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THE GREAT AWAKENING IN THE UNITED STATES

A thesis
presented to the faculty of
Concordia Seminary
St. Louis, Mo.
by

Richard C. Stuckmeyer

in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
of

Bachelor of Divinity

*Somewhat lacking in depth
and comprehensiveness
but sufficient for
B. D. work.*

*Approved, April 24, '34.
P. Kreigman*
Approved May 1, '34

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

A General Discussion and Application of the Term Awakening.

Generic and General Meaning of the Term Awakening - During the last quarter of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, American Colonial History tells of a period of religious events often called the Great Awakening. Now the term awakening, meaning according to its generic significance to re-animate, to awaken new life, necessarily presupposes a state of declension and in matters of religion holds the popular conception which understands by it the stirring up of strong emotional feelings. This arousal of the emotional nature naturally results from a consciousness of the decay of spiritual life coupled with a reconsecration to matters religious. It is a rebirth of the religious nature; a renewal of interest in matters concerning the soul; an awakening of a new spiritual consciousness; and so a religious revival is often termed a religious awakening. Accordingly, the Great Awakening in the United States is interchangeably called the Great Revival or the Great Awakening.

Furthermore, in America today, customary usage interprets the term revival as generally applying to special religious services, protracted for a term of days or weeks, in which unusual efforts are put forth to reach the unconverted for the purpose of bringing them to repentance and winning them to lives of Christian faith and service. It is in this regard also that the Great Awakening has been termed a revival, for it extended over a period of years wherein special emphasis was put on emotional preaching for the purpose of arousing people to a rebirth of religious life. This fact will be seen in a later discussion of the point.

Progress of Christianity Called a Series of Revivals - Since it has been noted that a religious revival always presupposes a moral and spiritual declension in the life of an individual or group of peoples, a study of the history of the Christian church will reveal that a general statement may be made contending that the progress of Christianity has been characterized by an awakening or

revival of religious interest in more or less of a protracted length of time. One may easily understand why this is so. Mankind always has been, is and always will be subject to the temptations and weaknesses of sin. This is especially true in times of prosperity and a surfeiting of religion. He usually permits the attractions of this world to draw him; either forgets about the life of the soul or becomes indifferent over the same; and a general period of decline in religion and morals follows. That is the history of man. However, it appears that when the time comes for the pendulum to take its natural swing to the other side, a revival of religion is found.

Exemplified Application Of The General Revival Theory - Considering, therefore, the term revival in the sense of an awakening to spiritual consciousness by a more or less general group in society after a period of lethargy in the vital matters of the soul, it will be interesting, before proceeding to a discussion of the Great Awakening in the United States proper, to very briefly mention some of the religious awakenings which have characterized the growth of Christianity. Immediately there comes to mind the day of Pentecost. This event is set as the birthday of the Christian church, and according to the stated definition of a revival, people do not err if they desire to call the day of Pentecost an event partaking somewhat of the nature of a revival. Upon that memorable day, after the visitation of the promised Comforter, the Sacred Record reports that a single searching sermon by the apostle Peter was so effective that three thousand souls were added to the number of those accepting Christ. Dr. Kirk, in speaking of the influence of Pentecost says,

" The impulse of this revival continued to be felt through four centuries, swelling like a wave of the sea, steadily onward, until the battle of the Milvian Bridge put the scepter in the hands of Constantine, and destroyed thus the power of Pagan persecution; and then the decree of Milan pronounced the religion of the cross the religion of the empire." 1

Protestant Reformation - " The Christian of the Roman Empire, however, did not eliminate certain elements of paganism in his worship, the reflex influence of which proved disastrous to the new faith " Christianity.

Therefore, under the long rule of the papacy, a night of spiritual darkness

1 - Beardsley, History of American Revivals, p5; Kirk's Revival Lectures, pl15.

settled down upon the Christian world, in which the church slumbered on in contented indifference to the pagan ideas and corrupt practises which were destructive to her spiritual power. Voices of protest were raised now and then, but no sweeping results were attained until there came a mighty revival and separation from Roman Catholic principles through the Protestant Reformation in Germany under Dr. Martin Luther.

In England - In England the cleavage with the Roman Church was chiefly precipitated by political rather than ecclesiastical lines. Henry VIII, through whom it was effected, had been an ardent Romanist, but when the pope refused to grant him a divorce from Catherine of Arragon, he took matters into his own hand and proclaimed himself the head of the English church. However, this never could have been done, had not there been a strong undercurrent of Protestantism in the popular sentiment of the day. The efforts of Wyclif and his successors, the Lollards, together with the work of the Oxford Reformers bore fruit and the people supported the reforms and ideas of Henry. These reforms were not violent, for at first a mere change in the leadership or headship of the church was all that was contemplated. Other changes followed soon, but they were also more or less mild in their form. Nevertheless, the spirit of revival was afloat.

At the time of the persecutions of Mary, however, many of the English clergy fled to the continent where they came into contact with a type of Protestantism much more radical than that of England. Especially was this true at Geneva where the stern genius of Calvin presided in ascetic simplicity. On their return they carried with them a desire for further reform. As a consequence the Puritan revival, which some people favorably accept, was inaugurated. The exponents of Puritan principles subsequently peopled New England with colonists who prepared the way for the introduction of that type of religion which characterized the history of American Christianity at the time of the Great Revival.

Lutheran, who is a member of an orthodox group of that denomination, refers to the fact that the Lord has kept the Truth among men in its unadulterated form solely through that church which adheres to the revelation of His Will in the Holy Scriptures. God may be said to have done this through a constant series of revivals. For example, after true Lutheranism faded in Germany and rationalism took the place of revealed religion, God, in the early part of the nineteenth century, gave to the world such a great character as Dr. C. F. W. Walther. To America Walther and his group of faithful German Lutherans brought a revival of the Truth. How the church of God has grown and been blessed through the efforts of those early Lutherans who settled in the state of Missouri, the membership list of over a million souls in the organization which has come from them testifies. Today, therefore, because God has so graciously given to these Lutherans a knowledge of the true way of life for sinful mankind, a challenge is extended to the members of that body to arise and preach with exerted effort the pure Gospel of salvation.

With these thoughts the writer accordingly closes his introductory remarks to his thesis and turns now to a discussion of his topic proper.

II. A GENERAL DECLINE IN THE MORAL LIFE OF THE PEOPLE IN THE COLONIES DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES PRODUCED BY THE POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN THE VARIOUS SECTIONS.

Introduction

Before taking up in somewhat length a general discussion of the main characters and events of the Great Awakening, it is well worth while to consider the soil in which such a movement was rooted and to state the causes which brought about such a remembered period of American History. This postulates a survey of later American Colonial life and morals. Dr. Jernegan is called upon to speak for us again in this regard.

"The period from 1689 to 1750," says he, " was one of great importance in the religious history of the colonies. It is marked by four principal tendencies and movements. 1) The first was a general decline in religion up to 1734. The second and third generation of colonists were not influenced by such striking events as those that provoked the intense religious interest of the first generation, for example, the persecution of the dissenters under James I and Charles I. On the contrary, the major interest of these later generations was in economic rather than in religious problems. 2) A secondary tendency in religion was the effort of the Church of England to expand its influence and to make the church a powerful force in the colonies. This force was exerted first through missionaries, and second through the unsuccessful effort to appoint colonial bishops. 3) Of great significance was the large immigration of dissenters and their demands for religious toleration. 4) The Great Awakening, a series of religious revivals beginning in 1734, began in part as a protest against a general decline in religion and morals and was more or less widespread throughout the colonies. " 1

The reader can readily see that the first and the fourth point of Dr. ^{Jernegan's} Jernegan's quotation primarily serve for purposes of this paper.

New England

Edward's Statement - From 1660 on there had been a gradual decline of religion in New England. In 1734, according to Jonathan Edwards, such a condition continued, for at that time he declared the greater part of the people in the neighborhood of his parish of Northampton, Massachusetts were " very insensible of the things of religion, and engaged in other cares and pursuits -- licentiousness for some years greatly prevailed among the youth of the town; they were, many of them very much addicted to night walking, and frequenting the tavern, and lewd practises, wherein some by their example exceedingly corrupted others. It was their manner very frequently to get together in conventions of both sexes, for mirth and jolity, which they called frolics; and they would often spend the greater part of the night in them, without any regard for order in the families they belonged to. " 2

1 - Jernegan, The American Colonies, 1492-1750, p404.

2 - Jernegan, The American Colonies, 1492-1750, pp404-405.

Operative Causes of Declension in the Moral Life of the People.

The Church Services - The church life of the period contributed greatly to decline in the moral life of the posterity of the Puritan and the Pilgrim. The grandson and granddaughter of the early settler in his public devotions to God did not possess the fervid piety and sincerity of the first pioneers of the land partly because he was subjected to a constant diet of unattractive and cheerless services in the church. Instruments of music were unknown. The singing was confined to the chanting of Psalms metrically arranged, and the number of tunes made use of for this purpose seldom exceeded five or six. The sermons, often highly metaphysical in character, sometimes required two or more hours for their delivery. There was nothing in the service which might induce the worshipper to commune with God, for the beauty of a public service with its celestial hymns and the features which lead men to God were entirely neglected.

The Theology- The doctrines taught in the sermons were ultra-Calvinistic in character and led to a practical denial of human freedom. The divines of New England had not learned to harmoniously blend the doctrines of God's sovereignty and of universal grace. There was a cold, dead preaching of theology which often produced a rebellious effect upon the listener.

Church and State- " More potent still in its deteriorating influence upon the religious life of the people was the union of church and state. Church membership was requisite to citizenship, churches were supported by taxation, and church attendance was made compulsory by law." 1
Such provisions of the statutory legislations were fatal mistakes. Men cannot be made pious by law, and history shows that the attempt to do so often has led to serious blunders. State churches never are conducive to vital religion and this was an error which New England made.

