

AMERICAN RELIGIOUS REVIVALISM IN GREAT BRITAIN,

c.1826 - c.1863

Chapter I The 1840 Revival in America 1

Chapter II Baptists, Congregationalists and the Revival in England: The Revival of 1826-1827 23

Chapter III Baptists, Congregationalists and the Revival in England: The Revival of 1826-1827 23

Chapter IV The New Revivalism in Wales and Ireland 23

Chapter V 'A Voice from America': James Caughey's Itinerancy in Britain, 1841-1842 23

Chapter VI 'A Great National Mercy': Charles Finney's Itinerancy in Britain, 1849-1851 293

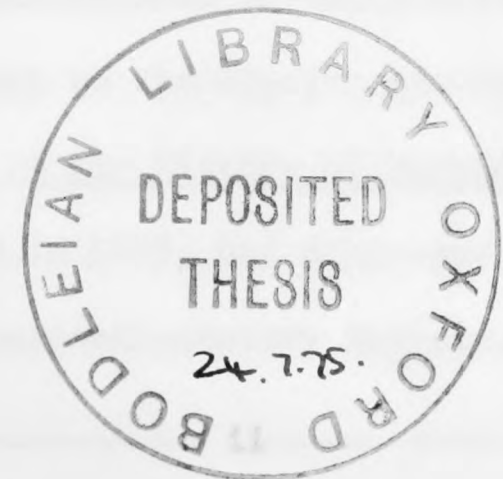
Chapter VII Transatlantic Revival, 1857-1863 354

Conclusion 416

Appendices A - E: The British Itinerancies of James Caughey, Charles Finney, and Walter and Henry Palmer, 1841-1863 426

Bibliography of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Oxford, September 1974. [ie 1975] TT 434

Abstract



CONTENTS

	Preface	iii
	Abbreviations	ix
	Note on the Text	x
Chapter I	The New Measure Revivalism in the United States	1
Chapter II	Baptists, Congregationalists and New Measure Revivalism in England: The Climate of Opinion	70
Chapter III	Baptists, Congregationalists and New Measure Revivalism in England: Adoption	124
Chapter IV	The New Revivalism in Wales and Scotland	182
Chapter V	'A Voice from America': James Caughey's Itinerancy in Britain, 1841-1847	229
Chapter VI	'A Great National Mercy': Charles Finney's Itinerancy in Britain, 1849-1851	293
Chapter VII	Transatlantic Revival, 1857-1863	354
	Conclusion	416
	Appendices A - E: The British Itinerancies of James Caughey, Charles Finney, and Walter and Phoebe Palmer, 1841-1863	426
	Bibliography	434
	Abstract	

1. Throughout this thesis I use the term 'revival', as did contemporaries, to refer both to a period of unusually intense religious activity and an abnormally high rate of conversions in a single church, and also to what might more properly be called a revival movement - the multiplicity of local church revivals over a broad geographical area for a prolonged period of perhaps several years.

PREFACE

American historians have devoted considerable attention to the powerful influence of religious revivalism on the character of nineteenth-century American church life and on more strictly secular developments. Curiously, the broad historical surveys, close regional studies and specialised monographs offered by Whitney Cross, William McLoughlin, Timothy Smith, Bernard Weisberger and others have no British parallels. True, it might be argued that the British religious revivalism of the last century does not deserve such close analysis, since it never held as religiously prominent or as socially acceptable a place as did revivalism in North America. But even the briefest of skirmishes with some of the primary sources for the study of popular evangelicalism in the nineteenth century quickly makes clear that the world of British revivalism has been done scant historical justice. The pursuit of conversions and revivals was deemed a primary distinguishing characteristic of all properly evangelical churches.¹ During the period under consideration hundreds of thousands joined these churches, many of whom dated their conversions (or 're-conversions') to a time of revival. Yet this extensive sub-culture, of enormous importance from a straightforward numerical standpoint, found itself largely forgotten, under-emphasised, or deliberately ignored in later denominational and local-church histories. This was perhaps because revivals carried connotations of emotionalism, disorder and impropriety which were an embarrassment to the dignity and respectability of the churches' later generations. A New History of Methodism, for example, a compilation of essays published in 1909, had disproportionately little to say of revivalism in mid-nineteenth-century Britain, despite the major role revivals

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played in that group of denominations.¹ More recent historical scholarship has recognised the importance of revivals in the nineteenth century. But the historians in question - Edward Thompson, W.R. Ward and Robert Currie, for example - have been more interested in tracing their secular implications, their impact on church growth, or their role in church schism, than in tackling the subject of revivals directly. It is this pressing need for an investigation of revivalism in its own right that gives this thesis the first of its two major justifications.

Focus is given to this investigation by concentrating on one area of British revivalism frequently recognised as important but never adequately examined: the part played by American revivalistic ideas and practices in its development. It would be simplistic to attribute all the developments in nineteenth-century British popular revivalism to American influence; it would be equally mistaken to suppose that American involvement was limited to the brief appearance of a few secondary figures who failed to touch the mainstream of British evangelical life. Well before the British campaign of Dwight L. Moody in the 1870s, American revivalists had made their presence felt. Measures of influence are not easily fashioned, but it is clear that huge numbers responded positively to the Americans' appeal. Charles G. Finney, the best-known revivalist of his day, was enormously popular in Britain; 80,000 copies of one edition of his Lectures on Revivals of Religion were sold by 1850. James Caughey's record of conversions in Britain (20,000 were claimed on his first visit alone) was one which made him a household name in Methodist circles for several decades. America was also important as an inspiration and example: the outbreak of the British revival of 1859 represented the climax of a generation during which British evangelical churches had responded to American stimuli; it also reflected the closeness of the two evangelical communities. Yet this powerful and influential

1. W.J. Townsend, H.B. Workman and G. Eayrs, eds., A New History of Methodism 2 vols. (London, 1909).

American presence within British evangelicalism has gone largely unexplored. It is this deficiency which offers the second justification for this thesis.

The mid-century period under investigation was chosen because of its importance in the development of a new kind of revivalism. Evangelicals generally were forced to review their approach to 'means' - the methods that might legitimately be used to produce conversions. A more calculated, more obviously 'worked-up' revivalism came in many churches to replace a rather more traditional waiting for conversions on God's good time. The year 1826 is taken as an approximate starting-point, since it was then that British audiences first began to hear of the wave of 'new measure' revivals sweeping across upstate New York. This revival movement, as it broadened, proved catalytic in forcing the American Calvinistic denominations to reconsider their attitudes towards the promotion of revivals, and was eventually to help provoke a similar reconsideration by British Calvinistic evangelicals. The study ends in 1863, not because that year marked the end of an American presence (Caughey was still at work), nor because the forms and methods that accompanied the 1859 revival had fallen into disuse, but because by then the huge numerical increase of the previous half-decade's revival - the climax to this period of revivalism - had levelled off into very limited growth. It would, of course, have been possible to widen the chronological boundaries of this study to include both the earlier itinerancies of Lorenzo Dow, and the later work of Moody and Sankey.¹ This would perhaps have indicated even more forcefully the continued American activity throughout the century to 'ginger up' British evangelicals. Instead, a more careful analysis has been attempted of American activity in a crucial generation when attitudes towards revivals and the practices employed in

1. The visit of Moody and Sankey in 1873-1875 is well examined in William G. McLoughlin, Jr., Modern Revivalism. Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham (New York, 1959), p.177ff, and James F. Findlay, Jr., Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist 1837-1899 (Chicago, 1969), p.149ff. For a brief summary of Dow's visits, see below pp.235-36.

them underwent certain fundamental changes.

This chronological narrowness is balanced by the considerable geographical and denominational breadth of activity of the American revivalists under consideration, both in their itinerancies and in the extent of their influence. Inevitably, such breadth of scope has implications for the character of this thesis, which does not present a detailed local study of the causation and development of revivals; nor does it provide a full analysis of revival converts. Rather its importance lies in making clear the development in the theories and attitudes behind revivalism, in examining the organisation and promotion of revivals, and in seeing the flourishing transatlantic revival connexion as a whole. In the course of investigating the Americans' itinerancies the background of converts and the inspiration of revivals have become clearer, but it is recognised that church-by-church studies are still badly needed.

The final, though not major, limitation in the scope of this thesis relates to denominational coverage. Greatest emphasis has been placed on the mainstream British evangelical denominations, and most of all on those affected by American developments. Consequently, considerable attention has been paid to the large Calvinistic denominations, particularly the Baptists and Congregationalists, while some of the Methodist groups - the New Connexion and the Primitive Methodists, for example - have received less than what might, in a fully comprehensive survey of British mid-century revivalism, be considered their due. Moreover, by no means all the representatives of aggressive American evangelicalism have been considered: Mormons and Millerites already have their historians; the Campbellites await investigation.

The thesis opens with an examination of the new measure revivalism in its origins and development in the United States during the generation before the Civil War. This chapter devotes considerable attention to the charac-

teristics of American urban revivals, since it was largely from within this milieu that the American revivalists most successful in Britain developed their trade, and since this is a neglected area of investigation. The second and third chapters discuss the impact of the New Measures on the main English Calvinistic denominations and trace the adoption of a more calculated revivalism by some of these churches in the 1830s and 1840s. Chapter four describes these same developments in Wales and Scotland; it examines the strong commitment to revivals in Wales, and draws certain comparisons between the Welsh and American evangelical experience. Chapter five focuses on the British itinerancy of the American Methodist revivalist, James Caughey, in the 1840s, one of the most successful but least explored American visits of the century. The sixth chapter examines the first British itinerancy of Charles G. Finney, from 1849 to 1851, and concludes with a discussion of why British evangelicals experienced fewer revivals and were less committed to revivalism than were their American counterparts. The final chapter describes the climactic revival that broke out on both sides of the Atlantic in the late 1850s.

The thesis attempts to achieve a sympathetic understanding of evangelicalism, to see the world of revivals from within. This has been made possible by the existence of a massive corpus of contemporary evangelical publications. Despite their pietistic and hagiographical flavour contemporary and near-contemporary autobiographies and biographies have proved a fertile source; even richer in material are the weekly and monthly newspapers and periodicals of the period. Of the primary manuscript sources used, the most helpful have been the Finney Papers in Oberlin College; these were of particular value in piecing together the details of Finney's first British itinerancy. It has been a source of disappointment that, despite a search of the major depositories, little manuscript material relating to Caughey has been unearthed. Fortunately he was not reluctant

to publish many of the letters relating to his triumphant revival campaigns of the 1840s.

Many people have been given their help during the course of my research. In particular I should like to thank Mr. R.A.G. Dupuis, who was enormously generous in lending photocopies of contemporary materials, and to make clear my considerable debt to John Walsh, my supervisor.

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>Bapt. Ann. Reg.</u>	<u>The Baptist Annual Register</u>
<u>Bapt. Mag.</u>	<u>Baptist Magazine</u>
<u>Bapt. Rec.</u>	<u>The Baptist Record and Biblical Repertory</u>
<u>Bapt. Rep.</u>	<u>The Baptist Reporter and Missionary Intelligencer</u>
<u>Bibl. Rep. and theol. rev.</u>	<u>The Biblical Repertory and theological review</u>
<u>Brit. Ban.</u>	<u>The British Banner</u>
<u>Brit. Stand.</u>	<u>The British Standard</u>
<u>Chr. Adv. and Jnl.</u>	<u>The Christian Advocate and Journal</u>
<u>Chr. News</u>	<u>Christian News</u>
<u>Chr. Obs.</u>	<u>The Christian Observer</u>
<u>Chr. Witness</u>	<u>The Christian Witness</u>
<u>Cong. Yr. Bk.</u>	<u>The Congregational Year Book</u>
<u>Cong. Mag.</u>	<u>The Congregational Magazine</u>
<u>Conn. Obs.</u>	<u>Connecticut Observer</u>
<u>Dict. of Am. Biog.</u>	<u>Dictionary of American Biography</u>
<u>Dict. of Brit. Temp. Biog.</u>	<u>Dictionary of British Temperance Biography</u>
<u>Dict. of Nat. Biog.</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u>
<u>Dict. of Welsh Biog.</u>	<u>Dictionary of Welsh Biography</u>
<u>Ecl. Rev.</u>	<u>The Eclectic Review</u>
<u>Evang. Mag.</u>	<u>Evangelical Magazine</u>
<u>Evang. Reg.</u>	<u>The Evangelical Register</u>
<u>Evang. Rep.</u>	<u>The Evangelical Repository</u>
<u>Jnl. of Eccles. Hist.</u>	<u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</u>
<u>Jnl. of South. Hist.</u>	<u>Journal of Southern History</u>
<u>Jnl. of Theol. Studies</u>	<u>Journal of Theological Studies</u>
<u>Monthly Misc. of Relig. and Lttrs.</u>	<u>The Monthly Miscellany of Religion and Letters</u>
<u>New York Obs.</u>	<u>New York Observer</u>
<u>N.W. Ohio Qtly.</u>	<u>Northwest Ohio Quarterly</u>
<u>Ob. Evang.</u>	<u>Oberlin Evangelist</u>
<u>Prim. Meth. Mag.</u>	<u>Primitive Methodist Magazine</u>
<u>Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society</u>
<u>U.M.F.C. Mag.</u>	<u>United Methodist Free Churches Magazine</u>
<u>Wesl. Ban. and Rev. Rec.</u>	<u>The Wesley Banner and Revival Record</u>
<u>Wesl. Meth. Mag.</u>	<u>The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine</u>
<u>Wesl. Times</u>	<u>The Wesleyan Times</u>

NOTE ON THE TEXT

In quoted material, unless otherwise stated,
all emphases are to be found in the original, and
all parentheses are my own.

The former emphasis upon the "American" character of the movement, and the latter upon the "Christian" character of the movement, were both of them, in the early days of the movement, the result of a certain self-confidence that seemed to be the result of the age of Jackson; the fact of 1815 had not yet shown that the young Republic with her growing population, vast territory, distant shores and developing commerce, had a special destiny which set her apart from the corrupt Old World. To the end of the nineteenth century, it seemed that America, blessed with Puritan Heritage, voluntarist church structure and a vast engine of benevolent societies, had been charged by the Lord with the task of regenerating both herself and the whole world.¹ "Our object", Francis Pickens announced confidently to his Boston audience, "is to effect an entire moral revolution in the whole human race."²

In 1830 this work seemed well underway. The wave of religious revivals of the late 1820s and early 1830s, which emphasized the efficacy of voluntarism, which brought to the full view more the spreading evangelization of the Second Great Awakening, and which brought unprecedented numbers

1. Christian Advocate and Journal (Hoboken, New York), I (22 Sept. 1830), 151; I (17 Mar., 1837), 151.
2. For the growing trust of American Protestants in the voluntarist principle and the implications of the voluntarist structure for American society, see W. H. S. Hudson, The Great Tradition of the American Church (New York, 1902), especially pp. 61-69; and W. H. S. Hudson, "Voluntarism: The Shape of Protestantism in America" in Quaker History, 1902, (1903), 291-320.
3. F. Pickens, The Moral Climate of the Nineteenth Century (New York, 1837), p. 98.

