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A Comparative Study of Selected Revivals in America

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY
OF SELECTED REVIVALS IN AMERICA

by

Robert W. Hempy

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the
Western Evangelical Seminary

In Partial Fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree
Bachelor of Divinity

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

A. STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The basic problem of this study was to investigate the nature of a true Protestant mass revival. This investigation focused its attention on a comparative study of three awakenings in American Church History: one in the eighteenth century, one in the nineteenth century, and one in the twentieth century. The eighteenth century selection was the Great Awakening during the time of Jonathon Edwards and George Whitefield; the nineteenth century, the Fulton Street Awakening of 1857-58; the twentieth century, the campaigns of Dr. Billy Graham.

From a consideration of these selected religious awakenings the writer endeavored to come to some conclusions as to what constitutes a genuine revival.

Dr. Graham's work, while having given support to the conclusions reached, has had limited value at this point, because of the contemporary nature of his ministry. At the same time a study of Mr. Graham's contribution in the area of revival and evangelism has added strength to the conclusions reached, and has made possible some evaluation of his ministry as a part of the conclusions of this study.

B. JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

There is an evident lack of understanding among Christians today concerning true God-sent revival. This lack calls for some clarification and makes this study a vital one. A comparative study familiarizes one with the basic characteristics of a genuine revival and helps to determine from external patterns whether a revival has been experienced.

The two historic revivals selected for study in this paper have been chosen because of their common acceptance by American Church historians as genuine revivals. The campaigns of Dr. Billy Graham, also accepted by many as a genuine period of awakening, have been included to make this study of the mass revivals of American history more representative and thus make possible a more comparative study.

C. METHODS OF PROCEDURE

Following this introductory chapter the writer considered the Great Awakening of 1735-1742, the Fulton Street Awakening of 1857-1858, and the contemporary work of Billy Graham in three consecutive chapters. These three chapters constituted the main body of the paper. The Great Awakening and the Fulton Street Awakening were covered as to causes, basic characteristics, leaders, emphasis, opposition, and results. The period of Billy Graham's ministry included these same procedures of study and was concluded with a summary of results, evident at this time, from his ministry. A final chapter followed containing the writer's conclusions.

D. DEFINITION OF TERMS

Revival:

Strictly speaking deals with the Church; but in its broader sense could include both the awakening of those spiritually alive and the quickening of those spiritually dead. The term revival was used in this broader frame of reference throughout this study.

Evangelism:

Deals with reaching the unsaved. It may accompany revival or appear independently of Revival.

Awakening:

The term awakening has been used in a synonomous manner with the word revival in chapters two and three; but in chapters four and five the word has been applied to Mr. Graham's work in a somewhat limited sense because of the fact that his work is still not fully evaluated.

CHAPTER II.
THE GREAT AWAKENING

CHAPTER II

THE GREAT AWAKENING

The revival in American colonies, generally referred to as the Great Awakening, had a life span of some eight years. It began in Massachusetts in 1734, and did not pass out of existence until late in 1742. The movement contained two periods of climax. The first was more local, 1734-35; the second nationwide in its effect, 1740-42.

The writer's purpose was to spend more time upon the New England states and their place in the history of the awakening. The revival was more extended in its influence in New England than in any other area. It was here that the revival began and was more successfully carried on.

The method of investigating the great awakening included a study of the causes, characteristics, leaders and main emphasis of the revival. This was followed by a consideration of the opposition and result which accompanied the Great Awakening.

A. CAUSES

A period of prevalent apostasy preceeded the advent of the Great Awakening in America. Jonathan Edwards noted the conditions existing in his own parish about 1730: "It seemed to be a time of extraordinary dullness in religion, licentiousness for some years greatly prevailed among the young."¹

Northampton furnished an example of conditions prevailing throughout New England, and the entire country for that matter. Religion had lost much of its earlier evangelistic fire among the Quakers of Pennsylvania. In New York migrants had moved in who knew not the Lord; and the Established Church was spiritually impoverished in Virginia and Maryland.² Generally speaking, it was a time of spiritual dearth.

There were many causes for such apostasy. First, there was the fact that the spirituality of the first generation

¹Frank G. Beardsley, A History of American Revivals, p. 18.

²Fred W. Hoffman, Revival Times in America, p. 43.

colonists did not appear in their children. The founders of the New England settlements were men of sturdy faith, deep piety and intense moral earnestness. The passing away of this first generation brought a decline in the religion and morality of the New England Colonies. The devotion to moral ideals held so vigorously by the original settlers was not transmitted to their immediate posterity. With each succeeding generation there came a noticeable decline in religious life and moral integrity.

Secondly, the church life of the day contributed to the spread of apostasy. The services of worship were not conducive to spiritual vitality, being cold and unattractive. Musical instruments were forbidden. Sermons were dry and long. The theology of the day, stressing man's inability to turn to God, was discouraging.¹ Religion ceased to be personal.

A third cause for the spiritual conditions existing in the country was the adoption of the Half-Way Covenant. From the beginning, the New England Puritans tried to build their churches on the basis of a converted membership. As time went on the number who could meet this standard became very small. In order to keep the membership from shrinking drastically, many churches adopted the Half-Way Covenant which permitted a half-way church membership. Individuals of good moral standing, who were not converted, were admitted to a partial membership, baptizing their children and taking part in congregational activities but not converted or taking full communion. Instead of promoting vital religion the Half-Way Covenant encouraged people to be satisfied without a genuine religious experience. This system also led to the entrance of unconverted men into the ministry.² The practice of the Half-Way Covenant was never universal, although very popular. In Connecticut and Massachusetts it was largely a matter for each church to decide.

Also in the old world, religion was more of an institutional matter rather than something for individual concern. The

¹Ibid, p. 43, 44.

²William Warren Sweet, Revivalism in America, p. 14, 15.

influence of such a system became more pronounced in the Colonies, especially after the adopting of the Half-Way Covenant.

Finally, there was the influence of irreligious immigrants.

The large influx of immigration during the eighteenth century was a dominating factor in the religious situation of the time. With the opening of the eighteenth century England had ceased being the principle source of immigration to her American Colonies.

.....
By 1760, at least one third of the entire colonial population was foreign born. The Germans and the Scotch Irish furnished the greatest number of immigrants.

.....
They were largely poor and without religious leaders.¹

As immigrants they were cut off from the religious ties of the homeland and found no replacement in the new world. All these factors made their contribution to the spirit of ungodliness which permeated Colonial society.

There were, however, in the midst of such signs of irreligion, certain indications that the country was approaching a time of religious awakening. In the first place, a few spasmodic spiritual harvests took place during the years preceeding the Great Awakening, which seemed to point to something greater yet to come.

In 1720, Theodore J. Frelinghuysen, a minister of Dutch Reformed Church in New Jersey, had stirred the feelings of his solid Raritan valley farmer parishoners with a series of impassioned appeals and enjoyed a great ingathering of new members.²

The Scotch Irish of the Middle Colonies also received new evangelical zeal through the ministry of William Tennent's little school, dubbed the "Log College." Although the school had many scholarly failings, the alumni soon had local revivals flourishing, especially in New Jersey.³

¹Ibid, p. 17, 18.

²Bernard A. Weisberger, They Gathered at the River, p. 54.

³Sweet, op. cit., p. 29.

Next, certain catastrophes, such as the great earthquake in 1727, began to affect the public mind in the interests of religion. Unfortunately, the effects of such calamities were rarely of any permanent duration.

Then through these early years of the eighteenth century there was a growing awareness among Colonial religious leaders of the awful laxity in personal morality and the decline in religion. This awareness led to a new spirit of concern among the godly and helped set the stage for Colonial revivalism.

However, as far as the human origin of the revival is concerned, it started in the parish of Jonathan Edwards in Northampton, Massachusetts in 1734. 1740 is the date assigned by many historians for the beginning of the awakening, but in reality, the first phase of the revival actually began late in 1734 under Edward's ministry. For some months he had labored at Northampton with little or no success. In an endeavor to awaken the people he preached a series of sermons on justification by faith.

The effect of these discourses was, first, to make men feel that now they understood the subject and had hold of the truth; and next, to sweep away entirely all those hopes of heaven which they had built upon their own doings, upon their morality, their owning the covenant, partaking the Lord's Supper, or using other means of Grace."¹

Almost at once God began to work, and very suddenly five or six persons were remarkably converted. One of these converts was a young woman with a notorious reputation. News of her conversion seemed to produce a growing concern amongst the townspeople for the things of God. Soon their only concern was to get into the kingdom of heaven, and everyone appeared to be pressing into it. Day and night people came to the parsonage seeking spiritual help or bringing news of their conversion. Before long the revival spilled over into other towns until one hundred communities were effected.²

¹Joseph Tracy, The Great Awakening, p. 10.

²Christian Life Magazine, Jan., 1957, p. 15.

About the same time the awakening in New England was in progress, a similar work was under way in New Jersey under the leadership of William and Gilbert Tennant.

Behind the local outbreak at Northampton, three evident causes appear. First, the ministry of Edward's through the spoken word, and the unusual results of that ministry. Secondly, some months prior to the preparation of these sermons there appeared a new interest in religion in the town due to the untimely death of a young man and a young woman. The latter was greatly concerned about the salvation of her soul before she died. She died counselling and warning others.¹ Then on the eve of the preaching of Edward's sermon, which touched off the awakening, a group of men had spent the entire night in prayer beseeching God to manifest His power.²

After the initial months of the revival there followed somewhat of a decline in the visible signs of awakening. However, there was in many of the churches of New England a secret reviving in progress; a deepening sense of spiritual need and a rising tide of prayer. The next five years saw a much higher spiritual and moral level amongst the people of New England. While not a time of active revival, these years were in no sense a termination of the awakening, but rather a time of preparation for the more general phase of the movement which was to come largely through the ministry of George Whitfield.³

It remained for Whitfield to follow-up the New England revival begun by Edwards and to connect with it the same spirit found in the Middle Colonies where the tennants had been laboring.

The Colonies were prepared for Whitfield's coming late in 1739. His writings began appearing in American newspapers early

¹Carl Wolf, Jonathan Edwards on Evangelism, p. 19.

²Hoffman, op. cit., p. 45.

³Hoffman, Ibid, p. 45.

in that same year. Stories of his success elsewhere as a revivalist stirred up the people to a height of spiritual expectancy. With his coming to New England in September of 1740 the second phase of the Great Awakening had its real beginning.¹

Tracy in his history of the Great Awakening says:

...There is every reason to suspect that the manifestation of a revival, which was already secretly at work in men's hearts, was kept back for several months, by a general feeling that it would take place when Whitfield came, and not before.²

B. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

The first notable characteristic of the Great Awakening was its coming upon New England with such an astounding suddenness and rapidity of movement. Quite suddenly the awakening commenced in Northampton. In this small town of 1,300, three hundred were reported converted in six months.³ Once the awakening at Northampton was well under way, the news spread to nearby towns. Revivals quickly broke out in numerous other places throughout New England. The towns affected were primarily in Massachusetts and Connecticut. The report of revivals in other communities helped maintain the strong spirit of religious fervor in Northampton. Then just as suddenly as it had appeared, the revival weakened and all but halted. The visible signs of revival had come and gone so quickly that men were left to behold and wonder.

The climax of the awakening some five years later under Whitfield was in many ways just as startling in its coming and going and was certainly characterized by a rapid motion similar to the Northampton incident.

The suddenness with which the blessings of heaven fell on New England soil in 1741 is comparable

¹Edwin Scott Gausted, *The Great Awakening in New England*, p. 24.

²Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 83, 84.

³Beardsley, *A History of American Revivals*, p. 27.

only to the abruptness with which those showers were withdrawn. And the ending appeared as inexplicable as the beginning.

.....
The dramatic quality of the New England Awakening is due in large part to the very swiftness with which it moved, as a great flood; in, all over, and out.¹

Another characteristic which specifically belonged to this awakening was the manner of its coming, not only suddenly, but over an eight year period, yet with two distinct times of visible harvest. This fact makes the Great Awakening unique in American history.

A third characteristic was the universal effect of the awakening. The awakening was "Great" because it was general. Wherever the movement spread, none fully escaped its influence. In Northampton, the entire town was moved upon by God. Other areas to which the revival spread were affected in a similar manner. Not all responded to the work of grace, nor was it as great in size as it would be later, (1740-42) but wherever the blessing of God fell all were touched by it.

This seems to have been a very extraordinary dispensation of Providence: God has in many respects gone beyond his usual way. The work has been extraordinary on account of the universality of it, affecting all sorts, sober, and vicious, high and low, rich and poor, wise and unwise.²

The ministry of the travelling itinerents, including Whitfield and the Tennents, knew no boundaries, whether social or geographical. Within cities and rural communities, on the frontier or in the coastal regions, people gathered to hear an evangelistic gospel. Both North and South benefited from the awakening. Several ministers from Boston declared: "He must be a Stranger in Israel, who has not heard of the uncommon Religious Appearances in the Several Parts of the Land, among Persons of

¹Gausted, op. cit., p. 61.

²Wolf, op. cit., p. 23.

all Ages and Character."¹

The method which God used to promote this work constitutes a fourth characteristic. The Great Awakening was centered around the preaching of the Word. It was significantly a time of great sermons presented by anointed men of God. Many of these men became travelling itinerants, others confined their labors to their own parish. It was through the medium of preaching that revival had commenced, and it continued by that same means. Men such as Jonathan Edwards and John Parsons of Massachusetts, John Graham of Connecticut, and Dickinson, Finley and the Tennents of the Middle Colonies, were all active leaders in this visitation of preaching. In the South alone the work was carried on principally by laymen in the face of greater opposition from the Established Church. Yet it was still by preaching that these brethren ministered to hungry hearts.²

A fifth feature was the evident spontaneity of this work of God. It would seem that since the leadership of the awakening was in the hands of the ministers and specifically the travelling evangelist, there could have been a tendency to plan the strategy of the awakening. However, there was a lack of effort to work up the revival. Although divine visitations seemed to accompany Whitfield, Edwards and the Tennents, as well as others, wherever they went for meetings; still these outbreaks did not cease with their going. Beardsley states, that in Boston after Whitfield and Gilbert Tennent had both departed, the religious interest increased for several months.³ Also in many places such awakenings were brought about independently of any efforts from visiting evangelists.

There was little dependence upon external measures to promote the work, only as interest demanded were special services appointed. This appeared to be the work of God. It was divinely

¹Gausted, op. cit., p. 60.

²Beardsley, op. cit., p. 44-47.

³Beardsley, op. cit., p. 41.

directed and was internal rather than external.

Another characteristic worthy of note was the deep concern which accompanied the spread of the movement. The entire work was marked by seriousness. There was a general attitude of sober fear concerning the danger of perishing eternally. This seemed to be the manner by which people were awakened. Edwards wrote in his narrative of Surprising Conversions: "A great and earnest concern about the things of religion and the eternal world became universal in all parts of the town and among persons of all degrees and all ages."¹

The type of sermons the people heard had something to do with this reaction. Edwards preached a number of sermons on hell and judgement with terrifying effect upon his hearers. Gilbert Tennents' messages were said to either have converted or enraged his hearers. Whitfield's preaching, on the whole, was more positive, dealing often with God's love and pity for men; but the effect upon his listeners seemed the same.²

By 1741 most of the elements of revival were noticeable. However, one hallmark or characteristic often associated with such religious outbreaks was not yet visible. There was a lack of hysteria. That came too, not on the frontier, but in respectable New England.

Such manifestations as jerking, fainting, and crying out made their appearance. First in Northampton and then spreading to other localities. Edwards himself said that this final phase of the movement was distinguished from the earlier outpourings by the more external effect religious impressions make upon the people.³

Certain impurities began to creep in. Ministers who favored visions, trances, and powerful impressions and preached for such results, began to make their influence felt. One preacher of this type who did considerable damage to the movement was

¹Jonathan Edwards, Thoughts on the Revival of Religion, p. 15.

²William Warren Sweet, Revivalism in America, p. 80-84, & Joseph Tracy, The Great Awakening, p. 114.

³Edwin Scott Gausted, The Great Awakening in New England, p. 49.

James Davenport of Long Island.¹

Some saw in these fainting and outcries evidence of the work of the Spirit. Edwards, while not condoning the more excessive displays, did find some merit in them. This made people more anxious to see them.