Position of the Unchurched. - Non-church-members suffered keenly from ecclesiastical disabilities. According to the principles of the Puritans, only the regenerate were eligible to church membership. The baptized children of these were in covenant relation with the church and were entitled to its watch-care, but they were not admitted to full privilege of church membership until they had made public profession of regenerate faith. Until this was

done their children could neither be baptized nor enjoy the watch-care of the church. Moreover, only those who had full membership in the church had any voice therein. This meant a strange state of affairs, for there were many in New England who were compelled to pay taxes for the support of the church, forced by law to attend the public services, and yet had no voice in public or ecclesiastical affairs. In addition, their children were barred from all the privileges of the church.

The Half-Way Covenant - Finally in 1662 an expedient was adopted by the churches to allow baptized persons of moral conduct and orthodox belief to have their children baptized and enjoy themselves all the privileges of church membership except participation at the Lord's Table. This decision was confirmed by a synod called by the General Court of Massachusetts and really was the product of a ministerial body appointed by the same court in 1657. At the time it was decided that non regenerate members " who owned the covenant," publicly approved the principles of the Gospel, lived upright lives, and promised to promote the welfare and submit to the discipline of the church, might bring their children to baptism; but they themselves might not come to the Lord's Table nor take part in ecclesiastical affairs. Notwithstanding much opposition, this became the general practise and accordingly many persons of reputable life, who could make no full oath of allegiance to Christianity by a public profession of a regenerate faith, were admitted to Half-Way Covenant relation in the church and their children were baptized. This Covenant, however, made no provision for any change in the civil status of those who came within the scope of its action. That remained as it was, and those who owned it were neither given voice in church affairs nor were they permitted at the Lord's Table.

The Effect of the Half-Way Covenant - Instead of promoting vital religion this legislation tended to encourage moralism. Those who were effected by it became content with its provisions and did not seek full membership in the church. Moreover, it was not kept within the bounds of its original provisions. The Lord's Supper was gradually opened to such as " owned the covenant " and at a

later time some supported the theory that the Holy Communion was a converting ordinance. As a result the door was opened for all sorts of evils and a general lapse in morals followed.

The Reforming Synod - Early in the history of New England unusual prosperity was enjoyed by all, but towards the close of the seventeenth century a series of disasters on land and sea set in. The crops failed, an epidemic of smallpox waged, many fires destroyed much property in Boston and violent storms brought havoc to shipping. In addition, King Philip's War, 1674-1676, took one out of every twelve men of military age at the hand of bloodthirsty savages, and the attendant debts, which the colonists incurred as result of the war, threatened bankruptcy.

These conditions provoked thoughtful minds to contemplation and the General Court ordered a synod to consider, 1 - What were the evils that provoked the Lord to bring His judgment on New England and 2- What remedy was to be taken.

After careful consideration of the problems, thirteen evils were specified as being the cause of the disasters which had come upon them. They were as follows: " Decay of godliness on the part of professing Christians; pride and extravagance in dress; neglect of baptism and church fellowship together with a failure to testify against Quakers and Baptists; profanity and irreverent behavior in the sanctuary; absence of Sabbath observance; lack of family government and worship; back-bitings, censures, revilings and litigations between church members; intemperance, tavern haunting and putting the bottle to the lips of Indians, besides adultery, lustful dress and behavior, mixed dancings, gaming and idleness; dishonesty, covetousness and a love of the world; opposition to reformations and leniency towards sin; a want of public spirit in causing schools and other common interests to languish; and finally a general unfruitfulness under the means of grace and refusal to repent. " 1

To remedy these evils it was recommended that " the chief persons in church and state be careful to set a godly example and that the Cambridge Platform, an elaborate declaration of the principles and practices of the New England churches adopted in 1648, be re-affirmed; that none be admitted to communion who had not made a full profession of saving faith; that discipline in the churches be diligently enforced; that the churches be fully officered; that the magistrates attend to the support of such officers; that righteous laws should be established and enforced; that churches renew their covenant with God; that the sins of

the times be engaged against; that the churches agree in covenanting to promote holiness and a closer walk with God; that provision be made to support Harvard College and all schools of learning; and that all should 'cry mightily unto God, both in an ordinary and extraordinary manner, that He would be pleased to rain down righteousness.' " 1

Results of the Reforming Synod - The results of the Reforming Synod were not lasting. For a time there was an improvement in the religious life of the people but in most instances the addition of many new members to the churches consisted of such as owned the Half-Way Covenant and gave their assent thereto. The way was opened, therefore, for a repetition of those very evils which the Reforming Synod was designed to correct. Moreover, disasters continued to follow in various ways so that many were turned from the Christian religion, for they failed to understand the workings of the hand of God in the tragedies of life as signs for good to them that love Him. Their ideas were too material; and the picture of New England moral life during the last days of the seventeenth and the early days of the eighteenth century was a rather gloomy one.

The Middle Colonies and the South.

Franklin's Ideas - In the Middle Colonies much the same conditions existed as those described for New England. Benjamin Franklin's comment on the preaching of a Presbyterian clergyman is quite pertinent. He states,

"His discourses were chiefly either polemic arguments or explications of the peculiar doctrines of our sect, and were all to me very dry, uninteresting, and unedifying, since not a single moral principle was inculcated or enforced, their aim seeming rather to make us Presbyterians than good citizens." 2

However, for the sake of completeness, it must be said that a much larger degree of religious toleration existed in the Middle Colonies than in New England and, except in part of New York, no established church ruled in this section.

The South - In the Southern Colonies the power and influence of the dominant Anglican Church gradually declined. This was credited to the passage of the

1 - Beardsley, History of American Revivals, pl6.

2 - Jernegan, The American Colonies 1492-1750, p405.

English Toleration Act of 1689, and that of Virginia in 1699. These opened the way for the growth of dissenting sects in this section. However, in spite of the fact that the spirit of religious toleration was a healthy one, the governments of the Southern Colonies were more interested in settling the frontier for the purpose of economic development and for protection than in insisting on conformity to tolerant theological views. Therefore, the dissenters soon migrated in large numbers to the southern back country, but friction arose because of the number of these dissenters, their demand for complete toleration, and for the opportunity to establish churches with the freedom from obligation to help support the Anglican church, which denomination fostered the evils that prepared the way for such a movement as the Great Awakening in this section. Many of the clergy were men of inferior ability and were generally accused of lacking those spiritual and moral qualifications expected of clergymen. Furthermore, the fact that the royal governors were themselves Anglicans widened the breach between the two religious groups and indirectly opened the door for laxity and discord.

As a final and general statement the fact must be mentioned, that strange as it may seem for that period to the reader of this day and age of millionaires and billionaires, the acquisition of wealth on the part of many of the colonists led to materialism, and a rather general desire for an increase of fortunes left little room for thoughts of the soul. Spiritual decay took its place.

III. THE CHIEF REVIVALISTS AND THEIR LABORS

Thus far the discussion has been along general lines. The narration of events of the Great Awakening now follows and becomes centered about certain outstanding individuals who were leaders in this great historical movement.

Tennent - Dark as were the days preceeding the Great Awakening from the viewpoint of the religious and moral life of the people set according to the standards of strict morality for that day and age, an event occurred in the year 1727 which caused the minds of the public to turn to the question of eternal safety. That event was an earthquake. This so stirred the public thought that men became concerned a bit about spiritual matters. In the same year the Rev. Gilbert Tennent accepted the pastorate of a Presbyterian church at New Brunswick, New Jersey. At this place he came into contact with the successful ministry of the Rev. Theodore Frelinghuysen, a Dutch Reformed pastor, whose fruitful activities incited the inquiry of Tennent regarding his own lack of accomplishments. A sickness then visited Tennent and so deepened his impressions regarding the Dutch pastor that he resolved to be more diligent in his work, should he recover. It is said, therefore, that upon his restoration to health, he very zealously labored to arouse the impenitent to a sense of ^{religious} religious consciousness by a very faithful presentation of the gospel message and much personal diligence in pastoral work. His method of work, he says,

" was sealed by the Holy Spirit in the conviction and conversion of a considerable number of persons at various times and in different places in that part of the country as appeared by their acquaintances with the experimental religion and good conversation." (Tracy,- The Great Awakening- p25) 1

Early Revivals - Before Tennent's work in New Brunswick, revivals were also recorded in Connecticut at Hartford in 1696 and Windom in 1721. The Rev. William Stoddard of Northampton, Massachusetts also reported that dark as the days were which preceeded the Great Awakening, there were not wanting rays of light for he enjoyed special ingatherings of the harvest in his work in 1679, 1683, 1712, and 1718. Now no matter in which way you wish to interpret

these special manifestations of religious fervor, they seem to have been an indication that the country was not altogether unprepared for the tremendous wave of religious influence which swept over the colonies and known in history as the Great Awakening.

Jonathan Edwards

Early Life - The Rev. Jonathan Edwards was born at East Windsor, Connecticut, October 5, 1703. His father was a Congregational minister and his mother a daughter of the well-known Solomon Stoddard. Edwards was precocious as a child. At the age of six years he began the study of Latin, at ten he wrote an essay denying the materiality of the human soul, and at thirteen he entered Yale College, from which he graduated in September 1720 before he had quite reached the age of seventeen. During his second year in college he read Locke on "Human Understanding." Concerning this he said that he was inexpressibly pleased and entertained, more so than the most greedy miser when gathering up handfuls of silver and gold from some newly discovered treasure. After graduation he remained two years at Yale, during which time he studied and prepared himself for the Christian ministry to which he had dedicated himself.

New York - In August 1722, he accepted an invitation to the English Presbyterian church in New York City. Here he labored for eight months and when a permanent call was extended to him at the end of this time, he declined because the future to him appeared to be very unpromising here. While laboring in New York, he made a remarkable series of resolutions, pledging himself to do nothing which did not tend to the glory of God.

Yale - Edwards returned to his father's home after he left New York and spent several months in further study of theology. In June 1724, he received an appointment as tutor in Yale College. He filled this position for two years with honor to himself and credit to the institution.

Northampton - Old age finally began to make itself felt to Edward's grandfather, the Rev. Solomon Stoddard, and the veteran clergyman became convinced that he needed an assistant in his work at Northampton, Massachusetts.

Young Edwards was called to this position and ordained as his grandparent's colleague on February 15, 1727. Two years later the older theologian died and the younger became pastor of what was then the strongest church in Massachusetts outside of Boston.

