{"Cincinnati and Vicinity,"} \textit{The Journal and Messenger}, LXI (January 21, 28, February 11 and 18, 1892), 5 for Baptist reaction.

\textsuperscript{120} \textit{Francis, op. cit.}, 179.

\textsuperscript{121} \textit{Ibid.}, 99.

\textsuperscript{122} \textit{Cincinnati Enquirer}, February 14, 1892, 8.
Seminary and many pastors from the surrounding area were in attendance to observe the workings of the revival as reported by local ministers and representatives who had participated in Mills' Cleveland, Indianapolis, and Chicago revivals. Since the revival committees would be requesting the downtown business to close for a Midweek Sabbath during the final Music Hall meetings, they did not ask them to do so on February 17 when Mills held the services usually associated with such a day in the Central District. However, the huge crowds which attended these meetings and those subsequently held in that section until February 21, when Chapman returned home, betokened the overflow audiences which would greet Mills at Music Hall in the two weeks that brought the awakening to a climax and to a close.

As the seventy-three sponsoring churches and the revival committees joined their efforts with the professional revivalists in the grand finale at Music Hall from February 22 to March 6 the most sustained union meetings in nineteenth century Cincinnati reached its zenith. The pattern and nature of the meetings did not deviate from those held in each district, but the great numbers in attendance gave them a cosmopolitan flavor which served to attract even more people to them. Unlike many evangelists, Mills was careful not to alienate any religious or racial group from the services. With respect to Roman Catholics, he was

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123 *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, February 16, 1892, 8; Francis, *op. cit.*, 240.

124 *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, February 18, 1892, 5; February 22, 1892, 8. Over 4,000 signed convert cards in the Central District. See Francis, *op. cit.*, 351.
careful that "their beliefs and church rules were in no way disturbed or assailed." He was quick to praise Jews and so-called infidels who agreed to close their stores for his Midweek Sabbaths. He also made it clear that Negroes were welcome in the services and saw that they were treated courteously.

It was estimated that twelve thousand people were at Music Hall on the opening evening of the meetings there. Eight thousand reportedly gained entrance to hear Mills' sermon, "Woe to them that are at ease in Zion," and the singing of the eight hundred voice choir, while many of the remainder sought out an overflow meeting at the Ninth Street Baptist Church. The afternoon meetings were held in this same church until the size of the crowds warranted moving them to Music Hall after February 29. The noon prayer meetings, which were a kind of hub of the revival effort in which the needs and successes of the crusade were reported, were now held at the First Presbyterian Church. Night after night the attendance at Music Hall was very large, sometimes taxing the seating capacity of over five thousand beyond its limits. Special services were employed frequently. Three thousand men attended a meeting for them on Wednesday evening, February 24, where Mills attempted to

125 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, February 29, 1892, 8.

126 Ibid. Nevertheless, Mills did cancel a speaking engagement at the Negro Allen Temple in order to preach at the Bethel Chapel in Newport on Sunday, February 28. See ibid., February 25 and 26, 1892, 8. Francis, op. cit., 231.

127 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, February 23, 1892, 5; Francis, op. cit., 249-252.

128 Francis, op. cit., 99.
impress them with the necessity of cooperating with the grand Midweek Sabbath which was just one week away. Some thought that as many as twenty thousand had heard the evangelist on Sunday, February 28, as both the youth only and the men only meetings overflowed Music Hall.

After a special meeting for mothers the following evening, the revival moved directly towards its climax in the city-wide Midweek Sabbath on Wednesday, March 2. By their zealous and persistent solicitation, the revival committeemen persuaded the owners of Cincinnati stores, shops and offices to close an almost unbelievable three to four thousand establishments during the hours of the services. The sponsors of the crusade stated that some businesses did not open at all on Wednesday in favor of the revival, while many others closed for the day in the early afternoon. The downtown district, in fact, wore the silent appearance of the Sabbath as nearly all of the stores on some of the major streets displayed the cards explaining why they were closed. Since it was known in advance that the Hall could not accommodate all those who wished to witness the services, the workmen of the city decided not to march to the Hall from their jobs in groups, but rather to take their chances of admission individually. It was estimated that of the throngs that stormed Music Hall at the three Mills meetings that day,

129 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, February 25, 1892, 8.
130 Ibid., February 29, 1892, 8; Francis, op. cit., 267-269.
131 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, March 1, 1892, 8.
132 Ibid., March 2, 1892, 8; Francis, op. cit., 288.
133 Francis, op. cit., 288, 289.
twenty thousand actually heard the evangelist. The next day the Cincinnati newspapers outdid one another in their coverage of this unprecedented event. The Commercial Gazette devoted its entire front page to the details of the Midweek Sabbath, including large pictures of Mills and Greenwood and small ones of twenty-one of the participating pastors. It was a great triumph for the Evangelical Alliance, said the Gazette, since the revivalists which it had employed now had captured the city as they already had won the hearts of "many good people."

Although the crowds remained large and the enthusiasm continued high for the four days which remained in the campaign, a farewell flavor seemed to predominate after the peak of the Midweek Sabbath. An usher's banquet for all the men who had served during the Cincinnati meetings already had been held on February 22. On Saturday evening, March 5, the sponsoring churches held a farewell banquet for Mills and Greenwood at the Gibson House where a select group of about two hundred and seventy pastors and committee members met to praise the revivalists' work. The Mills meeting executive committee already had taken measures to assure that the details of the historic Cincinnati crusade would be included in the annals of Ohio revivalism. On February 8, Rev. Simpson, chairman of the committee, had suggested that a memorial

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134 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, March 3, 1892, 1.
135 Ibid. See also Cincinnati Enquirer and Cincinnati Times-Star, March 3, 1892.
136 Francis, op. cit., 323.
137 Ibid., 326, 327; Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, March 6, 1892, 3.
volume be compiled to describe and to commemorate the movement then in progress. It was not a novel idea, but the nearly four hundred page Mills' Meetings Memorial Volume which represented its fruition was the largest and most elaborate such work ever produced after any revival in the state.

On the last day of the campaign, Sunday, March 6, Mills held four services. In the morning he spoke at the House of Refuge and at the City Work House, while the churches held their regular services. In the afternoon and evening he spoke at Music Hall. The choir which had grown to one thousand made the afternoon meeting the occasion for presenting Greenwood with a gold watch in appreciation of his work. In several respects the last mass rally that evening was reminiscent of the last night of Sam P. Jones' Cincinnati revival in 1886. The thousands that overflowed Music Hall were directed into a meeting led by Rev. Johnston Myers at the Odeon. The size and enthusiasm of the crowd could only be compared by the local press to that formerly known at political gatherings. When Mills launched one last assault upon dancing and other amusements, the congregation of eight thousand inside Music Hall could restrain itself no longer and, for the first time during the crusade, applause interrupted Mills' delivery. "I am glad you like it," he responded. After a final invitation for the penitent to sign

138 Francis, op. cit., 44.
139 This book gives the most complete view of the workings of a Mills revival available in a single volume.
140 Ibid., 305.
141 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, March 5, 1892, 9; March 7, 1892, 8. Quotation is from Francis, op. cit., 310.
resolution cards, and words of praise from the sponsoring ministers for the evangelists, the press and all who cooperated, the vast audience gave Mills a handkerchief-waving Chautauqua salute, and his Cincinnati meetings were history.

In a total of one hundred and two sermons with after services following most of them, Mills and Chapman had demonstrated the effectiveness of their methods by the fact that over eight thousand people had signed the cards indicating their desire to serve Christ. The evangelicals of Cincinnati were completely convinced of the merit of Mills' plan for revivals by committee and of the fact that a significant awakening had been produced in their city. The Methodist Western Christian Advocate ventured: "It is safe to say that Cincinnati was never so thoroughly aroused." It conceived Mills as "a consummate strategist" who "made approaches toward the great central Music Hall like a general fighting his way to a citadel." The participating ministers on the scene viewed the movement as a vital contact with the laboring masses, a means to greater interdenominational achievements, and a stimulant to the numerical, financial, and spiritual growth of each congregation.

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142 Francis, op. cit., 312-317; Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, March 7, 1892, 8.
143 Francis, op. cit., 27, 28, 351.
144 "After The Mills Meeting?" The Western Christian Advocate, LIX (March 9, 1892), 152.
145 Ibid. See also the favorable opinion of Mills and the campaign in "The Mills Meetings," The Journal and Messenger, LXI (March 10, 1892), 4.
146 See the remarks of the local pastors in Francis, op. cit.,
The churches had contributed $5,285 to pay for the revival, but felt that if they gained one thousand new members they would be well re¬
paid. The Commercial Gazette boldly predicted that, although no former city-wide efforts had increased church membership in town to a significant degree, as many as eight thousand might be expected to join the churches now, raising the total adherents by 25 per cent. Those who waited to consult the statistics of the major evan¬
gleical churches of the city in the period following the Mills meetings before making a judgement, however, found the usual nebulous picture with regard to the ultimate effects upon net church membership. Despite the fact that at the last mass rally of the crusade Rev. Dr. G. K. Morris of St. Paul Methodist Church had assured the vast audience that the churches of the city were "just as open to the people as Music Hall" and that the pastors welcomed folks "from the factories, from the homes, from the hills, and from the slums," it was obvious on the whole that the masses preferred the spectacle of union meetings to the commonplace of regular church routine. True, the churches generally gained more in net membership in 1892 than they had increased on the average annually in the previous five years, but some fell significantly below that average in the five years after the revival. The Congregational churches of

312, 313, 341-348 and in "Close of the Mills Meetings," The Western Christian Advocate, LIX (March 16, 1892), 164.

147'The Mills Meetings," The Journal and Messenger, LXI (March 10, 1892), 4.

148 Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, March 7, 1892, 8.

149 Francis, op. cit., 312, 313.
the city which had shown a meager yearly net increase of only ten since 1886 raised it to eighty-nine in 1892. Nevertheless, in the five years following Mills' visit the same statistic for these churches dropped to only six. The Presbyterian churches of the Cincinnati Presbytery had the same experience. They had added a net annual average total of three hundred and fifty-five new members in the half-decade before Mills' crusade and increased that figure to four hundred and twenty-five in 1892, only to see it decline to a startling one hundred and twenty-four during the five subsequent years. On the other hand, the Methodists, for one group, could boast that the campaign had aided them on both accounts. Their Cincinnati churches had added a net annual total of only sixty-two new members in the five years before 1892, but saw that number rise to one hundred and forty-eight in that year and stabilize at one hundred and seventeen in the similar period afterward.

In any case, as in the Cleveland campaign, the immediate religious stir which was produced was interpreted by enough folks as complete success to boost the revival-creating reputations of the evangelists involved. For J. Wilbur Chapman, the Cincinnati meetings had brought his

150. The Congregational Year-Book (Boston, 1887-1898). In arriving at the last figure the membership of the Storrs Church was counted at ninety-seven in 1897.


152. Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York, 1886-1897). When the Baptist ministers met a week after Mills left, they told of their great effort to secure new members from among the card signers, but admitted that "the ingathering is not large." See "Cincinnati and Vicinity," The Journal and Messenger, LXI (March 17, 1892), 5.
interest in itinerant evangelism to the point that the following fall he resigned his pastorate at Bethany Church in Philadelphia to accept the calls which he was receiving to hold union meetings. Adopting, and even elaborating upon the revival methods which he had learned during his work with Mills, Chapman became one of the best-known revivalists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Before 1900, he held two extended campaigns in Ohio at Springfield from February 19 to March 6, 1893 and in Mansfield from February 15 to March 6, 1894. After 1900 he visited the state on a number of occasions until his death in 1918. Chapman's career contributed to the revivalistic profession in at least two regards. First, he perpetuated Mills' complex system of highly organized urban revivals after Mills himself had renounced evangelical principles and revivalism in 1897. Second, for nearly three years after 1893 Chapman employed a former professional baseball player and Chicago Y.M.C.A. worker, William A. ("Billy") Sunday, as his advance man. Thus he unwittingly became the revivalistic mentor of the man who was to become the most celebrated evangelist of the 1910's and 1920's.

153 Ottman, op. cit., 65, 85.

154 Compare Chapman's revival methods as outlined in his Revivals and Missions, 83-126 and Present-Day Evangelism, 124-213 to those of Mills.


157 William G. McLoughlin, Jr., Billy Sunday Was His Real Name (Chicago, 1955), 9; Elijah P. Brown, The Real Billy Sunday (Chicago, 1914), 74; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 405.
For Mills, the Cincinnati meetings were another step into the
broadening field of opportunity that had begun to open to him with his
Cleveland crusade in 1891. Nevertheless, when he returned for his last
Ohio revival at Columbus in November, 1895, his inquisitive wrestling
with the complex problems presented by the urban societies in which he
preached and the intellectual influence of Professor George D. Herron of
Grinnell College had brought him to accept ideas which would shortly
lead him out of not only the revivalistic profession, but also eventually
out of the orthodox fold.\textsuperscript{158} They were the concepts of the social gospel
which transformed Mills' message from the traditional, simple evangelical
appeal for personal repentance and conversion into an attempt to save
society by injecting Christian ethics into the social, economic and
political dimensions of life and thereby to establish the kingdom of God
on earth.\textsuperscript{159}

Mills first enunciated his conversion to the position of the
social gospellers in an address before the World's Parliament of Reli-
gions in Chicago in 1893.\textsuperscript{160} The next year, as his revival messages be-
gan to become increasingly saturated by his new emphasis upon the sins
of society, the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of all men, and the
millennial hope, Mills published a book of his sermons, \textit{God's World}, in
which his new position was clearly stated.\textsuperscript{161} Finally, during the

\textsuperscript{158}Ottman, \textit{op. cit.}, 28; Weigle, \textit{op. cit.}, 2.
\textsuperscript{159}McLoughlin, \textit{Modern Revivalism}, 336-341.
\textsuperscript{160}Weigle, \textit{loc. cit.}
\textsuperscript{161}B. Fay Mills, \textit{God's World} (New York, 1894), 31, 229, 230, 279.
Columbus, Ohio crusade he initiated a new form of Christian convention as a further device by which to spread the progressive reform doctrine. The evangelicals of Ohio were familiar with Moody's conventions in which the chief concerns were finding better methods of conducting gospel services and of attracting the masses into the churches, but these were not the subjects with which Mills wished to wrestle. In his convention the topics for discussion included "Evils in Material Conditions," "The Christianization of Business," "The Regeneration of Politics," "Educational Defects," and "The Salvation of Society."\(^{162}\)

That Washington Gladden, pastor of the First Congregational Church of Columbus and a foremost leader of the social gospel movement, joined wholeheartedly with the ministers of thirty-seven other churches in supporting the Mills meetings in the state capital was indicative of the fact that the crusade represented a new departure in professional revivalism.\(^{163}\) There were, in effect, two phases of the Columbus campaign. One was contained in the usual manifestations of a Mills revival; numerous committees, a Sunday school conference, Midweek Sabbaths, special meetings, and gospel services in which converts were sought. The other aspect was found in the daily noon prayer meetings for businessmen and the Christian convention in which the basic idea of infusing Christian morality into the economic, political, and social spheres of life was stressed.