CHAPTER ONE

THE NEW MEASURE REVIVALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

In 1826, on the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, a confident Methodist was moved to enthuse over the 'cheering prospects ... the future splendid scene before us ... Blessed with a healthy climate, a moral people, a free government, our situation is without parallel on the earth.'¹ Here was an evangelical expression of the optimism and burgeoning self-confidence that marked much of American society in the age of Jackson; the Panic of 1819 had not shattered the belief that the young Republic with her growing population, vast territories, natural wealth and developing commerce, had a special destiny which set her apart from the corrupt Old World. To the mind of the evangelical, it seemed that America, blessed with Puritan heritage, voluntarist church structure and a vast engine of benevolent societies, had been charged by the Lord with the task of regenerating both herself and the whole world.² 'Our object', Francis Wayland announced confidently to his Boston audience, 'is to effect an entire moral revolution in the whole human race.'³

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1. Christian Advocate and Journal (Methodist, New York), I (23 Sept. 1826). Cf. Ibid., I (17 Mar., 1827).
 2. For the growing trust of American Protestants in the voluntary principle, and the implications of the voluntarist structure for American church life, see Winthrop S. Hudson, The Great Tradition of the American Churches (New York, 1963), especially pp.63-109; and Sidney Earl Mead, 'Denominationalism: The Shape of Protestantism in America' in Church History, XXIII (1954), 291-320.
 3. F. Wayland, The Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise (6th edition, Edinburgh, 1826), p.29.

to the churches,¹ both justified and reinforced this intense evangelical optimism and self-confidence.² At the same time the revival outburst also reflected in much of its practice and theology another central characteristic of Jacksonian society - a democratic egalitarianism resting on a faith in the common man. This practice and theology - the New Measures and the 'New Divinity' - represented a watering down and liberalising of an older Calvinism which had emphasised the exclusiveness of the elect, and also man's helplessness and inability to act in securing his own conversion. The new measures revivalism, in contrast, reminded man of his responsibility and power, and was ready to experiment with means that challenged the conceptions of those conservative evangelicals who were 'laced and stayed by rule'.³ Hence, there was a religious parallel to secular developments. Just as the Jacksonian period saw a political and social challenge to the liberal aristocracy of the early nineteenth century, so this new measures revivalism represented a challenge to an older ecclesiastical authority; and just as the Jacksonian movement symbolised a turning towards political democracy, so the new measures represented a swing towards greater spiritual autonomy for the individual.⁴

It is the purpose of the present chapter to examine this particular expression of Jacksonian optimism and confident egalitarianism: the

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1. Presbyterians almost doubled their membership from 127,440 to 247,964 between 1826 and 1834. The peak year was 1831-32. Herman C. Weber, Presbyterian Statistics through One Hundred Years 1826-1926: Tabulated, Visualized, and Interpreted (1927), p.44. Methodist growth was even more spectacular, jumping from 360,800 in 1826 to 638,784 in 1834. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XVI (20 Oct. 1841). 'Between 1800 and 1835 the proportion of Protestant church members to national population grew from 7 per cent to 12½ per cent ...' William G. McLoughlin, Jr., Modern Revivalism, Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham (New York, 1959), p.58.
 2. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., V (13 May 1831); cf. John Keep, Narrative of the origin and progress of the Congregational Church in Homer, Cortland County, N.Y., with remarks (New York, 1833), p.12. For a more realistic and cautious attitude, even in the midst of revival, see Chr. Adv. and Jnl., VI (9 Sept. 1831).
 3. Keep, Narrative of the Congregational Church in Homer, p.13.
 4. For an elaboration on a similar theme, see William G. McLoughlin's 'Introduction' to Charles G. Finney, Lectures on Revivals of Religion, ed. William G. McLoughlin, (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), passim.

calculated, new measures revivalism. Of course, neither the Second Great Awakening in general, nor the newer revivalism in particular, has remained in need of scholarly treatment. Yet much is left to be examined. The origins of the new measures or promotional revivalism, which became so widespread in the generation before the Civil War, have received a somewhat one-dimensional treatment; and the place of this revivalism in an expanding urban environment and its adjustment to that setting has been noted, but deserves further analysis, given that during this generation the cities became the major dynamos in the revival machinery. Consequently, this study, while seeking to provide a general survey of the new measures revivalism in the period up to the revival movement of 1857-1858, will concentrate as far as space allows on those areas hitherto badly served.

I

The most dramatic stimulus to the more egalitarian, more deliberately engineered revivalism experienced in all areas in the later years of the Second Great Awakening was the revivalism found at the turn of the century in western and southern frontier areas, and in particular in the Cumberland region of Kentucky. These newly-settled regions, beyond the protective embrace of the established churches in the older states, and often deficient in regular ministry, and permanent churches, threw up revised forms of theology, organisation and revival capable of meeting the needs of a harsher, cruder, and less socially-stratified society than that found in the East. Frontier isolation, the evangelical or God-fearing background of migrants, an expectation of revival and the egalitarian structure of society helped give rise to a 'Great Revival' in the late 1790s and 1800s notable for its great outdoor meetings held over several days and nights, and for the labours of poorly-educated but physically robust itinerant

preachers;¹ and marked by intense excitements and emotional, public conversions, encouraged by the revivalist and expected by his audience;² and by a democratic gospel that in practice seemed to reject the idea of an elect, and sought to bring home to all men their duty to seek their salvation through positive action.³

The frontier style of revivalism, however, even when pruned of its more egregious novelties, could make little headway against the restraint and propriety which marked the revivals of the Calvinistic churches of New England and the East until the later stages of the Awakening. The Presbyterians had been the first denomination in the West to use the camp meeting; but amongst the better-educated Calvinists of the East, traditions of conservatism in theology and 'means' produced revivals that were less emotional and less obviously contrived.⁴ The central weapons were Sabbath preaching by the pastor (and sometimes by neighbouring ministers), supplemented by prayer meetings, house to house visiting, lectures, and days of fasting and prayer. Evangelists were rarely used, services were not multiplied indiscriminately, and public pressures on those seeking salvation were discountenanced. Such were the primary features of

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1. Bernard A. Weisberger, They Gathered at the River. The Story of the Great Revivalists and their Impact on Religion in America (Chicago, 1966), pp.20-50; John P. Boles, The Great Revival, 1787-1805 (Lexington, Ky., 1972), passim; Charles A. Johnson, The Frontier Camp Meeting (Dallas, 1955), pp.33-41.
 2. Catharine C. Cleveland, The Great Revival in the West, 1797-1805 (Chicago, 1916), pp.87-125; Boles, Great Revival, pp.67-68, argues plausibly that the bodily exercises were neither a significant nor a lasting aspect of western and southern revivals.
 3. William Warren Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier: The Presbyterians, 1783-1840: A Collection of Source Materials (New York, 1936), pp.82-98, discusses how Calvinism was modified and partially Arminianized on the frontier as it strove to make converts. Cf. Boles, Great Revival, p.129.
 4. Tendencies towards restraint could be reinforced by the predilections of a cultured congregation which found excitement or crude revival technique distasteful. Gardiner Spring's Brick Presbyterian Church in New York experienced a series of revivals from 1815, but since the congregation was composed of 'men in the middle ranks of life - thinking, working, independent men', together with some - merchants and lawyers - who were socially prominent and wealthy, only sober, traditional methods were used. Shepherd Knapp, A History of the Brick Presbyterian Church in the City of New York (New York, 1909), pp.184-202, especially p.198.

Samuel Stillman's revival of 1804-05 in the First Baptist Church in Boston;¹ of the Congregationalist revivals Lyman Beecher knew in East Hampton, Litchfield, and later in Boston;² of the Presbyterian revival in Baltimore in 1823-24 under W.C. Walton;³ and of Calvinistic revivals generally in the East.⁴

Revivals of a more restrained type were to be found not only in Baptist, Congregational and Presbyterian churches, but even in the Protestant Episcopal Church. Episcopalian revivals were confined to sections of the low church wing of that denomination and were generally subdued in tone. In the revival of 1820, which involved various denominations throughout Rhode Island, the Episcopal churches in Providence and Bristol were particularly affected. Since prayer meetings and preaching - the traditional Protestant weapons - alone seem to have been used, Stephen Tyng could write that the revival 'commenced...suddenly, with no preparation by human agency.'⁵ Although prayer and preaching were conducted by man himself, they were not looked upon as part of the human mechanics of revivalism; and the revivals thus inspired were acceptable to at least a portion of the socially respectable of whom the Protestant Episcopal Church was principally composed.

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1. S.B. Halliday and D.S. Gregory, The Church in America and Its Baptisms of Fire... (New York, 1896), pp.396-401.
 2. Charles Beecher, ed., Autobiography, Correspondence, Etc., of Lyman Beecher, D.D. (2 vols., New York, 1864-1865), II, 72-78.
 3. W.C. Walton, Narrative of a Revival of Religion in the Third Presbyterian Church in Baltimore, with remarks on subjects connected with revivals in general (Northampton, 1826).
 4. Frank G. Beardsley, A History of American Revivals (3rd edition, New York, 1912), pp.96-97; Joshua Bradley, Accounts of Religious Revivals in many parts of the United States from 1815 to 1818 (Albany, New York, 1819), passim.
 5. Quoted in Horatio Gray, Memoirs of Rev. Benjamin C. Cutler, D.D. (New York, 1864), p.31. See also Bishop McIlvaine's reflections on the Episcopalian revivals of this period, in Heman Humphrey, Revival Sketches and Manual (New York, 1859), pp.220-22.

That in eastern Calvinistic churches revivals generally conformed to a conservative model was in no small part due to the restraining influence of the most successful proponent of revivals in those circles, Asahel Nettleton.¹ One of the few itinerant evangelists to be found at work in eastern Calvinism, Nettleton was no ranting frontier exhorter. If anything, 'he was so reserved, and so entirely controlled by judgment rather than emotion, that some would have pronounced him austere.'² He had graduated from Timothy Dwight's Yale in 1809 and two years later had embarked on a decade of highly successful but emotionally restrained revival work on the Congregational churches of the villages and small towns of Connecticut, Massachusetts and New York. Unprepossessing in appearance, and lacking real eloquence as a preacher, he nevertheless manifested an extraordinary ability accurately to read the minds of his hearers and tackle their psychological barriers to conversion.³ This capacity was undoubtedly the consequence of his own troubled conversion - a ten month oscillation between hope and despair, marked by considerable mental anguish, though not open emotionalism - and the periodic doubts that had assailed him since.⁴ Those who praised his 'knowledge of human nature' and his psychological perception were in fact testifying to his ability to apply his own experience to the 'anxious inquirers' with whom he was dealing.

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1. For Nettleton, see Bennet Tyler, Memoir of the Life and Character of Rev. Asahel Nettleton, D.D. (5th edition, Boston, 1855); R. Smith Recollections of Nettleton, and the Great Revival of 1820 (Albany, 1848); and the 'Life of Dr. Nettleton' (a review of Tyler's Memoir) in Christian Review, X (June, 1845), pp.210-38. The best assessment of his significance is in McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp.30, 32ff.
 2. Smith, Recollections of Nettleton, p.24.
 3. Ibid., pp.24-26, 48-51, 131-40; Tyler, Memoir of Nettleton, pp.99-100; Francis and H.L. Wayland, A Memoir of the Life and Labors of Francis Wayland, D.D., LL.D. (2 vols., New York, 1867), I, 108-11. For an excellent example of Nettleton's psychological techniques, see T.W.B., The Church Member Converted; or, Nettleton in a Revival (New York, n.d.), pp.1-20.
 4. Tyler, Memoir of Nettleton, pp.13-24, 30.

Thus qualified, Nettleton had no need of noisy expedients. His services were generally well ordered. In the overflowing revival services in Saratoga County, New York, in 1820, he was said to have spent 'a full half hour in getting (his audience) seated, and then, in some cases, to (have) request(ed) them not to attempt to rise during the offering up of prayer.'¹ Nor did Nettleton's Calvinism - of the strict Hopkinsian variety, emphasising the utter dependence of the individual and the church on God's sovereign grace² - allow him to use any device that would leave him open to the charge of attempting to 'get up a revival'. He set great store by the use of 'the ordinary means of grace' - preaching, prayer meetings, and private consultation with those seeking salvation, in their own houses or in 'inquiry' (or 'anxious') meetings. In Nettleton's plan of operations these meetings were to be used only after a revival had begun, and not for the purpose of 'working up' revivals. There should be no 'promiscuous speaking at religious meetings'; no hasty admission of converts; no facile multiplication of meetings; and no undue reliance placed on his own efforts, at the expense of dependence on the Holy Spirit - indeed, he was known to leave in the middle of a revival if he felt that too much might be expected from his presence alone.³ Aware, too, of the havoc that had been wrought in settled charges by the itinerant Davenport in the eighteenth-century Awakening, Nettleton took special care never to usurp the power of the pastor in whose church he worked: the prevailing opinion was that 'Mr. Nettleton ... always encouraged and strengthened

1. Smith, Recollections of Nettleton, p.29. But for the frequency of 'cases of overwhelming distress', see Tyler, Memoir of Nettleton, pp.61, 108.

