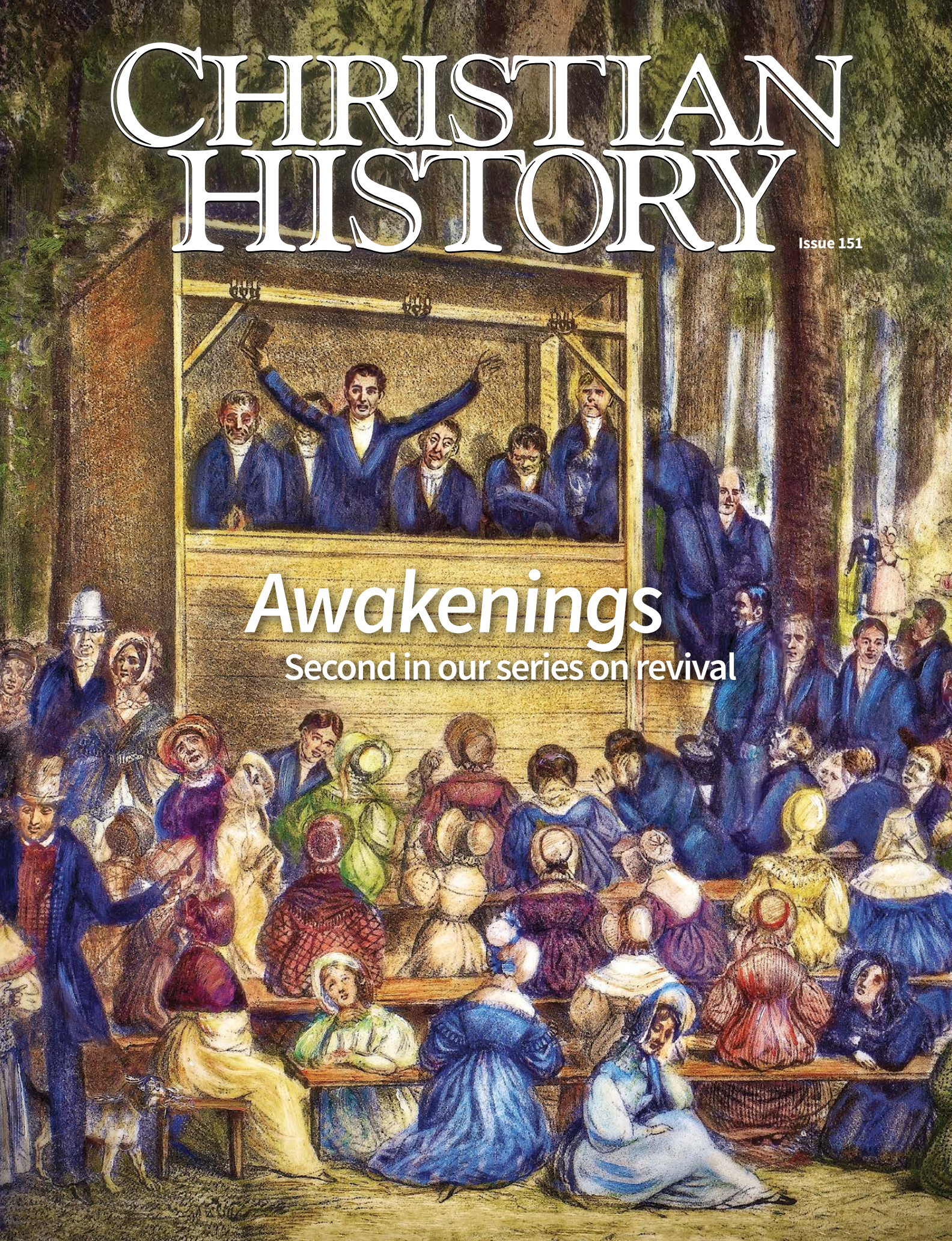


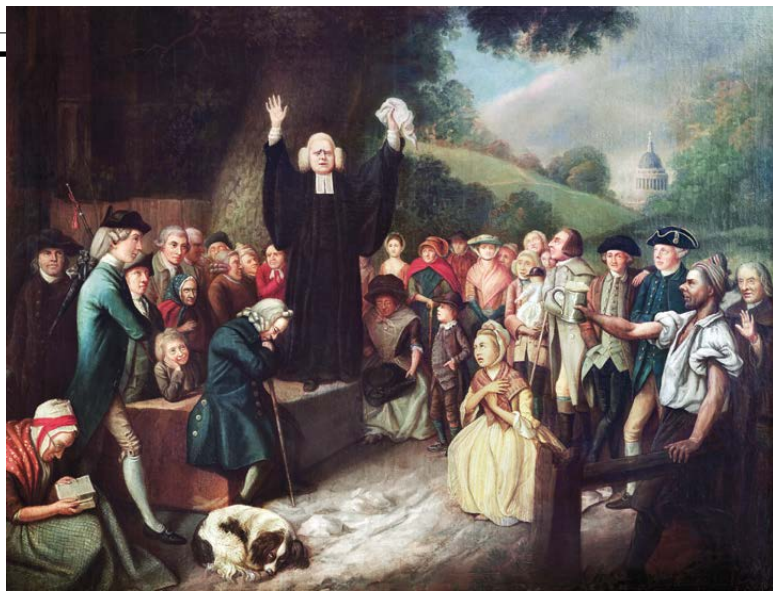
CHRISTIAN HISTORY

Issue 151

Awakenings

Second in our series on revival





HOUSEHOLD NAME Many American colonists heard George Whitefield preach at least once. He was as famous as most British royalty.

American colonies. Whitefield was one of the first preachers to use print media to spread his message, publishing journals and sermons that were widely circulated.

CAUGHT UP INTO HEAVEN

Jonathan Edwards, a leader of the First Great Awakening, was married to Sarah Pierpont (1710–1758). Pierpont had profound encounters with the Holy Spirit that caused her to faint, leap for joy, and lose her speech. Edwards recorded her experiences, writing:

They say there is a young lady in [New Haven] who is beloved of that almighty Being, who made and rules the world, and that there are certain seasons in which this great Being, in some way or other invisible, comes to her and fills her mind with exceeding sweet delight, and that she hardly cares for anything, except to meditate on him—that she expects after a while to be received up where he is, to be raised out of the world and caught up into heaven; being assured that he loves her too well to let her remain at a distance from him always.

Did you know?

STORIES FROM THE GREAT AWAKENINGS

PORTABLE PREACHING

George Whitefield (1714–1770) was known for his powerful preaching and ability to draw large crowds. He often preached in the open air, using a portable pulpit to deliver his sermons. Itinerant preachers commonly used portable pulpits during the First Great Awakening, allowing them to preach to large crowds in various settings. Whitefield received widespread recognition during his ministry; he preached at least 18,000 times to perhaps 10 million listeners in Great Britain and the

LOG CABIN LEARNING

Humble religious schools that operated in log cabins became known as “log colleges,” at first a denigrating term. During this time Presbyterian ministers could only be ordained if they had trained at an approved school, like Yale or Harvard. Log colleges trained new, revivalist-minded ministers and spread the gospel. William Tennent (1673–1746), a Presbyterian preacher, founded the first in Pennsylvania in the early 1700s. He wanted a place to teach his children. Out of his log college came the inspiration for and eventual founding of Princeton University.

CROWS AND METHODISTS

During the first half of the 1800s, the United States population exploded from about 5 to 30 million. Circuit riders, like Francis Asbury (1745–1816), reached many of them with the gospel. Over his 45 years in America, Asbury rode over 130,000 miles. Circuit riders often rode for five or six weeks straight, through heat and cold, rain and shine. People might say in particularly bad weather, “Nobody is out but the crows and the Methodists!”

BIG TENT REVIVAL

Camp meetings were a unique feature of the Second Great Awakening. These outdoor religious gatherings were often held in rural areas and attracted large



President Edwards' House, Northampton, Massachusetts

HOME IS WHERE THE REVIVAL IS Jonathan Edwards witnessed and preached through the First Great Awakening. His home is illustrated above.

JOHN COLLET, GEORGE WHITEFIELD PREACHING, 18TH CENTURY, OIL ON CANVAS—BRIDGEMAN IMAGES
JONATHAN EDWARDS'S HOUSE, ILLUSTRATION FROM THE LIFE OF REV. DAVID BRANAHERD, PRINTED BY D. FANSHAW, 1800—PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY LIBRARY / ARCHIVE.ORG

CHARLES LENNOX WRIGHT, THE VISION OF THE CIRCUIT RIDER, REPRODUCED IN LUTHER A. WEIGEL, THE PAGEANT OF AMERICA, 1925—ARCHIVE.ORG
J. C. BUTTRE, BARTON W. STONE IN CHIEFS IN THE GREAT RELIGIOUS REFORMATION OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, 1888; ENGRAVING—LIBRARY OF CONGRESS / PUBLIC DOMAIN, WIKIMEDIA
WILLIAM F. HOWELL, HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, c. 1870; PHOTOGRAPH—PUBLIC DOMAIN, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



THE CIRCUIT RIDER'S VISION This painting captures the gospel hope that drove the itinerant preaching of the Second Great Awakening.

was so named because it was said to have been so heavily evangelized that no one was left to convert. The religious fervor in the region also led to the formation of new religious movements, such as the Millerites and the Shakers.

SCOUTING AHEAD

Presbyterian Daniel Nash (1763–1837), also known as Father Nash, played a crucial role in Charles Finney's (1792–1875) revivals as an intercessor. He traveled ahead of Finney and

engaged in fervent prayer, sometimes for weeks, to prepare the ground for the revival meetings. Nash also organized and led prayer meetings during the revivals, interceding for the conversion of sinners and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Finney and others considered Nash's ministry of intercession to be a vital component of the success of the revivals.

crowds. They were typically organized as multiday events, when people came together in temporary campgrounds. Camp meetings featured passionate sermons, fervent prayers, hymn singing, and emotional expressions of spiritual experiences. People often testified about their conversions and shared their spiritual journeys.



PREACHING PROHIBITION

In the early nineteenth century, alcohol consumption was widespread and socially accepted. The average American over 15 years old drank at least seven gallons of alcohol annually: a level of consumption amounting, in many cases, to alcohol abuse. Preachers in the Second Great Awakening tackled this issue, helping to prompt the temperance movement. Those who urged moderation or complete abstinence from intoxicating liquor were called teetotalers.

MOVERS AND SHAKERS

During the Second Great Awakening, the "burned-over district" (western and central parts of New York state) was characterized by a series of religious revivals and the formation of new religious movements. The region

INSPIRED MOVEMENTS Harriet Beecher Stowe (*right*) aided abolition; Barton Stone (*above*) pioneered the Stone-Campbell movement. Both set roots in the Second Great Awakening.

AWAKENING SOCIAL CHANGE

Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865) is said to have greeted Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–1896), the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, with the words, "So this is the little lady who made this big war." Harriet Beecher Stowe was connected to the Second Great Awakening through her family and religious upbringing. Her father, Lyman Beecher (1775–1863), was a prominent Congregationalist minister and a revivalist who played a key role in the Second Great Awakening. Stowe's Christian faith and commitment to social reform inspired her to write *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a novel that exposed the evils of slavery and galvanized the abolitionist movement. **CH**

Chris Rogers is the producer of Asbury Revival: Desperate for More and is working on a Christian History Institute miniseries on revivals.

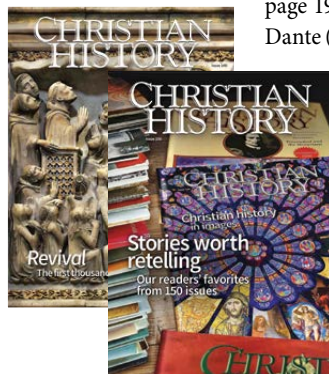


Letters to the editor

Readers respond to *Christian History*

WHAT'S MY AGE AGAIN?

I found a typo in *Christian History*, issue #149, in the article “Looking for the last emperor,” pages 7–19. The typo is on page 19, the left-hand column, “Virgil tells Dante (c. 1265–1391)...” Those dates would make Dante a long-lived son of a gun!



My main purpose in writing is to echo Ruth Anderson's letter from #149, under TAKE UP AND READ, BUT MAYBE LARGER. . . . God-willing and if the bayous of Georgia don't flood us out, I will be 90 years young this June 4th. I've been blessed with mostly good health

and good eyesight, but by now the fine print in your wonderful, highly informative magazine is a real strain on my shrinking eyesight. I say “Amen” to Ruth Anderson's suggestions. —Robert Mueller, Ludowici, GA

Good catch on the typo, Robert. Dante died in 1321, not 1391—around age 56 instead of 126! We have corrected it in the online version of the magazine. As for the font size of CH, thanks for voicing your opinion. We recently sent a survey to our subscribers that included a question about preferred font size in future issues.

Regarding issue #150, I am certainly impressed by James Montgomery (“The Golden Age of Hymns,” p. 36), who was born in 1771! I read that “Montgomery is best remembered for more than 400 hymns, most written in the early 1770s when he was a pastor in Liverpool.” He must have been one of the great child prodigies in world history since he not only began writing hymns as a very young child, but he was a pastor at the time as well. Now I know that must be the case since I read the same thing on page 22 of issue #31!—David Watson, Aurora, OR

While Montgomery did fill a notebook with his hymns by age 10 (1781), he wrote the majority of the hymns we know today some time after 1807, most printed in the 1820s, with his final collection appearing in the year of his death (1854). He was also never a pastor in Liverpool, but a poet and journalist. Thank you for pointing out the age inconsistency. We have corrected the error in both issues #150 and #31.

MORE ON JESUS

The Advent study, *The Grand Miracle*, was a great blessing and comfort. To me, it is such a great blessing to read the gleanings of those saints of the past years and their

insights into the Christ. I would rather have a few precious tidbits about our Lord than all the hot air about what a person thinks or exudes about his “personal revelation.” My first 50 years in church told me that Jesus was born to die for my sins, and that I could be born anew. I was never told about his creation, his intercession, his gifts, and whatever else the book of Hebrews says about the King of Kings and Lord of Lords. —Scott E. Swisher, Obetz, OH

A NOTE OF THANKS

Thank you to Jennifer Woodruff Tait for her diligent work and faithfulness as managing editor. She has done a wonderful job, and I have always enjoyed reading her introduction to each issue. May God richly bless her, meet her needs, and continue to use her. —Christine Dungan, Beatrice, NE

CH has been very blessed by Jennifer Woodruff Tait's service as managing editor. We are also very glad to have her remain with us as senior editor and to serve as scholar advisor for our upcoming issue #152.

MEET THE TEAM: MELODY SCHWARTZ



What is your role at CHI?

In January 2024 I began working as an editorial assistant for *CH*, as well as assisting with customer service, *Christian History* Institute's blog, and social media.

What is your favorite part of the job?

I can't believe I get to do one of my favorite pastimes, dissecting great writing, while developing issues from start to finish that share the full, fascinating history of our faith with today's church. It is an enormous blessing to hear from our readers how *CH* encourages them in their walk with Christ and their understanding of the people of God.

What do you most wish readers knew?

I wish readers knew how the team at CHI deeply cares and prays for them and for each other. As a new member of the team, it is a pleasure to see an organization so quickly turn to God in gratitude and trust in all matters.

What do you do in your spare time?

I enjoy teaching ballet, visiting museums, cooking for friends, walking in the woods, and laughing often. **CH**

CHRISTIAN HISTORY #149
CHRISTIAN HISTORY #150
MELODY SCHWARTZ—PERSONAL PHOTO

Executive editor's note



Count Zinzendorf, Herrnhut, and the Moravians began a movement that changed the world as we know it today. It is thanks to their story that you are holding this issue in your hands. When my dad, Ken Curtis, heard of the Herrnhut community's 100-year, round-the-clock prayer vigil, he felt called to produce a movie on this story, which we did in 1982, called *First Fruits*. (You can stream this film for free on Redeem TV.) The story is so rich that most of it could not be included in the film. My dad produced the first *Christian History* magazine to tell more of this story about Count Zinzendorf and the Moravians.

PRAYER AND REVIVAL

Prayer is the cornerstone of revival. A. T. Pierson said, "There has never been a spiritual awakening in any country or locality that did not begin in united prayers." The Holy Spirit worked in those 100 years of prayer, drawing many closer to Jesus and leading hundreds if not thousands of people to the mission field. It was, in fact, one of the largest events to do so.

As you will learn in this issue, John and Charles Wesley and countless others were deeply affected by the Moravians. As I've learned more about other revivals throughout history in the last few years, I keep coming back to story of the 100-year prayer vigil that inspired my dad to launch *CH*. Christian History Institute has always existed to help Christians learn from how God worked in the lives of other believers before us.

In 2019 I experienced the specific work of the Holy Spirit in new and transformative ways during a missions trip to Brazil. That experience made me curious about how Christians before me have encountered the Holy Spirit. And as I've learned more, I've become especially fascinated by the Holy Spirit's work in revivals, which led to this series.

I recognize that not all of you will be as excited about this revival series as I am. Last summer while I was visiting with my college roommate, he asked what current projects I found stimulating at work. I went on enthusiastically for a while about this *Christian History* series on revival and the

accompanying film series we're producing. I was surprised at his lack of response, so I asked what he was thinking. He explained that to him "revival" meant the annual week-long meetings he was required to attend at the church his dad pastored when he was a kid. It was a week he dreaded. The "revival" meetings felt like an obligation to endure, and he hated being out late and not having time to get his homework done.

LASTING FRUIT

This conversation helped me to realize how many different understandings of "revival" Christians have depending on their life experience. If you, like my college roommate, have had a negative experience with meetings called "revivals," I hope that this series will show you a different picture. The annual week-long meetings my friend described, scheduled events planned by human beings, are not the subject of this issue. While the Lord uses human-planned events all the time for his good purposes, the revivals we're looking at in this series are events that we can see in hindsight were God-ordained, not orchestrated by human schedules.

In fact, as Michael McClymond, the advisor for this issue, points out, we really can't call something a revival until years later when we see the lasting fruits. While they're happening, revivals are normally very messy, and they often make people uncomfortable (much like Scripture itself). And we freely acknowledge that some things people claim are from the Holy Spirit end up producing rotten fruit that doesn't look at all like Jesus. But even though the rotten apples tend to get a lot of press, they don't tell the whole story.

I hope that these stories of how the Holy Spirit has worked in specific times and places throughout history to revive people's spirits to live the life God wants them to live



will spark your curiosity about what God has done and wants to continue doing through revivals. **CH**

Bill Curtis
Executive editor

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Don't miss our next issue, #152, on the complex history of Christianity and theater.

We thank the many readers who support this ministry, making it possible for us to provide *Christian History* in print. Please visit www.ChristianHistoryMagazine.org to renew or begin a subscription to *Christian History*.

Defining revival

“Revival,” “outpouring,” “renewal,” “awakening”—we use these terms frequently throughout our revival-focused issues. How do we define them? Do these words carry different shades of meaning? Issue advisor Michael J. McClymond, professor of modern Christianity at St. Louis University, offers a helpful history for understanding these words and the movements they represent.

The English word “revival,” together with its foreign equivalents (Ger. *Erweckung*, Fr. *réveil*, Sp. *avivamiento*, Chin. *fen xing*, Kor. *bu hung*), in general usage denotes a period of time when a Christian community undergoes revitalization. But terminology has varied over time. To describe the unusual religious phenomena occurring in the American colonies during the 1740s, people at that time wrote of a “concern” or “interest” among the people, or of a “work” that God was doing, and the term “revival” was often omitted. The term “Great Awakening” did not become standardized until decades after the 1740s. It may be better, therefore, to address this question of definition by emphasizing not the differing terms, such as “revival,” “awakening,” and so on, but the common phenomena associated with these terms.

Christian History’s four marks of revival:

- Popular (widespread)
 - Transformative (calling for conversion)
 - Institutionally unsatisfied and critical (institution-questioning, reforming, institution-renewing)
 - Devotional (emotionally charged)
-

DIVERSE, EMOTIONAL, CONTROVERSIAL

Revival accounts from different eras, geographical regions, and ethnic groups show common themes. Participants in revivals speak of a vivid sense of spiritual things, great joy and faith, deep sorrow over sin, a passionate desire to evangelize others, and heightened feelings of love for God and fellow humanity. In times of revival, people often crowd into available buildings for religious services, filling them beyond capacity. The services may last from morning until midnight or later. News of a revival usually travels rapidly, and sometimes the reports of revival—in person, print, or broadcast and social media—touch off new revivals in distant localities.

During a revival clergy and other Christian workers may be overwhelmed with requests for their services. Sometimes people openly confess their sins in public settings. Another mark of revival is generosity—individuals

are willing to give their time, money, or resources to support the work of the revival. Revivals are usually controversial, with opponents and proponents who vehemently criticize one another. Opposition typically arises in the wake of revival gatherings. Often there are bodily manifestations in revivals, such as falling down, rolling on the ground, involuntary muscle movements, laughing or shouting, and spiritual dancing. Another common feature is an assertion of signs and wonders, such as the healing of the sick, prophecies, visions or dreams revealing secret knowledge, deliverance or exorcism from the power of Satan and the demonic, and speaking in tongues.

WAKING TO THE GATE OF HEAVEN

Such terms as “revival,” “outpouring,” “renewal,” and “awakening” do not necessarily refer to different things but may describe the same event from different angles. We might ascribe the “revival” of earlier Christian faith and fervor to the “outpouring” of the Holy Spirit, which brings a “renewal” of life in the church and an “awakening” to the reality of God among believers and nonbelievers alike.

When even church ministers and committed laypeople remain in a spiritually comatose state, a revival causes them—and many others—to become profoundly aware of God’s presence and of who God is. God does not withdraw during the ordinary seasons of church life. In a revival believers wake up to the God who has been there all along, like the biblical Jacob, who awoke from his dream at Bethel wherein he saw the angels, and said: “Surely the Lord

is in this place, and I did not know it.’ And he was afraid and said, ‘How awesome is this place! This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven’ (Gen. 28:16–17, ESV).

Richard Owen Roberts suggested an easy-to-remember, one-word definition of “revival”: **God**.



Yet one person alone with God is not a revival. To have a revival, there must be a group experience. Revivals are corporate events. To call a religious gathering a revival is to suggest that participants have undergone an intensification of experience.

Multitudes gathered for a religious service do not necessarily imply a revival. A gathering of a hundred might offer a better picture of revival than an assembly of a hundred thousand. What distinguishes a revival is a pronounced deepening of religious feeling and expression. **CH**

CHRISTIAN HISTORY

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Christian History is published by Christian History Institute, P. O. Box 540, Worcester, PA, 19490 and is indexed in *Christian Periodical Index*, ISSN 0891-9666. Subscriptions are available on a donation basis. Letters to the editor may be sent to editor@ChristianHistoryInstitute.org and permissions requests to info@ChristianHistoryInstitute.org. Credits: We make every effort to obtain proper permission to reproduce images. If you have information about an image source that is not credited, please let us know.

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“A church rightly reformed...”

PURITANS PURSUED RELENTLESS RENEWAL IN THE ELIZABETHAN CHURCH

Scott McGinnis

Two travelers met on the road leading out of London and fell into easy conversation. A question came from the first, Zelotes: “Do you have a preacher in your town?” His companion, Atheos, bragged about his minister—“the best priest in the country”—and rattled off his virtues. His curate was gentle and didn’t chide harshly if parishioners went to the alehouse. He was also known to join in bowling or cards as the occasion allowed. Zelotes, unimpressed, judged the priest more fit to care for swine than the “precious flock of Christ.”

Atheos wised up to his companion’s true identity. “I perceive you are one of those curious and precise fellows which will allow no recreation. You would have them sit moping always at their books. I like that not.” Sensing in Zelotes’s condemnations hypocrisy, he added: “You precise Puritans find fault where there is none. You condemn men for every trifle. Whereas you are but men and have infirmities as well as others, yet ye would make yourselves as holy as Angels.”

THE PURITAN PEJORATIVE

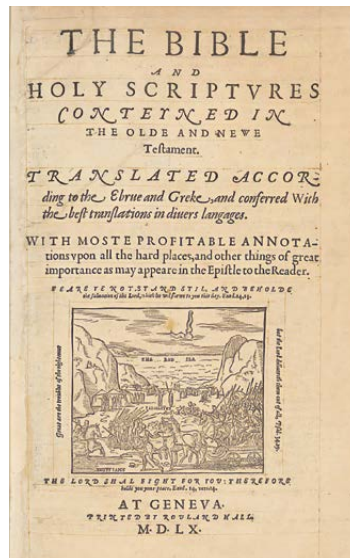
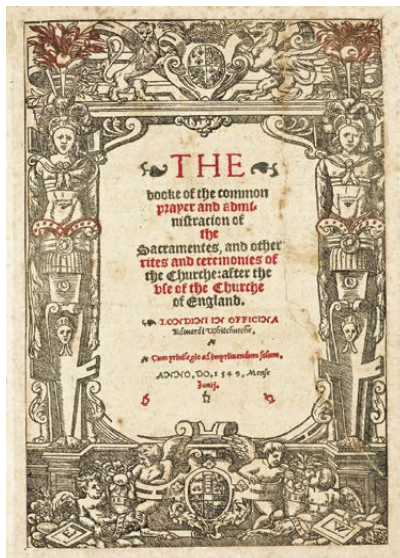
As this early usage shows, “Puritan” started as an insult, often hurled at those in the sixteenth-century English church whose insistence on continual reformation and personal piety gave off a “holier-than-thou” attitude to their detractors. But the insult found new life as a badge of honor. The exchange of Zelotes and Atheos opens a fictional dialogue written by minister George Gifford called *Country Divinity* (1581). It claimed

RELIGIOUS WHIPLASH Some looked to the boy king Edward to continue church reform; his untimely death led to a definitive but brief return of Catholicism.

to describe the religion of the “common sort” of Christian who inhabited English parishes. The story’s characters read like religious caricatures: a zealous Puritan and a recalcitrant layperson. Puritans such as Gifford saw their life’s work as bringing the full fruits of the Protestant Reformation to every corner of England; dialogues like *Country Divinity* sought to edify the “godly” (as they called themselves) as they set out on this task.