The purely evangelistic facet of the movement was carried out by

\(^{162}\)Stauffer, op. cit., 71-122.

\(^{163}\)Ibid., 7, 8. Four other churches participated unofficially. See Ibid., 9.
the largest team of itinerant workers ever employed during a nineteenth-century revival in Ohio. In place of Greenwood as his song evangelist Mills now had the De Pauw University trained musician, Harry L. Maxwell. Mills' assistant evangelist, who spoke alternately with him in each district as Chapman had in Cincinnati, was the recent Princeton College and Princeton Seminary graduate, W. E. Biederwolf. The song evangelist for Biederwolf was John P. Hillis, a former member of a minstrel troupe and an associate of Mills since November, 1892. Rev. John H. Murray, born in Columbus in 1866 and an inmate of the Ohio Penitentiary where he was converted in the mid-1880's, was a member of the Mills group as an assistant preacher. The executive committee originally divided Columbus into four districts (North, West, East, and Central) which excluded the south section of town in which the German-American element was predominant. Later, it decided that that area also should be included in the movement. Therefore, it secured additional revivalists who could carry the gospel message there in the language which best fit the ears of the people. This increased the evangelistic team to seven as Nathaniel Nicolai, Russian born agent of the Brooklyn City Mission and Tract Society, and P. P. Bilhorn, German-bred gospel song writer of some note, began meetings at the German Methodist Church on November 27, which were moved to the three thousand seat Turner Hall after December 1.

164 See ibid., 11-14 and Columbus Evening Dispatch, November 25, 1895, 8 for a brief statement about each of these men and Mills.

165 Stauffer, op. cit., 14; Daily Ohio State Journal, November 22, 1895, 4; November 23, 1895, 6, November 30, 1895, 4. It was a curious fact that Mills was the only member of the revival team over thirty years old.
First the residents of the North and West Districts from November 19 to 26, and then those of the East and Central Districts from November 27 to December 4 responded to the Mills revival machine and evangelistic message much as the citizens of Cincinnati and Cleveland had during his efforts there. The crowds grew to near-overflow proportions as Mills and Biederwolf alternated in the afternoon and evening services at the Third Avenue Methodist and Gift Street Methodist Churches in the North and West Districts respectively. Demonstrative of Mills' continuing concern for individual converts, the inventive itinerant had brought his decision card system to a new level of sophistication by this time. Instead of having the regular ushers distribute decision cards after his sermons, Mills now had assistant ushers who were seated throughout the audience where each would have access to thirty seats around him and could quietly pass cards and pencils to anyone who seemed to respond to the gospel message. The cards were collected each night by secretaries and given to the ministers whose names the signers had indicated as their preferences in order that a visitation program could be implemented immediately. After the usual special services for the youth, men, women, and mothers of these two districts and a Midweek Sabbath (on November 26) which was not accompanied by a curtailment of

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166 The religious press gave most of its attention to the Christian convention rather than to the evangelistic meetings. See The Western Christian Advocate, LXII (November 27, December 4, 11, and 18, 1895) and The Journal and Messenger, LXIV (November 28, 1895), 4.

business activities, Mills and Biederwolf moved on to the East and Central Districts.

Near-capacity crowds numbering one thousand or more greeted the revival preachers at the Broad Street and Second Presbyterian Churches in the East and Central Districts respectively from their opening night on November 27. Since no Midweek Sabbath was observed, the climax of the week of meetings came on Sunday evening, December 1 at a service for men only at the Second Presbyterian Church. Unexpected and unannounced, the Governor of Ohio, William McKinley, accompanied by Captain Hiestand, walked down the aisle and was seated near the platform. As quickly as it could find its voice the choir broke into an unrehearsed "America." Then, after Maxwell led the congregation in the "Doxology" and "Nearer My God to Thee," everyone stood and gave the Governor a rousing welcome with a Chautauqua salute.

While the attempt to save souls had been going on in the districts and was moving into its final, climactic stage in meetings at the Park Rink beginning on Thursday, December 5, Mills was making a diligent effort to save Columbus society as well. In noon prayer meetings especially for businessmen throughout the revival, starting at Washington Gladden's First Congregational Church on November 20 and moving to the Board of Trade Auditorium on December 2 in an attempt to accommodate the large audiences, and in a Christian convention from December 3 to 6,

168Ibid., November 23, 1895, 3; November 25, 1895, 4; November 27, 1895, 3.
169Ibid., November 28, 1895, 4.
170Ibid., December 2, 1895, 4.
Mills focused upon the problems of American society from a position championed by no other professional revivalist before or since. For the first week at the noon meetings he defined the evils and sins of society as he viewed them, and for the last three weeks presented their solution.

Mills' vision of social ills scanned an horizon which was not only as broad as that seen by the social gospellers, but also was as far-reaching as that viewed by the secular progressives, Henry D. Lloyd, Edward Ballamy, Henry George, and Richard T. Ely. 171 "We have a form of freedom in which we are bound by invisible chains, through the agencies of political corruption," he declared. Then he elaborated:

Our industrial and commercial system, great and marvelous in its development and, like our political form of organization, a great improvement upon the past is to the enlightened conscience of today, unchristian in its aim, selfish in its methods and baneful in its results. Governors and judges are many of them personally and officially vile, and the lawmaking and the law-enforcing power is controlled at times by unholy financial interests in the most dishonest, unjust, tyrannical and shameless manner. Social standards are such as to blight with their mockery of justice all but the most believing hearts.172

With the applause of the huge audiences whetting his zeal to attack the forces of organized evil, the novice social gospeller pulled other sins out of the dark closet. "There was no worse crime ever committed," he asserted, "than across Broad Street [at the state Capitol] when a senator had his seat purchased and when he went to take it prevented the investigation that was cried for by the press and reputable people of the state."173 Mills also saw "the unprecedented accumulation

171 Columbus Evening Dispatch, December 16, 1895, 7.
172 Daily Ohio State Journal, November 22, 1895, 4.
173 Ibid., November 22, 1895, 4; November 26, 1895, 3.
of money, land and other property in the hands of a few" as evidence of
sin in society. On the other hand, he cautioned that

another sign is the combination of masses of men who may have
been wronged, to destroy property. I don't refer to labor
societies that are doing the great work for their kind. At
the head of some of them are men of the highest methods, but
there are others who are ruled by men who have no conscience.

In mentioning another social sin, he touched the very heart of his own
gradual shift in theological position away from the need for personal
salvation. "This wrapping up ourselves in our own salvation and not
seeking for that of the whole world is the demonology of hell rather
than the theology of heaven," he exclaimed.

I don't believe Christ ever uttered anything that was intended
solely for individuals and not for society in general. We
won't win individuals to righteousness until we have demon­
strated the ability to win society. The great moral movement
that God is carrying on in society will have a marvelous effect
in causing men to forsake their sin.\(^\text{174}\)

To a degree unequaled by any other evangelist, Mills laid bare
the corrupt practices of business and the Church in his Columbus noon
meetings. He denounced the Pullman Company, the Brooklyn Street Car
Company and Jay Gould for refusing to arbitrate with their discontented
workers. "To give men political equality and industrial despotism is to
store dynamite for an earth-transforming explosion," he warned.\(^\text{175}\) Nor,
Mills made it clear, could philanthropic gifts to churches, colleges, or
hospitals appease the conscience of those who had amassed fortunes un­
justly. Presumably referring to Chicago University, to which

\(^{174}\text{Ibid., November 26, 1895, 3.}\)

\(^{175}\text{Stauffer, op. cit., 67.}\)
John D. Rockefeller had contributed, and the Armour Institute respectively, the revivalist charged:

The most conspicuous Christian university of this continent, bidding fair to be the greatest Christian school of the world, was built by money drawn from various sources, but most of it money that was gained by the commission of almost every sort of crime that is possible to the hands and heart of man. The largest and most extensive industrial institute of modern times was built by money that was gained by such nefarious traffic in the necessities of life as fairly caused men to die of hunger on account of it!176

Mills pointed to several specific instances in which the skirts of the Church itself were unclean. The Baptists meet in convention, he said, sing the doxology, and then receive "a few hundred thousand dollars from the cursed robber of his fellowmen." The Methodists, he had heard, "elect their highest officers, some of them, by methods that would disgrace the lowest politician in the country." And the Northern Presbyterian Church, in his estimation, had wasted "its time for the last ten years in its greatest conventions in a terrible wrestling (certainly not altogether in the spirit of Jesus), over the question whether two or three men are heretics or not."177 He further maintained that it was an unholy irony when "the most conspicuous church in the United States," Trinity Church in New York City, rented "some of the filthiest and vilest

176 Ibid., 58, 59, 67; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 340n.

177 Stauffer, op. cit., 59. Mills was later brought to task for some of his reckless charges against the churches, and, when he was given evidence to cause some doubt of their validity, he showed his continuing sense of fair play by having the above page in the memorial volume deleted. See J. M. Buckley, "A Public Letter To The Rev. B. Fay Mills," The Christian Advocate, LXXI (April 23, 1896), 265, 266 and Editorial, "'The Great Awakening in Columbus, Ohio,'" The Christian Advocate, LXXI (July 23, 1896), 491.
and most degraded and most disease-ridden tenement houses in the city"
and then used "the revenues it gets from these places, where they are
murdering the people, body and soul, in order to establish missions in
the name of Almighty God."\(^\text{178}\)

At the noon meetings during the last three weeks of the crusade,
Mills presented a plan for the salvation of society that was not unlike
that of Henry George's Single Tax or Edward Bellamy's cooperative
society, except that it looked for its ultimate success to the millennial
hope of the Scriptures. Mills felt that he saw an evolution in man's
condition from slavery, to serfdom, to individualism, and finally to
socialism. Further, he was convinced that if to socialism another evol­
vving factor--Christian love--could be fused, then all social evil, as
represented by such things as monopolies, political corruption, want,
intemperance, and war, would vanish and man would have established the
kingdom of God on earth.\(^\text{179}\) He sounded the optimistic note of Christian
socialism triumphant at the Board of Trade Auditorium: "There is hope
in humanity. Let us believe it; it is the gospel of God." "Every form
of evil shall be put away."\(^\text{180}\)

As a reform movement to be implemented by the church in league

\(^{178}\)Stauffer, \textit{op. cit.}, 59; McLoughlin, \textit{Modern Revivalism}, 339.

\(^{179}\)\textit{Daily Ohio State Journal}, November 30, 1895, 4; December 3,
1895, 3. In three sermons ("The Kingdom of Heaven on Earth," "The
Church and the Kingdom," and "Christianity and Socialism"), as printed
in Stauffer, \textit{op. cit.}, 43-69, Mills presented succinctly his thesis that
man himself is to make a reality of the hope expressed in the Lord's
Prayer, "Thy kingdom come."

\(^{180}\)\textit{Columbus Evening Dispatch}, December 12, 1895, 7.
with civil authority in a world which Mills did not feel was essentially evil, the man-made millennium of the evangelist identified itself very closely with the objectives of the forerunners of the secular Progressive Movement.\footnote{\textit{Daily Ohio State Journal}, November 30, 1895, 4.} If there remained any doubt that his own ideas were drawn from both religious and secular streams of thought, he dispelled them at the last noon meeting on December 16. When his Columbus disciples asked Mills to recommend books which would guide them in effecting the utopian society which he had prophesied, he referred them not only to the works of recognized social gospel leaders such as Washington Gladden, Josiah Strong, and George D. Herron, but also to those of reformers who were secularly oriented such as F. W. Sprague, Richard T. Ely, John R. Commons, and Henry D. Lloyd.\footnote{\textit{See ibid.}, December 16, 1895, 7 for his complete list.}

During the first week of the campaign Mills had convinced the executive committee of the need to hold a four-day Christian convention near the end of the meetings in order to share the value of the crusade with all of central Ohio.\footnote{\textit{Daily Ohio State Journal}, November 22, 1895, 4.} A special convention committee, headed by Gladden, sent invitations to nearly one thousand Ohio ministers and asked one hundred and twenty-seven newspapers to publish the program of these services in which the broad topics for each day ("The Sins of the City," "The Redemption of the City," "Entire Consecration," and "The Holy Spirit") demonstrated their social as well as theological
Mills served as the chairman of the convention, but did not himself address either the morning sessions at the First Congregational Church or the afternoon ones at the Second Presbyterian Church from December 3 to 6. Since he was speaking daily at the noon Board of Trade meetings and the evening gospel services, he reserved his comments to brief statements during the discussion periods.