2. He came to modify this position for a while in the 1820s. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p.33.

3. Smith, Recollections of Nettleton, pp.15-16, 28-40.

4. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p.118 and passage where she has introduced the statement of a figure whose authority is not shared by historians of American evangelicalism, but generally accepted by British religious historians. Still the best source for the writing of his life (1792-1875) is Charles G. Finney, Memoirs (New York, 1875).

the bonds of the regular pastors of the churches.¹ Such was his caution that when in 1821 some New England Congregationalists mooted the possibility of establishing a body of full-time evangelists to foster revivals, he advised strongly against the scheme.²

Nettleton's successes gave his style of revivalism a stature which strengthened it against the encroachments of more boisterous methods. A revivalist such as James Davis, a Congregationist of eastern Connecticut, who in the early part of the century employed techniques very similar to the later New Measures, found it impossible to give his revivalism a general currency.³ Yet by the early 1830s Nettletonian revivalism no longer exerted a near-monopolistic hold over eastern Calvinism and Nettleton himself was a spent force. The causes of this erosion of older standards by a noisier and more calculated revivalism were complex. But of indisputable significance was the revival movement that began in western New York state in the mid 1820s, at the centre of which stood the dynamic figure of a converted trainee lawyer named Charles Grandison Finney.⁴

This area - the 'burned-over district', as it came to be known - had experienced a rhythm of revival boom and recession since its early settlement by New Englanders in the 1790s. And now, in districts at a stage of development between pioneering crudity and full economic maturity, the cycle reached its climax under the auspices of a number of revival-minded pastors and evangelists. Of these, none was so successful as Finney. In 1824 he helped instigate a series of revivals in the small villages of the Oneida region; and from the following year he blazed an even more

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1. Ibid, p.38. Tyler, Memoir of Nettleton, pp.45-53. Much of Nettleton's work took place in churches without a pastor.
 2. Ibid., pp.53-54.
 3. New York Observer (Presbyterian), XI (30 Mar., 1833).
 4. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p.11ff and passim, offers the best introduction to and assessment of a figure taken extremely seriously by historians of American evangelicalism, but generally overlooked by British religious historians. Still the best source for an outline of his life (1792-1875) is Charles G. Finney, Memoirs (New York, 1876).

remarkable revival trail amongst the 'Presbygationalists' in the towns of the upper Mohawk Valley.¹ He employed a theology which challenged 'hyper-Calvinism' - the belief in human inability, limited atonement and election - by urging on the sinner and the minister their active role in the process of conversion; and he used a variety of New Measures² consonant with these theological beliefs. Thereby he provided a revivalism that stood midway between frontier extravagance and New England traditionalism, for a population many of whom found the former too unseemly and the latter too constricting.³

Reports of these revivals, and of Finney's part in them, began to filter eastwards from the winter of 1825-26 onwards; and despite the opposition manifested by Nettleton, Beecher and other easterners towards his brand of revivalism at New Lebanon in July 1827, Finney was ultimately able to win his way into the pulpits of Philadelphia, New York City, Boston and other towns and cities of the East.⁴ Here Finney and his supporters - hyperevangelical laymen and pastors intoxicated by his success⁵ - proved to be strong enough to fend off the counter-attacks of Princetonian, old-school Presbyterians and conservative Congregationalists who held Finneyite

1. The Congregationalists of New York state had been placed under Presbyterian guardianship in accordance with the Plan of Union of 1801. William Warren Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier, Vol. III The Congregationalists, 1783-1850 (Chicago, 1939), pp.13-42.
2. Hereafter I drop the capitals.
3. For the burned-over district and Finney's early career, see Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (Ithaca, N.Y., 1950); McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp.11-29; Bernard A. Weisberger, They Gathered at the River, pp.87-113.
4. Finney, Memoirs, pp.234-318; Charles C. Cole, Jr., 'The New Lebanon Convention', New York History, XXXI (Oct.1950), pp.385-97; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp.30-64.
5. Finney's prestige was much enhanced by his triumph at Rochester in 1830. From New York a lay enthusiast wrote that 'Prejudices against you are very much done away here, from the revival in Rochester.' L. Brown to C.G. Finney, 6 Jan 1831, Charles G. Finney Papers (Oberlin College Library), hereinafter cited as 'Finney Papers'.

vii-111; and in his Modern Revivalism, p.33 ff.

activity to be as unsavoury as the antics of 'Crazy Dow'.¹ Even Nettleton had to turn tail.² Eventually, his fame spreading, Finney succumbed in 1832 to the promptings of Lewis Tappan and others to take up a New York City pastorate in the converted Chatham Street Theatre.³ When in 1835 Joshua Leavitt published Finney's Lectures on Revivals of Religion, a practical handbook on revivalism incorporating the lessons of over ten years experience, its phenomenal sale was a testimony to the immense influence of Finney and his techniques.⁴

Finney's acceptance in eastern Presbyterian and Congregationalist circles was aided by the fact that his revivalism was nothing less than a practical expression of the more liberal theology that had been gaining ground since the turn of the century in New England and the older areas of Calvinism, under Timothy Dwight, Nathaniel W. Taylor, and Lyman Beecher. Anxious to establish revivals as a means of combating infidelity, Republicanism, Unitarianism and the drive towards disestablishment (the Congregationalist Church in Connecticut was disestablished in 1818), New Englanders had made adjustments to the prevailing stricter Calvinism. Taylor and Beecher in particular rejected the doctrines associated with

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1. Joel Parker to C.G. Finney, 4 April 1831, ibid. Lorenzo Dow had gained a reputation in the early nineteenth century as an eccentric and enthusiastic Methodist itinerant. See below, pp.235-36.
 2. Nettleton was handicapped by spending a disproportionate amount of his time defending his position, which robbed 'his preaching of its practical edge and its fruits'. He was also much less physically robust than he had once been. His failure to produce revivals in New York and Newark discredited him and no doubt strengthened Finney's case for the use of new measures. O. Smith to C.G. Finney, 16 Mar. 1831; Joshua Leavitt to C.G. Finney, 7 Apr. 1831; E.W. Clarke to C.G. Finney, 23 May 1832, ibid.
 3. Finney, Memoirs, pp.318-24.
 4. 12,000 copies were sold in the first three months. McLoughlin, 'Introduction' to Finney, Lectures on Revivals, pp.lvi-lix. Reasons of space preclude a detailed summary of these Lectures. Essentially they propagated the view that revivalism was a science and that revivals could be produced by employing prescribed means in obedience to discoverable divine laws, as some of the titles suggest: 'How to Promote a Revival', 'Means to be used with sinners', 'How to Preach the Gospel', 'Measures to Promote Revivals'. See McLoughlin's excellent analysis in ibid., pp. vii-iii; and in his Modern Revivalism, p.83 ff.

the eighteenth-century 'Consistent Calvinists', especially those of moral inability, total depravity and a restricted use of means. Man's depravity, urged Taylor, was his own act and not a creation of God; he had the power to act as a moral agent and 'to perform every duty which God requires'. Consequently, the duty of the minister to preach the practicality of immediate repentance was paralleled by the sinner's duty to act in that knowledge. Dwight, Taylor and Beecher all sought revivals on this basis.¹

The changes wrought by this liberalising movement meant that when Finney moved eastwards he would encounter no blanket opposition. Of course, not all New Divinity men were immediately sympathetic. Lyman Beecher, for instance, had been one of the anti-Finneyite leaders at the New Lebanon convention. But his opposition had been essentially over the question of Finney's measures and not his theology.² Significantly, by 1831, when Finney's methods had lost much of their roughness,³ New Haven itself, the home of the New Divinity, could extend him an invitation. Though there was concern over Finney's practice of 'calling on impenitent sinners to pledge themselves by standing up before the congregation',⁴ three New Haven Congregationalists told him that 'Your views of doctrine and of measures ... are our views ...'; and twelve months later all lingering doubts seemed to have been expelled when Taylor urged Finney's immediate visit to Yale

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1. Sidney Earl Mead, Nathaniel William Taylor 1786-1858. A Connecticut Liberal (Chicago, 1942), gives an excellent analysis of the New Haven theology. Charles Roy Keller, The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut (New Haven, 1942) provides the general setting. Finney's theology is examined in James E. Johnson, 'Charles G. Finney and a Theology of Revivalism', Church History, XXXVIII (Sept. 1969), 338-58; and in McLoughlin's 'Introduction' to Finney, Lectures on Revivals, pp.vii-li. A later critic argued that 'Finneyism is only Taylorism reduced to practice, the speculative heresy of New Haven actualised in common life.' This was the sort of comment to be expected from a successor of Charles Hodge at Princeton. John W. Nevin, The Anxious Bench (2nd edition, Chambersburg, Pa., 1844) p.114. For Nevin, see Dict. of Am. Biog.
 2. Lyman Beecher, To the Congregational Ministers and Churches of Connecticut. Copy of a letter from the Rev. Dr. Beecher, to the Editor of the Christian Spectator (Boston, 18 December 1827).
 3. At Rochester in 1830 Finney 'proved himself a master of the respectable, efficient, carefully organized revivalism of the future.' McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p.55. Cf. Cross, Burned-Over District, p.155.
 4. Samuel Merwin, C.A. Boardman, and Leonard Bacon to C.G. Finney, 12 Apr. 1831, Finney Papers.

to be received 'with universal and entire cordiality'.¹ By this stage even Beecher, fired by his vision of evangelical unity, had shown himself ready to accept Finney's seven month campaign in Boston during the winter of 1831-32.²

Finney's entry into the East was no mean achievement. But there was no complete acceptance of his revivalism. Rather, the new revivalism served to aggravate the growing disharmony amongst both New England Congregationalists and Presbyterians of the Middle States. The conflicts between Taylorites on the one hand and Hopkinsians (including Nettleton, now returned to his conservative shell) on the other, were coming to a head; and the heresy trials of new school men Albert Barnes, Lyman Beecher and his son Edward indicated the tensions within Presbyterianism that would erupt for the last time in the schism of 1837.³ Each of these groups found an opportunity in the debates over new measure revivalism to extend disputes that had long been smouldering over doctrinal issues, especially that of the respective roles of man and the Holy Spirit in regeneration.⁴

There is no doubt that many of the means employed were radically different from those used in Nettletonian revivals.⁵ In new measure

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1. Nathaniel W. Taylor to C.G. Finney, 11 June 1832, *ibid.*
 2. Barbara Cross 'Introduction' to Lyman Beecher, The Autobiography of Lyman Beecher, ed. Barbara Cross (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), pp.xxix-xxx; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp.44-45, 60-64.
 3. By that time Finney had left the Presbyterian Church - as Old School men had demanded - and had taken up the chair of Theology at Oberlin College. Finney, Memoirs, pp.325, 334-35. Mead's Nathaniel William Taylor discusses the Congregationalist division; George M. Marsden, The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience: A Case Study of Thought and Theology in Nineteenth-Century America (New Haven, 1970), especially pp.31-103 and 250-51, examines the nature and cause of the Presbyterian Schism of 1837-1838. In addition to theology and revivalism, he cites a number of other inter-related causes, the most significant of which was slavery.
 4. New School men did not always find the new measure revivalism entirely palatable, but they were often able to swallow their doubts. Marsden, New School Presbyterian Experience, p.79. Cf. Thomas H. Skinner, A discourse delivered in the Mercer-street Church, October 19th, 1845, ten years after its organisation (New York, 1845), pp.13-15.
 5. The most helpful discussions of the 'new measures' are to be found in McLoughlin, 'Introduction' to Finney, Lectures on Revivals, pp.xxxv-xxxviii; and in Cross, Burned-Over District, pp.173-84.

revivals preaching was often more direct, specific and theatrical, and frequently conducted by evangelists or revival preachers who itinerated with the avowed intention of stirring churches and winning converts. Prayers were sustained over long periods, sometimes with very specific requests for named individuals. At 'social' or 'promiscuous' prayer meetings, women might often prove as vocal as men. In addition to the use of the more reputable 'inquiry meetings', the device of the 'anxious seat' was employed. This was a pew set aside at the front of the congregation where those in a state of concern over their souls could go to be exhorted and prayed for by the minister, and where a public commitment might be expected. Here, and in his work generally, the minister was sometimes helped by a 'Holy Band', a close-knit group which included laymen and which sought to operate in a concerted and systematic way to bring waverers to salvation. In these high-pressure conditions, the aroused emotions found in any revival might well burst out of control. Meetings were often 'loud and boisterous', groaning was not unusual, and even 'muscular agony' was evident at times; and the multiplication of meetings over three or four days (and eventually for much longer) served only to increase the likelihood of emotionalism. Other variants on these measures were employed from time to time; but in general there was no rigid procedure, and the methods employed could vary from revival to revival.¹ What was constant was the boldness, frenetic activity, emphasis on public pressures and general readiness to experiment that marked the exponents of the new measure revivalism.

To conservative Calvinists the new measures smacked of ecclesiastical impropriety and theological heterodoxy. The Holy Spirit's participation

1. John Keep and Jedediah Burchard employed most of the expedients described - including a 26-day protracted meeting - in the 1833 revival at Keep's Congregationalist Church in Homer, New York. Keep, Narrative of the Congregational Church in Homer, passim.

in regeneration was taking second place to the efforts of minister and sinner. 'If you will take hold, we can have three or four hundred converted', claimed the evangelist Jedediah Burchard. 'It is as easy as to turn over your hand.'¹ To the orthodox this seemed very close to Arminianism: in effect the sinner was being told that he could convert himself and that he should hurry to do so.² Moreover, the conservatives continued, there was a prevalent but unjustifiable assumption that the mere employment of means would in itself prove efficacious: simply bring in an evangelist and the revival would start, hold a protracted meeting and conversions would follow. This was a gross fallacy. The 'conversions' that followed on the heels of the threatenings, cajolings, emotionalism, trickery and other public pressures attendant on the use of the anxious seat, specific prayers and protracted meetings, were rarely evidence of a real change of heart;³ and even when some real change did occur it generally went uncultivated, since admissions to the church were much too hurried. One critic maintained that 'the numerous converts of the new measures have been, in most cases, like the morning cloud and the early dew. In some places, not a half, a fifth, or even a tenth part of them remain'.⁴

2. Bibl. Rep. and theol. rev., VII (1835), 137.

1. Quoted by Gamaliel Smith Olds in his Review of a Narrative, by Rev. John Keep (Syracuse, 1833), p.3, a castigation of Keep and Burchard's methods.
2. See, for example, ibid., pp.4-5; and the review of Finney's Lectures on Revivals in The Biblical Repertory and theological review, VII (1835), 432-527. Perfectionist heresies in Calvinistic circles were in general only latent at this time. They emerged first under Luther Myrick and, later in the 1830s, under Finney and John Humphrey Noyes. Cross, Burned-Over District, pp.238-51.
3. Forceful attacks on the anxious seat and the style of revivalism associated with it are to be found in the Review of Finney's Lectures on Revivals in The Biblical Repertory and theological review, VII (1835), 635-47; and Nevin, The Anxious Bench, *passim*.
4. Biblical Repertory and theological review, VII (1835), 660. See also James H. Hotchkin, A History of the Purchase and Settlement of Western New York and of the ... Presbyterian Church in That Section (New York, 1848), pp.174-75. John Keep believed that 'proportionally, there are a (sic) fewer cases of defection among those who come forward promptly and take their place in the church, than among those who delay.' Keep, Narrative of the Congregational Church in Homer, p.5.