Marriage - A short time after his ordination, the Rev. Jonathan Edwards married Miss Sarah Pierrepont of New Haven. She was only seventeen years of age at the time, but a young woman of intelligence, a good education and personal beauty. The home life of this couple bordered upon the ideal. The Rev. George Whitefield, another of the great figures of the Revival movement of whom we shall speak later, was so impressed by the beauty of the Edward's married life when he visited them that he wrote, "She (Mrs. Edwards) is a woman adorned with a meek and quiet spirit, and talked so feelingly and solidly of the things of God, and seemed to be such a helpmeet to her husband, that she caused me to renew those prayers which for some months I have put up to God, that He would send me a daughter of Abraham to be my wife." 1

Beginnings of Revivalism - For some months Edwards labored at Northampton without success. Finally a change took place in the young clergyman and he decided to be guided by pastoral teaching and advise. After this men say the revival commenced, for although 1740 is the commonly accepted historical date for the beginning of the Awakening, in reality it commenced in New England in the Spring of 1734, for about this time the minds of the people were seriously turned towards the consideration of eternal matters by the untimely deaths of two young persons in the community. Furthermore, certain sermons also, which Edwards preached about that time on justification by faith, the justice of God in the damnation of sinners, the excellency of Christ, and the duty of pressing into the kingdom of God, greatly deepened the religious impressions of the hearers.

First Evident Results - One can also readily understand that a regular preaching of these tenets by Edwards was well suited for a revival known to be dominated by enthusiastic reaction on the part of the affected. Men were reminded of the punitive justice of an offended God and pointed to the

cross of Christ as the only rescue from the obvious results of their sinful lives. The hearts and consciences of many were deeply moved and within the space of a comparatively short time people began to claim conversion for themselves. In the latter part of December 1734, five or six persons in Edward's congregation experienced a change in their spiritual life. Among them was a gay young woman of somewhat questionable character. She had been a leader of a frivolous life among the young. On account of her past reputation Edwards was fearful lest her conversion should create prejudice and bring his work into disrepute, but his fears were groundless because quite the reverse took place.

Spread - "Presently upon this," wrote Edwards, "a great and earnest concern about the things of religion and the eternal world became universal in all parts of the town and among persons of all degrees and ages, the noises among the dry bones waxed louder and louder; all other talk but about spiritual and eternal things was soon thrown by; all the conversation in all companies and upon all occasions was upon these things only, unless so much as was necessary for the people carrying on their ordinary secular business. Other discourses than of the thing of religion would scarcely be tolerated in any company. The minds of the people were wonderfully taken off from the world; it was treated amongst us as a thing of very little consequence; they seem to follow worldly business more as a part of their duty than from any disposition they had to it --- but though the people did not ordinarily neglect their worldly business, yet there was the reverse of what commonly is: religion was with all sort the great concern and the world was only a thing by the by. The only thing in their view was to get the kingdom of heaven, and everyone appeared pressing into it --- There was scarcely a single person in the town, either old or young, that was left unconcerned about the great things of the eternal world. Those that were wont to be vainest and loosest, and those that had been most disposed to think and speak slightly of vital and experimental religion, were now subject to great awakenings. And the work of conversion was carried on in a most astonishing manner, and increased more and more; souls, as it were, came by flocks to Jesus Christ. From day to day, for many months together, might be seen evident instances of sinners brought out of darkness into marvelous light, and delivered out of a horrible pit and from the miry clay, and set upon a rock, with a new song of praise to God in their mouths." (Edwards, Works Vol. III, pp233-235) 1

A reading of practically any history of the Great Awakening shows that other writers agree with the report of Edwards that the revival at Northampton spread. Out of a city of 1100 population some tell us that about 300 persons gave evidence that they desired and claimed to be children of God.

Over a hundred were received before a single communion service which was open to all without public confession of faith.

Now a Lutheran theologian receives such reports of an emotional conversion to faith in God with little accreditation, for there is lacking a sound indoctrination in Christian tenets. This is so necessary for a valuable understanding of the plan of salvation outlined in the Gospel. Can the Biblical principles of life be intelligently and sufficiently comprehended during moments of emotional excitement? Of the three hundred who were listed in Northampton as converts, how many really remained professing and active Christians after the first strains of religious excitement faded away? These are the vital questions asked by a Lutheran theologian.

Spread in Other Communities - In Massachusetts this unusual awakening to religious feeling spread to South Hadley, Suffield, Sunderland, Deerfield, Hatfield, West Springfield, Long Meadow, Enfield, Hadley Old Town and Northfield. In Connecticut, Windsor, East Windsor, Coventry, Lebanon, Durham, Stratford, Ripton, New Haven, Guilford, Mansfield, Tolland, Hebron, Bolton, Preston, Groton and Woodbury awoke to a spiritual revival as well as communities in New York and New Jersey. Quite evidently the revival movement, when once started, rapidly spread much after the fashion and growth of a popular movement today, and at that time the interest of the people was so greatly aroused, that at the request of Dr. Colman of Boston, Edwards published a book entitled "Narrative of Surprising Conversions." In this literary work he had much to say about this religious spirit which was taking such a widespread hold of a great many peoples.

Among the Presyterian In New Jersey and Pennsylvania - During the years 1739-1740 the spirit of revivalism also took hold of the Presbyterians in New Jersey. The Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, pastor at Elizabethtown and later president of Princeton, claimed that numbers flocked to him for advice on eternal concerns. More came to see him on this errand in three months than during the thirty years which preceded.

In New Londonberry, Pennsylvania, the independent revival of the Rev. Samuel Blair took place among the Scotch Irish Presbyterians. During the absence of the Rev. Blair in March 1740, many outward manifestations of conversions through groanings during the services of a neighboring minister were reported, and these strange experiences continued when the regular pastor returned.

In the Middle Colonies - In this territory a very potent factor which caused the spirit of revivalism to take hold was the graduation of certain evangelistic type of ministers from the famous "Log College" at Neshaminy, Pennsylvania. This institution, which was the legitimate forerunner of the now prominent Princeton University, afforded the ministerial training for the before mentioned Gilbert Tennent, his three brothers, Samuel Blair, John Rowland, Samuel Finley, William Robinson and others. "Log College" was founded in 1730 by William Tennent Sr., who came from Ireland in 1716 and united with the Presbyterians Synod in 1718. Originally he was an Episcopalian. He and his four sons were so influential in starting revivals in this locality that they have been called the Tennent Revivals.

The revivals in New England and the adjoining colonies were great in their preparation for the coming of the great English evangelist and the prince of pulpit orators, the Rev. George Whitefield. The work of men like Edwards, Tennent, Blair and others were as soil for the sower and when the great English preacher came to America on his many extended preaching visits, the work which he was destined to bring into prominence already had received an auspicious start and the background made ready for immediate and concentrated endeavors.

George Whitefield

Early Life - The Rev. George Whitefield, who really was the central figure of the Great Awakening, was born at Bell Inn in the City of Gloucester, England, December 16, 1714. His father, who was a wine merchant and later an inn-keeper, died while Whitefield was only two years of age. His mother labored to send him to the Grammar School of St. Mary de Crypt. At the age of eighteen he went to Oxford and secured a position as servitor in Pembroke College. Because of this job as servitor and with the aid of friends, he completed three years of residence work at Oxford with a debt of only twenty-five pounds.

Up to the time that Whitefield entered college he was quite wayward and careless. He changed, however, after he entered school and, as a result, gained the reputation of "a singular odd fellow." Here at Oxford student George *made contacts* contacted with the famous "Holy Club" or "Methodists" made reputable by the Wesleys, and although for a while he was yet unconverted, which, according to the reasoning of the members of that organization, meant that he could not consciously fix the exact moment in which he was brought to faith in Christ, he led a better religious life. However, young Whitefield was finally "converted", and he was the very first of the Oxford students to experience it. On June 20, 1736, he was ordained for the work of the ministry by Bishop Benson.

From the very first Whitefield was destined to be a great orator. His first sermon is said to have driven fifteen persons mad and his bishop is reported as having said that he hoped they had not forgotten their madness by the next Sunday. From the beginning he was an itinerary preacher and called this type of work "ranging". His sermons appealed to all classes and such men as Franklin, Garret and Hume testified to his power of oratory.

Departure for America - While Whitefield was at Oxford, the Wesleys were in Georgia in the United States. The accounts which they sent of the prospective fields for missionary work and ecclesiastical endeavors in the New World fired Whitefield with a burning zeal to go abroad and he quite

logically refused a good place in London. When Charles Wesley eventually came back to England for help, his persuasive efforts, coupled with those sent by his brother John through the medium of correspondence, forced Whitefield to definitely decide on work in America. When he accordingly embarked for Georgia, contrary winds delayed immediate sailing and kept him at the Downs. During the delay John Wesley came from Georgia. Whitefield received a message from him while he was yet in the offing saying that he had better return to England for he, Wesley, had sought the counsel of God by casting lots and the decision given revealed that it was not adviseable for Whitefield to leave. Contrary to the manner of such conclusion and believing his mission a divine one, the gifted orator went on to Georgia.

Before Whitefield had gone, Charles Wesley had spoken to him concerning the establishment of an orphanage in Savannah, Georgia. The idea so appealed to Whitefield that this institutional project really became the chief purpose of his evangelizing tours, for the raising of funds for the eleemosynary home led Whitefield to concentrate on America as the chief field of his concern and labor.

First Return to England - Popularity - After three months in America, the young religious enthusiast returned to England in order to seek the priest orders and collect funds for the orphanage. The interest he awakened produced opposition from the clergy. The bishop of London wrote a pastoral letter warning against him. However, that did not diminish his popularity in the least. Once, while preaching at Bermondsey Church, there was an audience of a thousand persons outside who could not find entrance and the eloquent orator, who at the time was gaining more and more popularity in his home country as a great preacher, stated that he had a strong inclination to go out and preach to them from the tombstones. This was the first impetus given him to go and preach out in the open and, accordingly, on February 17, 1739 he preached to two hundred colliers out in the open on Rose Green because the churches at Bristol and Bath were closed to him. From that time on field preaching was a feature of his work. By this method he could reach throngs which the

churches could not hold.