Indicative of the scope of Mills' and Gladdens' social gospel view in the planning of these sessions was the fact that not only clergymen, but also recognized civil and business leaders were the featured speakers. Dr. C. O. Probst, Secretary of the State Board of Health spoke on "Evils in Material Conditions"; Frank C. Eaton on "Business Sins"; and O. T. Corson, State Commissioner of Public Schools, on "The Moral Influence of the Public School." The balance in the convention (and in the revival itself) between secular and theological subjects was characteristic of the dichotomy in the nature of Mills' own message at this point in his career and seemed to serve as a temporary bridge by which traditionally-rooted evangelicals could comfortably move from the realm of revivalism to that of social reform. Although the bridge eventually broke down as Mills abandoned revivalism after 1897 and the evangelicals generally repudiated the social gospel as a facet of

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184 Ibid., November 26, 1895, 5; Stauffer, op. cit., 9, 10.
185 Ibid., 71-75, 80-82, 96-99.
186 Ibid., 71-142 gives a resume of the proceedings of the entire convention.
"modernism" by 1900, the Columbus convention itself was well attended and, most thought, successful.  

Undoubtedly, much of the evangelical praise of the campaign centered in the fact that it was brought to a conclusion on a wave of individual soul saving fervor. This was effected as all of the revival districts joined forces in central union services each afternoon at the Second Presbyterian Church and each evening at the Park Rink (at Goodale and High Streets) from December 5 to 16. Mills saw to it that the remaining days were filled with the usual revival attractions; a Sunday school conference on December 7, a Good Cheer meeting on December 9, services exclusively for men, women, and youth, and a Midweek Sabbath on December 13. All of the meetings were well attended, but the interest on the last two Sundays of the campaign reached a level never before witnessed in the capital city. On Sunday, December 8, Mills spoke at the Board of Trade at noon and at the Rink in the afternoon and evening while his assistants supplemented his efforts throughout the city. Biederwolf was at Hessenauer's Niagara Music Hall in the afternoon; Murray was at three different churches during the day; and Nicolai continued his German meetings at Turner Hall. Since nearly fourteen thousand heard Mills alone, the Daily Ohio State Journal described his

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187 Daily Ohio State Journal, December 6, 1896, 3; December 7, 1895, 6; "Columbus," The Western Christian Advocate, LXII (December 18, 1895), 814.

188 Daily Ohio State Journal, December 5, 1895, 4.

189 Ibid., December 7 and 8, 1895, 4; December 10, 1895, 3; December 14, 1895, 4.

190 Ibid., December 7, 1895, 4.
two services at the Rink as "by far the largest gatherings of any kind ever congregated indoors in this city."\(^{191}\) Over five hundred joined the several thousand who had already signed the convert cards. \(^{192}\)

The last Sunday of the campaign, December 15, rivaled the one that had preceded it as a banner revival day. Mills, Murray and Biederwolf held a morning service at the Ohio Penitentiary at which 1,500 inmates stood to indicate their desire to become Christians. Biederwolf conducted an afternoon meeting at St. Paul's African Methodist Church. In the evening Mills held a huge rally for men only at the Rink while union services for women only were held in five churches in various sections of town.\(^{193}\) Enthusiasm on that day was generated to the point that on the following evening 4,500 people jammed into the Rink for the farewell service and demonstrated their feelings often with applause and Chautauqua salutes. After the meeting, more than two thousand escorted Mills to the Union Depot and sang, "God Be With You Till We Meet Again," as his train left the station.\(^{194}\)

Even though the executive committee had discovered a significant degree of resistance from Columbus businessmen, the Board of Education, and postal officials in respect to closing for the grand Midweek Sabbath,\(^{195}\) and had been forced to publish a memorial volume and to sell

\(^{191}\)Ibid., December 9, 1895, 4.

\(^{192}\)Ibid. The grand total of cards signed was never made public.

\(^{193}\)Ibid., December 16, 1895, 4.

\(^{194}\)Ibid., December 17, 1895, 4.

\(^{195}\)Ibid., December 10, 1895, 6; December 13, 1895, 7. Columbus Evening Dispatch, December 11, 1895, 12.
the special chairs used at the Rink during the crusade as souvenirs in
an attempt to meet a $500 deficit in the $3,000 revival expenses; many
citizens seemed to recognize the movement as the largest and most
successful which had ever occurred in Columbus. Many of the sponsors,
including Gladden, hailed Mills as the Apostle of a "New Era In Evange-

lism." "The new evangelism differs from the old," they perceived,
"mainly in the fact that to conviction of personal sins and effort to
save men from them, is added conviction and sorrow for social sins and a
practical effort to improve the material, political and social environ-
ment in which the individual lives." It had become apparent that Mills had touched the core of a deep
social consciousness among the religious community of Columbus by a far-
reaching concept. As the evangelist put it:

It is its [the Church's] business to see that there is better
care for the poor—to discover the sources of poverty and uproot
them, and insist upon more enlightened care of the insane and all
other unfortunates, to breathe purity into politics and unselfishness into industry and commerce, to suggest and lovingly com-
pel the enactment of more Christian laws . . ., to be concerned
about the physical welfare of all cities and citizens, better
pavement, cheaper heat, and light and transportation and

196Columbus Evening Dispatch, December 7, 1895, 9; December 17,
1895, 8; Daily Ohio State Journal, December 12, 1895, 3. Stauffer, op. cit., was produced as the commemorative work and contains six of Mills' sermons, the proceedings of the Christian convention, and estimations of the movement by several Columbus pastors.

197Editorial, Daily Ohio State Journal, December 18, 1895, 4;
"Columbus," The Western Christian Advocate, LXII (December 18, 1895),
814; "Columbus," The Western Christian Advocate, LXII (December 25,
1895), 829.

198Stauffer, op. cit., 146.

199Ibid., 147.
communication, pure water and more of it; to regenerate the criminal and Christianize the prison, to promote the true brotherly relationship of the employer and the employed, . . . , to inspire the elector and the law-maker, the judge and the ruler, so that the kingdom of the reigning Christ may be more speedily manifested on earth.200

When, on December 10, Mills attacked Columbus Mayor Allen and the city council for permitting prostitution and gambling, and called for the organization of a civic federation of Protestants, Catholics and Jews to correct this situation and generally to implement the program of reform which he had outlined, the response was immediate.201 The next day the mayor assured the press that "gambling must and will be obliterated from the city" and "several other things will have to go with it."202 Rejoicing that "already the authorities of evil are beginning to tremble at the mere thought of such an organization," Mills the next day, December 12, met with a select committee of fifty, including Gladden and other clergymen, J. U. Barnhill (President of the Columbus Board of Education), and Rev. Howard Russell (President of the Anti-Saloon League), and formed the Columbus Civic Federation.203 Conceiving the task of the Federation broadly, the founders formalized its objectives which were to study and improve, in every practicable way, the common conditions of the public weal, including (a) civic improvements and civic economy; (b) education and recreation; (c) relief and

200Ibid., 55.
201Daily Ohio State Journal, December 11, 1895, 4.
202Columbus Evening Dispatch, December 12, 1895, 7.
employment; (d) order and law; (e) civic office and civic duty; (f) sanitation and health.\textsuperscript{204}

It was little wonder that the sponsors of the revival campaign concluded:

The Mills meeting in this city has shown clearly that the old-time revival, with its intense fervor and power, has developed into a great interdenominational all-inclusive religious movement, touching life at every point, quickening in all men whatever makes for personal and social righteousness, and rebuking all persons and institutions that dare to array themselves against God and the true interests of men.\textsuperscript{205}

Many undoubtedly were encouraged by the fact that even though the Civic Federation had some objectives similar to those of the Law and Order League that had aroused so much antagonism among the German community of Cincinnati after the 1886 Sam Jones revival there, there was a favorable climate of opinion among the German-Americans of Columbus toward the Federation.\textsuperscript{206} That considerable care had been taken to include this sector of Columbus society in the total revival movement and that the charter of the Civic Federation called for a broad spectrum of political and social reform instead of merely the enforcement of the blue laws probably contributed to this initial German support.

Unfortunately, however, the Columbus Civic Federation became a prime example of the fact that "the old-time revival" was not an effective means for attaining social gospel ends. Although the Federation was able, the following year, to stimulate the voters sufficiently to pass a $300,000 bond issue for the erection of an electric plant to provide

\textsuperscript{204}Columbus Evening Dispatch, December 13, 1895, 9.
\textsuperscript{205}Stauffer, op. cit., 147.
\textsuperscript{206}Tagliche Columbus Express, December 13, 1895, 8.
street lighting, there were several reasons why, even though under Gladden's leadership, it declined in importance and scope to the level of an ineffective law and order league over the months after Mills left. The traditional religious methods which the Federation employed—special meetings, committees, discussions, reports, and resolutions—proved inadequate to move the business, political, and educational establishments to reform. Local pastors found the problems which Mills had suggested for solution too frustratingly complex to sustain the interest of the average church member and too socialistic and labor-oriented to gain the support of the wealthier laymen who kept many church treasuries intact. The most basic fact of failure had been woven into the very warp and woof of the evangelical and revival traditions for decades. In the minds of the folks to whom Mills had preached Christian socialism and the coming of the millennium by the design of man, there was a built-in division between the sacred and the secular, the church and the world, and they would always prefer clearly defined moral reform (enforcement of the blue laws) to the lofty "secular" goals of the social gospel.

Furthermore, in his attempt to fuse revivalism and a reform movement into a "new evangelism," Mills failed to a significant degree to secure what the evangelical churches expected most from professional


208 Columbus Evening Dispatch, December 13, 1895, 9.

209 McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 341, 342.
revivalism, new church members. Although it was reported that "thousands" had signed the convert cards at the gospel meetings, the Methodist and Congregational churches of Columbus found that their net annual memberships declined precipitously in the five years after Mills' revival. The Congregationalists had seen their churches grow each year from 1889 to 1894 by ninety-eight net members. In the revival year the figure increased to one hundred and forty-six, but during the following five years it declined to an alarming five. For the Methodists, the picture was even darker. Their Columbus churches had experienced a net annual increase of three hundred and thirty members in the five years before the crusade, but in 1895 plateaued at three hundred and twenty-six, and by 1900 discovered that they actually had fewer members than when Mills had come. They had lost a net total of twenty-four members each year since the revival.

If Mills failed to establish a new Christianized social order or to favorably effect the trend in church membership in Columbus, he had brought historic innovations into professional revivalism in the state. His "Suggestions to Committees" and his District Combination Plan had induced the most highly organized and most universally sponsored revival campaigns in nineteenth century Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Columbus. He had been successful in bringing the business activities of the cities he visited to a virtual standstill in deference to his Midweek Sabbaths.

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210 The Congregational Year-Book (Boston, 1890-1901).

211 Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York, 1889-1900).
Those in attendance and professing conversion at his meetings had rivaled, and even exceeded, in number those of any previous itinerant. Finally, Mills had given Ohio evangelicals their only face-to-face confrontation with the social gospel within the framework of revivalism. That neither Mills nor the evangelicals in Ohio could resolve the natural incongruities between the two religious thrusts did not stifle either movement in the state. Dwight L. Moody of the old revival tradition and Sam P. Jones, in part representing the new, each received a final hearing in Ohio before the century closed. By 1900 Mills himself had despaired of ever effecting social reform by means of revivalism, had abandoned most of the basic doctrines of the evangelical faith, and, evolving the philosophical maxim, "Absolute Trust as the Fixed Attitude of Mind and Perfect Love as the Unvarying Practice of the Life" as his guiding principle, had become a Unitarian.212

212 Benjamin Fay Mills, "Why I Return To The Church," The Advance, LXVII (June 24, 1915), 1251. In 1915, the year before he died, Mills renounced Unitarianism, returned to the Presbyterian fold, and unsuccessfully attempted to take up his itinerant career once more. He explained his decision in three articles in The Advance beginning with the one cited above. For sketches of Mills' activity from 1895 to 1916, see McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 343-346 and Weigle, op. cit., 3.
The revivalistic tradition had a profound affect upon the religious life of Ohioans in the nineteenth century. They had shared directly in the emotional, social, and theological elements of the Second Great Awakening on the frontier which had formed its core. The rustic, fervent spirit of the camp meeting and the "whosoever will" doctring of the Methodist circuit rider were inseparably bound to the religious heritage of the Ohio settlers. They became familiar with the possibilities inherent in unencumbered itinerant preaching via the work of Lorenzo Dow. Therefore, by the 1820's when Lyman Beecher and Charles Finney developed the theological concepts and the "new measures" respectively to the point that the acceptance of man-made revivals ushered in the age of modern professional revivalism, the members of the evangelical churches in Ohio were ready to receive the innovation.

Nevertheless, since professional revivalism was basically an urban phenomenon and since Ohio possessed but one sizable city (Cincinnati) in the first half of the century, the initial impact of revivalism in the state was evidenced in an evolving pattern of annual winter protracted meetings in the local evangelical congregations often conducted by the pastors themselves. The first professional itinerant evangelists to venture into Ohio in the 1830's, John Newland Maffitt, Daniel Baker,
and Orson Parker, made only abbreviated visits. The fact that during the same decade the two most famous revival figures of that era, Lyman Beecher and Charles Finney, decided to take up residence in the Buckeye state was due to the opportunities which the first saw at Lane Theological Seminary and the second at Oberlin Collegiate Institute to educate a rising generation of ministers in their revival doctrine and techniques in order to save the West. But the few campaigns, including Finney's at Cleveland in 1853 and those of Finney and James Caughey at Cincinnati in 1854, which these early revivalists did conduct in the churches of Ohio convinced many evangelicals of the merit of employing men skilled in the methods of revival production to achieve the maximum results. Under the influence of the widespread Awakening of 1858 it was but a short and natural step for these same pastors and church members to embrace the concepts of professionally directed, interdenominational, city-wide revivals.

