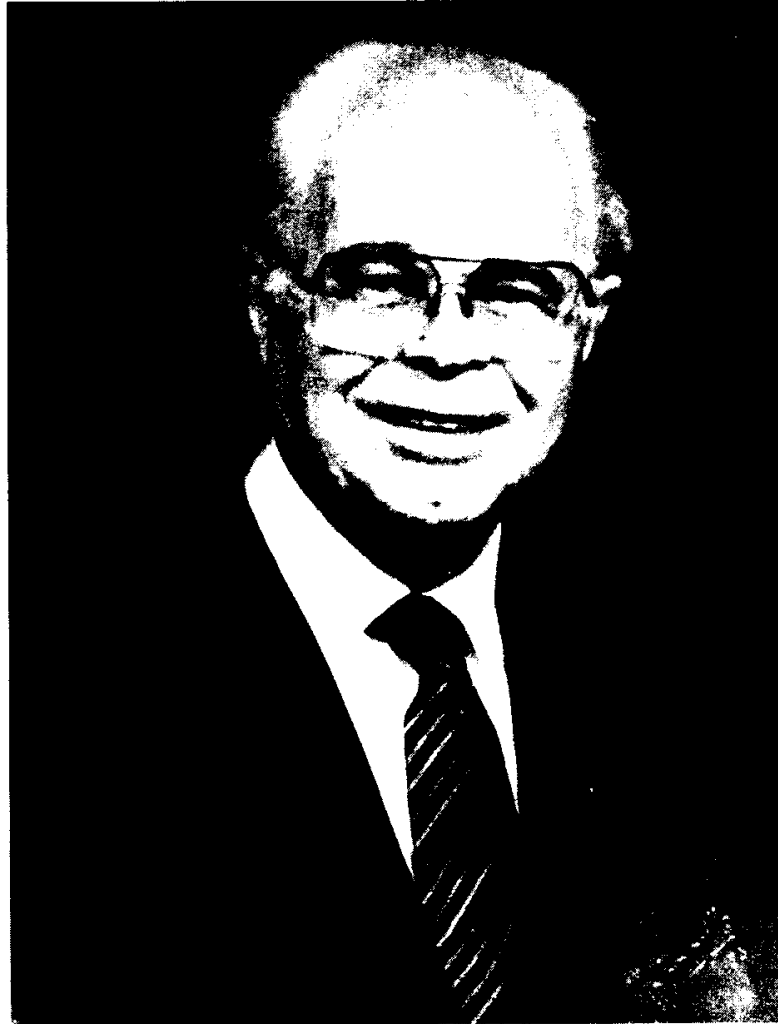


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# **THE RE-STUDY OF REVIVAL AND REVIVALISM**

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## A CALL FOR THE RE-STUDY OF REVIVAL AND REVIVALISM

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After fifty years of interest in the subject of revivals and awakenings of New Testament Christianity, thirty years in academic research, I have come to the conclusion that the treatment of the subject by most church historians is at its best wholly inadequate and at worst a re-writing of history to conform to humanist ideology. I therefore feel compelled to call for the re-studying of the outpouring of the Spirit of God in history, the revival of the Church and awakening of the related community, according to biblical and historical definitions, using common sense, pointing out absurdities, and challenging capricious concept-changers.

### *The Outpouring of the Spirit*

On the day of Pentecost, the promise of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament, of pouring “floods on the dry ground” and pouring the Spirit “on all flesh,” was fulfilled in what the Apostle Peter recognized as the outpouring of the Spirit of God. A humanist, as such, either denies that there is a divine entity, the Holy Spirit, or adopts an agnostic stance, hence the term “outpouring of the Spirit” makes no sense to him. Should a Christian therefore drop the subject?

To a Christian scholar, the Holy Spirit is not an academic question mark, but a reality taught in divine revelation and confirmed by human experience. None such should feel at all embarrassed in recognizing the work of the Holy Spirit, either at Pentecost or on those occasions in history when such phenomena occurred among the people of God.

The question arises: Was the outpouring of the Spirit a work of God or a work of man? It seems obvious. The Lord Jesus observed that the wind blows where it lists; and so it is with the Spirit. No individual or organization of people can arrange or produce an outpouring of the Spirit. It is exclusively the work of God. Believers understand it most imperfectly; anthropologists, psychologists and sociologists cannot explain it away, cannot explain it at all.

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the prayers of Christians were directed to "an outpouring" or "an effusion" of the Holy Spirit. This term was used again and again, but it is seldom used today, even in times of an interest in the gifts of the Spirit, the emphasis being upon the individual. Not only was the term used, but the actual experience occurred time and time again, whether it was at Herrnhut upon the Moravians in the eighteenth century, or in Hawaii at Hilo in the nineteenth, or in Nagaland in 1976 in the twentieth. As at Pentecost, the effusion of the Spirit came upon the whole body of believers.

One cannot see the invisible wind, but one can see what the force of the wind can accomplish. No one can measure the outpouring of the Spirit, but it is often possible to see what the outpouring of the Spirit has accomplished. History records what the outpouring of the Spirit has achieved in the reviving of the Church and the awakening of the people, resulting in the evangelizing of inquirers and teaching of disciples, and, by many or by few, the reforming of society. As the humanist is free to offer other explanations, so the Christian is free to adhere to biblical interpretations while maintaining historical integrity all the while, just as much!

The study of "revival" and "revivalism" has been often confused and perverted by elementary semantic disorder, hence it is imperative to define the terms and clarify the meaning, biblical, etymological, historical, and logical.

### *The Biblical Concept*

The synonym for "revival" in the New Testament must be "times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord," a phrase which indicates divine origin as well as human object, the people of God, who knew well the revival hope.

In the Old Testament, the Hebrew words related to the hope or happening of "revival" are "chadash" and "chaya" with the meaning "renew, restore or repair" in the first instance and "revive or bring back to life" in the second. These words are limited, in the spiritual sense, to people already in relationship with God. The successive revivals in Israel and Judah illustrate this fact. The story of Jonah and Nineveh describes an awakening, not a renewal. With this in mind, the prayer of the psalmist, "Wilt Thou not revive us again?" and the prayer of the prophet, "Revive Thy work, O Lord!" designate God as the author of revival.

## *The Etymological Note*

This word “revive” was already used in English Bibles. The common sense of the word “revival” is well-known to all who use the English language: “the act of reviving, the state of being revived, or restoration to life, strength, consciousness, etc.” This is the way that the word is used in almost every context, and only in the context of religion has the word been manipulated to mean something else.

In religious usage, the word “revival” first appeared in the language in 1702, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when a powerful spiritual awakening claimed the public attention. It was defined as “a general awakening of or in religion,” but “evangelical religion” seemed to be understood, for the word was used only by evangelicals, though of course it could have been applied to witchcraft. During a second general awakening, “revivalism” made its appearance in 1815, and “revivalist” in 1820, the first defined as “the state or form of religion characteristic of revivals” as previously defined, the second as “one who promotes, produces or participates in a religious revival,” again within the context of evangelical Christianity.

What has been said of the English word “revival” could be said of its French, German, Scandinavian and other equivalents. All conveyed the meaning of restoration and renewal, never of missionary outreach or evangelization. The foregoing definitions are still primary in all British and American dictionaries, but, in popular and “scholarly” American usage, a further but (it will be shown) illogical definition is appended, “an evangelistic service,” “gospel meeting,” or “week of meetings, especially in the South.” No British church historian accepts the American notion, though some secular sociologists have begun to borrow it from illogical opposite numbers in the United States.

## *The Historical Example*

At Oxford, J. I. Packer pointed out that the Puritans in England used “reform” to convey all that “revival” meant in the next century; there also, Richard Lovelace named Jonathan Edwards as the “theologian of revival” for the eighteenth century. This nobler concept of revival is still held around the world outside the United States, where it is also supported by a number of careful thinkers.

Canon Max Warren of Westminster stated it well as “a reformation of the Church for action . . . a reaffirmation of theology, resuscitation of worship, renewing of conscience, and it is all these within the Church and for the Church.”

This seems to coincide with Finney’s dictum: “A revival consists in the return of the church from her backslidings, and in the conviction of sin on the part of the church.” But Charles G. Finney, in persuading churches to seek revival, adopted a very different strategic concept of revival in proclaiming that “revival is nothing more than the right use of the appropriate means . . . revival is something for man to do.” His illustration suggested that revival could be programmed, as an evangelistic campaign is organized. True, any congregation moved to seek renewal could plan meetings for prayer and exhortation and experience some measure of revival by simply obeying light already shown. But misuse of Finney’s ideas led to preachers trying to accomplish by gimmicks or techniques what only the Spirit of God could achieve. This pseudo-revivalism, Winthrop Hudson called “a technique for inducing the experience of conversion.” Evangelism uses techniques, good or bad.

Despite the notion that revivals were spontaneous until structured by Finney, there were two worldwide revivals in Finney’s lifetime, 1830 onward and 1858 onward, neither planned, promoted or programmed in keeping with Finney’s philosophy. The same was true of the twentieth century and unstructured and unprogrammed movements of the Spirit are continuing in its last quarter, the movement in Nagaland since 1976 so demonstrating. It has been so for 250 years.

### *Revivals and Awakenings*

There is a very close relationship between revival and awakening. The 1904-1905 Revival of the Welsh Churches was also a 1904-1905 Awakening of the people of Wales. The French word for “revival of religion” is “reveil” or revival; the German word is “erweckung” or awakening. In neither instance does the word refer to evangelism, even though dynamic evangelism may issue from the movement.

As the sense of the word “revival” suggests a renewal of life among those already possessing it, and the sense of the word “awakening” suggests a coming alive to spirituality, the Oxford Association for Research in Revival has adopted “revival” for believers and “awakening” for community.

Scripture teaches that the Holy Spirit convicts the world of sin, hence awakening of the people follows an outpouring of the Spirit. It is seldom that revival occurs without an awakening. The outpouring of the Spirit is exclusively the work of God; revival is the work of God with the response of the people of God, awakening the work of God with the response of the unregenerate masses.

The 1858 Revival in the United States was named by the late Perry Miller of Harvard, "the event of the century," in keeping with the opinions of Christians till the twentieth century. It was dismissed by Dr. William G. McLoughlin as the "bank panic" revival, a "religious excitement" that scarcely deserved the rank of an awakening, his recent writing completely disqualifying this most wholesome of all awakenings in American history. Why? He has adapted the theory of a secular anthropologist, Anthony Wallace, of a "revitalization movement," explaining cultural change in primitive peoples. Wallace defines such movements as conscious, deliberate, organized attempts to change the culture of a people. How this theory can be applied to the Apostles at Pentecost or Wesley and Whitefield or a Maori team of evangelists in the Solomon Islands is beyond sense. Its prototype is the work of a shaman in a tribal society, not that of a prophet in Israel or the Apostles at Pentecost. But then, Dr. McLoughlin wants to be rid of "the Protestant definition of revivalism and awakenings" to think more sociologically, nullifying Christian concepts.

### *Resolving the Ambiguous*

Scholars have conceded that the American use of the word "revivalism" is ambiguous. Dr. McLoughlin titled his well documented volume, "Modern Revivalism," defining it as "professional mass evangelism," for it deals with personal idiosyncrasies of professional evangelists, not revivalism. Alas, many evangelical historians use "revivalism" in the same way as their humanist contemporary. Ambiguity is persistent, for one moment "revivalism" is used to refer to the great revivals and awakenings, and in the next, to evangelism, spiritual or carnal, successful or unsuccessful. A simple solution would be to call "mass evangelism" just that, "mass evangelism," as a term generally understood, and to use "revival" and "revivalism" for the movements of renewal, as defined in scripture or the dictionaries.

## *Redeeming the Inadequate*

It is a commonly accepted notion that the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century was unstructured and that the Second Awakening was likewise unorganized, but that Finney managed to structure "frontier revivalism," which Moody in turn urbanized, while Billy Sunday made it "big business," Billy Graham inheriting the development.

This view carelessly ignores the progression of revivals, the general awakening 1727-, another 1792-, a resurgence 1830-, a general awakening 1858-, a resurgence 1882-, and a general awakening 1905-, all of them as worldwide in scope as evangelical Christianity at the time. Spontaneous movements have continued throughout the twentieth century. It seems incredible that an otherwise informed historian in 1972 could write of America's need of a third awakening, when such a revival doubled members in his denomination from 580,098 to 1,171,356, between 1840 and 1842. Moody prayed the year he died that the whole Church of God would be quickened again, as in 1857, from which one may deduce that in forty years of evangelism he had seen nothing that compared with the 1858 Revival, his apprenticeship; but no definitive history of the 1858 Revival has yet been written. And it may safely be said that historians were unaware of the nationwide and worldwide awakening of the early 1900s, believing such movements to be a thing of the past.

As for "frontier revivalism," commonly decried, the notion is fallacious, even concerning mass evangelism, for Wesley first tackled the biggest cities of Britain, as did Whitefield in the American Colonies as well as in Britain. Moody was a metropolitan evangelist, as is Billy Graham in the twentieth century.

So far as revivals and awakenings proper are concerned, the first general awakening began in the industrial towns of Britain, as did the second in 1792; the second reaching the United States began in New England, not the frontier as "the expert" insists; the next began in Massachusetts near Boston, not in frontier Rochester six months later; the mid-century movement began in 1858 in lower Manhattan, hub of American business, and spread from city to city; and the worldwide movement of 1905 began in industrialized Wales, reaching first the cities of the world, including the States, not the frontier. It is difficult to avoid a conclusion that "frontier revivalism" advocates are prejudiced.



## *Protesting the Pejorative*

Prof. E. R. Vollmar, in a Roman Catholic encyclopedia, defined "revivalism" as "an approach to religion designed to stimulate interest by appealing principally to emotions." It is true that much emotion erupted in the early Wesleyan Revival, but it was not designed, for Wesley preached to mind and conscience rather than the emotions. There was extravagant emotion in the 1800 Revival in Kentucky, but the same movement which began in Connecticut was noted for its lack of demonstration, as was the movement of 1830 even in Kentucky. The 1858 Revival was singularly free of emotional excess, a general conclusion. The Welsh Revival of 1905 demonstrated emotion, not emotionalism. Wherever the subjects of revival were uneducated or uninhibited, the results were often emotional. But the outpouring of the Holy Spirit has brought as much response in mind and will as in emotion, though emotional response is noticed more.

Of course, the misapplied contempt heaped upon revival, revivalists and revivalism is thoroughly deserved by some evangelists of sensational inclinations. It certainly could not be applied to the Graham team, which has preached a social conscience and repudiated emotionalism as well as commercialism. And yet another modern fallacy is that "revivalism" is a cheap evangelism which lacks a social conscience, thoroughly contradicted by the record of social achievements in revivals by revivalists and converts.

## *Common Sense and Logic*

Popular use of the word "revival" to describe a purely evangelistic effort in the United States borders upon the ridiculous. A sign in the San Fernando Valley announced "Revival every Monday!" Five miles away, in Burbank, a sign proclaimed "Revival every night except Monday!" A Baptist pastor in Waco explained: "We had a revival here last fall, and nobody got revived!" An evangelist announced that, while he was holding a revival in San Antonio, to his surprise a great revival broke out! Certainly, genuine revival of the people of God may precede, accompany or follow a blessed evangelistic campaign, but evangelism is not revival. Canon Max Warren defined evangelism as: "So to present Jesus Christ in the power of the Spirit that men may come to put their trust in Him as Saviour and to serve Him as

Lord in the fellowship of His Church and in the vocations of the common life.” This was adopted by the Archbishops’ Commission in England and the World Council of Churches. The same Max Warren defined revival as new life “within the Church and for the Church.”

I told a conference of three hundred historians that the American misuse of “revivalism” for “mass evangelism” was unscriptural and unhistorical, ambiguous, inadequate, pejorative and illogical, therefore unscholarly, to be used for mass evangelism only in quotation marks unless defined. There is the much more serious task of re-studying revival and awakening as results of effusions of the Spirit, not as organized attempts to change the culture, but to forward the Kingdom of God and hasten the Coming of its King.

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# 1

## THE AWAKENING OF 1725 ONWARD

The refugees on Count Nicolaus Zinzendorf's German estates were Protestants of various persuasions. Their never-ending disputes finally impelled Zinzendorf to a full-time ministry of reconciliation, prayer a last resort.

On the twelfth of May, 1727, the whole group of settlers promised to bury their differences and to live in peace. As a result, there came a wonderful effusion of the Spirit. In late July, certain brethren decided to maintain a watch of prayer at a hill near Herrnhut; the striking verses of the First Epistle of John were their reading. On August 10, the pastor of the congregation at Bethelsdorf was overcome with conviction, and he and his people continued in prayer and singing, supplication and weeping till midnight. Another Pentecost had begun, with like results in their spiritual transformation and their exertions in carrying the gospel to the ends of the earth. Through this Moravian Revival, German Pietism affected both the Evangelical Revival in Britain and the Great Awakening in the American Colonies.

The "morning star" of the eighteenth century Revival in Britain was Griffith Jones, an Anglican rector, who taught 150,000 Welsh people to read besides preaching the gospel. He was followed by Howell Harris and Daniel Rowlands.

A group of young Anglicans met together at the University of Oxford for devotional exercises, forming a Holy Club which was dubbed "the Methodists." Their religion was one of good works. Among them were the brothers John and Charles Wesley, and a student working his way through college, George Whitefield. Whitefield was the first of the group to be converted to God in a New Testament way.