Back to America and First Visit to the Northern Colonies - On his first return to Europe Whitefield was ordained to the priesthood, collected a thousand pounds for his orphanage, and returned to America reaching Lewiston, Pennsylvania on October 30th, 1739. From here he went to Philadelphia and began his first visit to the Northern Colonies. Multitudes flocked to hear the great inspirational preacher and Philadelphia had no building large enough to hold his audiences. On one occasion he preached from the gallery of the court house on Market Street.

From Philadelphia Whitefield went to New York. All the churches were closed to him here except the Presbyterian Church. However, he preached to great multitudes out in the field and filled the hall at night.

Moreover, during and from his trip to New York, Whitefield preached at the cities of Elizabethtown, Maidenhead, Abington, Neshaning, Burlington and New Brunswick in the colonies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey and, while at the last mentioned place, met the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, the revivalist of that locality. Back in Philadelphia he did concentrated work in proclaiming the messages of Scripture which he interpreted, for he felt the great need of telling others about his discoveries and experiences in study of the Word of God which meant life and salvation to the one who heard and believed.

The South and the North Again - From Philadelphia Whitefield journeyed overland to Savannah, preaching at Wilmington, Newcastle, Annapolis, Williamsburg, Charleston and other places. At Savannah he laid the foundation for the orphanage and then returned to Philadelphia again, where the people wanted to build a large church for him. This he refused, because he preferred to work as an itinerant preacher. Of this latter visit Franklin said, "It was wonderful to see the change soon made in the manners of our inhabitants. From being thoughtless and indifferent about religion, it seemed as if all the world was growing religious, so that one could not walk through the town in an evening without hearing the psalms sung in different families in every street." (Billingley-Life of Whitefield, p152) 1

Whether we literally accept all that the great and early experimenter

with electricity has to say about the revivalist's successes or not, Franklin's remark seems to give sufficient evidence for believing that Whitefield attracted the attention of the majority of the people by his preaching and that many men did become quite concerned about their religious natures. Surely, there is a great deal of truth in Franklin's statement.

Whitefield in New England - Soon the Rev. George Whitefield made the New England territory the objective of his visits and traveling northward he arrived in Newport on September 14, 1740, whence he traveled from Bristol to Boston, preaching in the churches of Dr. Colman and Sewall and before throngs on the commons. While at Boston he visited the surrounding towns, the students of Harvard, and worked East as far as Portsmouth, New Hampshire and York, Maine.

From Boston Whitefield traveled by way of Concord, Worcester, Brookfield and other northern towns to Northampton, whence he journeyed to New York. At New Haven, Connecticut he addressed Yale College. Samuel Hopkins was so impressed by his oratory that he later became an advocate of the Edwardean or New England theology. Both houses of the legislature adjourned in order to hear him, and the governor personally embraced the marvelous preacher from England.

New York and Back to the South - Back in New York Whitefield preached for three days, and then went to the South to Charleston on December 1, 1740. At New Brunswick he conferred with the Rev. William Tennent, and a decision was reached to send Gilbert Tennent to Boston to carry on the work which Whitefield had started. Tennent, who was a powerful but less polished preacher than the great revivalist from the mother country, labored in Boston for two and a half months, with success. Thousands listened to his message and were moved by them, and many more would have joined the churches than really did, had he not discouraged them from approaching the Lord's Table without first giving satisfactory evidence of conversion. To many, however, the fact that Tennent required an open and conscious acknowledgment of Christian faith before admittance to the Sacrament of the Altar, was quite

commendable, for after all, numbers stand for very little in church membership if there is no sincerity in the hearts of many who have themselves listed in statistical reckonings of this kind.

Growth of Revival Interest and Work - After Tennent's departure from New England, religious interest still increased. During the years 1741-1742 revivals were held at Natick, Wrentham, Bridgewater, Middleborough, Halifax, Gloucester and the leading towns of Massachusetts; at Lyme, Enfield, and New Haven, Connecticut; at Portsmouth and Newcastle in New Hampshire; Westerly, Rhode Island and at many other places in the Northern Colonies. Great preachers like the Rev. Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, Massachusetts, Jonathan Parsons of Lyme, Eleazar Wheelock of Lebanon, Benjamin Pomeroy of Hebron, Joseph Bellamy of Bethlehem, and John Graham of Southbury, Connecticut traveling about after the manner of Whitefield, preached in the districts adjoining their parishes so that by the end of 1742 scarcely a parish and community in the North remained that had not been touched in a measure by the Great Awakening.

The Revival Spirit in the South - In the South activities were first started in the year 1743. In Virginia a layman carried on the work much to the opposition of the Established Church. Here and there people were dissatisfied with the state church and, as pointed out before, many minds were more ready to accept the emotional type of theology offered by the revival preaching than that of much of the dead preaching of the state church.

At Hanover, in Virginia, a small group of Christians learned of the effect of Whitefield's preaching at Williamsburg in 1740, and they desired to hear him. However, he had already left the colony. In 1743, Mr. Samuel Morris, one of their number, procured a volume of Whitefield's sermons. He had the neighbors congregate in his home and then would read to them from the sermon book. This practice was kept up from Sabbath to Sabbath until finally the number of attendants grew so large that they had to erect a meeting-house. Morris received invitations from other communities to come and conduct one of his reading services. This he did. At last the Rev. William Robinson, a

graduate of " Log College " devoted some time to the new settlements of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina. He gave fresh impetus to the revival, and large numbers openly professed to join the church. Morris kept up his reading practices after Robinson left. Other settlements eventually erected meeting houses and selected readers.

In Maryland, Carolina, and Georgia, the revival received its greatest impulse through the personal work of Whitefield. The spirit took great hold in the South and enjoyed a steady growth until the time for the Revolution.

Lutherans in the South and Delaware - Their Part in the Revival - Now of interest to a number of readers of the events of the Great Awakening is a record of some of the activities which early Lutheran settlers in America engaged in during the Great Revival. They participated in the movement after a fashion by having the Rev. George Whitefield and others visit them. From a letter by Whitefield a bit of information is garnered regarding these things. On April 10, 1740 he wrote the following: " Some of the Germans in America are holy souls, and deserve the character they bear. They keep up a close walk with God, and are remarkable for their sweetness and simplicity of behavior. They talk little, they think much. Most of them, I believe, are Lutherans." ¹

Many of these Lutherans he came to know well by preaching and working for their welfare. For example, his efforts in behalf of the well known and noble Salzburgers of Georgia is a matter worthy of mention. While preaching in England in behalf of the Orphan's Home which he established in the South, Whitefield spoke in several churches also " for erecting a church for the poor Salzburgers." This he did after he had collected sufficient funds for his memorable project, the orphanage.

Furthermore, when in 1741 the Salzburger's church was completed with the aid of Whitefield's collection, he presented it with a bell. He also furnished the colony with a much needed pair of horses, turning lathes and other gifts. These facts reveal Whitefield's attitude of helpfulness over and against all peoples, and in this case, a group of Lutherans.

Regarding some of Whitefield's preaching activities among the early Lutherans of America, Dr. F. Bente, in his history of American Lutheranism,

1 - American Church History Series, Vol. IV, Lutherans, Jacobs, pl77; ^ *

tells of the famous evangelist's presence in the pulpit of the renowned Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. Dr. Bente points out that Dr. Wrangel, who was provost or supervisor of the Swedish Lutheran Church in America for the Lutheran state church of Sweden, interested himself in securing an invitation for Whitefield to meet with the members of the Ministerium during the session of 1763, because they had remembered his work in collecting money for the Salzburger in Georgia. Whitefield accepted, for he was present at the examination of the children of St. Michael's church before the synod, made a fervent prayer and an edifying address. On the next day he bade the synod farewell and requested the prayers of its members.

Dr. Bente lists the source material for these facts and because of their interesting nature the writer quotes in full. Muhlenberg in speaking of the synod stated: " It was also considered, whether we should not invite Mr. Whitefield and the two well disposed preachers of the Episcopal church for Monday and Tuesday, especially to the examination of the children. Among other reasons Dr. Wrangel mentioned the fact that Whitefield had assisted our poor suffering brethren in Georgia with collections. In the evening Dr. Wrangel took me to Mr. Whitefield, and in the name of the Ministerium we invited him together with the rector of the High Church, who was present. * October 16, Muhlenberg wrote: " After the services Dr. Wrangel, Pastor Hanschuh and three trustees went to Mr. Whitefield and asked him if on the morrow he would attend our examination in the church, and speak a word of admonition to the children. He answered, ' Yes, if his weakness permitted, and such were God's gracious will. ' October 18, Muhlenberg wrote: " Mr. Whitefield ascended the pulpit, and said a hearty and powerful prayer. Here upon he addressed himself to the children, delivering, with tears and deep emotion, a condescending sermon about pious children of the Old and New Testaments, together with some modern examples, which he had himself experienced, and finally enjoined upon parents their duties. After this the children were examined by Dr. Wrangel, and then, in German, by me. Whitefield, however, being very weak in body, and the church being very crowded, we discontinued and closed with a piece of church music. The pastors and other delegates, the elders and deacons took dinner in the school, the old Mr. Tennent who was given the place of honor, delighting us with edifying conversation. " October 19, Muhlenberg wrote: " At four o'clock Mr. George Whitefield visited our Ministerium in the school, bidding us an affectionate farewell, and requesting us to intercede for him before the throne of grace. " 1

Concerning his fellowship with Whitefield in 1770, Muhlenberg made the

1 - Bente, American Lutheranism, Vol. I, p88.
 * Later history shows that Dr. Wrangel's fraternization with the Episcopalians finally led to the absorption of the Lutheran Swedish congregations by that body.

following entries in his journal: "Friday, May 25-- 'Because I could not do otherwise, I wrote a few lines to Rev. Mr. Whitefield, stating that if he would preach for me on next Sunday night in Zion Church, it would be acceptable to me. 'Sunday, May 27 -- 'Early in the evening Zion Church was filled with people of all sorts of religion, both German and English. We two preachers went to Mr. Whitefield's lodging and took him with us to the church, which was so crowded that we had to take him in through the steeple door -- He complained of a cold contracted at the morning service, and consequent hoarseness, but preached very acceptably from 2 Chron. 7,1 on The Outer and the Inner Glory of the House of God. He introduced some impressive remarks concerning our fathers - Fancke and Ziegenhagen etc. " " (Jacobs p287) 1

Of course, these practices of having Whitefield attend and partake in Lutheran services were purely unionistic and would not be tolerated by orthodox Lutheran denominations today for reasons of their position against practicing pulpit fellowship with those who do not believe and profess the doctrines of the Holy Scripture as they do. Yet these early Lutherans in America, as well as some of their followers today, were very lax in many of their practices and adherence to confessional Lutheran symbols. Dr. Graebner had the following to say concerning this matter: " A misstep as serious as this, admitting an errorist like Whitefield to the pulpit of the local pastor and synodical president, such as was done at this synodical meeting, had, at least, not been made before the time of Wrangel. " 2

Bishop Wrangel seems to have been the man primarily responsible for Whitefield's connections with the northern Swedish Lutherans.