For Puritans this task included the reformation of everything from theology to politics, education to recreation. Atheos didn’t quote the old proverb that a Puritan who minds his own business is a contradiction in terms. But where some like Atheos saw Puritans as “busy controlling,” others heard the call of God to continue reforming the English church.

A young person living in England in 1560 might have been forgiven for not knowing how to act or what to do in church. In a tumultuous decade and half, England had four different monarchs and with them, four competing visions of the English church. Henry VIII (1509–1547) broke with the Roman Catholic Church, and later a rapid Protestant overhaul occurred during the reign of his son Edward VI (1537–1553). However, reform came to a screeching halt when Edward’s



older sister, Mary I (1516–1558) succeeded him. She restored English ties with Rome and reinstated Catholicism, persecuting subjects who did not abandon Protestant convictions.

REFORMING POLITICS

When Elizabeth I (1533–1603) came to the throne in November 1558, the country held its breath. Prudently she had kept her head down (and thus managed to keep it) during her sister Mary’s reign, so her personal religious opinions were the subject of some debate and remain so to this day. However, the young queen—25 years old at her accession—and her elder advisors wasted no time in another religious overhaul that once again reversed the Church of England’s course. She again broke ties with Rome and restored her half-brother’s *Book of Common Prayer*, mandating it for all services. But like every compromise worthy of its name, the “Elizabethan Settlement” left disgruntled parties on all sides.

Catholics felt the reforms went too far when they returned church control to the English Crown, thereby cutting off hopes of reunification with Rome. On the other hand, zealous Protestants, many newly returned from exile under Queen Mary, grumbled that the reforms had not gone far enough. Calvin’s reform model in Geneva, soon to be exported around both the Old World and the New, was fresh in the exiles’ memory. The Reformation was far from over.

The monarch had much control over sixteenth-century religious life, but Parliament limited that power. While the queen influenced debates, sometimes they took on a life of their own, and zealous Protestants pressed for more reform. In 1569 Cambridge preacher and scholar Thomas Cartwright (1535–1603) argued for a presbyterian church order (elder-assembly based) as opposed to the episcopal system (bishop based). The authorities’ reaction was so strong that he lost his university chair and had to flee to Geneva.

Not to be deterred, two young London ministers and Puritan firebrands, Thomas Wilcox (1549–1608) and John Field (1545–1588), picked up the torch and published an

NOT FAR ENOUGH? Reminders of a Catholic past were everywhere. Priests still wore traditional vestments, which returned exiles decried as “popish rags” (above right). For them, the *Book of Common Prayer* (above left) did not break cleanly enough with the past, like Calvin’s reform did (Geneva Bible middle).

Admonition to the Parliament in 1572. Wisely they did so anonymously:

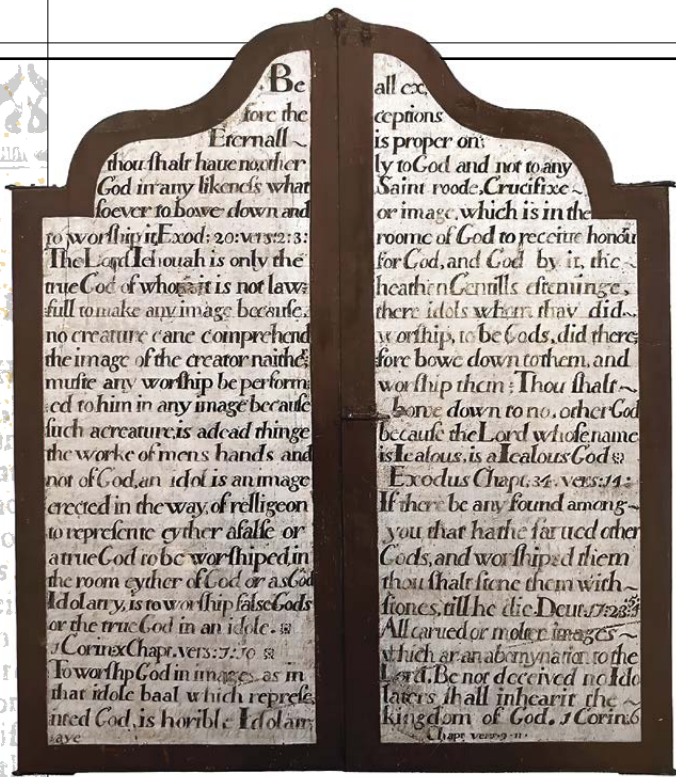
We in England are so far from having a church rightly reformed, according to the prescript of God’s Word that as yet we are not come to the outward face of the same.

They sought a church defined by “preaching of the word purely, ministering of the sacraments sincerely, and ecclesiastical discipline.”

The argument fell on mostly deaf ears, but the “Admonition Controversy” that followed was still influential. Public and often bitter debate on doctrine and politics played out in a series of polemical writings exchanged between status quo defenders and those who sought further reform. Cartwright returned and reentered the academic fray, while various Puritan-inclined members of Parliament maneuvered for advantage throughout the 1570s and the 1580s.

Eventually this “Puritan movement,” as historians call the coordinated political efforts aimed at reforming the church, began to die out in the 1590s. Authorities cracked down on ministers who refused to subscribe to the *Book of Common Prayer*. They imprisoned and occasionally executed recalcitrants who believed the Church of England to be beyond repair and chose to separate altogether. In case any hopes of restructuring along presbyterian lines lingered, Elizabeth’s successor, James I (James VI of Scotland, 1566–1625), made his sympathies clear immediately: “no bishop, no king.”

Yet the Puritan movement’s collapse did not spell Puritanism’s end. Political reform had never captured all the Puritan ethos. Indeed, some thought the gutter-level insults and political vitriol in these debates over church power and structure distracted from more important matters.



GOOD QUEEN BESS Elizabeth I (below) tolerated some extreme reform; this triptych (far left) bears her coat of arms and the Geneva Bible. But later she suppressed the Puritans. Walter Mildmay (left) founded Emmanuel College, keeping Puritanism alive.



combined to leave a lasting impact on Puritan religious practices.

Puritans continued the Protestant emphasis on access to Scripture in the vernacular and encouraged private readings among laypeople with such works as the Geneva Bible, completed by Marian exiles in the latter 1550s. Indeed it is hard to imagine Puritanism without reading, and the rise in literacy that accompanied the increase of printed materials fed the growth of private devotion. But with increased study and meditation on sermons came questions.

While many Reformed theological emphases such as grace and providence might provide spiritual succor, others troubled anxious hearts or caused harm. Atheos lamented that preachers who prioritized predestination meddled “in such matters as they need not” and only served to make men worse by producing a sense of fatalism. Puritan theologians didn’t agree, but the complaint must have had staying power to find its way into a fictional dialogue.

Where Atheos of *Country Divinity* found cause for lament, some Puritans saw a challenge and calling. Skilled ministers like Richard Greenham (c. 1535–1594) came to be known for their expertise in “comforting the afflicted consciences” of their flock. With the elimination of the practice of confession came the loss of a key source of spiritual solace for the laity, and not everyone was skilled at navigating the landscape of the penitent heart.

Puritan preaching and devotional writing often included a cataloging of sins and vices and directed their hearers and readers inward to take their own spiritual inventories. However, this came with the risk that an overzealous audience might take such messages too much to heart, work their way into despair, and doubt the ability of God to redeem such a miserable sinner. The fine lines between despair of God’s grace and necessary repentance, or between humble or hubristic faith, required the guidance of steady hands like Greenham’s and those of other “spiritual physicians” who followed in his footsteps. And, unlike the failed political programs or the suppressed prophesyings, Puritan practical divinity thrived in ways that avoided condemnation and shaped expressions of Protestantism in the generations that followed. **CH**

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Puritans preferred ministers who could preach sermons tailored specifically for their flocks. They believed that the failures of the English church lay at the feet of its ill-trained clergy. Only an educated clergy could produce an educated and reformed laity. And if one’s minister left something to be desired, the more advanced Puritans might hop over to the next town to hear a more properly edifying sermon. This practice of “gadding about” undercut local clergy’s authority even as it revealed the strong demand for educated clergy.

One tool for ministers who lacked formal training or skills came in the “prophesyings,” or lectures by combination. These monthly clergy meetings involved multiple sermons on the same passage preached in succession, with each being followed by critical evaluation from the audience, mostly other clergy but possibly laity as well. Since prophesyings were often held in market towns and timed to coincide with market days, they could become quite a spectacle.

EDUCATED RESISTANCE

Eventually the authorities had seen enough. In 1576 the queen ordered Archbishop of Canterbury Edmund Grindal (1519–1583) to suppress the prophesyings and restore order. Grindal, a former Marian exile, politely demurred. “Bear with me, I beseech you, Madam, if I choose rather to offend your earthly Majesty than to offend the heavenly Majesty of God.” For this stand of conscience, Grindal lost his authority, and the Crown’s grip on the church strengthened.

Although the prophesyings eventually ended, creative clergy found ways to connect and support each other. Wealthy and well-connected sympathizers established learning centers, such as Emmanuel College at Cambridge that functioned as a Puritan seminary. The increasing number of educated clergy and an explosion in cheap printed materials

TRIPTYCH PAINTED WITH THE ARMS OF ELIZABETH I, CLOSED, 16TH CENTURY. OIL ON PANEL—PRESTON ST. MARY CHURCH, SUFFOLK. PAUL VON SOMMERL, PORTRAIT OF WALTER MILDMAY, BEFORE 1622. OIL ON CANVAS. REPRODUCED WITH KIND PERMISSION OF THE MASTERS AND FELLOWS OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE. ELIZABETH I ON COIN, 1594 TO 1596. GOLD—THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



“Viva! Viva! Gesù!”

IN THE WAKE OF PROTESTANT REFORMATION, CATHOLIC REFORM REKINDLED LOVE FOR CHRIST WITHIN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

Shaun Blanchard

Though wars, conflicts, and persecution raged during the early modern period (c. 1600–1800), extraordinary missionary work and concentrated episodes of profound spiritual renewal also took place in Christian heartlands, from central Europe to the American colonies. Consider the lyrics of this eighteenth-century hymn:

*Abel's blood for vengeance / Pleaded to the skies;
But the Blood of Jesus / For our pardon cries.
Oft as it is sprinkled / On our guilty hearts,
Satan in confusion / Terror-struck departs.
Oft as earth exulting / Wafts its praise on high,
Hell with terror trembles, / Heaven is filled with joy.
Lift ye then your voices; / Swell the mighty flood;
Louder still and louder / Praise the precious Blood.*

“Could Wesley have said more?” asked the English Catholic historian Sheridan Gilley, for these words come from a Catholic hymn, though they could be easily mistaken for a Protestant revival tune. “Viva! Viva! Gesù” (“Long Live, Long Live Jesus!”) is often attributed to St. Alphonsus Liguori (1696–1787), founder of the Redemptorist Order. The common attribution has a logic to it, since Liguori’s Redemptorists became professional stokers of revivalist fervor around the Catholic world.

Amid the excitement of foreign missions, Catholics in Europe also felt compelled to evangelize their own house with a new sense of urgency. Out of this zeal, and partly in fearful reaction to Protestant success, were born the early modern Catholic parish “missions”—local efforts toward personal conversion and communal revival.

LEADING LADIES Both the Protestant and Catholic Reformations transformed women’s roles. This painting depicts the life of Mary Ward, a nun whose proactive teaching ministry spurred revival.

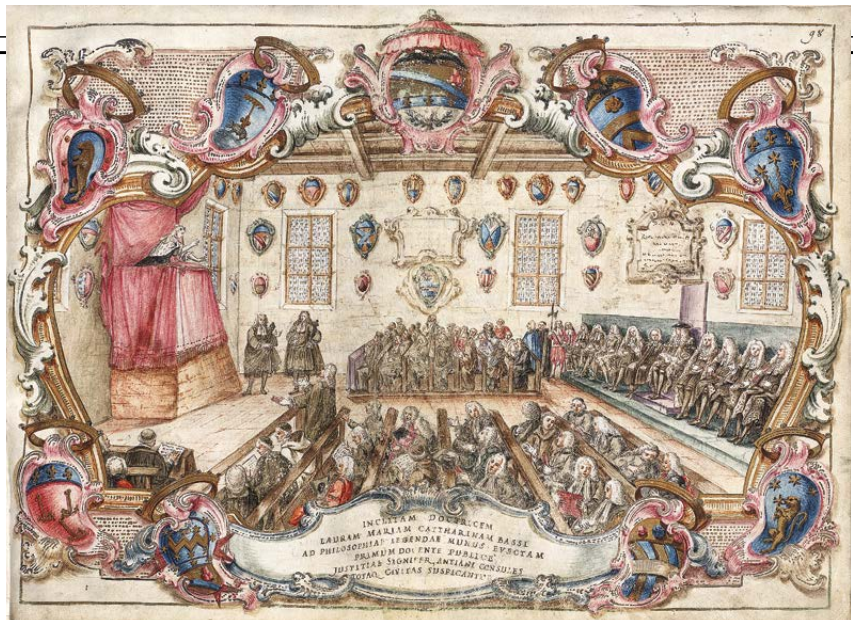
While aspects of the parish mission in this period (such as devotion to Mary) would have raised the eyebrows of any good confessional Protestant, the stereotype of a rote, spiritually moribund faith that did not put Jesus at the center is a false one. Whoever originally wrote “Viva! Viva! Gesù” understood the emotive, simple, and deeply Christ- and cross-centered piety that drove revival. Franciscan preacher St. Leonard of Port Maurice (1676–1751), for example, announced at the beginning of a mission that he “only intended to preach Jesus Christ and Him crucified.” For early modern Catholics, the grace of Christ was found not just personally but also communally, through sacraments and through public or private acts of piety such as praying the Rosary and walking the Stations of the Cross. Leonard’s efforts mainstreamed such acts of piety.

CONTAGIOUS HOLINESS

The decrees of the Council of Trent (1545–1563), intended to be the Catholic answer to the challenge of the Protestant Reformation, were slowly and unevenly implemented and sometimes simply ignored. However, the Council *did* provide a blueprint for those extraordinary Catholics who took the task of reform and renewal into their own hands. Maybe the most important of these was Charles Borromeo



Vera Effigie del B. LEONARDO
del Porto Maurizio Affranco. Apostolico mon in hunc
in C. Bonae. 2. de 26. e. Seculo 17. et anni 75



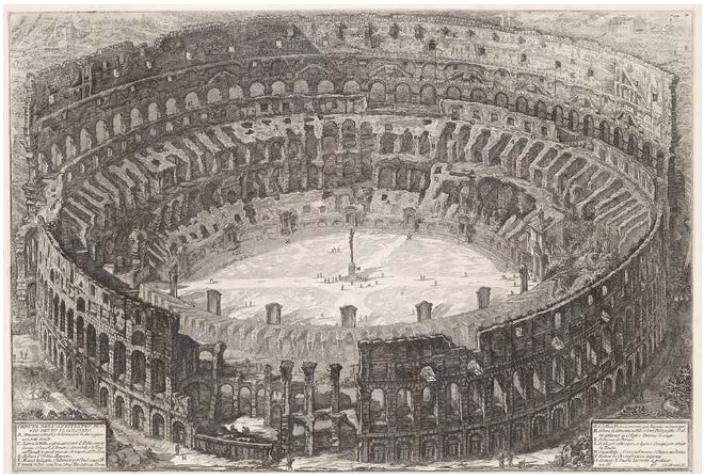
(1538–1584), a rich young aristocrat from northern Italy. Made a cardinal at 22 and archbishop of Milan at 26 by Pope Pius IV (his uncle), Borromeo could easily have fallen into the worst of the Renaissance-era play-boy lifestyle. Thankfully, as a radical disciple of Jesus, his relatively short life provided an enduring model for the ideal “good bishop,” inspiring imitators from Poland to Mexico.

CATHOLIC PIONEERS

Also contagious were the examples of the many men and women who pioneered new forms of religious life. The communities founded by Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) and the Italian educator Angela Merici (1474–1540), for example, profoundly shaped early modern Catholicism (and still do). Women like Merici, organizer of the first group of Ursuline sisters, and Mary Ward (1585–1645), English founder of the Sisters of Loreto, carved out a place for active female witness through the vocation of teaching. Later, during the “Catholic Enlightenment” in the eighteenth century, a few extraordinary Catholic women were actually offered university professorships—something unheard of in the supposedly more advanced Protestant world.

Prospero Lambertini (1675–1758), archbishop of Bologna (the future Pope Benedict XIV), appointed physicist Laura Bassi (1711–1778) as the first female university professor in 1732. Mathematician Maria Gaetana Agnesi (1718–1799) was also offered a university chair in Bologna, but she elected to stay in her native Milan, combining intellectual pursuits with her commitment to philanthropy and her deeply emotive and Christocentric mystical writing.

Loyola founded the Society of Jesus (see CH #122). His Jesuits, following the example of his close confidante Francis Xavier (1506–1552), spread the gospel from South America to the Philippines to Japan. Early modern Jesuit missionaries such as Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) in China



WISDOM SPEAKS Laura Bassi (*top right*) lectures; she earned the nickname “Minerva”—goddess of wisdom.

THE COLOSSEUM AND THE CROSS St. Leonard of Port Maurice (*top left*) set up the Stations of the Cross in over 500 places, including the Colosseum (*above*). The pope still leads the Good Friday Stations there.

and Étienne de la Croix (1579–1643) in India laid the groundwork for numerous conversions. They also facilitated cross-cultural learning through their deep study of the traditions of the ancient societies in which they lived.

In this period Catholicism broadened from a primarily European religion to a truly global faith. The martyrs’ blood became the seed of new churches, from Canada to Uganda to Vietnam. Unfortunately, the legacy of early modern missions is closely connected to colonialism. Too often the missionaries aided and abetted oppressive and violent systems. However, in some instances heroic Catholics defended native peoples from the worst abuses of exploitative conquerors, as in the Jesuit “Reductions” in South America.

Back in Europe, the Peace of Westphalia (1648) had cemented religious division with legal force. No Catholic



STALWART SISTERS Mother Angélique (*above right*) and the Port-Royal nuns (*above*) controversially lived out Jansen’s (*right*) ideals. The archbishop of Paris famously called them “as pure as angels, but as proud as devils.”

could live in denial any longer—Protestantism was here to stay. Thus, for a church that self-identified as “universal” (catholic), the success of early modern missionary efforts could not have been more timely. Though much ground had been lost (and regained) in Europe, the “universal” church now boasted vast multitudes of new converts from the Americas to the Far East.

DYNAMIC, INFAMOUS REFORM

Although Jansenism was named for the Dutch professor Cornelius Jansen (1585–1638), it was cradled in France. It became perhaps the most vigorous and controversial reform movement in early modern Catholicism. Initially concerned with reasserting what they viewed as the correct Catholic understanding of grace and predestination—laid out in Jansen’s massive commentary on Paul and Augustine—Jansenists were interested not just in technical theological squabbles but in personal conversion and wholesale church reform.

Jansenism’s epicenter was the convent of Port-Royal des Champs (outside Paris), which abbess Angélique Arnauld (1591–1661) had dramatically reformed. The formidable Mother Angélique was inspired by the shining lights of the golden age of French spirituality: Pierre de Bérulle (1575–1629), Jeanne-Françoise de Chantal (1572–1641), and two men that she knew personally, Francis de Sales (1567–1622) and the Abbé Saint-Cyran (1581–1643). The latter, a close collaborator with Jansen, eventually became the spiritual godfather of the Port-Royal nuns, further confirming them in a strict, Christocentric, and Augustinian form of Catholicism.

Jansenists championed women’s spiritual equality and the rights of lay Catholics to participate in public worship and access the Bible in the vernacular. Educated,

confident, and endowed with iron wills, the Port-Royal nuns went toe-to-toe in theological debate with men, much to the consternation of the king and the archbishop of Paris. To paraphrase twentieth-century theologian Yves Congar, the Jansenists first articulated the principle of *ressourcement* (return to the “sources”) when they called Catholics back to Scripture and the early church.

For Jansenists understanding and participating in public worship and reading and meditating on the Bible formed the center of spiritual life. Vernacular translations of Scripture in Catholic Europe after the Reformation have a complex history. Opinions differed even within the same country. In France, for example, some Catholics supported Bible translations. Others argued that women were too spiritually and intellectually unstable to read the Bible. Others believed only theologically educated laity should have access, and some looked askance at all vernacular translations. Jansenists, however, consistently asserted not only the right of all the laity to have direct Scripture access, but the duty of all Christians to read the Bible if they could.

Scientist, philosopher, and apologist Blaise Pascal (1623–1662) became the most famous Jansenist. Pascal’s *Provincial Letters*, some of the wittiest satire in French, began as a defense of Antoine Arnauld (1612–1694), the leading Jansenist theologian and youngest brother of Mother Angélique. Antoine, called “the great Arnauld,” wrote powerfully against bans on vernacular translations. He railed against a prevailing interpretation of 2 Pet. 3:15–16 used to justify limiting women’s and uneducated people’s access to Scripture:

Horrible thought! Contrary to all of antiquity! Strange deprivation of the Word of God. It is a great lack of judgment to conclude from a passage of St. Peter that it is an abuse to allow Holy Scripture to be read by women and the unlettered [not reading Latin].





DON'T BURN THESE BOOKS Amendments in 1757 to the *Index of Forbidden Books* (middle) rehabilitated Galileo; they removed titles defending the Copernican system.



Some Catholics condemned Jansenism as mere Protestant innovation. Jansenists replied that their views on liturgy and Scripture were actually more Catholic and traditional than their detractors' views. Their detractors were the innovators. Unfortunately, due to political machinations, their bitter conflict with the Jesuits, and their own imprudence and extremism, the Jansenists were repeatedly condemned by the French state and the papacy.

END OF THE OLD WORLD

The debate over participation in the liturgy and vernacular Bible reading rolled on. In 1757 Pope Benedict XIV amended the Roman *Index of Forbidden Books*, granting permission to print and read vernacular Bibles as long as local bishops approved the specific translation. Benedict's reform helped lead to the first approved Catholic Bibles in the countries with more restrictive policies. Sometimes, as in the case of Portugal, Jansenists and Jansenist sympathizers completed the Bible translations. But, in other cases, Catholics on good terms with the papacy promoted vernacular Scripture reading. For example, the anti-Jansenist archbishop of Florence, Antonio Martini (1720–1809), received a glowing letter of praise from Pope Pius VI when he completed the first edition (1781) of what became the Italian family Bible.

In the late eighteenth century, the Catholic Church was at an exciting but precarious place. Despite "official" condemnation, Jansenism had not only survived, it had adapted and spread around the Catholic world. Its reform agenda interacted fruitfully with others interested in change. But, fatefully, the most powerful Catholics were preoccupied with building nation-states based on Enlightenment principles. This resulting blend, sometimes called "Reform Catholicism," reigned in Portugal, Austria, parts of the German- and Italian-speaking world, and throughout Spain, Naples, and Parma. It spread also to Central and South America and as far as Lebanon.

REVOLUTIONARY REFORM Joseph II and Peter Leopold (above right) used reform to strike back at Rome politically. The Patent of Toleration (imagined left) offered freedom of worship to some non-Catholics.

REFORM, ROME, AND REVOLUTION

Reform Catholicism's greatest triumph came in 1773, when the pope had to suppress the Jesuits. The papacy had little defense against the agenda of Reform Catholics like Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II (1741–1790) and his younger brother Peter Leopold (1747–1792), who ruled Tuscany. Indeed, fruit had come from reforming efforts. Encouragement of Bible reading and Christ-centered piety spread, some priests experimented with the use of the vernacular at Mass, and attitudes toward Protestants and Jews softened. Unfortunately Reform Catholics excessively antagonized the pope and the religious orders, ran roughshod over cherished local beliefs and customs, and were too closely aligned with the state.

It all came crashing down in the French Revolution. In 1790 the National Assembly foolishly imposed an oath of allegiance on all the Catholic clergy of France, many of whom sympathized with the people's grievances and the revolution's original aims. This imposition forced an awful choice: loyalty to the pope or to the new government. It split the French church. Both sides, however, could find themselves at the steps of the same guillotine when anti-Christian fanatics hijacked the revolution during the "Terror." The wars that the Revolution of 1789 unleashed dramatically altered the landscape of European political and ecclesiastical power. From the ashes of war and revolution, the Catholic Church emerged battered and reeling, but upright, its renewal story continuing, still crying, "Long Live, Long Live Jesus!" **CH**

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Freedom to worship him

THE CHILDREN'S PRAYER REVIVAL IN SILESIA

In 1708 people began hearing reports of something exceptional occurring in central Europe: children in Silesia were spontaneously meeting two or three times a day to sing hymns and pray together. These were not just small gatherings localized to a few communities. The children gathered by the hundreds throughout the region. And most surprisingly they were not led by adults. In many cases adults were in fact actively working to disrupt their meetings. This is known today as the Children's Prayer Revival (*Kinderbeten*).