Equally as detrimental to the state of the church, continued the critics, was the arrogance and egotism of presumptuous laymen and evangelists¹ (Finney was described as 'Davenport redivivus'²); the drugged dependence of the church on new measures;³ the exclusion of broader Christian instruction in the face of terror tactics that produced an 'animal religion';⁴ and the divisive effect that this new revivalism could have on the whole church society.⁵ Any benefits that might accrue from such revivals were utterly dwarfed by this legion of evils.

It is tempting to measure the radicalism of the new revivalism by the expressions of horror that it drew from conservative Calvinists. Their concern might be taken to mean that a new mechanical revivalism was attempting to replace an older passive revivalism predicated on the need to wait for God's good time.⁶ But it would be misleading to over-emphasise this. Although many of the measures employed in Finneyite

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1. Hotchkin, History of Western New York pp.167-69; Olds, Review of a Narrative, pp.3-4. 'An Eye Witness' in A Portrait of What are called 'New Measures'; as they appeared in the County of Berkshire (Mass.) in the years 1833-4 (Troy, 1835) was critical of their 'insubordinate spirit'.
 2. Bibl. Rep. and theol. rev., VII (1835), 657.
 3. A protracted meeting lasting eighteen to twenty months was noted in the New York Observer, XVIII (18 Apr. 1840). R. Weiser, The Mourner's Bench, or an Humble Attempt to Vindicate New Measures (1844), p.3, did not think it discreditable to argue that without new measures 'in the present state of the German Church, it is almost impossible to have Revivals'.
 4. Edward D. Griffin, A Letter to the Rev. Ansel D. Eddy, of Canandaigua, N.Y., on the narrative of the late revivals of religion in the Presbytery of Geneva (Williamstown, 1832), pp.5-7. One of the complaints against Finney's preaching was that it was 'somewhat in the severe, threatening style, that which terrifies and overwhelms rather than that which melts and subdues.' Samuel Merwin, C.A. Boardman and Leonard Bacon to C.G. Finney, 12 Apr. 1831, Finney Papers. It was accepted by conservatives that 'true religion' could exist alongside emotional excitements, but that such excitements were in themselves no evidence of a religious change. Grant Powers, Essay upon the influence of the Imagination on the Nervous System contributing to a false hope in religion (Andover, 1828).
 5. 24 church members, including 'men of business and influence', withdrew from the church at Homer in dissatisfaction with their pastor, John Keep, who himself eventually resigned. Olds, Review of a Narrative, p.10.
 6. Finney's Lectures on Revivals, rejected the concept of a revival as a miracle, and defined it as 'a purely philosophical result of the right use of the constituted means.' McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p.11.

revivalism were new to Calvinistic churches in most areas, and although the style of this revivalism was very different from the Nettletonian variety, it would be a mistake to suppose that the contrast was between 'worked up' and 'prayed down' revivals. Old school revivalists of the early nineteenth century stood in the traditions of orthodox Puritan theology which saw conversion in terms of the operation of means on the unregenerate, without in any sense denying the supernatural character of the process of grace.¹ Nettleton would have been horrified at the idea that human instrumentality was to be eschewed. Indeed, in his employment of means he was extremely conscious of technique. He well understood when and how best to approach the anxious inquirer, how best to conduct meetings, what psychological weapons he should employ. One (Old School) commentator considered Nettleton's 'quick perception of right expedients' to have been a major factor in his success.² The conflict between revivalists like Nettleton and the new measure men came not over the use of means, but over the type of means legitimately to be employed. Thus at New Lebanon both old school and new measure parties were in full agreement that 'though revivals of religion are the work of God's Spirit, they are produced by means of divine truth and human instrumentality The idea that God ordinarily works independently of human instrumentality, or without any reference to the adaption of means to ends, is unscriptural.'³ Moreover, not only did earlier revivals have considerably less 'spontaneity'

1. Perry Miller, The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century (New York, 1939), pp.280-99.

2. Smith, Recollections of Nettleton, p.26. E.N. Kirk stated that 'I am informed that no Revivalist or Evangelist in our day has so abounded in new measures, contrivances, and management, as he.' Edward Norris Kirk, Lectures on Revivals, ed. David O. Mears (Boston, 1875), p.52. A writer in the Christian Review, X (1845), 212, considered that 'What Bacon was in inductive philosophy, or Newton in astronomy and physics, Nettleton was in the science of revivals. He gathered up the scattered facts, in the Acts of the Apostles, the writings of early fathers, of Edwards, Smalley, Bellamy, and Emmons, and reduced them to a system.'

3. Philalethes, The Importance of Revivals as exhibited in the late Convention at New Lebanon, considered in a Brief Review of the Proceedings of that Body (Ithaca, 1827), p.5.

than observers cared to admit,¹ but the later 'mechanical' revivals should not be regarded as inevitably created at will: attempts to promote revivals sometimes failed, while a flurry of conversions could sometimes take a church community by surprise.

This stated, it is nevertheless true that eastern Calvinistic churches had come to adopt a more avowedly calculated and promotional revivalism reminiscent of early nineteenth-century frontier methods. And Finney's role in this adoption had indeed been catalytic. Aided by the crumbling of an older Calvinism and a desire for revivals by those made anxious by the demise of the established church system, he more than any other individual was able to secure this change in practice. Even in Calvinistic Baptist ranks he made his influence felt, since the first professional itinerant evangelists within that denomination, Jacob Knapp and Jabez Swan, both acknowledged Congregationalist, Presbyterian and specifically Finneyite leadership in breaking down what Swan termed 'double-extra Calvinism'.² If they perhaps exaggerated the hold that hyper-Calvinism had on their denomination, it is still true that until 'about 1830' the revivals that did occur tended to result from restrained methods, similar to those employed by Francis Wayland as a pastor in Boston and later as President of Brown University, and not from the use of any new measures.³ After Finney, however, itinerant revivalists,

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1. Mead, Nathaniel William Taylor, p.76ff, emphasises how the revivalism of Beecher, Taylor and the New Haven school was a calculated response to the pressing social and religious problems of Infidelity, disestablishment and Unitarianism.
 2. F. Denison, ed., The Evangelist: or Life and Labors of Rev. Jabez S. Swan: Being an Autobiographical Record of This Far-Famed Preacher, and of His Wonderful Success in the Conversion of More than Ten Thousand Souls (Waterford, Conn., 1873), pp.69-107, 181; Elder Jacob Knapp, Autobiography (New York, 1868), pp.28, 36-41; Robert G. Torbet, A History of the Baptists (Chicago, 1963), pp.300-05. In the early nineteenth century only Freewill (Arminian) Baptists favoured special efforts for revivals. Beardsley, History of American Revivals, pp.163-77.
 3. Denison, ed., Life and Labors of Jabez S. Swan, pp.28-29. Wayland was much influenced by Nettleton. Wayland and Wayland, Memoir of Francis Wayland, I, 106-11, 182-83, 289-91, 338-39.

protracted meetings and anxious seats emerged in Baptist circles, despite strong prejudice against them.¹

But it is unwise for the historian to be too extravagant in his claims for the significance of this Finneyite, new measures movement since he thereby ignores developments in revivalism contemporaneous with Finney.² For contemporaries themselves were aware of the fundamentally important fact that the new measures and New Divinity were 'not new in themselves, (being) only new among the churches professing Calvinism in the north and east.'³ Consequently there is a need to investigate parallel developments in revivalism, especially within the most fervent evangelical denomination of that era, the Methodist Episcopal Church; and - since Finney's carrying of the new revivalism into the cities of the east has been regarded as a major turning-point in the creation of 'modern' urban evangelism - it will be helpful to concentrate in particular on the standing and character of that denomination in urban areas.

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1. Grover C. Loud, Evangelized America (New York, 1928), pp.182-83; Knapp, Autobiography, pp.42-44, 72-73, 122-23.
 2. The two most scholarly treatments of American revivalism give such prominence to Finney's role in the development of a mass urban evangelism that equally significant developments in revivalism contemporaneous with Finney are passed by. McLoughlin, in his Modern Revivalism gives Finney a near-revolutionary role in its creation; while Weisberger takes as his starting-point the contribution of the individual revivalist to a developing revival pattern, and sees Finney as bringing 'the lusty breath of the Western revival into the East.' They Gathered at the River, p.86.
 3. Bibl. Rep. and theol. rev., VII (1835), 610. Albert Dod asked: 'Who does not know that (Finney) has picked up his measures, as well as his theology, among the cast-away rubbish of past times? The only novelty in the matter is, that these measures should be employed in the Presbyterian church' Ibid, 626-27. The claim of Gilbert Hobbs Barnes in The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844 (New York, 1933), p.7, that the new measures were Finney's 'invention', is no longer credited. As has been seen, even in Calvinistic denominations, some new measures had been used occasionally before Finney started work.

II

Methodism was wholeheartedly a revival movement: it had been born out of a revival; its churches grew through revivals; its ministers preached revival; and its success was talked of in terms of revival.¹ Sometimes, when 'most of those who were converted were the children of Methodist parents', the revival served to consolidate; but just as frequently it sought to break new territory and reach new pockets of population, to achieve overall growth.² And grow Methodism did. Benefiting from the democratic, optimistic appeal of an Arminian theology, with its emphasis on the ability of all men to search for and find salvation, and from the response of the poorer classes of American society, the Methodist Episcopal Church came to embrace over 250,000 members in 1820; and within a decade it had nearly doubled in size.³ Although at first its power rested basically in frontier and western areas and in the Atlantic states south of Pennsylvania, by 1830 its penetration of the North and even New England was well under way.⁴ Most important, from the point of view of

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1. This section is a modified version of my article 'The Second Great Awakening in the Urban Centers: An Examination of Methodism and the 'New Measures'' in The Journal of American History, LIX No.2 (Sept. 1972), 327-40.
 2. William W. Bennett, Memorials of Methodism in Virginia (2nd edition, Richmond, Va., 1871), p.396, and Chr. Adv. and Jnl., I (20 Jan. 1827), present Virginian examples of these contrasting types. The Christian Advocate and Journal had by its second year of publication reached a huge weekly circulation of 15,000. This far outstripped other journals; and, as the newspaper itself recognised, its reporting of widespread conversions was in itself a means of promoting revivals, since it bred a spirit of competitiveness in 'languid' churches. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., I (17 Feb. 1827); II (5 Oct. 1827) and passim. William Warren Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier, Vol. IV The Methodists 1783-1840 (Chicago, 1946), pp.69-70.
 3. Charles C. Goss, Statistical History of the First Century of American Methodism: with a summary of the origin and present operations of other denominations (New York, 1866), p.110.
 4. William Warren Street, Virginia Methodism. A History (Richmond, Va., 1955), pp.142-43; George Claude Baker, Jr., An Introduction to the History of Early New England Methodism 1789-1839 (Durham, N.C., 1941). The Christian Advocate and Journal, IV (14 May 1830) carried a report that 'The work of God has been greater and more extensive throughout the older parts of New England this year than it ever has been since the introduction of Methodism, forty years ago'

future influence, its urban strength was far from negligible. In New York City, for example, its membership, white and black, in 1820 numbered over 3,000 - a figure which one should at least double to include the unconverted adherents of the various churches.¹ This reflected significant urban strength.

Instances of revivals in Methodist churches in the cities and towns of the East are not difficult to find during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century. Revivals are evident at an early date in New York City. Of the religious movement of 1808, the seasoned campaigner Jesse Lee could announce that he 'never knew so great a revival of religion in the city of New York before.' From this time onwards revivals grew in frequency and extent in that city until the widespread movement beginning in 1827-1828.² Baltimore Methodism, with its long history of revivals, added nearly 1,000 members to its churches in 1818; while in Providence, Rhode Island, the Methodist revivals of 1815 and 1820-1822 brought 'very large accessions to the society'.³ To add to the list of Methodist churches, urban and rural, enjoying such large-scale revivals would not be difficult, and one could even more easily recite instances of individual churches experiencing small additions through revival meetings.⁴

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1. Samuel A. Seaman, Annals of New York Methodism, being a History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the city of New York, 1766-1890 (New York, 1892), p.496. The figures for Brooklyn are excluded.
 2. From 1827 to 1832 the Methodist Episcopal Church in New York City increased in membership from, 3,289 to 5,433. These figures do not include the membership of the various Methodist groups that seceded from the main body of the church during the 1820s. Ibid., pp.175, 215-66.
 3. Frederick J. Jobson, America, and American Methodism (New York, 1857), p.147; Halliday and Gregory, Church in America, pp.598-99; W. McDonald, History of Methodism in Providence, Rhode Island, from Its Introduction in 1787 to 1867 (Boston, 1868), pp.58-63.
 4. New York Methodist Magazine, I (1818), 154-59; II (1819), 117-18; III (1820), 158-60; IV (1821), 228-30; V (1822), 435-37; VI (1823), 35-36; VII (1824); VIII (1825), 240-41, 486-87. The revival columns of the Christian Advocate and Journal indicate the broad extent of revivals in the period 1826-1832.

From the first, the Methodist churches demonstrated an enthusiasm and lack of restraint in religion which was highly distinctive and which brought persecution and ridicule from other denominations.¹ The early rampant emotionalism of Methodist services in urban churches was gradually curbed and guided. When Nathan Bangs was appointed as preacher in charge of the city churches of New York in 1810, he was offended by the 'spirit of pride, presumption, and bigotry, impatience of scriptural restraint and moderation, clapping of the hands, screaming, and even jumping, which marred and disgraced the work of God.' Revivals had 'degenerated into extravagant excitements.' However, despite the opposition of many of the more recent converts, Bangs' criticism prevailed; and he succeeded in establishing order, method, and efficiency.² Such correctives usually satisfied Methodists and allowed them to think of their style of worship as moderate, scriptural, and proper; but their meetings nevertheless continued to assume a generally more fervent form than those of their evangelical rivals. Allowing for his patent exaggeration, there is still a basis of truth in the Unitarian Orville Dewey's stress on the 'social character' and the emphasis on the feelings of the Methodist service as compared with 'the barren ceremonial' of the Congregational churches.³ Methodists did not wholly deny this. They saw emotion as a legitimate part of religious worship. Revivals they agreed could sometimes be noisy,

1. *Chr. Adv. and Jnl.*, II (9 Nov. 1827), quoting from *Rev. Dr. Bangs' Address to the Organ of New England Methodism*.