As the size of the cities and the spirit of cooperation among the churches grew in Ohio, professional evangelists were attracted in increasing numbers. Two Baptist preachers, Jacob Knapp and Absalom B. Earle, and the Presbyterian "Children's Evangelist," Edward Payson Hammond, pioneered in the first union city-wide movements in the state in the two decades after the 1858 Awakening. Although, by virtue of some of their less savory revival methods, these men sometimes found their work under severe criticism, they did help to establish the well organized union crusade as a part of the Ohio revival tradition. It was also apparent by this time that revivalism had become such an inherent aspect of the life of the Ohio churches that they themselves were
producing a few professional evangelists. The most prominent of these were David B. Updegraff, a Quaker; Horatio Harold Wells, a Presbyterian; and two Methodists, John S. Inskip and Joseph H. Weber; the last achieving national recognition in the 1880's.

Not only did the Ohio churches imbibe the interdenominational influence of the Awakening of 1858, but also, after some misgivings, they accepted its lay evangelism emphasis as well. Beginning in the 1870's, this led to the employment of such unlicensed and unordained itinerants as Miss Sarah F. Smiley and the first evangelistic team to hold meetings in the state, D. W. Whittle and Philip P. Bliss. The nearly universal recognition given to the English and American campaigns of the most renowned lay revivalistic pair, Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey, swept aside most of the remaining question as to the validity of such work in the minds of Ohio evangelicals who both solicited and supported the labors of these unlicensed itinerants in the state after 1875.

By the 1880's and 1890's Ohio possessed two cities of such proportions (Cincinnati and Cleveland) that effecting a successful city-wide revival in either of them could constitute a significant step toward national prominence for an aspiring professional revivalist. On two occasions during those years, campaigns in these cities assumed such a role. The massive response of the people of Cincinnati to the meetings of Sam P. Jones in 1886 helped to make his popularity in the North commensurate with that he already had achieved in the South. The Cleveland campaign of B. Fay Mills in 1891 demonstrated for the first time that his elaborate committee system employed in various districts and then at the center of a metropolis could produce a successful city-wide revival,
and brought him more invitations from the great cities of the United States than he could accept. Furthermore, it is altogether possible that his Columbus revival in 1895 would have elevated Mills to a new position of leadership within the profession, except for the fact that the structure of revivalism proved inadequate to support the breadth of the message of the social gospel.

If the evangelicals of Ohio had shared in the origins and in each of the major developments of the revivalistic tradition during the nineteenth century, they also were parties to the evidences of its decline in quality and effectiveness as the age came to an end. The revivalist had always preached a simple theology to reach even the unlettered individuals in his audience. He had reduced the complexities of life to a clear-cut decision between good and evil and had justified his methods by keeping meticulous records of the number of his converts. However, in Ohio as elsewhere with the rising level of education, the growing heterogeneity of the population, and the mounting complexity of urban problems, the simple answers of the revivalist seemed less and less tenable. In addition, the revivalist was being forced to compete with an increasing tempo of life which included a growing list of amusements and distractions in the cities.\(^1\) Partly in response to this last factor, Ohioans had witnessed the qualitative decline of revivalism in the state in the denunciatory, anecdotal sermons and popular entertainment orientation of the work of Joseph Weber and Sam P. Jones beginning

in the mid-1880's. They had also seen it in the crowd-attracting emphasis which was put upon the fact that Weber was a converted Roman Catholic and that Rodney Smith (whose work, along with that of James Caughey, Henry Moorhouse and Herbert W. Taylor, represented the efforts of English evangelists in Ohio) was a full-blooded Gypsy.

By the end of the century the evangelicals in Ohio also were involved with the more fundamental and disturbing issue of whether revivalism was really an effective device for saving the masses and for achieving civic reform. When the most prominent evangelist of the last quarter of the century, Dwight L. Moody, held his first city-wide revival in the Buckeye state at Cleveland in 1879, he warned: "You can't reach people by wholesale, personal contact is what is wanted." While Moody himself nursed an increasing doubt as to the inability of huge union campaigns to reach the unchurched, and gradually curtailed his itinerant work after 1884 in favor of his Christian schools and the Y.M.C.A., those Ohioans, who evaluated their own professionally-directed revivals on the grounds of their effect upon the trends in membership in the sponsoring churches, had to conclude that no general rule concerning their merit could be formed. After some city-wide evangelistic efforts the churches had grown, after others they had declined. More obviously apparent to Ohioans was the fact that revivals in the state had proven particularly impotent in Christianizing the society in which they had taken place,

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2 Cleveland Daily Herald, November 12, 1879, 7.

3 See Hudson, op. cit., 150 on Moody's ultimate opinion of revivalism as an instrument to save the masses.
even when reform movements in their wake had taken merely the form of trying to have the blue laws enforced.

These findings did not mean, however, that the evangelicals of the state would discard a religious tradition which had given them many pleasant occasions of interdenominational fellowship and their most conspicuous moments of strength in their communities. On the contrary, as 1900 approached, they solicited not only the aid of the most venerable champion of the traditional individual soul saving approach within revivalism, Dwight L. Moody, but also that of the apostle of the new muscular Christianity emphasis, Sam P. Jones, who envisaged the salvation of society through Prohibition. Moody's Cincinnati campaign in 1897 would add further doubt as to the ability of revivalism to Christianize society by saving the masses, and Jones' Toledo revival in 1899 would be a classic example of the utter failure of revivalism to work civic moral reform through blue law enforcement.

Most of the aspects of Moody's last appearance in Cincinnati in 1897 stand out in bold contrast to those of his first visit in 1884. The Evangelical Alliance sponsored each, but the first was merely a five-day Christian convention whereas the last was a full-scale eighteen-day city-wide revival. The 1884 engagement was scheduled in haste and implemented by a Moody whose aggressive attitude expressed itself in a rudeness which brought criticism from the religious and secular communities. The 1897 campaign was arranged months in advance, its preparations were elaborate, and the intervening years had tempered Moody's approach and established his reputation to the point that his reception in the
Queen City was as cordial as he had ever received. There was even a new Music Hall in which he could hold his meetings.

Although some found cause to praise Moody for not setting up a complex revival machine like that of B. Fay Mills, others felt that "he is a consummate organizer; not so apparent as Mr. Mills, but even more successful." If most of Moody's leadership was visible in his direction of the services themselves, the Evangelical Alliance, which had been schooled in Mills' "Suggestions to Committees" five years before, assumed enough initiative in organizing the movement in the city to give it a Mills flavor. It selected a grand executive committee (chaired uniquely by a Lutheran, Rev. E. K. Bell) to oversee the work. Then it appointed lesser committees on music, ushers, press, and railroads. With the cooperation of virtually all of the evangelical churches in the city, it also planned preparatory union meetings during the weeks before Moody's services began on March 3, 1897.

The most conspicuous pre-Moody meetings were carried on by the Ninth Street Baptist and First Presbyterian Churches. The first had an eight-week protracted meeting under the ministry of its pastor, Rev. Warren G. Partridge, who prophesied: "Cincinnati can have such a spiritual awakening as New England saw in the days of Jonathan Edwards,

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4Cincinnati Enquirer, February 16, 1897, 10.
5"Mr. Moody," The Western Christian Advocate; LXIV (March 17, 1897), 321.
6Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, February 14 and March 1, 1897, 8.
7Ibid., February 13, 1897, 7; Cincinnati Enquirer, February 16, 1897, 10.
if church members are full of zeal, consecration, faith and good works." The second church, after February 14, employed a revivalist whom many still remembered as the man who had conducted the first broadly supported city-wide crusade in Cincinnati in 1869-70, Edward Payson Hammond. In fact, the Commercial Tribune felt that "the coming of the Rev. E. Payson Hammond to this city is scarcely second to that of Mr. Moody in March." By this time the sixty-five year old "Children's Evangelist" had traveled internationally and his hair was nearly white, but his message and methods had remained static. He argued as before that children are even more adept than adults at grasping the significance of religious instruction, bringing their conduct into line with religious ideals, and holding to the faith. In his daily afternoon children's meetings (which he held in addition to morning and evening services) he still utilized his former methods to secure converts among the juveniles. The tender songs, the fitting anecdotes, and the pleading nature of the sermons often centered on Hammond's perpetual theme, the sacrificial suffering and death of Christ. Now he even reinforced the poignancy of his message by displaying a crown of thorns which he had brought from Palestine. And a Mr. Henderson gave an added

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8 Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, February 22, 1897, 5; March 1, 1897, 7.

9 Ibid., February 13, 1897, 7.

10 Ibid., February 21, 1897, 15; Cincinnati Enquirer, February 13, 1897, 10.

11 Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, February 15, 1897, 5.

12 Ibid.
attraction to the children's meetings by playing his "converted phono-
graph." Since Hammond was a recognized expert in child evangelism,
his meetings were visited not only by ministers and Sunday school work-
ers of the evangelical churches, but also reportedly by Roman Catholics
and Jews who were interested in witnessing his methods in action.

If there was another major attraction at the Hammond meetings,
it was the testimonies of those who had been helped during his 1869-70
revival. The nostalgic memory of the past tended to minimize the
nauseous controversies which his campaign had caused and exaggerated the
number of new church members it had secured to as many as twenty-five
thousand. Therefore, as in the case of Moody, Hammond's reception in
Cincinnati was considerably more favorable in 1897 than before. In fact,
when he left the city on February 25, after having recommended Moody
very highly to the Evangelical Alliance, it was said, he had won five
hundred converts.

Even though the Baptist Journal and Messenger observed concern-
ing Hammond's work at the First Presbyterian and at several other
churches in the city that "with just what successes his visit has been

13 Cincinnati Enquirer, February 17, 1897, 12.
14 Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, February 20, 1897, 7.
15 Ibid., February 20, 1897, 4.
16 Ibid., February 21, 1897, 5. The Cincinnati Enquirer, February
   3, 1897, 10 set its estimate at 3,000 to 5,000 which still was quite
generous.
17 Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, February 16, 1897, 4.
18 Ibid., February 25, 1897, 6.
attended does not fully appear," the general sentiment prevailed that his effort, together with that of each pastor in his own church and that in other special union meetings, had "done much toward awakening a sentiment that will powerfully aid the efforts of Mr. Moody." The Methodist Western Christian Advocate voiced its optimistic opinion that the "people are ready and anxious to go forward. The devil is entrenched, expecting and awaiting the attack. It will be a beautiful fight. But there can be no doubt of its issue provided the Lord's people do their duty," since "all the resources that Moses or Elijah or Gideon or Paul commanded, are ours." 

Except that a weakened heart had brought the instruction from his physician that he was not to preach more than twice a day, Moody was as ready to do battle with sin and Satan in Cincinnati as anyone. When he arrived on March 2 from engagements in New York and Boston, his appearance was as it had always been, "that of a well-to-do and busy business man, with scarcely a suggestion of the preacher or evangelist." Also arriving were the men who composed the evangelistic team to supplement Moody's work. Professor D. B. Towner, a native Cincinnatian who had become prominent as the choir director during Moody's

20Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, March 1, 1897, 8.
21"The Moody Meetings," The Western Christian Advocate, LXIV (March 3, 1897), 257.
22Cincinnati Times-Star, March 3, 1897, 2.
23Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, March 3, 1897, 5; Cincinnati Enquirer, March 24, 1897, 4.
1884 convention there and had moved to Chicago to become his song evangelist, now returned to his native city as a professional itinerant. By February 25 he had come to town to organize a choir which eventually totaled one thousand members for the Music Hall gatherings. Further musical assistance was given by Moody's friend from Kinsman, Ohio, James McGranahan, and from one of the revivalist's advance men, F. H. Jacobs. Reuben A. Torrey, pastor of Moody's Chicago Avenue Church and superintendent of Moody Bible Institute since its founding in 1889, came to give Bible lectures at the noon prayer meetings at the First Presbyterian Church and to address the overflow crowds which eventually came to the daily, except Saturday, afternoon and evening meetings at Music Hall.

Unlike his attitude during his 1884 visit, Moody entered upon the work now in a complimentary, joyous spirit which met with an overwhelming response from the Cincinnatians. After the lay preacher surveyed the new Music Hall he said, "the acoustics are simply perfect. I never spoke in a better hall . . . ." Instead of incessantly haranguing his audiences because of their poor singing, he suggested to the several thousand at the Friday evening, March 5 service that he could hear voices that should be in the choir. After Towner assured him that

24Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, February 27, 1897, 7; Cincinnati Enquirer, March 6, 1897, 6; March 24, 1897, 4.

25Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, March 2, 1897, 5; March 22, 1897, 2; Cincinnati Enquirer, March 12, 1897, 5.

26Cincinnati Enquirer, March 6, 1897, 6; March 22, 1897, 2; Richard E. Day, Bush Aglow; The Life Story of Dwight L. Moody Commoner of Northfield (Philadelphia, 1936), 264.

27Cincinnati Times-Star, March 3, 1897, 2.
there were too many fine singers in town for all of them to be in the
choir, Moody had the women sing alone, then the men, then all together.
Satisfied, he said: "There, I call that good singing; you are good
singers in Cincinnati. The man who cannot preach after such singing as
that had better get out of the pulpit." Later in the meetings, he
affirmed that the revival choir was the best he had ever heard during
any of his campaigns.