John Wesley had not attained his goal of spiritual peace when he sailed for Georgia as an Anglican chaplain. Had he died in his thirty-fifth year, he would have soon been a forgotten man, as Wesley Bready noted; "unloved and well nigh unlovable, a sincere, selfless, heroic failure." His tragi-comic love affair in Georgia, his intellectual struggle and emotional floundering, all recorded in his Journal, are deeply moving, "I went to America to convert the Indians; but O! who will convert me?"

On 24th May 1738, Wesley attended evensong in St. Paul's Cathedral, as the choir sang: "Out of the deep have I called unto Thee, O Lord." Deeply moved, he attended a prayer meeting in Aldersgate Street and heard Luther's Preface to the Roman Epistle read:

While he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt that I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for my salvation: and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.

Wesley then "began to pray with all my might" and "then testified openly to all there what I now first felt in my heart." His beliefs had not changed; assurance had come.

On 14th February 1739, George Whitefield reached the city of his boyhood, Bristol, intending to preach, but some malicious report had preceded him, closing churches to his ministry. Whitefield turned to Kingswood, whose colliers were "ignorant, violent, brutal, blasphemous, drunken and criminal," beginning with a couple of hundred hearers and soon reaching twenty thousand, including multitudes who flocked from Bristol city. Whitefield was preparing to go back to America, so he wrote and asked John Wesley to come and help him in Bristol.

On 31st March 1739, Wesley arrived in Bristol, observing Whitefield preaching in the fields, disturbed at first, for he "should have thought the saving of souls almost a sin, if it had not been done in church."

Twenty-four hours later, Wesley preached in the open air, making a "bright succession of appeals to the reason, the conscience, and the heart" of his hearers, preaching wherever Whitefield had preached, and farther afield. Some of the meetings manifested a conviction of sin that included convulsions followed by ecstasies of joy, scandalizing the onlookers. Wesley made careful notes about these things all so new to him, not seeming to mind the extravagances provided they were followed by a reformation of character.

Wesley did more than preach to sinners in Bristol; he formed little societies meeting weekly "to confess their faults one to another and pray for one another that they may be healed." These became the forerunners of the Methodist class-meetings, societies, and the Methodist denomination when it finally separated from the Church of England. Such developments were only part of a more general movement.

On 25th April 1739, Whitefield began a great ministry in London. Only one church was willing to open up its pulpit, St. Mary's, Islington, whose vicar had been converted in the witness of the Holy Club; but the vicar was over-ridden by objecting churchwardens, so Whitefield betook himself to the churchyard. From there he went to Moorfields, an open space frequented by the rabble of London, and to Kennington Common, a notorious rendezvous of the worst evildoers, in both places preaching to a crowd exceeding ten thousand, then preaching Sunday by Sunday.

Enterprising business men were quick to see a profitable opportunity in providing the crowds with seats, stands, wagons, scaffolding, and the like, for which the people paid gladly. The singing of the vast audiences could be heard two miles away, and Whitefield's voice at a range of one mile. London gentry came to hear in their coaches.

Opposition was not slow in developing. Joseph Trapp, an Oxonian D.D., began a series of addresses on "the Nature, Folly, Sin and Danger of being Righteous Overmuch," and the editor of a Church of England weekly devoted two pages to denunciation of Whitefield and his kind.

Wesley returned to London, and preached in the places opened to the gospel by Whitefield. Then, remembering his Kingswood success, he pioneered a work in Newcastle on Tyneside. The multitudes gathered. Wesley sent for his brother Charles to continue preaching daily. Six months later, the local Society had eight hundred members. He built another hall. His work was developing, so he began to use the services of laymen, a significant innovation.

The Wesleys and their lay-preachers soon encountered the cruelties of the English mob. Men who delighted in the torture of helpless animals were ready to enjoy afflicting a helpless preacher, to stone him, to trample him, to beat him with clubs, to roll him in the mire and filth. Often, a hostile clergy instigated the riots. The Wesleys escaped death many times, and Whitefield was often bloodied.

Wesley maintained his superb courage, unruffled poise, his wit and affability. Never did he lose his temper; even when struck by a stone, he quietly wiped the blood away and went on preaching the Good News. Open air assaults continued for thirty years, but the preachers led by Wesley and Whitefield continued fearlessly, winning multitudes to Christ and profoundly affecting the life of England, Wales, Scotland and parts of Ireland.

All the while, Whitefield and the Wesleys were clergy of the Church of England. Opposed by the bishops and by most of the clergy, they nevertheless had allies in the Church. Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, invited them to preach for her and opened chapels here and there for their preachers, some being eventually forced to form a denomination, the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. But friends of the revivalists stayed within the Church, such as Henry Venn, Vicar of Huddersfield. Soon they exercised a power and influence far beyond their number. Overton, a High Church historian, summed up the Evangelical Party impact:

It would be no exaggeration to say that morally and spiritually, the dominant religious power, both inside and outside the Church of England, at the close of the eighteenth century, was that which had been evoked by the Evangelical Revival.

The effect of the Revival on Nonconformist Christianity was direct and powerful. By 1740, the permanent places of worship registered by Dissenters had dwindled from 271 to 27, temporary chapels from 927 to 506. After sixty years, permanent chapels had increased from 27 to 926, while the temporary ones rose from 506 to 3491 (3400% and 6800%).

What of Scotland? Wesley already received a respectful hearing there, but Whitefield, mild as his Calvinism was, caused a vast commotion in all classes of society. His way was prepared by William McCulloch, of Cambuslang, who had heard of his success in the American Colonies.

In June 1742, George Whitefield arrived at the kirkyard in Cambuslang to witness a movement which "far outdid anything I ever saw in America." To vast concourses of people, he preached at two, six and nine p.m.; at eleven, there was much weeping for an hour and a half; and the local minister continued preaching after midnight, scarcely able to get the people to retire at one a.m. On Saturday, 9th July, Whitefield preached to twenty thousand on the "preaching braes." On Sunday, thirty thousand attended, 1700 taking the sacrament in two great tents. On 15th August, McCulloch with twelve assisting ministers held a second communion, upwards of thirty thousand attending.

The effects of this work at Cambuslang were felt all over Scotland. At Kilsyth, Sunday October 3rd, a dozen ministers officiated at a communion service that began at eight-thirty in the morning and concluded twelve hours later, a score of separate services having been held.

A common impression held by English-speaking people is that the Evangelical Awakening of the eighteenth century began with Wesley and spread to the American Colonies through Whitefield's ministry. Such is far from the case, for Wesley experienced his "heart-warming" in 1738, when evangelical revival had spread through the Colonies for more than a decade. Nor can it be said that a remarkable "work of grace" in western Massachusetts, provoked by the preaching of Jonathan Edwards, marked the start of even the American phase of the Awakening, for that was in 1734. The first sign of revival was seen in the work of a Dutch Reformed Pietist, Theodore Frelinghuysen, dominie of a congregation in the Raritan Valley of New Jersey, under whose powerful preaching a revival began in 1727.

The revival spread from the Dutch Reformed to the local Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, served by Gilbert Tennent, an Ulsterman whose father William founded a "log college" to the north of Philadelphia. William Tennent and his four sons in the ministry, together with John and Samuel Blair and others, changed the course of Presbyterianism in the American Colonies and helped shape the destiny of the United States. The Log College became the College of New Jersey, then Princeton University. The movement among Presbyterians was marked by fervent praying and powerful preaching to great crowds of people, and was followed by much educational enterprise. It evoked opposition too.

Revival spread from the Presbyterians to the Baptists of Pennsylvania and Virginia, finding a following among the poorest and most illiterate classes, soon rising in the social scale by their religion. The call in the Awakening for a conscious and transforming experience suited well the Baptists' convictions and practice, and gave them a running start in evangelizing the westering frontier.

Then, in 1734, an extraordinary awakening occurred in Northampton, Massachusetts, provoked by the preaching of Jonathan Edwards. Grandson of Solomon Stoddard in whose work had occurred several lesser revivals, Edwards was a quiet preacher possessed of one of the finest minds of the century. Of five hundred sermons still in print, only one dealt with "the wrath of God." The revival spread through New England, provoking opposition by critics of occasional emotional extravagances or doctrinal severities. Edwards became a prolific writer and able educator, renowned on both sides the Atlantic.

George Whitefield's second visit became the second great wave of revival in the American Colonies. During the early eighteenth century, marine navigation was a very inexact science, so in 1739 the good ship carrying Whitefield to Philadelphia missed that port by a hundred and fifty miles. A Philadelphian printer, Benjamin Franklin, became very interested in the preaching of the young Englishman, who packed out every available church building and transferred his evangelism to the steps of the Philadelphia Courthouse, reaching crowds equal to the adult population of the city.

The Rev. Gilbert Tennent accompanied Whitefield to New York, where one eyewitness reported simply: "I never saw in my life such attentive audiences as Whitefield's in New York. All he said was demonstrative of life and power. The people's eyes and ears hung upon his words." The busy evangelist returned to Philadelphia through New Jersey, preaching every day to vast concourses of people, thence farther south through the more sparsely peopled Virginia and the Carolinas, eventually reaching Savannah in Georgia.

In the autumn, Whitefield reached Boston and preached to fifteen thousand on the Common on a first Sunday. Immense audiences greeted him in New England towns. He spoke in Northampton with unerring instinct on the Love of God to a people much impressed by Judgment. Whitefield back in Boston preached daily many times and counselled many hundreds who came to him for help; and his friend Gilbert Tennent followed on for four months more.

Many Boston ministers were inspired with new life, faith and power. To Isaac Watts in England, Benjamin Colman wrote (September 1741): "Our lectures flourish; Sabbaths are joyous; our churches increase; our ministers have new life and spirit in their work." Such showers of blessing continued for eighteen months or so following Whitefield's return to England. Thirty new congregations came together and local ministers were busy preaching nightly in private houses as well as in their chapels.

Out of a population of 300,000 in New England, 30,000 new converts were added to the churches between 1740 and 1742 and 150 new congregations were formed by Congregational pastors alone in twenty years. The moral improvement in New England towns was generally recognized. A historian called the work "the most glorious and extensive revival of religion and reformation of manners" the country had ever known.



Whitefield's tour of the American Colonies moved each denomination in the country; perhaps the Church of England received the least benefit, but Whitefield was scarcely to blame, rather the short-sighted policies of the Anglican Hierarchy, such as the requirement of a voyage to London to obtain confirmation to qualify as a communicant.

One of Whitefield's admirers, the Rev. James Davenport, commenced a revival ministry in the 1740s, but became an embarrassment to his friends because of his excesses, in fact, bringing discredit upon the movement. He later made a retraction of his errors of judgment.

The Awakening had an immediate effect on education, first promoting the education of ministers, whose colleges developed higher education for secular leaders also. Nine university colleges were established in the Colonies during the thirty years following 1740, and six of them directly or indirectly sprang from the Awakening: Brown, Columbia, Dartmouth, Pennsylvania, Princeton and Rutgers. The first five presidents of Princeton were outstanding evangelists.

The Great Awakening had many defects, but it achieved a measure of moral reform and christianized an uncouth frontier society in decades rather than in centuries. There was set the pattern for mass evangelism, mistakenly called "revivalism," that has characterized all of American Protestantism ever since, for it has been by evangelism and revival that it has largely expanded in succeeding centuries. Out of the Awakening grew a general recognition of the importance of a converted church membership, even more of a converted ministry.

Missionary concern was furthered by the Awakening, and the movement stirred up sacrificial efforts to evangelize the aboriginal Indians and the enslaved Negroes. Not until the nineteenth century was a full emancipation of the slaves accomplished in either the British Empire or in the United States, but the Awakening in the eighteenth century helped provoke an initial agitation. The major denominations that were influenced by the Awakening in the Southern States developed anti-slavery advocates, manumission of slaves becoming commonplace before the eighteenth century had ended. Then fifty years later, anti-slavery and pro-slavery partisanship in church and in society increased until the inevitable conflict. Anti-slavery sentiments of evangelical origin, assisted by the forces of liberal humanitarianism, finally triumphed over religious and secular reaction.

How long did the Evangelical Revival or Great Awakening last? The movement of prayer among the Moravians began an uninterrupted prayer meeting which lasted one hundred years, during which the Moravians sustained their pioneer excellence in missions.

The movement of revival in the American Colonies gave thrust and gave way to political action which ended in the American Revolution, during which the close cooperation of denominations broke down, as Anglicans and Methodists were accused of royalist sentiments while Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists and Lutherans supported the revolutionary cause, with Quakers and Mennonites opposed to the use of military force.

The movement of revival in Great Britain spent itself about the same time, the historian G. M. Trevelyan noting the same year 1776 as belonging to "the period most marked by infidelity and laxity of doctrine." The work of the Evangelicals inside and outside the Established Church continued, but numerically it represented a tiny minority much in need of another effusion of the Spirit.

The contribution of the Great Awakening to American life is so generally recognized that it need not be substantiated. It was President Calvin Coolidge, in paying tribute to the memory of Francis Asbury, who said: "America was born in a Revival of Religion," and back of it were John Wesley and George Whitefield, he observed.

The secular historian, Sir Charles Grant Robertson, said that at a time when Christian influences were declining, "Wesley kept the English people Christian, and shamed the Church, which had closed her pulpits to him, into imitating his spirit, if not his methods. . . Methodism and the French Revolution are the two most tremendous phenomena of the century."

The Awakening of 1725 onward was epoch-making.

# 2

## THE AWAKENING OF 1792 ONWARD

Following the War of Independence came a moral decline in the life of the United States, aggravated by the influence of the French Revolution. Out of five million population, 300,000 were drunkards, 15,000 dying annually. Increased sexual license boosted illegitimacy and venereal disease. There was a surfeit of lawlessness and a multiplication of robberies. Profanity increased and truthfulness declined. A committee of Congress reported a desperate state of affairs in Tennessee and Kentucky, where only one court of justice had been held in five years, and vigilante regiments had fought a pitched battle with outlaws and had lost.

The churchmen's dismay matched the statesmen's alarm. Yale's president, Timothy Dwight, bewailed that the dregs of infidelity had been vomited upon the nation, Frenchmen donating millions of francs to propagandize Americans. In the Christian colleges, the undergraduates welcomed the revolutionary doctrines not so much for their promise of social justice but because of the invitation to unrestrained indulgence. The college church was almost extinct, while gambling, intemperance, profanity and licentiousness were altogether common. The typical Harvard student was an atheist; a poll at Princeton discovered only two believers in the student body and only five who did not belong to the filthy speech movement of that day. Christians on campuses were so few and so unpopular that they met in secret like a communist cell and kept their minutes in code to avoid any mistreatment. Students burned buildings, forced presidents to resign, destroyed Bibles and profaned public worship.

The Congregationalists' membership was being depleted. The Methodists were losing more members than they were gaining, and the Baptists confessed that they had had their most wintry season; the Presbyterian General Assembly denounced the debauchery and vile indulgence so prevalent; the languishing Lutherans considered union with the equally exhausted Episcopalians; Samuel Provoost, the Episcopal Bishop of New York, being unemployed, ceased functioning. Latourette summed it up: "It looked as though Christianity . . . were about to be ushered out of the affairs of men."

The infidelity of the French Revolution represented the greatest challenge to Christianity since the time preceding Emperor Constantine. Christians had endured the threat of the northern barbarians, the assault of the armies of the Crescent, the terror of the hordes from the steppes, and an eastern schism and a western reformation. But, until 1789, there had never been so great a threat against foundations of the Faith, against believing in the God revealed within the Scriptures. Voltaire made no idle boast when he said that Christianity would be forgotten within thirty years.

A Parisienne courtesan was crowned "goddess of reason" in Notre Dame Cathedral, and a majority of churches were closed, even those of the Huguenot minority. The German lands were undermined by rationalism as were Switzerland and the Netherlands. England was afflicted by sophisticated scepticism; and Scotland was subverted by moderatism, a Scottish rationalism; Ireland was in turmoil; Scandinavia mixed its formalism with infidelity.

In 1784, John Erskine of Edinburgh re-published a plea for prayer for an effusion of the Holy Spirit with Jonathan Edwards' "Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival of Religion and the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom." Two praying pastors, Andrew Fuller (who took leave of absence from his church) and John Sutcliffe (with a praying layman named William Carey) took it up.

The spiritual preparation for a worldwide awakening thus began in Great Britain seven years before the outpouring of the Spirit there; the believers of one denomination after the other, including the evangelical minorities in the Church of England and Church of Scotland devoted the first Monday evening of each month to pray for a revival of religion and extension of Christ's kingdom overseas. This widespread union of prayer covered the United States within ten years and spread to many other countries, the concert of prayer remaining the significant factor in the recurring revivals of religion and the extraordinary out-thrust of missions for full fifty years, so commonplace it was taken for granted.

The outbreak of the Revolution in France had at the first encouraged lovers of liberty in the English-speaking world to hope that freedom had truly dawned in France. When the terror began, and when military despotism rose, they were fearfully alarmed. The British people decided to fight. In the second year of the Revolution, John Wesley died.

The revival of religion, or the second great awakening, began in the industrial cities of Yorkshire in late 1791, but spread to the rural areas of Britain, cresting among the Methodists who seemed unafraid of the phenomena of mass awakening. It was also effective among the Baptists and the Congregationalists, though manifested in quieter forms. It accelerated the evangelical revival going on among clergy and laity of the Church of England, strengthening the hands of Simeon in his Eclectic Club, and those of Wilberforce in his Clapham Sect, an Evangelical party in the Anglican Establishment which soon became dominant in influence.