1. *Chr. Adv. and Jnl.*, II (28 Dec. 1827, 4 Jan. 1828).

2. Abel Stevens, *Life and Times of Nathan Bangs, D.D.* (New York, 1863), p.183. A story similar could be told of Philadelphia, where the 'groans, shrieks, extacies (sic), kicking, jumping and clapping' of 1817 had given way to a more controlled and subdued revivalism a decade later. 'Observer', *Remarks on the Moral and Religious Character of the United States of America, supported by numerous extracts from the best authorities* (Colchester, England, 1831), pp.20-22; *Chr. Adv. and Jnl.*, II (22 Feb. 1828).

3. (Orville Dewey,) *Letters of an English Traveller to his Friend in England, on the 'Revivals of Religion' in America* (Boston, 1828), pp.46-51.

but they made no apologies for this, arguing that it was sheer presumption to question the way in which the Holy Spirit operated.¹

This more whole-hearted, 'enthusiastic' revivalism of the Methodist Church, which existed side by side in the cities with the generally cautious methods of the Calvinist and more socially respectable denominations, has scarcely received any mention in the analyses of the development of mid-nineteenth century urban revivalism. Perhaps in part because there were no spectacular divisions within the Methodist church to parallel those found in Presbyterianism, and perhaps in part too because the Methodists are thought of as a rural and western denomination at this time, Methodist revivalism in the cities in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century has been given little attention.² Yet it can be legitimately claimed that the techniques and influence of Methodist revivals played an important role in the emergence of the urban revival movement of the late 1820s and early 1830s. The new measures that caused such controversy and tribulation in Presbyterian and Congregationalist ranks were in no sense new to Methodism.³ An examination of these measures will clearly illustrate this.

Probably the most controversial of all the new measures was the 'anxious seat' or 'mourners' bench'. The sensitivity of Old School Calvinists

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1. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., II (9 Nov. 1827), quoting from Zion's Herald, the organ of New England Methodism.
 2. This failure to give full recognition to urban Methodism persists. See Emory Stevens Bucke, and others, eds., The History of American Methodism (3 vols., Nashville, Tenn., 1964), which maintains the emphasis on the frontier that is found in the work of Sweet and fails to provide any analysis of specifically urban Methodism and urban revivals in this period.
 3. At the height of this controversy, a New England critic of Finney wrote that 'some nominal Calvinists have thought it a high commendation of the new measures, to say, they were so much like those practised by the Methodists' Novanglus, Letters of the Rev. Dr. Beecher and Rev. Mr. Nettleton, on the 'New Measures' in Conducting Revivals of Religion with a Review of a Sermon (New York, 1828), p.65.

2. New York Methodist Magazine, I (1818), 132-39; II (1819), 119, 374-76.

3. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., II (14 Mar. 1823).

over this measure seemed utterly misplaced to Methodists, who had long used a similar device - the 'call to the altar' - in their services, both East and West, country and city. This call to the altar was not identical to the anxious seat, since there was no pew set aside for mourners. The latter merely came forward to kneel at the altar rail and the open area at the front of the congregation. However, the idea behind both devices was identical: to separate the penitents - those actively seeking salvation - from the rest of the congregation so that they could be made more easily and more intensely subject to the psychological and social pressures of the minister and of the community of the converted. The practice was used in an urban and eastern setting at least as early as 1806, after the Methodist minister in the Forsyte Street Church, New York, had received news from a former colleague of a practice recently adopted in camp meetings in the South and West. This was the enclosing of 'a space in front of the stand, called an altar, where mourners and those who were considered capable of instructing and praying with them were invited to meet, apart from the great congregation.' Such a practice seemed well suited to eliminate the confusion caused by several little prayer meetings taking place simultaneously in different parts of the house, and the immediate success of the new measure led to its widespread adoption.¹ By the second decade of the century it had become a standard feature of Methodist revivals.² Reports of revivals usually included a statement that 'the altar was crowded' or that there was a large number of mourners, sometimes a hundred or more, 'prostrate at the altar.' Indeed it sometimes happened that mourners would anticipate the minister's call and move to the altar before the invitation was given, so institutionalized had the procedure become.³

1. Seaman, Annals of New York Methodism, pp.170-71.

2. New York Methodist Magazine, I (1818), 152-59; II (1819), 119, 274-76.

3. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., II (14 Mar. 1828).

If the controversy over the anxious seat passed the Methodists by, then so too did the question of the propriety of itinerant evangelism raised by the itinerancy of Finney and his imitators. The fear of the disorder that an irresponsible itinerant could achieve by breaking down the relationship between the established pastor and his congregation had remained in many churches since the days of Davenport during the eighteenth-century Great Awakening. The Methodists, however, were as a body committed to the itinerant system and had long been criticized by other denominations for neglecting the pastoral relationship. The Methodist emphasis on exhortatory preaching by a mobile ministry that remained in a charge for no longer than two years seemed to other denominations to deny the need for, or at least stand in the way of, quieter, undemonstrative, and nurturing pastoral work.¹ There was thus no equivalent in Methodist ranks to the Presbyterian debate over the propriety of Finney's movements as an itinerant. When John Newland Maffitt in effect took upon himself the role of an itinerant evangelist within the Methodist Church in the 1820s and 1830s, he seems to have met with little or no opposition from within the denomination.²

In the same way, the various other measures that called forth the opposition of strict and conservative Calvinists failed to bring controversy to the Methodist Church. Women praying in mixed or 'promiscuous' assemblies, direct, pointed, and often colloquial preaching, and sustained sessions of private and public prayer were scarcely innovations in that denomination, and Methodist spokesmen found it amusing that such issues should perplex the Presbyterians. Even the protracted meeting, the holding

1. Baker, Early New England Methodism, pp.10-12.

2. See, for example, Chr. Adv. and Jnl., I (8 June 1827); III (27 Feb., 12 June 1829); IV (29 Jan., 5 Mar. 1830); and infra. pp.44-45.

3. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XVII (31 Aug. 1842).

4. Halliday and Gregory, Church in America, pp.296-97; Hodge, History of the New England Conference, pp.385-86.

5. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., IV (26 Mar. 1830).

of several services daily for several consecutive days or weeks, can be found in practice, if not in name, in eastern Methodism well before it caused dissension in Calvinist ranks. In the revival of 1820 in Bristol, Rhode Island, it was reported that 'For about two weeks our chapel has been opened every day, in the morning, at two o'clock P.M. and in the evening till near midnight.'¹ Although Methodists did not adopt the so-called 'three' or 'four days meetings' on a broad scale until the late 1820s and early 1830s,² this was not because of denominational disapproval of the concept of protracting meetings to promote revivals, but because in practice they already possessed a weapon that performed a similar task - the camp meeting. This institution had been transferred to eastern areas as an adjunct and spur to city revivalism shortly after its development on the frontier. In September 1803 the first camp meeting east of the Alleghanies was held just fifteen miles from Baltimore.³ Soon similar meetings were to be found in Connecticut and Massachusetts; and the revival of 1806-1807 in New York City traced its origins to a camp meeting held at Tuckahoe.⁴ These outdoor meetings were less flexible, more expensive, and possibly more distractive of religious attention than protracted meetings, but they filled a similar place in the revival tool-kit.⁵

1. New York Methodist Magazine, III (1820), 160.

2. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., III (1829-30) and IV (1830-31) passim; Seaman, Annals of New York Methodism, p.253. It is difficult to determine exactly when Methodists first held this particular type of meeting, and whether or not this antedated its use by other denominations. James E. Mudge, History of the New England Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1796-1910 (Boston, 1910), p.391, holds that it was 'an invention of New England Methodism, and originated with John Lord, Presiding Elder, in 1827, in the Danville District, Vermont', and was then copied by other denominations. Cross, Burned-Over District, p.183, argues that in western New York these meetings came to flourish in 1830; although, as McLoughlin suggests, they were already in more restricted use well before that time. Modern Revivalism, p.93. Clearly there were regional variations in practice according to the relative strengths of Methodism and stricter Calvinism.

3. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XVII (31 Aug. 1842).

4. Halliday and Gregory, Church in America, pp.596-97; Mudge, History of the New England Conference, pp.385-86.

5. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., IV (26 Mar. 1830).

What should therefore be clear is that the main instruments of Methodist experimental religion were directed to the conversion of the individual, and hence to religious revivals. Direct preaching on the subject of salvation and sanctification, by a preacher who put persuasiveness above mere erudition; periods of sustained religious interest; total commitment toward the end of his own conversion on the part of the sinner, to the extent of vocal, but not usually physical, manifestations of excitement and emotion; and pressures on and aids to the penitent through the use of the call to the altar and of public prayer: all these means were involved in Methodist revivals in all areas - east and west, urban and rural - long before the Calvinist denominations in the East came to theological and personal blows over their propriety. The fact is that the Methodists had achieved what other denominations had been unable to do without stress: they had been able to introduce frontier revivalism into the eastern cities in modified form very soon after its development in the West.

In this process they had been aided by their theology and by the mobility of ideas allowed by their organizational structure. Their theology put few barriers in the way of a call to every sinner to make some efforts on his own behalf to effect his salvation. Methodists in general seem to have complained comparatively little over sinners supposedly putting too much faith in human instruments. The Calvinists' concern that the new measures put insufficient reliance on the operations of the Holy Spirit in the 'conversion' process was very generally absent in the Arminian churches. As for the organization of Methodism, the very mobility of its preachers meant that revivalistic ideas and instruments could spread relatively quickly; while it probably made it more difficult for a minister who might have some doubts about the desirability of certain revival techniques to bind a community perpetually to his ways of thinking and acting on the subject.

When eastern Calvinists eventually succumbed to this semi-Methodistic revivalism, there are strong indications that this occurred not only as a result of the force of the Finneyite onslaught from the West, but also because there was considerable internal pressure from within the cities themselves. The evidence of urban Methodist churches in the East makes it clear that there were Presbyterians in that part of the country who were anxious for a newer and more successful revivalism to combat the problems of their church in an urban environment and to meet the challenge and threat posed to them by growing Methodist success. For the evangelical denominations were in competition with each other; denominational self-sufficiency and aggression was a corollary of the era's prevailing optimism.¹ Although much of the early opprobrium cast on Methodism was now losing its vigour,² there were still a number of acrimonious battles fought between the Congregationalists and Presbyterians on the one hand, and the Methodists on the other.³ There were of course numerous instances of interdenominational cooperation on a local level, but the climate of relative interdenominational harmony that came to exist in the 1850s was still a long way off. In 1829 a Methodist convert from the Protestant Episcopal Church answered the question of why the Methodists continued to suffer abuse at the hands of other denominations. Theological differences alone were an insufficient explanation for the sustained nature of the opposition: 'the foundation of the present opposition to the Methodist Episcopal Church is its continued prosperity.'⁴ In the

1. During the later 1820s Methodists opted out of interdenominational Sunday School and Bible Societies, and set up their own organisations. *Ibid.*, I (21 Apr., 12 May, 2 June 1827); III (2 Oct. 1829).

2. *Ibid.*, I (12 May 1827); II (4 Jan. 1828).

3. *Ibid.*, II and III (1827-29); George Brown, Recollections of Itinerant Life: including early reminiscences (3rd edition, Cincinnati, 1866), pp.102-03.

4. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., IV (25 Sept. 1829).

year when this was written the Methodist church was the largest denomination in the United States, numbering not far short of 500,000 members, and in the five years from 1826 to 1830 the Methodists added twice as many converts as the Presbyterians.¹ There was interdenominational rivalry over securing converts. Methodists were continually complaining of other churches 'stealing' the converts that had been made in revivals that originated in the Methodist church.² A Methodist in New York City noted sarcastically that while it was the Methodists who went out to draw the city's 100,000 reprobates into the church, yet 'I find the Calvinistic ministers and people are welcoming them to their communion, crying, "we are all one - we are all one!"'³

In addition to pirating Methodist converts, it is clear that some of the Calvinistic churches were also adopting Methodist practices. Tobias Spicer's experience in New York state and New England prompted the reflection that 'Such had been the success of Methodism that (Calvinistic) ministers ... were obliged to bestir themselves or lose their hold upon their people ... They must ... occasionally borrow our doctrines, and imitate our manner of preaching; they must borrow our tools, and invent some new ones of their own.'⁴ From Georgia there were reports in 1827 that 'camp meetings, penitents

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1. Goss, Statistical History of American Methodism, p.110; Weber, Presbyterian Statistics, p.44.
 2. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., I (20 Jan. 1827); II (12 Oct. 1827); V (17 Dec. 1830). Cf. 'Cranmer', A Few Remarks on 'Revivals', addressed to those who think (Canandaigua, 1830), pp.4-5.
 3. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., IV (25 June 1830).
 4. Tobias Spicer, Autobiography of Rev. Tobias Spicer: containing incidents and observations; also some account of his visit to England (Boston, 1851), pp.101-02. Other Methodists agreed with him that Calvinists had deliberately stolen Arminian doctrines - of free salvation and the obligation of all men to repent - in order to promote revivals. Francis Hodgson, An Examination of the System of New Divinity; or New School Theology (New York, 1839), pp.7-8, 10; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., VI (18 Nov. 1831). Indeed there were those within the Calvinist denominations who regarded the New Divinity as scarcely any less abhorrent than the Arminianism of the Methodists. Mead, Nathaniel William Taylor, p.221. But the 'Tayloring' of doctrine was more an independent refashioning of old Calvinism than a conscious imitation of Methodist doctrine. As the Methodists themselves were anxious to point out, they and the Calvinist denominations were scarcely of the same mind, since the doctrines of moral inability and a limited redemption still fettered the Calvinists. Hodgson, op.cit., pp.8-11 and passim.

at the altar, sudden conversions, and sudden admissions into the church, formerly the anomalies of Methodism, are no longer uncommon incidents with our brethren, especially the Presbyterians'; and in Cincinnati in 1828, well before Finney had systematically used the anxious seat, it was reported that despite previous Presbyterian disapproval of inviting 'seekers of religion' to the altar they had now adopted the measure.¹ Even more strikingly, during the 1822 revival in Washington, to the delight of the Methodist minister stationed in the city, it was noted that 'They are introducing all the habits and hymns, of the methodists into our presbyterian churches, after the regular service is closed by the clergyman, the congregation rise, and strike up a methodist hymn, sung amidst the groans and sobs of the newly converted ... then (the minister) calls on the mourners to come forward, and he and others pray over them, as they loudly vent their sorrows.'²

In the light of these cases, it would seem that an important factor in the adoption of Methodist practices was a hankering after the kind of seemingly uninterrupted successes in revivals that were to be observed in that particular church. Such was certainly the case in New York City in the late 1820s. In the winter of 1827-1828, for example, at a time when New York Presbyterianism was described as being 'generally in a cold stupid state ...' many of the Methodist churches were experiencing prosperous

1. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., II (12 Oct. 1827, 8 Aug. 1828).