Even more significant, when the sponsors of the revival invited
Moody (and also Torrey) to address the local ministers at several special
services on topics bordering on pastoral theology, the evangelist used a
restraint which had been lacking during his 1884 convention. Reporting
on such a session on Monday morning, March 8, the official Baptist organ
said that Moody "always says the right thing, in the right way." At
another meeting for ministers addressed by Torrey, some disagreement
arose during the question and answer period, "but neither lecturer nor
listener showed the slightest disposition or the remotest desire for
controversy, and if any present had thoughts of this kind they also had
the Christian grace to hold them in abeyance." The extent to which
this more temperate approach lent itself to a greater influence of a
revivalist upon the local clergy and laymen was illustrated in another
Torrey meeting. On Tuesday morning, March 23, he spoke to several

28Cincinnati Enquirer, March 6, 1897, 6.
29Ibid., March 11, 1897, 5.
30"The Churches," The Journal and Messenger, LXVI (March 11,
1897), 4.
31Cincinnati Enquirer, March 17, 1897, 5.
hundred pastors and Christian workers on "How to Obtain the Baptism of the Holy Ghost." When he called for those who sought "baptism for service" to come forward and kneel about the chancel of St. Paul's Methodist Church, hundreds, including pastors, did so. The *Enquirer* called it "the most remarkable service held during the entire mission." 32

The general reception of the Cincinnati community to the evangelists and to the entire movement, in fact, was comparable to the best it had accorded any. The committee on press secured an even more comprehensive coverage of Moody's and Torrey's labors than had been given Mills, if that was possible. Not only did the *Commercial Tribune* and the *Enquirer* carry elaborate reports of the meetings, but also pictures of Moody. 33 The *Tribune* put its story of the opening day activities of the crusade along with one huge, three-column picture of Moody and three smaller ones of his preaching poses on its front page. 34 The committee on railroads was able to get all of the Cincinnati railroad lines to run excursion trains with reduced rates from cities as far as one hundred miles away. 35 The hundreds who took advantage of this convenience to visit the Moody meetings added to the swelling crowds. 36

Actually, the size of the audiences was one of the important

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33 Cincinnati *Commercial Tribune*, March 4, 1897, 1; Cincinnati *Enquirer*, March 1, 1897, 5.

34 Cincinnati *Commercial Tribune*, March 4, 1897, 1.


factors which contrasted Moody's 1897 with his 1884 Cincinnati meetings. In the thirteen services of his earlier convention the attendance averaged less than 2,500 and only at the first meeting was the hall filled. Now he found the initial congregations moderate in size with fifty pastors seated on the platform, but, as he began his second week of meetings, all of the approximately six thousand seats in the Hall were sometimes occupied both afternoon and evening.38 Finally, by the third week he had as many as one hundred ministers there to support him, and the crowds warranted overflow meetings.39 Moody's own observations to a reporter after his very first service were interesting in the light of the eventual pattern of the revival. He had said:

The tone is good. I expect great results from our meetings here. The attendance was much beyond my expectations, and that is encouraging, but I do not judge by numbers in the initial services. I feel the tone of the congregation, and by that I form my estimation of probable results.

As a matter of fact, . . ., I prefer that my first congregation be not large. I love first to get close to the church people. The work is theirs. If I can get them right and in full accord I have never a doubt of the real beneficial results. I am well satisfied with our first meeting. The spirit of the congregation responded readily to my advances. We got together easily, and I feel that they were in full sympathy and accord for the work we have in hand.40


38 Cincinnati Enquirer, March 4, 1897, 8; Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, March 12, 1897, 5. A ticket system for admission was put into effect as of Monday, March 8. See ibid., March 6, 1897, 6.


40 ibid., March 4, 1897, 1.
Since Moody had realized for some time that his union meetings did not reach the masses, he frankly admitted: "My work here will be to arouse the churches." Therefore, he devoted his afternoon meetings in their entirety to messages which would inspire and challenge the faithful. Some of the evangelicals became concerned when they observed that the renowned soul winner was not even conducting inquiry meetings (in which, to his dismay, he often had met Christians desirous to shake his hand rather than sinners wanting to accept Christ) after his evening gospel rallies. For the first week, Moody merely had those concerned about their soul's salvation to stand while he prayed for them as a group from the front. Then, beginning on March 9, in the Hammond tradition, he and local ministers descended into the audience to counsel with those who responded to his request to stand. Not until the last week of his meetings did Moody finally yield to local pressure and make provisions for an inquiry room by having the choir leave the platform and the curtain be lowered after his evening sermons.

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41 Ibid., March 3, 1897, 5.
42 Hudson, op. cit., 145.
43 "Mr. Moody," The Western Christian Advocate, LXIV (March 17, 1897), 321.
44 Cincinnati Enquirer, March 6, 1897, 6.
45 Ibid., March 10, 1897, 5.
46 Ibid., March 17, 1897, 5. Both those who stood for prayer and those who attended the inquiry meetings were asked to sign cards similar to those used in Mills' meetings except that there seems to have been no resolution printed on those for the Moody revival. See ibid., March 11 and 23, 1897, 5.
If Moody had surprised his sponsors by his reluctance to use a long-accepted revivalistic device, he also convinced them that he had not departed from the pulpit style and "fundamental" message for which he had become famous. The Methodists attested that the predominant elements of his preaching had remained constant. His remarks were still straightforward—"he calls a spade a spade; and yet is so downright honest and sincere that he does not offend." His storytelling ability was as keen as ever—"hear him on blind Bartimeus and Zaccheus, and they rise and speak and act before you." And his doctrine was never more completely Arminian—"he emphasizes man's part in salvation; man must will to obey God, and then God will give him the power to obey." The Baptists agreed: "Mr. Moody never preached a purer gospel, never set forth the way of life with greater clearness and power." His theme, the love of God, still was paramount in his work, and he felt himself as much as ever the defender of the literal truth of the Scriptures.

At the afternoon meetings on March 10 and 11, Moody used his usual arguments in discussing "The Bible: Is the Old Book True?" He reasoned that, since Christ believed in and spoke about Noah and the flood, Lot's wife being turned into salt, the manna in the wilderness, the water coming from the rock for the Israelites in the desert, and

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47 "Mr. Moody," The Western Christian Advocate, LXIV (March 17, 1897), 321.


49 Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, March 4, 1897, 1.

50 Cincinnati Enquirer, March 10, 11, and 12, 1897, 5.
Jonah being swallowed by the fish, each occurrence must be accepted. His conclusion, therefore, was the same as always, "if you throw out one miracle, you must throw them all out, and you might as well throw away the whole Bible." Strangely enough, however, he also still reserved to himself the exclusive right to make interpretations beyond the literal confines of the Scriptures. Just as he had given his own ideas concerning hell during his Cleveland crusade in 1879, now he ventured an opinion about heaven. On one afternoon he said that he believed heaven "to be a place within speaking distance of Cincinnati." He continued, "I have come to see that heaven is above us; that it is upward, and not downward. . . . God is in heaven, and heaven is above our heads." Then, on another occasion he presented a different picture as he stated:

I am one who earnestly believes that this world is to be purified by fire. I do not think it will be destroyed. It was once purified by water, and it will be again by fire. This, then, after the purification may be our paradise; it may be our heaven.

One thing was certain, however. Moody had no intention of awakening the evangelicals' sense of social responsibility to a broad spectrum of injustices in order that they might usher in the kingdom

51 Ibid., March 11, 1897, 5.
52 Cleveland Daily Herald, October 20, 1897, 8.
53 Cincinnati Enquirer, March 16, 1897, 5. During his Columbus campaign, Mills had gone to some lengths to prove that the traditional idea of heaven as being a place "up there" was invalid. See Henry Stauffer, editor, The Great Awakening in Columbus, Ohio Under the Labors of Rev. B. Fay Mills (Columbus, Ohio, 1895), 43-45.
54 Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, March 12, 1897, 5.
of God on earth in the Mills fashion. The lay evangelist made it very clear that, although he had at one time held the optimistic post-millennial views of Finney and Mills that a Christianized world was just a few years away, he now was a pre-millennialist. World conditions, he held, gradually would become worse and worse until the Second Advent of Christ. Not only did Moody include a sermon on the Second Coming among those he preached in Cincinnati to emphasize his position, but also he advised the local pastors against wrestling with the complicated economic, social and political problems which Mills' call for moral reform through Christian activism had implied. When, at the special session for ministers and Christian workers on Monday morning, March 8, a pastor asked the most revered revivalist of them all what he thought about the current social and labor situation, he replied:

My advise is to let it alone. The financial question requires more study than you can give it. A pastor who masters the English Bible will have enough to do. Preach the Gospel of Christ and don't preach about things you do not understand. That's my advice. People here want me to preach about Cuba. What do I know about Cuba--about Armenia? I'm not competent to preach on Armenia. My work is to hold up Jesus Christ.

He had counselled the only path open to revivalism in its traditional form, and it would fix even more exclusively upon the salvation of individual sinners as its objective when the twentieth century opened.

Of course, there was one classic exception to the repugnance which Moody and the revival tradition harbored toward social activism.

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55 Cincinnati Enquirer, March 23, 1897, 5.
56 Ibid., March 9, 1897, 6; Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, March 23, 1897, 4.
57 Cincinnati Enquirer, March 9, 1897, 6.
Evangelicals throughout America believed that they knew a panacea that would solve, or at least greatly reduce, every social, economic and political problem which faced the nation. Moody enunciated it clearly on the very day he arrived in Cincinnati. When a reporter asked him if he thought the economic hardship that was current at that time was responsible for the rising crime rate in the cities, he answered:

Whiskey has more to do with it than anything else. That's what I believe is at the bottom of it. And whiskey is causing the hard times as much as anything else. Have you heard that less money has been spent on whiskey because of the bad times? No, there is no falling off there. Our whiskey bills are as big as ever. And I don't think Mr. McKinley [who was inaugurated as President of the United States during Moody's Cincinnati campaign] is going to give us any good times if we don't at the same time cut down our whiskey account.58

Moody further despaired of any type of political or blue law reform movements to stamp out the liquor traffic. He counselled that personal conversion of each citizen was the only remedy.

What our cities want, . . . , or rather I should say what they need—not what they want—is a regeneration; a thorough one. A reform won't do. You have political reforms every three or four years. What good do they do? What is left from them when they have passed? It is a moral regeneration that our cities should have. Nothing else will do.59

As would be expected, no Law and Order Leagues sprang into existence in Cincinnati in the wake of such a spiritualized approach toward saving society. However, there was room enough in the newer wing of the revivalistic tradition, as characterized by the ministries of Sam P. Jones and Billy Sunday, to direct the evangelicals' concern for moral reform into the channel of prohibition.

58 Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, March 3, 1897, 5.
59 Ibid.
The total atmosphere which the portly, aging Moody created during his Cincinnati revival was one of congeniality and good fellowship. At his very first service on March 3 he had not even waited for a formal introduction. Fifteen minutes before the service was to begin he stepped to the pulpit and began to involve everyone in the singing of "Onward Christian Soldiers." "Don't be backward," he encouraged, "if you know only one tune sing that one. Don't bother about the tune. Professor Towner lays great stress on tune; I don't. In fact, I want you to sing if you don't know any tune. Just say, 'Onward Christian Soldier,' and keep saying it; but say it with spirit." Of his manner at his first day of services the press commented:

He comes before his congregation as though he knew and had a personal interest in each individual member of it, and, with a rare charm of comradeship, takes them all into his confidence and fastens their attention, not on himself, but on the work in hand.

Moody even made everyone feel a personal involvement in defraying the $3,300 cost of the revival. He solicited the offerings at each service himself until the expenses were met. "I don't want to leave Cincinnati with the committee in debt," he said at one meeting, noting that he had never done so anywhere before. He suggested that "that boy chewing gum

60 Ibid., March 4, 1897, 1.

61 Ibid.

62 "Cincinnati and Vicinity," The Western Christian Advocate, LXIV (March 31, 1897), 407 itemizes the expenses and the contributions.

63 Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, March 23, 1897, 4. The executive committee also made five cents profit toward expenses from each song book sold in the Music Hall foyer. See Cincinnati Enquirer, March 19, 1897, 8.
can give his gum money; there are others here who can give their tobacco money." 64 "You wouldn't go into an electric car without giving a nickel, and certainly that would not be too much for each one to give here." 65 Needless to say, his appeals were successful, and the $510 which was contributed in excess of the needed funds was donated to Moody's educational and prison projects. 66

Moody both attempted to carry the spirit of the meetings to the people of Cincinnati and to attract them into its collective influence at Music Hall. On at least four occasions, he held noon meetings at selected factories in the city. 67 This was such a revolutionary new measure in Cincinnati that, after Moody's first service in the Hall Safe and Lock Company, the Commercial Tribune exclaimed: "For the first time in history the doctrine of the Scriptures was expounded in a workshop, and the innovation proved a gratifying success." 68 Like all evangelists, Moody made a wide use of available means to secure an audience at his union gospel services. It was obvious to everyone that "he uses the

64 Cincinnati Enquirer, March 8, 1897, 5.

65 Ibid., March 5, 1897, 12.

66 Ibid., March 27, 1897, 10; "Cincinnati and Vicinity," The Western Christian Advocate, LXIV (March 31, 1897), 407. Moody received no salary for his work, but his room, board, and travel expenses were paid. The other members of the team seemed to have worked under a similar arrangement. See Cincinnati Enquirer, March 8, 1897, 5.

67 Cincinnati Enquirer, March 9, 1897, 6.

press, dodger, poster, and ticket freely,"69 but he also took advantage of special situations to draw the crowds.

Although, in order to avoid further sensationalism over what he considered a brutal exhibition, Moody refused an interview to the press on the subject of the much-publicized heavyweight championship boxing match between Robert Fitzsimmons and James J. Corbett which took place at Carson, Nevada on March 17, 70 he did use another event that had gotten much news coverage to help fill Music Hall. For weeks Cincinnatians had been reading about the impending execution of two men, Scott Jackson and Alonzo Walling, who had been convicted for murdering Pearl Bryan one year before in an attempted abortion. 71 As events would have it, Moody, enroute to Memphis, Tennessee, had spoken at the Y.M.C.A. in Cincinnati just after the murder had been committed, and Jackson and Walling had attended in order to appear unsuspicious. 72 Instead of joining his voice with that of Rev. U. S. Milburn of the Walnut Hills

69 "Mr. Moody," The Western Christian Advocate, LXIV (March 17, 1897), 321. Two letters written by Moody from the Burnet House where he was staying at this time to the business manager of Moody Bible Institute, A. F. Gaylord, confirm his commitment to the employment of such advertising techniques. See D. L. Moody to Gaylord, March 12 and 17, 1897 in the Moody Papers, Moody Bible Institute Library.