At the same time, the principality of Wales was overrun by another movement of revival, packing churches of the various denominations and gathering great crowds of many thousands in the open-air. The awakening accelerated the growth of the Baptists and the Congregationalists, added to the number of Wesleyan Methodists, and caused the birth of a new denomination, the Calvinistic Methodist Church of Wales, now the Welsh Presbyterians, who separated from the Church of Wales because of its failure to provide either ministers or sacraments for its societies.

Phenomenal awakenings also swept various parts of the kingdom of Scotland, raising up such evangelists as the Haldanes, and such pastoral evangelists as Chalmers in Glasgow and MacDonald in the North. The Scottish revivals began in the teeth of majority opposition in the Church of Scotland but within a generation had evangelized the 'auld Kirk.' The coverage of the Scottish Revival was patchwork, its occurrence sporadic because of desperate conditions.

Not for the first time, nor the last, the unhappy kingdom of Ireland whose majority of inhabitants were disfranchised was rent asunder by turmoil that boiled over into the bitter Rebellion of 1798. In the midst of strife, local awakenings occurred among the Methodists, affecting the evangelical clergy of the Church of Ireland. The Presbyterians of the North were fully occupied contending for orthodoxy against a Unitarian insurgency. Revival brought forth societies for the evangelization of Ulster and a renewal of church life.

This period of revival in the United Kingdom brought forth the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, the Baptist Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, and a host of auxiliary agencies for evangelism. It produced also some significant social reform, even in wartime.

Evangelical Anglicans successfully promoted abolition of the slave trade. Significant reform was achieved in the prisons. Besides the Sunday School movement, there were pioneer educational projects, such as monitorial schools. A whole host of institutions ministered to the bodies and the souls of men, and humane service to animals began. And from this revival reservoir was sent a like benevolence in the missionary movement of the period. Many of the social advances of the times were derived from the awakening.

Before and after 1800, an awakening began in Scandinavia, resembling more the earlier British movements of the days of Wesley and Whitefield, though borrowing from the later British awakening in adopting its home and foreign mission projects, its Bible societies, and the like. In Norway, the revival was advanced by Hans Nielsen Hauge, a layman who made a lasting impact on Norsemen as a nation; another layman, Paavo Ruotsalainen, expedited the movement in Finland; each was converted in 1796. The awakenings in Denmark and Sweden lacked such leadership.

In Switzerland, France, and the Netherlands, the general awakening was delayed until the defeat of Napoleon. A visit to Geneva by Robert Haldane triggered a chain reaction of revival throughout the Reformed Churches of the countries named, raising up outstanding evangelists and missionary agencies. The Reformed 'Reveil' was less impulsive than antecedent English-speaking movements.

In the German States, the general awakening followed the defeat of Napoleon and raised up scores of efficient general evangelists such as the Krummachers, Hofacker, Helferich, von Kottwitz and the von Belows; German theologians, such as Neander and Tholuck; social reformers, like Fliedner; and noteworthy home and foreign missionary agencies. As in Britain, the German revivalists achieved lasting social reforms, close collaboration between British and Germans being maintained in home and foreign mission projects, to match the intimate political association.

The Dutch colony of 30,000 at Cape Town experienced an awakening under the ministry of Dr. Helperus Ritzema van Lier, and thrust out local missionaries to evangelize the Khoisan (Hottentot and Bushmen) in the Cape hinterland. A revival broke out in British army regiments in 1809. In Australia, the first official chaplains were evangelicals. In India, a period of revival provoked several folk movements in the South as well as pioneering in various parts.

In the United States and in British North America, there were preparatory movements of revival in the 1780s that raised up leaders for the wider movement in the following decade. Contrary to scholarly opinion that dates the Second Awakening from the demonstrative meetings on the frontier in 1800, the movement began in Boston in 1792 among the Baptists adopting the union of prayer from British friends. Isaac Backus and his friends in 1794 enlisted almost all the churches in the United States in a Concert of Prayer for a revival of religion and extension of Christ's kingdom, and prayer meetings multiplied as the first Monday of the month became an occasion of fervent intercession.

In Lenox, Massachusetts, for example, not a single young person had been received into membership in sixteen years when the sudden awakening quadrupled the largest number ever received in any previous year. A congregation in New York City multiplied ninefold in three years.

By 1798, the awakening became general. Congregations were crowded and conviction was deep leading to numerous thoroughgoing conversions. In New England every state was affected, and every evangelical denomination. There were no records of emotional extravagance, and none among the churches of the Middle Atlantic States where extraordinary revivals occurred in cities like New York and Philadelphia as well as in smaller towns. In the western parts of New York and Pennsylvania, there were more startling displays of excitement. The population of these eastern States was three million and the extent of the revival therein was three times more considerable than in the frontier territories, with only three hundred thousand people.

In 1800, an extraordinary revival began in Kentucky, long after its manifestation east of the Alleghenies. Among the rough and lawless and illiterate frontiersmen, there were extremes of conviction or response, such as trembling and shaking (often called "the jerks"), weeping for sorrow and shouting for joy, fainting. Extravagances occurred among a comparative few, but were exaggerated by critics out of all proportion, hence twentieth century histories have stressed the odd performances and ignored the major thrust of the awakening in the United States, even pontificating that the awakening actually began, extravagantly, on the frontier, an obvious misreading of history. It cannot be denied that the revival transformed Kentucky and Tennessee from an utterly lawless community into a God-fearing one.

On the frontier, there were minor schisms following the awakening, due rather to defects inherent in denominational organization than to the revival, which raised up voluntary evangelists among the laity. Reaction against evangelical ecumenism and lay evangelism forced some people out.

The awakenings spread southwards into Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, again (as in Kentucky and Tennessee) attracting crowds so immense that no churches could possibly accommodate them, thus five, ten or fifteen thousand would gather in the forest clearings. The Negroes were moved equally with the whites.

In May 1802, a communion service was planned at Old Waxhaw in South Carolina. In wagons and carts and on foot, 3500 people arrived, but were joined by a host of scoffers, some fortified by strong drink. These latter collapsed in a helpless condition, and many repented and turned to God, joining Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian churches.

In the Maritime Provinces of British North America, the revival of the 1780s was renewed among the Baptist and New Light Congregationalist churches. In Upper Canada, now Ontario, the Methodists conducted camp meetings and grew very rapidly, as did some Presbyterians and (later) the Baptists. American itinerants were most active in the movement, anti-American churchmen and secular leaders most opposed to it. The war of 1812 interrupted the work, which resumed with the coming of peace, although still discouraged by conservative British leaders.

As the influence of infidelity had been so strongly felt in American colleges, so the blessing of revival overflowed in collegiate awakenings. Timothy Dwight, erudite president of Yale, proved to be the greatest champion of intelligent evangelical Christianity on campus. The movement among students soon became a spontaneous, inter-collegiate union. The revived and converted students provided the majority of recruits for the home ministry, educational expansion, and foreign missionary effort.

Revived Americans duplicated the formation of various evangelical associations in Britain, founding the American Bible Society, the American Tract Society, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the Foreign Mission of the American Baptists and society after society. The order and extent of missionary organization reflected somewhat the degree of involvement of each denominational constituency in the Awakening.



There is no doubt that the general awakening of the 1790s and 1800s, with its antecedents, was the prime factor in the extraordinary burst of missionary enthusiasm and social service, first in Britain, then Europe and North America. Thomas Charles, whose zeal for God provoked formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society, was a revivalist of first rank in Wales. George Burder, who urged the founding of the Religious Tract Society, was a leader in the prayer union for revival. William Carey, a founder and pioneer of the Baptist Missionary Society, was one of a group who set up in England the simultaneous prayer union that spread through evangelical Christendom and achieved its avowed purpose in the revival of religion and the extension of the kingdom of Christ abroad. The London Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society grew out of the prayers of other Free Church and Church of England Evangelicals in the awakening. Methodist missions came from the same source, as did other Scottish societies and the Church of Scotland missions. The revival provided the dynamic.

The participation of Germans and Dutch in the Church Missionary Society and the London Missionary Society had its origin in the revival prayer groups in those countries, as did the proliferation of national missionary societies. A student prayer meeting in Williams College, the Haystack Compact, led to the foundation of the American Board and the American Baptist Missionary Union. The origins of the other denominational societies lay in the general revival.

It is all the more amazing to realise that these unique developments took place in Britain while that country was engaged in titanic struggle with Napoleon, supported by ten times as many people. And the eager readiness of revived believers in Europe and North America transcended the political divisions and upheavals between them and Britain. The coming of peace in 1815 brought about a renewal of the revival in Britain, the rise of the Primitive Methodists to undertake an outreach to the masses somewhat neglected by Wesleyans. In the Church of England, Charles Simeon was at the height of his influence, and the Church Building Society with government help was building hundreds of parish churches. The Baptists and Congregationalists were active in revival in England, and in Wales there were local revivals in many places. In Scotland, local awakenings and pastoral evangelism with social service built up the Church of Scotland Evangelicals. Revivals continued in Ireland.

How long did the Awakening of 1792 onwards continue? Some contemporaries claimed that there was unbroken revival for fifty years, until 1842 or thereabouts. It is true that there was no major recession in all that time, but there is evidence that another outpouring of the Spirit occurred in the United States in 1830, recognized as such, and that there were revivals in other countries in Europe and far afield in the 1830s and '40s. So it could be said that the Awakening of 1792 onwards lasted more than thirty years, and, without a serious recession, was followed by another movement which lasted a dozen years and was then succeeded by a decade of definite decline.

# 3

## THE RESURGENCE OF 1830 ONWARD

As in Great Britain, revival was renewed in the United States and Canada after 1815, and for a dozen years there were revivals reported here and there. This renewal saw the emergence of outstanding evangelists, such as Asahel Nettleton in New England, Daniel Baker in the South, and Charles Finney in the tiny hamlets of western New York State. Local revivals continued in Great Britain, and a new surge of Methodism took denominational form. It was after 1815 that the Reveil among the Reformed Christians of Switzerland, France and the Netherlands occurred, and among the Lutherans and Reformed in the German lands, significant social reform following in Germany.

The missionary societies which were formed as a direct result of the Revival of 1792 onward continued to expand. On their mission fields, the pioneers encountered three types of response to their prayer and evangelistic outreach: folk movements of unindoctrinated people, awakenings of instructed communities, and revivals of believers, in the Islands of the South Seas, in South India and South Africa. In other parts, there was pioneering only.

The question has arisen: must the tide completely recede before it begins to advance again? The tide had receded very noticeably before the movements of 1725 and 1858, but not before the movements of 1830 and 1900 when other outpourings of the Spirit began to take effect.

It seemed almost too good to be true that another general awakening of phenomenal power swept the United States in 1830-1831. Whether in the eastern, western or southern States, it was without reported extravagance. This revival began in Boston, New York and other cities in late spring, 1830. In Finney's ministry, it reached its peak in winter of 1830-31, winning a thousand inquirers in Rochester after a hundred thousand others had been enrolled in other parts from Maine to the borders of Texas. Finney's reputation as a national evangelist was made by the revival of 1830-31 and not vice versa. In these years, several smaller bodies of evangelistic folk unchurched by their denominations united to form the virile Disciples of Christ movement.

Bishop Asbury told his Methodist preachers: "We must attend to camp-meetings; they make our harvest time." The harvest was followed by as much work as that which preceded sowing. The Methodist Episcopal Church thrived in the 1830s and doubled its numbers in 1840-42. Likewise the Baptists, carrying on their ministry by means of their "farmer-preachers," covered the country with a network of Baptist associations, founding a Home Mission in 1832. In other denominations there were significant advances.

The revival of the 1830s was effective in Great Britain also, provoking local movements of great intensity among the various Methodist bodies in England, strengthening the Anglican Evangelicals and Free Churches. It was inhibited somewhat by a hyper-confessional reaction, the Tractarian movement stressing sacramental-sacerdotal practices and opposing all evangelistic-ecumenical cooperation. James Caughey, an American evangelist, won many thousands in a series of campaigns in England, one noted convert being William Booth, who started preaching in the open air.

South Wales first and then North Wales were moved in awakenings in the 1830s. Another general revival stirred Wales in the 1840s, influenced by Finney's philosophy of revival. In Scotland, revivals increased in number in the 1830s, culminating in an extraordinary outburst at Kilsyth under the ministry of William C. Burns, who witnessed a like revival in Dundee, then in various parts of Scotland as spontaneous revivals broke out in the Highlands from 1839 onward. This Scottish Awakening prepared the way for the Disruption and the forming of the Free Church of Scotland, a protest against lay patronage and political interference. So great was the revival in Ireland that the bishops of the Church of Ireland talked about "a second reformation," somewhat prematurely, for the converts of the time were lost to Ireland by emigration following the potato famine. In the North, Evangelicalism triumphed over Arianism in the Irish Presbyterian Church, whose churches multiplied.

The evangelical ecumenism of the times produced an interesting development. Some Dublin Evangelicals formed a group for "the breaking of bread," attracting many folk dismayed by denominationalism. From this gathering came the Christian Brethren, miscalled Plymouth Brethren. John Nelson Darby became leader of the Exclusive Brethren, George Muller of the Open Brethren who promoted both evangelism and missionary enterprise.

The ministry of George Scott in the 1830s precipitated a lasting revival in Sweden, Carl Olof Rosenius taking up his mantle of leadership after his expulsion, awakenings being common in the 1840s, when also revival was renewed in Norway, all Scandinavia being moved in the 1850s, despite a hyper-confessional reaction led by N. F. S. Grundtvig. In Germany, there was Lutheran hyper-confessional reaction also, although revivals continued. The continuing Reveil in Switzerland and France reached the Netherlands in 1830, provoking revival as well as hyper-confessional reaction among the Dutch Calvinists.

Even in the United States, a kind of hyper-confessional reaction rose among the Baptists, known as Landmarkism, repudiating fellowship with other Evangelicals. Less rude, the Presbyterians renounced the evangelical ecumenical cooperation of the times, adopting a denominationally strict exclusiveness in outreach. Also Bishop Brent (Episcopal) denounced the voluntary societies and agencies as "a work of man," ignoring apostolic precedent in mission teams.

The restorationism of the Christian Brethren in Britain was paralleled by the "restoration movement" gathering momentum under oversight of Alexander Campbell, who seemed more lukewarm to revival than did his colleagues, Barton Stone and Walter Scott. Darby of the Brethren and Campbell of the Brotherhood as restorationists lacked the burden for revival in the Church at large. Restorationists tended to intolerance: the divisions came quite early in the British movement, later in the North American; and both produced exclusive right-wing fellowships.

Another restoration movement rose in Britain in the '30s, the followers of Edward Irving who formed a charismatic, high-liturgical communion, the Catholic Apostolic Church. Catholic Apostolic leaders vanquished opposition by abuse of "prophecy," the gift being often simulated to achieve the purposes of strong-willed men who thus got rid of Irving and appointed twelve apostles, predicting that the Lord would come again before the last one died. This false prophecy ensured the dissolution of the movement.

The work of James Thomson, who pioneered education and Bible distribution in the Latin American republics in the 1820s and '30s, was systematically destroyed by the political and religious reaction throughout the continent. In the West Indies, liberated slaves flocked to churches of the missionaries who defended them against oppression.

The 1830s were marked by some extraordinary revivals and awakenings in Polynesia. In 1834, a phenomenal work began in the kingdom of Tonga, described by the Wesleyan missionaries as a "baptism from above." In 1837, a very similar movement began in the kingdom of Hawaii, Titus Coan taking in 1705 tested converts in one day at Hilo, 7557 in one church during the movement. Revivals were felt in other parts of Polynesia, and a movement in Tonga in the 1840s paralleled a great ingathering in the Fijian Islands, among a Melanesian folk fearfully addicted to cannibalism. In 1822, missionaries of the Netherlands Missionary Society entered Sulawesi in Indonesia. While revival was moving the Netherlands, a folk movement of vast proportions swept Minahassa, Sulawesi's northeastern peninsula, making that field Christian within a couple of generations.

In the 1830s, there was renewed revival in Grahamstown in English-speaking South Africa, with an overflow to the Bantu-speaking folk round about. Farther west, the pioneer Robert Moffat witnessed an ingathering in Botswana. At the same time, pioneers were pouring into southern Africa from those missionary societies renewed or founded in the movements going on in the sending countries, pioneers at the same time entering the Gold Coast and Nigeria, while freed slaves settled Sierra Leone and Liberia. The greater part of the African continent remained untouched by the gospel, Islam prevailing in the north, animism in the south.

Evangelical "missions of help" to the Oriental Churches in the Near and Middle East resulted in community revival and awakenings, sometimes in disruption and reformation. The pioneers proceeding from revived churches in Britain, Europe, and North America barely gained a foothold in the Chinese Empire, where resistance to the foreign faith was strong. Japan and Korea remained closed to missionary enterprise of any kind.

There were folk movements in various parts of India. Missionaries flocked to India after 1833 and accelerated a work of evangelism and social reform in the sub-continent. Local revivals occurred, among them a striking movement sparked by the ministry of Samuel Hebich in Malabar. A folk movement of the Karens of Burma to Christ followed the conversion of Ko Tha Byu through Baptist evangelism. There was a time of revival in some circles in Ceylon. The rest of Asia lay untouched.