While this hysteria certainly was not characteristic of the entire awakening, such bodily effects did become associated with the last months of the Great Awakening and have thus been identified with it.

C. MAIN EMPHASIS

The Calvinism of the New England puritans was of a dogmatic nature, having a strong tendency toward legalism. The needs of the individual were lost in the system. The emphasis was upon the head rather than the heart. The Great Awakening drastically changed this situation. A new emphasis emerged during these years of religious change, a personalized religion searching out the hearts of individuals. The Great Awakening was a return to the importance of the individual. The emphasis of the movement everywhere was upon man's personal needs. The majority of sermons delivered in these days emphasized experimental doctrines.

The key truth of the awakening was the reality and necessity of the new birth. This truth was anything but impersonal, dealing with man's own intimate relationship with God.

The leaders of the movement were Calvinistic in their theology, but still their main appeal was to experience. Their Calvinism had become personalized. Whitfield did not preach his Calvinism, but rather justification by faith. "New England became revivalistic likewise, as the result of personalizing Calvinism; when the New England clergy began to center their interest in a scheme of redemption for individuals, revivalism was born."²

¹Weisberger, They Gathered at the River, pp. 57, 58.

²Sweet, op. cit., pp. 29, 30.

This change of emphasis led to what is called pietism. Pietism is a type of religion which is more concerned with the heart than the intellect. Its appeal is more to the emotions and its theme is the redemption of the lost. The Great Awakening thus became a part of similar movements imbued with pietism: the English Quakers, the eighteenth century Methodists, and the Mennonites and Moravians, who came out of the Reformation.¹

This main emphasis of inner religion was naturally suited for the times. The colonies were a pioneer society; great stress was laid upon self-reliance and the rights of the individual. They needed, however, a religion which was personal rather than the institutional. A return to the pure gospel of Christ in this period of revival gave them what they needed.

D. LEADERS

As early as 1730 a few devout men were reviving the all but forgotten doctrine of justification by faith. Most prominent among these were Jonathan Edwards of New England and Gilbert and William Tennent of New Jersey. These men were to become the American leaders of the Great Awakening. They were mightily assisted in 1740 by George Whitfield of England. He served as a connecting link in the revival and combined it into one great movement. These were the key individuals God used to promote His work in this colonial awakening.

Jonathan Edwards was a graduate of Yale University before he reached the age of seventeen. In 1727 he accepted a call to become an associate minister with his grandfather at Northampton. Two years later, upon his grandfather's death, he assumed full pastoral responsibilities. He was one of the greatest intellectual giants of his day. Besides his intellect there was a warm heart filled with a deep sense of God's sovereignty and holiness. He was not a revivalist in the true sense of the word, although he did do some travelling in the interests of the revival. Bas-

¹Sweet, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

ically, he was a pastor. He was a manuscript preacher until jarred out of such a habit by Whitfield.

Jonathan Edwards was the presiding mind of the revival in New England. In the first place, the movement had its first beginning in his church. The church at Northampton became the revival center of New England, and retained that reputation even to the coming of Whitfield to that place in 1740. Edwards' fame increased as the revival gained momentum. He became the chief theologian of the movement and its most able defender. His writings on the awakening included: A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God, an account of what had happened at Northampton in 1734-35; Thoughts on the Revival of Religion, a defense of the general awakening in 1740; and A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections, in which he made religious emotion theologically respectable.

Edwards received great help in promoting this work of grace from the Tennents of New Jersey. They were Presbyterians of Scotch-Irish descent. Their work was in harmony with that in Massachusetts, but was not derived from it. As has already been stated, the name Tennent had been associated with local revivals in the Middle Colonies before the outbreak of the Great Awakening. With its coming they became an important part of the visitation. Whitfield was greatly impressed by Gilbert Tennent's preaching, and was responsible for much of his extended ministry. Following Whitfield's tour of New England in 1740 he urged Tennent to carry on the work he had begun. This he did by first following Whitfield in Boston where the revival continued to gain strength under his leadership. From there he made an evangelistic tour of New England and multitudes were awakened. Tennent's preaching was fearless and his burning zeal often went out of control. While recognized as the principle Presbyterian revivalist, he was denounced by the opposers of the revival more than any of the other outstanding leaders.

If Edwards was the theologian of the Great Awakening,

then George Whitfield was the principle evangelist. His arrival in the colonies in 1739 gave a new stimulus to the entire awakening. He preached his way from Philadelphia to New York, through the middle colonies to Georgia, and then back to New England in 1740 where he remained for several weeks before again returning to the southern colonies. Everywhere he went the story was the same; churches could not hold the crowds and people were convicted of sin.¹

Jonathan Edwards welcomed him as did the Tennents and opened their churches to him. His interesting style of preaching without manuscript was new and refreshing to the Puritans. His calvinistic leanings, which had proved a handicap in England, for it led to a break with the Wesleys, gained him access in America to the organized churches of the colonies. Whitfield, preaching his personalized calvinism, did not identify himself with a single denomination but served them all. Although a priest of the Anglican Church, his work was almost entirely outside that group. Bishop Candler writes that:

. . . The Congregational Churches of New England, the Presbyterians and Baptists of the middle states, and the mixed colonies of the south owe their religious life and energy to the impulse given by Whitfield's powerful ministration.²

Late in 1740 Whitfield returned to England, his brief but glorious part in the awakening was finished. He did, however, make five more evangelistic trips to this country and died in America while on a preaching tour in 1770.

E. OPPOSITION

Discord as well as unity was a product of the Great Awakening. The first indications of dis-harmony began to appear in 1740. From that point on the passage of time brought more

¹"Christian Life Magazine," January, 1957, p. 16.

²W. A. Candler, Great Revivals and The Great Republic, p. 81.

opposition.

The bulk of the antagonism against the movement revolved around five topics: itinerant preaching, lay exhorting, censoriousness, church divisions, and separations, and doctrinal errors.¹ These agitations appeared in many ways and from many different sources. It would be helpful to consider some of these sources from which such opposition came.

One of the first places where controversy developed was the Presbyterian Church. A great dispute developed in this denomination in the middle colonies. Although differences had existed within the group before 1740, the awakening brought the problem to a climax.

The Presbyterian Church from its commencement in America had contained two classes of people. One group insisted that all should be accepted as regenerate who did not give evidence otherwise by heresy or immorality. This part was known as the "Old Side." The "New Side," emphasized regeneration and demanded clear testimony of conversion for church communicants.

The Presbyterian controversy of the Great Awakening grew out of this difference. The "New Side" group was composed of friends of the revival. Gilbert Tennent became their leader. The "Old Side" accused them of not being true Presbyterians, denouncing their revivals as incorrect. As time passed, men were forced to take sides over the awakening. This division created a schism among the Presbyterians in 1741, severing the denomination into two parts.²

Gilbert Tennent had much to do with all of this. His bitter attacks upon the unconverted ministry and his lack of tact in his preaching produced a storm of criticism. While much of what he said was true, his way of saying it often destroyed

¹Gausted, op. cit., p. 70.

²Jerald C. Brauer, Protestantism in America, p. 52.

the effectiveness of his message. Because of these numerous quarrels, the awakening was brought into disrepute in the eyes of many.

However, it remained for the movement of one James Davenport, an archfanatic of the revival, to provide the most vicious opposition. Davenport had been greatly impressed with Whitfield, having received his warmest spiritual commendation, and had determined to become an evangelist himself. Initially he knew great success in New England. He was given to noise and outcry, visions and trances. He urged his converts to preach publicly. He went from place to place denouncing as unconverted such ministers as disagreed with him. Congregations were divided and strife resulted, the effects of which continued for many years. In 1742 Davenport was arrested for preaching in churches without the pastor's consent. He was declared insane by the Connecticut legislature.¹ This ended the power of his movement. However, great damage had already been done and a majority of people continued to associate his group with the general awakening.

The appearance of physical extravagances in general, became so marked as to create unfavorable reaction. While it is true that many of these disorders were greatly magnified, the circulation of such news was most unfortunate. Often the leaders of the awakening encouraged such excesses. Beardsley records that Whitfield's conduct sometimes savored of fanaticism. In his Journal, he describes the emotional effects of his preaching in terms of much shrieking, crying, weeping, and wailing.²

The seat of opposition in and around Boston was under the able direction of Reverend Charles Chauncey. Chauncey agreed that some good had come out of the revival, but that the evil far outweighed the good. His publication Seasonable Thoughts

¹Frank G. Beardsley, A History of American Revivals, p. 52.

²Beardsley, op. cit., p. 54.

on the State of Religion in New England, condemned the work on the basis of the extravagances practiced. Following the awakening Chauncey adopted and abetted the growing allegiance to common sense in New England, helping it a measure of the way toward its certain and ultimate end, which was not Arminianism nor even Unitarianism, but humanism.¹

Even so, in Boston the ministers who resisted the revival were outnumbered three to one. They were just more active than those favorable to the event. Much has been said of the better elements, especially in Massachusetts, being unfriendly to the awakening but if numbers are indicative of true feelings this was not the case. Only thirty-eight ministers signed a document in 1743, discrediting the awakening, while one hundred and thirteen signed a counter document affirming their belief that the revival was the work of God in spite of many irregularities.²

One final source of opposition came over the great growth of separatist groups. As a result of the revival many churches were founded outside the recognized the state-established congregations. This was how the Baptists won great strength, especially in New England and the southern colonies. This marked the actual beginning of Baptist predominance in the south. A large number of churches cut themselves off from recognized groups and joined the separatists. This brought persecution and suppression. These separatists bodies were extremely revivalistic and were resented by the state-supported denominations. They had to fight for their life in New England, in behalf of Roger William's principle of separation of Church and State.

But this very opposition produced by the awakening became responsible for new life in the churches. Persecution of the Baptists only produced more of them. The Presbyterians grew rapidly in spite of the "Great Schism." It was this great growth

¹Gausted, op. cit., p. 83-84.

²Beardsley, op. cit., p. 58-59.

that led to the introduction of a new religious group in America, the Methodists.¹

It seemed best to conclude the survey of opposition with this final analysis. As the declension of the revival became more pronounced, the question of whether it was the work of God or not, was asked with greater frequency. The year 1743 seemed to be a time of critical evaluation and retrospect. This spirit broke what was left of the revival's united front. It ceased to be a question of whether there were errors attending the revival but rather, was the awakening God's work at all? This question produced controversies and divisions long after the Great Awakening was past.²

F. PERSONAL RESULTS

The most immediate result of the revival was the making of new converts. Any attempt to estimate the number of converts is fraught with difficulty. Many writers were satisfied to say merely that thousands found the Lord. The most widely held estimates indicate, however, that from twenty-five thousand to fifty thousand were added to the churches of New England in consequences of the awakening. In 1750 the population of the New England Colonies was three hundred and forty thousand, making an ingathering of some seven per cent of the entire population. In these years, one hundred and fifty new congregational bodies were formed besides the creation of numerous separatist congregations. The increase in the Presbyterian Church in the middle colonies was even greater proportionately. From 1740 to 1760 the number of Presbyterian ministers in America increased from forty-five to one hundred. In the South there were no definite statistics, but the harvest reaped there was rich and varied.³

Bishop Candler gives a similar summary of personal results

¹Brauer, op. cit., p. 55-56.

²Gausted, op. cit., p. 63-69.

³Beardsley, op. cit., p. 64-65.

quoting James Hammond Trumbell, the historian of Connecticut, who estimates that in New England alone there were thirty or forty thousand converts. He places the figure for the whole country at fifty thousand.¹

Edwin Gausted makes the interesting observation that these personal results were not always immediate. He notes that signs of repentance and concern were numerous, but that the awakening did not set off an immediate mass movement of people clamoring for church acceptance.² Much of the evangelistic fruit of the awakening appeared later, and after the visible form of revival had passed, evangelism continued for many years in a most successful manner.

Simultaneously with the appearance of new Christians, came a quickening spiritually of the genuine church members. Believers had their own religious experience revitalized by the force of the awakening. Many existing on the fringe of the church were genuinely converted. Trumbell points out that there was a great increase of piety among church members, some of whom had been formerly "dead weights" to the churches.³

G. POLITICAL RESULTS

The religious convictions of Americans, largely called into being through the revival, served as a balance in the political revolution which followed. It helped prevent the anarchy and ruin which accompanied the French Revolution. In this indirect manner the Great Awakening ably contributed to the political liberties of the colonies. This influence was needed. The forty years which followed were times of political turmoil and war. Spiritual losses, which always accompany such times of passion and struggle, were kept at a minimum. The revival was

¹W. A. Candler, Great Revivals and the Great Republic, p. 88.

²Edwin Scott Gausted, The Great Awakening in New England, p. 88.

³William Warren Sweet, Revivalism in America, p. 31.

a time of preparation for the dark days ahead.¹

Next, a certain degree of unity among the colonies was fostered by the movement. Whitfield himself, moving up and down the Atlantic coast, wove together the religious sentiments of the thirteen separate colonies. This new feeling of spiritual unity contributed to the creation of a national spirit, and helped prepare the way for political union which was to follow.²

Closely related to these political liberties were the changes wrought in religious liberties in America. In New England, except for Rhode Island, Congregationalism was established by law. Episcopalianism dominated the south. The awakening brought an expansion of newer denominations, particularly the Presbyterians and Baptists. This led to the introduction of principles of toleration, which helped guarantee religious liberty to all. After the awakening it was possible to leave the established church to join another society. Church minorities gained a new voice through this ecclesiastical freedom. The effective partnership of church and state was more firmly established in American society.

How inconsistent would the national liberties gained through the Revolutionary War have been without the religious liberties procured by means of a revival of religion.³

H. SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL RESULTS

Jonathan Edwards, writing of the social changes in his own community, noted that the problems of juvenile delinquency and unruliness largely disappeared.

In vain did ministers preach against those things before, in vain were laws made to restrain them, and in vain was all the vigilance of magistrates and civil officers; but now they have almost⁴ everywhere dropt them, as it were of themselves.

¹Candler, op. cit., p. 91

²Candler, Ibid., p. 100

³Benjamin Rice Lacy, Revivals in the Midst of the Years, p. 61.

⁴"Christian Life Magazine," Sep. 15, 1958, p. 4.

A second social fruit of the Great Awakening was an increased opposition against the system of slavery. Since the introduction of negroes in 1619 in Virginia there had been divided feelings over the issue among Christians. While the real opposition to slavery was carried on independently of the revival, it did benefit much from the atmosphere of the awakening.¹

Thirdly, a new spirit of benevolence came upon the colonies especially noticeable in the orphanages and charitable schools which appeared. Much of this work with orphans found its inspiration in Whitfield's orphanage in Georgia for which he took many large offerings up and down the coast.

Out of one of these charitable schools emerged the University of Pennsylvania in 1755. Many other American colleges owe their very existence to this period of revivals. Anglican's Kings College, 1754, later known as Columbia; the Baptist's College of Rhode Island, 1769, Brown University; as well as Dartmouth and Rutgers, could trace their founding to the awakening. Another great American university coming directly out of the revival was Princeton University which was the continuation of William Tennent's Log College known at first as the College of New Jersey, 1746.²

I. THEOLOGICAL RESULTS

One of the most important theological results of the revival was the restoration of the true doctrine of church membership. Edwards was largely responsible for this. It had long been his conviction that only the converted should be permitted to share in the privileges of full church membership and to receive communion. The revival furnished a proper climate for such a standard. A campaign was launched for abandonment of the Half-Way Covenant. While it cannot be said that the Covenant was entirely abandoned, for it was preserved in New England

¹Jerald C. Brauer, Protestantism in America, p. 60-61.

²Ibid, p. 60.

Unitarianism, still it was more easily deserted as visible sainthood became more readily demanded. The church became again a group of believers separated from the world.¹

In connection with this, the revival also brought forth a clear scriptural statement of its central truth, the necessity of the New Birth. The fact that man needed more than his own feeble striving after righteousness; his supreme need was a new nature. Spirit directed preaching of this truth gave men a clearer conception of the doctrine of redemption.

The emphasis of doctrines pertaining to evangelical and experimental christianity, as opposed to formalism, in religion, provided a shift in theological emphasis often called "New England Theology." Formerly the Puritans had emphasized God's covenant, what He had done. New England revivalism tended to stress how man responded to God. While the revival corrected a need by personalizing religion and making it practical, some made the error of reacting too far by overemphasizing man's emotional states, making the real concern as to how he felt.