2. Margaret Bayard Smith to Jane Kirkpatrick, 12 Oct. 1822, Gaillard Hunt, ed., The First Forty Years of Washington Society: Portrayed by the Family Letters of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith (Margaret Bayard) from the Collection Of Her Grandson J. Henley Smith (New York, 1906), p.159. Methodist delight on this occasion was not shared by this commentator, whose gentility and refinement were offended by 'the public way in which they discuss the conversions and convictions of people and in which young ladies and children, display their feelings and talk of their convictions and experiences.' Ibid. p.160. Cf. New York Methodist Magazine, V (1822), 437; Brown, Recollections of Itinerant Life, pp.97-99. For examples of 'Methodistical' revival influence on Episcopalians, Lutherans and the Dutch Reformed Church in the 1810s, 1820s and 1830s, see McDonald, History of Methodism in Providence, p.60; Hunt, ed., op.cit., pp.339-40; Nevin, Anxious Bench, p.vii; Weiser, Mourner's Bench, p.31; New York Methodist Magazine, III (1820), 357.

revivals of a kind they had known for several consecutive years.¹ In these circumstances there can be no doubt that there were Presbyterian laymen who were impressed by these manifestations of 'vital religion' and who were eager to experience this kind of religion themselves. A female correspondent wrote to Finney's wife in 1827 of what seem to have been Methodist meetings held twice weekly 'where the women pray before men'. With unconcealed envy, she added, 'They are delightful little meetings but a great prejudice exists against them.'² For such Presbyterian laymen, lacking the theological scruples that characterized many of their seminary trained ministers on the issue of the new measures, an obvious way of obtaining this type of religion was to recruit the arch-exponent of a more Methodistic, yet nominally Presbyterian, revivalism - Finney himself. Despite clerical opposition, the laity, or at least a powerful part of it, secured Finney's entry into New York in late 1829.³

There is no doubt that Finney himself was influenced by Methodist revival practices and was to some extent attempting to emulate the successes of that denomination.⁴ The earliest sermons that he ever heard, as a child

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1. Zephaniah Platt to C.G. Finney, 10 Mar. 1828, quoted in McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p.51; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., I (30 Dec. 1826), II (1 Feb. 1828), and especially I (3 March 1827), in which Laban Clark outlines church by church the indications of awakening and conversions that were to culminate in the broad urban revival movement of 1828-31.
 2. Helen Platt to Lydia Finney, 23 April 1827, Finney Papers.
 3. The correspondence of many Presbyterians testifies to the frequent conflict between pastor and congregation over Finney's revivalism. See, for example, W. Stafford to C.G. Finney, 31 Dec. 1827; Lewis Tappan to C.G. Finney, 2 Feb. 1831; Joel Parker and H. Norton to C.G. Finney, 21 Mar. 1831, ibid. It is clear, however, that by no means all the laity gave support to Finney. See Platt to C.G. Finney, 10 Mar. 1828, ibid. McLoughlin suggests plausibly that, in Philadelphia at least, Finney's greatest strength was 'among the more radical and unstable elements of the church, particularly among the laity.' McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p.47.
 4. Finney was not, however, setting out to copy Methodist theology. 'No more than Nathaniel Taylor and Lyman Beecher ... did (Finney) consciously emulate Methodism or any other Arminian thought.' Cross, Burned-Over District, p.159.

in upstate New York, were, he recalled in his Memoirs, delivered by 'some travelling minister, or some miserable holding forth of an ignorant preacher who would sometimes be found in that country.' After the meeting was over the people would spend time 'in irrepressible laughter at the strange mistakes which had been made and the absurdities which had been advanced.' Yet, despite his scorn, Finney was later very ready to recognize Methodist effectiveness, urging that all good sermons should have a Methodist directness and simplicity.¹ In his Lectures on Revivals he drew a significant comparison between that denomination and the Presbyterians; few of the latter in recent years had 'gathered so large assemblies or won so many souls' as the Methodists, since they had failed to see that the 'character of the age (had) changed.'² Finney admired the directness and purposeful approach of Methodism, two of the qualities that most characterized his own style.³ When in De Kalb in western New York in 1824-1825, he investigated the details of a recent revival in that place, in which there had been considerable excitement and 'falling under the power of God'. The latter incidents had brought Presbyterians and Methodists into conflict - the Presbyterians holding that such physical manifestations of excitement invalidated the revival. Finney's reaction to this is highly revealing.

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1. Finney, Memoirs, p.4-5, 90-91. According to a hostile source, Finney and one of his ministerial supporters, Nathaniel Beman, had concluded that the Methodists 'had grown up, as it were, in a day, to so great a people ... because they preached the simple truth of God. Mr. Finney ... says that there has been more of the spirit of religion among them, and they have done more good than all other denominations put together. I say then, let them go to the Methodists.' J. Brockway, A Delineation of the Characteristic Features of a Revival of Religion in Troy, in 1826 and 1827 (Troy, 1827), p.59n.
 2. Quoted in McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p.88
 3. Methodists, of course, participated fully in the revivals of the burned-over district. The revival columns of the Christian Advocate and Journal carried revival reports from all the main centres - Rochester, Ithaca, Troy, Utica, Auburn - and other areas of western New York during the winter of 1826-27.

Instead of siding with his own denomination, he concluded that 'the Presbyterians had been decidedly in error', and in the ensuing revival he produced similar cases of 'falling' through his preaching.¹ Although he later rid his revivals of this extreme type of emotionalism, his debt to pragmatic Methodism remained in evidence. It is even possible that his decision in Rochester in 1830 to adopt the anxious seat as a main feature of his revivals was based on Methodist example. In the Methodist revival of 1827-1828 in that city the call to the altar had proved 'singularly beneficial' and had involved 'some of our wealthy and respectable citizens'.² When Finney arrived in 1830 he was apparently looking for 'some measure that would bring sinners to a stand'. He 'had found, that with the higher classes especially, the greatest obstacle to be overcome was their fear of being known as anxious inquirers'. In the light of the Methodist record it is perhaps not surprising that Finney decided to use the anxious seat, and that the response among 'the highest classes of society' was good.³

It is clear, then, that certain of the claims made for Finney are much too exclusive. He did not 'invent' the new measures; he did not even introduce the style of revivalism associated with them into the cities of the East. What he did succeed in doing was to give those measures a wider popular base and to make them palatable to a somewhat more respectable class of people than most of those reached by the Methodists. Finney was able to give a focus to the forces which favoured new developments in revivalism and which envied the vigour and prosperity of the rapidly growing Methodist churches, but which rejected the Arminianism, perfectionism,⁴

1. Finney, Memoirs, pp.136-37.

2. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., II (25 Jan., 21 Mar. 1828).

3. Finney, Memoirs, pp.288-89.

4. Perfectionist, or holiness, preaching amongst Methodists, though to be found before the 1820s, seems to have broadened its hold during that decade. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., I (14 Oct. 1826), II (7 Dec. 1827).

and alleged fanaticism or 'enthusiasm' of a denomination which attracted eccentrics like 'Crazy Dow' and appealed to the lowest classes in society - the poor white and the black.¹ Finney perhaps gave Presbyterians and Congregationalists a chance to taste the urgent evangelism of Methodism without their having to suffer the indignity of joining a socially inferior church.² Certainly Finney's undeniable successes in revivals, and thus in enlarging the church, could not be ignored; and having modified the tone of his revivalism when he reached the East his good standing among many in the Calvinistic denominations was ensured. 'Hyper-Calvinism' could only have been successfully challenged from within, by a Finney, and not from outside, by the Methodists. But only in the context of the challenging influence of Methodism and the far-reaching attack on Calvinistic standards that its success represented, can Finney's progress be given any coherent, satisfactory explanation.

III

The climax of the Second Great Awakening, in the late 1820s and early 1830s, marked the coming of age of urban revivalism.³ The place of revivalism in the religious life of the cities in the early and middle decades of the nineteenth century has received relatively little consideration

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1. 'The popular opinion was that the Methodists were the offscouring of all things', claimed the Methodist preacher stationed at Providence, Rhode Island, in 1815. McDonald, History of Methodism in Providence, pp.47-48, 53-54. In city areas - where the discrepancy was greatest - the annual stipend of a Presbyterian minister might be up to four times the amount received by his Methodist counterpart. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., IV (29 Jan. 1830).
 2. Many of Finney's converts in Buffalo, Rochester and Auburn in 1830-31 were from 'among the more influential classes', and in eastern cities he was able to reach well-to-do groups like merchants, lawyers and physicians. Finney, Memoirs, p.307; The Independent (April 1851), quoted in Weisberger, They Gathered at the River, p.144.
 3. Cf. Nelson R. Burr, A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America (Princeton, N.J., 1961), p.165. I use 'urban' in this discussion to refer in the main to places which in 1830-1840 had a population of about 10,000 or more. These range from cities of the size of New York (pop. 202,000 in 1830), Philadelphia (188,000) and Baltimore (80,000) to larger towns such as New Haven (10,180) and Providence, Rhode Island (16,833).

from historians.¹ In fact, revivals could boast a lengthy urban existence: during the eighteenth-century Great Awakening, George Whitefield's work had embraced Philadelphia, 'where commerce was suspended', New York, and the principal cities and towns of New England; and in the early nineteenth century Nettletonian revivals were experienced in many of the major cities.² But it was the amalgamation of the urban manifestations of Finneyism - the work of Finney himself and of men like James Patterson, Thomas Harvey Skinner and Albert Barnes in Philadelphia, and Joel Parker in New York - and more deeply-rooted revival traditions of city Methodism that helped promote the first broadly-based urban revival movement, one that reached its climax in the early 1830s. In April 1831, after four or five years in which the revival strain had grown more pronounced in cities both east and west, a delighted Methodist found it 'no small consolation to see our large Atlantic and commercial cities, which exert so great an influence over the surrounding country, taking the lead in (the) present great revivals of pure religion. In Baltimore, New York, New Haven, and Boston, and other

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1. This is largely the result of the powerful influence of the work of William Warren Sweet, which applies Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis to the history of religion in the national period. For Sweet's preoccupation with the frontier, see his Religion on the American Frontier 1783-1840 (4 vols., New York and Chicago, 1931-1946), Religion in the Development of American Culture, 1765-1840 (New York, 1952) and Revivalism in America: Its Origin, Growth and Influence (New York, 1944), which generally ignores urban and eastern revivalism in the early nineteenth century. Timothy L. Smith, however, does recognize that, during the twenty-five years before the Civil War 'revival fervour emerged from the frontier to dominate the urban religious scene.' Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform In Mid-Nineteenth-Century America (Paperback edition, New York, 1965), p.15 and *passim*. Cf. James F. Findlay, Jr., Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist 1837-1899 (Chicago, 1969), pp.10-13.
 2. Edwin Scott Gaustad, The Great Awakening in New England (New York, 1957), pp.25-28; William C. Conant, Narratives of Remarkable Conversions and Revival Incidents: Including an account of the rise and progress of the Great Awakening of 1857-8 (New York, 1858), pp.36-38. Most of the revivals outlined in Bradley, Accounts of Religious Revivals, occurred in small towns; nevertheless, churches in cities such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia were also noted to have experienced revival movements. *such as we have in the country* *see C.C. Fish* 1830, *ibid*.
 4. Henry C. Fish, Primitive Piety Revived in the American Christian Church: A Personal History, (Boston, 1831).

cities, God is doing wonders.'¹

To many evangelicals worried about the 'vice' and 'demoralising causes' to be found in east-coast cities apparently pickled in alcohol and swollen by European 'Infidel' or Roman Catholic immigrants, this revival was both welcome and overdue. It strengthened the conviction that only through revival could the rapidly growing cities be cleansed;² that urban evangelistic efforts deserved priority, since 'cities have an amazing influence on the community at large';³ and that the sustaining of such efforts would hasten the advent of the millenium - in which so many, in their scarcely checked optimism, believed. Even when millennial visions blurred and grew dim in the following decades, the sense of revivalism's centrality in the spiritual well-being of the city (and hence the nation) lived on, to be well captured in Henry Clay Fish's memorable rhetorical question - 'What can save our large cities but a powerful revival of religion?'⁴ And in the revival of Annus Mirabilis (1857-58) he and like-minded evangelicals seemed to find dramatic substantiation of their beliefs.

1. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., V (22 Apr. 1831). For revivals in Cincinnati, Newark, N.J., Richmond, Va. Philadelphia, and Providence, R.I., see ibid., II (7 Mar. 1828); III (14 Nov. 1828, 19 Mar. 1829); IV (27 Nov. 1829, 29 Jan. 1830); V (14 Jan., 15 Apr., 8 July 1831). By the 1840s it had become well accepted that rural areas followed the urban example as far as revivals were concerned. Ibid., XXII (1 Mar. 1848).
2. See, for example, ibid., I (2 June 1827), reporting an interdenominational meeting of concerned New York ministers at Gardiner Spring's Brick Church. In 1800 there were only six cities in the whole of the United States with a population of over 10,000. The figure reached 23 by 1830, 62 by 1850 and 93 by 1860. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington, D.C., 1960), p.14. The rate of city growth reached a peak in the 1840s and 1850s, urban population figures jumping by 92.1% in the first decade, and 25.4% in the next. Blake McKelvey, The City in American History (London, 1969), pp.50-51.
3. James Patterson (of Philadelphia) to C.G. Finney, 14 Dec. 1827, Finney Papers. O. Smith wrote to Finney from New York City on the 4th April, 1831: 'Let New York once be revolutionized, and all other parts of the U.S. will follow of course.' Ibid. George Gale was not so sanguine: 'I am still of the belief that cities are poor places to promote revivals, at least such as we have in the country.' Gale to C.G. Finney, 21 Jan. 1830, ibid.
4. Henry C. Fish, Primitive Piety Revived, or The Aggressive Power of the Christian Church. A Premium Essay. (Boston, 1855), p.240.