Most of Charles Finney's "great western revivals" were held in towns in New York State with fewer than a thousand adult population, some in places with a few thousand, and one in Rochester, population 10,000. The last-named made him a national figure, after which he campaigned in single churches in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and the larger cities of the States. He never enjoyed the city-wide support that Moody realised in later decades, nor did Moody adopt his idea of "organized revival," let alone "urbanize" it.

From Presbyterian-Congregationalist strictness, Finney's theology moved to a more Arminian point of view. He reacted against a near-fatalistic notion that sinners continue under conviction of sin till God granted them repentance. They should, by action of the will, repent and turn to God, and his preaching of "whosoever will" produced immediate effect, but did little for the majority of Methodists and Baptists, who practised such evangelism. Finney's "new measures" provoked much opposition. Later he stressed "holiness."

As a gospel tactician, Finney seemed second to none. As a strategist, his practice was better than his theory. Finney contradicted scripture in asserting that revivals were nothing more than a result of a right use of the appropriate means, which some accepted because of reports of success in his campaigns. His theories have not always worked in times of spiritual decline, lacking a spirit of revival.

Besides inspiring countless local pastors and evangelists to seek revival, Finney's theory encouraged some who fancied that they could produce revival anywhere using means selected by themselves at times decided by themselves. True, the use of means by motivated men of God was usually productive, but used by worldly operators, it produced promotional evangelism, manipulated, sensationalized, commercialized and exploited.

A local church obediently responding to light already given must surely come to know a measure of revival locally. But such limited events are seldom likely to provoke nationwide awakening, though localized revival continue for a lengthy time and produce a fellowship of churches.

Neither the Awakening of 1792 at Finney's birth, nor the 1830 movement that made him nationally known, nor the 1858 Awakening in which he played a minor part, nor the 1905 Awakening long after his decease, was planned or programmed or promoted. It must therefore be concluded that Finney's principles applied to local efforts of renewal or evangelism rather than to widespread movements of the Holy Spirit.

The philosophy of Finney seemed contradictory to that of Edwards of an earlier time. Jonathan Edwards taught that true revivals of religion were a work of God, although the prayers of intercessors had a positive effect. Much of what the lawyer Finney wrote appeared congenial to the thought of Edwards also, but not his basic premises.

In theology, there was nothing new in the 1830 Revival. All of its teachings were derived from the New Testament, its stronger points the doctrines recovered by Reformers, re-emphasized in the past Evangelical Awakenings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Awakenings may seem radical to listless Christianity, but they are radical only in the sense of a return to roots in apostolic teachings.

Out of the evangelical ecumenism of the 1830s and 1840s came the Evangelical Alliance, founded in 1846 by leaders of the movement on both sides the Atlantic. Its doctrinal basis reflected the views of a majority of Protestants between 1810 and 1910 before broad church and high church partisans entered the cooperative movement.

1. The Divine inspiration, authority and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures, and the right and duty of private judgment in the interpretation thereof.
2. The unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of Persons therein.
3. The utter depravity of human nature in consequence of the Fall.
4. The incarnation of the Son of God, His work of atonement for sinners of mankind, and His mediatorial intercession and reign.
5. The justification of the sinner by faith alone.
6. The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner.
7. The resurrection of the body, the judgment of the world by Jesus Christ, and the eternal blessedness of the righteous and the eternal punishment of the wicked.

The Evangelical Alliance had adopted a final statement of faith: that of the Divine institution of the Christian ministry and obligation and perpetuity of the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper. The records of the Awakenings have revealed no departure from the points listed above, but do indicate the participation of preachers and teachers, such as Brethren and Quakers, whose view of Christian ministry or ordinances differed from other denominations.



In those times, the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches offered no cooperation, but often persecuted the Evangelicals. Apart from Anglican, Lutheran, Reformed or other hyper-confessionalists, Protestants used the Alliance ideal of Christian unity so widely that it led to a practice of fraternal fellowship having the force of a major doctrine. The revivalists, evangelists, pastors and missionaries at home and abroad worked together in evangelical comity.

Meanwhile, the workers in these Awakenings continued the drive for social betterment. They promoted ardently the emancipation of the slaves, a protection of prisoners, a care of the sick, an improvement of working conditions, a safeguarding of women and children, an extension of folk education, the founding of hospitals, asylums, orphanages, schools, high schools and colleges. Everywhere, the social service was rendered by motivated Christians who still insisted that the work of evangelization was primary in their thinking. Social action accompanied the preaching of the gospel, and did not supplant it.

Out of the early nineteenth century revivals in Britain came the venture of monitorial education, which provided schooling for the poor and prepared the way for popular education. As the state took full responsibility for popular education in the American Union, the revivalists turned to higher education, 144 of 180 colleges in the West in 1860 being founded and maintained by pro-evangelical leaders.

One of many well inspired by Finney's useful writings, George Williams, converted in his 'teens, commenced in London in the 1840s the Young Men's Christian Association, at first as thoroughly evangelistic as it was social. The formation of the Y. W. C. A. followed in the 'fifties, these movements experiencing remarkable expansion during the mid-century awakening in the United States and Britain and other countries, two of a host of voluntary organizations assisting in the Churches' work.

The outstanding work of Wilberforce in Britain was followed by that of Fowell Buxton and Ashley Cooper, 7th Earl of Shaftesbury. In Germany, Theodor Fliedner performed extraordinary social service. In England, the more evangelistic Methodists provided leadership in the trade unions. In the United States, organized good works flourished as never before, promoted by societies that rose in the Awakenings. And on the mission fields, wherever it was permitted, missionaries became social activists.

The Awakening of 1830 came to an end about 1842 in the United States. It witnessed a recovery of the doctrine of the Second Coming of Christ, but the unfulfilled predictions of William Miller on the Advent, the affluence of society in an expanding economy, and divisive opinions on chattel slavery, tended to hinder further expansion of the churches. In fact, several of the great denominations split in twain. In 1848, political turmoil affecting many countries brought revival to an end in Britain and other parts of Europe. But after a decline which lasted half a generation, there came another great awakening, surpassing previous movements in its extent, wholesomeness, effects, and lasting impact, yet sharing their New Testament theology and objectives.

# 4

## THE AWAKENING OF 1857 ONWARD

The mid-nineteenth century Evangelical Awakening which became worldwide commenced as a leaderless movement, but it produced effective leaders and it energized or established societies that extended it into evangelism, missions, and social reform for forty years at least.

Some secular historians trace the 1857-58 Evangelical Awakening in the United States to the bank panic of October 1857, most church historians to the businessmen's prayer meetings that expanded nationwide in March 1858. Actually, preceded by "concerts of prayer," the movement commenced in Canada (Atlantic Provinces and Ontario) apart from the American bank panic, while the first community stirred in the States was that of Southern black slaves, scarcely affected by banking crises.

Unusual revivals began in the Atlantic Provinces and the Canadas in summer and autumn 1857. An outbreak of spiritual power occurred in unplanned meetings in Hamilton, Ontario, in early October. The mayor of the town was converted, doctors and lawyers, housemaids and farmers, professed faith, while drunkards and prostitutes repented. Widely reported in the States, this news encouraged intercession. Till the end of the year, meetings for intercession, large and small, multiplied across the States. By autumn of 1857, churches and communities from Texas to Maine, from Iowa to the Carolinas, were being moved, revival nationwide by mid-winter 1857-58, the response happily reported by Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Episcopalians and Lutherans.

In February 1858, the secular press reported a movement of businessmen to prayer in New York City, reaching 6,000 in attendance. Begun by Jeremiah Lanphier on 23rd September 1857 in an upper room in Manhattan, by March it was filling every available church and hall at noon in business districts, packing all the churches in the evenings to hear the Word and to pray. Soon converts were being reported ten thousand a week. The revival quickly spread through New York State with similar effect, noonday meetings packed for prayer, churches crowded out at night, with multitudes of converts.

Along the Hudson and the Mohawk, revivals stirred the population of town after town, in some places the Baptists finding so many candidates for baptism that they broke the ice upon the river and immersed them in cold water.

The revival in New England also started in a movement of prayer. In Boston, where Finney was leading modest meetings in Park Street Church, the revival that swept the city became "too general to keep any account at all of the number of converts." Church bells throughout New England several times a day summoned crowds to prayer.

In Newark, New Jersey, 2785 of the city's 70,000 people were converted in a couple of months, mostly mature and responsible people, according to the ministers of churches. It became a common sight to see businesses closed, with a sign, "Will reopen at the close of the prayer meeting." In sixty smaller towns, 6000 converts were enrolled.

The awakening in Pennsylvania began in a movement of prayer. Six weeks or so after the bank panic distressed the people of Philadelphia, a united prayer meeting was started with only a dozen men attending. On 3rd February 1858, the dozen intercessors repaired to an anteroom in Jayne's Hall where attendance picked up to threescore or so. This did not indicate reaction to a panic. In March, attendance was so great that it overflowed the main auditorium, then the platform, then a gallery, then both galleries. In that crowd of six thousand men, the hymn written by George Duffield to commemorate the dying words of another leader of the movement, Dudley Tyng, "Stand up, stand up for Jesus," were introduced. A vast effort to evangelize the population by tent ministry was organized by the churches.

The awakening spread throughout the state, affecting all its towns and villages; a thousand intercessors participated daily in the noonday prayer meetings in Pittsburgh. There were similar attendances throughout Maryland, again the movement starting in the simplest prayer meetings. Five daily prayer meetings were held in Washington, the nation's capital, and in April the religious excitement was unabated, five thousand attending prayer meetings in the Academy of Music Hall there.

Finney, an ardent abolitionist, asserted that only in the South was there an absence of revival, because of slavery. Newspapers of the time reported the revivals in towns and cities from Richmond in Virginia to Galveston in Texas, as effective in the rural South as in the urban North.

The prayer movement crossed the Alleghenies, and soon crowded halls and churches all the way to Omaha. In Ohio, two hundred towns reported 12,000 converts in a couple of months; in Indiana, 150 towns announced 4500 converts; in Michigan, early morning prayer meetings were crowded out by businessmen of all denominations; in Illinois as well a hundred and fifty towns reported up to 4000 converts; in Iowa, unprecedented interest in religion was reported; in St. Louis and Missouri towns the prayer meetings were all crowded out, the churches filled; similar reports came from Wisconsin, Minnesota and Nebraska.

In Chicago, population 100,000, two thousand men met at noon for prayer, while churches were conducting two or three or four meetings a day. Trinity Episcopal Church had 121 members in 1857, and built a church for 1400 in 1860. A shoe-salesman offered to teach a Sunday School class in Plymouth Congregational Church, but was put upon the waiting list until he rounded up a group of boys, took them to a beach on Lake Michigan, taught them Bible stories: thus began the ministry of D. L. Moody.

News of the awakening "back east" reached California in "hundreds of thousands of affectionate letters," provoking an immediate flocking of the Christians to prayer meetings in the churches and other gathering places. The California towns reported extraordinary interest in religion, and two months later daily prayer meetings in San Francisco were continuing with unabated zeal. Results were disappointing in the South, where only a minority were Anglo-Americans and some of these were outlaws from the goldfields driven south. In Oregon, the settlers were also moved to pray.

The 1858 Awakening was received with enthusiasm by the secular press, which testified assuredly of all the changes wrought for good in every place. With few exceptions, such as doctrinaire opponents of evangelical religion, the 1858 Awakening was supported by all Protestant denominations, including formalist Episcopalians and Lutherans as well as informal Methodists and Baptists. The movement was so singularly free of sectarian spirit; its primary emphasis on prayer was matched by its augmented preaching of the Word. The meetings were commended for their quietness and restraint, and won respect of citizens in every place, enlisting most of the maturer minds for Christ. None of the objections raised about the frontier movements of 1800 were even mentioned, none at all.

Besides a million nominal church members reinvigorated in the movement, more than a million converts were added to the membership of major Protestant denominations, out of a population of less than thirty million. Beyond all else, it was a layman's movement, in which laymen of every sort of church affiliation gladly undertook both normal and exceptional responsibilities in serving God and humankind.

Despite the outbreak of the bloodiest and most homicidal war in all the world between Napoleon's times and World War I, the awakening continued effective in the armies of both North and South and in the civil population at home, reviving churches in distressing days and winning many anguished people. In the wartime 'sixties, fervent and united prayer continued, with special seasons of refreshing reported especially in the theatres of war. The coming of tranquillity brought about renewal of revivals which "in some ways exceeded those of 1858," it was reported.

The social impact of the 1858 Awakening was mostly felt in wartime services to troops and prisoners, but much was held in check until cessation of hostilities, after which the social conscience galvanized to action, reinforced by the accomplishments of the same Awakening on the other side of the Atlantic where it suffered no impediments of war.

Not only was there great effect among the negro populace both north and south, the churches gaining much in strength and numbers, but there were "gracious outpourings of the Spirit" in West Indian communities before the end of 1858. In 1859, a remarkable awakening beginning in a Moravian church spread over the island of Jamaica, throughout the parishes from Spanish Town to Savanna-la-Mar, from Montego Bay to Ann's Bay. Chapels once again were packed and widespread personal conviction followed prayer. Some unhealthy frenzy and religious agitation rose among these recently emancipated slaves, but the testimony of almost all observers of whatever denomination was that the 1859 Revival resulted in much lasting good.

Immigration opened up the southern republics of South America, British colonists in Argentina, German settlers in Brazil and even planters from Confederate States. The small beginnings of mission churches were reported in Brazil in 1859. This date was also noted in the pioneering enterprise in Mexico. The temper of the pioneers was thus evangelical, hence the Protestants in all of Latin America inherited an evangelical tradition.

The links between the 1858 Awakening in America and the 1859 Revival in Great Britain are not hard to find. An Irish Presbyterian fraternal delegation reported what they saw of "Pentecost in Philadelphia" to their fellow citizens and in 1859 a great revival manifested itself in Ulster, first among the Presbyterians. Unlike the movement in America, the Ulster work produced extravagant reactions, such as physical prostrations. Approximately ten per cent of Ulster people professed to be converted, and the social impact was astounding, courts dismissed for lack of cases to be tried. Vast open air assemblies were mustered, simply on account of such a violent reformation of society.

Shortly afterward, a movement in the Scottish kingdom caused the same phenomenal results. Preceded by the gatherings for prayer, it packed the churches and amassed the people in immense assemblies in the open air. Three hundred thousand Scots professed conversion in a nation of three million; the work was as effective in the Highlands as the Lowlands, in the Church Established and in every other Protestant affiliation. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland officially recorded "gratitude to Almighty God." The equally numerous Free Church of Scotland rejoiced in "such an outpouring of the Spirit of God and a remarkable work of grace pervading the whole church and the whole land." The fruits were felt for a week of years.

The '59 Awakening in Wales was also related to the 1858 Revival in America, and also heralded by prayer meetings. In certain counties of the principality, the converts far exceeded ten per cent of population, and a hundred thousand were received in all of Wales in full communion. Crime diminished 33% in the year that followed the revival.

In England, the movement was preceded by the gatherings for prayer, from tiny cottage meetings to vast assemblies held in London. The pattern of the awakening seemed to vary: spontaneous and immediate movements as in Ulster, Wales and Scotland; evangelistic movements in the larger cities; and movements of delayed reaction till revival had produced the atmosphere and leadership required.

In 1859, phenomenal awakening was reported in the city and environs of Newcastle-on-Tyne; out of Gateshead came evangelists William and Catherine Booth. In Liverpool and Manchester, profound revival was reported followed by evangelistic drives. As in Lancashire, prayer meetings held in Yorkshire were followed by evangelistic enterprise.

The prayer movement began in Birmingham in late 1859, and meetings of the kind were held in numerous towns and villages of the Midlands, climaxing in the second week of January of 1860. For seven years, evangelistic meetings were promoted everywhere, with national evangelists like William Booth or overseas missionaries like the Palmers, better known in North America.

In East Anglia, prayer meetings were conducted in many towns in 1859, followed by revival of believers and the winning of outsiders to the faith. Prayer meetings held in Wellington in Shropshire in 1859 were followed by revival two years later, then by profitable evangelism, so that the churches, Anglican and Free, gained 66% or better.

The southern counties of England experienced the same gatherings for prayer in 1859 and '60, followed by the winning of a multitude of converts to active membership. Farther west, Bristol and its environs were scenes of intercession and evangelism also, and the awakening was felt throughout the West Country, through Devon down to Cornwall and Land's End.

Prayer meetings started up in London in August 1859 were followed by reports of so many meetings that the interested editors ceased to list them after they had passed a hundred, even the great Agricultural Hall in Islington packed "for nothing but simple prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit," as stated by Dr. Eugene Stock.

One outcome of the movement was to fill the theatres of London with twenty thousand auditors to hear the gospel preached on Sunday evenings. These were attended by the masses, whereas St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey were packed by upper-class and middle-class. The seasonal attendance in special meetings exceeded a million. The Protestant churches of London added 200,000 seats to their accommodations, 60% increase in the revival period, outstripping population gains.

It seems certain that the gain in membership in all the churches of Great Britain (including Ulster) passed the million mark, in a population of 27,000,000. There was not such unanimity of approval in Britain as in United States. The Established Church of Scotland supported the Revival, but opposition and lukewarmness marked the attitude of the high-church and broad-church sections of the Church of England. Free Churches fully championed the '59 Revival, though some questioned minor aberrations.