The Last Days of Edwards and Whitefield

Edwards - For want of a better place for discussion in this paper, a brief account of the closing days of the careers of the two great leaders of the Revival is introduced here. The first of these two men, Jonathan Edwards, ended his labors at Northampton in disappointment. He, gradually realizing the evils of the Half-Way Covenant*, insisted upon credible evidence for conversion as ground for admission to church membership. This provoked a controversy between himself and the church. Furthermore, an attempt to discipline certain young people for reading books which he considered obscene reacted unfavorably towards him during the same time. The congregation

1 - Bente, American Lutheranism, Vol. I. p88

2 - Bente, American Lutheranism, Vol. I. p88; Graebner, Geschichte der Lutherischer Kirche in Amerika., p383ff

* Cf. p7

refused him permission to preach a series of sermons in which he desired to set forth his views for church membership. Finally, an ecclesiastical counsel--convened without elements of unfairness - voted that for the sake of expediency the pastoral relation between Edwards and his church should be dissolved at once, even if the people persisted in desiring it. The action of the counsel was ratified by a large vote.

On July 1, 1750 Edwards preached his farewell sermon to his old congregation. However, he occasionally preached in this vicinity until prohibited by the town meeting. Later, in the same year, with his wife and ten children, he went to Stockbridge, Massachusetts. From this place he was sent as missionary to the Housatonic Indians. The next few years were spent in self-denial and labor among those who came under his ministry in this new position. However, one of the great blessings which his new pastorate afforded was the time allowed him for engaging in literary labors. The result of his writing was the famous volumes entitled, "The Freedom of the Will."

Finally, in 1757 after the death of President Burr of Princeton University, Edwards was invited to head the institution. The following January, after much reluctance, he accepted. Shortly after his inauguration at Princeton he was inoculated for smallpox. This vaccination proved fatal and he died on March 22, 1758.

Whitefield - Whitefield gradually outlived later opposition which arose against him in New England. He made visits to America in 1754, 1764, and 1770. On September 30, 1770 he died at Newberry, Massachusetts. His death brought to a close more than thirty years of evangelistic work on his part. Thousands along the Atlantic shores had listened to his inspirational messages, and although he made mistakes in policy as all humans do, he corrected them whenever he saw the evil of his ways, and at the time of his death "was loved and honored as an apostle of the English speaking world." His death even affected some of his followers in a salutary way. For example, Benjamin Randall, a godless young sailor at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, who had

been an interested listener to Whitefield's sermons, was so moved by the news of the great preacher's death that he was forced to definitely turn to Christianity for a correction of his evil life. Afterwards Randall became a minister and founded the Free-Will Baptist denomination.

IV. THE PREACHING OF THE GREAT REVIVAL AND THE EVIDENT RESULT.

Use of Revival Methods - In the various revivals which combined to make up the Great Awakening, the leaders and preachers seemed to give little or no dependence upon external measures for making their endeavors effective. Their only objective was to directly align the sinner with God. Prayer was stressed by the pastors to their congregations, but it is interesting to note that there really were no protracted efforts to get up a revival. The strange burst of religious enthusiasm during the early part of the eighteenth century really came about during the course of the regular church services and the peculiar reactions of many of the people towards matters of the soul were solely accomplished by preaching. Devices, employed by the evangelists today, such as "anxious seats" and the inquiry meetings were unheard of. Preaching was practically the only means, but this was preaching of a particular type. It calls for special comment.

General Description of the Revival Sermon - The trend of all doctrinal presentations in the homiletical work during this revival period was Calvinistic. As mentioned elsewhere, the sovereignty of God was the central theme of each sermon. Jonathan Edwards is quoted as having said, "I think I have found that no discourses have been more remarkably blessed than those in which the doctrine of God's absolute sovereignty with regard to the salvation of sinners, and his just liberty, with regard to answering the prayers or succeeding the pains of mere natural men containing such, have been insisted on." (Works, Vol. III, p245.)¹

Edward's Sermons - Their Theology - The preachers appear to have gone to the extremes in proclaiming their Calvinistic doctrines. Edwards, as a representative type of many revivalists, insisted upon presenting to his listeners again and again such theological doctrines as the following: "Through the fall in Adam man has lost God's favor and henceforth has no claim upon His mercy; man is a sinner by birth as well as by choice and is possessed of no moral power of his own wherewith he may turn to God or please him; God is under no obligation to save anyone; " His sovereignty is involved in His freedom to take whom He pleases, and to leave whom He pleases to perish;"² special grace is communicated to such as He has chosen to salvation, but all

1 - Beardsley, History of American Revivals, p48.
 2 - Beardsley, History of American Revivals, p25.

others are left to die in their sins; satisfaction must be made for the sins of those who are foreordained to eternal life. This satisfaction was met in the vicarious sacrifice on the cross by Jesus Christ, who suffered thereby a penalty equivalent to the eternal sufferings of the elect and thus their debt was literally paid. By the imputation of Christ's righteousness to the believing soul salvation was effected. ¹

Again, preaching on a certain occasion at Enfield, Connecticut on the subject," Sinners in the hands of an angry God? Edwards said, " God has laid himself under no obligation, by any promise, to keep any natural man out of hell one moment ----- The bow of God's wrath is bent, and the arrow made ready on the string, and justice bends the arrow at your heart, and strains the bow, and it is nothing but the mere pleasure of God, and that of an angry God, without any promise or obligation at all, that keeps the arrow one moment from being drunk with your blood --- The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider or some loathsome insect over the fire, abhors you and is dreadfully provoked; ---- You hang by a slender thread, with the flames of divine wrath flashing about it, and ready every moment to singe it and burn it asunder; and you have no interest in any mediator, and nothing to lay hold of to save yourself, nothing to keep off the flames of wrath, nothing of your own, nothing that you have ever done, nothing that you can do to induce God to spare you one moment. " 2

Whitefield - Now the mentioned strange physical manifestations which came as a reaction to much of the Calvinistic preaching on the part of some of the listeners were so marked in many places as to bring the Great Revival into disrepute, and although many of the reports of excesses given at that time may be considered to have been somewhat exaggerated, it cannot be denied at the same time that many of them contained much truth. Some of the leaders really encouraged the excesses attendant upon the preaching. Whitefield was a great offender in this respect, and he even favored fanaticism. At many of his services shrieking, crying, weeping and wailing were to be heard in every corner of the building. Some of the afflicted were struck pale and others lay on the ground, wringing their hands and crying to God for mercy. Whitefield expected such manifestations. He was greatly influenced and impressed by such fanaticism. Like most of the revival preachers, he primarily insisted upon an " instantaneous,

1 - Beardsley, History of American Revivals, p25.

2 - Beardsley, History of American Revivals, p48f.

conscious conversion, preceded by an overwhelming sense of personal guilt, and followed by a joyful assurance of acceptance with God. " 1

If these things followed his sermons, he felt that success attended his efforts. Of course, as hitherto discussed, the sermon was the only method which he employed to produce the strange result on the people, but these sermons, chiefly Calvinistic in content, and his natural talents of oratory, made his messages very impressive and especially applicable to anyone easily stirred emotionally. More detail will be given to Whitefield's actual sermons and delivery at a later place. At this point mere attention is called to some of the pertinent general facts regarding his sermons; and his evaluation of the results following the type of preaching which he pursued.

Salutary Effects of the Revival Work - As reprehensive as were the physical effects of the revival preaching on some of the audience, fairness demands that several statements be given at this point to show that there were also wholesome effects of the preaching done during the Great Awakening. The celebrated Rev. Jonathan Parsons believed that rough and haughty minds became peaceful, gentle, and easy to be entreated. Lowliness, long-suffering, forbearance, a courteous deportment, beneficence, and tender-heartedness, meekness, and a moderation to all appearance, seemed to increase abundantly and to all these a delight in Christian fellowship, in the breaking of bread and in prayer was observed. Relative to this he said, " I think it cannot be expected that men,

in their general course, should give clearer evidence of Christian temper formed in them, than many did in that season. Their faith worked by love and discovered itself in acts of piety towards God, charity and righteousness towards men, and sobriety towards themselves." (Tracy - The Great Awakening, p142). 2

Jonathan Edwards gave similar testimony when he said, " This work of God as it was carried on, and the number of true saints multiplied, soon made a glorious alteration in the town; so that in the Spring and Summer it never was so full of love, nor so full of joy; and yet so full of distress as it was then. There were remarkable tokens of God's presence in almost every house. It was a time of joy in families on account of salvation being brought unto them; parents rejoiced over their children as new born, and husbands over their wives, and wives over their husbands. The goings of God were then seen in his sanctuary. God's day was a delight, and his tabernacles were amiable. Our public assemblies were

1 - Thompson, American Church History Series, Vol. VI, Presbyterians, pp. 37-38.

2 - Beardsley, History of American Revivals, p51.

then beautiful; the congregation was alive in God's service, everyone earnestly intent on the public worship, every hearer eager to drink in the words of the minister as they came from his mouth; the assemblies in general were, from time to time, in tears while the Word was preached; some weeping with sorrow and distress, others with joy and love, others with pity and concern for the souls of their neighbors. " (Works, Vol. III. p235).1

No doubt remarkable transformation in life took place throughout New England in those days. It was true that many young people left their wicked lives behind and there was a general tendency among the people to turn to lives of piety and honesty.