WHOSE LAND, WHOSE RELIGION?

Silesia is a historical region in central Europe, mostly situated within southwest Poland and creeping over the border into the Czech Republic and Germany. During the seventeenth century, Silesia was in the middle of the religious and political upheaval that followed the Reformation. During the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), various armies occupied Silesia as both the Catholic Habsburg monarchy and Protestant forces sought to secure control.

The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) brought a measure of peace to Europe. It established the principle of "*cuius regio, eius religio*" ("whose land, his religion"), which allowed rulers to determine the religion of their territories. As a result a number of Protestant churches were allowed in Silesia. In 1675, however, the Habsburg emperor, Leopold I, initiated the Catholic Reformation in Silesia. In his campaign to make Catholicism the only form of worship allowed in the region, he closed many Protestant churches and retracted religious liberties.

Silesian Protestants lived under this cloud until 1707. Fresh from his victories in the Great Northern War, Sweden's Karl XII negotiated a treaty with Leopold I that changed the religious landscape once again. For Silesia the Treaty of Altranstätt (1706) reopened 125 Protestant churches, permitted the building of new churches in six of Silesia's cities, and established three Protestant administrative bodies to manage Protestant affairs.

AN UNPRECEDENTED AWAKENING

In this context the Children's Prayer Revival began. According to accounts these "extraordinary motions" began in the mountainous region of Silesia in late December of 1707, on or near the Day of the Holy Innocents (December 28). Children began praying, according to one account, that "they might have liberty to serve and worship God." They met at specific times, walking some ways from town to gather in a field or clearing. There they would sing, read Scripture, and pray, all without any clear driving force or organized

REVIVAL WITNESSES Curious onlookers published accounts of the children's revival and its mysterious spread, extending its influence even further.

means of communication among the children. The revival spread rapidly. Within weeks children ages four to fourteen were meeting two or three times a day throughout all of Silesia. Johann Wilhelm Petersen (1649–1727), a German Pietist, pastor, and mystic noted that if a storm moved as fast as this revival, people would call it miraculous:

[T]he prayer of the children spread into . . . the land of Silesia within approximately five days. If at the same time a fast-moving wind storm, a typhoon, developed and came on so fast and was moved as by a hand, without a hidden divinity we can not conceive such an impulse.

These prayer meetings swelled to three hundred children in one group, then a thousand. The meetings continued to both the chagrin and interest of observers. "Some of the ministers do behold and wink at this practice, others rage against it, and very few are pleased to see it," stated one, Pietist Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf. Many adults tried to curb the meetings. Church officials questioned the children. Magistrates threatened them with violence and arrest. Parents tried to prevent them from participating. But the meetings went on. Onlookers reported supernatural occurrences that protected the children, moved bystanders to worship, and halted authoritarian interference. They kept meeting and continued to do so for at least a year.

Eventually the large public prayer meetings ceased. In some places they were brought into the churches. In other locales small groups continued the movement within homes.

The Silesian Children's Prayer Revival not only demonstrated the profound conviction of its young participants, but also left a lasting legacy. The revival's impact extended beyond its immediate context, inspiring subsequent revivals in Moravia and influencing key figures like the Wesley brothers, leading to the establishment of the Moravian Church and the foundation of Methodism.—*Matt Forster is a communications professional and freelance writer living in Houston, TX.*



Recovering “true Christianity”

PIETISM STOOD AT THE FOREFRONT OF RENEWAL IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

J. Steven O'Malley



TEXTBOOK FOR TRUE BELIEVERS Arndt's devotional and mystical *True Christianity* reached almost all of Europe and was a foundational text for German Pietism.

in Christ from dead faith to a faith that brings forth fruits,” he wrote. Arndt saw a corollary between the macrocosm of God's indwelling within his universe and the microcosm of his indwelling within the regenerated human being.

The True Christianity was translated into 30 languages in its day, becoming the most widely read book in Protestantism, second only to the Luther Bible. So influential was Arndt that Bible scholar Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687–1752) speculated he was the gospel angel of Revelation 14:6! Arndt served as leaven preparing a generation of Lutherans for Pietism by taking his readers to the core of the union with Christ and having his presence become the identifying feature of their lives.

In 1675 a Frankfurt pastor, Philipp Jacob Spener (1635–1705), the father of Lutheran Pietism, began his renewal

A century after the Reformation, when its fire began to cool, a new Protestant orthodoxy rose and with it all the challenges and conflicts of established religion. As nations tried to impose either Catholic or Protestant rule over their territories, the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) devastated lives and property across central Europe. On the heels of this chaos dawned the Enlightenment, bringing new challenges to the faith. So where could one find “true” Christianity? Believers across the continent sought the answer, looking for a fresh approach to the core of the faith's teaching and practice. In the midst of turmoil and destruction, Pietism was born. Focusing on pastor-led small groups, or “colleges of piety,” Pietists initiated practical changes to recover true Christianity.

THE MARK OF A CHRISTIAN

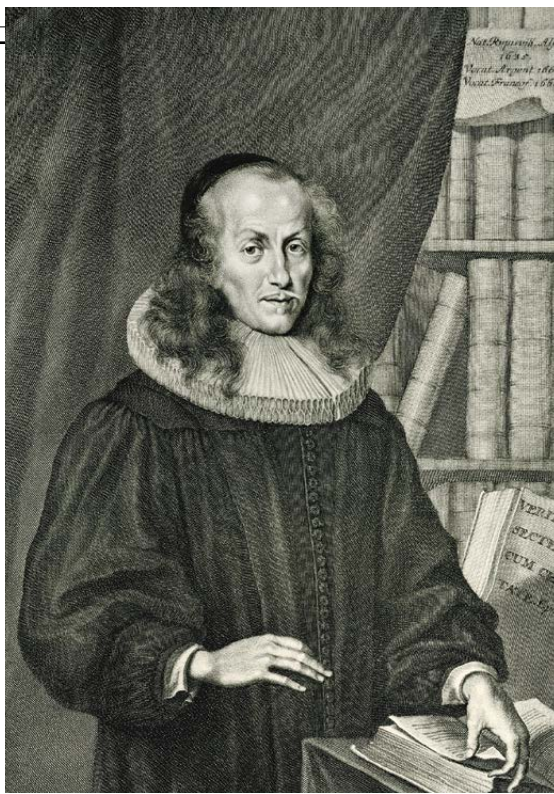
The voice of renewal for Protestants began with the publication of a four-volume work, *The True Christianity* (1605–1610) by Johann Arndt (1555–1621). This Lutheran pastor drew from medieval Christian mystical spirituality, encouraging readers to encounter a union with God through Christ as the mark of a genuine Christian. “I have intended to lead the believers

work with a preface titled “The Pia Desideria” to a new edition of Arndt. Because of popular demand, the preface was published as a booklet—and gave Pietism its name. Spener approached renewal by encouraging committed and teachable members of the parish to work with the clergy in the task of presenting the gospel of salvation to as many as possible.

His progress was facilitated by support and counsel from committed lay members of his own congregation, such as Johann Jacob Schütz. Schütz (1640–1690), a wealthy banker and once an atheist, experienced conversion after reading Arndt and the works of the mystic Johannes Tauler. Spener encouraged him as he went through this transformation, and in turn Schütz urged Spener to take the lead in the local *collegia* (college) movement. The *collegia* included members from the wealthy to the indigent, as well as both women and men.

Invited to a prestigious position in Dresden, Spener's reach increased. He was even able to teach at Leipzig University. However, jealous theologians and godless courtiers forced him to find other employment.

Spener then became court pastor to the king of Prussia in Berlin, an influential post because Prussia was becoming



the heart of modern Germany. Here Spener's homilies and treatises envisioned a new Christian order of society, all in the midst of rebuilding Europe after the Thirty Years' War. His preaching focused on new birth as the renewal of fallen humans in the image of God wherein each person was created.

APPLYING TRUE CHRISTIANITY

While at Dresden, Spener had met August Hermann Francke (1663–1727). As a student Francke had joined the community of Spener supporters in a revival sweeping through Leipzig University, then dominated by an orthodox but anti-Pietist faculty. Consequently students gathered conventicle fashion (that is, privately, outside the church), to study Scripture in biblical languages, changing their focus from a purely academic analysis of the text to studying it as a guide to productive faith. By the time Spener visited the campus, Francke was leading crowded Bible classes, much to Spener's delight. Francke, acting under the influence of Arndt's *True Christianity* and Spener's Pietism, emerged as a third generation leader of Lutheran Pietism, taking its renewal aspirations to new levels.

Francke's academic career at Leipzig ended because the established church pushed back against his association with conventicles. He became pastor at Glaucha, a town ravaged by the war and abounding with orphans. His concern for orphans became his avenue to church and community renewal as he developed a network of supporters to fund and care for them through an orphanage. This ministry led to Francke founding the first coeducational schools for all levels of society at the nearby town of Halle; along with a press to print Bibles, catechisms, and works of major Pietists (including his own); and a mission society whose ministry reached as far as India.

As a university developed at Halle, Francke wrote and taught theology, focusing on bringing seekers through a

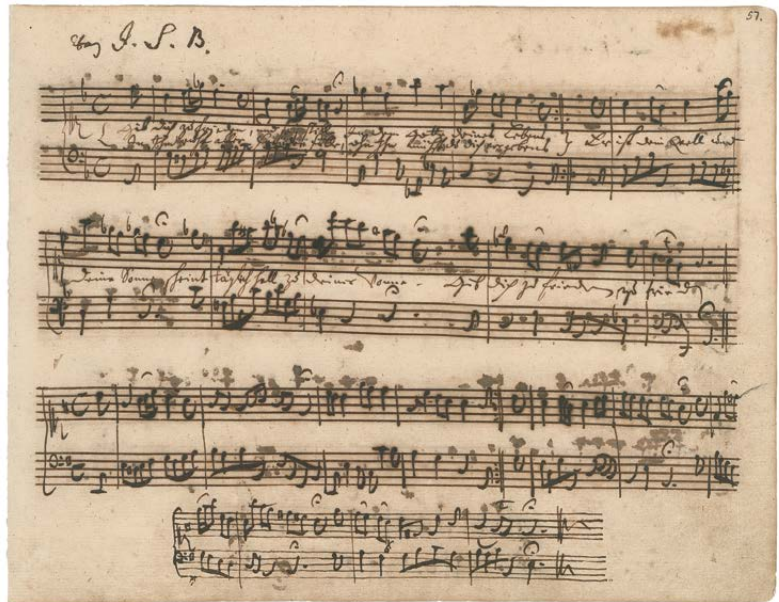
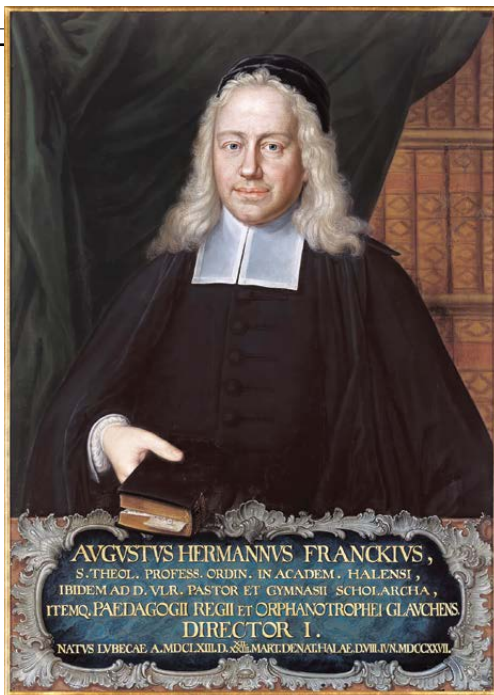


“THE FIRE THAT DOES NOT FADE” Philipp Spener (left) taught many who then took up Pietist thought for themselves, fueling a momentous movement (above).

penitential struggle to overcome the cares of this world and enter the breakthrough of conversion to the Lordship of Christ. From this came a vital Pietist network within the leadership of the rising Prussian state and beyond. Among the hundreds of orphans taught under Francke's model was Georg Friedrich Handel (1685–1759), who became one of the greatest composers of his time. The influential “Halle Project” (*Aufsatz*) became a model for many imitative projects throughout Germany and the world. Francke's impact on Germany was comparable to Methodism's later impact upon eighteenth-century England.

HALLE PROJECT HEIRS

A new generation of Pietist leaders was born through the Halle University mission under Francke. Among the graduates of Halle was a young German count, Nicolaus von Zinzendorf (1700–1760), who became heir to his grandmother's estate at Berthelsdorf, adjacent to Saxony in the south of the empire. He had been schooled in Francke's emphasis on the new birth with its ecstatic breakthrough of saving grace in Christ.



But for Zinzendorf, there was no need for repentance once one had looked Christ in the eye and identified with his question to Peter, “Do you love me?” This shift in soteriology would become a basis for controversy between Pietists within Lutheranism.

However, the practical effects of either approach were similar. Zinzendorf adapted the rules of Jan Hus (c. 1370–1415) as a model for a Christian community at Herrnhut where men and women lived in separate quarters, committed to a life of worship. Their lifestyle, centered in music and the liturgy of the Eucharist, prayer, and a strong commitment to evangelize the world, fostered an atmosphere ready for revival. Soon awakening reached Herrnhut (see p. 17) through the ministry of Christian David (1692–1751) in 1727 and through the Pentecost preaching of Johann Adam Steinmetz (1689–1762). Thus the Holy Spirit empowered Moravians to begin a century-long prayer vigil for world salvation, accompanied by sending missionaries throughout the world.

A PROTESTANT-WIDE MOVEMENT

Renewal in Pietism among Lutherans in central Europe paralleled the birth and development of Pietism among German and Dutch Reformed churches, from the founding of the Reformed Academy at Herborn (1584) as a citadel for the Heidelberg Catechism up to the end of the eighteenth century. This academy, later a university, began in 1584 as a center for teaching the then-infamous Heidelberg Catechism of 1563.

The imperial court charged its authors with abrogating the terms of the Peace of Augsburg (1555) and barred any forms of religion beside Catholic and Lutheran. The Heidelberg, as it was known, was a boldly irenic textbook of faith intermingling the best of Lutheran thought with Calvinist insights from Geneva, forming a pastoral approach to teaching biblical salvation under the rubric of God’s covenant of grace. Through its use, laypeople could find access to the deepest truths of Christian faith and to live them out in daily life.

HALLE’S HEAD August Hermann Francke (left) inspired generations, including the Moravian church founder.

THE PEOPLE’S POET Pietist Paul Gerhardt wrote the lyrics to this hymn (above), while Johann Sebastian Bach supplied its music. Gerhardt wrote many of the most popular hymns in Germany.

Teachers of this school of Pietist thought included Caspar Olevianus (1536–1587), coauthor of the new catechism; the Dutch federal theologian Johannes Cocceius (1603–1669); and the Bremen pastor Friedrich Adolph Lampe (1683–1729). Through pastors trained in this Reformed version of Pietism, laypeople in western Europe and in North America gained new access to grateful and gracious living.

Pietism made a significant impact as a renewal movement by transcending church bodies, as seen in the renowned hymnody of Paul Gerhardt (1607–1676) and Gerhard Tersteegen (1697–1769) or the important biblical studies produced by Johann Albrecht Bengel at Tübingen, among many other works. Numerous Pietist communities were also birthed through Reformed sources in the German Rhineland.

Thanks to Zinzendorf and the Moravians, Pietism also strongly influenced John Wesley and consequently, the formation of Methodism. Traces of the Pietist yearning for “true Christianity,” for recovery of an experience of joyful new birth in Christ, are scattered throughout numerous denominations, expressed deeply in the hymnody and sermons of the First and Second Awakenings in North America and beyond. Indeed it remains the most formative and influential renewal movement in the history of Protestant Christianity. **CA**

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“We learned to love”

REVIVAL AT HERRNHUT

When the people of Herrnhut left church on a Wednesday afternoon in August of 1727, they felt profoundly changed. “We learned to love,” they noted in the church diary.

A diverse group of people gathered in Herrnhut, located in the German state of Saxony. The community attracted Christians from all parts of Germany and beyond, but many came from Moravia where they had lived as Protestants in a Roman Catholic environment. Ever since the church of their ancestors, known as the Unity of Brethren, had been outlawed in 1620, they could worship only in secret. Beginning in 1727 they fled to Herrnhut, finding a new home there. Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf had created this Christian community on his estate close to what is now the Czech and Polish borders. A Pietist, Zinzendorf wanted to unite Christians from different denominations into a community of active believers who would set out to “win souls for the Lamb.” Within five years of its establishment, over 220 people began living at Herrnhut.

ARE WE TRUE CHILDREN OF GOD?

Soon questions and arguments arose regarding the status of the Herrnhut community. Were they part of the local Lutheran parish church at Berthelsdorf, or were they actually a community of “true Christians” (as they called themselves), governed by their own elders and pastored by their lay leaders? Opinions differed profoundly, some even calling Zinzendorf the “beast” from the Apocalypse for trying to keep the Herrnhut community within the Lutheran Church.

In the summer of 1727, Zinzendorf decided to take a radical step and establish Herrnhut as its own religious body. Every Herrnhuter signed the Brotherly Agreement, and during the following weeks, revival swept through their midst. The Herrnhut diary relates various miraculous events: inspiring deathbed stories, nightly prayer gatherings, and overcrowded revival meetings. The religious fervor peaked in August when Zinzendorf compared the Brotherly Agreement with the constitution of the (extinct) Unity of Brethren and, to everyone’s surprise, found many similarities. This convinced the Herrnhuters: unbeknownst to them, God had renewed the church of their ancestors in Herrnhut.

A NEW MISSION

On August 13, 1727, the Herrnhuters gathered in the local church at Berthelsdorf. They wanted to celebrate Holy Communion for the first time after the Brotherly Agreement had affirmed them as a separate



BROTHERLY LOVE A drawing depicts Zinzendorf leading Herrnhuters in prayer; their unity inspired Moravian missions and, later, the Wesley brothers (see pp. 18–20).

congregation. Although the Herrnhut diary does not describe the exact details of the service, it records a spirit of reconciliation and bonding that prevailed that day. People were talking to one another, “and here and there pairs were banding together.” Young women were confirmed, and deep-felt prayer was offered to preserve brotherly love among the Herrnhuters. The minister from a neighboring church administered Communion so that the local pastor, Rothe, could be part of the congregation. The diary summarizes: “we were quite beside ourselves when we all went home,” and “we passed this day and the following days in a silent yet joyful state of mind and learned to love.”

Much happened after that. The Herrnhut community became especially known for their passion for mission. In 1732 two young men from Herrnhut went to St. Thomas in the Caribbean to preach the gospel to enslaved women and men. Others went out soon after, reaching across the globe. Other communities, modeled after Herrnhut, now known as the Moravian Church, were founded in Europe and America. From then on Moravians have gone out to preach and practice the message of love.—Paul Peucker is the director and archivist of the Moravian Archives.

The awakeners

BEFORE REVIVAL SWEEPED THROUGH THE COLONIES,
GOD WAS PREPARING KEY PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD

Randy Petersen



PREACHING CHRIST CRUCIFIED Light from Christ's wounded side shines on Count Zinzendorf and a distant city as he preaches to the nations.

godfather, Philipp Spener, and his schoolmaster, Augustus Francke. As a young adult, Zinzendorf learned about a group of Christians who needed a home. Unitas Fratrum, or the Unity of the Brethren, had roots in Bohemia and Moravia. Heirs of Jan Hus's teaching, this group had been lost in the shuffle of the Protestant Reformation. Nobody supported them—not Catholics, not Lutherans, not Calvinists.

But in 1722 Zinzendorf invited them to seek refuge on his estate at Herrnhut (see p. 17). These early Moravians were unusual for their time in that women had many opportunities for ministry. One standout was Anna Nitschmann (1715–1760), who became “eldress” of the community while quite young and later served as a missionary to Native Americans in Pennsylvania. She was also known for hymn writing, another important aspect of Moravian culture.

In 1727, an earthquake shook much of New England. Many felt God was trying to get people's attention and make them more receptive to the spiritual tremors of the following two decades. Yet this Great Awakening didn't just occur in America. A few months before that earthquake, and half a world away, a devout group of Christians in Saxony experienced a spiritual awakening of their own, as they agreed on a set of principles for their faith community. And in England about this time, Charles Wesley (1707–1788) began to meet for prayer with a group of classmates who would later be labeled, derisively, “Methodists.” In all these places and more, the church seemed ready to wake up, and faithful leaders arose to sound the bell.

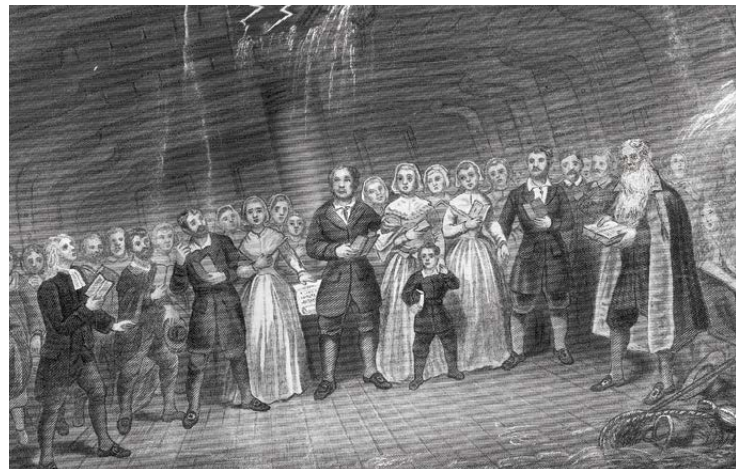
A RICH YOUNG RULER

Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf has been called “the rich young ruler who said yes.” Born into European nobility, he received a great education and inherited a vast estate. Among his early influences were two giants of the Pietist movement within the Lutheran Church—his

STRANGELY WARMED HEARTS

Yet the Moravians' best-known “converts” were not in America but in England—brothers John Wesley (1703–1791) and Charles Wesley. The 1730s were formative years for the Wesley brothers. Born into the home of an Anglican minister, these two led the Holy Club, a cadre of Oxford students seeking to be more serious about their Christian faith. This group also included a young man named George Whitefield, who would become a powerful revivalist. In 1735 the Wesleys traveled as missionaries to the newly formed American colony of Georgia. On the voyage to America, a sudden storm threatened their ship, terrifying John. He found comfort in the calm faith of some hymn-singing Moravians. The time in Georgia was stormy for both John and Charles, and they returned to England, defeated.

Yet, after further interactions with Moravian missionaries, both brothers experienced similar spiritual awakenings a few days apart in May 1738. John Wesley



SINGING IN THE STORM Moravians (*above*) traveled the world fearlessly for the gospel's sake, comforting and inspiring John Wesley on his own transatlantic journey.

NOTABLE COUNTESESSES After her missions work, Anna Nitschmann (*left*) returned to Herrnhut and married the widowed Count Zinzendorf in 1757. Selina Hastings (*right*) financed the Methodist movement, missions, and charities, helping spread revival.



famously wrote about his heart being “strangely warmed” when he heard a Moravian preacher’s sermon about what Christ had done for him. Thousands of others had similar experiences during Great Awakening revivals in Europe and America. Many of those “awakened” already knew the facts of Christianity, as the Wesleys did, but now it became personal. It became emotional.

MOVED BY THE SPIRIT?

Emotion was a source of continual controversy in the preaching of George Whitefield. While the Wesleys were struggling in America, Whitefield was being asked to preach throughout England. He had a dramatic flair, possibly owing to some theatrical training in his youth, and a strong voice. When necessary he could hold outdoor meetings and still be heard. People flocked to hear him, and many were moved, emotionally and spiritually, by his gospel message.

When John Wesley returned from America, he used many of the same methods speaking throughout the British Isles, often to those in the lower classes, especially coal miners. One innovation developed by both Whitefield and John Wesley was extemporaneous speaking (originally “discovered” when they misplaced their notes). People appreciated the in-the-moment quality of these sermons, which resulted in a more personal response.

One significant backer of both these preachers was Selina Hastings (1707–1791), Countess of Huntingdon, who connected early with John Wesley and the Methodist movement. Later Whitefield served as her chaplain. She used her wealth and influence to promote and enhance their ministries, founding dozens of chapels throughout England.

Whitefield made his first preaching tour of the American colonies from 1739 to 1741, centering in

Philadelphia but extending from New Hampshire to Georgia. As Whitefield made his way through Massachusetts, he was invited to speak at the Northampton church pastored by Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), who had become a renowned expert in spiritual awakenings. Edwards seemed cordial but careful in his interactions with this stunningly popular preacher, but his wife, Sarah, enthusiastically supported Whitefield. “It is wonderful to see what a spell he casts over an audience,” she wrote. “I have seen upwards of a thousand people hang on his words with breathless silence, broken only by an occasional half-suppressed sob.”

STUDYING REVIVAL

Jonathan and Sarah Edwards had experienced awakening in their church about five years earlier. In the fall of 1734, Jonathan preached about justification by faith alone, and for six months afterward, people were being smitten with an emotional response to God. Among the smitten was Sarah herself. Jonathan’s major contribution was his scholarly study of the phenomenon. The religious elite tended to look down on emotional responses, but Jonathan Edwards respected these displays of “religious affections,” as he called them. He wrote a well-regarded treatise on the subject, *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God* (1737), as well as many other important theological works. He and Sarah both died in 1758.