In 1860, the population of Australia was only a million. In 1859, united prayer meetings started in Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, and other towns; by May of 1859, revivals were occurring in Victorian towns, in New South Wales, and South Australia, a pastor in Kooringa in the latter colony announcing 500 converts in "a most glorious revival of religion . . . never such a one in this colony before." Great awakenings occurred in all the goldfields, and evangelistic services were held in the capital cities. In 1863, William Taylor of California directed great campaigns throughout the colonies, adding thousands to the Methodists and other churches. Revival was felt in 1860 in New Zealand but the Maori wars inhibited advance among the Polynesian people.

News of awakening in America moved churches in South Africa, even more the news from Scotland. At Worcester in the Cape a conference was held at Easter 1860, and only seven weeks afterwards there came phenomenal revival in the Dutch Reformed gemeente there, whose minister was Andrew Murray. It soon became a country-wide revival. Already an awakening had begun in Zulu mission stations, and in 1886 Taylor of California visited South Africa, as a result of which the Methodists proclaimed "a glorious revival of religion" among the English and the Bantu folk.

In India, the movement of prayer appeared in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras and other cities, chiefly among the English-speaking people. But in 1860, a "wonderful work" of God began in southern Tamilnad, with all the phenomena of revival among the Anglicans. Twelve years later, there occurred a similar awakening in Kerala, out of which there rose the Mar Thoma Church. The prayer movements also led to people movements, such as one in Andhra during which John Clough baptized 2222 converts in a day, 9606 before the end of the year 1878. In 1870, William Taylor arrived and won a multitude of converts in evangelistic meetings in the various parts of India.

Any mission field possessing an indoctrinated body of believers experienced the same reviving and this was often followed by a people movement of a tribe or caste, or by an outburst of evangelistic zeal.

Out of the 1859 Awakening in Britain arose a phalanx of evangelists, aristocrats and working men. Spurgeon raised his Tabernacle on the crest of this revival, and Booth went on to found his Salvation Army. The Convention at Keswick was directed by Evan Hopkins and other Revival leaders.

In the 1870s, Moody rose to fame as a world evangelist. Beginning very modestly in York in 1873, Moody preached in Sunderland, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Dundee, Glasgow, Belfast, Dublin, Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham, and Liverpool, using the methods of the 1858 Revival in prayer and preaching. About two-and-a-half million aggregate in twenty weeks heard him preach in London.

In 1875, Moody returned to his native land a national hero and preached successfully in Brooklyn, Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, Boston and many other cities. From then onwards, he ministered in cities both sides of the Atlantic. A flock of successful evangelists was associated with him.

In the 1858 Awakening in the United States, revivals of the students resulted in formation of Collegiate Y.M.C.A.s, and, in the following year, prayer meetings at Oxford and Cambridge gave rise to Christian Unions which later united to form the Inter-Varsity Fellowship. In the local student fellowship at Princeton in 1875 were several outstanding young men: Robert Mateer, who became the leader of the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance; T. W. Wilson, who served as president of Princeton University and later (as T. Woodrow Wilson) President of the United States; and Luther Wishard, organizer and evangelist of the Collegiate Y.M.C.A. The Y.M.C.A. in general grew enormously as a result of the Awakening in Great Britain and America.

The 1858-59 Awakening extended the working forces of evangelical Christendom. Evangelism and philanthropy both were revived and new vehicles of enterprise created. Bible Societies flourished as never before, Home Missions and the Salvation Army extended the evangelistic-social work of the Awakening in worldwide projects.

These mid-century Awakenings revived all the existing missionary societies and enabled them to enter other fields of work. The practical ecumenism of the Revival was soon embodied in the China Inland Mission founded by Hudson Taylor in the aftermath of the British Awakening, the first of the interdenominational "faith missions." As in the first half of the century, practically every missionary invasion was launched by men converted or revived in the awakening of the Churches in the sending countries.

It is clear that D. L. Moody thought the 1858 Revival the greatest time of his career. This seemed to be the opinion of his contemporaries. So thought the Evangelical Alliance. And Perry Miller called it "the event of the century."

# 5

## THE RESURGENCE OF 1882 ONWARD

It was Bishop Warren Candler who observed that working forces of the churches were immeasurably increased as a result of the mid-century awakening. It inaugurated in a sense the era of lay-ministry, as the layman's day fully dawned upon the churches. No new doctrine was brought to light, but a new agency was brought to bear in spreading the old gospel through the efforts of men, who untrained could help inquirers find the Lord by telling how they had themselves encountered Him.

The missionary interest proved so potent at the time of the 1858-59 Revival that the historic Liverpool Conference on Missions was held in 1860, followed by the 1878 Mildmay Conference, followed by the London Conference of 1888, leading to the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in 1900.

D. L. Moody heard his call and served his apprenticeship in the 1858 Awakening in Chicago; fifteen years later, his career as a world evangelist was launched in Britain, and a quarter of a century later, Moody was in Britain once again at a time when a noticeable resurgence of spiritual revival was felt around the world.

After five years' campaigning in North America, Moody commenced a second British series in Newcastle-on-Tyne in October 1881, thence to Edinburgh and Glasgow, then to Welsh towns and cities and English provincial places. In 1883, he conducted an eight month's preaching mission in London, then the world's metropolis.

The Church of Scotland missionary, D. P. Thomson, both scholar and evangelist, pointed out that at the time of D. L. Moody's first campaigns in Scotland, there was a spirit of revival everywhere there, whereas in the 1880s it seemed related to the evangelist, in time and place, as organized evangelism that was accompanied by revival blessing.

It is appropriate to point out that Dwight Lyman Moody was primarily an evangelist, that his organized campaigns of evangelism were not necessarily "revivals" in historic usage of the word, and that his calling cannot therefore be described as a revivalist, if such a word is also used to name the ministry of such men as Evan Roberts.

Moody's ministry was a mystery to unbelieving scholars, but it is fitting to recall that William Warren Sweet, the church historian, insisted that "the attempts of sociologists and psychologists to explain him seem trite and foolish."

The influence of Moody was felt beyond the borders of America and Britain, to which he largely limited himself. Elijah Schrenk, who served in missionary work in Africa, decided after hearing Moody that he wanted to become a like evangelist. In the 1880s, he commenced his city-wide campaigns and kept on working thus for twenty-seven years in church evangelism. Likewise, Friedrich von Schlumbach (an officer who served in Lincoln's Army, converted in the United States) commenced his nation-wide campaigns in '82 and founded the first Y.M.C.A. there. Historians have said that a "thirty years' revival" started in the German lands in 1880, the movement helped by Prof. Theodor Christlieb whose life was changed in London during 1859-1865. The great Gnadau Conferences began in 1888.

In 1881, a friend of Moody, Fredrik Franson, came to his native Sweden and began to minister within the prayer halls of the voluntary mission groups. He extended his work to Norway also, and had striking opportunities in Denmark where he was imprisoned for a while, then banished. The State Church clergy in all three countries violently opposed his ministry. Meanwhile, another great revival had begun in Sweden in the late 1870s, August Skogsbergh (known as the Swedish Moody) being a dynamic leader. The Swedish evangelical revivalists divided over doctrinal affairs, the National Evangelical Foundation (Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen) continuing in the Rosenius connection while the Swedish Mission Covenant (Svenska Missions Forbund) was led by Waldenstrom. A great revival started in the town of Skien in the 1880s, effective in the southern and western parts of Norway, and a powerful help in foreign missions.

In South Africa, Andrew Murray exercised a powerful influence in country-wide evangelism. In 1882, the Dutch Reformed evangelist and pastor experienced a deeper work of grace at Keswick, and returned with Spencer Walton, a younger Englishman, who then campaigned throughout South Africa to such effect that awakenings occurred in many places. He and Murray started the South Africa General Mission. A significant revival and awakening occurred in Greytown in Natal in 1884, not long after the battle of Majuba. In spite of tension, evangelism flourished.

The 1880s saw the rise of John MacNeil, an Australian Presbyterian evangelist who promoted interdenominational prayer for spiritual awakening. Among others who helped to answer prayer was an Anglican, George Grubb, who held campaigns throughout Australia and New Zealand which had all the marks of a revival. The 1880s and 1890s witnessed much activity in Australia and New Zealand, culminating in a great awakening in the early twentieth century.

In Canada, following Moody's 1884 campaign in Toronto, a truly Canadian evangelistic team arose, Crossley and Hunter, who harvested the renewed awakening interest in Canadian cities. In the Southern States, "the Moody of the South," Sam Jones, began his city-wide evangelistic series in Memphis and Nashville, his preaching blunt to a point of coarseness. Dr. Wilbur Chapman, a Presbyterian, rose to fame about this time, Moody considering him the greatest evangelist of the 1890s. Moody continued to campaign, his greatest effort being the great Chicago series in 1893.

In the winter of 1880-81, there was a time of revival in Williston Congregational Church, in Portland, Maine. Its pastor, Francis E. Clark, wishing to conserve the benefits, organized the converts into a Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, to call youth to greater dedication and service. The idea caught on, becoming an organization for encouraging young folk to participate in church activities.

Because activities were directed into local churches, the denominations welcomed the movement. In 1886, a thousand delegates attended the first C. E. Convention, two thousand the second, held at Saratoga Springs. In 1888, five thousand attended the convention in Chicago, and next year sixty-five hundred in Philadelphia, including overseas delegates. In 1890, eight thousand attended the St. Louis convention, and fourteen thousand next in Minneapolis. In 1892, ten years after the foundation of the first society, thirty-five thousand met in New York City.

During 1888, Francis Clark visited the British Isles, and three years later there were a hundred societies therein, in six years a thousand. By 1895, there were 38,000 local societies in the world, with 2,225,000 members. The work was evangelical, evangelistic and church-related, suited to the climate of the day, which was evangelical-ecumenical. The movement was transplanted easily to far off fields, even to Madagascar, where it was known as Fikambunan ny Kristiana Tanora.

The movement was effective for more than a generation. Decline set in more rapidly in the land of its genesis than elsewhere. Denominational hierarchies tend to obstruct grass-roots interdenominational organizations not directly under their control. A Baptist Young People's Union of Christian Endeavor was promoted; a Methodist Epworth League; a Lutheran Walther League; and a Presbyterian Westminster Fellowship. In due course, the title Christian Endeavor was dropped, leaving a denominational society, and losing the invaluable evangelical-ecumenism.

The Christian service organizations that were revived or founded in the 1858-59 Awakening continued to expand and to transplant themselves to many countries of the world, so also those societies established in the 1880s and '90s. The Y.M.C.A. took root in India and China and elsewhere; the Salvation Army became a worldwide service organization; the Bible Societies made themselves the handmaidens of all denominations and societies.

A direct outcome of the 1858-59 Awakening had been the formation of Christian Associations in the universities of the United States and Christian Unions in the universities of the United Kingdom, the former affiliated with the Y.M. C.A. Much as Moody sympathized with them in their work, he kept away from them because of his limited education, being a poor speller and a worse grammarian. Educated men associated themselves with Moody, Henry Drummond of Edinburgh being an ardent collaborator in evangelism. But Moody kept away from university evangelism till 1882, when Cambridge students invited him to campaign.

The undergraduates of Cambridge were outraged that "an illiterate American" should come to preach to them, the sons of wealth and of nobility, and the first meeting erupted into ribald mockery. Moody kept his temper, and a leader of the uproar, Gerald Lander, was first to make profession of a new-found faith in Christ, later becoming Bishop of Hong Kong; fifty men sought counsel Wednesday night and a hundred on Thursday, intellectuals and athletes making public profession. This mission was the beginning of a worldwide interdenominational student movement. Moody repeated his success in Oxford. Out of the Cambridge work came a group of seven, including C. T. Studd, the cricketer, who formed the "Cambridge Seven," evangelized with Moody and went out to China as C.I.M. missionaries, one (C. T. Studd) later founding a worldwide evangelistic work.

When the Cambridge student leader, Kynaston Studd, paid a visit to Cornell University, a law student named John R. Mott made a full commitment of his life, and soon became the best-known student leader in the world for half a century. Student leaders in America persuaded Moody to minister in American colleges in 1885, and in 1886 was held a student conference at Mount Hermon, Massachusetts, to which 250 students rallied. One of the student speakers was Robert Wilder, son of a pioneer who went to India from the Haystack prayer meeting in 1806, who spoke so strongly on the missionary need of the world that a hundred students volunteered for service. In the academic year, 1887-88, there were about three thousand volunteers for missions, and the enlistment multiplied each year.

The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions was formed, with John R. Mott the chairman. Rapidly, the work was extended in Great Britain, and then around the world. The wider fellowship of Christian Associations and Unions formed the World's Student Christian Federation. It is Latourette's opinion that "a large proportion of the outstanding leaders in the world-wide spread of Protestant Christianity in the twentieth century were recruited." The slogan of the Student Volunteers was "the evangelization of the world in this generation." In half a century, more than twenty thousand students reached the foreign mission fields and served as evangelists, educators, doctors, agricultural specialists and the like, an astounding work, social action significant but subordinated to evangelism.

The decline of the movement came about for reasons that could be attributed to the rise of theological liberalism in the denominations and social factors rising out of World War I, in which the British lost a million men, the French more than the British, the Germans more than the French, the Russians more than the Germans. In 1920, the Student Volunteer Convention in Des Moines attracted 6890 student delegates, of whom 2783 volunteered, and 637 actually left for foreign service in 1921. But pacifism and social action replaced evangelism in these conventions, and by 1940 only 465 attended a limited convention in Toronto in 1940. After the attrition of World War II and decline of denominational evangelism, the work of the Student Volunteers went out with a whimper, and the larger Student Christian Movement voted itself out of existence, the Student Foreign Missions Fellowship and Inter-Varsity filling the void.

Another missionary thrust began in 1886, when a convert of the 1858 Revival, A. B. Simpson of Ontario, organized a summer convention at Old Orchard, Maine, out of which arose the Christian and Missionary Alliance, at first an interdenominational alliance but finally a denomination with an extraordinary missionary burden. In 1883, D. L. Moody founded Moody Bible Institute chiefly for the preparation of workers for worldwide missionary service, Reuben Torrey being its first superintendent.

Meanwhile, not only was there evangelical resurgence in the Western world, but great revivals on the mission fields. In 1883, it was reported that "a spirit of religious revival bringing times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord is spreading in Japan," and in 1884, the January Week of Prayer at Doshisha University could not be stopped, but ran on till March, 200 students being baptized. Historians of Christianity in Japan note that time as "Rapid Growth 1883-1888," for adult membership increased from four to thirty thousand, in three hundred churches, evangelists quadrupling to four hundred. In the 1880s, missionaries effected entrance to Korea. In the 1880s, denominational societies as well as the China Inland Mission advanced; so great were opportunities in China that Hudson Taylor prayed for a hundred new recruits for the China Inland Mission. Where did he find his men? As in the Cambridge Seven, he reached for the best and often found them in the universities.

Before the 1858-59 Awakening, there were only seven medical evangelists in all of India, but their numbers had quadrupled by 1882, and increased twenty-fold by 1895, with 168 Indian doctors assisting them. Christian missions had a near-monopoly on medical services in India for half a century. Forward movements were reported throughout India, revivals in Kerala and Tamilnad.

In Africa, the missionary societies made great advances in many sectors. In 1884, Henry Richards of the British Livingstone Inland Mission after six years of difficulty saw a remarkable movement of the Spirit in the Congo, by 1887 more than a thousand converts being added to his church, in 1889 no less than 950 being baptized, two thousand in all in this "Pentecost on the Congo," at Banza Manteke, with similar awakenings in other stations. The work was soon transferred to American Baptists, the revival increasing, a foretaste of awakenings yet to come.



On the other side of Africa, Hannington, Anglican bishop, was murdered in Uganda in 1885. The mission was still in a precarious position until 1893 when a tract written by a Tamil Christian reached the missionary, Pilkington, who sought a new experience of the Spirit. There followed a revival and awakening, in fifteen years lay teachers having increased from 75 to 2032, communicants from 230 to 18,041, the baptized Christians from 1140 to 62,716, and catechumens from 230 to 2563.

In Southern Africa, Spencer Walton, protege of Andrew Murray, switched from European missions to evangelizing Bantu-speaking Africans. All the while, Charles Pamla, who had been interpreter for William Taylor, preached with such power that people said that Taylor's mantle had fallen on the Xhosa chief.

Even in Australia, there were awakenings among the aborigines. In Madagascar, Christian work was jeopardized by the seizure by the French of the Malagasy kingdom, an anti-foreign, anti-Christian insurrection taking place. But in the 1890s, an indigenous revival began, under leadership of a converted soldier, Rainisoalambo. The movement was designated the Disciples of the Lord, the first of many indigenous revival movements.

In 1881, an extraordinary revival began upon the Mosquito Coast of Nicaragua, among the Moravian mission stations. Church membership trebled within ten years. And in 1884, a localized revival in Chile was deemed by a Presbyterian investigating committee "an outpouring of the Spirit." In other parts of Latin America, there was unrelenting and often brutal opposition to evangelical missions.

An evangelical revival was reported in 1889 among the Armenians, the chief evangelist being Haroutune Jenanian of Tarsus. Thousands attended the meetings in Aintab in Asia Minor. At first, there was violent opposition but as the years went by, Evangelical pastors were asked to preach in historic Gregorian churches.

Lord Radstock, who had served against the Russians in the war in the Crimea, and who was converted in the 1859 Revival, returned to witness to the Russian aristocracy in the 1870s, followed by Dr. F. W. Baedeker, who encouraged the converts in the nobility and in the general population. In 1886, Ivan S. Prokhanov was converted, and soon became a force in Russian evangelicalism, which flourished in spite of a twenty-years' persecution begun in 1884.