Last Days of the Revival - However, the emotionalism prevalent in the Great Awakening led to an evident result, a speedy end for the movement. At that time already, many conflicting opinions arose as to its value and the unguarded expressions of some of the leaders caused hard feelings. Both Whitefield and Tennent declared many ministers corrupt. There may have been truth in their indictments but their statements were too general to agree with some of the facts, and the public ear was not pleased thereby. Of course, the revivalists very unwisely judged all according to their ideas of impulses and reactions. They reasoned that unless the people showed the same experiences from the preaching of other ministers as they enjoyed in their labors, the pastors must not be doing effective work, and the people remained unconverted.

Davenport - Moreover, about 1742, certain and unfortunate disorders also exhibited themselves in the work of the Rev. James Davenport of Southhold, Long Island. They produced much aggravation. Davenport, going from place to place and preaching without invitation, denounced such ministers as corrupt who did not agree with him. He made these assertions while acting solely on the theory of impulses. The effect of his work was fatal to many congregations, but Whitefield highly commended him and said that he walked closer with God than any man he knew.

Soon the Connecticut legislature took action. In 1742 a law was passed

forbidding any preacher or licentiate to preach in any church not his own without the consent of its pastor and the major portions of its membership and under penalty of foregoing the right to collect his legal salary if he were a resident of the colony. If he were no inhabitant of the community, it meant expulsion.

Davenport was arrested, declared insane and sent back to Long Island. Not long afterwards he appeared in Boston and denounced the ministers there as being " unconverted and leading their people blindfolded to hell. " This time he was arrested for uttering slanderous statements against the ministry. The charge was sustained by the grand jury, but he was pronounced non compos mentis and, therefore, not guilty.

The following March Davenport went to New London to assist in the formation of the Separatist Church. In response to revelation, which he declared he received from above, he at once began to purify the people of that locality. As part of the act of cleansing, he ordered wigs, cloaks, breeches, hoods, gowns, rings and so on to be brought to him so that he might burn them. This was done on a set Sabbath afternoon. Works from the pen of Matthew Henry, Increase Mather and of Jonathan Parsons, the revivalist of Lyme Connecticut, were thrown into the fire. As the smoke of these books ascended upward, Davenport affirmed that in like manner the smoke of the torments of such of their authors as had died in the same belief in which the books had been written went up in hell.

This was the last recorded appearance of Davenport's fanaticism. A year later he recovered his reason and published a retraction of his errors, acknowledging that he had been " led astray by following impulses and impressions as a rule of conduct. " His confession, however, produced little effect on his followers. They simply denounced him and went on in the course he had initiated them into. His chief influence had been gained among the peoples of Connecticut where the civil authorities unwisely attempted to correct by legislation and civil penalties the evils which had arisen. The feelings on both sides of the

controversy became intensified, and the Separatist Church continued as a distinct body for many years until finally absorbed by the Baptists, or in several cases, congregations returned to the denomination from which they came.

Such unhappy measures as fostered by Davenport served to aggravate the controversy which automatically arose concerning the Revival. Agitations of the public minds over questions pertaining to the Awakening became so increased that the religious interest, which it produced, soon waned and the Revival reached a hasty and quiet end. Jonathan Edwards defended the movement in a book entitled, "Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New England." To this a rejoinder was published by Dr. Charles Chauncey called "Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England." In this book Dr. Chauncey gathered a mass of evidence testifying to the extravagances practised in various places in connection with the Awakening and for which inconsistencies he condemned the Revival as a whole. Soon, however, there was a general undermining of popular thought against the Great Revival throughout the colonies and it reached its end.

Moreover, with the spirit of controversy on the increase, it did not take long for group action to be taken against the movement. For example, in 1743 a general convention of Congregational ministers was held in Massachusetts. "A Testimony" was published against certain "errors in doctrine" and certain disorders in practice "that had" of late obtained in various parts of the land. Thirty-eight votes were cast in its favor. That was a small minority of the ministers in Massachusetts at the time, but it was only intended to discredit the Awakening and so arouse opponents of the same. However, a defense was hastily organized under the leadership of the Rev. Joshua Gee, Benjamin Colman, William Cooper, Thomas Prince and Joseph Savall and all of Boston gathered in another convention at Cambridge in July. This counter "Testimony" affirmed that there had been a happy and remarkable revival of religion in many parts of the land through an uncommon divine influence, -- "remarkable on account of the numbers wrought upon, the suddenness and quick progress of it --- also in respect of the degree of operation, both in way of terror and in a way of consolation; attended in many with unusual bodily effects." 1

It was admitted that in some places many irregularities and extravagances had
1 - Beardsley, History of American Revivals, p58.

been permitted, but the defense raised for this was that Satan undoubtedly intermingled and tried to hinder a work so directly contrary to his interests. The great majority of the ministers accordingly signed the document in favor of the Great Revival. However, the better ministers of the time opposed it, and at least, there was thoughtful opposition to the movement.

Whitefield and the Controversy - About this time Whitefield returned to America on one of his many visits only to add to the spirit of controversy. He landed at York, Maine with his wife on October 19, 1744 to find that he was to suffer the ill consequences of his own abuses as well as those of his followers who superseded him in excessive practices. Because of certain unguarded expressions in his Journal, many who before favored him now opposed him. Harvard and Yale Colleges published "testimones" against him. In June 1745 the General Association of Connecticut voted that it would by no means be advisable for any of their ministers to admit him into their pulpits or for any of the people to attend his ministrations.

Whitefield, however, was quick to adapt himself to this unexpected new circumstance. Experience had taught him a lesson and he admirably deported himself. He acknowledged some of his former mistakes and, in spite of the ^{opposition} opposition to him, his visit was attended with popularity. He remained in Boston for several months and was persuaded to give a series of six o'clock morning lectures on Genesis. Multitudes flocked to hear him and friends proposed to build "the largest place of worship ever seen in America" for him. He, however, preferred his itinerant labors. Success crowned his labors in the North, although his efforts in Pennsylvania, Maryland and the South produced the larger visible results.

Nevertheless, in spite of Whitefield's successes in preventing a more concentrated opposition to him and his work, after about 1745, when controversy regarding the Revival was a general thing, advocates for the movement continuously decreased and the spirit of revivalism waned. Strifes and arguments over the movement really continued until the time of the Revolution. In the Middle

Colonies, for example, opposition split the Presbyterians into two factions. They were finally united in 1759 through the efforts of Gilbert Tennent and others - " The Great Schism " was healed and the Presbyterians went on united - but popular favor towards the revival spirit declined and faded. In fact, a general statement may be made to the effect that such a movement as the Great Awakening could not have continued. It was ushered in at a time quite auspicious for a wave of religious enthusiasm, but the keener and more intelligent minds readily saw that the movement lacked stability because its successes were determined in a large measure by the emotionalism aroused in the converted, and contention over these facts, as intimated, soon brought an end to the Revival. The leaders also saw that this would eventually be the case. Such men as Edwards and Whitefield realized that the strange manifestations and reactions of the afflicted were not altogether healthy.

Therefore, since the peculiar reactions of many effected during the Great Revival was chiefly brought about by the preaching of the revivalists, an anticipated statement of final conclusion for the cause of the decline of the revival movement is given that the type of preaching produced during and employed in the period by the leaders really caused the Great Revival, which had enjoyed such hasty popularity in its beginning, to reach its termination before the end of the first half of the eighteenth century although other attendant circumstances may also have been operative towards that end.

JUL

V. A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE PREACHING OF THE EVANGELISTS OF THE GREAT REVIVAL AND THE PRESENT DAY POPULAR LEADERS IN THIS TYPE OF WORK.

A General Discussion

In all probability, during the reading of this thesis the reader, constantly reminded of the lives, experiences and especially the preaching of several great leaders and evangelists during the years of American History made prominent by the Great Awakening, has unconsciously found his thoughts wandering to present day ecclesiastical affairs and wondering just how some of the present popular exponents and representatives of the evangelistic type of work compare in their preaching methods with the prominent leaders of the Great Revival. The mere mention of present day evangelists calls to mind such characters as Billy Sunday, Gypsy Smith and others, and the term evangelist is limited to its narrow and popular interpretation of an emotional and revival preacher. It does not take into account the general meaning of a preacher of the Gospel. With this fact in mind, therefore, the writer adds a brief comparison between the general preaching of modern revivalists and those of the Great Awakening.

Relative to this subject, one man has said to the writer during the course of conversation that the old preachers of the days of the Great Awakening really preached a revival while the modern men who belong to a kindred class really are revivalists. Correctly interpreted, that statement may have been well put. During the eighteenth century the moral life of the people in America was so far below par that, in all sincerity, the great preachers felt their duty to propound a return to a life of piety among men. This statement does not mean that today there is a non existence of the need to preach a new life to the people. Serious minded people emphatically insist that the need for preaching the Gospel is more urgent today than during the somewhat parallel days before the Great Awakening. In fact, many stand ready to admit that today society has retrogressed to a even greater degree morally and spiritually than during any period in the world's history. Therefore, the popular preachers, whom

we term revivalists, may claim in all sincerity that the essence of their work is to lead men to Christ and that the call for them to work is very urgent, but they spoil their cause for many a person by the objectionable manner in which they present their message. To many a student there appears a difference between the preaching methods of men like Edwards, Whitefield and their contemporaries and evangelists like Sunday, E. Howard Cadle and others. Therein lies the distinction alluded to between the early colonial day revivalists and those of the present time, for the chief features of the Calvinistic theology of the Great Revival preachers having been described, it seems safe to say, although much emotionalism and fanaticism attended the work of Whitefield and others, there was a more intelligent and saner appeal to the thinking man in that type of preaching than is evidenced in the pulpit work of the present leaders in this field. The evangelists today appear to primarily design their work for purposes of amusement and entertainment. They take a Biblical text or narrative and burlesque it much to the delight of many an audience. Their weird contortions and platform manners please because of their histrionic fashion. To which type of confessional theology the moderns specifically adhere is pretty hard to say but in the main they are generally followers of a Calvinism with quite a bit of pronounced Chiliastic teaching.