In facing up to the problems of city environment revivalism became the subject of adjustment, of changes in emphases which gave it a somewhat different character from the revivalism of frontier and small town America. The revivalism of the early nineteenth century frontier had, of course, proved an enormously formative influence on both the tone and forms of much of later revivalism. This chapter has already indicated that the egalitarianism of theology, the emphasis on action and premeditation, the strengthening of itinerancy, the introduction of camp and protracted meetings, and the use of the altar or anxious seat were all frontier characteristics that found urban expression, both east and west. But neither similarity in theology, nor in means, nor in the terminology used in describing revivals, should conceal the awareness of city ministers that the unique conditions of the 'urban frontier' demanded methods additional to or modified from those employed in frontier or small town settings.

The sheer density of an urban population, with its internal mobility, its constantly changing character produced by migration from country areas and from northern Europe, and its cultural and social heterogeneity, meant that the city minister, unlike the small town pastor, had to search out a congregation, and to work more aggressively than in an area where church attendance was the norm; and unlike the frontier preacher, he was likely to encounter large sections of the population ignorant of evangelical Protestantism, and unresponsive to its appeal. Consequently - since he could not rely on the support of a state church - he and his energetic laity (especially church women) were driven to fashion a more organised revivalism that would reach unchurched groups considerably larger and more inaccessible than in other sections of the country.

The machinery they fashioned, impressive and vigorous, was aimed essentially, through the conversion of the individual, at producing revivals - an approach which is well illustrated in their work with children and Sunday

have been true of Boston. *Chr. Adv.* 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 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2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 2681, 2682, 2683, 2684, 2685, 2686, 2687, 2688, 2689, 2690, 2691, 2692, 2693, 2694, 2695, 2696, 2697, 2698, 2699, 2700, 2701, 2702, 2703, 2704, 2705, 2706, 2707, 2708, 2709, 2710, 2711, 2712, 2713, 2714, 2715, 2716, 2717, 2718, 2719, 2720, 2721, 2722, 2723, 2724, 2725, 2726, 2727, 2728, 2729, 2730, 2731, 2732, 2733, 2734, 2735, 2736, 2737, 2738, 2739, 2740, 2741, 2742, 2743, 2744, 2745, 2746, 2747, 2748, 2749, 2750, 2751, 2752, 2753, 2754, 2755, 2756, 2757, 2758, 2759, 2760, 2761, 2762, 2763, 2764, 2765, 2766, 2767, 2768, 2769, 2770, 2771, 2772, 2773, 2774, 2775, 2776, 2777, 2778, 2779, 2780, 2781, 2782, 2783, 2784, 2785, 2786, 2787, 2788, 2789, 2790, 2791, 2792, 2793, 2794, 2795, 2796, 2797, 2798, 2799, 2800, 2801, 2802, 2803, 2804, 2805, 2806, 2807, 2808, 2809, 2810, 2811, 2812, 2813, 2814, 2815, 2816, 2817, 2818, 2819, 2820, 2821, 2822, 2823, 2824, 2825, 2826, 2827, 2828, 2829, 2830, 2831, 2832, 2833, 2834, 2835, 2836, 2837, 2838, 2839, 2840, 2841, 2842, 2843, 2844, 2845, 2846, 2847, 2848, 2849, 2850, 2851, 2852, 2853, 2854, 2855, 2856, 2857, 2858, 2859, 2860, 2861, 2862, 2863, 2864, 2865, 2866, 2867, 2868, 2869, 2870, 2871, 2872, 2873, 2874, 2875, 2876, 2877, 2878, 2879, 2880, 2881, 2882, 2883, 2884, 2885, 2886, 2887, 2888, 2889, 2890, 2891, 2892, 2893, 2894, 2895, 2896, 2897, 2898, 2899, 2900, 2901, 2902, 2903, 2904, 2905, 2906, 2907, 2908, 2909, 2910, 2911, 2912, 2913, 2914, 2915, 2916, 2917, 2918, 2919, 2920, 2921, 2922, 2923, 2924, 2925, 2926, 2927, 2928, 2929, 2930, 2931, 2932, 2933, 2934, 2935, 2936, 2937, 2938, 2939, 2940, 2941, 2942, 2943, 2944, 2945, 2946, 2947, 2948, 2949, 2950, 2951, 2952, 2953, 2954, 2955, 2956, 2957, 2958, 2959, 2960, 2961, 2962, 2963, 2964, 2965, 2966, 2967, 2968, 2969, 2970, 2971, 2972, 2973, 2974, 2975, 2976, 2977, 2978, 2979, 2980, 2981, 2982, 2983, 2984, 2985, 2986, 2987, 2988, 2989, 2990, 2991, 2992, 2993, 2994, 2995, 2996, 2997, 2998, 2999, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 3008, 3009, 3010, 3011, 3012, 3013, 3014, 3015, 3016, 3017, 3018, 3019, 3020, 3021, 3022, 3023, 3024, 3025, 3026, 3027, 3028, 3029, 3030, 3031, 3032, 3033, 3034, 3035, 3036, 3037, 3038, 3039, 3040, 3041, 3042, 3043, 3044, 3045, 3046, 3047, 3048, 3049, 3050, 3051, 3052, 3053, 3054, 3055, 3056, 3057, 3058, 3059, 3060, 3061, 3062, 3063, 3064, 3065, 3066, 3067, 3068, 3069, 3070, 3071, 3072, 3073, 3074, 3075, 3076, 3077, 3078, 3079, 3080, 3081, 3082, 3083, 3084, 3085, 3086, 3087, 3088, 3089, 3090, 3091, 3092, 3093, 3094, 3095, 3096, 3097, 3098, 3099, 3100, 3101, 3102, 3103, 3104, 3105, 3106, 3107, 3108, 3109, 3110, 3111, 3112, 3113, 3114, 3115, 3116, 3117, 3118, 3119, 3120, 3121, 3122, 3123, 3124, 3125, 3126, 3127, 3128, 3129, 3130, 3131, 3132, 3133, 3134, 3135, 3136, 3137, 3138, 3139, 3140, 3141, 3142, 3143, 3144, 3145, 3146, 3147, 3148, 3149, 3150, 3151, 3152, 3153, 3154, 3155, 3156, 3157, 3158, 3159, 3160, 3161, 3162, 3163, 3164, 3165, 3166, 3167, 3168, 3169, 3170, 3171, 3172, 3173, 3174, 3175, 3176, 3177, 3178, 3179, 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3678, 3679, 3680, 3681, 3682, 3683, 3684, 3685, 3686, 3687, 3688, 3689, 3690, 3691, 3692, 3693, 3694, 3695, 3696, 3697, 3698, 3699, 3700, 3701, 3702, 3703, 3704, 3705, 3706, 3707, 3708, 3709, 3710, 3711, 3712, 3713, 3714, 3715, 3716, 3717, 3718, 3719, 3720, 3721, 3722, 3723, 3724, 3725, 3726, 3727, 3728, 3729, 3730, 3731, 3732, 3733, 3734, 3735, 3736, 3737, 3738, 3739, 3740, 3741, 3742, 3743, 3744, 3745, 3746, 3747, 3748, 3749, 3750, 3751, 3752, 3753, 3754, 3755, 3756, 3757, 3758, 3759, 3760, 3761, 3762, 3763, 3764, 3765, 3766, 3767, 3768, 3769, 3770, 3771, 3772, 3773, 3774, 3775, 3776, 3777, 3778, 3779, 3780, 3781, 3782, 3783, 3784, 3785, 3786, 3787, 3788, 3789, 3790, 3791, 3792, 3793, 3794, 3795, 3796, 3797, 3798, 3799, 3800, 3801, 3802, 3803, 3804, 3805, 3806, 3807, 3808, 3809, 3810, 3811, 3812, 3813, 3814, 3815, 3816, 3817, 3818, 3819, 3820, 3821, 3822, 38

Schools. Efforts towards the religious education and upbringing of the children of church members had always been a central feature of the work of the church, both urban and rural. But Sunday Schools were more than an arena for education: 'Sunday School instruction must be regarded as only a means to an end, and that end the conversion of the soul.'¹ It was no doubt contemplation of the abundant reports of revivals deriving their initial impetus from Sunday School conversions that prompted one Methodist to argue that 'The proper training of the rising generation is the grand means to introduce the millenium.'² Often very young children were involved. Phoebe Palmer's children, for example, were 'all intelligently converted to God before attaining the age of seven years'.³ Although such conversions produced alarm and repugnance in some quarters - Horace Bushnell urged that a child could grow up a Christian and never have to undergo a traumatic and dramatic conversion experience - this did not prevent the conversion of children remaining an integral part of revivals.⁴ Indeed, one of the less emphasised aspects of the 1857-58 revival in New York was the increased Sunday School activity that took place in the years immediately preceding it, and the many instances of child conversions that took place both before and during its span.⁵

1. The Annual Report of the Methodist Episcopal Church Sunday School Union for 1857, quoted in Addie Grace Wardle, History of the Sunday School Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York, 1918), p.108.
2. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., I (15 June 1827). Cf. ibid., I (16 Dec. 1826, 24 Feb., 5 May 1827); II (21 Sept., 26 Oct. 1827).
3. Richard Wheatley, The Life and Letters of Mrs. Phoebe Palmer (New York, 1876), p.169. Cf. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., I (30 Sept. 1826).
4. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp.149-52. Revivals may have given children a sense of independence and autonomy. 'Parents have brought forward their children and children their parents', was a characteristic remark. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XVI (6 Oct. 1841). It may have been for this reason that 'some beat their wives and children most cruelly for coming to our meetings, and for attaching themselves to our church.' Ibid., XVII (28 Sept. 1842).
5. Conant, Narratives of Remarkable Conversions, p.360. The same seems to have been true of Boston. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXII (26 Mar. 1857), XXXIII (18 Feb. 1858).

An awareness of the Church's dependence on the younger generation helped create the American Sunday School Unions in the 1820s.¹ The aims of these Unions were to organise and give greater direction to local Sunday Schools, and to give children the religious education they were denied in the public schools. This was true in both urban and rural areas; but city activity with children differed from that in more thinly populated areas in its broader and much more systematic application. The lack of church interest in Sunday School activity that was complained of by a Methodist itinerant in certain newly-settled districts was scarcely conceivable in a city like New York.² When a Methodist mission was established in religiously derelict areas of a city, Sunday Schools might well be introduced simultaneously. This was true in the case of Chelsea Methodist Church, established in the upper part of New York in 1838 with the Sunday School as one of its first weapons;³ and when School officers and other laymen made concerted efforts to reach the 'heathen children' in poorer parts of the same city through organised visiting, it was because it was felt that 'the best shield against immorality is the Sabbath School institution.'⁴ There is no doubting the Sunday School's impact on the community. In 1851 in New York, the average weekly attendance was estimated at 30,000 scholars, or 75% of those who attended public, ward and corporate schools. In Philadelphia and Boston the percentage was even higher.⁵

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1. Infant schools and Bible Classes were set up in some areas from the 1820s for those who were respectively too young or too old for Sunday School instruction.
 2. Samuel Gregg, The History of Methodism within the bounds of the Erie Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York, 1873), pp.40-41, 47-49.
 3. Seaman, Annals of New York Methodism, pp.327, 402-03; cf. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XVI (19 Jan. 1842).
 4. Ibid., I (16 Dec. 1826).
 5. These were the figures given by a hostile observer. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform, pp.40-41.

Just as systematic in their approach were the Bible and Tract Societies, centred mainly in New York City, like the Sunday School Unions and the related national organisations of a Benevolent Empire - the American Home Missionary Society and the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, for example - which sought to extend the hold of Protestant morality over society generally. British example had prompted the setting up of Bible Associations in cities such as Baltimore, Boston, New York and Philadelphia before the American Bible Society was established in 1815.¹ Such was the progress of this kind of institution that by the late 1820s the New York Society could speak, albeit unrealistically, in terms of providing 'every destitute family in the city' with a Bible in six months. In New York several wards had their own Bible Association and were divided into districts in which pairs of Society officers would visit from door to door.² But the work went beyond the mere distribution of Bibles or Tracts. The essence of the movement was to bring the 'unchurched masses', 'the multitudes who have, from infancy almost, never crossed a church threshold', into the church and then on to conversion.³ But only by the active, systematic work of church members could they be reached. As one of the Beechers said to the American Tract Society in 1838, 'Every man must be a revival man, and every woman.'⁴

A similar emphasis was to be found in much of the other organisational work of the urban churches. Work amongst seamen both on board ship and in special mariners' chapels was a feature of most of the large towns along

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1. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., IV (2 Oct. 1829).
 2. Ibid., I (10 Feb. 1827); II (25 Jan., 1 Feb. 1828).
 3. David O. Mears, Life of Edward Norris Kirk, D.D. (Boston, 1877), pp.90-91. See Robert Baird, Religion in America; or, an account of the origin, progress, relation to the state, and present condition of the evangelical churches in the United States (New York, 1844), p.163, for an example of success in this field.
 4. The Revivalist (1838), pp.246-47. As with the Sunday Schools, the work of Tract Societies was not confined to cities, but it was here that their work originated and was concentrated.

the Atlantic coast. Portland, Boston, New Haven, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Charleston all had interdenominational seamen's chapels by 1829.¹ Concern here was primarily for the spiritual welfare and redemption of the sailor, not for his material conditions of life. Similarly, organised work among the poor by the various benevolent societies subordinated material relief to the securing of a 'change of heart' amongst the 'profligate and vicious' of the slum areas.² Even among the various immigrant groups that the churches tried to reach, the emphasis lay on the revival as a central aspect of the Mission activity. The Methodists by the 1840s had many missions to the German population of the cities, both in the East and in the valley of the Mississippi; and they had similar, though fewer, missions to Scandinavian, French and even Welsh communities.³

City conditions prompted further adjustments in revivalism. The different work and leisure patterns of the large centres of commerce and industry generally precluded the sustained concentration on religion found in the early camp meetings and small town protracted meetings - where for several days, perhaps a week, religious services were held from dawn to late evening. There were exceptions to this. Samuel Halliday recollected how in the winter of 1828-29, one of the most severe ever known in New York City, mercantile business came to a halt as rivers froze and canals closed. Underemployed labourers and mechanics were attracted to the four-day meeting; and in the ensuing revival merchants and clerks closed their stores in order to attend in the day time.⁴ But in general evangelical

1. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., I (17 Mar. 1827); III (22 May, 10 July 1829); Baird, Religion in America (1844), p.172.