JOHANN VALENTIN HAIDT, ANNA NITSCHMANN, 18TH CENTURY, OIL ON CANVAS—COURTESY OF UNITY ARCHIVES, HERRNHUT
JOHN WESLEY ON HIS WAY TO AMERICA, c. 1840, ENGRAVING—HULTON ARCHIVE / PHOTO BY RISCHITZ / GETTY IMAGES
SELINA HASTINGS, COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON, c. 1770, OIL ON CARD—© NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON / ART RESOURCE, NY

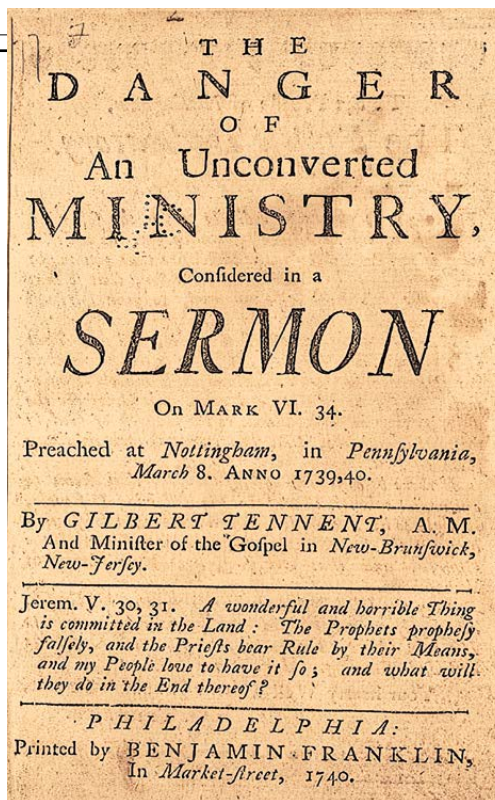


As for the other awakeners, Whitefield made several more trips to America and died in 1770, after preaching at a church in Massachusetts. Though he had some theological differences with Whitefield,

John Wesley preached at several memorial services in England for his old friend.

Charles Wesley died in 1788, while John lived until 1791, providing leadership and organization to the Methodist movement.

It has been said that the Methodists brought a hope to England's lower classes that prevented a bloody revolution like the one that occurred in France in 1789. It has been suggested



PROFITABLE SERMONS? Benjamin Franklin (*far left*) published sermons by George Whitefield and other revival preachers, like this one by Gilbert Tennent (*left*), in his paper, the *American Mercury*. Franklin's personal gain was more material than spiritual!

AN UNCOMMON UNION Jonathan Edwards cherished his wife, Sarah (*below left*), recognizing her as a spiritual and intellectual equal.

that the Great Awakening in America gave birth to an independent spirit that fueled the American Revolution. And we know that Moravian missionaries inspired many others to carry the Christian message around the world. But amid all the possible results of these revivals, we see the miracle of revival itself:

dead and dying religion finding new life in the fresh breeze of the Spirit. **CH**

Randy Petersen has written dozens of books, including *The Printer and the Preacher* (Nelson, 2015). He's also coauthor of *The 100 Most Important Dates in Christian History* (Revell, 1991) and a former editor of CH.

The fertile friendship of Whitefield and Franklin

The two most famous men in eighteenth-century America knew each other well. Evangelist George Whitefield and publisher-writer-scientist-diplomat Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) carried on a decades-long correspondence.

At first, it was just business. As Whitefield sought to expand a successful ministry from England to America, he knew the value of good press. As publisher of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Franklin knew the importance of good content.

Soon Franklin was printing diaries, sermon texts, news items, and editorials about Whitefield's work, using his network of news outlets to increase sales throughout the colonies. As one modern historian quipped, "Franklin made Whitefield famous. Whitefield made Franklin rich."

Scholars debate how deep their friendship went, but it certainly lasted a long time. The two supported each other in critical times, even defending each other before the public in their writing. Over their 30-year acquaintance, Whitefield made many attempts to nudge his publisher toward a personal commitment to Christ. Franklin seemed to receive these overtures politely but deflected them. While Franklin had a respect for the Puritan religion of his childhood, he kept trying to invent his own faith. He donated to churches of different denominations, though his attendance at any of them was sporadic. Still he recognized the value of spiritual fervor and lauded the societal effects of Whitefield's revivals.

Late in their relationship, Franklin wrote a fascinating letter to Whitefield in

which he mused about the two of them starting a new colony out in the wilds of Ohio. As Franklin saw it, any community needed what those two leaders offered—practical organization and spiritual commitment. However, as we look back from the twenty-first century, we see that they didn't need to start a new colony elsewhere. America was that new society.

The list of Franklin's inventions goes far beyond a lightning rod and a stove. His numerous inventions and innovations wove the social fabric of America. Meanwhile, as Whitefield preached to crowds throughout all the colonies, he was calling colonists to spiritual freedom. A generation before America fought for its independence, these two men were already laying its foundation.

—Randy Petersen

JOHANNA DOBOTHIA SYSSANG, PHILIPP JACOB SPENER, 1775—RIJKSMUSEUM / (CCO) WIKIMEDIA • MARTIN BERENGEROTH, AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE, 1724—RIJKSMUSEUM / (CCO) WIKIMEDIA • COUNT VON ZINZENDORF, 1781—HERRNHUT UNITY ARCHIVES • JOHANNES CHRIS. TUNNERS, 1807—RIJKSMUSEUM / (CCO) WIKIMEDIA • JOHN WESLEY, 1728—RIJKSMUSEUM / (CCO) WIKIMEDIA • JOHN WESLEY, 1728—REPRODUCED WITH THE PERMISSION OF WESLEY'S CHAPEL • JOSEPH BARDSER, GEORGE WHITEFIELD, 1745—HARVARD UNIVERSITY PORTRAIT COLLECTION, GIFT OF MRS. H. P. (SARAH H.) OLIVER TO HARVARD COLLEGE, 1852 • JACOB EICHHOLTZ, GILBERT TENNENT, OIL ON CANVAS—PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, GIFT OF MISS SMITH • JOHANNAN EDWARDS—PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, GIFT OF DR. J. PENNINGTON WARTER, CLASS OF 1942

Philipp SPENER (1635–1705) Lutheran: father of Lutheran Pietism and teacher at Leipzig; Zinzendorf's godfather



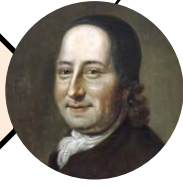
August Hermann FRANCKE (1663–1727) Lutheran: Pietist, Spener's student; Zinzendorf's schoolmaster



Connections

Despite differences in regions, faith traditions, and theological convictions, the lives of many Great Awakening figures intersected in surprising ways. Here's a graphic to keep them all straight.

Nicolaus Ludwig von ZINZENDORF (1700–1760) Lutheran Pietist and later Moravian: Herrnhut founder and protector of early Moravians and other persecuted Protestants, including Schwenkfelders (see CH #21)



Theodore J. FRELINGHUYSEN (1691–1747) Dutch Reformed: influenced by Pietist teaching; stoked revival in New Jersey; influenced Gilbert Tennent



Solomon STODDARD (1643–1729) Puritan Congregationalist: Jonathan Edwards's grandfather and influential minister at Northampton Church



MORAVIANS: sent missionaries worldwide; guided John Wesley's maturing faith on transatlantic trip; worship service brought Wesley brothers to spiritual revival



Charles WESLEY (1707–1788) Anglican; Methodism founder: inspired by Moravian missionaries; Holy Club founder; partner and friend of Whitefield



John WESLEY (1703–1791) Anglican; Methodism founder: converted at Moravian gathering; Holy Club member; friend, preaching partner, and sometime opponent of Whitefield; never met Edwards in person, but did abridge and adapt his theological works



George WHITEFIELD (1714–1770) Anglican and Methodist (later Calvinistic Methodist): joined Holy Club by Charles's invitation; friend and partner of Wesleys in revival preaching; friends with and influenced theologically by Jonathan Edwards; friend of Gilbert Tennent



Gilbert TENNENT (1703–1764) Presbyterian: friend of Whitefield and Edwards; invited to New England to preach the First Great Awakening



Jonathan EDWARDS (1703–1758) Congregationalist with Puritan heritage: assistant to and ministerial successor of Stoddard; friend of Whitefield and Tennent; had no personal relationship with John Wesley but disagreed with his tactics and doctrine





Lightning strikes

DURING THE FIRST GREAT AWAKENING, REVIVAL SWEEPED THROUGH ENGLAND AND THE AMERICAN COLONIES LIKE A STORM

Rebecca Price Janney

Northampton, Massachusetts, and its distinguished pastor Jonathan Edwards seemed unlikely candidates for a major revival. Nor did the spiritually moribund decades after the fires of the Pilgrims, Puritans, and William Penn portend a religious awakening. By the eighteenth century's opening, enthusiasm for spreading the gospel throughout the New World had become smoke and embers. Most churches were going through the motions of worship and congregational life, some led by spiritually lifeless pastors who held to a form of religion while denying its power. God, however, seemed to have other ideas. According to theologian Richard Niebuhr, America's "national conversion" was about to commence at just this juncture, in some improbable places, led by uncommon men.

REVIVAL FIRE

The first lightning strike occurred in Northampton under the leadership of the deeply cerebral Edwards, whose sermon delivery would surely fail a contemporary public speaking course. Although he preached deeply and thoughtfully about the individual's need for salvation, he spoke in a dry, monotonous tone and failed to make eye contact with his parishioners. Some historians have speculated God may have chosen to begin this revival

STREET PREACHER George Whitefield addressed large crowds in the colonies, where his style and message were better received than in England.

at Northampton and through Edwards so no one could suggest that what happened there was because of a charismatic personality or the particular righteousness of the town.

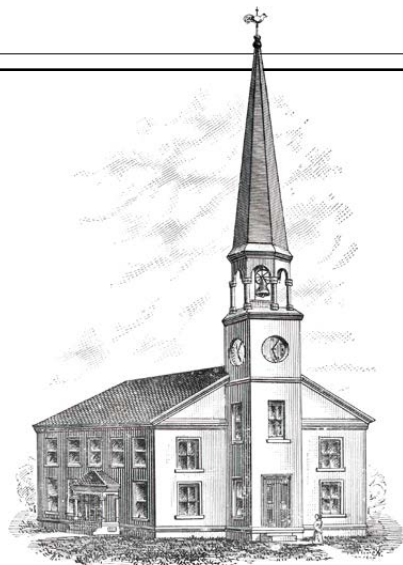
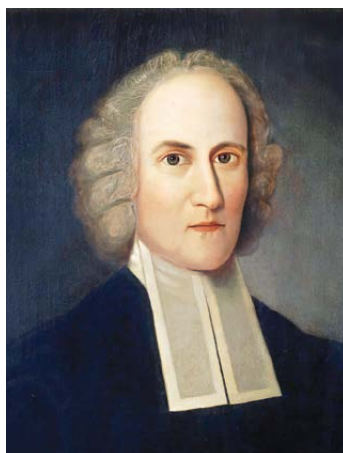
Toward the end of December 1734, after Edwards began a sermon series about justification by faith alone, he started noticing startling changes in his congregation. He recorded,

the Spirit of God began extraordinarily to . . . work amongst us. There were, very suddenly, one after another, five or six persons who were, to all appearance, savingly converted, and some of them wrought upon in a very remarkable manner.

He was especially taken by a young woman's example, "one of the greatest company-keepers in the whole town," who came to her pastor to tell of her broken, repentant, and newly sanctified heart. Soon many others followed in her footsteps. Edwards reported,

This seems to have been a very extraordinary dispensation of Providence: God has, in many respects,

STUDYING REVIVAL Though no stranger to spiritual renewal, Northampton Church (*far right*) was a wealthy and comfortable congregation when Jonathan Edwards (*right*) took the pulpit in 1729. Revival broke out in 1733 under his ministry. Edwards studied the phenomenon and wrote in detail about conversion.



THIRD MEETING HOUSE—ERECTED 1737.

gone out of, and much beyond his usual and ordinary way.

As a result of individual conversions, Edwards cited the “glorious alteration” that took place in Northampton so that by the following summer, the town seemed to be full of the presence of God. It never was so full of love, nor so full of joy... there were remarkable tokens of God’s presence in almost every house.

Prior to this revival, an average of 30 people a year came to faith in Christ, but now far more were making professions of faith on a weekly basis. Most of them, according to Edwards, were “awakened with a sense of their miserable condition” before a holy and just God and “the danger they are in of perishing eternally.”

NEW LIGHTS

The revival that claimed Northampton struck other colonies as well. In New Jersey a Dutch Reformed pastor, Theodore Frelinghuysen (c. 1691–c. 1747), had been preaching about heartfelt conversion since his arrival in America in 1720, when he was appalled by the spiritual apathy he encountered. He went on to influence Scottish-born pastor William Tennent, who, with his son Gilbert (1703–1764), preached the necessity of salvation by faith. A self-described “old grey-headed disciple and soldier of Jesus Christ,” Tennent proved to be a key figure in what became known as the First Great Awakening.

Additionally Presbyterian ministers Samuel Davies (1723–1761), who labored in Virginia, and David Brainerd (1718–1747), who ministered among Native Americans in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, witnessed spiritual fervor. Brainerd wrote of being in open awe of the power of God that fell on one village after another as he preached. Native Americans changed so dramatically that skeptical Whites went to the meetings to mock, only to be delivered themselves!

These lightning rod preachers came to be known as “New Lights.” They clashed with the old guard ministers, whom these revivalists preachers critiqued as presiding over prestigious but spiritually dead congregations. The “Old Lights,” however, responded with their own criticism, ridiculing the New Lights’ unconventional ways. They asked, for example, what business William Tennent had training mere farm boys to preach the gospel and referred contemptuously to the Pennsylvania school Tennent founded to raise up ministers as a “log college.” However,



REVIVING SCOTS A book by Henry Scougal (*above left*) transformed Whitefield’s understanding of salvation. The work of another Scottish-born pastor, William Tennent (*above right*), spurred on the Great Awakening.

the pastors he trained soon became revivalists who took the gospel to Virginia, North Carolina, and as far west as Ohio—his humble school eventually providing the foundation for Princeton University.

William’s son Gilbert didn’t exactly make friends among the establishment clergy by preaching against “the danger of an unconverted ministry.” He said,

As a faithful ministry is a great ornament, blessing, and comfort to the church of God (even the feet of such messengers are beautiful), so, on the contrary, an ungodly ministry is a great curse and judgement. These caterpillars labor to devour every green thing.

This and other unfavorable comparisons led to deeper divisions between the Old Lights and the New Lights, as proven by the schism that buffeted the Presbyterian Church for nearly two decades afterward.

LIGHTNING ACROSS THE POND

While God’s Spirit moved among localized pastors to awaken colonial America, a prophet came from England to

HENRY AUGUSTUS LOOP, JONATHAN EDWARDS, 1860, OIL ON CANVAS—PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, GIFT OF GREAT GRANDSONS OF JONATHAN EDWARDS; WILLIAM TENNENT, 1730, OIL ON CANVAS—PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, GIFT OF GREAT GRANDSONS OF JONATHAN EDWARDS; THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, 1730, OIL ON CANVAS—PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, GIFT OF GREAT GRANDSONS OF JONATHAN EDWARDS; JOHN SCUGAL (L), PAINTING OF HENRY SCUGAL, 1680, OIL ON CANVAS—PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, GIFT OF GREAT GRANDSONS OF JONATHAN EDWARDS; JOHN SIMBERT (ATTRIB.), REV. WILLIAM TENNENT, JR., OIL ON CANVAS—GIFT OF MR. AND MRS. LANDON K. THORNE FOR THE BOUDINOT COLLECTION / PRINCETON UNIVERSITY ART MUSEUM



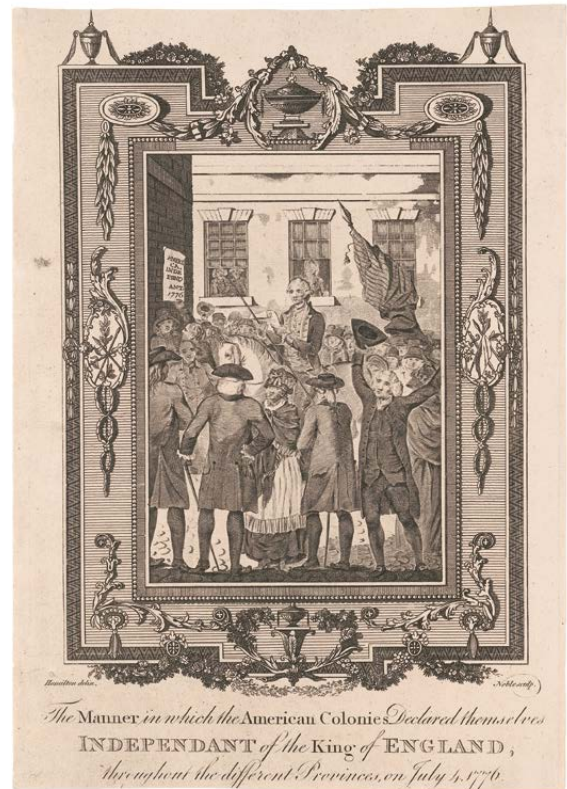
fan those fires into a spiritual conflagration. Like Jonathan Edwards, the Anglican evangelist George Whitefield also seemed an unlikely person to spread revival throughout the colonies, but for a different set of reasons. Whitefield had spent his youth play-acting in school and helping run the family inn. During his years at Oxford University's Pembroke College, he became friends with two brothers, Charles and John Wesley. The Wesleys were earnest young men who sought a deeper experience of God than was usually spoken of by that day's ordained clergy.

Although Whitefield strove, as Martin Luther famously had, to feel right with God, a sense of spiritual peace about his eternal state eluded him. The breakthrough came when he read an obscure book, *The Life of God in the Soul of Man* (1677), by Scotsman Henry Scougal (1650–1678), which encouraged people to cease striving and allow the Spirit of God to dwell within them. Thoroughly excited by this discovery, Whitefield set out to tell his fellow Englishmen that salvation is God's gift, not something they could earn by good works.

This message proved to be difficult to sell in a country where people attended church out of social obligation and the pastors' sermons were thought to be as dry as the dust Whitefield had once swept from his family's inn. In contrast he preached in a fresh, bold way, calling upon his flair for the dramatic to beckon people from their slumber toward wide-awake salvation. His style mortified the staid English: Whitefield often shouted, danced, sometimes cried, and frequently flailed his arms while speaking of people living hopelessly apart from Christ. Fellow pastors told him to tone it down, but the hope Christ offered to lost people for this life and the next kept him on the move, in more ways than one.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CELEBRITY

In 1738 Whitefield felt compelled by God to go to the American colonies because he had heard its churches were as benumbed as England's. Initially the Americans



AMERICA TRIUMPHANT A print shows a man on horseback announcing the Declaration of Independence (above) to a watching crowd's applause. An allegorical cartoon (left) imagines America as the home of peace and liberty, inviting all nations to free trade.

weren't sure what to make of his theatrics, but they weren't as quick as the English clergy to write him off as an "enthusiast." He used his powerful voice and gestures to speak boldly about sin and salvation and heaven and hell, as he called people to exchange their head knowledge of Christ for a heartfelt personal commitment.

People came out to hear him speak in the open air by the thousands. Historian Samuel Eliot Morison observed, "to people who had not heard this clearly explained before, it was like a lightning shock to the heart."

Whitefield preached up and down the eastern seaboard, drawing enormous crowds, comparable in size to those who follow rock stars today. When he took his message to Philadelphia, he inspired the curiosity of a young printer named Benjamin Franklin (see p. 20) who observed:

The multitudes of all sects and denominations that attended his sermons were enormous, and it was a matter of speculation to me, who was one of the number, to observe the extraordinary influence of his oratory upon his hearers, and how much they admired and respected him notwithstanding his common abuse of them by assuring them that they were naturally half beasts and half devils.

Franklin delighted in the transformation he witnessed in Philadelphia's civic life. He wrote,

OBSTINANCY AND PRIDE Another political cartoon (right) shows Britain being drawn into war with America for unsatisfactory reasons. King George III's cart rolls over the Constitution and the Magna Carta. Earlier, the "Bloody Massacre" in Boston (below) galvanized the colonists' drive for independence.

From being thoughtless or indifferent about religion, it seemed as if all the world were growing religious, so that one could not walk through the town in an evening without hearing psalms sung in different families of every street.

Similar transformations occurred wherever Whitefield preached.

A NEW NATIONAL IDENTITY

As a result of the First Great Awakening, church attendance boomed throughout the colonies. In addition the moral tone of the day improved vastly in many places. Mission-mindedness and public service increased, especially in ministries among Native Americans and slaves. New institutions of higher learning were created to prepare young men for pastoral work, including Princeton, Brown, Rutgers, and Dartmouth.

One of the awakening's greatest legacies was that this outpouring of God's Spirit led people who once regarded themselves in a regional framework to identify as "Americans." As Whitefield preached over 18,000 times between 1736 and 1770, he helped solidify this national consciousness as new converts found a commonality with other believers in Christ no matter their location.

The new revivalism also fostered a great leveling of social strata. Barriers broke down between people of various denominations, races, economic conditions, and sexes. Those touched by the Holy Spirit considered themselves on equal footing before God's throne of grace, both as sinners as well as redeemed saints. All were one in Christ Jesus.

Likewise there came a more vertical shift in allegiances. Christians believed first and foremost they owed their fidelity to King Jesus, not King George, whom they regarded with increasing suspicion and hostility as he used the colonies to further and enrich his own purposes. He was tone deaf to the belief that Americans had a God-given destiny to promote the gospel of freedom on a continent set apart for a new way of living. As the king continued to encroach upon the rights of American colonists, their impulse quickened toward breaking away from his determined grip. Many political leaders and revivalist pastors pushed for independence, believing if they failed to obey Almighty God, they would be accountable to him in the final judgment, a prospect much more terrifying than war with Britain and its superior military might.



In the end the spiritual awakening that had struck the colonies prepared its people for what came next: the rigors of a war with England.

And the lightning strikes came with thunder, resounding both politically and spiritually in the newborn nation. ❏

Rebecca Price Janney is a historian and the author of 26 books, including her award-winning historical fiction Easton Series. She is also a member of the CHI board.

Awakenings, renewals, revivals

Revival movements of the early and modern eras



Abbey Port-Royal des Champs, 1674



Berthelsdorf Church, built c. 1722

1540 Ignatius of Loyola founds Society of Jesus, leading to Jesuit missions.

1545–1563 The Council of Trent convenes in response to the Protestant Reformation.

1558 Elizabeth I's reign begins. The "Elizabethan Settlement" will displease both Catholics and Protestants.

1576 Queen Elizabeth I orders suppression of Puritan "prophesyings."

1581 George Gifford writes *Country Divinity*, a fictional dialogue defending Puritanism.

1610 Johann Arndt publishes *The True Christianity*.

1635 Angelique Arnauld becomes a Jansenist; the convents at Port-Royal become Jansenist strongholds and popularize Jansen's work.

1648 The Treaty of Westphalia allows rulers to determine the religion of their territories.

1669 Solomon Stoddard preaches his first sermon at Northampton Church.

1675 Philipp Spener prefaces a new edition of *True Christianity* with "The Pia Desideria," starting the Pietist movement.

1679 Revival breaks out in Northampton under Stoddard.

1695 August Hermann Francke opens an institute to care for orphans, which becomes the Halle Project.

1707 The Children's Prayer Revival in Silesia begins spontaneously. It spreads to thousands of children in a year.

1720 Theodore J. Frelinghuysen preaches heartfelt conversion in New Jersey, which influences William Tennent and his son, Gilbert Tennent.

1722 Nicolaus von Zinzendorf opens his estate to religious refugees at Herrnhut.

1727 Zinzendorf compiles a set of principles for the community at Herrnhut, known as Unity of the Brethren. The resulting prayer meeting



Silesia, 1700

leads to a revival. William Tennent founds the Log College in Pennsylvania.

1729 Charles and John Wesley form the Holy Club. George Whitefield joins them. Their prayer meetings later grow into the Methodist movement.

1732 Alphonsus Liguori founds the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, which combats Jansenism and becomes the Redemptorist order. Missionaries leave Herrnhut; their communities become the Moravians.

1734 Congregants respond intensely to Jonathan Edwards's sermons.

1737 Edwards records the "religious affections" in Northampton as *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God*.

1738 The Wesley brothers are spiritually awakened at Moravian worship services.

1739 Whitefield makes his first preaching tour through the American colonies, where he meets Edwards and Benjamin Franklin.

1740 Anna Nitschmann becomes a missionary in Pennsylvania.

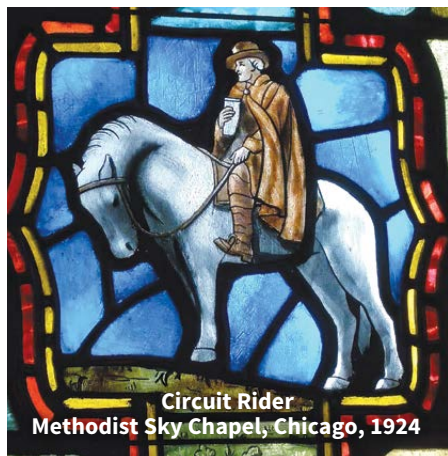
1741 Edwards preaches "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" in Northampton, further catalyzing the Great Awakening.