The revival made room for more varied theological positions. It destroyed the idea of an indifferent clergy. Theologians from different camps organized their forces and campaigned boldly. Freedom of religious thought became more noticeable.

In addition, ministers were influenced by the revival in the way they presented truth. Whitfield's example of a free extemporaneous style altered the preaching form of the clergy to a looser delivery. Men who continued to use a manuscript did so self-consciously and apologetically.²

J. MISSIONARY RESULTS

Home missions were the chief benefactors of the Great Awakening. On the frontier, missionary work was carried on suc-

¹Gausted, op. cit., p. 106-107.

²Ibid, p. 107, 127.

cessfully. Life there was dangerous, raw, and untamed. People were prepared for revivalist religion which touched the emotions. Through the revival the church reached out and touched more people than at any previous time in America. The Methodists did one of the most conspicuous pieces of work in the west. Their coming to the American Colonies was in part because of the colonial awakenings.¹

In 1743, David Brainard, a convert of the revival, began missionary labors among the Indians. Although this work was interrupted by his early death, his biography, written by Jonathan Edwards, remains a classic of devotional and missionary history.

At Stonington, Connecticut, and at Westerly, Rhode Island, extensive revivals took place among the Indians, which resulted in the extinction of heathenism among them.²

Another Indian convert of the awakening was received into the home of Reverend Eleazer Wheelock of Lebanon, Connecticut for the purpose of educating him. This was the beginning of a school for Indians which later developed into Dartmouth College.³

K. SUMMARY

Prior to the Great Awakening the need was grave for a divine work of God. Prevalent apostasy and a dullness in religion presupposed this colonial awakening. There had been a spiritual recession in the descendants of the first generation of American settlers. Puritan church life had become unattractive and institutional; in many places it was impure through the practice of the Half-Way Covenant. Large groups of immigrants without religious leadership were flocking to these shores making the

¹Brauer, op. cit., p. 56-59.

²Candler, op. cit., p. 95.

³Frank G. Beardsley, A. History of American Revivals, p. 67.

situation more serious. Existing with these conditions were certain indications of the forthcoming visitation. Small outbursts of revival were recorded in the middle colonies beginning around 1720. The colonial religious leaders also became increasingly concerned about the general irreligion in the country. Out of this feeling of concern came Edward's series of sermons on justification by faith. These sermons were the means of starting a local revival which spread into a general awakening.

The period of awakening which followed was marked by a suddenness of outbreak as well as decline and a rapidity of movement. The entire event was spontaneous and at the same time universal in its outreach. The movement was centered around the preaching of the Word; those who heard such preaching were affected with deep concern, soberness, and even fear. The Great Awakening was distinctive by its appearance in two phases, yet both being a part of the one movement. The hysteria of the revivals final months, while unfortunate, must also be included in any list of characteristics.

The New Birth and man's personal religious experience, resulting in a new pietism, is remembered as the revival's primary emphasis.

Jonathan Edwards, Gilbert Tennent, and George Whitfield were predominant as leaders.

Opposition to the awakening came from varied sources including a long standing Presbyterian dispute over regeneration and church membership; the fanatic faction of James Davenport; the widespread appearance of physical extravagances; the ritualistic objection of staid Boston; and the rapid growth of new separatist groups. These factors all contributed to the agitation or produced opposition to the Great Awakening. As a result, men began to question the validity of the whole affair, and thus destroyed much of its lasting effectiveness.

The awakening's immediate results stood at some fifty thousand converts, and a much revived Colonial Church.

Religious liberty gained permanence, and divine preparation was given for the political turmoil and ultimate liberties which soon were to come in the days of revolution. Institutions of education and benevolence appeared out of this great spiritual force. The Church once more became a missionary institution with the true doctrine of church membership restored.

CHAPTER III
THE FULTON STREET REVIVAL

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The decade preceding the Civil War was one of the most interesting periods of American history. These years produced among other things, one of the most remarkable awakenings available for our close study, the Fulton Street Revival. This outpouring, sometimes referred to as the Great Revival of 1857-58 came upon young America when armed civil strife was scarcely four years away. From September of 1857 until late in 1859 this nation knew one of the greatest religious awakenings of its history.

Again the same basic procedure of examination has been followed, considering the revival in its basic causes, the characteristics, the leaders, the main emphasis, the opposition and the results which followed.

A. CAUSES

In order to correctly evaluate the factors contributing to the Fulton Street Revival, an understanding is necessary of the conditions which prevailed in the country's life prior to the actual visible outbreak of revival.

The two decades preceeding the civil war were years of expansion and material progress for the young republic. To this period belonged large land accessions as a result of the Mexican War; the discovery of gold in California, and great industrial expansion. Such conditions brought a mighty wave of financial and commercial prosperity sweeping across America.

The zeal of the people was devoted to the accumulation of wealth, and other things, including religion, took a lesser place. Cheap and fertile land attracted multitudes of settlers, and the frontier was pushed farther and farther back. Cities and states were founded in rapid succession, and the population increased in an astounding ratio.¹

¹J. Edwin Orr, The Second Evangelical Awakening in America, p. 22.

Immigration was at an all time high and a stream of dire poverty was pouring in the nation on the one hand; while on the other hand, the rich grew even richer. Such circumstances had an adverse effect on the peoples of the mid century. The nation was forgetting God.

Politically the era was full of contrast and conflict. As the civil war drew near, political strife grew more bitter. Slavery was the burning question of the hour. This issue stirred the nation into bitter inter-sectional hatreds. The threat of war loomed ahead and the mad scramble for wealth continued.

Then in the summer of 1857 a commercial revulsion took place, which proved to be the worst which had occurred in the history of the country. Banks closed their doors; great business houses went into bankruptcy; factories ceased to operate and multitudes all over the country were thrown out of employment. In New York City, for a time, life and property seemed endangered by the unemployed masses who tramped the streets demanding bread.¹

The historian, Bishop Candler, had this to say of the financial crash and its effect upon the religious conditions of that period.

And now the wheels of industry stood still, and the noisy cries of greed were hushed, men stopped to hear the Voice of the Spirit calling them to repentance. And they heeded the call.²

Hard times, however, do not always bring a nation back to God. In 1837 this country experienced a disastrous financial panic which was as unexpected and widespread as the one in 1857; yet there was no great turning to God, no mighty revival as a result. Again in 1929 America was hit by a serious business depression which produced no large spiritual awakening. What then made the panic of 1857 distinctive in its effect religiously upon the lives of the people?

¹Frank Grenville Beardsley, Religious Progress Through Religious Revivals, p. 41.

²W. A. Candler, Great Revivals and the Great Republic, p. 211, 212.

In 1857 there existed other essential conditions for a revival; these conditions were absent at times of financial crisis where no general revival took place.

First, the churches of the nation had enjoyed a period of prosperity from 1800 to 1840 following the Great Revival of 1800. The nation was not too far removed in 1857 from the effects of a previous sweeping awakening and yet was far enough removed to need definite revival.

The nation was backslidden, but not apostate from the faith. Men knew the truth; even the layman of the countinghouse and forum knew well enough the gospel of Christ's salvation.¹

Thus, when the nation was plunged into a crisis, men began to return to the faith they had neglected and forsaken.

Secondly, prior to 1857, there were definite signs in many Evangelical Churches which indicated a coming deluge of divine grace. A strong minority of believers were becoming alarmed at the religious conditions of the land. In the autumn of 1857 a convention was held in Pittsburg on revival; it was attended by hundreds of ministers and lasted three days. A similar convention was held in Cincinnati shortly thereafter. Then late that same year in New York City, a systematic Church and Sunday School visitation was undertaken. At this same time in Ontario, Canada a forerunner of revivals was experienced by the Methodists with some three hundred to four hundred souls being saved.

The account of this extraordinary revival of religion was read by hundreds of wistful pastors of the Methodist Episcopal Church, America's largest and most evangelical body of believers at this time

.....
Spiritual awakenings are exceedingly infectious and proximity in time and place adds to the stimulation of desire for similar blessing.²

This is to say nothing of the work done by such professional evangelists of this period such as Charles G. Finney, Asahel Nettles-

¹ Candler, op. cit., p. 212-213.

² Orr, op. cit., p. 24.

ton, and Edward N. Kirk; these men, while not influencing the whole nation, were still men of great power, and in their respective ministries they did much to sow the seeds of the great Fulton Street Revival.

These trends indicated that unrelated preparation was in progress for the coming revival, and that there was a remnant of God's people genuinely interested and properly burdened for a needed general awakening in America.

Finally there was the event which led to the mass beginning of the revival; the commencement of noon prayer meetings, at the Old Dutch North Church on Fulton Street in New York City. This church had employed a lay missionary, Mr. J. C. Lanphier to call on the families living in the area around the church. The idea of a weekly noon prayer meeting, especially for the working man, originated with him. The first such meeting was held on September 23, 1857. For the first half hour Mr. Lanphier prayed alone, then others joined him until a total of six persons gathered for prayer. The next week twenty gathered, and by the third week it was decided to change the prayer services to a daily meeting. Within four months every room in the church was crowded to overflowing with simultaneous meetings in progress under different leaders. Meetings were then multiplied in other parts of the city.

The good work thus begun in New York quickly spread to Philadelphia, Boston, and other cities and towns until there was scarcely a place of any considerable importance in the United States in which services were not undertaken. The revival prevailed everywhere without human leadership on concert of action.¹

B. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

Once it became apparent that the revival would not remain local in extent, certain characteristics became evident marking

¹Candler, op. cit., p. 214.

this movement as a distinctive revival on the American continent.

Among the general characteristics of the 1857-58 revival was the rapid manner in which the movement spread; starting first in one location in New York City on September 23, 1857, and then spreading by the spring of 1858 to over twenty daily noon prayer meetings in New York as well as to other cities such as Boston, Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, Memphis, St. Louis, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, and Chicago.¹ These meetings were all crowded to capacity. Later, theaters were engaged for these religious purposes and police and fire departments threw open their buildings for prayer services. Bishop Candler quotes an estimated figure of "100,000 conversions"² in the first four months of the revival. Certainly one of the basic features of this movement was its rapid spread from a local revival to one of national proportions.

One of the first cities to be touched after New York was Philadelphia where a concerned Christian who had visited the Fulton Street meeting started a similar venture in his own city. Although the attendance at first was discouraging, three months later there was a capacity crowd of three thousand meeting for daily prayer at a centrally located auditorium. From there the revival seemed to flow outwardly in three streams of blessing; one northward to New England, one southward extending to Texas, and yet a third westward along the Ohio Valley, until by late 1858 "there was scarcely a city in the northern section of the nation where the influence of the revival was not felt."³

Any consideration of the rapid and widespread growth of the revival movement would be incomplete without noting the coming of revival across the Atlantic in the British Isles in 1859

¹S. Erenaeus Prime, Prayer and Its Answer, p. 47.

²Candler, op. cit., p. 215.

³Fred W. Hoffman, Revival Times in America, p. 113.

and 1860. The awakening first broke out in Ulster Ireland. J. Edwin Orr preposes the theory that there is a definite connection between the Fulton Street awakening and the contemporary revival in the British Isles. He calls attention to the beginning of the British awakening in Ulster, Ireland as significant. He states that the thousands of Ulster Americans in America were the connecting link between the two movements.¹

By late summer 1859 this movement had reached Scotland and England, while at the same time in Wales a similar, yet completely independent revival was in progress. By the time the revival in the United Kingdom had run its course over a million people had professed evangelical conversion.²

One factor that gave aid to the mementum of the revival in this country was the coverage by the press. Wide publicity was given after February of 1858. New York dailies printed revival extras and other stories of crime, slavery, and politics were driven from the front pages of leading newspapers the nation over, giving room for the remarkable spread of the awakening.

What attracted the attention of secular newspaper reporters to the awakening of 1858 was the frenzied growth after February the first that year of daily, noontime interdenominational prayer meetings.³

Late in February James Gordon Bennett, one of America's pioneers in sensational newspaper editing, began to exploit revival news in his New York Herald. Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune, responded to the challenge with a stream of editorials and news stories. These came to a climax in April with a special revival issue of the Tribune's weekly edition. Simultaneously, religious and secular newspapers all over the country began giving prominent notice to noon-day prayer meetings.⁴

¹Orr, op. cit., p. 66-67

²Ibid, p. 66-67

³Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform, p. 63.

⁴Russell E. Francis, "A Study in Religious Revivals," a P. H. D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, quoted in loc. cit.

The Fulton Street Awakening was also characterized by a spontaneity of movement. There were no plans or efforts to work up the revival; it was not man made, but bore all the marks of the work of God. Although a good system of communication heightened interest in the movement; still the appearance of revival in unlikely places such as rural communities, tiny villages, and ships at sea near American ports, unmistakably bore testimony that the revival was not in any way man-made.

There was no revival preaching. There were no revivalists; no revival machinery, such as was common to those days. The "anxious seat," and the labor of peregrinating revival-makers were all unknown.¹

This leads to yet another feature of the movement. At the center of the revival there was no outstanding preacher such as Edwards or Whitefield; but rather the entire awakening moved on the wheels of prayer. The fundamental object of the noon day services was prayer.² This was also the crux of this entire time of visitation and the impact of such believing prayer seemed irresistible.

The prayer meetings themselves exhibited certain factors also characteristic of the entire movement. These meetings were the primary method that promoted the revival; they were noted first for their catholicity. Leaders for the prayer services were chosen from every evangelical faith. No controversial point was to be discussed; instead Christians seemed more disposed to speak on the subjects on which they agreed. This was true since the beginning of the revival. From the first

. . . the work was entirely non-sectarian in character. At the very first meeting in the Old North Dutch Church, September 23, 1857, of the six persons present, one was a Baptist, one a Congregationalist, one a member of the Dutch Reformed Church, and one a Presbyterian. This was symptomatic of the entire movement. There was no sectarian rivalry, no attempt

¹S. Erenaeus Prime, The Power of Prayer, p. 53.

²Orr, op. cit. p. 36.

on the part of any one group to monopolize the situation. Never before had there been such an example of the principle, 'one for all and all for one.'¹

Secondly, the prayer meetings were primarily the work of laymen. This factor too was indicative of the movement for it was a laymen's revival. The principle share of the work was done by laymen, while ministers of the gospel stood cheerfully by. The noon prayer meetings had been started for the purpose of ministering to the working man; this seemed to set the pattern for the duration of the awakening. This revival served as a training ground for a host of lay workers for the future, among whom was D. L. Moody.²

Third, the prayer services were conducted in a reverent manner and the spirit which fostered the revival, as a whole, was one of great solemnity. Everything was done decently and in order. There were no examples of hysteria and excessive emotion, but rather a solemn hush and a sacred quietness seemed to permeate the atmosphere of these meetings. The orderliness which controlled the movement can be seen in the invariable promptness to time. The noon prayer meetings generally were of one hour duration, beginning at twelve and closing at one. No exceptions were made except to give the one speaking, at the time of closing, opportunity to bring his remarks to a finish. Yet, this did not in any way seem to spoil the spontaneity of the revival effort or hinder the work of the Spirit. Perhaps an account of these prayer meetings at this point would help in understanding the characteristics mentioned in the preceeding paragraphs.

Contemporary accounts of the noon-day prayer meeting portray the simplicity of the means so effectively used by the Spirit of God. Quietly the people gather. Promptly at the appointed hour the leader of the meeting, either a minister or a layman, arises and announces a devotional hymn. One or two verses are sung, the music rising as a great

¹Beardsley, op. cit., p. 48.

²Candler, op. cit., p. 204.

joyous chorus. The leader prays briefly, then any person may pray or speak, for not longer than five minutes. If he exceeds that time, a bell is touched, and he gives way to another. Requests for prayer are spoken or read, some of them sent in from distant places. Believers ask prayer for unsaved loved ones. Sinners rise and request prayer for themselves. Testimonies are given of answers of prayer, and the breath of praise passes over the audience. Brief exhortations are spoken by one and another. Testimonies are related of the progress of the revival in other places. Promptly at the hour for closing, the leader rises and pronounces the benediction, and the great audience passes solemnly and quietly from the building. A minister tarries for personal conversation with any who are seeking spiritual help. Such meetings were the heart and soul of this mighty nation-wide movement.¹

The

C. LEADERS

The Fulton Street awakening was pre-eminently a revival of the laity. It is impossible to pick one human leader from the host of dedicated laymen who furthered the work of the revival. J. C. Lanphier, the humble unknown layman who instigated that first local prayer service, in all probability, had no vision beyond his own territory. Once the revival began to spread to other areas, he became only one of the many workers holding no place of special prominence.