70 Editorial, The Journal and Messenger, LXVI (March 25, 1897), 1. Interestingly enough, many of Moody's Cincinnati meetings attracted a larger audience than the 5,000 who witnessed the prize fight. See Cincinnati Enquirer, March 18, 1897, 1.

71 Cincinnati Enquirer, March 15, 1897, 5; March 20, 1897, 8.

72 Ibid., March 13, 1897, 5.
Universalist Church to question the practice of capital punishment, Moody decided to swell the crowd at his services on Sunday, March 14 by announcing in advance that he would be preaching from the same text that he had used at the meeting attended by the accused murderers—"Whatever a man sows that shall he also reap." It was an excellent device. Music Hall was filled in the afternoon and overflowed in the evening. Moody told the crowds that Jackson and Walling were princes compared to young men who murder their parents in five years by coming home drunk and by cursing their mothers. At the evening service on March 19, the day before the two were hanged at Newport, Moody again introduced the subject by requesting Rev. Dr. Meeker of St. Paul Methodist Church to offer a prayer for the men's mothers. The pathos was almost unbearable as Meeker prayed for the condemned, for their mothers, and that the lesson that the way of the transgressor is hard might be learned by all present. It was said that the large audience became so still that the reporters had to stop writing because the scratching of their pencils became too audible. It was an unforgettable moment in Moody's last Ohio campaign.

The final climactic minutes of the crusade on Tuesday evening, March 23 welded together the elements of goodwill that had characterized the movement. Towner, who had led the one thousand member choir, was

73 ibid., March 22, 1897, 2.  
74 ibid., March 13, 1897, 5.  
75 ibid., March 15, 1897, 5.  
76 ibid., March 20, 1897, 8.
welcomed by a Chautauqua salute and presented with a solid silver and cut glass lemonade set. As Moody stepped onto the platform all of the electric lights in the Hall were turned on and the audience broke into a muffled applause for the first time during his meetings. During the thirty-five minute period of congregational singing, people from among the audience which numbered about six thousand called out their requests. Moody himself made the final gesture of informality and warmth. In appreciation of his labors, the choir and ushers had surrounded his pulpit with wreaths of lilies and roses. Before his farewell sermon, the evangelist invited each child in the congregation to come to the platform to receive one of his flowers. The scene that ensued was a fitting conclusion for the atmosphere of the revival.

From all parts of the house the little ones came racing down the aisles onto the stage, where they fell upon the stalwart form of Mr. Moody, until he was nearly hidden from sight by the mass of children who struggled good-humoredly for position while the world's greatest preacher played the part of "grandpa" to an audience of 6,000 and divided up his bouquet among the children.77

The events of the evening had "softened all hearts, and a sense of being 'at home' and 'among friends' fell upon the people."78

Moody had completed his final effort in the state and had expressed himself pleased with its results.79 As in all apparently successful campaigns, it could be observed in a general way that "the church community has been benefited, the cause of morality has been

77Ibid., March 24, 1897, 4.
78Ibid.
79Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, March 23, 1897, 4.
advanced and hundreds and perhaps thousands of individuals have been lifted to a higher plane and made better," and that "there has been a quickening of the spiritual life of Christians and a greater desire for the salvation of souls." But, as the last community-wide campaign of the traditional soul-saving revivalistic approach in the state in the nineteenth century, Moody's 1897 Cincinnati effort provided no more evidence that it had reached the masses with the gospel or had benefited the churches by gathering into them a harvest of new converts than had any of the previous ones. Time after time the press had noted that the crowds at Music Hall were "well-dressed" and that "it was strictly a church-going audience." The Baptists concluded that "it has been here, with Mr. Moody, as it is so often with pastors, not easy to get the unconverted within the influence of the gospel." They even went so far in their frustrated disgust at the failure of the city-wide crusade to reach the unchurched that they placed the blame upon the sinners themselves. "If men and women are not saved, the fault is their own," proclaimed The Journal and Messenger.

The effects of the Moody meetings upon the trends in church membership were such that some Ohio evangelicals began to perceive that

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80 Ibid., March 24, 1897, 2.
81 "The Churches," The Journal and Messenger, LXIV (April 1, 1897), 4.
82 Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, March 4, 1897, 1; March 3, 1897, 5.
84 Ibid.
professional revivalism was not a means by which bulging church rolls could be secured. The revival did not reverse the decline in net membership which the Congregational churches of Cincinnati had been experiencing since 1892. Although it undoubtedly contributed to the net annual increase of members in the Presbyterian churches of the Cincinnati Presbytery from a preceding five year average of 316 to 536 in the revival year, it must also be held partly responsible for the fact that the average number declined to only 161 in the half decade that followed.

Not waiting to discover that the revival could be given some credit for raising their net church membership in 1897 and in each year until the end of the century above the average increase in the five years before it took place, the Methodists voiced an immediate and unprecedented doubt in the continuing merits of professional revivalism. The very day after Moody closed his Cincinnati meetings, The Western Christian Advocate observed:

Recent years have witnessed the development of a skill in manipulation and an aptitude for organization in revival work that will be recorded by the Church historian of the future as something phenomenal. But he will be confronted by the fact that, under these conditions, the Church experienced no corresponding accession of energy in saving the lost—or in any other direction for that matter.

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85 The Congregational Year-Book (Boston, 1893-1899).
86 Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (New York, 1891-1902).
87 Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York, 1892-1900).
88 "The Passing of the Evangelist," The Western Christian Advocate, LXIV (March 24, 1897), 357.
It went on to insist that "it is time for the passing of the evangelist" and for a new awakening under the leadership of individual pastors within their own congregations. Although it assumed that in the coming era which it foresaw "great union meetings may serve as a kind of sacred pyrotechnics," it perceived that "their practical value in saving the lost is greatly discounted by actual experiment." 89

If the evangelicals of Ohio were becoming aware that professional revivalism was not an effective channel through which the masses could be saved, they also were given ample proof in the last year of the century that it was just as incapable of confining the masses within the moral framework of evangelical Christianity through enforcement of the blue laws. The conditions under which the final demonstration came were unique and poignant. The results were unmistakable, except to the intentionally blind.

In 1897 the citizens of Toledo had elected as their mayor a wealthy businessman, Samuel M. Jones, whose beneficence had won him the title "Golden Rule." 90 Jones had come to Toledo in 1892 with a background as an investor in the Ohio Oil Company of Lima, which had been bought out by John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company. Two years

89 Ibid.

later Jones opened his own Acme Sucker Rod Company at Toledo to produce a new type of sucker rod which he had invented for use in the oil fields. While his factory profits were making him a rich man, Jones came under the influence of the same social gospeller, George D. Herron, who influenced the ministry of B. Fay Mills. The idea of instituting the kingdom of God on earth through brotherhood and the elimination of selfish competition appealed to Jones' Methodist conscience sufficiently that in 1895 he announced that he was going to prove its practicability by operating his Acme Sucker Rod Company on the principle of the Golden Rule. 91

To his employees Jones explained: "I believe that God is our Father; that is, that all spring from one divine source. If you believe this, then it follows that you must admit the idea of Brotherhood; if you admit the idea of Brotherhood, you must admit the idea of Equality . . . ." 92 Then he established conditions for his workers which would not prevail in American industry generally for another half-century. He lowered the work day from ten hours to eight hours and raised the minimum pay for that period to $2.00. He allowed his employees to share in the profits of the company by giving them shares of stock. He gave them Christmas bonuses equal to 5 per cent of their yearly wages. He set up an employee insurance program to which 1 per cent of the earnings of the plant and of the workers was contributed. He started a restaurant where his men could buy meals for less than they cost him. He granted summer

91 McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 314, 315.

92 Quoted from Samuel M. Jones, Letters of Labor and Love (Indianapolis, 1905), 32 in ibid., 315.
vacations with pay and abandoned the use of foremen and time-keepers which left each man on his own honor. For the recreational and cultural benefit of his employees and their families, Jones built Golden Rule Park equipped with a playground and a place for weekly band concerts and lectures. He even sponsored an annual company picnic to overcome any remaining hostility between himself and his laborers. 93

When "Golden Rule" Jones discovered after two years that his business had prospered under the ethical precepts of the Sermon on the Mount, he decided to give the idea wider currency by entering the Toledo mayoralty race in 1897. He had voted the Republican ticket consistently and managed to become the nominee of the Mark Hanna-Joseph Foraker political machine. Jones campaigned on what B. Fay Mills would have considered a true social gospel platform—"good government" and cheaper street car rates. But the Democrats, who were attempting to arouse sentiment among the German-American element of the city against Jones, pictured him as a prohibitionist who would enforce the blue laws in general and Sunday closing of saloons in particular. Partly for this reason the dries of the religious community voted for "Golden Rule" in anticipation of his wholesale enforcement of an 1864 Toledo blue law that provided that saloons be closed by 11:00 P.M. on weekdays and an 1883 Ohio law that forbade the sale of any liquor on Sunday. When Jones won the election, he wired his social gospel friend, Rev. Washington

93 Ford, op. cit., 55-65.
Gladden, of his victory "in spite of six hundred saloons, the street car companies, and the devil." "Hallelujah!" responded Gladden.  

However, Jones' first term as mayor frustrated the moral reform designs of the church members and threatened the capitalistic opportunities of local businessmen to the point that his attempt to win a second term in 1899 occasioned monumental events in the annals of revivalism and politics in the state. Though Jones had made an attempt to curtail the activity of gamblers and bookies and to close the "wine rooms" which served as the headquarters for prostitution, he had not made a crusade against the saloons. He was personally a teetotaler but conceived of the saloons as fulfilling a social function for laborers who were confined in factories six days in the week. Therefore, maintaining that public sentiment in Toledo overwhelmingly opposed the state law requiring Sunday saloon closing, Jones refused to enforce it. In addition, when the city council voted to repeal all local laws having to do with Sunday observance, he supported their decision. The mayor lamented the fact that "the popular conception of 'good government' seems to be confined to the thought of restraining saloons, gambling houses and brothels, but I," he asserted, "have a larger conception . . . ." "What I understand by 'good government' . . . is expressed in the word

94Quoted in McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 317. The Ohio and Toledo blue laws are discussed in ibid., 318.


96McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 318; Toledo Blade, March 18, 1899, 1.
Brotherhood." Since this term implied to him that the interests of the general public should predominate over the profit interests of the Toledo utility companies, a principal thrust of "Golden Rule" Jones' administration was in the direction of municipal ownership of the water, gas, electric, and transportation facilities of the city.

While the businessmen of his own political party schemed as to how they might eliminate Jones' chances for a second term, the sixty or so ministers of the Toledo Pastors' Union searched for a method by which they might cleanse the city of the moral degradation over which Jones' application of the Golden Rule seemed to have had no effect. Meeting in mid-December, 1898, the clergymen decided upon the course of action taken by Ohio churchmen for decades when they found themselves powerless to overcome the forces of evil about them. They called for an expert, professional revivalist. But they were most careful to select the right type of evangelist to fit the prevailing moral and political conditions. An itinerant who merely stressed the traditional personal salvation aspect of revivalism could not perform the work they desired. He must be a man of the new school who could bring the general public and even the mayoralty candidates in the upcoming April election to champion the enforcement of the blue laws and thereby to Christianize Toledo society.

97 Ford, op. cit., 147.
98 McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 318.
99 Toledo Blade, December 19, 1898, 3.
100 Walt Holcomb, Sam Jones An Ambassador of the Almighty (Nashville, 1947), 106. The Toledo Bee, March 15, 1899, 5 said it had
Only one revivalist held hopes of achieving such a task. By an odd circumstance of history, his first and last names were the same as those of the Toledo mayor, Samuel Jones. Sam P. Jones, the Georgia itinerant preacher, was well known to Ohioans because of his 1886 Cincinnati revival and his repeated camp meeting and Chautauqua appearances in the state. They also knew that he placed much emphasis upon the responsibility of Christians in forcing everyone to live within the structure of the evangelical Protestant moral code. For his part, the evangelist realized the significance of the opportunity in Toledo to which the Pastors' Union was inviting him. He cancelled a previous lecture engagement in full faith that his revivalistic approach could rescue Toledo from the saloonkeeper, gambler, brothel owner, and Golden Rule policy which was, he felt, permitting the others to exist.

Never in the history of professional revivalism in the state was there less of a spontaneous religious movement in a community before a union revival or more complete dependence upon the itinerant expert to create the spirit of the awakening upon his arrival. Even though various committees were formed and the Armory was outfitted with a large platform and four thousand chairs in anticipation of Jones' first meeting there on Sunday afternoon, March 5, there were no preparatory union services and the schedule for the revival meetings themselves was left for Jones to finalize. The day before Jones arrived, Rev. F. D. Kelsey evidence to prove that the Pastors' Union brought the evangelist to town to influence the outcome of the election.

101 Toledo Blade, March 22, 1899, 5.
102 Toledo Commercial, March 4, 1899, 8.
confided that "if I thought that on the preparedness of the people of Toledo hung the success of these meetings, my heart would sink within me, for there is no general, spontaneous preparation for the coming of the revivalist to this city." At their last meeting before Jones came, the ministers of the Pastors' Union discovered that there was some division in their own ranks over the distasteful methods which the straight-spoken preacher would probably use. The consensus was, however, that they could not criticize him "so long as the hearts of men are reached."

Two factors helped the evangelist to overcome the lack of preparation for his meetings and to bring it to the center of attention very quickly. First, the famous Chautauqua lecturer was accompanied by a team of assistants. George R. Stuart, his associate preacher, spoke at various services and addressed the crowds at the Armory when Jones was too exhausted, much as Sam Small had at Music Hall during Jones' Cincinnati meetings. E. O. Excell and Charles H. Gabriel served as his song evangelists while his daughter, Mrs. Graham, played the organ. Another of his faithful helpers was Tom Dunham who had been converted in Jones' Cincinnati crusade and had followed him ever after, selling song books and printed sermons at his meetings.