Quarter of a century passed between 1857 and 1882, when a resurgence of revival began to be reported here and there. There was no recession, so it is possible to treat the period from 1858 until the end of the 1890s as a single period of revival and awakening, followed by an expansion of the churches scarcely paralleled in history. The major reason for considering the last two decades of the century a resurgence of the mid-century revival is missionary, for the happenings in 1882 bear a relation to events of 1858-59 similar to the relationship between the missionary thrust at Antioch and the happenings at Pentecost.

# 6

## THE AWAKENING OF 1904 ONWARD

The worldwide Awakening of the early twentieth century came at the end of forty years of evangelical advance which followed the outpouring of the Spirit far and wide in 1858-59 and the 'sixties. Thus it did not represent a recovery from a long night of despair caused by rampant infidelity, as was the case in the days of Wesley. It seemed, rather, a blaze of evening glory at the end of the nineteenth century, "the Great Century" in the writings of Latourette.

It was the most extensive evangelical awakening of all time, reviving Anglican, Baptist, Congregational, Disciple, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian and Reformed churches and other evangelical bodies throughout Europe and North America, Australasia and South Africa, and their daughter churches and missionary causes throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America, winning more than five million folk to an evangelical faith in the two years of greatest impact in each country. In the wake of the revival, there arose the Pentecostal denominations.

Why did it occur at the time it did? The ways of God are past finding out. One can only surmise. A subtler form of infidelity had arisen, a compromise between Christianity and humanism. And there was rising a more sophisticated interpretation of human conduct, inspired by Freud, who spoke of God as an Illusion.

The prescient wisdom of its Author may also account for the sudden spread of the Revival of 1900-1910. Within ten years, the awful slaughter of World War I had started, and a gentler way of life passed into the twilight of history. The Pax Britannica had ended.

Arnold Toynbee, reminiscing, recalled the trauma of the time, when half his classmates died in battle. The writer was a child when the news of the Battle of the Somme threw every family in his native city into mourning for the finest of their fathers, sons and brothers killed in action.

Chapman's biographer stated in review: "God in gracious providence was reaping a spiritual harvest before He permitted the outburst of revolutionary forces . . . The harvest is gathered before the field is doomed to death."

The early twentieth century Evangelical Awakening was a worldwide movement. It did not begin with the phenomenal Welsh Revival of 1904-05. Rather its sources were in the springs of little prayer meetings which seemed to arise spontaneously all over the world, combining into streams of expectation which became a flood of blessing, in which the Welsh Revival became the greatest cataract.

Meetings for prayer for revival in evangelical gatherings such as Moody Bible Institute and the Keswick Convention greeted the new century, not surprisingly. What was most remarkable was that missionaries and national believers in obscure places in India, the Far East, Africa and Latin America seemed moved about the same time to pray for phenomenal revival in their fields and world wide. Most had never seen or heard of phenomenal revival occurring on missionfields, and few of them had witnessed it at home. Their experience was limited to reading of past revivals.

The first manifestation of phenomenal revival occurred simultaneously among Boer prisoners of war in places ten thousand miles apart, as far away as Bermuda and Ceylon. The work was marked by extraordinary praying, by faithful preaching, conviction of sin, confession and repentance and lasting conversion and hundreds of enlistments for mission service. The spirit of revival spread to South Africa in the throes of post-war economic depression.

Not without significance, an Awakening began in 1900 in the churches of Japan that had long suffered from a period of "retarded growth." It started in an unusually effective movement to prayer, followed by an unusually intensive effort of evangelism, matched by an awakening of Japanese urban masses to the claims of Christ, and such ingathering that the total membership of the churches almost doubled within the decade. Why did this Japanese Awakening occur in 1900? It would have been impossible four years later, when the Japanese became involved in momentous war with the Russian Empire.

Significantly also for evangelistic follow-up of general Awakening in 1900, Torrey and Alexander's team found that unusual praying had prepared the way for the most fruitful evangelistic ministry ever known in either New Zealand or Australia, and the unprecedented success of the campaigns first launched Torrey and Alexander, later Chapman with Alexander, upon their worldwide evangelistic crusades, run conventionally but accompanied by revival of the churches.

Gipsy Smith experienced much the same kind of response in his mission of peace in war-weary South Africa, success in evangelism provoking an awakening of the population to Christian faith. Likewise, he extended work worldwide.

Meanwhile, worldwide prayer meetings were intensifying. Undoubtedly, the farthest-felt happening of the decade was the Welsh Revival, which began as a local revival in early 1904, moved the whole of Wales by the end of the year, and raised up Evan Roberts as the mystic leader, while filling simultaneously almost every church in the principality.

The Welsh Revival was the farthest-reaching of all the movements of the Awakening, for it affected the whole of the evangelical cause in India, Korea and China, renewed the revivals in Japan and South Africa, and sent a wave of awakening over Africa, Latin America, and the South Seas.

The story of the Welsh Revival is astounding. Begun with prayer meetings of less than a score of intercessors, when it burst its bounds the churches of Wales were crowded for more than two years. A hundred thousand outsiders were converted and added to the churches, the vast majority remaining true to the end. Drunkenness was immediately cut in half, and many taverns went bankrupt. Crime was so diminished that judges were presented with white gloves attesting that there were no cases of murder, assault, rape, or robbery, or the like to consider. Local police became unemployed in many districts. Slowdowns occurred in coal mines, not due to unpleasantness between management and workers, but because so many foul-mouthed miners became converted and stopped using foul language that the horses which hauled the coal trucks in the mines could no longer understand what was being said to them, and transportation slowed until the horses learned the language of Canaan.

Time and again, the writer has been asked why the Welsh Revival did not last. It did last. The most exciting phase lasted two years. There was an inevitable drifting away of some whose interest was superficial, maybe one person in forty of the total membership of the churches. Even critics of the movement conceded that 75% percent of the converts, at least, remained in membership after five years.

But there was a falling away in Wales. Why? It did not happen among converts of the 1904 Revival, other than the minority noted. Converts of the Revival continued to be the choicest segment of church life, even in the 1930s when the writer closely studied the spiritual life of Wales.

Wales was overtaken by disasters. World War I killed a high proportion of a generation revived, converted, or only influenced by the Revival, leaving a dearth of men in the churches; the coal mines of Wales were hit in the 1920s by tragic unemployment, which continued into the 1930s in the Depression; and classes under military age during the war, infants during the Revival, espoused the gospel of Marxism.

There was another reason. These Welsh revivalists took scripture knowledge for granted; indoctrination deemed as superfluous was at a minimum; the Welsh constituency was ill-prepared for a new onslaught of anti-evangelicalism which captured a generation of otherwise disillusioned or embittered Welshmen. Ulster moved into the place held by the principality of Wales as a land of evangelistic activity.

The story of the Welsh Revival has often been told. Most Christian people, including scholars, have been unaware of the extent of the Awakening in the rest of English-speaking countries, in the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada, South Africa, Australia and faraway New Zealand.

The Archbishop of Canterbury called for a nation-wide day of prayer. Thirty English bishops declared for the Revival after one of their number, deeply moved, told of confirming 950 new converts in a country parish church. The Awakening swept Scotland and Ireland. Under Albert Lunde, also a friend of the researcher in later years, a work began in Norway, described by Bishop Berggrav as the greatest revival of his experience. It affected Sweden, Finland, and Denmark, Lutherans there saying that it was the greatest movement of the Spirit since the Vikings were evangelized. It broke out in Germany, France, and other countries of Europe, marked by prayer and confession.

It is difficult to count converts in the Church of England, but, in the years 1903-1906, the Free Churches gained a total ten percent, or 300,000.

When news of the Awakening reached the United States, huge conferences of ministers gathered in New York and Chicago and other cities to discuss what to do when the Awakening began. Soon the Methodists in Philadelphia had 6101 new converts in trial membership; the ministers of Atlantic City proclaimed that only fifty adults remained professedly unconverted in a 60,000 population. Churches in New York City took in hundreds on a single Sunday, in one instance, 364 were received into membership, 286 new converts, 217 adults, 134 men, 60 heads of families.

The 1905 Awakening rolled through the South like a tidal wave, packing churches for prayer and confession, adding hundreds to membership rolls. First Baptist in Paducah added a thousand in a couple of months and the old pastor died of overwork. Believers' baptisms among the Southern Baptists rose twenty-five per cent in a single year. Various denominations shared equally in the Awakening.

In the Middle West, churches were suddenly inundated by great crowds of seekers. The "greatest revivals in their history" were reported by Methodists in town after town; Baptists and others gained likewise. Everyone was so busy in Chicago that pastors decided to hold their own meetings and help one another deal with the influx. Every store and factory closed in Burlington, Iowa, to permit employees to attend services of intercession and dedication. The mayor of Denver declared a day of prayer: by 10 a.m., churches were filled; at 11.30, almost every store closed; 12,000 attended prayer meetings in downtown theatres and halls; every school closed; the Colorado Legislature closed. The impact was felt for a year.

In the West, great demonstrations marched through the Los Angeles streets. United meetings attracted attendance of 180,000. The Grand Opera House was filled at midnight with drunks and prostitutes seeking salvation. For several hours a day, business was nearly suspended in Portland, Oregon, bank presidents and bootblacks attending prayer meetings while two hundred major stores in agreements freely signed closed from 11 till 2.

Churches of the various denominations, town and country, were moved from Newfoundland to British Columbia across Canada, in both spontaneous prayer and ardent evangelism, while students eagerly responded as in the States.

Church membership in the United States in seven major Protestant Churches increased by more than two million in five years (870,389 new communicants in 1906) and then continued rising. This did not include the gains of younger denominations of Pentecostal or Holiness dynamic whose rate of increase was considerably greater.

It is naturally difficult to estimate the gains in the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa for most converts therein already possessed family affiliation. The Methodist Church increased by thirty percent in three years of revival. No doubt, the same patterns applied in New Zealand, Australia and South Africa, all stirred by the Welsh Revival.

The writer had visited all the States of India, and had addressed more than a million people there, and lectured in a score of the theological colleges and to hundreds of missionaries and national pastors; yet he encountered only one who knew of the extent of the Indian Revival of 1905-06, a retired professor of theology. And yet the Awakening in India moved every province while the Christian population increased by seventy percent, sixteen times as fast as the Hindu, the Protestant rate of increase being almost double that of the Roman Catholic. In many places, meetings went on for five to ten hours.

In Burma, 1905 "brought an ingathering quite surpassing anything known in the history of the mission"; the A.B.M.U. baptized 2000 Karens that year, instead of 200 average. In a single church, 1340 Shans were baptized in December, in all 3113 being added in the "marvelous ingathering."

The story of the Korean Revival of 1907 has been told and retold. It is less well-known that the Revival came in three waves, 1903, 1905 and 1907, the membership of the Churches quadrupling within a decade, the national Church being created from almost nothing by the movement. Since then, the Korean Churches have maintained the impetus in rapid church growth, through revivals and recessions.

The revival campaigns of Jonathan Goforth in Manchuria have been recorded and published, but the extent of the Awakening in China from the Boxer Uprising until the 1911 Revolution has not been apprehended. China's oldest evangelist, survivor of the China-wide Awakening of 1927, told the writer that he had not even heard of the Awakening (in every province in the 1900s) apart from the post-Boxer revulsion. Yet the number of Protestant communicants in China doubled in a decade to quarter of a million, to half a million for the total Evangelical community. This was the first great evangelical ingathering in China.

In Indonesia, the number of Evangelicals, 100,000 in 1903, trebled in the decade of general Awakening to 300,000, and in subsequent movements of phenomenal power, the number of believers on one little island (Nias) surpassed such a figure, winning two-thirds the population. Also, Protestant membership in Madagascar increased sixty-six percent in the years of Revival, 1905-1915, while pioneering success was soon achieved in the newly-opened Philippines. Such revival and awakening were reported from other islands, revival in the older fields, awakening in the newer.



The Awakening had limited effect in the Latin American countries: unusual revival in Brazil, phenomenal awakening in Chile, with Evangelical membership in both countries starting to climb, until in our times it passed the number of practising Roman Catholics; pioneering continued in other republics with sparse results but promise of future harvest since realised.

The Edinburgh World Missionary Conference recognized that more progress had been made in all Africa in the first decade of the twentieth century than experienced hitherto. The Protestant communicants in the African mission fields increased in 1903-10 from 300,000 to 500,000, there having been many awakenings in various parts in those years; but the full impact of the Welsh Revival was not felt until the war years, when phenomenal revival occurred among the Africans. In the next half century, the increase was double that of the general population, expanding.

It was noteworthy that the Awakening of the 1900s was ecumenical in the best sense of the word. It was thoroughly interdenominational. The fuller narratives have provided instances of Anglican, Baptist, Brethren, Congregational, Disciple, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian and Reformed congregations sharing in the Revival, with a total lack of evidence of any response on the part of Roman Catholic or Greek Orthodox communions, but this is not surprising, for it was so in the days of the Puritans, of Wesley, of Finney, and of Moody. Only in the mid-twentieth century, when their changing attitude to Scripture has accompanied a changing attitude to dissent, have heretofore non-evangelical church bodies been affected by evangelical movements.

During the Welsh Revival, there occurred charismatic phenomena, uncanny discernment, visions, trances but no glossolalia. There was an outbreak of speaking in tongues in India in the aftermath of the Awakening. In 1906, there was speaking in tongues among converts of the Revival in Los Angeles, from which Pentecostalism spread widely. A glossolalic movement rose from a non-glossolalic revival.

There is no telling what might have happened in society had not the First World War absorbed the energies of the nations in the aftermath of this Edwardian Awakening. The time, talent, and treasure of the people were pre-empted in any struggle for national existence, and what little is over is devoted to the welfare of the fighting men and victims of war. This was the case in World War I.

Even so, no one could possibly say that the Awakenings of the 1900s in Britain or the United States were without a social impact. In Britain, there was utter unanimity on the part of observers regarding "the high ethical character" of the movement. The renewed obedience to the four great social commandments reduced crime, promoted honesty, inculcated truthfulness and produced chastity. Drunkenness and gambling were sharply curtailed. It was the same in the United States, for a wave of morality went over the country, producing a revival of righteousness. Corruption in state and civic government encountered a setback which was attributed by observers in church or state to the Great Awakening. For a dozen years, the country was committed in degree to civic and national integrity, until new forces of corruption triumphed again in the 1920s.

In such awakening, it seems that the individual response is much more immediate than the social response. British church leaders acclaimed "the high ethical character of the movement." The then largest denomination in the United States declared in review that the public conscience had been revived, overthrowing corrupt officials, crossing the party lines, electing governors, senators, assemblymen, mayors and district attorneys of recognized honesty. The people of Philadelphia "threw the rascals out" and put in a dedicated mayor. Washington Gladden, the "father of the social gospel," was assured that the general awakening had started a moral revolution in the lives of the people. In other countries, profound impressions were made.

What was the social effect outside western Protestantism? On mission fields, missionaries multiplied their schools and hospitals. In twenty years, pupils in Christian schools in India doubled to 595,725; 90% of nurses were Christian, mostly trained at mission hospitals. In China, missionaries pioneered secondary and higher education and thus laid the foundations of the medical service; beginnings of Africa's educational systems and medical service were due likewise to the missionary impulse.

Thus, at the beginning of the twentieth century, revivals of New Testament Christianity and awakenings of people in related communities, accomplished not only much growth in the body of believers but improvement in society.

# 7

## BETWEEN WARS AWAKENING AND DECLINE

The want of a worldwide awakening in the Western world and the lack of nationwide revivals, with few exceptions, in the nominally Protestant countries marked the thirty years between World War I (1914) and World War II (ended 1945).

Undoubtedly, there were many secular factors to account for the absence of significant movements of revival, as the disillusionment of war, the demoralization of the "roaring twenties," the distress of the economic depression, and the discouragement of international relations. But there had been great awakenings in the past in spite of or because of such secular difficulties. The lack of renewal must first be attributed to spiritual handicaps within the Churches which seriously prevented a turning to God in prayer for revival.

Typically the Student Volunteer Movement reached a peak of usefulness in 1920, decayed into ineffectiveness by 1940, and later unlamented died away. Why? Preoccupation with race relations, economic injustice and imperialism took the place of Bible study, evangelism and social service; the evangelistic imperative was eclipsed by the "social gospel," and evangelism gave way to uncertainty regarding validity of the Christian faith and especially its claim to exclusive supremacy. Likewise, the Y.M.C.A. abandoned its primary purpose to concentrate upon its secondary reason for being, a "new theology" capturing the loyalty first of its leaders and then of the movement in general in the 1920s.

The nineteenth century and the decade following had found most Protestants largely united in two great loyalties, the authority of Scripture and the unity of the Body of Christ. At the same time, Protestant forces were engaged in two great enterprises: evangelism and social action. Those who emphasized the social implications of the Gospel had begun to advocate a "new evangelism," aiming to redeem societies rather than individuals, but the majority affirmed evangelism's priority without denying their social duty. But just as two opposing sides during 1914 pitched into warfare, the Protestant establishment was polarized by the battle of modernism and fundamentalism, the latter losing control of places of power, becoming aliens in the commonwealth.