Sunday - To illustrate the remarks made in reference to the pulpit manners of the present day evangelists, an account is directly taken from the biography of the once popular Billy Sunday. It reads, " After more singing by the choir, Sunday takes his place directly back of the pulpit, eighteen inches from it. Bible wide open on stand in front of him and he reads the text. His voice seems husky, almost hoarse, but his words ring out and reach every nook and corner of the enclosed and roofed in acre called " tabernacle. " He stands with both hands hanging straight down, and his open palms tightly pressed against his sides. He is wearing a dark blue sack suit of two pieces, without a ghost of wrinkle showing anywhere. Last night he wore a light gray suit of the same style, the night before that a rich brown. As the first words of the text are announced his muscles become rigid, and then he bends backward as if about to throw a somersault. The manner of the preacher at the start is in a sense mild, and yet it is also vigorous in this that everybody knows he is in earnest from the top of his head to the soles of his feet. He is not violent, he does not speak unduly loud; there is nothing

approaching a strain in his voice. On the other hand, were it not for his hoarseness, you would say that he is speaking with perfect ease and yet there is something about him that makes you feel that he will soon be hurling thunderbolts. As he proceeds, the conviction grows upon you that the preacher whose words have stirred you from the start has a personality most extraordinary. You try to discover why you are already so alive with interest, and soon have to admit that you cannot. ----- Soon the preacher's face is hot and red and streaming and the steam gauge is mounting up rapidly. As he denounces sin --- and the very kind you at once recognized as your own -- his eyes fairly blaze. He goes on, in a way that can only be described as awful, to picture the fate of the unrepentant sinner, and you feel that you know just how the old Hebrew prophets looked. There is no "degree to some extent" or as it were "business about the hell that Billy Sunday preaches. He pulls off the lid so that you can almost feel the fire and smell the smoke and hear the gnashing of teeth, and charges you to remember, that it was not made for you, but was prepared for the devil and his angels, and that Almighty God is doing His best to keep you from rolling into it. " 1

The reader probably has his own reactions and conclusions to the above quotation. One can hardly help but say that such pulpit manner tends to work the audience into an emotional frenzy; and to give example of his sermon content several quotations from them are listed. From a sermon entitled, " Under the Sun," on Ecclesiastes 1, 3 he said, " At some time in our lives we have all envied men of great scholarship and intellectual attainments, and have thought of what a foretaste of heaven it would be to have the time and opportunity to learn all the things we would like to know. We have believed that one of the greatest joys this life could give is the joy of knowing things. Well, Solomon not only drank that well dry, but he pulled out the pump, for he exhausted all the schools and colleges of his day, and gave all his teacher's nervous prostration in their vain endeavor to teach him something more than he already knew. And then when he had pumped that fountain dry, he sighed and said: " Go to, now, I will see what I can get out of mirth and pleasure," and then he cut loose on that line and began to carry on in a way to make a baseball fan at the world's series look like a dummy in a clothing store window.

He got into his golden chariot with the diamond -set wheels and went around the track in a way to set the bleachers crazy. At breakneck speed he galloped over the rose-lined avenues of sensuous pleasures that opened for him in every direction, looking as if they led straight to paradise; but ere long his shining car of delight lost a wheel and he was down in the mud again, and crying out to any who might be following in his wake: " Go back! Don't come this way, for here all is vanity and vexation of spirit! " 2 That certainly is

entertaining language and an amusing manner of presentation.

For a revelation of Sunday's culture patterns permit another quotation from his sermons, the words of which read, " Judging by the way multitudes in the church live you would think they imagined they had a through ticket to heaven in a Pullman palace car, and had left orders for

1 - Elijah P. Brown, The Real Billy Sunday, p 143.

2 - Elijah P. Brown, The Real Billy Sunday, p 247f.

the porter to wake them up when they head into the yards of the New Jerusalem. If that's the case you will be doomed to disappointment, for you will be side-tracked with a hot box,--- I don't expect one of these ossified, petrified, mildewed, dyed-in - the - wool, stamped - on the cord - blown - in - the - bottle, horizontal, perpendicular, Presbyterians or Episcopalians to shout " Amen ! " but it would do you good to loosen up. Many of you are hide bound. " 1

Now the question arise whether men, who preach after the manner quoted, really have the express purpose of entertaining, drawing the crowds and that-according the charges of some people-for mercenary motives. Such a question is difficult to answer, and although the writer has heard opinions suggesting Sunday as being insincere in his work, his biographer, Dr. Elijah P. Brown, constantly reminds his readers that Sunday's sole ambition is to point out to men their sin and to show them the way of salvation in Jesus Christ. Motivated, therefore, by a thought of charity, the writer states that Sunday and many of his type are generally sincere in their preaching. Just how much good they accomplish in their work no one can tell. Their strange mannerisms in the delivery of their messages in which there often appears too great a stress on moral life and conduct in their misinterpretation of many Scriptural passages are negative qualities. Nevertheless, as long as men preach the name of Jesus, and they cannot help but do that in a measure at least if they employ the Scriptures in their work, they must bring some to the knowledge of the Truth, for God promises His name shall not be preached in vain. If some person in the audience of Billy Sunday or another revivalist of that type hears the plain words of a passage of God's Holy Writ the word of the Lord is effective, for He says,

" As the rain cometh down and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater, so shall My Word be that goeth forth out of My mouth: it shall not return unto Me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it. " 2

1 - Elijah P. Brown, The Real Billy Sunday, p248.

2 - Isaiah 55, 10.11.

Whitefield - Now, for the sake of comparison, some of the distinguishing features of the Rev. George Whitefield as an orator and preacher are pointed out. There is no doubt but that he was sincere in his work. In a self - convincing and confessional way, his whole life was dedicated to the service of the crucified Savior. Nothing kept him from preaching the message of Him who meant so much to him in life. Whitefield's journeys, travels and undertakings of a ceaseless nature all reveal the sincerity with which the man carried out the convictions of his sacred call. Even illness, except in cases of absolute impossibility, did not keep him from preaching the Gospel. He studied his Bible, and although Calvinistic in his doctrines, he nevertheless preached the news of eternal life in Christ with a conviction and in a manner different from that of the many modern evangelists, the antics of whose representative type have been described.

To speak of Whitefield's actual sermon delivery Gillies says, " The theatrical talent which he displayed in boyhood, manifested itself strongly in his oratory. When he was about to preach, whether it was from a pulpit or a table in the streets, or a rising ground, he appeared with a solemnity of manner, and an anxious expression of countenance, that seemed to show how deeply he was possessed with a sense of the importance of what he was about to say. His elocution was perfect. They, who heard him most frequently, could not remember that he ever stumbled at a word, or hesitated for want of one. He never faltered, unless when the feeling to which he had wrought himself overcame him, and then his speech was interrupted by a flow of tears. Sometimes he would appear to lose all self-command, and weep exceedingly, and stamp loudly and passionately; and sometime the emotion of his mind exhausted him, and the beholders felt a momentary apprehension even for his life. And, indeed, it is said, that the effect of his vehemence upon his bodily frame was tremendous; that he usually vomited after he had preached, and sometimes discharged, in this manner a considerable quantity of blood, But this was when the effort was over and nature was left at leisure to relieve herself. While he was on duty, he controlled all sense of infirmity or pain, and made his advantage of the passion to which he had given way. " You blame me for weeping, " he would say, " but how can I help it, when you will not weep for yourselves, though your immortal souls are upon the verge of destruction, and, for aught I know, you are hearing your last sermon, and may never more have an opportunity to have Christ offered to you. " 1

True, the above quotation reveals that Whitefield was also an emotional and histrionic type of preacher in the presentation of his subject matter.

Admittedly, there is a similarity between him and a Sunday and yet a distinct difference reveals itself in his choice of words and the language which he employed in his sermons. A quotation from his very interesting sermon on Jacob's ladder gives point to this contention. The Scripture reads in verse eleven of Genesis chapter twenty-eight, "He lighted on a certain place and tarried there all night because the sun was set." The evangelist states, "There is a particular emphasis to be put on this term, a certain place; he saw the sun going down, he was a stranger in a strange land. You that are born in England can have very little idea of it, but persons that travel in the American woods can form a more proper idea, for you may there travel a hundred and a thousand miles, and go through one continued tract of tall green trees, like the tall cedars of Lebanon; and the gentlemen of America, from one to the other, are of such hospitable temper, as I have not only been told, but have found among them upwards of thirty years, that they would not let public houses be licensed, that they might have an opportunity of entertaining English friends, may God, of His infinite mercy, grant this union may never be dissolved." 1

Again, preaching on Jeremiah XXIII, verse 6, on the subject, "The Lord our Righteousness," he said, "Never was there a reformation brought about in the church, but by the preaching of the doctrine of Christ's imputed righteousness. This, as that man of God, Luther, calls it, is the Articulus stantis aut cadentis Ecclesiae, the article upon which the church stands or falls." 2

Now the writer realizes that these several quotations from the sermons of Sunday and Whitefield are far from extensive and do not adequately serve for an exhaustive treatment of the subject of comparative differences between these two men who serve as representative types of evangelists from two distinct periods in history. However, they are sufficient for the purposes of this paper, wherein the primary object is to present a more or less historical outline of the Great Awakening. The subject of comparative differences merely came by way of an interesting but intimately associated side light to the reading matter required for the arrangement of the topic and is incorporated in the paper for reasons of interest. Perhaps some other reader may be stimulated to more complete research along these lines of comparative differences between

1 - Gillies - Memoirs of Rev. George Whitefield, p531.
2 - Gillies - Memoirs of Rev. George Whitefield, p301.

the various evangelists of history and his effort may bring forth different conclusions from the ones stated in this thesis. However, the writer doubts that, for his reading of the sermons and activities of men from both periods in history, that of the Great Awakening and the present day, seem to clearly prove that the great preachers of the Revival period in the eighteenth century, although catering to the theatrical type of presentation and the unexpected in much of their sermon work, did not do so by the use of the extreme language and crude manner of many of the moderns.

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VI. RESULTS OF THE GREAT AWAKENING.

Growth in Numbers.

Congregationalists. - In speaking of the chief results of the Great Awakening it will be remembered that previous to the movement indifference about matters of religion was much on the increase and that, therefore, the entry of the Great Revival into the midst of this must have left some telling mark. It did.