ABBOT OF PORT ROYAL DES CHAMPELLES, FIRST HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY, DUTCH—MUSEUM CATHARINECONVENT / (CC) WIKIMEDIA
LUTHERAN CHURCH OF BERTHELSDORF, HERRNHUT, LANDHEIM GÖRLITZ, SAXONY—JAN HERM JANSSEN / (CC BY SA 4.0) WIKIMEDIA
ELWÉ & LANGEVÉL, MAP OF SILESIA FROM COMPLETE TRAVEL ATLAS OF ALL OF GERMANY, c.1700—PUBLIC DOMAIN, WIKIMEDIA

1743 Gilbert Tennent preaches “Dangers of an Unconverted Ministry,” which creates deeper division between “Old Lights” and “New Lights.”

1749 Jonathan Edwards writes *The Life of David Brainerd*. His biography inspires William Carey to missions in India.

1757 Pope Benedict XIV amends the Roman *Index of Forbidden Books*, granting permission to print and read Bibles in the vernacular.



Circuit Rider
 Methodist Sky Chapel, Chicago, 1924

1770 A violent confrontation, known as the Boston Massacre, takes place between British soldiers and colonials.

1771 Mary Bosanquet writes to John Wesley to defend her preaching.

1773 David George founds Silver Bluff Baptist Church.

1775 Britain declares the American colonies to be in a state of rebellion after the Battles of Lexington and Concord.

1776 The Declaration of Independence is ratified in Philadelphia.

1783 The American Revolutionary War ends with the Treaty of Paris.

1784 John Wesley permits American Methodists to be a separate denomination, which Francis Asbury leads.

1790 Jeremiah Minter becomes the youngest elder in the Methodist Church.

1791 The First Amendment to the US Constitution prohibits a nationally established church.

1798 Lorenzo Dow’s circuit preaching ministry begins.

1792 Andrew Fuller and other Baptists form the Baptist Missionary Society.

1794 Richard Allen founds Mother Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia.

1800 Francis Asbury embraces camp meetings after visiting Kentucky’s Red River Revival.

1801 The Cane Ridge Revival begins in Kentucky.

1804 Barton W. Stone publishes *Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery*, marking his withdrawal from Presbyterianism and a coalescing of the restoration movement later known as the Stone-Campbell movement.

1806 Peter Cartwright is ordained to the Methodist ministry and begins preaching in the West.

1810 The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) is formed.

1814 Baptists found the Triennial Convention.

1816 The American Bible Society (ABS) is founded. Allen founds the African Methodist Episcopal denomination.

1821 Charles Finney experiences conversion and moves into preaching ministry.

1828 Andrew Jackson is elected president.

1831 Finney oversees massive evangelistic success in Rochester, New York.

1835 Finney publishes his *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*.

1842 Revival breaks out in Germany after Johann



D. L. Moody
 cartoon, 1875

Christoph Blumhardt casts out demons by prayer.

1846 Cartwright loses a congressional race to Abraham Lincoln.

1850 Dorothea Trudel’s “prayer of faith” for her employees results in healing and revival in the village of Männedorf, Switzerland.

1861 The American Civil War begins.

1863 President Lincoln commissions Henry Ward Beecher for a preaching tour to convince both Europeans and Americans to support the Union.

1865 The American Civil War ends.

1875 The Keswick movement begins; D. L. Moody preaches to 2.5 million in London services.

1880 Elizabeth Baker opens a healing home in London.

1881 Charles Cullis holds healing services and builds his first “faith-cure” home. A. B. Simpson experiences healing.

1885 Maria Woodworth-Etter begins preaching and faith healing.

1886 Billy Sunday becomes a Christian.



William Seymour
 (1870–1922)

1887 The Christian Alliance and the Evangelical Missionary Alliance are founded. They later merge to become the Christian and Missionary Alliance.

1891 Sunday leaves professional baseball for ministry.

1906 William Seymour leads the Azusa Street Revival. Holiness and faith healing movements form the foundations of Pentecostalism.



Aftershocks

THE FIRST AWAKENING ENDED, BUT IT CONTINUED TO SHAKE THE WORLD

John T. Lowe

In the decades following the First Great Awakening, the church continued to see exponential growth on both sides of the Atlantic. Membership rolls exploded with new converts who experienced the “new birth.” Subsequently the Great Awakening’s rippling effects would spread over North America, both to the colonists and to the Native American tribes; over Europe; and eventually over Asia. Ultimately the collective beliefs and convictions that sprang from the First Great Awakening became a powerful global movement.

AN UNCONTAINED MOVEMENT

Unlike some religious movements before it, the First Great Awakening’s influence was not restricted to a single Christian tradition, class, social stratum, or geographic location. Instead it began and continued as a movement both transatlantic in scope and transdenominational in order. After the events of the Great Awakening had concluded, the mark of its piety remained on most of the Western world. George Whitefield had ministered to nearly every British American colony, traveling from Georgia to New England and places in between. On the other side of the Atlantic, his friend, John Wesley, traveled over 250,000 miles on horseback and preached about 40,000 sermons in Great Britain. Both men’s expansive reach and unconventional “out of doors” itinerant preaching led to unprecedented growth among people of all backgrounds.

THE METHODISTS GROW . . . Revival preaching through the awakenings led to an explosion of Methodist churches and the conversion of diverse audiences.

This growth and reach included all of North America. Indigenous Americans and people of African descent also experienced personal conversion and change in the years that followed. For example, Methodist churches in Pennsylvania saw as many as 380 African and Native American members actively engage in church functions in the late eighteenth century. What’s more, these minorities worshiped alongside their White counterparts in the same buildings. The gospel message preached in the Great Awakening called all people to repentance. To that end Whites, Blacks, and Native Americans found commonality in their religious experience.

WORLDWIDE AWAKENING

The evangelical movement that began during the Great Awakening eventually gave rise to modern, global, Protestant missions. Revivalists of the Great Awakening also produced many notable works that were widely read in Europe. Several of Jonathan Edwards’s books were distributed to pastors, influencing their theology and evangelism. One British pastor who felt that influence was Andrew Fuller (1754–1815). Fuller immersed himself in Edwards’s writings,

... **AND SPLIT** The spirit of unity wasn't everywhere, however. The African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas (*right*) was founded by those who faced discrimination in the Methodist Church.

specifically *Treatise on the Religious Affections* (1746). He recorded,

I think I have never yet entered into the true idea of the work of the ministry.... I think I am [lacking in] the ministry, as I was [lacking in] my life as a Christian before I read *Edwards on the Affections*. I had never entered into the spirit of a great many important things. Oh for some such penetrating, edifying writer on this subject!

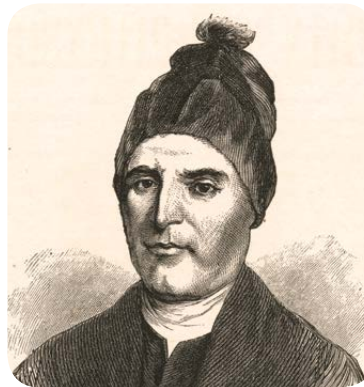
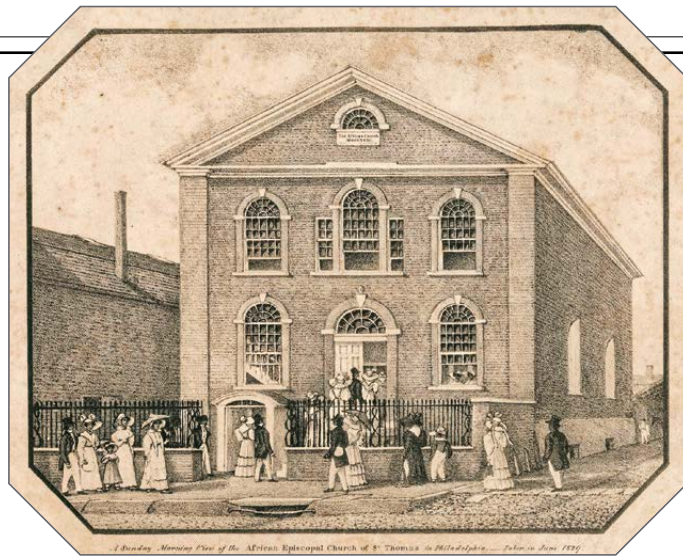
Several other ministers of the Reformed pedigree would apply Edwards's theology in their defense against various heresies in the eighteenth century.

Taking on Edwards's strong evangelical notions of calling sinners to repentance, Fuller and other Baptists formed the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792. Their passion to "propagate the gospel" among unreached peoples became a hallmark of eighteenth-century Calvinistic Baptists, a nod to the Great Awakening's firebrand activism that began these missionary efforts. Fuller's close friend, William Carey (1761–1834), also read Edwards's writings. Carey was enthralled by his missionary account of *The Life of David Brainerd* (1749); so much so that he would go to the unreached people in Calcutta, India. There Carey spent over 40 years tirelessly working on Bible translations and educational reforms. Under his ministry hundreds were converted. In a missionary sermon, Carey called his listeners to "expect great things from God; attempt great things for God."

FROM REVIVAL TO REVOLUTION

The Great Awakening's impact would be felt in every facet of life, including in the social and political realms of the United States. How to ascertain "true religion," or authentic Christianity, was on the minds of the awakened. One way to live out a truly Christian "disinterested benevolence" (the practice of seeking the interests or welfare of others as opposed to self-interest) was to "love your neighbor." But who is your neighbor? For many Christians during the late eighteenth century, loving one's neighbor meant ending all forms of oppression, especially for those who were the most oppressed, namely, enslaved Africans. Close friend and student of Jonathan Edwards, Samuel Hopkins, became a patriot and abolitionist during the late eighteenth century. Hopkins fused Edwards's moral ethics and theology of love into a socioreligious ethic to call for an immediate nationwide emancipation. He argued that

Love to our neighbor, which God's law requires, is certainly universal, disinterested good will, since it is a love which will dispose us to do good unto all.... "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them," which is included in loving our neighbor as ourselves, will set at liberty every slave.



FREEING BODIES AND SOULS Samuel Hopkins (*above left*) devoted himself to abolition. Andrew Fuller (*above right*) promoted worldwide missions.

Hopkins longed to see a global revival. However, the inhumane treatment of enslaved Africans, and the institution of slavery in general, prevented any type of work of God. Therefore Hopkins and many others among the awakened strongly advocated for ending the evil enterprise.

With the questioning of slavery also came the upending of the standing church order. People questioned both church and government and emphasized personal conviction. This would eventually lead to the American Revolution. Recounting the events, President John Adams observed that "The Revolution was effected before the war commenced." Indeed the revolution itself began "in the minds and hearts of the people, a change in their religious sentiments of their duties and obligations." While the Great Awakening was not part of the American Revolution, it was a spiritual revolution and served as a progenitor for American independence. While scholars debate how the First Great Awakening influenced social and political thought, it is undeniable that the Great Awakening laid a theological and intellectual groundwork for what came next. **CH**

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Words that bring the dead to life

ISSUE ADVISOR MICHAEL MCCLYMOND WALKS *CH* THROUGH REVIVAL PREACHING

Michael McClymond

Revival is about life. Revival preaching is life-giving. But how can the dead be revived? By a magical incantation? Through a jolt of electricity, as in the Frankenstein story? Or by means of a cryogenically frozen body that future scientists will restore to life? The Christian answer is none of the above. Life comes from God; specifically from his Word: “Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that comes from the mouth of God” (Matt. 4:4). God’s Word is “living and active” (Heb. 4:12), giving life because it contains life, or, rather, is life. The written text manifests and conveys the eternal Word, who is Christ himself.

A favorite text for earlier revival preachers was not “you must be born again” (John 3:7), nor the apostle’s call to “be reconciled to God” (2 Cor. 5:20), but a vision about a valley of dry bones that came to life (Ezek. 37). The Lord could himself have commanded the bones to grow flesh and come alive, but had Ezekiel give the command. Revival preachers are like Ezekiel, under a divine mandate to speak life to dry bones.

Here are some key questions about revival preaching.

QUESTION: What is “revival”?

MICHAEL MCCLYMOND: Philip Keevil wrote,

Revival is ... when the people of God are keenly aware of God’s felt presence among them; when spiritual

DRY BONES Revival preachers saw God breathing life into the dead through his Word, as in Ezekiel’s vision.

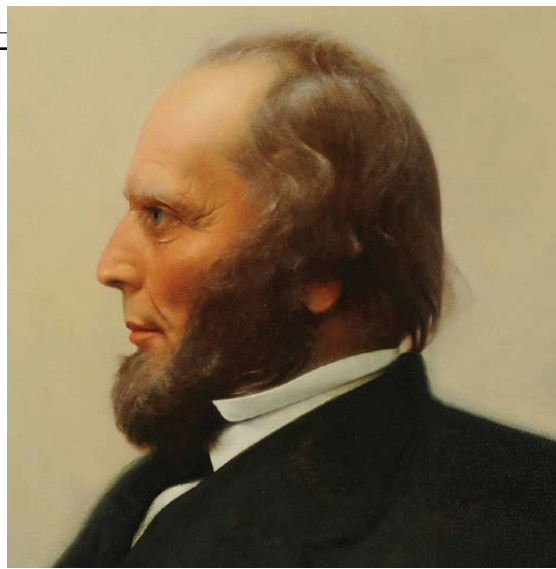
things increase in their reality; when the impact of God’s truth is felt more poignantly; and, when there are signs of deep wounding, as well as genuine healing, as a result of ... the Word of God. (See p. 4 for more.)

Q: Why is revival necessary?

MM: The Old Testament shows a cyclical pattern among God’s people, with phases of decline followed by periods of renewal. Jonathan Edwards said that revival is needed because God and spiritual things do not seem real to most people. “Believing the truth” differs from “having a sensible idea or apprehension.” Yet a divine “light cast upon the ideas of spiritual things ... makes them appear clear and real which before were but ... obscure representations.” What had been merely conceptual is now seen, tasted, and felt. For Edwards this sensing of divine reality comes through preaching. His sermonic word-pictures—or his “rhetoric of sensation”—sought to make spiritual things perceptible to his hearers.

Q: Is revival for the sake of believers or for nonbelievers?

MM: Both. Periods of spiritual outpouring stir mature



DIFFERENT STROKES Many identify the expressive style of Charles Finney (*above*) with typical revival preaching, but Asahel Nettleton (*left*), his “reformed critic,” preached in a way that drew less attention.

Christians to renewed fervor, but also bring conversions of people who seem like improbable converts.

Q: What role does preaching play?

MM: Recent authors focus on revival praying rather than revival preaching. While prayer is crucially linked to revival, it ought not eclipse preaching. Historian Eifion Evans wrote:

Historically, there has been a close relationship between preaching and revival. Those revivals that have been the purest and most beneficial have given a preeminent place to . . . preaching.

Though his critics accused him of emotionalism, revivalist Charles Finney taught that “in the work of conversion . . . the instrument is the truth.” Emotions alone cannot effect genuine conversion. There must be a presentation of truth and a call to personal decision based on truth.

Q: What truths have been central to revival preaching?

MM: Revival preaching involves a recognition of radical sin and corruption in human life; the conviction that sinners are spiritually lost and unable to save themselves or escape God’s judgment; that God alone saves and forgives, cleanses, and renews those who trust in Christ; and that God’s forgiveness is complete, since Christ made full atonement for sins.

Q: Does revival preaching differ from standard preaching?

MM: While effective preaching should appeal to the human will, the call for a decision is inescapable in revival preaching. A message with no call for a decision is not revival preaching. Decision, though, does not happen in a vacuum. Listeners must be moved toward concern, and unconverted sinners perceive their condition apart from God’s mercy in Christ.

Q: What effect does revival preaching have?

MM: The hearer feels as if God has “found him out.”

Historian William Arthur wrote:

An unaccountable impression of God’s presence, of . . . a warning, a call from God, sinks down into his soul . . . Falling down upon his face, forgetful of all appearances . . . he worships . . . an offended but a forgiving God.

Q: Has revival preaching changed over time?

MM: Yes. We can see it as a series of concentric circles. Early evangelical awakenings (1730s–1740s) focused on salvation by grace and spiritual regeneration. Without abandoning this message, the Methodist movement centered on conversion and sanctification as a two-stage process. This second, larger circle, encompassed the first. And emerging from the Holiness movement was a healing revival. “Healing evangelists,” announced “salvation for the soul” and “healing for the body.”

Early Pentecostals affirmed everything prior, yet added a new message on the baptism in the Spirit, attested by speaking in tongues. Pentecostal revivalists called hearers to receive conversion, sanctification, healing, or Spirit-baptism. In contrast, evangelical revivalists in the 1800s and 1900s—Finney, Dwight Moody, Billy Sunday, Billy Graham—kept their focus on conversion. Holiness, healing, and Pentecostal messaging created a fork in the revival road. These supplemented the continued preaching for conversion.

The Black church has its own revival preaching tradition, described as “the Black folk sermon” or “old-time country preaching.” Black preachers dramatize biblical narratives and interweave them with contemporary anecdotes. This style still resonates deeply.

Q: What famous revival preachers should we know?

MM: Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498), a Dominican who preached fiery repentance sermons in Florence, moved the people to hold a public “bonfire of vanities” and burn their luxury goods (see *CH* #149). Solomon Stoddard’s (pp. 6–8) periodic “harvests” foreshadowed later revivals. Theodore



Frelinghuysen (pp. 22–25), a Dutchman in colonial New Jersey, offended his congregants by preaching that their drinking, gambling, and fighting displeased God, yet he succeeded in reviving many. Edwards famously preached “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God.” Gilbert Tennent preached boldly against sin, leading some to anger and others to faith. And the most famous, George Whitefield, could be heard without amplification by up to 20,000 people. The influence of these revivalists still echoes today.

Other notables included Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771–1824), a stalwart Norwegian revivalist and unlicensed preacher; he was imprisoned 14 times, yet established a revival movement. “Crazy” Lorenzo Dow (pp. 45–48), a frontier Methodist preacher, shocked his interracial audiences with stunts, such as smashing a chair to pieces as a sermon illustration. In contrast, Asahel Nettleton (1783–1844) represented a dignified, restrained approach, but consistently bore fruit over decades.

Women also filled the ranks of revival preachers, including Margaret Meuse Clay (1737–1832), the once enslaved “Old Elizabeth” (1766–?), and Harriet Livermore (1788–1868). All faced danger and scrutiny for preaching publicly.

In the twentieth century, which *CH*'s final issue in this revival series will cover, revival went global. William Seymour (1870–1922) was a Holiness preacher and leader of the Azusa Street Revival (1906–1909) in Los Angeles. Seymour's congregation spread Pentecostalism internationally and was multiethnic and interracial so that “the color line was washed away by the blood [of Christ].” In her thirties, Maria Woodworth-Etter (1844–1924) became a Holiness revivalist and later embraced Pentecostalism. Billy Sunday (1862–1935) was a professional-baseball-player-turned-evangelist, colorfully saying he knew no more about theology “than a jackrabbit about ping-pong.” Mexican American revivalist Francisco Olazábal (1886–1937) preached in Mexico, Puerto Rico, and the United States.

John Sung's (1901–1944) ministry rose meteorically across China and among Chinese expatriates, with many healings reported through his prayers. Aimee Semple



PERSERVERING SAINTS Maria Woodworth-Etter (*above*) endured an unfaithful husband and the death of five of her six children yet went on to preach powerfully to large audiences. She followed in a long line of female revivalists, like Harriet Livermore (*above left*).

McPherson (1890–1944) was a Canadian American Pentecostal leader and the first American woman with a radio license. Festo Kivengere (1919–1988) went into exile from Uganda during Idi Amin's dictatorship, but stoked the East Africa Revival fires that began in the 1930s.

Bakht Singh (1903–2000) converted to Christianity, suffered family rejection, and became an energetic evangelist establishing hundreds of new congregations in India. Billy Graham (1918–2018), the best-known evangelist of the last century, was a key leader among international evangelicals. German-born Pentecostal Reinhard Bonnke (1940–2019) preached to the largest audiences ever. His preaching is said to have resulted in 79 million conversions, mostly in Africa.

Q: What will be the future of revivals?

MM: When Moody died in 1899, people said revivalism died with him. Yet the Pentecostal era was about to begin. Before Graham's rise to fame in 1949, a Harvard scholar said revivals were a thing of the past. Instead of trying to predict whether, when, or how revival might come, it may be better to affirm that revivals remain—in Jonathan Edwards's words—a “surprising work of God” that may exceed or contravene our expectations. **CH**

Preaching with power

SERMONS THAT STIRRED HEARTS AND SPURRED REVIVAL

LIKE A THIEF IN THE NIGHT

Your damnation does not slumber; it will come swiftly, and, in all probability, very suddenly upon many of you. You have reason to wonder that you are not already in hell. It is doubtless the case of some whom you have seen and known, that never deserved hell more than you....

Their case is past all hope; they are crying in extreme misery and perfect despair; but here you are in the land of the living and in the house of God, and have an opportunity to obtain salvation. What would not those poor damned hopeless souls give for one day's opportunity such as you now enjoy!

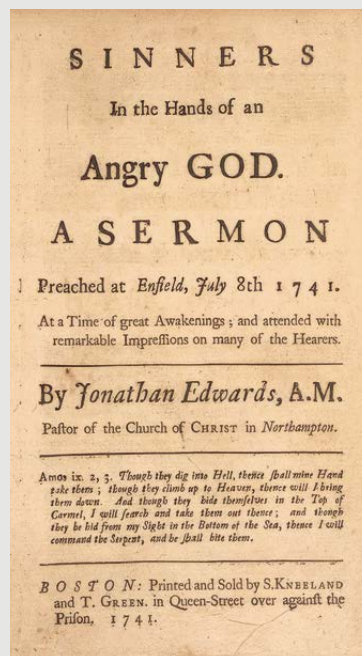
And now you have an extraordinary opportunity, a day wherein Christ has thrown the door of mercy wide open, and stands in calling and crying with a loud voice to poor sinners; a day wherein many are flocking to him, and pressing into the kingdom of God. Many are daily coming... that were very lately in the same miserable condition that you are in, are now in a happy state, with their hearts filled with love to him who has loved them, and washed them from their sins in his own blood, and rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.

How awful is it to be left behind at such a day! To see so many others feasting, while you are pining and perishing! To see so many rejoicing and singing for joy of heart, while you have cause to mourn for sorrow of heart, and howl for vexation of spirit! How can you rest one moment in such a condition?—*Jonathan Edwards*, “*Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*” (1741)

BLIND LEADING THE BLIND

The ministry of natural men is for the most part unprofitable; which is confirmed by a threefold evidence of Scripture, reason, and experience. Such as the Lord send not, He Himself assures us, shall not profit the people at all....

And right reason will inform us, how unfit instruments they are to negotiate that work they pretend to. Is a blind man fit to be a guide in a very dangerous place? Is a dead man fit to bring others to life? A mad man fit to give counsel in a matter of life and death? Is a possessed man fit to cast out devils? A rebel, an enemy to God, fit to be sent on an embassy of peace,



PIERCING WORDS Edwards, a reserved preacher, did not rile emotions with his delivery. For his listeners, the content was enough.

to bring rebels into a state of friendship with God? A captive bound in the massy chains of darkness and guilt, a proper person to set others at liberty? A leper, or one that has plague-sores upon him, fit to be a good physician?

Isn't an unconverted minister like a man who would teach others to swim before he has learned himself, and so is drowned in the act, and dies like a fool?—*Gilbert Tennent*, “*The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry*” (1740)

LORD, CONVERT ME!

If any of you are graceless, Christless, unconverted creatures, I charge you not to touch it [Communion], I fence it in the name of God; here is a flaming sword turning every way to keep you from this bread of life, till ye are turned to Jesus Christ.

And therefore, as I suppose many of you are unconverted, and graceless, go home! And away to your closets, and down with your stubborn hearts before God; if ye have not done it before, let this be the night. Or, do not stay till ye go home; begin now, while standing here; pray to God, and let the language of thy heart be, “Lord convert me! Lord make me a little child, Lord Jesus let me not be banished from thy kingdom!”

My dear friends, there is a great deal more implied in the words, than is expressed: when Christ says, “Ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven,” it is as much to say, “ye shall certainly go to hell, ye shall certainly be damned, and dwell in the blackness of darkness forever, ye shall go where the worm dies not, and where the fire is not quenched.” The Lord God impress it upon your souls!

May an arrow (as one lately wrote me in a letter) dipped in the blood of Christ, reach every unconverted sinner's heart! May God fulfill the text to every one of your souls! It is he alone that can do it. If ye confess your sins, and leave them, and lay hold on the Lord Jesus Christ, the Spirit of God shall be given you; if you will go and say, “turn me, O my God! Thou knowest not, O man, what the return of God may be to thee.”—*George Whitefield*, “*Marks of a True Conversion*” (date unknown)



More than revival

THE SECOND GREAT AWAKENING CHRISTIANIZED A NATION FROM EAST TO WEST

Thomas S. Kidd

When a new wave of spiritual change washed over America in the early 1800s, those living through it would not have thought to call it the “Second Great Awakening.” But they knew something special was happening. This “great revival of religion,” as they began to speak of it, was becoming an unstoppable force that would lead to the greatest era of Christian growth in American history. However, precisely defining what we know as the Second Great Awakening remains a difficult question for scholars. Unlike earlier bursts of revival, this awakening would prove to be less of an event and more of a process: a process of Christianizing America.