This tragic polarization divided almost every Protestant denomination ideologically. Interdenominational societies were split or alienated, reducing effective evangelism and undercutting prayer for the revival of all the Churches. In the 1920s and the 1930s, in the English-speaking countries, most modernists agreed that the days of revival had given way to days of education; many fundamentalists affirmed that the days of revival had given way to apostasy. Hence a generation was growing up which did not know what to do in the times of spiritual decline, to engage in intercession as did the churches in the 1790s and 1850s. Even among those most evangelistically inclined, the Finneyan notion that a revival is nothing more than a right use of the appropriate means left the zealots seeking techniques and gimmicks rather than spiritual power. Too much energy was spent in polemics against the modernist establishment, not enough in prayer for an awakening.

However, in the 1920s, there were three focii of revival in the United Kingdom. In 1921, a prayer movement began in East Anglia, which led to a remarkable revival under the ministry of Douglas Brown which packed out churches both Free Church and Anglican. It was communicated to parts of Scotland through the fishing fleet, raising up a powerful evangelist, Jock Troup, whose ministry long continued. It also brought to notice D. P. Thomson, a scholar who later became stated evangelist of the Church of Scotland.

Conditions in Northern Ireland, granted a parliamentary autonomy in 1921, were deplorable, due to an I.R.A. attempt to make the province ungovernable and to sectarian riots thus provoked. The sound of machine-guns and bombings rent the evening curfew. Republican gunmen on roof-tops sniped at police and passers-by. Protestants were killed in cold blood in Roman Catholic counties, while the angry Protestants drove out innocent Roman Catholic families. Such was the bitterness that faithful Christians began to intercede with God for a counter-action of the Holy Spirit.

In the midst of "the troubles," W. P. Nicholson appeared. Born in Bangor, a sailor before the mast for many years, most religious when drunk, he was converted at home in 1899 and entered the Bible Training Institute in Glasgow in 1901, serving in Lanarkshire for four years until in 1907 he joined Wilbur Chapman's team to serve in Melbourne in 1909. Ordained a Presbyterian minister in Pennsylvania in 1914, he served on the Bible Institute of Los Angeles staff.

Nicholson commenced evangelizing in Bangor in autumn 1920, and the attendance overflowed. In May 1921, another successful series in Portadown, followed by Lurgan and Newtownards and Lisburn, led to an outstanding mission in a Belfast working-class district, then series after series in that capital city. On occasion, the shipyard men marched en masse from Queen's Island to the meetings. Those who were qualified to judge described the movement as revival, for religious life in Ulster was profoundly affected. There were missions in Ballymena and Carrickfergus before the evangelist departed. The results were lasting.

There were debit items in the ledger. Crude indeed was Nicholson's jocular and vulgar was his language. He had little toleration for any who differed from him. But there were thousands of converts added to the Churches, and the numbers of candidates for the ministry doubled for several subsequent years. Presbyterians gained 2500 in 1922-1923 in "first communions," and membership in young people's societies (C. E.) doubled by 5000 in a like period.

British campaigns, led by Anglican laymen, Arthur and Frederick Wood, became a National Young Life Campaign, which provided interdenominational fellowship and activity for converts and sponsorship for worthy evangelists, as did older societies, sparing Britain the American indiscipline. The times saw the emergence of British-born evangelists who soon gained a worldwide usefulness: J. Sidlow Baxter, J. D. Blinco, Bryan S. Green, Roy Hession, J. Edwin Orr, Alan Redpath, T. B. Rees, James Stewart and Ian Thomas, all of them active for a generation.

Outstanding among evangelists of the between wars period was the Australian-born Lionel B. Fletcher, who took up a Congregational pastorate in Cardiff in wartime, and soon became a missionary for the Free Churches of Britain. In Glasgow, Birmingham, Sheffield, and other cities, Fletcher conducted successful campaigns in 1922-23, then London and other cities, before returning to New Zealand for seven years' pastorate in Auckland during which he conducted a London Youth Evangelistic Campaign in 1930-31.

In 1932, Lionel Fletcher became "empire evangelist" for the Movement for World Evangelization and began his city wide missioning in Leith, the port of Edinburgh. Then came a remarkably successful series in Belfast, with thousands of inquirers registered, a young worker so impressed that Fletcher named him "a kind of Timothy of mine."

In Edinburgh, he gained support from Church of Scotland, Free Church, Anglican, Baptist, Congregational, Methodist, and Salvation Army leaders; inquirers numbered more than a thousand also in Glasgow and Newcastle-on-Tyne before the series ended. He preached in 1936 for Free Churches.

All the while, A. Lindsay Glegg, a London industrialist, preached throughout Britain in campaigns and conventions. Gipsy Rodney Smith also continued to exercise a ministry in Britain, but, unlike Fletcher, he was much in demand in the United States, his gospel appeal more sentimental.

Wilbur Chapman, Moody's friend and protege, died a few weeks after the end of World War I. His colleague, W. E. Biederwolf, became secretary of evangelism in the Federal Council of Churches, an uncompromising evangelist.

Billy Sunday succeeded to the popular fame of Chapman, but not at all to his cultured ministry. A converted baseball player, he had a ready-made audience and soon indulged in his flair for the spectacular, thinking nothing of smashing a chair on the platform to emphasize a point. He espoused a fundamentalist distaste for social reform, although he ardently crusaded against gambling, liquor and prostitution.

Sunday claimed that he had preached to a hundred million people in the days before radio broadcasting. He preached during forty years in nearly three hundred campaigns, but his greatest meetings were held in the years before 1920, when he reached Philadelphia, Baltimore, Detroit, Boston, New York, Los Angeles, Washington, and Chicago.

Sunday's method was to build a wooden tabernacle for his meetings, and, with considerable support from the local churches, preach sensationally on attention-getting topics. His invitation to "hit the sawdust trail" fell far short of all follow-up methods of the second half of the century. In ten years, his huge thankofferings added up to a million dollars (one heard his closest associate concede that he indulged an "acquisitive instinct"). However, in Sunday's twenty most successful campaigns in the United States there were some 593,004 professions of faith, and even his critics admitted that there were cooperating pastors who reported additions to their congregations through his tabernacle evangelism. Sunday's influence waned during the "roaring twenties"; he died in 1935. At the time, mass evangelism suffered from a loss of esteem in the minds of many leaders. Many of Billy Sunday's imitators used tabernacle evangelism to the detriment of the local churches and their ministers.

In 1916, Bishop J. F. Berry denounced the tabernacle evangelists as a class for their sustained attacks on local ministers, their exaltation of themselves, shake-my-hand methods of dealing with inquirers, falsifying of statistics, vulgar display of largess and high-pressured solicitation of offerings. In 1940, J. Edwin Orr attributed the setback in evangelism similarly, and to financial scandals in the lives of evangelists and to extravagance in preaching, as well as to liberalism in the churches and a drift from God.

But it would not be fair to put all evangelists in that class. During the economic depression of the 1930s, to cite a twentieth century encyclopedia of religious knowledge:

J. C. Masee, Walter MacDonald, Paul Rader, Charlie and Laurie Taylor, S. D. Gordon, Walter Kallenbach, John R. Rice, J. Edwin Orr and a host of lesser-known evangelists ministered to America's sobered soul. . . .

In the South, there were evangelists such as 'Bob' Jones, and Mordecai Ham (in whose ministry in 1934 Billy Graham professed conversion). A converted Jew, Hyman Appelman, also conducted cooperative campaigns. It should be noted that the Orr campaigns were directed towards the reviving of the churches rather than direct evangelism, sometimes encountering opposition from fundamentalists who insisted that the days of revival had given way to "the apostasy." In colleges visited, Wheaton College (Illinois) and Columbia Bible College (South Carolina), unusual revivals followed, revived seniors soon founding the Student Foreign Missions Fellowship, later the missionary arm of Inter-Varsity.

The roots of Norwegian resistance to German occupation which provoked an almost universal admiration, lay in an awakening from 1934 till 1941. Frank Mangs, a Swedish Finn, began a series of remarkable campaigns in Oslo and other Norwegian towns in 1934, and both Free Church and State Church congregations reaped a benefit. The Oxford Group Movement, which adopted some of the techniques of evangelical revival without its essential theology, received a hearty welcome to Norway in 1935, revived evangelicals interpreting the spoken word in evangelical Lutheran terms.

In the Baltic States, there were successive revivals in the seven years before their occupation by the Germans and their annexation by the Russians. William Fetler, who had been driven out of Petrograd, established Dom Evangelia in Riga; the visits of Oswald J. Smith, J. Edwin Orr, and James A. Stewart occurred during the spiritual outpouring.

James A. Stewart, a converted Scottish footballer, began a remarkable work in the Hungarian capital in 1937. The Magyars knew him as Stevarti Jacoby, and he enjoyed the support of Lutheran and Reformed clergy as well as Free Church leaders. His meetings were held in the cathedrals, the churches, theatres and skating rinks, with huge crowds attending. Hundreds of formalist ministers professed their conversion to God. So striking was the movement that the Regent of Hungary supported the meetings. Stewart also enjoyed the support of heads of state in Czechoslovakia and ministered widely in Eastern Europe. This appeared to be a last great movement of the Spirit before the Nazi terror.

Most striking of all, there was extraordinary revival and evangelism in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from 1917 until 1929. In the streets of the cities, the parks, the public halls, theatres, railroad stations, trains, ships and factories, "one could hear the singing of gospel hymns and good evangelical preaching" while congregations doubled and tripled in size in the summer of 1917.

Civil war followed the Bolshevik seizure of power, but the first Soviet constitution granted evangelicals the right of religious propaganda, afterwards lost. Evangelists were itinerating widely in spite of war. More than two thousand prisoners-of-war had been converted in Germany, their return accelerating Baptist growth, and in 1922 the Union of Baptists met in congress in Moscow and surveyed the results of the awakening with enthusiasm. Timoshenko, a dynamic Baptist evangelist, even preached in communist party halls on occasion. The Baptist growth rate held at 15% until 1929. Pentecostalism shared in rapid growth.

Even the famine of 1921 boosted evangelical growth. By 1923, numbers participating in the awakening passed one million. Although Soviet power had been consolidated, the revival-awakening continued until in 1928, the Communist alarm was expressed in their official newspapers. Stalin began crushing the movement in 1929 by throwing pastors into concentration camps, from which few emerged. When the writer visited the Soviet Union in 1935, oppression was heavy everywhere as the terror continued till 1941.

For the first time in the history of world Evangelical Christianity, a full generation witnessed a dearth of great revivals in the sending countries while such awakenings were occurring among the younger Churches in Asia and Africa and Latin America in the 1920s and '30s.



In the 1920s, an awakening began in the Congo, partly in the missions-related churches and partly in an indigenous movement led by Simon Kimbangu. In the 1930s, other deep revivals began, so that between 1925 and 1937, Protestant communicants increased from 9259 to nearly 200,000, the community from a hundred thousand to half a million.

In Nigeria, a spirit of prayer produced the Awon Egbe Aladura or "praying bands" which influenced the course of spiritual life for fifty years, both in missions-related and indigenous churches, including the Church of the Lord. In Ghana and the Ivory Coast and other parts of West Africa, there were other awakenings.

In the 1930s, the East African Revival movement began, first in Rwanda during famine conditions. By 1936, this spontaneous movement was sweeping Rwanda and Burundi and touching churches in Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika, chiefly in the Anglican communion. The movement stressed a confession of sin to be maintained daily. Its leaders were many, two of the earliest being Dr. J. E. Church and his African colleague, Simeoni Nsibambi.

There was an awakening in Malawi, where about 66,000 baptized Protestants in 1924 became 174,000 in 1936. And in 1931, 35,000 communicants in the Cameroon welcomed 26,000 new converts in a short space of time.

In 1935, the Italians invaded Ethiopia and drove Haile Selassie from the throne. Protestant missions were also driven out, and persecution set in for their tribal converts. In Wallamo, for example, the Sudan Interior Mission left only forty-eight believers, with portions of the Scriptures translated. When they returned, it was to find that only one church had multiplied into a hundred assemblies with fully 10,000 believers.

In South Africa, the visits of Lionel B. Fletcher added thousands to the European church membership, as did also the 1936 revival meetings of J. Edwin Orr. About the same time, a Zulu, Nicholas Bhengu, professed conversion, and became a leader in a remarkable revival movement among the Bantu-speaking peoples.

In the 1930s, there were movements of revival in various parts of the Indian sub-continent, particularly in the South. In 1933, a young Sikh converted to evangelical faith, Bakht Singh, became a powerful evangelist and Bible teacher. As a whole, however, nationalism absorbed people's attention. Hinduism began to challenge Evangelical Christianity.

The 1920s and 'thirties were dark days for Christians in both Korea and Japan, suffering persecution under revived Japanese militarism. The Christians in both the countries were not without the evidence of spiritual power in those days, but none of the local revivals became nationwide.

It was otherwise in the vast area of China. By 1926, "a sense of discouragement in the Church amounting almost to despair" was reported by missionaries overwhelmed by the turmoil throughout the country. But, in 1925, evacuated missionaries in Shanghai arranged a conference for the deepening of the spiritual life, and a movement of prayer began to spread. By the early 1930s, spiritual awakenings were reported, the central figures largely Chinese leaders.

Andrew Gih and other young Chinese evangelists formed the Bethel Bands which spearheaded revival and evangelism in all the provinces. Dr. John Sung, a band member, took off on his own tour of evangelism and achieved remarkable success not only in China but among the Chinese dispersion throughout Southeast Asia. In 1931, the major Bethel Band invaded the populous cities of Manchuria, resulting in a churches' report of standing-room only for years to come. There was a phenomenal movement of the Spirit in other parts of North China, especially the peninsular province of Shantung and the city of Peking. There were extraordinary meetings in Shanghai and throughout Central China, among churches of all denominations. Awakenings were reported in South China also, among the people of various dialects other than Kuoyu (Mandarin). Far to the West, from Kansu to Szechwan to Yunnan, revivals were reported in the '30s.

Evangelical Christianity was growing at the rate of about fourteen thousand members a year for a dozen years, and the missionaries were reporting men attending services in a proportion of three to every two women. The Bethel Band, for example, in which the writer served in 1938, in four years traversed 50,000 miles and held 3389 meetings in 133 cities with an attendance of 508,600 in aggregate and more than fifty thousand converts were won; significantly, 1863 local preaching bands were formed.

In Latin America, most significant was the revolution and evangelical revival in Mexico, which began with a prayer movement born in desperation. Revival brought evangelism and 50,000 evangelicals in 1936 became 250,000 by 1946. It was an interdenominational movement. Harry Strachan, the Scots evangelist, pioneered in Latin American evangelism.

# 8

## THE AWAKENING OF 1948 ONWARD

The deadly destruction of World War II in London and the other cities of Europe did not seem to produce any great reviving of worship or evangelism. In the battlefields of the Pacific, there were demonstrations of evangelistic zeal. But, in the last two years of the war, there arose a new movement in the embattled West to capture the interest of the young people, Youth for Christ. Beginning as Saturday night rally evangelism in Chicago, it spread spontaneously and simultaneously around the free world, not a movement of revival but of youth evangelism, raising up a generation of workers for the post-war movement of the 1950s, best known being Billy Graham. Its leaders repelled advances of inter-church councils, and continued as a fundamentalist organization, specializing in high school work, lacking any burden for reviving historic evangelical denominations.

A movement of prayer among pastors of churches began to develop in Southern California and other parts of North America within a few years of the cessation of hostilities in World War II. Most interesting was the work of Armin R. Gesswein in the Los Angeles area, aimed at the renewal of the spiritual life of ministers of all denominations from the Anglican to Pentecostal; there it was that came a burst of mass evangelism after both fundamentalist and modernist had concluded that such evangelism was a thing of the past.

Already, the zeal of Christian military men stirred by seeing the need of the peoples in farflung theatres of war was producing agencies to reinforce existent missionary enterprise and to create new thrusts. The war in Europe created a care for the cradle of western civilization; but in the Pacific, the outcome was far, far greater.

It could be said that the 1949 spring conference of the ministers' prayer fellowship at Pacific Palisades (in Los Angeles) Presbyterian Conference Grounds heralded the start of the "awakening of the Eisenhower years," to quote a phrase used by the scholar, Martin E. Marty. Directed by Gesswein, ministry provided by Harold Ockenga and Edwin Orr, the response came in tears, confession and midnight prayer by hundreds of ministers.

The second stage of the movement occurred in Christian colleges, the first outbreak of revival phenomena in Bethel College of St. Paul, Minnesota, then college after college in North America, becoming national news in February 1950 when several colleges were forced to abandon classes while their chapels were full night and day for days running. The movement continued for three years, but its farthest reach came through the Student Briefing Conference at Forest Home high in California's San Bernardino Mountains late in August 1949. Already, in 1947, there had been a stirring among students led by an unusual Sunday School director, Henrietta Mears. In 1949, the speakers were Billy Graham and Edwin Orr, the former entering into an experience of enduement by the Spirit just before his evangelistic tent campaign in the metropolis of Los Angeles.

Out of the movement at Forest Home came the Hollywood Christian Group, through which the conversion of stars of the entertainment industry exercised an influence upon a certain segment of the population and also on the Graham Crusades. The Group lasted twenty years.

A thousand of the revived pastors in the megapolis soon poured their young people into the three-weeks Graham campaign in Los Angeles, where their renewed dedication (evangelist and supporters) was followed by such a surge of public interest that the campaign continued nine weeks and broke all records for a generation. It is fashionable for some to say that Graham owed his success to a boost from William Randolph Hearst, but the newspaper baron boosted a work already seen enjoying extraordinary results.