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103 Toledo Bee, March 4, 1899, 2.
104 Toledo Commercial, March 4, 1899, 8.
105 Toledo Blade, March 7, 1899, 6; March 22, 1899, 5.
106 Ibid., March 6, 1899, 4; March 9, 1899, 5.
107 Toledo Bee, March 19, 1899, 10; Laura Jones, The Life and Sayings of Sam P. Jones (Atlanta, 1906), 344.
The second element which made the Jones meetings immediately popular in town was the fact that the election campaign had begun in earnest, and everyone was curious to see if the rumor that Sam P. Jones had been brought in intentionally to influence its outcome, possibly by an open attack upon his namesake, the mayor, was true. The mayoral race had, in fact, become even more complicated than when the pastors had called for the evangelist. As was to be expected, the Democrats had nominated a candidate, Patrick Dowling, who promised to reverse Mayor Jones' promiscuous trend toward public ownership of the city's utilities. But few foresaw that the faction in Jones' own Republican party which was grouped behind Charles E. Russell would be successful in securing the latter's nomination in repudiation of the mayor's policies.

Since the Republican convention was held on March 4, the day before the religious revival opened, there was some confusion as to whether Samuel M. Jones and his Golden Rule idea had been defeated before Samuel P. Jones had had an opportunity to land a blow or whether the mayor would accept the challenge and test the popularity of his policies as an Independent candidate. The point was all the more crucial since as mayor of Toledo, Samuel M. Jones had been asked to introduce the reformer-revivalist at the first Armory meeting on Sunday afternoon, March 5. The event provided one of the most ironic moments in the history of revivalism in Ohio. The mayor already had announced that he

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108 Toledo Bee, February 25, 1899, 1; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 319.

would carry his program before the people in the election, but he had not as yet gotten enough signatures on the required petitions to get his name on the ballot. The evangelist, whom many supposed (then and since) to have been employed specifically to denounce the mayor and his ideas, had to decide whether to praise or deride a man who was not as yet officially a mayoralty candidate.

The two Sam Joneses shook hands on the platform and the mayor rose to tell the huge crowds of five thousand that none of his duties put more sunshine into his heart than the one he was performing. After expressing his pleasure at seeing that so many Toledoans were interested in men's souls, he briefly stated his own social gospel position as to how society could be saved. Echoing the words of B. Fay Mills at Columbus four years before, Mayor Jones said that "nothing else but the love of Christ at the heart of society" could save the world. "Things are awfully wrong now," he admitted, "but they are going to be right. He taught us to pray, 'Thy kingdom come.' Why then should it not come?" As if in defense of the record of his own administration he added that many men were misunderstood, but that there was consolation in the fact that it was also true of Christ Himself when He was on earth.

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110 Ibid., 91
111 Editorial, Toledo Bee, March 7, 1899, 4; March 15, 1899, 5; Holcomb, op. cit., 106; James H. Rodabaugh, op. cit., 37; and Whitlock, op. cit., 114.
112 Toledo Blade, March 6, 1899, 4.
113 Quoted in McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 319.
Choosing to introduce the revivalist as his "fellow worker," the mayor sat down to the applause of the audience. The Georgia evangelist decided to return the compliment. "The strength of the mayor who just spoke is in his faith and the cause he champions and is willing to die for," he said. The Democratic Toledo Bee was so startled by the flattering references which Sam P. Jones made concerning the mayor on this first occasion and also at a meeting the next morning that it began to speculate what consequences would follow if he would begin to attack the local Republican machine instead of the man whom many thought he had come to oust from office.

If the reform-minded revivalist did not choose to initiate a war against "Golden Rule" Jones' policies until he was sure that the mayor was a candidate in the election, he did make it clear from the beginning that he did intend to do battle with moral corruption in the city as he viewed it. With the mayor on the platform at the first service he announced: "I tell you that I have come to Toledo for a fight. If there is anything I dislike, it's a dull time. I am going to make the fur fly. It may be that the fur will fly from some of the preachers as well as the citizens in general." He went on to predict that with the pastors' cooperation he was "going to drive the devil out of this town." As he saw it, "the first thing we are going to do in Toledo is to separate the good from the bad. Just now they are all running together. We will

114 Toledo Blade, March 6, 1899, 4.
115 Toledo Bee, March 6, 1899, 1.
first make the issue square, and then we'll draw the line." In his sermon that evening he defined "the issue" rather apparently as the alleged seven hundred saloons in town which were open seven days a week, and later he drew "the line" at complete compliance with the 1864 Toledo blue law which had been repealed during the mayor's first term. 

During the first week of the revival campaign until March 9, when the mayor submitted his petitions and became an official candidate for a second term, evangelist Jones took no sides in the approaching election except to say that he was a "Prohibitionist, from snout to tail." Instead, he concentrated upon the aspects of his ministry that distinguished it as of the new departure in revivalism. The vulgarity and frivolity of his language were more extreme than ever. As capacity audiences came to the Armory day after day, he amused them by all kinds of sayings:

A man asked me if a white man differed from a negro in his instincts. I said, no, he differs in his outinstincts.

The Sweet Bye and Bye is all right but I hit 'em in the Naughty Now and Now.

Neighbor, you want to be religious, but you haven't got sense enough. I honestly believe that if you would split my head, take out the brains and fill it full of sawdust, that I'd have a heap more sense than some of you.

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117 Toledo Blade, March 6, 1899, 4.
118 Ibid. Stuart said frankly that the mission of the revival was "to dig up the liquor business." See ibid., March 8, 1899, 5.
119 Ibid., March 7, 1899, 6.
120 Quoted in McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 320.
121 Toledo Blade, March 7, 1899, 6.
If you haven't got anything but a cent to put in the basket, Bud, just keep it until you get five of them and then you can buy yo' self a glass of beer.122

The Toledo Bee editorialized that Jones' "style of clothing his ideas" was "extremely open to criticism from its very novelty."123 One citizen, George H. Wilson, maintained in a letter to the Bee that if he stood on the main streets of Toledo and used the "foul language" employed by the preacher he would be arrested, and that if Jones persisted in its use he should be too.124 Nonetheless, Sam P. Jones dismissed all of the critics of his ideas and the way he expressed them by boldly stating that all they lacked of being in hell was just dying.125

It was also obvious that the Southern evangelist had permitted his theology to drift to an extreme Arminian position, had become as much of a Biblical literalist as Moody, and had developed the procedure of conversion to the simplest of processes. He told the Toledoans that "God is powerless, . . . , to save a man without another man to help him" and conversely that "the devil is utterly powerless to damn a man without men to help him." He also took the path of reckless faith with Moody in stating: "I believe that the whale swallowed Jonah and I'd believe that Jonah swallowed the whale if the Bible said so."126 As far as saving souls was concerned, Jones had reduced the personal contact of

122Ibid., March 11, 1899, 1.
123Editorial, Toledo Bee, March 7, 1899, 4.
124Ibid., March 12, 1899, 4.
125Toledo Blade, March 7, 1899, 6.
126Toledo Bee, March 6, 1899, 1.
the old inquiry room to a mere handshake from the preacher at the plat-
form and the signing of a card. 127

At his regular noon prayer meeting for businessmen at the
National Union Auditorium on March 10, evangelist Jones began the insinu-
ations about Mayor Jones which eventually developed into a full-scale
assault. He had learned from reports in the Toledo Bee and the Toledo
Blade, backing Dowling and Russell respectively, that among the signers
of Samuel M. Jones' petitions were Joe Casper, the poolroom king,
Mr. Bright, a gambler, and Chief of Police Raitz who would have been
thrown out of his position earlier for drinking while on duty except for
the indulgence of the mayor. 128 Therefore, the itinernat preacher ad-
vised the men at the prayer meeting: "Just look at the gang that is
following each of those candidates, . . . , and I will tell you what kind
of a man he is." 129 He affirmed that if he were mayor he would close
the saloons at the times the law specified, eliminate the assignation
houses, and secure a police chief who did not drink whiskey.

It was to six thousand at a meeting for men only at the Armory
on Sunday evening, March 12, however, that the would-be moral reformer
struck his first unmistakable blows against the mayor's Golden Rule

127 Ibid., March 19, 1899, 10; Toledo Blade, March 8, 1899, 5;
March 14, 1899, 1. Jones occasionally still used the traditional after
meeting to get people to come forward.

128 McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 320.

129 Toledo Blade, March 11, 1899, 1.
policy as applied to the saloon, prostitution, and gambling interests of the city:

You have an apostle in town who can do everything by love. My, my! If love would have regulated the laws of this town, it would have taken wings, and flown off long ago. Is it love that runs 700 saloons wide open, seven days in the week, 400 bawdy houses every night, all night long, and 150 gambling dens that carry your young and old men down to hell? You go down to that white-aproned, bull-necked saloon keeper and say: "Jim I am going to love you to death." "Go on," he says, "love as long as you please, but don't shut me up." Ah, brothers, I have got a love greater than that, a love that will plumb the law, make men live up to the official oaths of their office, and do their duty.130

The evangelist further ventured that "if the devil was mayor of this city, he would not change a single thing." The advocate of a muscular Christianity asserted that a mayor and two police commissioners could clean up the city by enforcing the blue laws, and then queried: "Who will do it?" Someone shouted "Mayor Sam M. Jones." Others retorted aloud: "No! No! He would not."131

In any case, the preacher had made his point that Toledo needed "a mayor that would enforce the law," and the ministers of the city met the following morning to do what they could to see that such would be the case.132 Speaking to the gathering, the evangelist assured the clergymen that although "you must not mix politics with religion ... you are justified in mixing religion with politics,"133 Therefore, although they were aware in advance that Mayor Jones would not commit himself to such a scheme, the ministers decided to enter the political

130Ibid., March 13, 1899, 3.
131Ibid.
132Ibid.; Toledo Bee, March 13, 1899, 1.
133Quoted in McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 321.
arena by forming a ten-man committee to invite each candidate for mayor to sign a pledge that, if elected, he would "enforce the law against the saloonists, gambling, and houses of ill fame."  

Hoping to profit by the votes of those aroused by the rising moral tide which the revival supposedly was producing, the Republican candidate, Russell, immediately issued a public statement binding himself to the essential provisions of the pledge which the ministers had suggested. Dowling, the Democrat, was not clear in his commitment. And when the committee contacted the Independent Jones for his decision on the issue, they found him completely adamant. In a lengthy letter which was published in the Blade the mayor outlined his position. He would let the record of his first term speak for itself. He had reorganized the police department to make its appointments by the merit civil service system thereby eradicating its former condition as a clearing house for the payment of political debts. He had saved the city from franchise grabbers. He had suppressed "open gambling." He had even made a restrained attempt to enforce the laws with respect to the saloons, but had found that "the only law that can be enforced is the law that the public sentiment of the community will uphold." Therefore, as far as he was concerned, "the saloon is not an

134 Ibid.; Toledo Bee, March 13, 1899, 1.  

135 Toledo Bee, March 13, 1899, 8. This move brought Russell the official support of the Anti-Saloon League three days later. See Toledo Blade, March 16, 1899, 5.  

136 McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 322.  

137 Toledo Blade, March 18, 1899, 1.
issue in this campaign. It is sought to make it an issue by those who are moving heaven and earth and resorting to every sort of infamy to accomplish my defeat and clear the road for a wholesale era of franchise-grabbing unparalleled in the history of the city." "I do not believe that the Christian people of Toledo are going to be caught with any such bait," he predicted.\(^\text{138}\) Since he "went into the mayor's office absolutely without promise or pledge of any kind to any person or set of persons" in 1897, "Golden Rule" Jones maintained that he could not now "be bound by any promise" except that "I have enforced and shall continue to enforce all laws according to the standard of existing public sentiment."\(^\text{139}\)

With regard to Sam P. Jones' approach to reforming the city, the mayor later mused:

I do not believe that the extirpating method to which Mr. Jones pins his faith is either the Christian or the scientific method. I believe that the only way in which evil will be overcome is the strictly Christian way, which is to overcome it with good. I believe the only way in which the saloon evil will finally disappear will be through the growth of the loving spirit of mankind, which will provide an opportunity for people to live decently human lives, provide equality of opportunity for all; and then no one will want to live a degraded life, either in the slums of the rich or in the slums of the poor.\(^\text{140}\)

All of the mayor's opponents took full advantage of his refusal to join the crusade against the liquor interests. The local newspapers used the saloon question and evangelist Jones' cutting remarks about the

mayor to improve the chances of their own candidates. The ministers persuaded Jones to extend his meetings five days (from March 17 to 22) in order to exploit the mayor's decision before the growing audiences at the Armory.

Sacrificing in great measure the possible spiritual impact of the remaining services in an effort to drive home the all-important fact of a proper vote on April 3, Sam P. Jones took every opportunity to flail the policies of the mayor while his list of converts languished. With obvious reference to the mayor, Jones told four thousand at a men's meeting on March 19 that "when an official takes an oath of office to enforce the law and does not, he is a perjured scoundrel in the eyes of God." Broadening his attack, he stated further that "the judge, the sheriff and the prosecuting attorney are equally responsible for the failure to enforce the laws." And "if you have a state or municipal law in Toledo that is not enforced," he warned, "anarchy is already in our midst."

If any Toledoans had nurtured doubts that the major goal of the Sam P. Jones revival campaign was to convince the citizens that the city could be saved only by the renunciation of Mayor Jones' Golden Rule policy toward the saloons, gambling dens and bawdy houses, the evangelist's last sermon in town must have dispelled them. Although he affirmed

141 Editorial, Toledo Blade, March 15, 1899, 4; Toledo Bee, March 15, 1899, 5; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 325.

142 Toledo Bee, March 18, 1899, 2.

143 The Toledo Blade, March 17, 1899, 9 estimated that out of a crowd of 7,000 on March 16, not over twenty-five went forward.