However, many preachers of renown did greatly contribute to the 1858 awakening. Henry Ward Beecher became an immediate friend of the movement. If there was a leading spokesman for the revival in New York City, then it was this gifted pulpiter.²

Charles G. Finney was in Boston when the revival broke out, and he rejoiced over what he saw in that metropolis. This revival seemed to be a justification of all he had taught on the subject. He worked hard in the revival until he left for England that same year.

¹Hoffman, op. cit., p. 116.

²J. Edwin Orr, The Second Evangelical Awakening in America, p. 133.

Dr. T. L. Cuyler, pastor of the Market Street Dutch Reformed Church vigorously threw himself into the program of the laymen. He led the first daily prayer meeting in Burton's Theatre. He opened the first one in the Ninth Street Church, as well as the one on lower Broadway. His church received much of the early fruitage of the revival.

Another preacher prominent in the movement was Dr. Alexander Reed, a Presbyterian who held an honorary degree from Princeton College. He was a close friend of D. L. Moody and his crowning achievement was as a revivalist.

Still these prominent clergymen, while giving great support to the movement, never assumed control of the revival and were not considered in that day as its leaders. They were glad rather to take their place laboring with the laymen in the noon prayer meetings, and in trying to deal with the vast overflow of people crowding into the normal services of the churches.

Up to this time most of the aggressive leadership of the church had been from the clergy, but with the coming of this revival a new day dawned for the laity. They were aroused to a new realization of their potential and gladly assumed their new responsibilities.

This divine visitation, providential in its character, was emphatically a lay revival. There was no evangelist of national reputation; no minister, however influential, to whom credit could be given for this mighty work of grace, even as the indirect instrument of its accomplishment. The revival was carried on independently of the ministry and almost without their aid. The ministry was not ignored, nor was there, in any sense, opposition to them. They carried on their regular services but to greatly increased congregations, which were the immediate fruits of the revival, and by their preaching and prayers they gave encouragement to the work and cooperated with it. The laity were especially active. The movement commenced with the efforts of a layman; it enlisted the sympathies and energies of other laymen throughout the country, and was¹ carried on chiefly through their instrumentality.

¹Orr, op. cit., p. 113

Prime indulges in a similar expression in this contemporary analysis:

Clergymen share in the conduct, (of the prayer services) but no more than laymen, and as much as if they were layman. They are often seen in these assemblies. But they assume no control. They voluntarily take their seats, mingle with the audience, and are in no way distinguishable from others, except it may be something peculiar in their apparel or manners. They oftener sit silent through the meeting than otherwise. Clergymen come to the place precisely for the same reason that others do.

.....
because it is the place of prayer.

.....
We think we can see a wisdom above measure in so ordaining that this work should commence among laymen and for the progress of which they should be so extensively enlisted. It has revealed a power which the church did not know it had within itself; a power which has been dead, or latent, and which even to the present hour is but little understood.¹

This potential power, a revived laity, while furnishing the leadership for the 1857-58 revival, also inaugurated a new era of lay work in America. Wesley's system of class leadership and local preachers had done much in this same manner at an earlier date. During the Fulton Street visitation the power of the lay element returned to all the churches. A new agency had been discovered to spread the old truth of the gospel message.²

D. MAIN EMPHASIS

The genius of the 1857-58 Revival was not in the rediscovery of some long neglected doctrine as was the case in the sixteenth century reformation. No new doctrine was brought forth as a result of this movement. Rather the striking emphasis was that men found again the dynamic power of believing prayer. Such praying brought revival and sustained it until the entire nation

¹Prime, op. cit., p. 57-58.

²W. A. Candler, Great Revivals and the Great Republic, p. 222-223.

was effected. The revival was void of any one great theological emphasis. The revivalists shared the doctrinal views held by the Evangelical Alliance.¹ However, there was a primary emphasis upon experience; the vital experience of men contacting God through the channels of prayer. This is not to say that doctrinal truth was neglected. Portions of Scripture were given out at the noon prayer meetings and the Word continued to go forth with more power than ever from the pulpits of the country. But men had heard the truth; they knew the way. This generation, — generally speaking, had had the advantage of a good spiritual background. They were backslidden from the truth, but not illiterate concerning the faith. It was time to pray.

The great revival of 1857-58 was a revival of prayer. Men met to pray and pour out their hearts' desires to God.

.....
Speaking of this phase of the work Charles G. Finney said, "There was such a general confidence in the prevalence of prayer, that the people very extensively seemed to prefer meetings for prayer to meetings for preaching. The general impression seemed to be, 'We have had instruction until we are hardened; 'it is time for us to pray.'" The answers to prayer were constant and so striking as to arrest the attention of the people generally throughout the land. It was evident that in answer to prayer the windows of heaven were opened and the Spirit of God poured out like a flood.²

As prayer was the real channel of blessing in the 1858 awakening, it was natural for the people to depend more upon this means of grace rather than relying upon preaching. However, preaching did receive needed rejuvenation from this prayer-centered revival. Faithful preachers of the gospel found their ministries to be enlarged; and at least one noted liberal, Dr. Horace Bushnell, had his ministry transformed by the revival.³

¹Orr, op. cit. p. 147

²Beardsley, op. cit. p. 47-48.

³Orr, op. cit., p. 131.

J. Edwin Orr noted that:

. . . Preaching played a secondary part to prayer in the revival, but it played a very good second. Compared with the quantity and quality of the preaching that had preceded the year of the grace, there was truly a great revival of the ministry of preaching. The great focus of interest was the noon prayer meetings, but the interest there was immediately captured and used by the evening preaching services.¹

The prayers of the Fulton Street meeting were prayers that received answers. The awakening was more than a prayer-centered revival; it was a demonstration of God's working in answering prayer.

The following are typical prayer requests voiced at the Fulton Street Meetings:

The first request pertained to a George Brown who had lived all his life in wickedness and had been contemplating suicide in hopes of ending his misery. The prayers of the meeting were asked for this man's salvation.

The would-be suicide attended the evening prayer meeting the next day, obviously in great distress, for he interrupted the speaker with a cry of, "Oh, what must I do to be saved?" At the same time, another convicted sinner rose in the meeting to ask brokenly that the congregation should sing "Rock of Ages" for him. Both men were converted in the meeting. In yet another meeting at Fulton Street, a young man rose to say that his mother, who had brought him up a Roman Catholic, had become so incensed at his conversion that she refused to live under the same roof with him, and had consequently left for Baltimore. The congregation united in prayer for the misguided mother. Some time later she was converted in the revival at Baltimore and returned to share her joy with her son.

.....
More striking still was the case of a father who had three sons in different parts of the country. As they were all three unconverted, he brought them as subjects of prayer before the meeting. They were prayed for as only those who believe can pray. What

¹Orr, op. cit., p. 130.

was the consequence? Although communication with and between sons had lapsed, each son in turn wrote to his father to give their account of his conversion in answer to prayer. The intercessors of Fulton Street were delighted beyond measure. The fame of the Fulton Street meetings as a place where prayers obtained answers spread far and wide. For months the mail brought scores of written requests daily from the eastern seaboard, borders of Texas, from the Canadian Provinces, from the British Isles, Germany, and Switzerland.¹

In other similar services this same sort of believing prayer was evidenced by a flow of direct results. These miracles of grace were not the exception, but on the contrary were the common experience wherever the revival spread. These remarkable answers to prayer brought immediate effects. For one thing the country took increased notice of the awakening. Christians had vision enlarged. They began to feel that if they united to pray for the conversion of any particular man, that man would then be saved. Men prayed as if they expected God would hear and answer prayer.² As the Fulton Street meetings of prayer multiplied across the land, this same emphasis of believing prayer also multiplied until Rev. Henry C. Fish exclaimed:

. . . Revivals now cover our very land, sweeping all before them, as on the Day of Pentecost, exciting the earnest cry from the thousands, "What shall we do to be saved?"

.....
It really seems as if the millenium were upon us in its glory.³

E. OPPOSITION

The Fulton Street Revival received almost unanimous approval from its contemporaries, especially in the northern states. Criticism and opposition to the movement were limited and did lit-

¹Chambers, The Noon Prayer Meeting, p. 194, quoted in Orr, op. cit., p. 42.

²Prime, op. cit., p. 29.

³Henry C. Fish, Handbook of Revivals, quoted in Candler, op. cit., p. 220-222.

the harm, with the exception of opposition in the city of Boston. This lack of determined opposition actually constituted one of the outstanding features or characteristics of the revival. Certainly the Great Awakening was not without widespread criticism. As has already been noted, the Great Awakening in New England came under strong criticism as it spread to areas not under the influence of Edwards and his associates. Such radical criticism for the most part was hard to find in the 1857-58 revival.¹

The secular Press seemed enthusiastic with the news that the revival offered. The press, as a possible opponent to the movement was eliminated, and instead in some instances, became a friend of the revival. Some foreign newspapers such as "The Times" of London and the "Belfast Northern Whig" adopted an attitude of opposition. However, these cases of opposition were obviously in the minority and were unable to yield such influence in hindering the work of God.²

It has been observed by some scholars that the south missed the blessing of the visitation and was generally opposed to it.³

On the other hand, Bishop Candler states that:

. . . In the south there were no large cities, but a widely scattered rural population, remote from both the perils and privileges of urban life. The results in that part of the country, therefore, were not heralded in the press nor flashed over the telegraph wires, as was the case in the North. But they were not less abundant and blessed. Indeed, they were, in proportion to the population, greater in the south than in any other section, and they were achieved in the main by the Churches and in the Churches.⁴

He goes on to show the growth of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the South during the years of the movement. In 1858

¹Orr, op. cit., p. 103.

²Orr, Ibid, p. 108.

³Frank Grenville Beardsley, A History of American Revivals, p. 227-228.

⁴Candler, op. cit., p. 216.

in a twelve-month period the Church gathered in 43,388 members and probationers. In 1859, 21,852 were taken in; and 36,182 more in 1860. Such phenomenal growth was also shared by sister denominations during the same span of time, and was largely a result of the revival.

Fred A. Hoffman in his Revival Times in America, is in agreement with this view when he says that:

. . . even in the southern states, in spite of the bitter feelings engendered by the slavery issue, the revival was felt strongly in many of the larger cities and many converts were added to the churches.¹

This is not to say that the visitation was so completely unopposed in the South as the North, but rather that opposition was not as great as some would think; nor did such criticism hinder the spread of it there.

With these facts in mind it is not difficult to believe that the movement reached the South with great force in spite of the controversial slavery issue, and that a vast amount of unfavorable reaction was not evidenced in this part of the country.

Finally, it was not direct outward opposition that halted the awakening. The tide of blessing subsided gradually; as quietly as it had come. This was caused mainly by the people's minds being diverted from religious interests to the political and social problems of that day. 1859 saw excitement and consternation occasioned by John Brown's raid. This was followed the next year by the heat of politics and inter-sectional rivalry culminating in Lincoln's election and the secession from the union by the southern states. Such matters took precedent over the revival, and it faded out of existence having had a life span of some two years; (from September 1857 to late 1859). Of course these factors opposed the revival and helped bring it to a close, but such opposition was of an indirect nature. The events of the time actually terminated the work of God, and not aggressive

¹Hoffman, op. cit., p. 116.

opposition from some critical faction.

F. PERSONAL RESULTS

Among the best results of any revival are its personal converts, those whose souls have been saved and whose lives have been altered by personal contact with the movement.

The personal results of the Fulton Street Awakening were numerous. Also numerous are the estimates given as to the actual number of converts. Bishop Candler estimates that one million members were added to the churches before the revival ended; four hundred thousand being brought to Christ by the end of the first year.¹ Fred W. Hoffman is somewhat more conservative, estimating the total number of converts as more than one half million.² Beardsley's opinion is that an estimated five hundred thousand professed conversion in the entire visitation.³

It must be recognized that these figures include only those who accepted Christ during the actual life of the revival. This was approximately a two year period. Many others were saved in later years indirectly because of this movement, but are not considered in this study as personal results of the awakening. They are to be classified rather as a part of the missionary results of the revival. Also, one must not forget these figures given by historians do not include those countless numbers of believers who were revived in their personal spiritual lives. There is no way of knowing how many thousands found help in this way.

J. Edwin Orr shows the increase in church membership of eight leading denominations in 1858. These additions totaled nearly four hundred thousand without counting those coming by letter.⁴ This is to say nothing of the smaller denominational

¹Candler, op. cit., p. 215, 216.

²Hoffman, op. cit., p. 118

³Beardsley, A History of American Revivals, p. 236.

⁴Orr, op. cit., p. 64.

bodies whose increase for that year was not considered. Also not included in such statistics were those converts who did not unite immediately with any church. Then again this number was for only twelve months out of a twenty-four month revival. This would easily put the total increase for the entire awakening at around one million persons, and would seemingly verify the estimate of Bishop Candler.

How shall one account for the fact that the numerical results of the awakening are so often understated? Part of the blame follows the fact that the only contemporary attempt to catalog the numerical results of the revival was published before the awakening was properly under way. Part of the blame is due to human frailty, for, as the revival produced no great leaders immediately, there were no ardent biographers to search out the achievements of their heroes, as was the case with Wesley and Whitefield and Finney and Moody. In reviewing this material, it should be borne in mind that the number of converts of any revival always exceeds the total additions of church members. It is fair indeed then to describe the 1858 Awakening as a Millionfold Revival.¹

G. SOCIAL RESULTS

It is difficult to dissociate this revival of religion from the social life of the country.

Socially, the Nineteenth Century Awakening gave birth to a litter of active religious and philanthropic societies, which accomplished much in human uplift, the welfare of children, the reclamation of prostituted women, of alcoholics, of criminals, and the development of social virtues.²

The question of slavery was both a moral and social problem. This problem was accentuated during the Fulton Street visitation. While it must be admitted that as an organization, the church had little to do with the final phases of the struggle, still the religious revivals of Charles Finney and the Fulton

¹J. Edwin Orr, The Second Evangelical Awakening in America, p. 66.

²Candler, op. cit., p. 224.

Street Awakening which followed contributed to the anti-slavery impulse which led to the abolition of slavery.

The many local revivals in the South culminating in the great revival of 1857-58 had a profound effect upon the negro. Many Africans were brought to Christ at this time, and the negro population was so affected as to spare the country from possible insurrection during the war.¹

Another great social result brought by the revival was the heavy blow it delivered against the spirit of mammon.

The panic of 1857 revealed the vanity of earthly treasure, and the revival of 1858 emphasized the value of the true riches. The demands made by the claims of mercy and patriotism, during the war that followed so soon, were exercised in benevolence which, coupled with the saving lessons of the revival that preceded it, did much to inaugurate that era of princely giving which has been current in the United States for the last thirty years. The poor and middle classes were never so generous as they have been during the last forty years, and the opulent pour forth millions on every sect of benevolence.²

This spirit of benovelence so evident after the war was also present during the actual life of the revival.

It was often remarked, during the winter of 1857-58 that there was a diminution of vice, even under circumstances that might have been expected to increase it. The commercial revulsion threw multitudes out of employment, and crippled the resources of more. Want pressed heavily. Biting hunger urged to evil deeds.

.....
But even then the power of prayer was felt. Religious influences by personal visitation, by extraordinary effects to relieve the distresses of the needy, and by Christian sympathy, reached the hearts and consciences of thousands, and restrained some, and lighted up hope in other breasts where was begun the reign of despair.³

¹Candler, op. cit., p. 224.

²Candler, Ibid, p. 223-224.

³Prime, op. cit., p. 256.

War generally brings to a nation a laxity of morals. Drunkenness, immorality, and gambling seem to be accepted as a necessary part of army life. Peoples minds are distracted during the excitement of war from the things of God. However, the gracious Fulton Street Revival prepared the nation for the coming ordeal of Civil War. Special efforts were put forth for the spiritual nurture of the men in the army camps. Records reveal that in the north, church attendance and missionary giving did not decrease during the conflict. In the south, a revival spread through the Confederate Armies, and men seemed more interested in spiritual matters than in their usual worldly things. Certainly the nation escaped many of the social impurities that commonly accompany war because of the impact of the Fulton Street Revival.