AMERICA’S SPIRITUAL GROUNDWORK

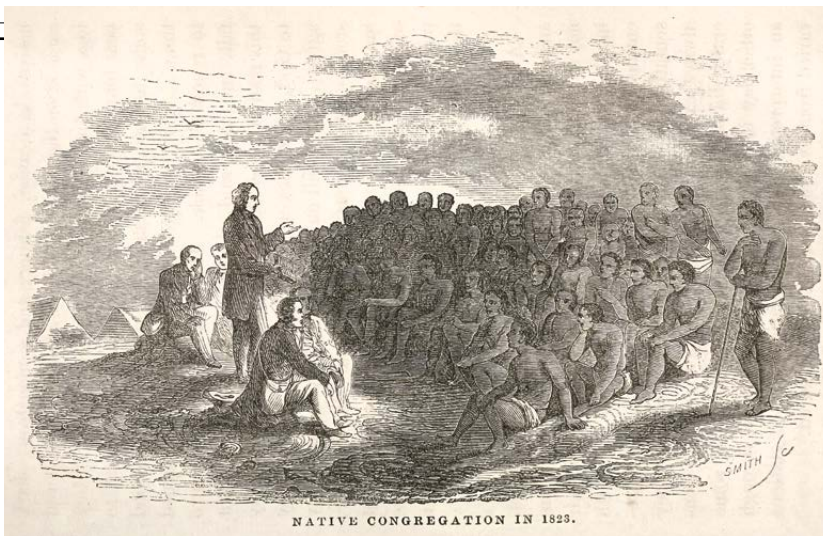
Donald Mathews, the great historian of American religion, proposed it was better to conceive of the Second Great Awakening as an “organizing process” than a revival or series of revivals. Indeed major awakenings occurred in the early 1800s, punctuated by the Cane Ridge Revival in Kentucky in 1801 and Charles Finney’s Rochester, New York, assemblies in the early 1830s. Local and regional revivals swept across America, Canada, and the Caribbean from at least the 1780s to the 1850s. But more than just individual hearts and souls were revived in this movement. Through the awakening, clergy and laity built America’s Christian infrastructure.

THE PROCESSION Methodist congregants journey to a revival meeting in their Sunday best. Likewise, the Second Great Awakening was a process.

Churches were the most essential part of that infrastructure. To be sure, spontaneous revivals occurred outside of church buildings. Exciting and newsworthy, these gatherings led to dramatic moments of spiritual transformation in the lives of thousands who converted. But churches were arguably more essential to the awakening process and obviously more central on a week-to-week basis to Christians’ spiritual lives and fellowship. Indeed the founding of churches usually preceded revival. And churches went on with their steady patterns of ministry, whether revival was happening or not.

The awakening also saw a blizzard of new Christian organizations, especially in the 1810s and 1820s, as fruit of what churches and the revivals outside of them were accomplishing. These included a host of parachurch agencies and missionary societies. Some of the best known were the American Bible Society (1816) and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810), the most influential missionary agency of the nineteenth century. But the ABS and ABCFM were just the tip of the iceberg. There was seemingly no end to the missionary and moral reform

AFTER JACQUES GÉRARD MILBERT, AMERICAN METHODISTS PROCEEDING TO THEIR CAMP MEETING, 1819. AQUATINT—GRANGER



AWAKENING TO MISSIONS Revival and missions went hand-in-hand in the early 19th-c. missionary societies spread the gospel as far as Hawaii (above). Besides Methodists, Baptists (right) led the church-planting charge. George Liele (above right) oversaw the Baptist Church's tremendous growth in Jamaica.

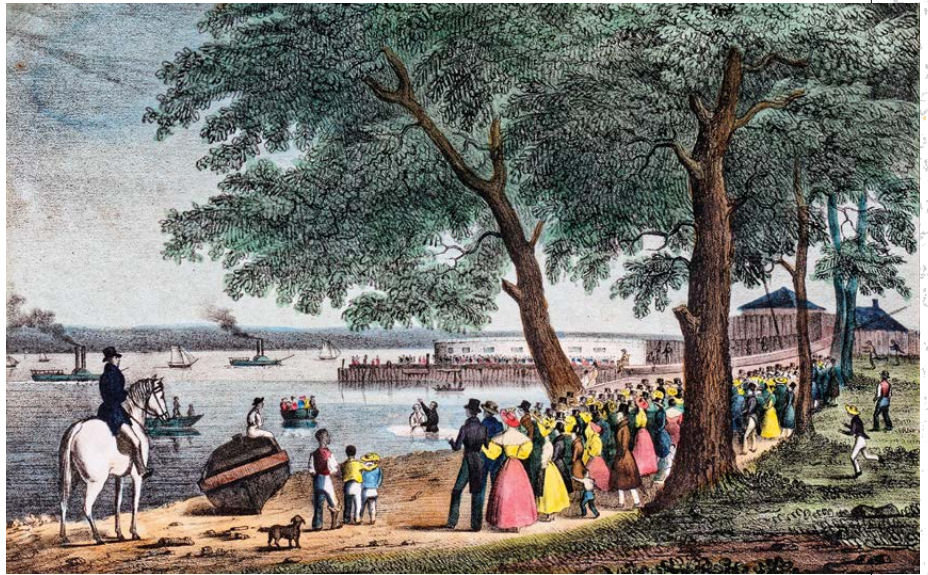
endeavors that Americans (and the British) initiated in the early 1800s.

Much spiritual work continued between the decades of the First Great Awakening of the 1740s and the Second Great Awakening. In fact times of revival never truly ceased between the awakenings, with regional revivals happening even during the Revolutionary War in the 1770s and 1780s. But there is still good reason to see the two awakenings as separate events, not only because of chronology, but also because certain features made the Second Awakening different from the first.

FREEDOM AND MOVING WESTWARD

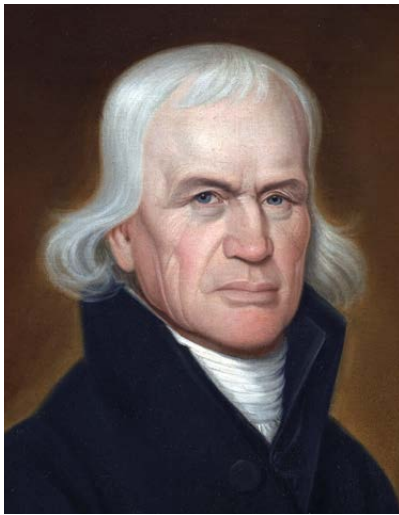
One factor was American independence. The First Great Awakening was a fully integrated Anglo-American event. Leading revivalist George Whitefield (see pp. 18–20) was English, yet he was also the most important figure in the revivals in America, Scotland, and Wales. In contrast the Second Great Awakening was distinctively American. British and American revivals had fewer vital points of connection in the early 1800s—certainly no other itinerating evangelist profoundly linked the Anglo-American revivals the way that Whitefield had in the 1740s. The First Awakening's preachers faced east across the Atlantic to Britain, but the Second Awakening's evangelists faced west, out to the burgeoning frontier.

Two other obvious features marked the Second Great Awakening as American in spirit: disestablishment of the state churches and the leadership of new American denominations. Before the revolution most of the colonies had state churches that sought to regulate, and sometimes suppress, the most aggressive evangelical sects. New England states, particularly Connecticut and Massachusetts,



maintained state churches long after the revolution. The First Amendment to the Constitution (1791) only prohibited a national established church, not state ones. But outside of New England, communities trended away from state-backed denominations. Direct tax support for churches was out; entrepreneurial religion was in. The American free market of religion benefited nimble evangelical denominations, especially the Methodists and the Baptists.

Methodists and Baptists in the Second Great Awakening carried out the most successful church-planting campaign in American history. The American population was growing at a breakneck pace, but these denominations kept up with and even outran that growth. The Wesleyan Methodists (freewill Arminians, as opposed to Whitefield's Calvinist Methodists) were an almost exclusively British phenomenon during the First Awakening. But in 1784 John Wesley permitted American Methodists to separate from the Anglican Church. Led by tireless organizers, including Francis Asbury, the Methodists became the undisputed champions of evangelical growth between the revolution and the Civil War, by which time they were the largest Protestant denomination in the country (see CH #114).



FIRST BISHOPS John Wesley ordained Francis Asbury (*far left*) as one of the first bishops of the American Methodist Church. Richard Allen (*left*) was the first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the denomination he founded due to discrimination.

The Baptist Church was not far behind and was even larger than the Methodist denomination in parts of the South and the British Caribbean. Only a tiny sect during the First Awakening, Baptists transformed into a behemoth by the early 1800s. As part of the great wave of new evangelical societies, they founded their first national organization, the Triennial Convention, in 1814.

GROWTH OUT OF OPPRESSION

However, the twin tragedies of slavery and the violent expulsion of Native American peoples marred the population growth and evangelical expansion in the American interior. Evangelical faith made limited inroads among Native Americans. Baptists and Methodists made far more progress among the African American population, both enslaved and free. Early Black converts, evangelists, and pastors most effectively recruited African Americans into the evangelical fold.

For example, enslaved man David George (c. 1742–1810) experienced conversion, received believer's baptism, and went on to pastor the Silver Bluff Baptist Church, founded around 1773 in western South Carolina. It was likely the first enduring Black-pastored church in America. George Liele (c. 1750–1828) was one of the Baptist ministers involved in David George's conversion. Liele later became the key organizer of the Black Baptist churches of Jamaica, one of the most dynamic denominations in the Caribbean.

Likewise Richard Allen (1760–1831) converted under Methodist preaching as an enslaved man in Delaware. He went on to found the Mother Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia in 1794 and the African Methodist Episcopal denomination in 1816. By this point the Black church had become the most important social institution for people of African ancestry, not only in the United States but in the British Caribbean and in eastern Canada, where David George ministered among Loyalist (pro-British) Blacks after the American Revolution ended.

Both White and Black women played a major role in the Second Great Awakening. In a pattern dating back to the colonial era, women were almost always the majority in

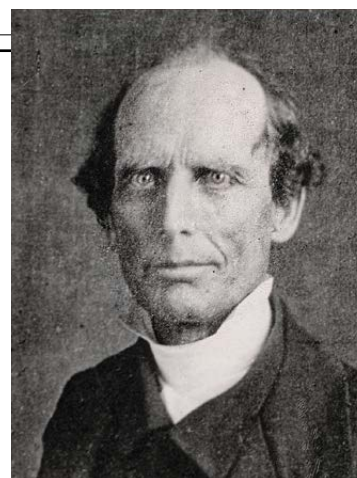
churches. The Second Awakening seems only to have enhanced that female predominance. Women, especially elite women in the North, discovered innumerable opportunities in the new Christian societies founded in the 1810s and 1820s. In Oneida County, New York, for example, women made up the majority of converts and new church members in a series of revivals that shook Utica and its environs from the 1810s to the 1830s.

These women mobilized the Oneida Female Missionary Society, which sponsored evangelistic work in relatively unchurched areas of New York. The society was not formally denominational, but like many such organizations, elite Presbyterian women dominated it. Many were married to professionals (merchants, bankers, lawyers) in Utica. Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians, the American colonial period's leading denominations, numerically fell behind Methodists and Baptists during the Second Awakening. But they retained major cultural sway. Often the old "formalist" denominations provided much of the labor and finances behind the missionary and charitable societies.

THE ANXIOUS BENCH

In the mid-1820s, the Oneida Female Missionary Society sponsored a young Presbyterian evangelist named Charles Finney (1792–1875). Its decision would be one of the most consequential of the Second Awakening, as Finney became the most successful and controversial revivalist in its late stages. Finney, a lawyer in upstate New York, experienced conversion in 1821 and soon cast aside law to preach instead. He enjoyed massive evangelistic successes across the urban North, with a knack for reaching the professional classes of the Erie Canal corridor in New York, especially in Rochester, which Finney visited for an extended campaign in 1830 and 1831.

Finney was notorious in his own day and remains so in some Christian quarters for his revivalist techniques and unorthodox theology. His "new measures" included practices such as the "anxious bench." He set aside special seats at the front of an assembly where people in the throes of conversion could receive prayer and counsel. Relatively few left the anxious bench without having achieved assurance of salvation. Finney did not pioneer the new measures. In fact Methodists and others had used them for years. But Finney perfected the measures into a revivalist system that seemed virtually guaranteed to produce results in the form of professed conversions. Critics wondered whether Finney's revival techniques were more about emotional manipulation than a genuine work of the Spirit.



FREE TO CHOOSE? A missionary society certificate (above) depicts Native Americans and Africans coming to saving faith. Free will in salvation was a hot-button issue in the awakening. Yale theologian Nathaniel William Taylor (bottom right) modified Calvinistic doctrine to preserve human freedom, which influenced Charles Finney (top right) and his approach to ministry.

Revivalists in Jonathan Edwards’s tradition emphasized that true awakenings were generated by the Holy Spirit, whom preachers could hardly summon at will. Finney conceded that God is behind true revival, of course. But he focused far more on a pastor’s choice to foment revival and a penitent’s choice to receive God’s forgiveness than anyone had before in the evangelical tradition. Those in the Calvinist movement struggled with a classic dilemma between people’s responsibility to repent and their inability to do so because of original sin. Finney rejected the notion that people could not choose repentance. He simply assumed that they could and preached accordingly. The only reason they might not convert was their own disobedience.

By 1831 Finney was even proclaiming that sinners are “bound to change their own hearts.” God had left the choice up to them. Did they want a new heart or not? They needed no gracious intervention to change their disposition toward God. Edwardsian preachers warned that this was theologically

dangerous, human-centered territory. But by the time of Finney’s popular *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* (1835), he had established a model that would profoundly influence American revivalism for the next century and a half.

We can hardly delimit the Second Awakening with a tidy beginning and end, but it may make sense to view it as lasting from the 1801 Cane Ridge revival to Finney’s triumphs at Rochester in 1831. In between, innumerable revivals cropped up across North America and the Caribbean. More quietly, countless churches were planted across the American frontier.

In towns from Detroit to Nashville to Tallahassee, churches formed the social and spiritual infrastructure of the growing American interior. Parachurch organizations made Bibles, Sunday schools, and gospel tracts ubiquitous in both those settlements and in the older urban centers of the East Coast. Missionaries took the gospel to peoples from India to the Middle East, and to the Indigenous peoples of the American frontier. Revivals were central to the Second Great Awakening, of course, but the awakening was a far more complex phenomenon. It transformed the nation’s religion, leaving America far more Christian, churchgoing, and specifically evangelical than it had been before 1801. **CH**

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"And I will make with them a covenant of peace, and will cause the evil beasts to cease out of the land, and they shall dwell safely in the wilderness, and sleep in the woods." *Ezekiel 34: 25*

Wesleyan Grove
CAMP MEETING.
Aug 18th 1852

"The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose." *Isaiah 35: 1*

Rugged revival

REVIVALISM CEMENTED CHRISTIAN IDENTITY ON THE AMERICAN FRONTIER

Joseph L. Thomas

In 1801 Colonel Robert Patterson (1753–1827) witnessed something incredible unfolding in rural Cane Ridge, Kentucky. Writing to a friend, he recounted:

On the 1st of May, at a society on the waters of Fleming creek . . . a boy, under the age of 12 years, became affected in an extraordinary manner, publicly confessing and acknowledging his sins, praying for pardon, through Christ, and recommending Jesus Christ to sinners, as being ready to save the vilest of the vile. Adult persons became affected in the like manner. The flame began to spread, the Sabbath following, at Mr. Camble's Meeting House—a number became affected. The third Sabbath of May, on Cabin creek, six miles above Limestone, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered . . . about 60 persons were STRUCK down.

His letter (p. 41) goes on to describe thousands being struck down and begging Christ for forgiveness. Weeping, crying out, falling in the Spirit, and of course, the born-again experience set the tone for the revival at Cane Ridge and for all of nineteenth-century American revivalism. People came in the tens of thousands to experience the refreshment of the Holy Spirit and the hope of a promising tomorrow. Widespread in its geographic reach, such instances of

ROUGHING IT Camp meetings took worship and evangelism to “wilderness” places. This poster invokes *Isaiah 35:1* as a godly reason to do so.

revival, part of the Second Great Awakening's impact, recast the 1800s as a Christian century in America.

So what was it about the Second Awakening that so profoundly shaped America's religious identity? At least three factors played a significant role in this national spiritual revitalization: 1) the “democratization of American Christianity,” to use historian Nathan Hatch's arresting interpretative phrase, 2) a form of revivalism that reached every farmhouse and backwoods community on the new American frontier, including enslaved African Americans, and 3) an eschatology of postmillennialism that drove the church to pursue a relentless path toward the improvement of American society and its institutions. These factors not only converted thousands of individual souls but baptized the United States into a functional Christendom.

AWAKENING A NEW NATION

The Second Great Awakening followed on the heels of the birth of the American nation, a nation explicitly founded

A. B. WALD, THE CIRCUIT PREACHER, 1867, WOOD ENGRAVING—PUBLIC DOMAIN, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS; E. B. & E. C. KELL COG LITHOGRAPHY COMPANY, ANDREW JACKSON, 1844, LITHOGRAPHED SILHOUETTE WITH TINTSTONE ON PAPER—CCO NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION; GIFT OF WILMARTH SHELDON LEWIS HARRISON & JEWETT, BARTON W. STONE IN THE BIOGRAPHY OF ELD. BARTON WARREN STONE BY JOHN ROGERS, 1847, ENGRAVING—PUBLIC DOMAIN, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

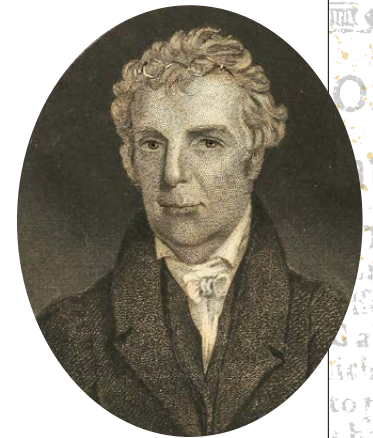


INDOMITABLE SPIRITS A newspaper portrays a circuit rider heroically (*above*). President Andrew Jackson (*middle*), identified with the “common man,” and Barton W. Stone (*far right*), who led the Cane Ridge revival, also embodied this uniquely American self-determinism.

on the ideals of personal liberty and inalienable rights. The impulse toward greater personal self-determinism in American political culture, known as populism, received a significant boost with the election of the Tennessean Andrew Jackson in 1828. “Jacksonian democracy,” as it became known, elevated the “common man,” or the average American, and the frontier to new heights of importance.

It was in these frontier regions that individual and religious freedom took hold around the belief that the ordinary citizen no longer needed the guiding hand of elites, political as well as religious. Common people believed they could read and understand the meaning of the Bible just as well as any seminary-trained pastor or theologian, an understanding that only accelerated with the spread of the Second Great Awakening. This democratizing influence particularly elevated the religious role of women too, who experienced unprecedented opportunities, as historian Timothy Smith notes, to “participate in revivals and in testimony, prayer and class meetings, as often as not becoming spiritual leaders.”

As this populist strain developed within the American DNA, an explosion of new religious movements emerged and developed on the frontier regions of upstate New York and the American West. Older denominations such as Baptists



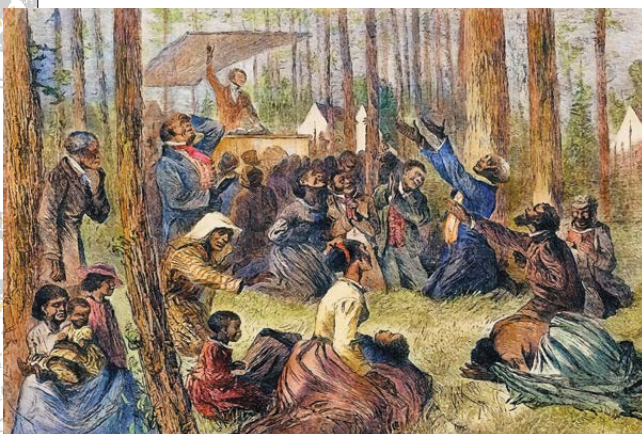
and Methodists adapted to frontier culture, and new religious alternatives arose, such as Christian restorationism and enslaved African Americans’ increasing entry into the church. The Baptist polity of local church autonomy found a welcome home on the frontier where a populist mindset reigned. The yeoman work of the Methodist circuit riders left no frontier space untouched by the gospel, no matter how isolated.

Enslaved populations in America also found revival despite slaveholders who viewed religious gatherings on their plantations with suspicion—often shutting them down. Trying to control the message, they pushed a so-called “Slave Bible,” preaching only those passages that reinforced the obedience of the enslaved. But tucked away from the gaze of the overseer, a new and singular brand of Christianity began to form. Its more demonstrative worship practices included shouting, dancing, hand raising, “falling exercises,” and a new sacred music called Black spirituals. The influence of the Black worship experience made its way into the larger White revivalist meetings. William Black, a Methodist preacher, described the new revival atmosphere,

Under the sermon some began to cry out. I stopped preaching and began to pray. My voice was soon drowned. . . . About 30 were under deep distress, if one might so conclude from weeping eyes, heaving breast, solemn groans, shrill cries, self accusations, and serious reiterated enquiries “What shall I do to be saved?”

UNITY AT CANE RIDGE

As the gospel message left the high steeple churches on the eastern seaboard and made its way to the frontier, evangelists became adept at speaking off the cuff and from the heart. Methodist bishop Francis Asbury exhorted his preachers to “preach as if you had seen heaven and its celestial inhabitants and had hovered over the bottomless pit and beheld the tortures and heard the groans of the damned.” America’s frontier also saw the emergence of new religious innovations, most notably the arrival of the camp meeting. What started in 1801 in Cane Ridge, Kentucky, as a gathering of people to take Communion, based on a practice developed in Scotland called a “Holy Fair,” soon ignited into a blazing revival.



When John McGee took the preaching stand, he “exhorted [listeners] to let the Lord God Omnipotent reign in their hearts, and to submit to Him.” McGee reported the result, “the floor was soon covered with the slain.”

As word spread tens of thousands of people traveled from miles around to participate. Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists all took turns preaching. Cane Ridge helped develop a new fixture at revivalist meetings, multiple stages with multiple preachers placed around the meeting grounds. This interdenominational experience loosened the theological ties that bound denominational churches. Cane Ridge revealed a revivalist reality that would play out repeatedly in future revivals: a direct experience of the Holy Spirit superseding theological considerations that form denominations and divide the Christian body, if only momentarily.

BRIGHT HOPE FOR TOMORROW

This unusual display of unity at the Cane Ridge camp meeting caused one participant, Barton W. Stone (1772–1844), to begin the restorationist Christian movement (see *CH* #106). Restorationism, later known as the Stone-Campbell movement, sought to return nineteenth-century Christianity to its original New Testament state. Eschewing traditional church creeds for the Bible alone, these religious innovators believed the preceding 18 centuries of Christianity had corrupted the true church of the first century. This restorationist impulse would influence other new religious movements during the rest of the nineteenth century, including radical Holiness groups and early Pentecostalism, both seeking to restore the Holy Spirit’s power and thus creating opportunities for new revivals.

Presbyterians like Charles Finney (see pp. 34–37) refashioned their staid denominational polity and piety to reach the frontier region of upstate New York. A trained lawyer with a fierce look, Finney passionately preached until resistance to the converted life retreated in defeat. He was placed on a “retainer from the Lord Jesus Christ to plead his cause,” and developed his own brand of revivalism. In his *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* published in 1835, he trained fellow preachers to act in a direct manner,

If there is a sinner in this house, let me say to him, Abandon all your excuses. . . . This very hour may

COMMUNION AND REVIVAL The “Holy Fair” (above), a week-long, open air Communion festival in Scotland, allowed laypeople to interpret Scripture and often led to revival. Cane Ridge imitated the practice, resulting in revivalist camp meetings nationwide (left).

seal your eternal destiny. Will you submit to God tonight—NOW?

Wrapped up in this heady optimism was an eschatological belief in individual and societal improvement, known as postmillennialism. The Second Great Awakening spread its teachings far and wide. Postmillennialism taught that the same gospel power that changed the heart of the individual could reform society. Methodist Bishop Gilbert Haven provided this summation of the effects of postmillennialism,

The Gospel . . . is not confined to a repentance and faith that have no connection with social and civil duties. The Evangel of Christ is an all-embracing theme. . . . The Cross is the center of the spiritual, and therefore of the material universe.

In America postmillennialist influence could be felt in the abolitionist movement, prison reform, relief for the poor, and temperance. Even in the first public universities in the Midwest, postmillennialist eschatology appeared in the institutional dedication to train Christians who could reduce the toil of labor and increase the production of agricultural and industrial goods, helping to bring about the millennial day.

The Second Great Awakening emerged from a democratizing culture of American individualism and self-determination that helped shape its style of revivalism. The camp meeting’s emergence and an eschatology of social improvement became the means to establish the new republic on a Christian foundation, even as it wrestled with the needed social changes to make this a reality. For the common person, the new birth of a nation combined with the new birth of the individual energized the American ethos with the rich possibilities of starting a new and better life. **CG**

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“The flame spread more and more”

A FIRSTHAND ACCOUNT OF THE REVIVAL AT CANE RIDGE

On Friday night preceding the Sacrament at Concord, I was present at a society, held at [Cane Ridge], a united congregation of Mr. Stone, and saw the extraordinary work. Of 50 persons present, nine were struck down. I proceeded next morning to Concord, 10 miles distant, where a sermon was preached, at which several became affected and struck down. The exercises continued all night... The number being so great, the Lord's Supper was administered at a tent. A great solemnity appeared all day. A number were struck down; on the whole occasion about 150.