144 Ibid., March 20, 1899, 6.
that "I've got no more to do with the political candidates in this town than the dog star has to do with the rise and fall of the tides," he maligned the mayor's ideas unmercifully. "I've been through twenty lunatic asylums," he declared, "but before God I never found anybody yet that was fool enough to stand up and say that saloonkeepers shouldn't be hurt because of the Golden Rule. I just had to come to Toledo to hear a thing like that said." Then he began to define his own "Christian" design for moral reform. "I believe in moral suasion for the drunkard, legal coercion for the liquor seller and physical force for the law-breaker." After the applause abated, Jones revealed the shockingly pugnacious nature of his approach. "I am for the Golden Rule myself, up to a certain point, and then I want to take the shotgun and the club." 

I believe in Golden Rule when it comes to gentleness, kindness, acts of mercy, but I believe in doublebarreled shotgun rule for a mad dog. You know who the mad dogs in this town are—they are these saloonkeepers, gambling house proprietors and the proprietors of disreputable houses ... And he made it unmistakably clear that every aspect of the grave situation could be laid to the charge of "a man that professes to love God and his fellow man and then loves the devil just as much as he loves God." 

Sam P. Jones' mission was finished. He had done his utmost

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145 Ibid., March 23, 1899, 5.


147 Toledo Blade, March 23, 1899, 5.

148 Ibid.
within the confines of professional revivalism to present the case against the Golden Rule policy of the mayor and hopefully to see his rebuke by the electorate at the polls on April 3 and the subsequent enforcement of the blue laws. Some out of the huge audiences had been convinced. The Methodist *Western Christian Advocate* applauded the evangelist’s volleys against the mayor’s implementation of the Golden Rule. It defined Samuel M. Jones’ method as to “advise men to do right, but never force them; advise them not to sell liquor, but not to prevent them; advise against immorality, but do not actively oppose its devices or open houses; let each do as seemeth to him good.”\(^{149}\) It cited the approaching election of mayor as of critical importance and gave its unreserved endorsement to the Republican candidate, Russell, who had promised the desired law enforcement.

The issue was fully joined; the decision would rest with the voting public. The ability of professional revivalism to work moral reform by pressuring civic officials into enforcing blue laws was in the balance. In the two weeks that remained before election day the Pastors’ Union which had employed Sam P. Jones expressed itself completely satisfied with the evangelist’s work while Samuel M. Jones campaigned for his political life.\(^{150}\) The latter Jones himself “was like an evangelist, in a way, and his meetings were in the broad sense religious” as he

\(^{149}\)*Toledo,* *The Western Christian Advocate*, LXVI (March 22, 1899), 374.

\(^{150}\)*Toledo Blade*, March 23, 1899, 5; *Toledo Bee*, March 25, 1899, 2.
presented his political platform to the people of Toledo. He stated the planks as: "Public ownership of all public utilities"; "no grant of new or extension of existing franchises" by the city to private companies; "the abolition of the private contract system of doing city work"; "a minimum wage of $1.50 per day of eight hours for common labor"; and "organized labor to be employed on all public work." While the Anti-Saloon League tried to maintain a high level of temperance fervor in the community with lectures in twenty churches on Sunday, March 26, the mayor prepared a last rebuttal of his own to Sam P. Jones. Since the evangelist had quoted the figure of saloons in Toledo at 847, "Golden Rule" went to some effort to gather his own statistics and to publish the number at 581, a decline since 1896.

When the ballots were counted on April 3, the decision in the mayoralty race was as decisive as the campaign had been hard-fought. There had never been such a landslide in the history of Toledo politics. "Golden Rule" Jones had carried every ward and 70 per cent of the total vote. Sam P. Jones had written to the Atlanta Journal that if the mayor was reelected it could be attributed to "840 saloon-keepers and

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151 Whelock, op. cit., 128.
152 Toledo Blade, April 4, 1899, 8; Samuel M. Jones, The New Right, 91.
153 Toledo Blade, March 27, 1899, 7.
154 Ibid., March 30, 1899, 1; Samuel M. Jones, The New Right, 108.
155 Toledo Blade, April 4, 1899, 1; Samuel M. Jones, The New Right, 111.
the devil," but the Toledo papers felt differently as they viewed the results. In the opinion of the Blade, "the workingman and the capitalist; . . .; the saloonkeepers and the church deacons; the gamblers and the ministers--all lined up for [Mayor] Jones." The editor of the Bee noted that Samuel M. Jones had been the choice of the "Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Catholics and A. F. A.'s, organized labor and labor that isn't organized, the republicans, the democrats, the brewers and the saloonkeepers."  

If the religious crusade of Sam P. Jones had stirred the conscience of any sector of Toledo society very deeply over the need to have the blue laws enforced, it had not been evident on election day. The only candidate to have taken a solid stand for the moral reform suggested by the revivalist and the Pastors' Union, Russell, received fewer votes than the number of people in attendance at many of the evening revival services at the Armory, 4,266. The triumphant Mayor Jones, who was consistently reelected until his death in 1904, concluded: "The people have kept their minds on the one great question--Shall we have the Golden Rule of all the people or the rule of cash by a few people?"  

Thus, as the nineteenth century drew to a close, the evangelicals

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156 Jones' letter is quoted in Toledo Blade, April 1, 1899, 1.

157 Ibid., April 4, 1899, 1. The same sentiment is expressed editorially in ibid., April 4, 1899, 4.

158 Editorial, Toledo Bee, April 4, 1899, 4.

159 Samuel M. Jones, The New Right, 111.

160 Quoted in McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 325.
of Ohio had had first hand demonstrations of the inability of professional revivalism effectively to regenerate society either by reaching the masses with the gospel or by regulating the lives of the citizens by the enforcement of restrictive "moral" legislation. What was apparent concerning the profession in Ohio was noticeable across the nation. The age of revivalism in the pristine form in which Moody had brought it to its zenith in the 1870's and 1880's would come to an end with his death in December, 1899.161

It was true that the compellingly earnest Moody had been able to gain a significant hearing for revivalism in its traditional expression which included a simple, vernacular presentation of the Scriptures, humble, illustrative anecdotes, and a consistent rejection of Biblical criticism, of social reform movements, and of the findings of modern science. However, in the last decade of his ministry, it had been as apparent to Moody as to anyone that revivalism in that form no longer could command a sizable audience beyond the evangelical (often rural oriented) community in the cities.162 While Moody himself looked to Sunday schools, Christian Endeavor societies, Rescue Missions, and the Y.M.C.A. as the bases for a "new evangelism" and saw his own late revival campaigns as a means to awaken the churches rather than to save the masses, he also was aware that others were recasting the mold of

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162 Hudson, op. cit., 150-156; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 281.
revivalism itself in order to insure its survival. Sam P. Jones and Billy Sunday (who was not yet nationally known) were making revivalism competitive with the amusements of the cities. In their hands the use of the vernacular often became vulgarity, anecdotes became mere entertainment, distrust of Biblical criticism and science became obscurantism, and the spiritual atmosphere of revivalism became charged with the essence of vaudeville and patriotism.

On the Ohio scene just before the turn of the century it seemed only appropriate that the Methodists, who had shared as completely as any of the evangelicals in the origins and expressions of revivalism in the state, should express the ultimate disillusionment with the work of the professional evangelist. In calling for "the passing of the evangelist with his made-to-order revival" and the coming of a new awakening under the labors of the pastors themselves, the official organ of Ohio Methodism laid a most exhaustive list of charges at the feet of the professional revivalist:

He has demanded carte blanche as to his methods. He has seated himself firmly upon the throne of authority by getting pastor and workers down at the altar of confession as having been all wrong in their methods of Christian work. He has, so far as in revival goes, diverted the people's faith from the Lord to himself. He has, with studied care, manufactured midweek Sabbaths, which should have the marks of spontaneity, and has thus magnified the spectacular at the expense of real achievement in revival work— to say nothing of the discounting of open sincerity. He has stimulated a love of dress-parade at the expense of a willingness to endure the trials of a real campaign. Apparently satisfied himself, he has sought to content Christian people with the

163 Hudson, loc. cit.

164 Bernard A. Weisberger, They Gathered At The River (Boston, 1958), 219.
mechanics of revival, when the absence of supernatural power was most painfully marked. He has bordered upon the indecent in language, and has gone to--over?--the verge of falsehood in statement. He has whetted the appetite of the people for things outre in Church-work, and has vitiated their taste for services that make for the fashioning of Christian character and the enlargement of the kingdom. He has decreased the attendance at prayer-meetings, and thinned the Sunday congregations. He has discovered an easy mode of conversion--the lifting of a hand or the signing of a card. He has encouraged the belief that conversion goes no further, and means no more than this. He has destroyed in many quarters, the belief that some depth of conviction and some bitterness of repentance are the unvarying notes of genuine renewal in the case of most adults. He has taxed the resources of the Church, neutralized its saving power, weakened the influence of pastors, overthrown the faith of the public in the genuineness of Christian experience, and has left sincere seekers after the consciousness of God's approval in hopeless despondency. He has cut the nerve of pastors, and despoiled them of courage to prosecute soul-saving work directly. He has discredited them and their work in the eyes of their own people. He has been pampered with the open-mouthed wonder of the thoughtless, and has reveled in the pride of undisputed leadership. His adroitness in producing an ample revenue, whose current should flow selfward, has been monumental. His dexterity in avoiding places which could promise only a harvest of souls has been extraordinary. 165

The Methodist opinion was that it was a wonder "that pastors have suffered his manners so long, and that Christian people have been willing to pay him so long and so much."166 In rebuttal to those who contested that the conversion of a single soul was worth any cost and warranted the overlooking of distasteful revival measures,167 the Methodists held that "even if some souls have made a profession under the conditions noted, yet if the Church is left in large measure shorn of her power,

165"The Passing of the Evangelist," The Western Christian Advocate, LXIV (March 24, 1897), 357.

166 Ibid.

167 This idea was argued at length earlier by a Methodist, James Porter, in Revivals of Religion (Cincinnati, 1853), 56ff.
and if the faith of the public is seriously shaken in her sincerity and in the tremendous importance of the high doctrines which she proclaims, it is then quite evident that something has cost too much.\(^\text{168}\)

Nevertheless, the fact that open hostility existed among the evangelicals themselves toward the excesses and failures of professional revivalism in Ohio did not indicate that the institution was on the verge of being rejected by its perpetual sponsors in the state. For the older generation of evangelical church members revivalism had become too much a part of their religious life to countenance its discarding. For them it had represented the epitome of interdenominational fellowship and the most profound gesture of the churches' efforts to save the masses and to reform society. During Moody's last Ohio campaign at Cincinnati in 1897 they had become acquainted with Reuben A. Torrey upon whom the mantle of the great evangelists' traditional style of revivalism fell.\(^\text{169}\) As Torrey perpetuated Moody's approach into the twentieth century, the Ohio evangelicals sought his services and reveled in his month-long Cleveland

\(^{168}\)"The Passing of the Evangelist," The Western Christian Advocate, LXIV (March 24, 1897), 357.

They also continued to support the periodic work of J. Wilbur Chapman in the state.

However, it was revivalism in its new, flamboyant dress that appealed most to the rising generation. Therefore, the failure of Sam P. Jones' blue law reform movement in Toledo in 1899 was quickly disregarded and forgotten in favor of his crowd pleasing antics. He and his associate evangelists were immediately invited to the Lakeside Camp Meeting in August of 1899. He continued to be an annual Chautauqua attraction in the state and in November, 1905, the year before his death, he held a final three week campaign in Cincinnati. Another figure of the new departure in the profession, Gypsy Smith, had reached the list of the evangelistic greats by 1900. Ohioans had not forgotten the aura of mystery which surrounded his earlier work in the state and invited

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170 For details of the revival see Cleveland Leader and Cleveland Plain Dealer during the time it was held from January 13 to February 10, 1907.


172 The value of Jones' efforts in Toledo was not questioned by the Methodist organ even after the mayor's reelection. See "Toledo," The Western Christian Advocate, LXVI (April 19, 1899), 503. The evangelist's biographer, in fact, left the impression that "Mr. [Sam P.] Jones won a great victory for municipal reform in Toledo, and changed the moral atmosphere of the city." See Holcomb, op. cit., 108.

173 "Toledo," The Western Christian Advocate, LXVI (March 22, 1899), 374.

174 For details of this revival see Cincinnati Enquirer and Cincinnati Commercial Tribune during the period of the meetings, November 5-23, 1905.
him to hold a three week campaign at the Armory in Cleveland in November, 1908.  

If there remained any doubt that the revivalistic tradition had affected the religious life of Ohioans so profoundly during the nineteenth century that they would continue to perpetuate it regardless of its changing form, there was sufficient evidence in the second and third decades of the new century to dispel it. Not only were many local congregations still employing the annual winter protracted meeting, but also between 1910 and 1929 they sponsored thirteen city-wide campaigns under the direction of the evangel of the new age, Billy Sunday. In fact, just as Ohioans had played a vital part in bringing Sam P. Jones and B. Fay Mills to prominence in the late nineteenth century, by helping Billy Sunday produce his first successful large-city revival in Columbus in 1913 they did the same for him in the twentieth. During the first century of its development, the patterns of modern professional revivalism had become so intertwined with the social, emotional, and theological facets of the religious life of the evangelical Protestants of Ohio that, whenever they sought to save sinners or to renew the believers, it was most natural for them to think in terms of the employment of the methods and personnel of the revivalistic tradition.

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175 For details of his meetings see Cleveland Leader and Cleveland Plain Dealer, November 7-23, 1908.
176 Pitzer, op. cit.
177 Ibid., 84-149.
178 During what has been defined as the Fourth Great Awakening beginning in the mid-twentieth century, the Ohio evangelicals responded to the work of revivalist Billy Graham. In the summer of 1964 they sponsored his two-week crusade in Columbus.
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