H. POLITICAL RESULTS

Politically, the revival prepared the republic for the great shock of war and the days of the reconstruction era. The awful conditions of the four bloody years of strife were softened by the influence of the awakening which preceeded it. In the north, the people were better prepared to meet the threat of the Union's disruption. In the south, the faith found in the Fulton Awakening and the war-time revival helped sustain the population during the severe trials of reconstruction. Apart from the deepened faith produced by these revivals, the bitter wounds of the conflict would not have been so rapidly healed. In comparing the American Civil War with other similar conflicts, the reconciliation was indeed remarkable.

It cannot be justly denied that the revival

 hastened the day of national reconciliation in which
 all sections now rejoice. Never in the history of
 mankind was a civil war followed so quickly by a re-
 conciliation so genuine and so perfect. The prostrate
 south and a prosperous north came together and the
 federal union was restored to its former supremacy.

 While here and there were found in both north and

the south irreconcilable bourbons, the greatest leaders were quick to preach the tenets of peace, and the uncorrupted masses followed willingly the guidance of men of good will.¹

Looking backward, it is instructive for us to raise the question how the church could have passed through the decade of the sixties without the spiritual reinforcement that came to it amid the pentecostal scenes of 1857 and 1858.²

I. MISSIONARY RESULTS

It goes without saying that the personal results of the Fulton Street Revival were great in every way. However, the out-reach of the revival to foreign fields and its influence upon later generations were equally as great.

Again referring to J. Edwin Orr's theory of connection between the Fulton Street Revival and the Contemporary British Awakening, it is interesting to note that the British Awakening was followed by immediate effects felt upon the mission field. In India a great revival broke out in 1859. A similar visitation occurred in China the following year. And thus the movement begun on Fulton Street and in Ulster Ireland spread all over the world.³

In both England and America a host of leaders were raised up, largely because of the awakening, to promote evangelical action. Hudson Taylor and William Booth, along with a flock of great lay leaders including D. L. Moody, whose training school was this revival.⁴

The seeds of the great Confederate Awakening were also sown during the Fulton Street Revival. This was an extensive revival which began in the army of northern Virginia, and became

¹Candler, op. cit., p. 228-229.

²L. W. Bacon, History of American Christianity, quoted in William Warren Sweet, The Story of Religion in America, p. 311.

³Orr, op. cit., p. 159.

⁴Benjamin Rice Lacy, Revivals in the Midst of the Years, p. 140-141.

so widespread as to be designated as the Great Revival in the southern army. Concerning this movement, Benjamin Lacy in his book, Revival in the Midst of the Years, records this information;

Estimates of the number of those who made a public profession of their faith while in the camps vary greatly. Some have indicated that possibly as many as 150,000 men who wore the gray gave their hearts to Christ as a result of this movement.¹

From the material available to the writer, it seems apparent that the Civil War temporarily hampered the missionary zeal generated by the Fulton Street Revival. The real missionary emphasis of this era was not felt until the days of Moody and Sankey, when the great inter-denominational agencies supported by Moody came into existence while in the absence of civil war in Britain, there was an immediate response to the awakening (British).

The missionary influence of the Fulton Revival was by no means confined to the period directly before and after the American Civil War. J. Edwin Orr puts forth the interesting thesis that the revival's influence lasted some fifty years.

It has been concluded that the fifty years following 1858 constituted a distinct and definite period of the expansion of the Christian church, in fact, a nineteenth-century evangelical awakening comparable to its noted predecessor of the eighteenth century. The first phase began in the revival of religion which followed an outpouring of the Holy Spirit, first clearly manifested in the remarkable movement of prayer with its attendant conviction of sin.

.....
The second phase took its rise in the development of evangelism. Dwight L. Moody, whose Christian service actually began during the first phase of the Awakening, after 1873 became a force in Britain as well as America.

.....
The third phase of the Awakening began shortly after the turn of the century. Like the first, it manifested

¹ Benjamin Rice Lacy, Revivals in the Midst of the Years, p. 140-141.

another outpouring of the Spirit of prayer with its accompanying conviction of sin. Its effects were seen in sharpest focus in the Welsh Revival of 1905 under hortatory preaching of Evan Roberts. It had also an evangelistic phase in the world-wide ministry of Reuben Torrey and William Chapman.

.....
The relating of these three movements as a period of fifty years of expansion, a Second Evangelical Awakening or Nineteenth Century Revival, is a new thesis, so far as one can gather.¹

J. THEOLOGICAL RESULTS

It has previously been stated that there was nothing new theologically in the 1858 revival. However, this mid-century revival did bring to a climax some major changes in the doctrinal life of American Protestantism.

First, the two systems of doctrinal interpretation, Calvinism and Arminianism, underwent some face-lifting. There was little friction between the two camps during the revival; and while the two systems were not reconciled, they were blended together in harmony as they worked together for the common cause of furthering the movement. Old Calvinism, with the idea of personal predestination, was abandoned by many in favor of the Arminian views of free will and free grace.² Even the more decidedly Calvinistic groups moved closer to this way of thinking. This was a great period in American history for arminian theology; for in the nineteenth century it was nurtured in the warmth of revival.

Secondly, there was a new emphasis upon personal religious experience. There came a re-emphasis upon the foundation of Christian experience. This was in large part due to a soul winning laity raised up by the revival, who cared little about sectarian distinctions. They were more interested in the

¹Orr, op. cit., p. 154-155.

²Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform, p. 88.

reality of a personal experience with God. The simplicities of the gospel were stressed and differences were surrendered in order to give a united front against the forces of evil. This trend carried to excess was not without its dangers. The practice was to unite forces in major areas of agreement and to conserve orthodoxy on the basis of experience. In later years this took in too much territory and went beyond the point of good judgement. At length America found a place, too, for the religious experience of Mary Baker Eddy, P. T. Barnum, and William James.¹

K. INDUSTRIAL RESULTS

The power of the revival was felt in all departments of business and industry. It would have been unusual had this not happened, for the movement began with the business men of New York City and continued to move primarily through the working men of America. Irenaeus Prime reports that as a result of the revival, no men stood higher in integrity and uprightness than the merchants of New York City.²

It was not unusual to see men transacting business on Christian principles all over the country. Men felt that they could not become Christians while they continued in any business that was wrong in God's sight and injurious to the community.

The awakening also had a powerful influence toward the correction of industrial abuses all over the land.³

L. SUMMARY

The immediate cause of the awakening which seemed to trigger the movement was found first in the prayer meeting on Fulton Street and in the multitudes of similar services which sprung up in like fashion. However, behind these successful seasons of prayer were basic causes which indicated that the times were right for revival. America was backslidden, but not yet unenlightened.

¹Ibid, p. 93.

²Prime, The Power of Prayer, p. 184

³Ibid, p. 184-185.

Financial panic made the nation aware of her plight. Generally speaking, people knew the way to God and a faithful remnant had believed God for the needed awakening. Therefore, through the channels of the union prayer meetings, men again turned to Him.

The rapid spread, along with the spontaneous spirit and the uniting of Christians, so evident in the Fulton Street Revival, served to identify the movement with the Great Awakenings of the past, and help validate it as a genuine work of God. Other characteristics peculiar to this awakening were the emphasis of prayer, the outstanding lay leadership, the before unheard of newspaper coverage, and the revivals widespread influence affecting the entire English speaking world.

The laity furnished the leadership in this time of spiritual blessing, making it predominately a layman's movement.

Believing prayer was the prominent feature.

In the opposition that it encountered, the Fulton Street movement was unique. The uniqueness of it all was in the lack of organized resistance and determined agitation. The opposition that did appear inflicted no serious damage upon the effectiveness of the work.

Tremendous were the estimates of the revivals personal results. The total increase in the churches for the entire awakening stood at around one million persons.

Socially, there was a diminishing of vice, and a new spirit of benevolence. The awakening contributed to the anti-slavery impulse.

The revival served the nation as a time of preparation for the days of Civil War and reconstruction.

This movement was also world-wide in its missionary influence, affecting the British Isles, and from there reaching around the world.

While nothing new theologically came out of this religious revolution, the Arminian doctrines of free will and free grace took precedent over Calvinism.

Finally, it has been recorded that the forces of the revival helped correct industrial abuses all over the land.

Every major area of American life felt the impact of the power of God reviving His people that they in turn might reach the lost.

CHAPTER IV

THE BILLY GRAHAM MINISTRY IN THE MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY AWAKENING

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It has been the writer's purpose to discuss the Mid-Twentieth Century Awakening¹ primarily in relation to Billy Graham's ministry. However, the writer recognized that there were other spiritual forces at work much of which, must be omitted from consideration in this study.

The obvious limitations of time and space necessitate presenting here only the most important essentials of the Billy Graham story. Also taken into account was the difficulty of preparing a study of such a contemporary situation.

Mr. Graham's ministry in America was given the most attention, but other crusades outside the United States have been touched upon to help set a pattern for studying his work.

The method of studying Mr. Graham's work varied only slightly from the procedures employed in working with the two previous awakenings. The causes and signs of awakening have first been considered, followed by a section on the leadership in the Mid-Twentieth Century Awakening, which was a personal study of Mr. Graham. Next, the general characteristics as seen in his campaigns was given attention. This was followed by a section devoted to the main emphasis of his message. Then the opposition was briefly covered, and the chapter closed with an examination of the available results of the Billy Graham ministry.

A. CAUSES AND SIGNS OF AWAKENING

Approaching the middle years of this twentieth century, numerous signs appeared to announce what many termed as the beginning of a spiritual renaissance.

For some years in America a condition of social and religious change had been in progress. There was liberalism with its opposition to all dogmatism and creedalism; opposed to this system of thought was fundamentalism, attempting to save what it considered to be the traditional faith. Also there was a devel-

¹J. Edwin Orr, The Second Evangelical Awakening in America, p. 160

oping scientific spirit which implied that all results were from the natural causes and could be explained without referring to any supernatural power. While liberalism was enjoying much strength a new orthodoxy appeared, charging liberalism to have lost the revealed message of God to man.¹ The years between the 1920's and the close of the second world war ultimately saw a general shift in the theological schools and pulpits of America from the social gospel of the liberals to neo-orthodoxy.² But even with a new emphasis on theology there was an evident spiritual famine in America.

With the stock market crash in 1929 came one of the worst financial depressions in American history. The self confidence of the 1920's was destroyed, and there was the birth of a national despair; yet there was no surge of repentant people to the churches.³

Meanwhile, the entire world was experiencing the rise of totalitarian dictatorships which led to the second world war. America's entrance into the war directed all the nation's resources toward mobilization for the waging of total war. This entire period of crisis left spiritual as well as physical scars, and the church seemed powerless to stem the tide of lawlessness and crime brought about by the depression and war.

In 1945 the whole world was stunned by the explosion of the first atom bomb over Hiroshima, Japan. A new era had dawned. Was it to be an age of nuclear destruction, or a constructive era based on atomic energy?

The peace demonstrations following World War II were hardly over before the cold war had begun. Infiltration of atheistic communism began to strike at the heart and life of America.

Dr. Edward Elson, a noted Presbyterian pastor in Washington, D. C., stated that every war is followed by a moral lapse; the greater the war, the greater the lapse. Dr. Elson listed

¹William Hordern, The Case for a New Reformation Theology, p. 12-13.

²Jerald C. Brauer, Protestantism in America, p. 269.

³Ibid, p. 266.

several signs indicative of the moral sag existing in post-war America. First, the rising rate of crime. Next, the indifference of many to the moral implications of money. The un-christian attitude toward marriage and the home prevalent throughout the land. The lack shown by children for parental authority. The drop of the cultural level best illustrated by the entertainment of post-war years. And finally, the secularization of American life observable everywhere.¹

While the war itself contributed much to this spiritual depression, the roots of the condition actually go back, as has been noted, to the problems of the preceding decade; all combined to create what Dr. Elson terms as a moral sag.

These same factors which caused a moral lapse also worked to produce a period in which men were finally alerted to their need of God. The events of the age were forcing men to ask the ultimate questions of life and its meaning. During the time of spiritual and moral darkness of the thirties and forties, forces were at work preparing the way for a new religious awakening. In the middle forties an intense phase of prayer preparation began to appear, under the leadership of J. Edwin Orr and Rev. Armin Gesswein. These two men, moving across the country organized prayer groups for ministers and christian leaders.

Simultaneous with this prayer emphasis came effective new movements among the youth of the land; Youth for Christ, the Young Life Campaign, and the Child Evangelism Fellowship. These groups were greatly used of God in preparing the way for the coming era of religious resurgence.²

Following World War II, and with the advent of the atomic age, many became convinced that the basic problems of man were spiritual. The appalling destructive power of atomic energy, the

¹L. R. Edward Elson, America's Spiritual Recovery, p. 17-25.

²Fred W. Hoffman, Revival Times in America, p. 158.

fears brought on by the cold war, an apparent dissatisfaction in the midst of material abundance caused many in America to turn to religion for deliverance.¹

In 1949 and 1950 a number of christian colleges shared in outbreaks of revival, while on secular campuses christian students organized what is known as "Campus Crusade," a movement born in a student prayer meeting in 1947. Religion gained new acceptability on the campus.²

Church membership and attendance climbed to an all time high. Religion became a lively topic in news magazines and periodicals. Best-sellers appeared in the field of religion. It seemed that America was at least entering a period of new religious interest, if not a time of genuine revival. In 1949 J. Edwin Orr voiced the hope and expectation of evangelical christians everywhere in an article entitled, "Is America Seeing a New Spiritual Awakening?"³

However, the most apparent indication of a return to religious principles, was the renewed popularity of mass evangelism. This was remarkable when it is recalled that fifteen years earlier evangelism of this nature was considered outmoded in the churches of America and had seemingly lived out its usefulness. The year 1949 was most important in this return to mass evangelism. That year Billy Graham began his now famous Los Angeles Crusade. From there he proceeded to take Boston, Columbia, and other cities by storm in the greatest evangelistic achievements of a generation. Here was the man who now began to emerge as the leader of this religious awakening of the Twentieth Century. Billy Graham, more than any other individual, became the prominent personality of this movement, a chosen vessel whom God would use to spread the message of revival across the nation.⁴

¹Sherwood Eliot Wirt, Spiritual Awakenings, p. 26-27.

²Hoffman, Op. Cit., p. 163-167.

³J. Edwin Orr, The Second Evangelical Awakening in America, p. 202.

⁴Hoffman, op. cit., p. 169.

B. THE LEADERSHIP - A PERSONAL STUDY OF BILLY GRAHAM

It is worth noting that prior to the Los Angeles Crusade in 1949 no large-scale evangelistic meetings had been held in America since the days of Billy Sunday. While this campaign did usher in a new phase of the religious awakening, in the return to mass evangelism, it also produced for the public a new religious leader, a commanding figure who was to become one of God's greatest gifts to this generation.

People often refer to Graham's ministry as before and after Los Angeles. He had held campaigns prior to 1949 but none had been so blessed of God as the Los Angeles meeting and those which followed. What made the difference? The primary change is to be found in the man himself.

In September, 1949, a few weeks before the beginning of the Los Angeles Crusade, there was a powerful work of the Holy Spirit at the annual College Briefing Conference at Forrest Home, in California. Billy Graham was one of the speakers. There he experienced a new anointing of the Holy Spirit. Graham testified that he had known some doubts concerning the Bible, and was waging the intellectual battle of his life. But in that conference, he surrendered his will to the living God revealed in scripture. He settled in his mind the question of Biblical authority and found the secret that changed his ministry.¹ Out of these sacred hours came a new Billy Graham, a changed man ready for an enlarged ministry.

William Franklin Graham was born on November 7, 1918 on the outskirts of Charlotte, North Carolina. His father was a dairy farmer who held a lifelong desire to preach. When the opportunity never came, he prayed that God would then anoint his son to be a preacher of the Word.²

¹"Christianity Today," Oct. 15, 1956, p. 5-6.

²C. T. Cook, The Billy Graham Story, p. 28.

In his youth there was nothing notably sinful about Billy Graham. He played basketball and baseball and was popular with the girls. He was the average respected non-smoking, non-drinking son of devout parents.

Billy was seventeen at his conversion, a senior in high school. It happened when, in the company of his close friend, Grady Wilson, in 1934, he went to hear a somewhat unconventional evangelist, Mordecai Ham, preach in a tabernacle in the center of Charlotte. His conversion did not result in a call to preach as one might expect. Instead, he still retained the idea that he might make baseball his career. Certain influences, however, were working against this desire to some day play in the major leagues. The prayers of his parents, who were convinced that God was calling their boy to preach, had to be reckoned with. Another influence turning Billy toward preaching was Grady Wilson who had followed Graham in his decision for Christ in the revival tent of Mordecai Ham. He had already made up his mind to preach.