The exercises continued . . . without intermission... Add to that, exhortations, praying, singing, the cries of the distressed, on account of sin; the rejoicing of those that were delivered from their sin's bondage, and brought to enjoy the liberty that is in Christ Jesus; all going on at the same time. About 4,000 persons attended....

The Lord's Supper was appointed to be held at Point Pleasant, on Stony creek, ten miles above Paris, being one of Mr. Joseph Howe's congregations. There the flame spread more and more. Curiosity led a great many strangers, I with my family attended....

A WONDERFUL WORK OF GOD

As well as I am able, I will describe it... Of all ages, from eight years and upwards; male and female; rich and poor; the blacks; and of every denomination; those in favour of it, as well as those, at the instant in opposition to it, and railing against it, have instantaneously laid motionless on the ground. Some feel the approaching symptoms by being under deep convictions; their heart swells, their nerves relax, and in an instant they become motionless and speechless, but generally retain their senses.

It comes upon others like an electric shock, as if felt in the great arteries of the arms or thighs; closes quick into the heart, which swells, like to burst. The body relaxes and falls motionless; the hands and feet become cold, and yet the pulse is as formerly, though sometimes rather slow. Some grow weak, so as not to be able to stand, but do not lose their speech altogether. . . .

When they regain their speech, which comes to them gradually, they express themselves commonly in the following manner—that they are great sinners;



STUMP FOR A STAGE Barton W. Stone preaches at Cane Ridge. What may have started as an ordinary outdoor service quickly became extraordinary.

the vilest of vile, and pray earnestly for mercy through Christ...

But, I am sure, my description, and your view (if you were an eye witness) would differ as much as day from night. So say those who have first heard and then seen. Notwithstanding that all our ministers, and a vast number of the most respectable and sensible people, in the country, acknowledge, that it is the wonderful work of God; and is marvelously manifested to us; yet there are people so hardened, that they either cannot or will not acknowledge the work to be of God, but represent it in an unfavourable view....

MINISTRY, NOT CONFUSION

In order to give you a more just conception of it—suppose so large a congregation assembled in the woods, ministers preaching day and night; the camp illuminated with candles... persons falling down, and carried out of the crowd, by those next to them, and taken to some convenient place, where prayer is made for them; some Psalm or Hymn, suitable to the occasion, sung....

If they do not recover soon, praying and singing is kept up, alternately, and sometimes a minister exhorts over them—for generally a large group of people collect, and stand round, paying attention to prayer and joining in singing. Now suppose 20 of those groups around; a minister engaged in preaching to a large congregation, in the middle; some mourning; some rejoicing, and great solemnity on every countenance, and you will form some imperfect idea of the extraordinary work! Opposers call this confusion! But in any of these parties, employment for the mind may be found.—Colonel Robert Patterson, extract of a letter to the Rev. Doctor John King (1801)



Divine disruption

HEALING REVIVALS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY FUELED LATER PENTECOSTALISM

Charlie Self

Three centuries of Protestant faith became the foundation for an extraordinary phenomenon in the United States: a free market of religious communities, filled with vibrant personalities and movements that interconnected and diverged in complicated ways. Deeper life and Holiness movements found common roots with Anabaptist and Pietist groups striving for true piety and ethical change. Vibrant Methodists continued to call for personal and social holiness. Restorationist and revivalist streams grew from their roots in the First and Second Great Awakenings. Adding to this hopefulness was the urgent dispensational eschatology of John Nelson Darby (1800–1882), the Campbellites, Irvingites, and others (see issues #106 and #128 for more).

Many of these streams converged in the healing revivals of the latter nineteenth century, specifically among those with a heightened expectation of the work of the Holy Spirit. These Christians believed that the delivering, healing, and empowering work of the Holy Spirit in the Gospels and Book of Acts was still at work centuries later. The recent lack of healing and miracles they observed was not to them divine reluctance, but a sign of the church's weak faith and tacit belief that such signs and wonders were confined to the first century or in rare moments of missionary expansion. And as experiences of spiritual awakening, calls to holiness, and increased expectations of the miraculous grew, so did the revival streams feeding into the Pentecostal river.

HOLINESS AND HEALING Maria Woodworth-Etter hosted this tent meeting in Des Moines, Iowa, where she preached and prayed for the sick.

“JESUS IS VICTOR”

America's nineteenth-century healing movement had its roots in Europe. Johann Christoph Blumhardt (1805–1880), a Lutheran pastor and Pietist, set off a local revival in Germany after exorcising a demon-possessed woman through prayer. The last demon departed when the woman shrieked, “Jesus is the victor!” Dorothea Trudel (1813–1862), a working-class woman from Switzerland, also saw healing through prayer, starting with those who worked for her when a mysterious and serious illness broke out. As illness swept through people in her village, she cared and prayed for them as well, and many recovered. News of her healing prayer ministry spread throughout Europe, and people flocked to her home for care.

Both Blumhardt and Trudel were part of Holiness movements touching multiple denominations. They saw many people healed after fervent prayer but never offered a formula for such divine interventions. Word of their work, however, touched many around the world, influencing them in their own faith-healing journeys.

Elizabeth Baker (1849–1915) and her family were among those converted and nourished by the work of Blumhardt, Trudel, and other faith ministries in England and Europe. Baker, who experienced her own divine healing, began

THE POWER OF PRAYER God brought unprecedented healing through the prayers of the unlikely Dorothea Trudel (far right). Charles Cullis, whose healing ministry impacted A. B. Simpson (right), wrote the introduction for Trudel's biography (bottom right).



devouring books and testimonies about the subject. The influence of evangelist D. L. Moody (1837–1899) and the faith mission of George Müller inspired her to open a Healing Home in London in 1880. She would open more healing and training centers before the end of the century, her ministry eventually encompassing the United States and Canada. One of the most prominent recipients of healing in her London home was pastor and *Deeper Christian Life* author Andrew Murray.

Baker befriended Carrie Judd (later Montgomery), who would go on to missionary fame in the early twentieth century. Judd encouraged Baker and others that empowerment for mission included being used by God for signs and wonders as missionaries. Baker used this inspiration to establish missionary training centers in Ceylon and India.

“FAITH-CURES”

In Boston, Massachusetts, another man of faith found inspiration in Trudel. Charles Cullis (1833–1892) began his career in medicine as an Episcopalian physician. Deeply committed to human wellness and holistic medicine, he began teaching that God still does healing and miracles, in spite of the cessationist theology of many around him. In 1881 to 1882, he held healing services and built his first “faith-cure” home.

By the mid-1880s, he was holding faith conventions throughout New England. A. B. Simpson (1843–1919), founder of the Christian Missionary Alliance (CMA) and a leader in integrating the empowering work of the Spirit with missionary efforts, experienced healing in one of Cullis's meetings. Within a few years, Simpson's movements and others birthed more than 25 faith-cure homes that cared for the ailing while emphasizing the prayer of faith in James 5. Cullis authored several works on prayer and healing, often collecting the works of others.

Simpson's ministry prior to the 1900s saw many healings and calls to missionary service. He is often touted as the leading “proto-Pentecostal” for his affirmation that Jesus is Savior, Healer, Baptizer, and Coming King—the “foursquare gospel” that became a popular summary for many twentieth-century movements. However, when some Pentecostal groups insisted on speaking in tongues as the key sign of the baptism of the Spirit, Simpson became less overtly Pentecostal, and the CMA was less sanguine about women in ministry.

Women in ministry, however, would not be dissuaded. Maria Woodworth-Etter (1844–1924) was a pioneering female evangelist and healer. Her early life was marked by sickness and timidity, but after her conversion and experience of Spirit

empowerment, she found the courage to preach and to pray for the sick. As word of her meetings spread and testimonies of miracles grew, opposition arose from the church and the medical community. Woodworth-Etter was even arrested for “hypnotism.” Historian Mary Scantlin summarized her efforts:

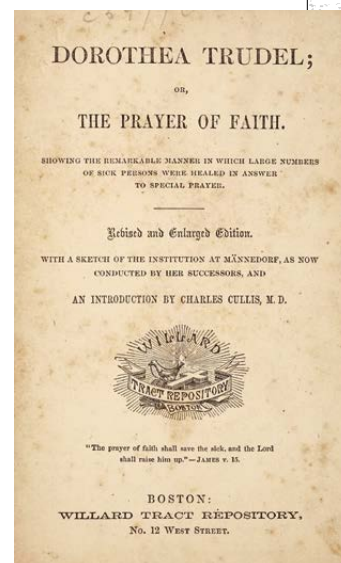
She exhorted that salvation and faith had to be in place in order to experience these miracles. Believers saw every kind of disease healed in every meeting. Blind and deaf mutes were set free, sick, and crippled healed and those near death were raised up. Immediate miracles as well as ongoing healings were a constant.

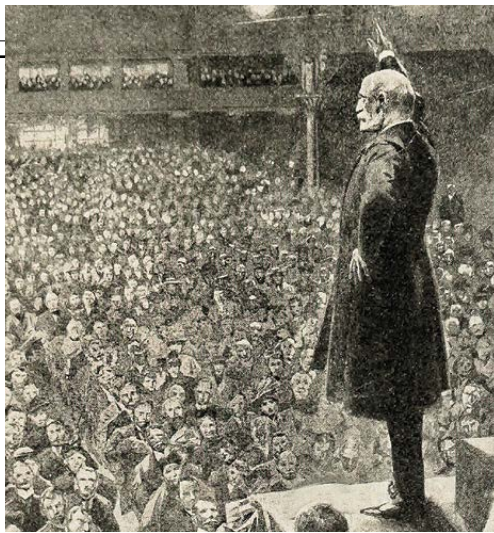
Woodworth-Etter, a formidable force for female leaders, weathered many storms, including her divorce from an adulterous husband. She eventually remarried to a man who supported her. For evangelical and Holiness female leaders, her focus on proclamation, healing, and discipleship, and her ability to navigate opportunity in a male-dominated world, were exemplary traits worthy of emulation.

DEVELOPING A DOCTRINE OF HEALING

Amid the rise in healing ministries rooted in Holiness and later, the Keswick “Deeper Life” movement, which taught believers should experience a second “deeper” work of God after conversion (see *CH* #148), leaders offered a variety of formulations that connected conversion, justification, sanctification, and empowerment. Methodists and most Holiness groups proclaimed salvation and sanctification as the two central and distinctive experiences of the Christian life. Many conflated the baptism of the Holy Spirit in Acts 2 with sanctification.

Other groups who believed in progressive sanctification, such as Deeper Life streams, began preaching the baptism of the Holy Spirit as an empowerment for ministry, especially missionary service. They separated this experience from





JESUS HEALS!
MRS. M. B. WOODWORTH-ETTER
 Camp Meeting
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 COURT HILL CAR TO PARK AVE., THEN
 GO FOUR BLOCKS WEST FROM
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Salvation For Soul
Healing For Body

THREE MEETINGS DAILY
 Good Song Service at Each Meeting

Mrs. Woodworth-Etter has had a marvelously successful ministry of over forty years throughout the U. S. Her work has been blessed in the salvation of multitudes. Many thousands have been healed of all manner of diseases by the prayer of faith and through the laying on of hands. (Mark 16: 17, 18; James 5: 13, 14.)

Come bring the sick and afflicted to be healed
 without money and without price through the name of JESUS.

Those desiring to rent tents, cots, mattresses, or comforts please give 3 days notice. Bring toilet articles, sheets and pillows. Meals may be secured on the camp ground.

Address communications to JOSEPH A. DARNER, 131 W. 2ND ST. OTTUMWA,
 After Reading, Please Hand to Some One Sick or Afflicted, or Tack Up to be Read

salvation. But many Holiness leaders added Spirit baptism as a third experience alongside salvation and sanctification.

Faith and sound theology thus proved complicated in practice. The interwoven ministries of R. A. Torrey (1856–1928) and D. L. Moody are an important window on the complexities of medicine and faith healing, as well as what constituted a normative Christian experience of empowerment and healing.

Torrey, a well-educated Christian scholar, experienced God’s grace under the influence of Moody’s passionate calls for surrender to Christ. Torrey left the allure of higher criticism and emerging theological liberalism and strove for a “clear and plain” understanding of the Bible. He would later lead Moody’s Bible Institute and be a key contributor and editor of *The Fundamentals*, a multivolume defense of conservative evangelical theology.

Torrey strongly believed the baptism of the Holy Spirit empowered the Great Commission and that those on the frontier of mission should expect to see signs and wonders that included healing and deliverance. But he also embraced medical care and left room for suffering in the Christian life.

Moody was the most prominent evangelical evangelist in the late nineteenth century. He called for conversion and consecration and believed in subsequent empowerments of the Holy Spirit for evangelization. Both Moody and Torrey were temperate enthusiasts leaving room for mystery while calling Christians to increase their faith in the God who delights in doing wonders. Moody refined the evangelistic campaigns, mobilizing local churches and working across denominations. He also never forgot his early days of working with the poor, and he made sure that converts and their churches engaged in substantive outreach to their communities. And all of this was accompanied by an urgent, dispensational eschatology.

GOD SAVES AND HEALS

One of the most colorful healing evangelists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Smith Wigglesworth (1859–1947) believed and lived a life of aggressive evangelism, deep prayer, and healing faith. He called on believers to trust God for healing and holiness and often was quite physical in his healing prayers. His words attest to his passion:

SALVATION, SOUL AND BODY Elizabeth Baker’s (left) divine healing experience inspired her worldwide healing homes. R. A. Torrey (middle) preached passionately about God’s ability to heal, although he left room for medicine. Maria Woodworth-Etter (above) often presided over healings at her camp meetings.

The reason the world is not seeing Jesus is that Christian people are not filled with Jesus. They are satisfied with attending meetings weekly, reading the Bible occasionally, and praying sometimes. . . . It is an awful thing for me to see people who profess to be Christians lifeless, powerless, and in a place where their lives are so parallel to unbelievers’ lives that it is difficult to tell which place they are in, whether in the flesh or in the Spirit.

Controversial and sincere, Wigglesworth remained immensely influential well into the twentieth century.

“Faith is just the open door through which the Lord comes,” he said, adding:

Do not say, “I was saved by faith” or “I was healed by faith.” Faith does not save and heal. God saves and heals through that open door. You believe, and the power of Christ comes.

From the evangelical awakenings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the Holiness and Deeper Life movements throughout, we see interwoven threads of spiritual vitality, expectation of the miraculous, and faith for transformation, including divine healing. These healing revivals were more than proto-Pentecostal stirrings—they were, in fact, revitalizations of Holy Spirit activity that would fuel the early twentieth-century Pentecostal outpourings that have changed the face of global Christianity. **CH**

Charlie Self is a minister, author, and associate professor of church history at Assemblies of God Theological Seminary.

ELIZABETH V. BAKER, c. 1910—FLOWER PENTECOSTAL HERITAGE CENTER; DR. TORREY AND MR. ALEXANDER IN ONE OF THEIR GREAT MEETINGS, DETAIL OF ILLUSTRATION FROM TORREY AND ALEXANDER, THE STORY OF THEIR LIVES BY J. KENNEDY MACLEAN, 1905—PUBLIC DOMAIN, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO; MARIA WOODWORTH-ETTER MEETING POSTER, OTTUMWA, IOWA, 1922—FLOWER PENTECOSTAL HERITAGE CENTER

More great awakeners

THESE UNCONVENTIONAL FIGURES PREACHED THE GOSPEL AND FOMENTED REVIVAL

Jennifer A. Boardman

SOLOMON STODDARD (1643–1729), PURITAN REVIVALIST

Born into an aristocratic New England family in Boston, Solomon Stoddard graduated from Harvard University in 1662. He served as the university's first librarian and also spent time as a Congregationalist minister in Bermuda.

The town of Northampton, Massachusetts, which was settled in 1654, called Eleazar Mather to be their minister in 1659. Within 10 years, Mather was dead, leaving behind a 25-year-old widow, Esther, and three children. In that year, 1669, Northampton Church called on Solomon Stoddard to preach his first sermon in Northampton. Events moved quickly, and, in 1670, Stoddard became both Northampton Church's minister and Esther Mather's new husband.

Stoddard's position in Northampton proved to be influential throughout New England. As the first generation of Puritans were passing away, their children were not as interested in maintaining the strict bounds of church membership their parents held—membership that also determined colonial citizenship. Stoddard became instrumental for his proposal of the Half-Way Covenant. Previously, in the Puritan tradition, to become a member of the church, one must have a “conversion experience.” But Stoddard allowed people to receive Communion and baptize their children without the official conversion restrictions, a move not popular with some Puritan leaders, but helpful in keeping people in the pews.

This change in membership qualifications, however, did not affect Stoddard's desire for New Englanders to experience true Christian conversion. Between 1679 and 1719, he preached through five revivals, when many people, especially the young, turned to salvation through Christ. Stoddard taught one student in particular his methods of preaching to produce revivals: Jonathan Edwards, his grandson and the primary orator during the First Great Awakening.

ALPHONSUS LIGUORI (1696–1787), FOUNDER OF THE REDEMPTORISTS

Alphonsus Liguori was born near Naples, Italy, and graduated with two legal doctorates at age 16. Liguori found success as a lawyer, not losing a case until he was 27, at which point he heard the Lord say, “Leave the world, and give yourself to Me.” He became a priest at 30, and he was beloved for his profound but accessible sermons.

Almost six years following his ordination, Liguori founded the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. Also known as the Redemptorists, the group of priests was charged to serve, labor among, and preach to the poor in both urban and rural areas. The Redemptorists also felt



“CRAZY” DOW His unconventional methods unsettled his vast audiences, but Lorenzo Dow (see p. 47) also captivated them.

called to combat Jansenism in Catholic circles. In contrast to the extreme moral rigorism that he felt Jansenists required of their adherents, Liguori stressed grace, believing that “the penitents should be treated as souls to be saved rather than as criminals to be punished.”

Against Liguori's desires, Pope Clement XIII named him bishop of Sant' Agata del Goti near Naples in 1762. Liguori made the best of the situation by reforming the diocese from the top down. And though political mishandling of the Redemptorists toward the end of his life deeply discouraged him, his congregation survived; today, Redemptorists minister in 100 countries. Pope Gregory XVI canonized Liguori in 1839.



THIS OLD HOUSE Solomon Stoddard's original parsonage no longer exists, but his son John rebuilt The Manse (above) on its foundation in 1744.

PASSION AND PREACHING Alphonsus Liguori (above right) defended traditional Catholic teaching; Mary Bosanquet (right) defended her right to preach.



**MARY BOSANQUET (1739–1815),
COMPASSIONATE METHODIST MINISTER**

Born in England into a wealthy Anglican family with Huguenot ancestry, Mary Bosanquet became intrigued by Methodism and converted around 1757. This created family friction, especially when she refused marriage to a wealthy young man of her parents' choosing.

Deciding to use her family's wealth to glorify God and help others, Bosanquet and her friend Sarah Ryan modified her family's large home, The Cedars, into an orphanage, hospital, and halfway house for needy people. Bosanquet led Methodist services there so the orphans would have a robust religious education. In 1768 she moved the orphanage to the country and renamed it Cross Hall.

In 1771 Bosanquet defended her preaching as a woman to Methodist founder John Wesley. She felt God had given her an "extra-ordinary call." She argued that by preaching, she was not holding authority over men, but simply calling sinners to repent as well as describing Jesus's work in her own life. Wesley agreed, establishing a precedent.

Bosanquet served at Cross Hall until her marriage, finding homes or work for all the orphans before closing the orphanage in 1782. Together, Bosanquet and her husband, John Fletcher, started a Methodist ministry in Madeley, England, where both preached, cared for the sick, and taught Methodist classes. John Fletcher died in 1785. Though Wesley tried to convince Mary to minister in London now that she was a widow, she continued to preach, teach, and serve in Madeley, all while living in the vicarage. She preached five times a week until the age of 75 and died in 1815.



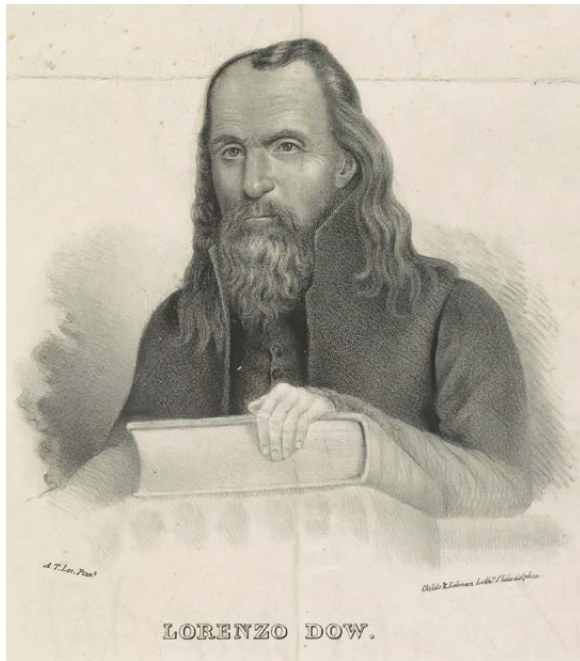
**JEREMIAH MINTER (1766–1829),
FIERY HOLINESS PREACHER**

Jeremiah Minter was born in 1766 in Virginia. As a young man, Minter was instantly attracted to Methodism because of its strict rules on holiness. He was ordained as a preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church around the age of 21. By 1789 he was appointed deacon, and the following year he became an elder. This was a prominent position, especially for such a young man, as Methodists had only 66 other elders in the entire country.

Around this time Minter was assigned to provide spiritual care for a district in Virginia. He came into contact with devout Methodist and wife of a plantation owner, Sarah Jones. Minter was a preacher of the "fire and brimstone" persuasion, and he frequently checked in on the believers in his district. Thus he would often travel to Jones's plantation, and they shared a deep relationship through frequent letters.

Gossips speculated that Minter and Jones had had a sexual relationship, and though those charges were unproven, it caused Minter enough distress to allegedly choose the life of a eunuch. Minter soon encountered trouble within the Methodist leadership as his condition became widely known.

SOLOMON STODDARD HOUSE—PRIVATE FAMILY COLLECTION, BILL JEFFREY / PUBLIC DOMAIN, WIKIMEDIA
ST. ALPHONSUS LIGUORI—WARSAW PROVINCE OF THE REDEMPTORISTS
MARY BOSANQUET FLETCHER—UNITED METHODIST CHURCH, GENERAL COMMISSION ON ARCHIVES AND HISTORY



ODD BUT EFFECTIVE Both Dow (above) and Jeremiah Minter had extreme reputations, but their ministries left lasting marks. At right, Minter's psalter points to Jesus.

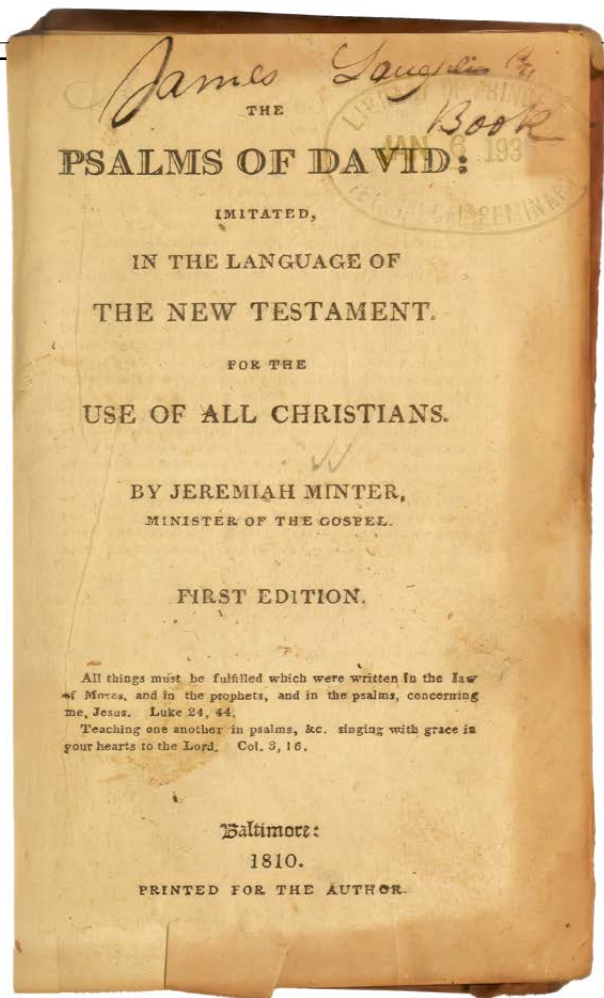
Francis Asbury wrote in his journal, "Poor Minter's case has given occasion for sinners and for the world to laugh, and talk, and write." Minter was sent to preach in the West Indies, and when he returned to America six months later, he refused to repent. He was thus demoted to a local preacher, and he went on to write a scathing report accusing Asbury of sorcery.

Sarah Jones died in 1794, and in a twist of events, Asbury preached at her funeral. Minter went on to publish Jones's autobiography in 1799, including some 150 pages of her letters, including her intimate correspondence to him.