As for the continuing success of the Graham ministry, is it not written in the records of the religious and secular press? Much as Moody was quickened in the 1858 Revival, Graham arose in the 1949 Revival as its chief evangelistic harvester, a product of the movement of the Spirit, not "the engineer of mass consent" proposed by the humanists.

For a while, hope in Britain was kindled by the outbreak of revival in the Scottish Hebrides, under the ministry of Duncan Campbell, a movement marked by trances, visions and startling conversions; but the work did not spread to the English-speaking bulk of Scotland. In England, Lindsay Glegg and T. B. Rees spearheaded mass evangelism, and a series of great crusades was held by Billy Graham which provided many candidates for the ministry, and boosted the church membership, short of a revival-awakening.

The 1950s in North America saw the rise of a phalanx of "healing evangelists," often preaching in tents, chiefly with the support of the Pentecostal population, though as often as not without official Pentecostal denominational support. The sensationalism inherent in the movement made any objective assessment difficult to present, but undoubtedly there was an evangelistic gain though not any noticeable increase in holy living associated with classic revival. The work of "healing evangelists" became a factor in the rise of evangelical strength in Latin America, whose peoples were disposed to accept "the miraculous."

In 1950, "a mighty wave of revival" began to sweep all over Cuba, touching all evangelical denominations although predominantly pentecostal in manifestation. This phase ended with the Castro dictatorship. There was growth also in Haiti, and in the Dominican Republic, and in Puerto Rico. "Healing evangelists" from farther north found Jamaica as congenial during snowy winters, but claimed three million converts in two years, or twice the population.

"Healing evangelists" made a great impact on the Central American Republics also, and evangelicalism thrived. In Mexico, all evangelical denominations continued to grow, members more than half a million by the end of the 1950s. The Pentecostal churches grew even faster. Billy Graham and associates campaigned throughout the Caribbean and Central America, with much success.

In Hispanic South America, the 1950s were marked by an ambitious project, Evangelism-in-Depth, the brainchild of Kenneth Strachan, an evangelistic drive rather than revival, although much prayer was mobilized. The Graham team also conducted successful crusades. Most startling was a campaign held by a "healing evangelist," Tommy Hicks, a novice with President Peron's blessing, in Buenos Aires. Attendances rose from a hundred thousand nightly to a quarter million. Hicks, in the writer's hearing, claimed an aggregate of six million in sixty nights, with three million converts! Researchers settled for less than twenty thousand converts, but this was the greatest gain ever in Argentina. Oswald Smith of Toronto conducted a successful campaign two years later in Buenos Aires in 1957, less sensational. Meanwhile, in Chile, Clifton Erickson held a healing series in Santiago in 1952, with startling results. Denominations all gained, Pentecostals trebling from 100,000 to 300,000. Other countries saw similar results with some persecution.

In 1951, a prayer movement began in Brazil, where eighty churches in Sao Paulo started weekly prayer meetings for revival, for example. In 1952, Reavivamento Espiritual Brasileiro started, bringing (according to the evangelical church council) a general revival for the first time in the history of Brazil. The Bible Societies announced "a year of triumph" and reported:

While most of the growth of the evangelical movement could be attributed to day-by-day witness of members, special efforts also drew the attention of the people. In a nationwide crusade that crossed denominational lines and drew the interest of the multitudes, an evangelistic team went from center to center, calling for repentance and dedication to Christ. Time and time again, the largest auditoriums could not seat the thousands who came to hear the gospel, and hundreds upon hundreds came forward accepting Christ as their Saviour. Some there were who compared this movement with the great nationwide revivals in the United States, and there was a strong feeling that 1952 had been a crucial hour of victory in the winning of Brazil to Christ.

According to the church council, unusual features were crowds attending 6 a.m. prayer meetings, applied biblical preaching and a rapid extension of the movement even after the evangelist, J. Edwin Orr, had moved on. The greatest annual growth among Presbyterians occurred in 1952, and the seven years following showed great gains in all of the evangelical denominations. Bishop Agnello Bossil warned that "the world's largest Catholic country" could become Protestant all too soon. Other bishops supported Graham's crusade when he came to Brazil in the 1960s.

The "winds of change" were blowing over Africa in the 1950s, but this did not inhibit great movements of the Spirit on the continent. Even in South Africa, evangelism thrived among Bantu-speaking people and Indians in Natal. In 1953, the Orr campaigns were sponsored by a committee of the converts of the 1936 meetings, including the evangelist, Denis Clark. The East African Revival continued, in spite of the slaughter in the Mau Mau uprising, doubling church membership. Phenomenal revival occurred in the Congo, even before the bloody civil war of the 1960s, in which nuns were raped or missionaries martyred. There were revival movements also in West Africa. The Graham team held campaigns in both West Africa and East Africa.

At the end of World War II, Tokyo and the cities of Japan lay in ruins. Evangelical Christians were released from the prisons, and the restraint of militarism was removed from the propagation of Christian truth. General MacArthur gave encouragement to missions, and within a half a dozen years two thousand eager missionaries entered, a great majority affiliated with new societies representing the upsurge of evangelicalism. There was no lack of evangelistic effort, from the campaigns of an ex-U. S. Navy chaplain, Lawrence Lacour to mass crusades sponsored by World Vision. As hitherto, the number of those professing conversion was high in proportion to those being baptized and enrolled.

In 1945, a Holiness evangelist, Lee Sung-Bong, returned to Korea from Manchuria and began to preach in churches in Pyongyang, capital of Communist North Korea. Revival ensued, but before the end of 1946, the Communists were moving against it, and Lee was a refugee in South Korea. In the spring of 1947, forty pastors gathered in Pyongyang for prayer and discussed the revival of forty years ago. In each of the churches, forty days' prayer meetings, early morning and evening, were held. The ministers were first to be filled with the Spirit, and most churches experienced revival and ingathering of converts. More than a thousand students at Kim Il-Sung University professed conversion. Ten thousand people gathered for prayer meetings, but this was soon followed by unrestrained Communist persecution. Within a short space of time, church workers were either prisoners, refugees, underground, or under ground dead.

The influence of the North Korean refugees in the South was immediate. Han Kyung-Chik built Young Nak Church, the largest Presbyterian church in the world, upon refugee evangelism. Revival began to spread throughout the South; then, on 25th June 1950, North Korean armies crossed the border and overran almost all of the South. North Korean authorities liquidated pastors remaining in their territory, desecrated their churches, converting them into factories.

The tide of war rolled north again, ending in destruction of North Korean armies. In November, Communist China intervened massively, and war swept south again, with the accompaniment of persecution. The war continued through 1951 and a truce was signed in July 1953. Korea's cup of woe was full, but Christian relief and evangelism prepared the way for massive growth of Christianity in South Korea, including further World Vision and Graham campaigns.

During the years between the end of World War II and the Communist conquest of China, while there was no general awakening comparable to that of the 1930s, there were Youth for Christ campaigns and a successful work among students under Inter-Varsity auspices. All such work came to an end as Communist pressure increased. The churches were expected to rid themselves of foreign associations.

The Chinese intervention in the Korean War provided the Communist government with the excuse for breaking down the Chinese Christian churches. Borrowing a missionary slogan of earlier years, they promoted self-government, self-support, and self-propagation, using self-accusation meetings to destroy leadership and bring self-liquidation. Their chief collaborator was Y. T. Yu of the Y.M.C.A. One after another, the denominations were liquidated, and even leaders without foreign connections, such as Nee Tosheng (Watchman Nee) and Wang Mingtao, were imprisoned. Such collaborators as the well-meaning Dr. Marcus Cheng, an evangelical, were used and then discredited. For a while, Christian bands continued to itinerate in the countryside, one team penetrating to Sinkiang in the northwest, planting churches. The persecution of the 1950s gave way to the terror of the 1960s.

On the island of Taiwan, the friendly disposition of Chiang Kaishek to evangelical Christianity provided missionaries and Chinese evangelists with great opportunity in the life of the Nationalist society. There was a remarkable movement in the Nationalist Army, and much church growth, but apart from phenomenal movements among the mountain tribes, they could not be described as revival-awakening.

Hong Kong, still under British control, also experienced an influx of missionaries and Chinese evangelists, together with church growth and evangelistic enterprise, yet nothing of the order of an outpouring of the Spirit.

The revivals in Vietnam, 1938-1942, had increased the communicant membership from 8,748 to 12,618. In March 1950, revival began at a conference in Danang, and spread throughout the evangelical churches of the country in 1951. In spite of war, which hampered growth, church growth increased in Indo-China, rapidly in a folk movement of Meo tribes in Laos, very slowly in Cambodia. There was also a measure of revival-awakening in the work in north Thailand but little progress among sophisticated Thai Buddhists, the gospel making greater appeal to Thai Chinese and tribes.



Burma suffered much from Japanese military occupation during World War II, Christian worship forbidden and the church buildings defiled. Christians were denounced to the Japanese by Burmese collaborators, building up a legacy of distrust between other tribes and Burmese. Civil war with terror erupted in 1948 and fighting spread over the country and into the 1950s. In spite of war and persecution, there was much successful evangelism.

Independence came to India, and Christian denominations greeted it confidently with indigenous evangelism. Bakht Singh extended his ministry, but switched from cooperative evangelism to church planting by his converts in avowed independence of the denominations. At the same time, the Evangelical Fellowship of India was formed to engage in evangelism, promote spiritual deepening, and to encourage prayer for revival. One of its visiting speakers, J. Edwin Orr, experienced a measure of revival in Kerala in 1954 and 1955; a Malayali evangelist, K. V. Cherian, promoted successful interdenominational evangelism in the state.

A distinguished Indian scholar, A. J. Appasamy of Oxford and Harvard, was appointed bishop of Coimbatore diocese in South India, dedicated himself to revival and evangelism, and witnessed seven years of success before retiring in '59. In 1956, Billy Graham campaigned with great success in Kerala and Tamilnad, an associate, Dr. Akbar Abdul Haqq, extending the work, especially in the north.

Revivals occurred in Meghalaya, the Garo-Khasia state in northeastern India. There were great ingatherings in the state of Nagaland, in spite of strivings for independence. In Mizoram, there were successive revivals. The tribal areas of Northeast India were rapidly being Christianized.

Pentecostalism gained a foothold early in India, and in the years of independence grew rapidly, especially in the South. In some places, Pentecostal churches grew at the expense of other Christian congregations, but everywhere the healings made a great appeal to non-Christian masses.

Another awakening occurred in Madagascar in the wake of World War II. Its leader was Daniel Rakotozandry, born on 16th August 1919 and educated by the Norwegian Mission at Antsirabe. After a period of backsliding, Rakotozandry taught school and assisted the pastor in Tsaratanana where the healing of a little girl heralded a great revival, starting 12th July 1946. An awakening spread throughout the island, but the evangelist died a year later, highly esteemed.

Indonesia, newly independent, was wracked by turmoil in the 1950s. President Sukarno decreed that Indonesians of whatever ethnic origin should adhere to recognized religion whether Muslim, Roman Catholic, Protestant or Hindu, but not animism. Meanwhile, Communists were gaining power and influence. It was not until the 'sixties that evangelicals had their day, after the failure of the coup. Then came the times of revival and awakening, evangelism and growth.

In New Zealand, 1956 was dubbed "a year of evangelism," various overseas evangelists engaging in campaigns, and an Anglican-Baptist-Methodist-Presbyterian team holding thirty-five campaigns in every part of the country, warmly commended by the National Council of Churches. In 1959, Billy Graham conducted eleven days' crusade in the cities of New Zealand, 350,000 attending meetings and 150,000 telephonic relay gatherings, with thousands of inquirers.

It was much the same in Australia. For the first time in many years, church membership began to rise in 1957 and into the '60s. The Anglican-Baptist-Methodist-Presbyterian team directed by Edwin Orr conducted seventy campaigns throughout Australia for the deepening of the spiritual life in 1957. In 1959, Billy Graham and associates crusaded in Melbourne, Sydney, Perth, Adelaide, Brisbane and towns in Tasmania. Crowds in Melbourne increased from 15,000 to 143,750, and thousands responded; in Sydney, crowds grew from 50,000 to 150,000 likewise. Including Canberra, the aggregate attendance in Australia numbered two and a third million, and more than a hundred thousand professed faith.

The "Eisenhower years" ended in 1960, and in the decade following, there came not only the civil rights movement with its objectives for the improvement of society but the drug culture, the permissive society, pornography, crime and violence, a sweeping counter-revival, which seemed to change the mores of society in all the Western countries. Evangelical Christianity, indeed all Christendom, faced a new paganism. Was it that the reviving of the 1950s was ineffective? Not at all. The new agencies of evangelism, such as the Graham Evangelistic Association, World Vision and Campus Crusade, not only weathered the storm but in fact extended their outreach. But, so far as society itself was concerned, the 1960s were years of counter-revival, although revivals of great intensity occurred on the farther frontiers of civilization.

## A Review of Reviews

H. S. D.

The versatile scholar, Prof. F. F. Bruce, wrote in 1965: "Some men read history, some write it, and others make it. So far as the history of religious revivals is concerned, (Dr. J. Edwin Orr) belongs to all three categories. When I first met him, thirty years ago in Vienna, he was actively promoting the cause of religious revival; he is still at it today. His world-wide experience as well as his specialist study entitles him to speak with exceptional authority on evangelical renewal and advance."<sup>1</sup>

Orr had occasion to participate in significant movements of renewal in the 1930s, in Europe and China and elsewhere. It was not surprising that he chose to research the 1858-59 awakenings for his Th.D. (in six Chicago graduate schools) and D.Phil. (at Oxford University) just before and after the Second World War. His research was not published until 1949. Principal Percy W. Evans of Spurgeon's College, then moderator of the British Free Church Council, described it as "altogether notable. . .<sup>2</sup> We think that the author and the University (Oxford) are to be congratulated." The Anglican scholar, Dr. G. W. Bromiley, noted: "The book is restrained and factual in style. But this does not mean that it is dull or unimpressive. Quite the contrary." A Church of England newspaper rated it among 1949's ten most significant books.

For the next decade, Orr participated in movements of renewal named by some liberal scholars "the revival of the Eisenhower years," "the zenith of Christianity's popularity (till then in North America) during the 20th century," said Inter-Varsity.<sup>3</sup> Divine blessing attended the ministry of the Orr team in Brazil in 1952, Dr. Benjamin Moraes, vice president of the Presbyterian World Alliance, stating that "an evangelistic mind has remained over all the Brazilian Church<sup>4</sup> . . . since the remarkable work of grace in 1952." Indian Bishop A. J. Appasamy stated: "His campaign drew the biggest of crowds that we had seen for any such effort"<sup>5</sup> . . . "We had seen revival in the Coimbatore Diocese."

In 1966, Orr commenced teaching at Fuller Theological Seminary's School of World Mission, retiring in 1981 from his professorship, about which his senior colleague, Donald McGavran said: "No man knows more about revivals or has studied them across the world and written more extensively about them than J. Edwin Orr."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Editor's Preface, Orr, *The Light of the Nations*, Exeter, 1965.

<sup>2</sup>*The Christian*, London, 14th October 1949.

*The Life of Faith*, London, 9th November 1949.

<sup>3</sup>Editorial, *HIS Magazine*, Chicago, January 1956.

<sup>4</sup>Dr. Benjamin Moraes to Rev. C. M. Albertyn.

<sup>5</sup>A. J. Appasamy, *Write the Vision*, Madras, 1964, pp. 10-11.

<sup>6</sup>D. A. McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth*, p. 163.

(Continued)

In the mid-'70s, Orr published eight documented volumes on the Awakenings of 1792-, 1830-, 1858- and 1905-, and on regional awakenings in Eastern Asia, Southern Asia, Africa, South Seas, and Latin America. Of this series, Canon Max Warren of Westminster Abbey, in an 11-page review, noted that the books "represent a magnificent piece of pioneering in a field hitherto unattempted."<sup>7</sup> Dr. Martin E. Marty's recognition that "Orr's industry is enormous" noted that "he comes out swinging against historians whose biases simply lead them to overlook the evidence he can so readily summon." Richard Quebedeaux's survey (the same journal) of all eight books, called "for wider attention by historians and religionists. His scholarship is excellent, based on good historical sources, well-researched, well-written . . ."<sup>8</sup>

In 1974, with sponsorship of the Archbishop of Canterbury and leaders who had held highest denominational office in Britain,<sup>9</sup> Orr established an Oxford Reading and Research Conference on Evangelical Awakenings, meeting annually and attracting experts, church historians, missionaries, evangelists and witnesses of revival. More than a hundred scholarly papers were presented, to add to four hundred written by missionaries or others in research in the School of World Mission. The Oxford Association for Research in Revival was founded by this Oxford University consortium.

What of the frontline soldiers of evangelism or missions? Billy Graham wrote: "His word on revival caused me to do a great deal of thinking which God used to bear fruit in later years."<sup>10</sup> Missionaries reported back that their newly kindled prayer for revival had been answered in movements of the Spirit. An address at the National Prayer Congress in 1976 was videotaped and made into a film which enjoyed unusual popularity in North American churches.

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<sup>7</sup>*Churchman*, London, 1977, Volume 91, Number 1.

<sup>8</sup>*Church History*, Chicago, 1973, pp. 573-574; 1980, pp. 214-215.

<sup>9</sup>Dr. F. D. Coggan, Sir Cyril Black, and other leaders.

<sup>10</sup>Introduction, J. Edwin Orr, *Full Surrender*, London, 1951.