In the fall of 1936 Billy yielded to the advice of parents and friends and entered Bob Jones College in Cleveland, Tennessee. In his uncertain frame of mind concerning the ministry, he found the religious rigidity of the school oppressive. After one term there he transferred to the Florida Bible Institute, now called Trinity College, in Tampa, Florida. It was during his three years at Tampa that he made his decision to go into the ministry. One night, following a challenging chapel message that day by Dean John R. Minder, he walked the Temple Terrace golf course and about midnight near the eighteenth green he dedicated his life to the christian ministry.¹

After this, preaching opportunities began to come, first at the Tampa Trailer Court, then the filling of pulpits in nearby churches. Together with Dean Minder, Billy conducted a revival

¹Cook, op. cit., p. 29.

campaign in north Florida. At the end of one week Minder said, "Billy, these people don't want to hear me. They're coming to hear you. You stay while I go back to school."¹

After some three years, Billy Graham graduated from the Florida Bible Institute, and received a certificate as a Bible-trained student and became a member of the Association of Florida Baptists.

At twenty-one years of age, well known as a boy preacher, Billy could undoubtedly have moved on into what must have looked like "big-time" evangelism and followed in the evangelistic succession of the Mordecai Hams who pitched their tents throughout the fundamentalist south. This urge he resisted, yielding himself rather to a greater urge for more education. After spending the summer of 1941 conducting campaigns and services, he entered Wheaton College, Illinois in the fall of 1941. There he developed in facility as a preacher to the extent that in his junior year he took over as pastor the Wheaton Student Church. At Wheaton a new intellectual world was opened to him. Although not turned particularly toward scholarship by this new environment, he was turned away from a religion which lacked intellectual exposure and which might have become in him, as in others, religious bigotry.²

While at Wheaton, Billy met Ruth Bell, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Nelson Bell, medical missionaries to China, who became his wife. They both graduated from Wheaton in June, 1943 and were married that following August.

These were the influences, happenings and decisions which prepared Billy Graham in his early years to become God's servant in later days.

Let us now look more closely at what manner of man he is. Graham explains himself in this way.

If God should take His hands off my life, my

¹ Stanley High, Billy Graham, p. 81.

² Ibid, p. 109-113.

lips would turn to clay. I'm no great intellectual, and there are many thousands of men who are better preachers than I am. You can't explain me if you leave out the supernatural. I am but a tool of God.¹

There lies the problem. Too many have tried to explain him apart from God, which is an impossibility. The editor of a Church of Scotland magazine has put in another way: "Billy Graham is not remarkable for his gifts, he is remarkable for what he is making of God's gifts."²

It is possible, however, to suggest certain qualities in his make-up, spiritual and otherwise, which tell us what manner of man William Franklin Graham really is. Sherwood Wirt, who reported on his San Francisco Crusade, has accurately indicated many of these qualities. He emphasized quite properly his anointing of the Holy Spirit for the job he is doing. He next noted that Billy Graham was a man of prayer. Mr. Wirt then described these further qualities; a sacrificial nature, not evident to the crowds but clear to his intimates; essential goodness, a holiness of life; the ability not to take himself too seriously, or genuine humility; and depth of perception evident even in casual conversation. Finally, Mr. Wirt suggests that Billy Graham's secret lies in love. He actually loves the people to whom he preaches.³ To this list could be added other personal characteristics. One trait that is perhaps most noticeable is his quality of undiluted sincerity. Even his critics agree that he is sincere. Another gift all too rare among evangelists, is the gift of teachability. Rev. Tom Allen, who worked in the Scotland Crusades, spoke of his readiness to learn from others. This gift certainly had much to do with his transformation from a southern preacher to a world renowned evangelist.⁴

Billy Graham has learned to do two things which cannot be

¹"This is Billy Graham", p. 16.

²High, op. cit., p. 16.

³Sherwood Eliot Wirt, Spiritual Awakenings, p. 51-54.

⁴Tom Allen, Crusade in Scotland, p. 27.

overlooked in an evaluation of his person. He has first learned to live with his success. And secondly, he has found a way to live under the most unbelievable pressures that continually bear down upon him.

In the area of technical skills, it seems that he possesses many of the gifts of a great orator. Again going to Rev. Tom Allen's observations in the Scotland Crusade: "He has a magnificent presence, a voice of wonderful range and flexibility, a flawless diction, an unhesitating command of the precise, and sometimes the spectacular work, and a rare sense of timing."¹

These facts about Billy Graham do not explain him, they only bring us back rather to the point with which we began; that explaining him involves more than inherited abilities or spiritual qualities. One cannot explain or understand Billy Graham apart from the power of God.

C. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS AS SEEN IN HIS CAMPAIGNS

1. EARLY MINISTRY

Shortly after his graduation from Wheaton, Billy Graham entered upon his first and only pastoral charge at Western Springs, a village near Chicago. For sixteen months he was pastor of this Baptist church. While there he encouraged the people to join him in his first big venture of faith, a weekly radio program called, "Songs in the Night," of forty-five minutes duration, broadcast over a Chicago station. George Beverly Shea was enlisted as the soloist and thus began his long association with Mr. Graham. It can hardly be said that these brief months gave Graham a solid foundation for the toils of the pastorate, partly because the time was short, but mostly because he could not escape the conviction that his gift was in the field of evangelism.²

Torrey Johnson, a founder of the Youth for Christ movement,

¹Allen, op. cit., p. 26.

²High, op. cit., p. 135.

gave Billy Graham his first opportunity for large-scale evangelism. Early in 1945, as the Youth For Christ movement began to reach out in a world-wide ministry to youth, they called upon Billy Graham to become their first field representative. He accepted the offer and resigned his pastorate.

During the next twelve months, he travelled nearly two-hundred thousand miles by plane and spoke at Youth for Christ rallies of up to twenty thousand in attendance in forty-seven states. Under his ministry more than seven thousand made decisions for Christ. He added during this period, what is now the second member of the Graham team, Cliff Barrows, at a rally in Asheville, North Carolina. The total distance travelled in his three years with Youth For Christ was seven hundred and fifty thousand miles. This included four trips to Europe as Youth For Christ began to realize its founder's dream, that it should be international.¹

Following his European trips, Billy, under heavy pressure from the aged Dr. W. B. Riley, president and founder of Northwestern Schools, accepted the presidency of Northwestern Bible School. For three and a half years, late 1947 into 1951, he was part-time president of this independent Bible and liberal arts college in Minneapolis, Minnesota. He agreed to accept this post on condition that he could continue much of his evangelistic work. It was a situation suited to the credit of none. Billy Graham, travelled in meetings much of the time, had his residence in Montreat, North Carolina, and at the same time was president of a school in Minneapolis. Actually his evangelistic work continued to take the major part of his time and strength. Prior to the Los Angeles campaign, city-wide meetings were conducted in Charlotte, North Carolina, in Miami, Grand Rapids, Des Moines, and Augusta, Georgia, with increasing success. Although

¹C. T. Cook, The Billy Graham Story, p. 33-34.

he continued as the first vice-president of Youth for Christ, by 1949 his total evangelistic effort was as an independent itinerant evangelist. The Billy Graham team was taking form. All of this was but a preparation for greater things to come.¹

2. CRUSADE SUMMARIES

The following list includes all full-fledged American city-wide campaigns held by Billy Graham from Los Angeles in the fall of 1949 to March, 1959, with some mention of his ministry abroad:

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Boston, Massachusetts | Eighteen days, 1949-1950 |
| Columbia, South Carolina | Three weeks, 1950 |
| Portland, Oregon | Six Weeks, 1950 |
| Minneapolis, Minnesota | Three weeks, 1950 |
| Atlanta, Georgia | Six weeks, 1950 |
| Fort Worth, Texas | Four weeks, 1951 |
| Shreveport, Louisiana | Three weeks, 1951 |
| Memphis, Tennessee | Three weeks, 1951 |
| Seattle, Washington | Four weeks, 1951 |
| Hollywood, California | Three weeks, 1951 |
| Greensboro, North Carolina | Six weeks, 1951 |
| Washington, D. C. | Six weeks, 1952 |
| Houston, Texas | Five weeks, 1952 |
| Jackson, Mississippi | Four weeks, 1952 |
| Pittsburg, Pennsylvania | Four Weeks, 1952 |
| Albuquerque, New Mexico | Three weeks, 1952 |
| Chattanooga, Tennessee | Four weeks, 1953 |
| St. Louis, Missouri | Four weeks, 1953 |
| Dallas, Texas | Four weeks, 1953 |
| Syracuse, New York | Four weeks |
| New York City, New York | One hundred and ten days, 1954 |
| Nashville, Tennessee | Four weeks, 1954 |
| New Orleans, Louisiana | Four weeks, 1954 |

¹Fred W. Hoffman, Revival Times in America, p. 172.

| | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| Richmond, Virginia | Three weeks, 1956 |
| Oklahoma City, Oklahoma | Four weeks, 1956 |
| Louisville, Kentucky | Four weeks, 1956 |

| | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| San Francisco, California | Six weeks, 1958 ¹ |
| Charlotte, North Carolina | Five weeks, 1958 ¹ |

During the course of these years, the following evangelistic trips outside the United States were made by Mr. Graham and his team: In 1952 a trip to Korea to visit the troops on the battle-front; the London Crusade in 1954 followed by a tour of Europe; Scotland in 1955 followed by London again and a more extensive preaching tour of Europe; in 1956 he visited India, and in 1957 the Caribbean countries; and then to Australia in the spring of 1959.

3. IMPORTANT CAMPAIGNS IN AMERICA

Los Angeles

The plans for the Greater Los Angeles Campaign began more than a year in advance of the campaign when a group of Christian business men invited Billy Graham to conduct an evangelistic mission in Los Angeles. Nine months before the meetings were to begin prayer meetings by the hundreds were organized and held regularly in homes and churches. J. Edwin Orr conducted a month of preparatory prayer services. Armin Gesswein organized over three hundred ministers into a prayer group. In addition to prayer preparation, more than three hundred christians were instructed in personal counseling and soul winning. More total preparation went into this campaign than any held previously by Graham.²

When in September, 1949, Billy Graham arrived in Los Angeles he had with him enough sermons for the scheduled three weeks of meetings. Instead of running three weeks, the crusade lasted eight weeks. Its six thousand seat capacity tent had to be

¹Cook, op. cit., p. 37-66 & Personal Correspondence of the author to George Wilson, Minneapolis, Minnesota, March 25, 1959.

²Hoffman, op. cit., p. 173.

enlarged to make room for nine thousand and even then was too small. The evangelist spoke to three hundred and fifty thousand people. More than three thousand made decisions for Christ. The attendance and results were on a bigger scale than Graham had ever known before. On November 16, the readers of "Life" magazine saw four pages of pictures of "A Rising Young Evangelist." Articles appeared in "Newsweek", "Time", and "Quick" of the man who had stirred Los Angeles as no other church man had stirred it for a generation.¹

To be sure, God had been in previous campaigns held by Billy. But Los Angeles was different. Nothing unusual happened, however, in the first three scheduled weeks. Hundreds found Christ but in other places this had been true as well. Then the decision was made to continue the services. The following day, Stuart Hamblen, a prominent Hollywood personality was converted. This decision electrified the entire area and the newspapers began to take note. Other leading people in Hollywood and Los Angeles were reached for Christ. The crowds began to increase and the Holy Spirit at times was working so that Graham did not have to preach but merely gave an invitation.

J. Edwin Orr calls attention to two factors which had much to do with the meeting's success. First of all the weather was ideal. For eight weeks an unseasonable heat wave persisted and almost immediately after the campaign, Los Angeles experienced some of its worst fogs in history. Secondly, Graham's preaching for the first two weeks was directly to Christians, challenging them to repentance. While Christians were getting right, many nonbelievers answered the alter call seeking salvation.²

Graham, writing in the Youth for Christ magazine, attributed the unusual success of the crusade to three things: first the prayers of God's people. More people were praying for this

¹"This is Billy Graham," p. 12

²J. Edwin Orr, The Second Evangelical Awakening in America, p. 188

crusade than any other evangelistic effort Graham had undertaken; secondly, there was the power of the Holy Spirit and finally, there was the power of the Word of God.¹

New York

On the evening of September 1, 1957, Billy Graham faced the final and largest audience of the New York Crusade, an estimated one hundred and twenty-five thousand people at a rally in Times Square. The New York Crusade had broken all records for organized evangelistic campaigns: by running longer, (one hundred and ten days) attracting more people (two million heard him face to face), resulting in more converts (fifty-six thousand made decisions for Christ), and costing more money (almost two million and five hundred thousand dollars). In addition to these extraordinary figures, an estimated ninety-six million people viewed one or more of the fourteen coast to coast telecasts from Madison Square Garden, reaping a harvest of some sixty-five thousand souls.²

New York City has been called the "grave yard of evangelists." Fifty-six per cent of the people go to no church whatever, sixty nationalities live within its boundaries, and only about seven and one half per cent of the whole population are Protestants. This was to be Billy Graham's hardest battle.³

Preliminaries were of great proportion as was the task ahead. An executive committee of businessman and clergymen sponsored and organized the crusade. This was to be New York City's own crusade. Over fifteen hundred New York churches co-operated. Almost two hundred thousand prayer partners were recruited throughout the world. Nine training classes were conducted to equip

¹C. T. Cook, The Billy Graham Story, p. 18.

²John G. Mitchell, God in the Garden, p. 9-10.

³Ibid, p. 27.

the five thousand counselors for the campaign. Ten thousand local prayer groups met daily, praying for the meetings. A contract for Madison Square Garden was negotiated for twenty-eight thousand dollars weekly. Tremendous advertising had made the city aware of what was coming with six hundred and fifty billboards, forty-two thousand bumper strips and thirty-five thousand window posters. These preliminary preparations came to a climax with Graham's arrival a week before the crusade began. Realizing that no evangelist makes news sitting in a hotel room, he took every opportunity to get the coming crusade before the population of the city. This included television interviews, radio reports, and news conferences. Then came May 15 and the beginning of America's greatest religious campaign.¹

From the opening night, with a crowd of eighteen thousand five hundred, and seven hundred six decisions, the power of God was evident in Madison Square Garden. The duration of the meetings was extended several times beyond the original six week plan. The attendance at Madison Square Garden was remarkable. In spite of a temporary drop after the big rally at Yankee Stadium on July 20, the average nightly attendance was seventeen thousand, eight hundred and twenty-eight. As the campaign progressed, the press had varied comments, all trying to explain what was happening but most of them missed the main point.

The key to success of the Graham meetings was due to the fact of people being born again, not by hundreds but by thousands.²

Varied methods were utilized to gain a larger hearing for the gospel. The television program called, Impact, furnished a good example. Telecast nightly by the Graham team, it urged troubled viewers to call a certain number where counselors waited. Then there was "Operation Andrew" designed for the purpose of encouraging Christians to bring unsaved friends to the services.

¹Ibid, p. 28-32

²Ibid, p. 54-56-10-66.

Different team members were assigned to strategic areas to extend the crusade. One team member, a converted entertainer, was assigned to work with the people of show business. Another member's assignment was the college campuses of the area. The Graham team assigned a director for group reservations. A young Presbyterian minister from Canada was in charge of ministerial relationships. His job was to place the crusade story before every Protestant minister in metropolitan New York. Then there was the effort to reach the teen-agers of the city, called Teen Week, during which services were geared to youth. Special platform guests particularly admired by young people were included in the services. At the end of Teen Week, two thousand youngsters had surrendered their lives to Christ.¹

Graham preached ninety-seven times in Madison Square Garden but this does not tell the whole story. Multitudes of outside speaking engagements were accepted by him and by his team, including outdoor rallies at Brooklyn, Wall Street, Harlem, Times Square, the Yankee Stadium where an attendance of one hundred thousand broke all stadium records.

Soon after the crusade's termination a follow-up program was conducted in New York City through mass visitation evangelism. One of the purposes of this program was to reach all the converts of the crusade who had joined no church. The climax of this program was a gigantic service at the Polo Grounds on October 27, with Mr. Graham speaking.