First of all, the Great Awakening resulted in a growth in numbers and membership of the various church denominations. For instance, the ^{Congregational} Congregational churches of New England greatly shared in its fruits. According to the Rev. Ezra Stiles, later President of Yale, during the twenty years following 1740, quite an augmentation of above one hundred and fifty new churches took place, and they were not founded on separation but on the natural increase into new towns and parishes, bringing the whole number of Congregational churches up to five hundred and thirty. Some statistics state that twenty-five to fifty thousand souls were added to the churches of New England in consequence of the Awakening. The total population in the New England colonies in 1750 was only three hundred and forty thousand. Assuming the smaller number of church membership additions, which is a conservative estimate, more than seven percent of the entire population of these colonies were gathered into the churches as direct result of the Revival. Of course, the writer reminds of the need for caution in forming judgments from figures and statistics, but they do give an estimate at least of the external influence which revival preaching had during this period of religious enthusiasm in forcing people to join the churches. ¹

Presbyterians - The Presbyterian Church also became proportionately greater during the years 1740-1760. The number of the clergy from that denomination increased from forty-five to over a thousand. The number of churches multiplied with greater rapidity. In Pennsylvania and Delaware alone there were forty-one pastorless churches. Gains were also recorded in Virginia and the South.

1 - Beardsley, History of American Revivals, p64.

Baptists - The Baptists suffered much opposition from the other denominations during this period and still, from a numerical standpoint, they also shared in the results of the Revival. The number of churches in New England increased from about twenty-one to seventy-nine. This in part was accounted for by the accessions from the Separatist churches. However, these Separatists were chiefly in Connecticut and only eight new Baptist organizations came into being there. Therefore, the increase from the Separatists must not be overestimated. Revival influence was felt. Moreover, new churches were also opened in the South and these became the foundations for the great influence of the Baptists there in a later period.

Episcopalians - This denomination was indirectly benefited by the Revival although they, as an organization, opposed it. In Virginia, for instance, Devereaux Jerrat was converted during the Great Awakening. He went to England and received ordination at the hand of the bishop of Chester. Returning to America Jerrat labored diligently for the revival of his denomination in this country. Undoubtedly the revival spirit prevalent at the time fired his spirit for the particular tasks which pressed his attentions. (5)

Lutherans - The participation of groups of Lutherans in the Revival has been treated. The manner in which they accepted the personal services and associations of Revival leaders has been pointed out along with the proof that all Lutherans do not look with favor upon such practices. Statistics as to the numerical growth of Lutherans resulting from the Revival have not been found by the writer to date. Undoubtedly they were affected in a small way by the increase in religious interest at the time. Extensive growth, however, is doubted because of the fact that most Lutheran denominations carried on the greater part of their work among the immigrants from the mother country, and in the language of the father-land. This did not account for much missionary activity among the English speaking peoples, although this was done to a small degree.

In general the Revival had the beneficial result of making the country more spiritually minded for a while at least. It reached not only the members

of all denominations mentioned for comparative purposes but touched the life of people from all classes and walks in life. Its impetus was felt down to almost the Revolutionary War.

Quickening of Missionary and Educational Interests- The second result of the Great Awakening was a quickening of interest along missionary and educational lines. At Stonington, Connecticut and Westerly, Rhode Island extensive mission work was carried on among the Indians. David Brainerd, claimed to be a convert of the Revival, labored among the Red Men only to be halted by an early death. Jonathan Edwards, in whose home Brainerd spent his last days, wrote his memoirs under a title, "An Account of the Life of David Brainerd." A perusal of this biographical work so influenced Henry Martin that he became the first modern missionary to the Mohammedans. Many claim, therefore, that at least in part these missions were the fruit of the Great Awakening.

Among the early converts of the Revival at Norwich, Connecticut was Sampson Occum, a Mohegan Indian boy, at the age of seventeen years. A promoter of the Great Revival, the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock of Lebanon, Connecticut, received the Indian convert into his home in 1743 for the purpose of educating him. This was the beginning of a school for the Indians which later developed into Dartmouth College. This college was endowed in part with funds secured by Occum in England.

Princeton University also owes its origin to the Great Awakening. The Presbyterian party in the Middle Colonies, opposed to the Revival, secured an enactment from the Synod, which required a diploma from a British or New England college as a requirement for a license to preach. Because this was intended as a blow at the "Log College" of William Tennent, the friends of the Revival established Princeton, and through the influence of Whitefield funds were secured in England for its maintenance. The charter of the institution was granted by Whitefield's friend, Governor Joseph Belcher.

Influence upon Religious and Political Liberty - The third result of the Great Awakening was its influence upon religious and political liberty. In New England, except Rhode Island, Congregationalism was established by law.

In New York, Virginia and the South Episcopalianism was the established religion. However, the expansion of new denominations paved the way for tolerance of conflicting opinions and a broader conception of liberty of conscience. Rival sects, existing side by side and openly propagating their tenets, together with their adherents, led to the introduction of religious liberty to all in so far as it did not interfere with the welfare of society or disturb the peace of the state. Many of these rival sects, as particularly shown above for Baptists and Presbyterians, were greatly influenced by the Great Awakening. True, the influence by the Great Revival upon religious liberty was only indirect, but it played its part.

Likewise, the Great Awakening only very indirectly affected the political liberties of the colonies. " Religious convictions of the American people, however, which were so largely called into being through the Revival, served as a balance to the political revolution which resulted in the independence " of the colonies " and prevented it from being hurled into that vortex of anarchy and ruin, in which the French Revolution was swallowed up. War at its best is but a species of savagery and it was the result of this Awakening which so conserved the principles of the Pilgrim Fathers and insured their perpetuity amid the desolation and horrors of the Revolutionary struggle. " 1

It must be remembered, of course, that all the peoples engaged in the Revolutionary struggle were not mindful of the religious inheritance which they had received from their forefathers. The principles of tolerance and brotherly sympathy did not guide all in their opinions of the war and let them feel that they were bound by righteous laws to fight for the things for which they contended. No, many who were occupied with the thought of war at that time also forgot their Christian ideal of love and rightful dealings between men; but there is quite some truth in the contentions of the above statement and quotation concerning the indirect influence which the Great Revival had upon the political liberties of the colonies.

An Evil Result - Quite obviously, after reading this paper thus far, a fundamentalist, if he were called upon to summarize the chief faults of the

1 - Beardsley, History of American Revivals, p69.

Great Awakening, would list the type of Calvinistic theology which the leaders presented and the unionistic practices they fostered. These features of the Revival work have been treated elsewhere. However, there remains for mention the type of theology which some of the Revival leaders brought into formation, for " according to the views of some theologians " the doctrinal discussion which resulted from the theology of the Revival preachers " ultimately produced the only original contribution of importance given by America to the development of Christian theology in the system worked out by Edwards and his followers and often nicknamed " New Divinity " or " New England Theology." ¹ Out of the general mass of New England Calvinism of the Westminster Confession the Great Awakening developed two marked schools of thought. These schools at the beginning were very small in comparison with the old type of Calvinism but ultimately led to the division in the Congregational body of two unequal wings, " the Orthodox," and " the Unitarian."

Now Unitarianism which dates its origin to Congregationalism certainly is not Christian theology. Moreover, it positively can show no development in Christian theology because of its denial of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, a theological tenet Christian and Trinitarian theology bases upon the Scriptures, which, ever the same in their correct interpretation, definitely demands of all men to honor God the Father, and God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit in such a passage as, " Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." ² Furthermore, " If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God. " ³

Moreover, Unitarianism is closely related to modernism in theology today. It is one of the many avenues through which the contemporary godless views of the Christian religion have come into prominence. Therefore, if these facts can be traced back to the time of the Great Awakening, as many do in interpreting them as a fruit of part of the theology developed by some of the Leaders of

1 - American Church History Series, Vol. III, Congregationalists, Walker, p266.

2 - Matthew 28, 19.

3 - I Peter 4, 11.

that period, one must surely list that new theology as an evil produced by some of the preachers of that period. Certainly the fundamentalist does. To the writer it is the chief fault of the revival theology which resulted from the work of some of its great leaders.

In the paper the writer expressly or implicitly set this responsibility concerning individual leaders of the revival work. Does the writer take his position with straight lights, as the leaders of the revival were called during the days of its activities, or does he join with the New Lights, or the supporters of the revival, who referred to the old questions as problems not to stir. Like all of the facts of his own life, these are the sides to the story and they sides has been recorded regarding vital matters has that come up for our learning. In view, the paper revival also has its redeeming and regulated features. Therefore, in the various paragraphs merely lays off the facts of his investigation where his audience for their personal advice and evaluation of them, as this writer has objectively placed before his readers some of the many facts of the revival movement as he has discovered them by reading a number of histories and biographical works in this field. True, as he was moved by his findings in specific instances, he has added some of his own contributions and opinions. Above, however, the reader is at take or leave. Furthermore, this treatise is far from exhaustive and another day and week were from his studies on the subject. However, we do hope that the content of this paper will prove both profitable and interesting to the men who may have taken the time and the pleasure required for reading it.

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CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Now before this thesis is brought to a close, some reader may ask for a definite and concise statement from the writer regarding his evaluation of the entire movement as a whole, although throughout the general discussion in the paper he has either expressly or impliedly met this requirement concerning individual features of the Revival work. Does the writer take his position with the Old Lights, as the enemies of the Revival were called during the days of its existence, or does he join with the New Lights, as the supporters of the movement were referred to? Such a question he prefers not to answer. Like all of the facts of history and life, there are two sides to the story and that which has been recorded regarding vital matters has been done so for our learning. As shown, the Great Revival also had its redeeming and repulsive features. Therefore, as the modern pedagogue merely lays all the facts of his instruction before his audience for their personal choice and evaluation of them, so this writer has objectively placed before his readers some of the many facts of the Great Awakening as he has discovered them by reading a number of historical and biographical works in this field. True, as he was moved by his findings in specific instances, he has added many of his own contributions and opinions. These, however, the reader is to take or leave. Furthermore, this treatise is far from exhaustive and another may add much more from his studies on the subject. However, we do hope that the content of this paper will prove both profitable and interesting to the one who may have taken the time and the patience required for reading it.

Finis

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