**LORENZO DOW (1777-1834),
ECCENTRIC PRIMITIVE METHODIST**

Born in Connecticut, Lorenzo Dow became a Methodist in his youth. As a teenager he attempted to become a preacher but was rejected by Methodist leadership. But in 1798 he was invited to become a probationary Methodist circuit preacher in New York, which also took him to Vermont and Massachusetts. After Dow's missionary trip to preach to Catholics in Ireland, the Methodist leadership separated itself from his ministry. In 1799, 1805, and 1818, he traveled to Ireland and England, introducing revival camp meetings to the people. His work in England prompted the creation of the Primitive Methodist Church, a Methodist denomination focused on holiness.

Dow was an eccentric person and preacher. He was unkempt, with a long, unwashed beard. He preached boldly and without self-consciousness, often crying, cajoling, shouting, pacing, joking, and begging. Though unable to officially represent the Methodist Episcopal Church,



he preached a Methodist message while denouncing Calvinism, Roman Catholicism, deism, and anything else he believed was counter to Jesus Christ's message of forgiveness and redemption. He most often traveled on foot, sometimes joined by his wife, Peggy.

He was an avowed abolitionist, and thus he often met violent detractors in the South. But he was not deterred, recalling in his autobiography when God first called him to preach:

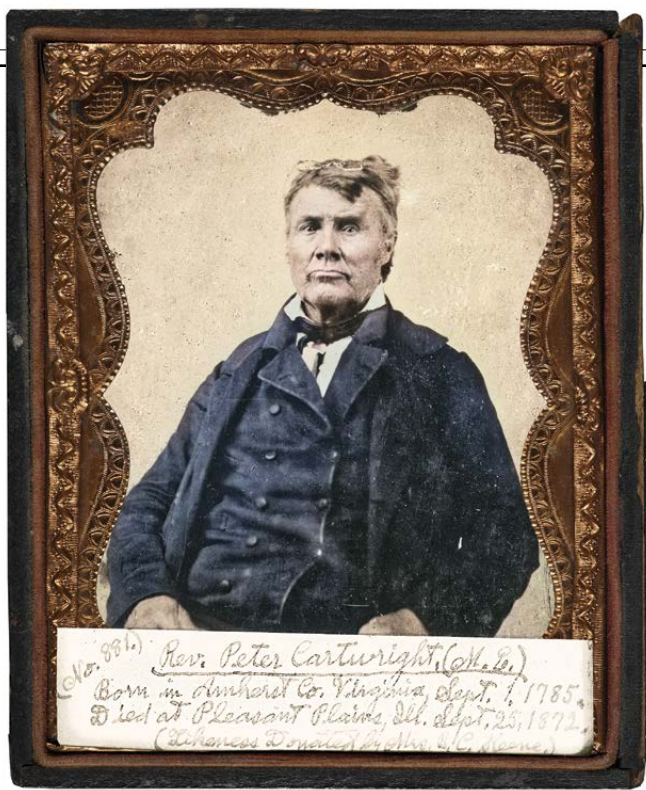
"Arise and go, for I have sent you." I said, "Send by whom thou wilt send, only not for me, for I am an ignorant, illiterate youth; not qualified for the important task"—The reply was—"What God hath cleansed, call not thou common."

Having traveled the entirety of the then United States, Dow died at age 56 in Washington, DC. His 1834 obituary declared,

He had been a public preacher for more than 30 years, and it is probable that more persons have heard the Gospel from his lips, than from those of any other individual since the days of Whitefield.

**PETER CARTWRIGHT (1785-1872),
GOD'S PLOWMAN**

Born in Virginia, Peter Cartwright grew up in Kentucky after his father, a Revolutionary War veteran, moved their family in 1790. There Cartwright converted to Methodism as a teenager during a revival camp meeting. He described



his conversion in his autobiography: “And though I have been since then, in many instances, unfaithful, yet I have never, for one moment, doubted that the Lord did, then and there, forgive my sins and give me religion.” Within a year Cartwright began a preaching circuit in the wild, largely unchurched West. He was ordained by Francis Asbury and William McKendree in 1806.

Calling himself God’s Plowman, Cartwright had great stamina as a preacher, covering 400 miles within his district. But as he traveled, he saw the evils of slavery, so he chose to move to free-soil Illinois in 1824. He continued to preach for more than 50 years throughout Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, seeing thousands of converts. He also traveled with a library: the Bible, a hymn book, and the Methodist *Book of Discipline*. A man of the frontier, Cartwright preached boldly, calling all sinners to repentance.

Cartwright opposed slavery but feared that using political power to end the scourge would permanently divide the country; instead he preferred appealing to people’s morality. When Cartwright served two terms in the Illinois State legislature as a Democrat, he continued to appeal to common morality over political maneuvering to end slavery. Eventually he lost a bid for a seat in Congress to 37-year-old Abraham Lincoln in 1846. After a long and full life as a father, husband, circuit preacher, chaplain in the War of 1812, college cofounder, and politician, Cartwright died in 1872.

HENRY WARD BEECHER (1813–1887), ABOLITIONIST AND ORATOR

Born in Connecticut, Henry Ward Beecher was the eighth of 13 children of the renowned Rev. Lyman Beecher, a preacher during the Second Great Awakening. Many of Beecher’s siblings went on to profoundly impact society

WORDS ARE POWER Peter Cartwright (*above left*) and Henry Ward Beecher (*above*) both appealed to persuasive rhetoric to end slavery. President Lincoln sent Beecher on a preaching tour in Europe to garner support for the Union cause.

through their advocacy, including his sister Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.

Beecher was an unimpressive student, but when he began attending Amherst College, he displayed great talent as an orator and leader. Following graduation from Amherst, he attended Lane Theological Seminary in Ohio, graduating in 1837. He then married Eunice Bullard and became the minister of Second Presbyterian Church in Indianapolis in 1839. His informal preaching style captivated his congregation. Beecher returned to the East Coast as minister at Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, New York. Always against slavery, Beecher became more adamant in his abolitionist stance.

Though raised in a strict Calvinist home, Beecher took a different tack than his father, stressing God’s love over discipline. He popularized a gentler and more socially conscious Christianity, campaigning not just for abolitionism, but also for women’s suffrage, evolution’s compatibility with Scripture, temperance, and the South’s quick reconstruction following the Civil War.

Beecher was often accused of being a womanizer, and in 1875 a sensationalized trial began regarding his alleged affair with the wife of a close friend. The jury was unable to reach a verdict, but Plymouth Church exonerated him the following year. He died in 1887. **CH**

Jennifer A. Boardman is a copy editor and writer. She holds a master of theological studies from Bethel Seminary with a concentration in Christian history.

PETER CARTWRIGHT, ISSUED 1860 TO 1920, DAGUERRETYPE—THE MIRIAM AND IRA D. WALLACH DIVISION OF ART, PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS, PRINT COLLECTION, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION; HENRY WARD BEECHER, c. 1875, CABINET PHOTOGRAPH—RANDOLPH LINSLY SIMPSON AFRICAN AMERICAN COLLECTION, JAMES WELDON JOHNSON MEMORIAL COLLECTION IN THE YALE COLLECTION OF AMERICAN LITERATURE, BEINECKE RARE BOOK AND MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY.

Discuss: awakening and outpouring

In a group or on your own, use these questions to reflect on revival movements from the sixteenth century through the eighteenth century.

1. How do the definitions of “revival” and “renewal” (p. 4) help you understand the awakenings described in this issue? Do you agree with the definitions provided? Why or why not?
2. In what ways did Puritanism (pp. 6–8) serve as a renewal movement, and how did it interact with the Church of England?
3. What were some of the Catholic reform movements mentioned in “Viva! Viva! Gesù!” (pp. 9–12)? How did they conflict?
4. What most surprised you about the children’s revival (p. 13)? What would it look like if something similar happened today? How would you react to it?
5. Who were some surprising figures associated with the Pietist movement (pp. 14–16)? How did Pietism affect later revival movements?
6. What primary religious movement came out of the revival at Herrnhut (p. 17)? How did it compare to other reform movements?
7. In what surprising ways did the Great Awakeners connect and influence one another (pp. 18–21)?
8. Who were the “New Lights” (pp. 22–25), and how did they interact with established churches? Discuss whether the critical reactions of the “Old Lights” to their ideas were warranted.
9. What was the impact of the First Great Awakening (pp. 28–29)? Were any of its consequences surprising to you? Why or why not?
10. Compare several of the revival preachers covered on pages 30–32. How were their approaches to revival similar? Different?

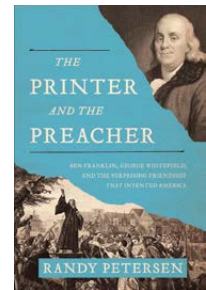
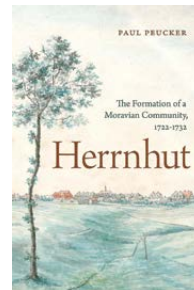
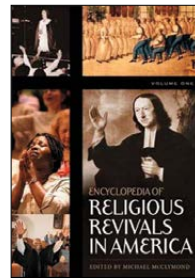
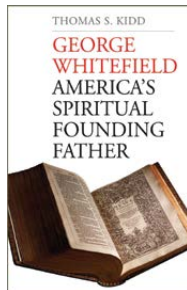
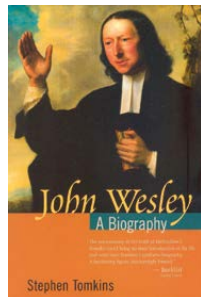
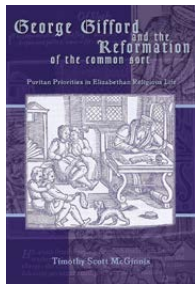


HERRNHUT’S LEGACY A prayer revival in a small German community led to worldwide missions and conversions. Here Moravians share the gospel with Native Americans, many of whom came to Christ.

11. How do you think audiences received the sermons excerpted on page 33? Were the preachers effective? Why or why not?
12. How was the Second Great Awakening different from the first (pp. 34–37)? In what ways did it change and influence American identity?
13. Was the Second Great Awakening a multicultural spiritual event? Why or why not?
14. Consider the miraculous events reported during the Second Great Awakening (pp. 38–41) and its legacy (pp. 42–44). How do you personally respond to such accounts?
15. Who was the most interesting historical figure profiled in the Gallery (pp. 45–48) and why?
16. Has your understanding of the word “revival” changed after reading this issue? Why or why not?

Recommended resources

READ MORE ABOUT THE GREAT AWAKENINGS AND THE RENEWAL MOVEMENTS THAT PRECEDED AND FOLLOWED THEM IN THESE RESOURCES RECOMMENDED BY OUR AUTHORS AND THE CH TEAM.



BOOKS

To learn more about the **English Puritans**, look at John Coffey and Paul Lim, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (2008); Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-revolutionary England* (2018); Scott McGinnis, *George Gifford and the Reformation of the Common Sort* (2004); and Michael Winship, *Hot Protestants: A History of Puritanism in England and America* (2019). You can read more on **English monarchs** and Puritanism with John Guy, ed., *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (1995); Norman Jones, *Faith by Statute* (1982); and Andrew Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism* (1996).

Find out more about **Catholic reform movements** with Robert Birely, *The Refashioning of Catholicism* (1999); Shaun Blanchard, *The Synod of Pistoia and Vatican II: Jansenism and the Struggle for Catholic Reform* (2019); and Ulrich Lehner, *The Catholic Enlightenment* (2016). Learn about **Alphonsus Liguori** and the **Redemptorists** in Frederick Jones, *Alphonsus de Liguori* (1992) and D. F. Miller, *Saint Alphonsus Liguori* (1940). Finally, read about **Cornelius Jansen** and **Jansenism** in Nigel Abercrombie, *The Origins of Jansenism* (1936); William Doyle, *Jansenism* (2000); Daniella Kostroun, *Feminism, Absolutism, and Jansenism* (2011); Brian Strayer, *Suffering Saints* (2008); and Ellen Weaver, *The Evolution of the Reform of Port Royal* (1978).

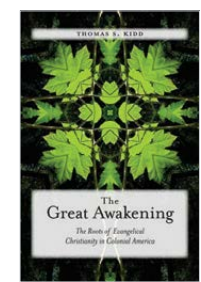
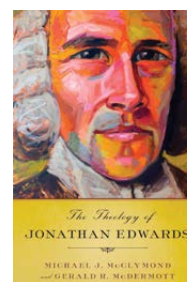
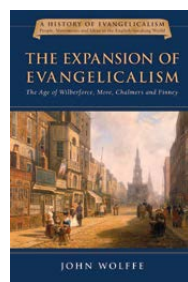
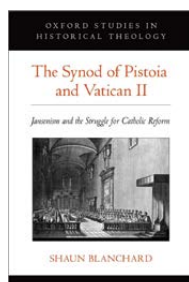
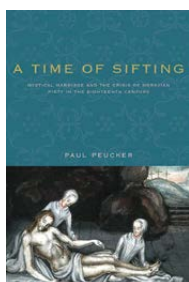
Read about the **Pietists** and the origins of **Pietism** in Carter Lindberg, *The Pietist Theologians* (2004); Robert Koester,

The Spirit of Pietism (2020); Paul Peucker, *A Time of Sifting* (2015); and Ernest Stoeffler, *German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century* (1973) and *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (1971).

Read about **Herrnhut** and **Zinzendorf** in Anthony Lewis, *Zinzendorf, The Ecumenical Pioneer* (1962); Paul Peucker, *Herrnhut* (2022); and John Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf* (1956). More on the **Moravians** can be found in Joseph Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church* (2014); and Paul Peucker, *Self, Community, World* (2010). You can learn more about the **Children's Prayer Revival** in Silesia in Eric Jonas Swensson, *Kinderbeten* (2009).

A comprehensive look at **American revival movements**, including the **First Great Awakening** and the **Second Great Awakening**, can be found in Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism* (1978); William McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform* (1978); and Michael McClymond, ed., *Encyclopedia of Religious Revivals in America* (2006).

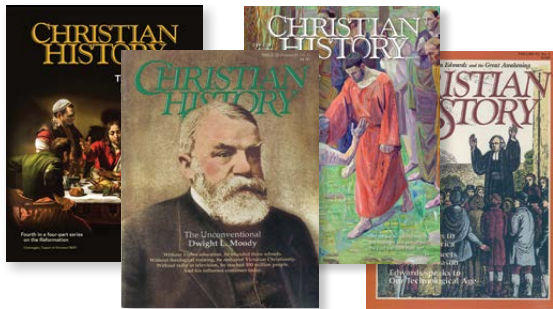
Read about **Great Awakening preaching and preachers** in Earle Cairns, *An Endless Line of Splendor* (2015); Keith Hardman, *The Spiritual Awakeners* (1983); Thomas Kidd, *The Great Awakening* (2007); Harry Stout, *The New England Soul* (1986); and Bernard Weisberg, *They Gathered at the River* (1958).



Dig deeper into **Jonathan Edwards** with John Lowe and Daniel Gullotta, eds., *Jonathan Edwards within the Enlightenment* (2020); George Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life* (2003); Michael McClymond and Gerald McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (2011); and Iain Murray, *Jonathan Edwards* (1987). Find more on **George Whitefield** in Arnold Dallimore, *George Whitefield* (1980); Thomas Kidd, *George Whitefield: America's Spiritual Founding Father* (2014); John Pollock, *George Whitefield and the Great Awakening* (1986); Harry Stout, *The Divine Dramatist* (1991). For a closer look at the friendship of **Benjamin Franklin** and Whitefield, read Randy Petersen, *The Printer and the Preacher* (2015).

And, for further reading on **John Wesley**, start with Kenneth Collins, *A Real Christian* (1999); Henry Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast* (1989); Stephen Tomkins, *John Wesley: A Biography* (2003); and Charles Yrigoyen, *John Wesley: Holiness of Heart and Mind* (1996). More on **Charles Wesley** can be found in Charles Dallimore, *A Heart Set Free* (1988) and T. C. Mitchell, *Charles Wesley* (1994).

For more on the **Second Great Awakening**, see Charles Hambrick-Stowe, *Charles G. Finney and the Spirit of American Evangelicalism* (1996); Keith Hardman, *Charles Grandison Finney 1792–1875* (1987); Nathan Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (1989); Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class* (1981); Timothy Smith, *Revivalism & Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of War* (1980), and John Wolffe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism* (2007).



PAST CH ISSUES

Related past issues of *Christian History* can be read online; some hard copies are still available for purchase.

- 1: *Zinzendorf and the Moravians*
- 2: *John Wesley: Revival and Revolution*
- 8: *Jonathan Edwards*
- 9: *Heritage of Freedom*
- 10: *Pietism*
- 20: *Charles Grandison Finney*
- 23: *Spiritual Awakenings in North America*
- 25: *Unconventional Dwight L. Moody*
- 38: *George Whitefield*
- 41: *The American Puritans*
- 45: *Camp Meetings and Circuit Riders*
- 50: *American Revolution*

- 58: *The Rise of Pentecostalism*
- 69: *The Wesleys: Charles and John*
- 77: *Jonathan Edwards*
- 89: *Richard Baxter and the English Puritans*
- 106: *The Stone-Campbell Movement*
- 114: *Francis Asbury*
- 122: *Catholic Reformation*
- 128: *George Muller*
- 142: *Divine Healing*



VIDEOS FROM VISION VIDEO

Relevant videos include *Penn's Seed: The Awakening, Saints and Strangers*, *First Freedom*, *Gospel of Liberty*, *First Fruits*, and *Great Awakening—Spiritual Revival in Colonial America*. A few videos that profile people covered in this issue include *Born Again: George Whitefield*, *David Brainerd*, *Count Zinzendorf*, *An Uncommon Union: The Life and Love of Sarah and Jonathan Edwards*, *John Wesley: The Faith That Sparked the Methodist Movement*, *Wesley: A Heart Transformed*, *John Wesley: The Man and His Mission*, and *Hymns of Praise: Charles Wesley*. Some of these titles are only available via digital download; you may access more content by streaming on Redeem TV.



WEBSITES

As always many public-domain primary source documents referenced in this issue can be found at the Christian Classics Ethereal Library and at Gutenberg.org. (You will also find older secondary sources at Gutenberg.) Have a look at the Internet Medieval Sourcebook and the Internet Modern Sourcebook as well. Reformation-era sources in particular can be found at the Post-Reformation Digital Library and Project Wittenberg.

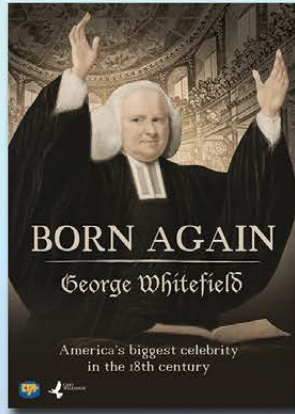
Some groups dedicated to the study of movements and people in this issue include the Redemptorists, the Moravian Church Archives, Jonathan Edwards Center at Yale University, and Cane Ridge Meeting House. **CH**

DVDS ON SPIRITUAL REVIVALS

Born Again: George Whitefield

In the 18th century a spiritual and cultural revolution swept across Great Britain and her American colonies. Out of it came a powerful voice proclaiming the need to be "born again." Whitefield's voice startled the church like a trumpet blast. His theatrical persuasion transformed the pulpit into sacred theatre. He took the church outdoors and preached to tens of thousands at a time. He lifted his voice to preach to the spiritually starving masses and ignited the Evangelical Revival and the First Great Awakening. Whitefield was the most famous and dynamic preacher of his time, preaching 18,000 sermons to an estimated 10 million people. He brought about massive social, political, and spiritual transformation in the Transatlantic world with his message of the "new birth" and being "born again." Documentary, 66 minutes.

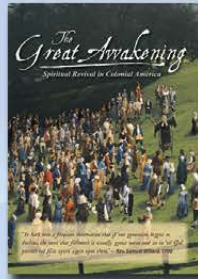
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The Great Awakening

Nearly 100 years after the Pilgrim's landed at Plymouth Rock, the New England colonists had largely traded the Christian ideals of their forebearers for the gods of material success. But then the Great Awakening swept through New England and the other British colonies bringing about a powerful spiritual renewal. This documentary traces the origins of the Great Awakening and follows its progression throughout the colonies. Documentary, 35 min.

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David Brainerd

David Brainerd was a visionary eighteenth-century missionary whose efforts led to spiritual revival amongst native tribes and inspired generations of Christian leaders to follow in his footsteps. The documentary features stunning photography and evocative reenactment scenes as well as insightful expert commentary. Documentary, 59 minutes.

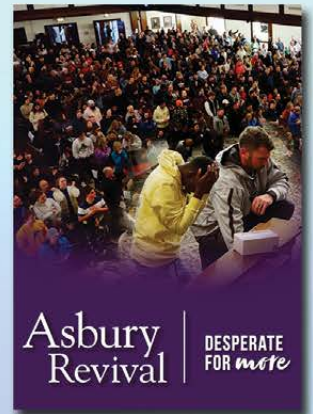
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Asbury Revival: Desperate for More

On February 8, 2023, some students stayed after chapel at Asbury University and continued worshipping—for 16 days! Our production team was there during the outpouring and brings you this behind-the-scenes view of what the Holy Spirit was doing—reported directly from students, staff, university administrators, and participants. The outpouring drew people from all over the U.S. and the entire world. What the Holy Spirit started at Asbury spread to over 30 other college campuses. Documentary, 55 minutes.

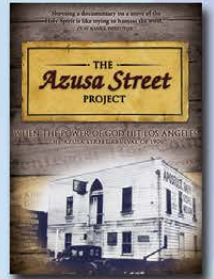
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The Azusa Street Project

In 1906, William J. Seymour, a one-eyed black pastor from Louisiana, son of a slave, journeyed from Houston to Los Angeles, only to be locked out of the church that sent for him. He turned to prayer and God's answer was The Azusa Street Revival, which changed the lives of six million people. Color and B&W. Documentary, 54 min.

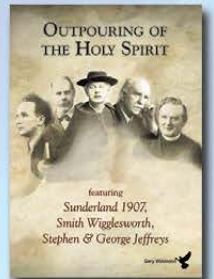
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Outpouring of the Holy Spirit

A small group of believers earnestly prayed for Revival in England at the beginning of the twentieth century. Little did they know how God would answer that prayer. This revival would lead to the birth of Pentecostalism in Britain and awaken people to a new relationship with God. Three-part documentary, 81 minutes.

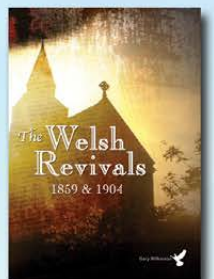
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The Welsh Revivals

The revivals of 1859 and 1904 in Wales were marked by a commitment to prayer and bold preaching for repentance inside and outside of the church. Churches were packed and streets were filled with believers singing hymns. This phenomenon was highly publicized by the press as the spiritual awakening impacted all of Welsh life. Documentary, 30 minutes.

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No one has seen this 3-dimensional pattern in the tapestry of history more clearly than Pope Benedict XVI. In words of beauty and brilliance, he speaks of the goodness of the saints and the beauty of art as the only antidote to the dark thread of evil which runs through all of human history. Inspired by Benedict’s understanding of history, Pearce presents the history of the past two millennia in the light of the good, the bad and the beautiful. **GBBP** . . . Sewn Softcover, \$19.95

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— Dale Ahlquist, President, Society of G. K. Chesterton

“This is history with a tremendous purpose -- to remind us that we are called to battle for the good, true and beautiful. Pearce provides a unique, concise history of two millennia that is sure to inspire!” — H. W. Crocker III, Author, *Triumph: The Power and the Glory of the Catholic Church*

“A wonderful account of Christian history from a unique and compelling lens. Pearce doesn’t gloss over the dark side of Christianity but takes an honest look at the ups and downs of history.”

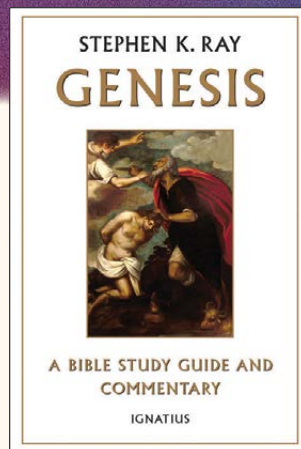
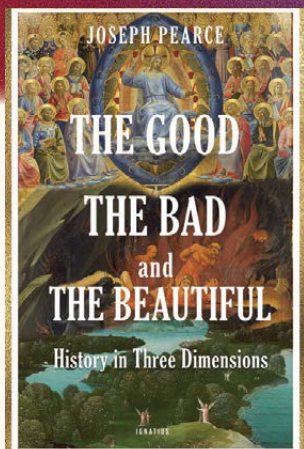
— Bishop James Conley, Lincoln, Nebraska

Also by Joseph Pearce

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“Ray unpacks this fascinating book with the passion, zeal, and unique insights. He explains the literal sense of each passage and shows how Genesis foreshadows in hidden ways the fullness of God’s plan in Christ.”

—Dr. Mary Healy, Professor of Scripture, Sacred Heart Major Seminary

Ray relies on solid scholarship but never gets lost in academic debate as he makes the text alive to all readers. May it contribute to a renaissance of expository Bible reading and preaching.”

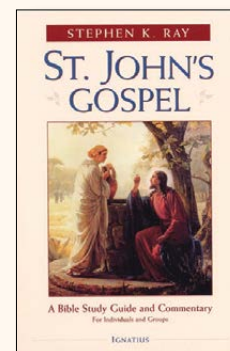
—Al Kresta, Radio Host, *Kresta in the Afternoon*

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