In evaluating the success of the New York Crusade, statistics must be relied on a great deal, although they are very inadequate. Out of the fifty-six thousand who made decisions, ninety-three per cent were residents of the New York area. Over one-third of these recording decisions were under twenty-one. The team members took periodic tests of the crowds at the meetings and judged eighty to eighty-five per cent to either have

¹Ibid., p. 86-152.

lived or worked in New York City.¹ This would more than answer the criticism that the crusade was not reaching the people of New York City but mainly those from outlying districts. While it is difficult to evaluate the effect of such a venture on the city itself, it is safe to say that the impact of tens of thousands who had their lives changed would make some impact upon any city.

San Francisco

Although no official invitation from the Bay Area churches ever came to Dr. Graham, an arrangements committee polled the individual churches and found that five hundred and ninety seven churches desired to have him come. This information made the Graham team decide to go to San Francisco. By the time the crusade had opened, one thousand and one hundred eighty-eight churches of the area had agreed to participate.²

San Francisco like New York was considered no easy spot for mass evangelism. There was the problem of the pagan background of the area dating back to early California settlers who came seeking only wealth. There was no community spirit as in the midwest. The great foreign born population of San Francisco was completely ignorant of the gospel message. Then there was the problem of the mobility of the people of California making it difficult to achieve permanent results. But like New York, this crusade became another victory over great obstacles and this a divine miracle.³

The crusade developed much as did its predecessors. One thousand and two hundred local cottage prayer meetings were established in cooperation with prayer groups in one hundred and nine foreign countries. A budget of four hundred thousand dollars was adopted. Four thousand and three hundred counselors

¹Ibid, p. 106-177.

²Sherwood Eliot Wirt, Spiritual Awakenings, p. 157.

³Ibid., p. 24-25.

were trained by the time of the opening service on April 27, 1958. Even San Francisco was shaken by that first service; eighteen thousand jammed into the Cow Palace and five thousand more were turned away. This response proved to be indicative of what took place in the next six weeks in the Cow Palace. A total of twenty eight thousand two hundred fifty-four persons responded to Billy Graham's invitation either at the Cow Palace or at Seals Stadium where the final meeting was held.

The winning of new converts, however, was only one of the goals for each Graham campaign; other basic goals were to encourage and renew the life of the churches; to bring a new consciousness of God to the surrounding area.¹ In view of these goals, could the crusade be called successful?

The churches who labored together at the Cow Palace experienced a bond of unity which proved to strengthen inter-church relations as well as blessing to the individual churches. Through extra speaking engagements Mr. Graham and the team were able to bring new prestige to the gospel in the eyes of thousands outside the church. The mayor of San Francisco spoke for the populace and said of the Graham team, "We are a better people because you have been here."² However, in the estimation of the team, the full results will not be felt for at least four years. One factor will be that no until then will the young men converted in the crusade begin coming into the ministry.³

In many ways San Francisco showed improvement over previous campaigns. There was a definite statistical improvement over New York in the proportion of converts maintaining spiritual contact after the crusade. In New York thirty-four percent of the inquirers participated in the Bible study follow-up; in San Francisco the figure was over ninety per cent. This was largely because of a more determined effort of follow-up.⁴

¹Wirt, op. cit., p. 41, 146, 147.

²Sherwood Eliot Wirt, Spiritual Awakenings, p. 166.

³Loc. cit.

⁴Ibid., p. 150

Also in the way the meetings are conducted the San Francisco Crusade set a new record for smoothness and efficiency. Mr. Graham was said to have achieved maturity of message there beyond anything he had ever done. He also seemed to have reached a new level of efficiency in working with the ministers of the area as can be seen by his words at a pastor's breakfast; "Some of the things I say will make you cringe. Just close your ears and eyes and wait for something you can agree with. I cannot devise a theology that will please all of you for we come from different backgrounds."¹

While it is true that the San Francisco Crusade barely touched the moral life of the metropolitan district yet the success of this crusade is clearly seen when it is viewed in terms of the three basic goals of all Graham meetings; the winning of converts, the encouragement and renewal of the churches, and the bringing of a new consciousness of God.

4. METHODS EMPLOYED

It is evident from our study of the various crusades that the first matter of importance in the work of a Billy Graham Crusade is preparation. Proper methods, tested and proven, are utilized in the area of preparation. This involves preparation through prayer. Since the Los Angeles campaign of 1949, the crusades have never lacked for organized praying well in advance of their beginning. It also includes the training of counselors and workers. These are drawn from the Christian churches and are invited to help only after they have been properly recommended. Weeks before, a campaign training class are begun for those who have volunteered. Then there is preparation through publicity which has been illustrated in our summary of the New York Crusade. But even before all this organizing takes place there must come an adequate invitation to the Graham team indicating that a majority of the Protestant churches in a given area will support the

¹Ibid, p. 47.

team's effort. Once the invitation has been accepted a sponsoring committee is organized in the city that is to be visited. The business end of the campaign, including finance, largely becomes their responsibility. Each crusade is locally incorporated under the laws of the particular state or country with a board of directors made up of interested professional men and clergymen. All of this comes under the heading of proper sponsorship which is a necessity in preparing for a Graham Crusade.

The Billy Graham team itself is a showcase of efficiency in carrying out the latest evangelistic methods of our day. Graham sees God's hand in the selection of each team member. Grady Wilson, his companion since high school days as associate evangelist; soloist George Beverly Shea, a former insurance clerk; and song leader Cliff Barrows; these are the team members that are in the public eye. Behind the scenes there is Willis Haymaker as Crusade Director and Jerry Beaven as Executive Secretary and Public Relations Officer. Mr. Beaven's assignment is to contact pastors and leading Christian workers in centers where a campaign is to be held and to work with the local committee in preparing for the crusade. Each campaign brings new personnel temporarily into the picture, but these men are the hard core of the Graham team.

Graham himself makes all final important policy decisions but individual team members once given an assignment are pretty much on their own.

In addition to the travelling members of the team there are the personnel of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association with headquarters in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Out of the twenty-five thousand dollars contributed for the launching of "The Hour of Decision" in 1950 came the Association which handles his newspaper columns, other publications and mailing list, as well as the financing of his weekly radio work and team salaries during campaigns.¹

¹High, op. cit., p. 152.

While the actual money needed for a crusade is almost wholly raised by regular collections at each crusade meeting, Dr. Graham and the full-time members of his team receive stated salaries from the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association. The mailing list of those contributing through the Association in Minneapolis was near a million persons by 1955.¹ The funds which they handled during that same year for the financing of the Graham operation was over two million dollars.²

The Billy Graham Evangelistic Association started in a three room office with one employee. Today there are over one hundred and twenty-five employees occupying the main part of a four story office building under the direction of George Wilson.

The final phase of a Billy Graham meeting is the follow-up system. Briefly, this elaborate system works like this; each convert is given a packet of literature to help him in the Christian life and during the next thirty-six hours each receives a personal letter of encouragement from Mr. Graham. Each convert is directed to make immediate contact with some church. The minister of the church of his preference receives a duplicate of the decision card. This minister is then instructed to report back that he has made contact with the convert. Counselors are also urged to maintain some contact with the convert in the following months.³ Thus a plan has been adopted which provides a way for young Christians to receive immediate care and nurture even though the success of it depends almost wholly on the clergy.

5. A SUMMARY OF CHARACTERISTICS

In summarizing the characteristics of the Graham ministry these features seemed prominent. First, there was the characteristic of preparation. This involved primarily prayer, thousands

¹High, op. cit., p. 166.

²High, op. cit., p. 165.

³Ibid., p. 234-235.

of people centering their prayers on the needs of a particular place. There was also preparation through mass advertising, as well as preparation through the training of workers for each individual Crusade. Our second feature could actually be a part of the first, organization. Each campaign was a successful, well-organized business in itself, and the complex machinery of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association was equally as well organized. A third noteworthy fact was the co-operation among the churches that the Crusades fostered. Unity and Catholicity seemed to accompany these evangelistic meetings. As Billy Graham's ministry increased in effectiveness the characteristic of great crowds become identified with his meetings. This feature of large numbers has also included the conversions produced by the Crusades. Not only have large masses of people been in attendance at Billy Graham meetings, but the response to receive Christ has also been large in proportion. A fifth characteristic was the orderliness and reverence in which the respective meetings were held. The utilization of new evangelistic methods geared to present times should also be included in this list of characteristics. A seventh characteristic, at the very heart of the movement was the preaching of the Word of God. This entire phase of the awakening has centered around authoratative preaching. Then the evidence of the divine power of God has also been a basic characteristic in everything the Graham team has attempted to accomplish. Finally, an extensive follow-up program has identified Mr. Graham's work, making his ministry not only in the saving of souls, but in conserving them as well.

D. THE MAIN EMPHASIS OF HIS MESSAGE

The main emphasis of the Graham ministry is quite naturally in his preaching. It is therefore necessary to consider his message in order to correctly evaluate this phase of the awakening.

The opinion of those who have extensively observed Billy Graham's preaching is that he speaks as one having authority.

Often the structure of what he says is common, but always it is said with an authoratative note. Many have come away from his meetings with a comment like this; "He speaks forthright and there is an absence of any uncertainty in his delivery." This is the power of Billy Graham's preaching. The fact that masses of people, who in no other circumstances would listen to the gospel, have flocked to hear this type of preaching indicates that people want the truth and they want it declared with authority and conviction, without apology.¹

At the base of this positive preaching is Billy's authority, the Bible, and which he believes is the written Word of God. His preaching emphasizes strongly a return to the authority of the Bible. He does not argue about a belief in the Bible but because he believes it he preaches it as a message from God. He is not an apologist or a theologian, but an ambassador. The phrase, "the Bible says," has become a fixture in his messages. Here then is the basis for his authoratative preaching. He believes in the power of God's Word. Referring again to his special anointing in 1949 Billy said, in noting how this experience changed his preaching; "I got to the place where I couldn't preach any of the old sermons. Studying six to eight hours a day I received new sermons burned into my heart by God.

.....
I used from twenty-five to one hundred passages of scripture each evening. People, I found, cannot stand under the impact of the Word of God."²

Although, always a Bible preacher, in more recent years he has realized as never before the importance of the actual Word of God and the ability of the Spirit of God to take the Word and do the work. The members of his team have noted this maturing of his message and have termed it, "a new authority and assurance

¹Stanley High, Billy Graham, p. 54-55.

²C. T. Cook, The Billy Graham Story, p. 21.

in his preaching."¹

In addition to his message content, his delivery has also matured across the years. In his early ministry Billy followed the tradition of the unrestrained manner of some southern evangelists. In the forties he was the joke cracking evangelist to the teen-agers. Especially since the first campaigns in Great Britain there has been a moderation in his sermonic manner. While still a long distance from the calm, cool delivery of those who preach a calm, cool faith, he has learned to gear his speaking manner to the situation and occasion, and yet never to change the message content.²

In his preaching the call for repentance is a recurring note. The Ten Commandments often constitute much of his preaching in a campaign. Beginning with the law, he locates his hearers by proclaiming God's standards for man and then offers the gospel of free grace for all who have failed to live up to those standards.

His messages generally relate divine truth to the present world situation. Other than this, his sermon material is rarely gathered from outside the Bible.

He preaches with one end in view, to bring a spiritual decision on the part of his hearers. Every sermon he delivers is for a verdict. It might be added that there is an absence of extreme emotion in this. He preaches, not to gain access to the emotions, but to the will.

The content of his message reveals much of his basic theology. His messages locate him in the mainstream of the Christian faith. The fact that he had the general approval of churchmen around the world would substantiate this. His emphasis may differ somewhat from great revivalists of the past but basically his material is the same; the fact of human sin, the penalty of

¹"Christian Life Magazine," July, 1958, p. 9.

²High, op. cit., p. 88-90.

death, the atoning sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and the return of the Lord. In campaigns he very wisely stays away from controversial theological questions. Instead he declares the essentials of the Christian faith. His messages are life-centered. His main emphasis is actually the new birth. In this he is most like the "Great Awakener," George Whitfield, who shared with him in this emphasis.

In answering the question of his theological position, Mr. Graham said, "there are so many shades of fundamentalism and so many shades of liberalism that it is extremely difficult to point to a man and say he is a 'liberal' or he is a fundamentalist without qualifying explanations. If by fundamentalist you mean narrow, bigoted, prejudiced, extremist, emotional, snake handler, without social conscience...then I am definitely not a fundamentalist. However, if by fundamentalist you mean a person who accepts the authority of the scriptures, the virgin birth of Christ, the atoning death of Christ, His bodily resurrection, His second coming and personal salvation by grace through faith, then I am a fundamentalist."¹

E. OPPOSITION

Two extreme positions have been responsible for the majority of criticism which has come to Billy Graham. On the one hand the liberals have been aroused because of his faithfulness to the Bible in his preaching. These liberal elements have rejected his redemptive theology and have also opposed presenting this message by way of mass evangelism. On the other hand some extreme fundamentalists criticized his work because of his determination to accept the sponsorship in his campaigns of all, no matter what their theological position, who will agree that he may preach the gospel without any restrictions. However both of these groups have had to criticize in spite of the fact that the gospel has

¹High, op. cit., p. 56.

been faithfully preached in the power of the Holy Spirit and with marvelous evidences of the blessing of God.¹

This type of opposition has its roots deeply imbedded in American history. The Modernist-Fundamentalist controversy has been a distressing factor in American Church life since the latter part of the nineteenth century. Following World War I the somewhat more Biblical Neo-orthodox school appeared to complicate this theological picture. Into this situation Billy Graham has come with a world-wide ministry, reaching accross denominational lines and attacking an entire modern-day city for Christ. It would have been unusual indeed if criticism did not appear in such a situation. The problems brought to a head because of Mr. Graham's ministry existed prior to his appearance and have arisen largely because very few evangelists of our time have ever tried to do what Billy Graham has done.

In answer to the two extreme opposing forces of Mr. Graham's work, Robert Ferm notes that it is not necessary to enumerate converts in defense of his policy of evangelism, but that The Scriptures and history provide an adequate answer to these critics. The earthly ministry of our Lord, and the work of the apostles, have had as their chief concern that men might hear the true gospel, which is the supreme motive behind Billy Graham's labors. Evangelists from Jonathan Edwards to Billy Sunday arrived at the same conclusions that Billy Graham has accepted in his ministry. Mr. Ferm calls attention to the fact that former major evangelists were compelled to endure the criticism of unreasonable men in a similar way as Billy Graham has. Today their attackers have been forgotten, while the work of these evangelists is honored by all those who believe in Scriptural evangelism.²

F. RESULTS

It will actually take many years for the full results of

¹Robert O. Ferm, America's Spiritual Recovery, p. 13, 15.

²Op. cit., p. 16, 20.

the Billy Graham Crusades to be known. Because the work of Mr. Graham is so contemporary it is quite difficult to evaluate the results of his efforts. Only a part of the religious awakening of the Mid-Twentieth Century is history, and that being very recent. However, from available material it is possible to at least gain some perspective of the impact of Mr. Graham's ministry upon our age. The evangelistic results of the Graham meetings are the most evident and will be considered first.

One of Billy Graham's greatest contributions to evangelism has been in the area of the city-wide campaign. The present return to mass evangelism is best characterized in the Billy Graham Crusades. Cooperative evangelism has seen a new resurgence largely as a result of his success. Robert O. Ferm, in his book on cooperative evangelism writes that "Billy Graham is the only evangelist who has been able to get all the churches of a given city to unite and back the campaign, at least since the days of Billy Sunday."¹

Also there has been the contribution of new methods to the field of evangelism. Graham has harnessed modern communication and transportation to the work of evangelism. New ways have been found and utilized to present the timeless story of salvation. In this he has been a real pioneer setting a precedent for others who will follow.

However, the most vital evangelistic result of any period of religious awakening are the converts, the individuals whose lives have been changed by the power of God. It was estimated that by the end of 1955 Mr. Graham had preached face to face to at least twenty million persons. Furthermore, through his crusades, radio and film ministries an estimated one million have made decisions for Christ.² At the present time this number would be much greater as the last three years have seen some

¹Robert O. Ferm, Cooperative Evangelism, p. 17.

²High, op. cit., p. 2.

of his greatest evangelistic efforts including the New York Crusade and the San Francisco Campaign. Numerically, the converts of this man's ministry are as great as those of any previous awakening in American history. It is a fact that he has preached to more persons than any minister in history.¹ But as amazing as these figures are, they mean little if the quality does not measure up to the quantity. The one question asked more than any other about Billy Graham and his crusades is, does it last? In answering this question there is only time and space here to consider as an example one of his most representative crusades, the London Crusade of 1954. These statistics from this campaign seem to be a fair norm for the rest of Mr. Graham's work, although there would naturally be some variations. The report of the London Campaign, twelve months after the crusade, was that in numbers beyond expectation, the converts of the meetings were carrying on. Dr. W. E. Sangster, one of Great Britain's most prominent ministers, stated that his own church had received decision cards for some sixty Harringay converts. At the end of a year all but six were active in the church. Another pastor noted that in his congregation twenty-three of the twenty-five crusade converts entered whole-heartedly into the work of the local church. One year following the London revival, a poll was taken among the British clergy to determine the more permanent results of the campaign. It was discovered that of the converts who were neither former church members nor church goers, sixty-four per cent were still taking part in church life regularly.²

In the two years of 1954 and 1955 church membership in England was increased by one hundred and twenty thousand, sixty thousand each year.³

¹The Parade Magazine, "Billy Graham, His Year of Decision," Dec. 13, 1959, p. 7.

²High, op. cit., p. 224-226-228.

³"Christianity Today," April 28, 1958, p. 10.

At this point attention should be called to another factor. The durability of the converts depends largely upon the atmosphere of the church to which they are directed. It is the local church's responsibility to keep the new Christians alive, after the evangelist has done his job and gone to another place of service. This accounts for the difference in the local churches in successfully conserving the converts.

The second British poll revealed another remarkable fact; that in scores of churches the crusade's converts continued to increase after the end of the meetings. This indicates that the fruitage of a campaign cannot be determined alone on the basis of those making decisions during the progress of the crusade.

This leads to the consideration of the effects of Mr. Graham's ministry in the area of revival. Billy Graham describes himself as an evangelist, not as a leader of revival. But it is a hard task to draw a line between evangelism and revival. This has been proven in the Graham crusades where the evangelistic emphasis often produces revival in the churches cooperating.¹ For example, four years after the Chattanooga Crusade the report was given that prayer groups organized in the churches during the campaign were more active at the present than when they began. In New Orleans two years after the Graham effort in that city, a leading minister of the First Baptist Church there relates that lasting consequences have been felt in churches as well as in the city itself. Three years after the 1952 Pittsburg Crusade prayer groups and youth rallies started under the Graham enthusiasm still met weekly. The conclusion is reached from reports available that in many of the churches cooperating in the Crusades a spirit of revival has been generated and has continued to grow with the passing of time. These revivals, however, tend to become more local in extent and according to Stanley High, as yet have not reached the grass roots of America.¹

¹ Stanley High, Billy Graham, p. 262 & Fred W. Hoffman, Revival Times in America, p. 179.

Again it is difficult to determine at this present hour how much the Christian church has been effected by Billy Graham's ministry. One can only conclude from the evidence available that a spirit of awakening prevails and that a period of spiritual preparation is in progress in much of evangelical Christendom and that this new spiritual force must not be omitted from any attempt to list the results of the Graham Crusades.¹

It has also been recognized by the writer that proportionately it will now take a much greater mass of redeemed people to effect American society in a general way than it did one hundred or two hundred years ago. This is because of the tremendous population increase, and the contemporary distractions of family life in America. It seems that in our day families are generally not as close in their relationships as a century ago. Therefore what happens to one member would not have such a great effect on the rest of the family. This it appears, would have some bearing on the successful spread of an awakening.

Graham himself has concurred in the difficulty of evaluating contemporary awakenings. At the last service in the New York Crusade he told his audience:

...I believe there is a spirit of revival today in America.

.....
History proves that there is a time lag between spiritual awakenings and their impact on society. When John Wesley died, nobody in that time would have said it was a period of revival. It took twenty-five to fifty years for the eighteenth century revival to make its impact on British society. And yet history says today that it was probably the greatest and most effective revival of all time.

.....
I believe that God today is shaping a new generation of men and women who believe in God. I believe that the impact will be felt in days to come.²

¹Sherwood Eliot Wirt, Spiritual Awakenings, p. 47 & Hoffman, op. cit., p. 180.

²High, op. cit., p. 11, 12.

In concluding this evaluation the writer feels the need to recall again an important consideration by Sherwood Wirt in his account of the San Francisco Crusades. Mr. Wirt gives the three goals of any Graham campaign; one of these goals, which has already been considered, was to bring a new consciousness of God to the surrounding area.¹ The Graham team has been more than successful in reaching this goal and it becomes one of the greatest results of the entire ministry of the team. The gospel has made its way into the newspapers and magazines in an unprecedented manner in these last years. Wherever a crusade is held religion becomes a main topic of conversation.

In making America more God conscious, Billy Graham has brought evangelical Christianity to a new place of respectability. The gospel minister has been raised to a level of respect and honor unknown in earlier years.²

In scores of cities across the globe it has been proven that the blessing of God rests upon this man, his team, and his methods, and that he is being used to perform a magnificent work of evangelism, and to produce a new spirit of awakening.³

I. SUMMARY

The spiritual famine which prevailed in America during the twenties and thirties came to a climax with World War II and the cold war which followed. Men began then to see their spiritual needs. Following the World War certain forces were at work in the form of prayer emphasis and new Christian organizations, preparing for what many called a new era of religious awakening. A revived interest in mass evangelism seemed to indicate that something was happening of importance in post-war America. The emergence of Billy Graham in 1949 as a new and remarkable success

¹Wirt, op. cit., p. 147.

²Ferm, op. cit., p. 23.

³Wirt. op. cit., p. 62.

in the evangelistic field completed the picture by giving the new movement a leader.

Billy Graham's personal life can be viewed in the light of his three greatest decisions. His decision for Christ in 1934, his yielding to a call to preach some years later, and his special anointing with the Holy Spirit in 1949 prepared him for his enlarged ministry. His personal qualities of piety, humility, sacrifice, and love with the evident traits of sincerity and teachability indicate in part what manner of man he is. He has learned to live with great success and the pressures that such a life as his brings. However, to explain the man apart from the power of God is impossible.

In studying the characteristics of Mr. Graham's ministry our method was to consider first his early ministry from 1943 to 1949, which included his experience as a pastor, college president, and Youth For Christ field representative. Then to view briefly a survey of the 29 full-fledged Crusades held in America up to the spring of 1959. Following this, more attention was given to three of his important campaigns in this country, the Los Angeles meetings of 1949, the New York Crusade in 1957, and the San Francisco campaign in 1958. Methods used by the Graham team were then considered. These methods included preparation through mass prayer, extensive training of campaign workers, effective publicity, and adequate sponsorship.

The team includes not only members of his travelling party but also the employees of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association in Minneapolis, Minnesota which is his headquarters. A successful follow-up plan has been devised and used by the team providing necessary care for converts of the crusades.

In summarizing the characteristic features of the Graham Awakening, these facts seemed prominent. There was preparation involving mass prayer, careful advertising, and the training of crusade workers. There was much organization in each campaign, and in the work of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association as well. There was great unity and cooperation among churches

working with the Graham team in the different campaigns. The unprecedented crowds, which have attended the various meetings, as well as the great throng which constitute the spiritual harvest of these services, have also become a hallmark of the Graham ministry. Another noted feature was the orderliness and reverence in which the respective meetings were held. The utilization of new evangelistic methods geared to our own day has also been a noted characteristic. Then these two characteristics at the very heart of the entire movement were noted; first the centrality of the preaching of the Word of God in an authoratative manner, and second the evidence of the Divine Power of God in all that has been accomplished. Finally an extensive follow-up program has been identified as a part of the total program of Billy Graham's work.

The main emphasis of the awakening can best be found in the message effectively and faithfully proclaimed by Billy Graham. The message of Mr. Graham has been delivered with authority. At the base of that authority has been the Word of God. Although he has learned to gear his speaking manner to the contemporary and immediate situation, the messages have not changed across the years. The main emphasis of his message has been the new birth. In stressing this emphasis the call to repentance has become a recurring theme in his sermons. He preaches always for a decision on the part of his hearers. His sermonic content has located him in the mainstream of Christian theology.

Two extreme positions have opposed Mr. Graham's work especially in recent years. This opposition has its roots in the Modernist-Fundamentalist controversy which has been a distressing factor in American Church life for some time. On the one hand, Mr. Graham has been criticized by the Liberals for his redemptive message and faithfulness to the authority of the Bible. On the other hand, extreme fundamentalists have been aroused because of his policy of accepting sponsorship in his campaigns of all, no matter what their theological position, who will place no restrictions

on the message he preaches.

While it is impossible to completely evaluate the results of Billy Graham's ministry because of our close involvement in it, many results are already evident. Billy Graham has made a great contribution in the area of mass evangelism. In introducing new methods in the field of evangelism he and his team have become valuable pioneers. He has led in a return to co-operative evangelism on a large scale. The converts of his ministry are as great as any previous awakening in this country's history.

While Graham's work has been in evangelism, revivals in local churches cooperating in the crusades have been not uncommon. In many evangelical circles a spirit of awakening exists, indicating a possible period of spiritual preparation for something greater to come. This condition has resulted largely from the Graham crusades.

The bringing of a new God consciousness to masses of people, and with this the elevation of evangelical Christianity to a new place of respectability, has come to pass as a result of this man's spirit-filled ministry.

CHAPTER V.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER V

A. SUMMARY AND COMPARISONS

1. CAUSES

The three awakenings under consideration were preceeded by a time of spiritual need and a general recession in the religious life of the nation. However, these periods of spiritual dullness were produced by different factors. The factors involved prior to the Great Awakening were: the gradual digression of Colonial religious life from the faith of the first American settlers; the unattractive and institutional emphasis of Puritan Church life; the adoption of the Half-Way Covenant by many churches; and the mass of irreligious immigrants coming to these shores. Previous to the Fulton Street Revival, spiritual conditions were equally as serious. America had experienced a mighty revival in 1800 but in the following period of expansion and prosperity the nation had lost much of the benefits from that awakening in a mad scramble for wealth. The country was not unenlightened, rather it had turned away from known spiritual truths. In our own generation, World War II, and the cold war which followed, brought to a climax a period of spiritual famine. This period had also felt the influence of a Protestant Liberalism which either denied or redefined much of the theology of traditional Christianity. It had experienced a reaction to optimistic liberalism in the rise of neo-orthodoxy with its re-emphasis on the Holiness of God and its interpretation of man as a sinner before this Holy God. While this reaction was not a return to traditional Christianity, it emphasized in its theology doctrines which would be more conducive to spiritual revival than could have been possible in the optimistic atmosphere of liberalism.

In each period there were accompanying signs indicating the possibility of spiritual awakening. Before the Great Awakening and the Fulton Street Revival local revivals became more common and Christians exhibited a new concern about existing

spiritual conditions. In both cases this resulted in a nucleus of believers praying for revival. A serious financial panic in 1857 also figured in the Fulton Street Revival by bringing a new awareness to many of their spiritual plight. Billy Graham's role in the Mid-Twentieth Century Awakening was preceeded by a renewed emphasis upon prayer within the churches, the formation of new evangelistic organizations outside the church, and a revived interest in mass evangelism. The emergence of Billy Graham in 1949 as a new and remarkable success in the field of evangelism gave this new emphasis a leader and formed it into a movement.

In the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Revivals there was a local incident out of which the movements seemed to come; Jonathan Edwards' sermons on Justification by Faith preached at Northampton and the noon prayer meeting begun on Fulton Street in New York City. However, local revivals, which later reached general proportions, came out of these events because conditions were right for revival.

2. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

Similar characteristics of the three movements are numerous. All three came after preparation had been made. This preparation involved primarily the prayers of an awakened, burdened remnant of believers. The evidence of the Divine power of God was plainly seen in all three movements. In all three instances there was a great mass of people reached and touched by these movements. As a result of the two historic revivals and the Billy Graham ministry there came a new unity among the people of God.

The two historic awakenings were distinctly marked by a suddenness of outbreak and decline and a rapidity of movement.

Then there were factors making each distinctive and unique. The Great Awakening was noted for the preaching which dominated the movement. It produced a soberness and often fear in the hearts of the hearers. It was noted for the hysteria which appeared in the last months of the awakening. Finally, there was the appearance of the revival itself in two phases; yet all a part of one

movement. In the case of the Fulton Street Revival there was the remarkable newspaper coverage, the predominant lay leadership, the central emphasis of prayer, and the lack of determined opposition. Mr. Graham's work has been distinctive because of the organization and careful preparation involved in each campaign, including an effective follow-up system, the utilization of new evangelistic methods, an orderly and reverent spirit, and authoratative preaching of the Word of God.

3. LEADERSHIP

The leadership for the Great Awakening came primarily from Jonathan Edwards, Gilbert Tennent and George Whitfield; whereas the direction for the Fulton Street Revival came predominantly from the laity. Billy Graham is the most important figure in the Mid-Twentieth Century Awakening. He is possessed with great personal qualities and has learned to live above his great success and many pressures. Yet it is still impossible to explain this man apart from the power of God.

4. MAIN EMPHASIS

The New Birth through the medium of authoratative preaching was the emphasis of both the Great Awakening and Mr. Graham's work. The doctrine of the New Birth was not lacking in the Fulton Street Awakening yet a central emphasis of prayer seemed to mark the movement.

5. OPPOSITION

In the last months of the Great Awakening opposition seemed intense and unfortunately lingered afterwards destroying much of its effectiveness. Such opposition originated from varied sources; a long standing Presbyterian dispute; fanatic factions within the awakening contributing to the appearance of physical extravagances; the objections of ritualistic church groups; and the new growth of the separatist bodies. These were all factors out of which grew agitation and opposition to the revival. The

Fulton Street Revival was quite unusual in that there was almost an absence of determined opposition against this work of God. Two extreme positions have been responsible for the majority of opposition to Billy Graham's work. Liberals have disagreed with his redemptive message and faithfulness to the authority of the Bible. At the same time extreme fundamentalists have criticized his policy of accepting sponsorship in his campaigns of all, no matter what their theological position, who will place no restrictions on the message he preaches.

6. RESULTS

Combining the estimated number of converts from three awakenings under consideration, the total arrived at is well over the two million mark. Simultaneous with such evangelism the Church underwent a period of revival. This was more generally true of the historic revivals on the 18th and 19th centuries.

Out of the Great Awakening came a revived Church restored to the true doctrine of the New Birth and renewed in missionary vision. (This revival also helped in bringing religious liberties to Colonial America).

Socially, the revival brought a diminishing of vice and a new spirit of benevolence; politically it served to prepare the nation for the days of civil war and reconstruction.

Billy Graham has led in a return to mass evangelism. Through his ministry evangelical Christianity has been elevated to a new place of respectability. Yet it is impossible to completely evaluate the Billy Graham ministry because of our close association with it. It is especially difficult to determine at the present hour how much the Christian Church has been affected. A full evaluation of this must wait for a later day.

However, it can be noted that many local revivals have taken place and that in many circles already considered evangelical, a spirit of awakening exists. These conditions have largely

resulted from the Graham Crusades and have been accompanied by numerous conversions. The number of these converts has been as great as those of any previous revival in American history. He has preached to more persons than any minister in history. Yet in considering these figures one must recognize that proportionately it will now take a much greater mass of redeemed people to effect in a general way American society than it did one or two hundred years ago. The reason: because of great population increases and the evident present disintegration of the family as a unit which makes the spread of a religious awakening more difficult.

The consensus of opinion of those authorities available to this writer seemed to be that while large scale evangelism has resulted from Mr. Graham's ministry, and with this evangelism many local revivals and a general spirit of awakening among many Christian groups has also resulted, the work has not yet become sufficiently widespread to be presently termed a general mass revival.

B. CONCLUSIONS

From the material examined the following conclusions seem to indicate the nature of a genuine mass revival.

1. The basic thing that makes a revival in the Church imperative is a condition of spiritual dullness or apathy.
2. Before a general revival is probable, local revivals usually appear.
3. Revival is possible when Christian people have met the following conditions: a deep recognition of spiritual need, followed by preparation primarily through prayer.
4. Revival is characterized by: a general outreach effecting large masses of people; a return to the simple gospel message, and to personal experiential religion.
5. Revival lifts the moral and ethical tone of the lives

of the individual, the church and society.

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