2. Carroll Smith Rosenberg, Religion and the Rise of the American City. The New York City Mission Movement, 1812-1870 (London, 1971), p.187, shows how in New York this emphasis came to change as a result of the depression of 1837-1843 and of continued city growth; the evangelism of city missions came to be overshadowed by a 'more melioristic pragmatic mood'.

3. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XV (18 Nov. 1840); XVI (18 May 1842); XXXII (17 Dec. 1857).

4. Halliday and Gregory, Church in America, pp.205-10.

businessmen could not be expected to give up their normal activities in the face of competition from non-Christians.¹ Instead the emphasis was placed on evening religious meetings conducted over a protracted period. The coming of age of the railroad, the growth of industry and the intensification of commerce meant that in the cities secular and religious business had to learn to co-exist even during a revival. Only in times of enforced business inactivity, after the panics of 1837 and 1857, could the demands of the revival outbid those of secular activities; and even in these periods there was no suspension of all business routine in the way that was possible in smaller and more rural communities. The use of the noon-time prayer meeting, the most publicized instrument of the 1857-58 revival, and used in all the affected cities, was a clear acknowledgement that whole days devoted to religious services were no longer feasible. Each noon meeting was restricted in length and terminated by the ringing of a bell.² Although by no means all revival meetings were as regimented and as businesslike, the noon meetings illustrate the marked adaptation of revivals to a city schedule and a more hurried way of life.

Unrelieved attention to religion was prevented in the city not only by the daily time-table of the working man, but also by the much greater variety of leisure activities open to him. For the frontier settler or the resident of the New England township, the church provided a real and often the primary social focus. But in the city the Sunday sermon had to compete with the counter-attractions of theatres, lectures, taverns, politics and other extra-ecclesiastical activities that seduced urbanites in their out of work hours. '(The) impressions made by preaching are so soon obliterated from the mind by business and the influence of the world',

1. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp.93-94.

2. Conant, Narratives of Remarkable Conversions, pp.380-82.

complained a Philadelphian.¹ Evangelicals responded not only in the more negative way of denouncing the theatre, taverns and the other evils that they saw, but also by trying to give the claims of religion more prominence through the adoption of less conventional means. This was the reasoning behind the use of protracted meetings and other novel measures. A key factor in Finney's decision to take up a pastorate in New York in 1832 was the novel nature of the location - a theatre converted into a church - which would, he believed, cause 'a sensation'.² To combat secular attractions there had to be more novelty, more of the untraditional, in church life.

The most dramatic instrument which urban revivalism adopted to capture the attention of the metropolitan mind from the 1820s onwards was the professional itinerant evangelist. His work was, of course, by no means the primary feature of revivalism in the mid nineteenth century: it was the pastoral revival conducted under the auspices of the resident minister, possibly with the aid of local ministers, that was the norm. Methodism could boast only a handful of full-time itinerating revivalists - in particular John Newland Maffitt, James Caughey and John Inskip - all of whom found considerable success in an urban environment.³ Methodism's main dependence for revivals was on the regular ministry; and while it is true that the regular Methodist ministers stayed for only two years in one charge, that was considerably longer than the time thus spent by Maffitt or Caughey.⁴ In the Presbyterian Church, the revival-minded pastor

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1. Albert Barnes, 'Revivals of Religion in Cities and Large Towns' in The American National Preacher, Vol.XV (1841), p.69.
 2. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p.79. In Cincinnati and other centres in Ohio and Indiana the Millerites used a movable canvas tent, 100 feet in diameter and capable of seating 2,000 people. Maxwell P. Gaddis, Footprints of an Itinerant, (Cincinnati, 1856), p.361.
 3. For Inskip, see Loud, Evangelized America, pp.194-96.
 4. It was the urban experience of Methodism and the growing trend towards an educated ministry that prompted the movement within that denomination towards a more settled pastorate. Bucke and others, eds., History of American Methodism, II, 199, 204, 277, 323-24.

was a much more typical figure than the travelling evangelist. A Finney or a Daniel Baker might make the denominational headlines, but the pastoral revivalist in the mould of Albert Barnes was the kind of figure upon whom the churches depended most for revivals.¹ Amongst Congregationalists, the Henry Ward Beechers outnumbered the Edward Norris Kirks (and Kirk himself itinerated for only a few years).² Nor were Elder Jacob Knapp and Jabez Swan the most typical of the Baptist ministry at this time. The centrality of the pastoral revival is well illustrated in the movement of 1857-58, in which the itinerant evangelist played a very subordinate, almost non-existent role: in general it was through the efforts of the YMCA and the local pastor that the revival advanced.

Although it found precedents in frontier itinerancy, urban evangelism in the railroad age nevertheless had characteristic features of its own. Frontier itinerancy had been fashioned as a practical means of coping with a shortage of ministerial manpower and a scattered population; indeed, the frontier circuit rider was both pastor and itinerating evangelist rolled into one. But the professional urban evangelist was not at all concerned with long-term developments in the spiritual life of the church. His interest lay simply in promoting a revival in one expectant church after another. Jacob Knapp openly admitted his deficiencies as a pastoral worker; and when he took up a one-year pastorate in Albany, New York, 'God did not seem to smile on the undertaking.'³ Urban evangelists, their

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1. Baker, doctrinally an Old School man, worked as an itinerant evangelist in the South and West. Dict. of Am. Biog.; Beardsley, History of American Revivals, pp.157-61. Barnes' Methodist family background and Princeton training fused into a New School Presbyterianism and urgent evangelism, the consequences of which played a considerable part in producing the Presbyterian schism of 1837-38. Charles C. Cole, The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists 1826-1860 (New York, 1954), pp.43-45; Dict. of Am. Biog.
 2. Henry Ward Beecher, son of Lyman Beecher, held Presbyterian and Congregationalist pastorates in Indianapolis (1839-47) and then Brooklyn, in both of which he sought to stimulate conversions and evangelical activity. Dict. of Am. Biog.
 3. Knapp. Autobiography, p.107.

Annals of the American Pulpit (New York, 1860), 439-41, gives a graphic description of one of Knapp's services. Cf. Telfer, Methodism Successful, pp.154-55.

advent and activities well advertised on show-bills, were employed as crowd-pullers, to promote and popularise revivals, the long-term consequences of which were usually to be left to the pastor of the church concerned. The itinerant's success lay in the production of immediate effect through well-directed prayers and sermons characterized 'rather by brilliancy than depth of thought, by apt and striking illustration rather than by strength of reasoning.'¹ Though these methods might result eventually in a post-revival 'reaction', in the short term the glamour, mystique or personal appeal of a dramatic evangelist could produce electrifying results.

One of the earliest of such evangelists was John Newland Maffitt, a Dublin-born Methodist, who began his evangelistic work soon after his arrival in America in 1819. From the 1820s to the 1840s - when divorce and remarriage challenged his moral credibility² - Maffitt's name constantly crops up in reports of revival, frequently in large towns and cities like Cincinnati, Portland, Me., Providence, R.I., New York, Baltimore, Boston and Philadelphia.³ His compelling oratory, well-developed sense of drama and distinctive physique gave him enormous power over his usually overflowing audiences. He knew exactly how to manipulate his hearers, both by his preaching and by his fine singing voice.⁴ He was known to leave

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1. This was the description given to the discourses of Noah Levings, one of the six ministers who in the late 1820s itinerated regularly from one New York City Methodist church to another. Stephen Parks, Troy Conference Miscellany, containing a historical sketch of Methodism within the bounds of the Troy Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church (Albany, 1854), pp.91-92.
 2. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXII (23 Feb., 21 June 1848).
 3. See, for example, McDonald, History of Methodism in Providence, p.60; Stephen Allen and W.H. Pilsbury, History of Methodism in Maine 1793-1886 (Augusta, 1887), p.242; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., III (19 Sept., 10 Oct. 1828, 12 June 1829), IV (23 July 1830), XVI (26 Jan. 1842), XVII (25 Jan. 1843); B.F. Tefft, Methodism Successful, and the internal causes of its success (New York, 1860), pp.195-96; Gaddis, Footprints of an Itinerant, p.252; Mudge, History of the New England Conference, p.405.
 4. William B. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit; or commemorative notices of distinguished American Clergyman of various denominations: Vol. VII, The Methodists (New York, 1860), 839-41, gives a graphic description of one of Maffitt's services. Cf. Tefft, Methodism Successful pp.154-55.

his pulpit, stand in front of the congregation, then announce that he would sing alone, and encourage all penitents to come forward to the altar. Sometimes his vanity got the better of him, as on one occasion in New York when he ran a ladder up against the rear wall of the church and crawled in through an opening above the pulpit to the enthusiastic response of his audience. It was not surprising that many Methodists had doubts as to the validity of his religious experience; nor, in view of his extrovert nature and handsome features, that so many of his 'converts' were young women. Maffitt was an undeniable showman, an entertainer, dependent on his oratorical techniques - 'a bladder full of wind', as he was once called - who highlights, albeit in an exaggerated way, the attempt of the churches to use more glamorous and spectacular means to reach the unchurched.¹

Although Maffitt's particular brand of showmanship was not widespread, the kind of attention that his presence attracted was true of other itinerant revivalists of the period. Some of these, like Jabez Swan, operated in a small-town orbit;² but others - Finney, Jacob Knapp and Edward Norris Kirk, for example - proved to be considerable attractions in the larger urban centres, though the reasons for their appeal could vary considerably. Finney's appeal lay in his commanding, logical preaching and in the glamour and self-perpetuating nature of his success.³ Knapp

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1. For Maffitt, see Cole, Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists, pp.85-87; Loud, Evangelized America, pp.210-13; Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, Vol. VII, 837-38. Maffitt was instrumental in the conversion of President-elect W.H. Harrison in the winter of 1840-41. He was made chaplain to the House of Representatives in 1841. Tefft, Methodism Successful, pp.195-96.
 2. Swan's itinerant work was centred on New England and New York. Denison, ed., Life and Labors of Jabez S. Swan, passim. Cf. Loud, Evangelized America, pp.187-93; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp.136-40. For another mid-century revivalist working to a large degree in small towns, see Emerson Andrews, Living Life; or, Autobiography of Rev., Emerson Andrews, A.B., A.M., Evangelist (3rd edition, Boston, 1881).
 3. Finney's commitments at Oberlin after 1835 did not prevent him conducting several winter campaigns during the 1840s and 1850s in a number of eastern cities. Infra, p.294.

was an unrestrained controversialist with a colloquial, 'sledge-hammer' style of preaching who found no trouble in attracting (often unfavourable) attention, whether from unfriendly mobs or amused newspaper reporters looking for good copy.¹ Kirk's appeal was quite the contrary: his polished, fluent pulpit manner helped fill those Congregational churches that would have rejected Knapp-style professional evangelism but which nevertheless wanted to enjoy the stimulus of an outside revivalist.²

That Kirk's success derived in part from his restrained style of evangelism is suggestive of a further major adaptation of revivalism in an urban setting: the emotional, cruder excrescences of revivals were being pruned by ministers anxious not to alienate the more respectable, sophisticated members of their congregations. For even amongst Methodists and Baptists, churches of the poorer classes, the generation before the Civil War witnessed a growing prosperity. Methodism, which according to one itinerant preacher 'in nearly all our large cities ... was cradled in a hovel ... quite unobserved by the more wealthy and honorable',³ was by the 1840s and 1850s building elegant churches with organs and rented pews;⁴ and her ministers, despite their mission, tract and Sunday School

1. Knapp, Autobiography, pp.122, 135, 137. Cf. Cole, Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists, pp.33-36; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp.140-44. A charitable critic called Knapp a 'well-meaning, though an erring man'. Robert Woodward Cushman, A Calm Review of the Measures Employed in the Religious Awakening in Boston in 1842 (Boston, 1846), pp.27-28.
2. Mears, Life of Edward Norris Kirk, pp.165, 334. Kirk itinerated in eastern cities from 1839 to 1843, most notably in Baltimore, Boston, New York and Philadelphia.
3. Quoted in Baker, Early New England Methodism, p.20.
4. Parks, Troy Conference Miscellany, p.67; Jobson, America, and American Methodism, pp.33, 54-56; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XVI (15 Sept. 1841), XXXII (23 June 1857). The Methodist church in Richmond, Va., in 1843 boasted 114 pews, which showed 'its capacity to be quite respectable'. Ibid., XVII (5 July 1843). Pew rents had existed in some Methodist churches before this time, especially in New England. Baker, Early New England Methodism, pp.22-23; Mudge, History of the New England Conference, pp.83-84, 99. Innumerable church disputes broke out over pew rents, a reflection of fears that if the poor were lost to the church the standard of piety would decline. Seaman, Annals of New York Methodism, pp.345-46; Almer M. Pennewell, The Methodist Movement in Northern Illinois (Sycamore, Illinois, 1942), p.41; Parks, Troy Conference Miscellany, p.60.

activity, were noted as preaching 'to a much less (sic) proportion of the poor than formerly'.¹ In the Baptist Church there were similar charges of ambivalence towards the poor and of too great a dependence on the well-to-do. In 1842, Jacob Knapp, who was at his ease when preaching amongst the poor, criticised 'the growing desire of ministers and churches to gather their converts from the ranks of the wealthy and the intelligent'. 'The church of Christ', he argued, 'is no place for caste'.² Partly through the rise in social status and prosperity of their own members - perhaps as a result of that very membership - and partly because these denominations were attracting the more well-to-do, the poor were no longer the central object of their concern.

For these more fashionable city churchgoers, and indeed for the increasingly better-educated ministers, a more decorous and polished revivalism was needed to replace the cruder variety. Many regarded enthusiastic revivals as 'unworthy (of) the attention of the more refined and intelligent ranks of society', and fit only for 'the weaker portions of the community';³ and some Lutherans were terrified that opulent and influential families, the 'very bones and sinew' of the church, would be driven away by the new measures.⁴ For not only were emotional revivals seen as an affront to the intelligence and to social gentility, but they

1. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXIII (3 June 1858). The social gulf between Methodists and Episcopalians remained generally unbridged, however. Jobson, American Methodism, pp.378-80.

2. Knapp, Autobiography, p.130.

3. Barnes, 'Revivals of Religion in Cities and Large Towns', loc. cit., p.2. Cf. (Dewey) Letters of an English Traveller, pp.128-30, 134-36.

4. 'True, through the instrumentality of New Measures, it is said, numerous accessions are made to the church, but what are a score of whining and canting hypocrites, to one generous worldly-minded man'. The Lutheran Observer, quoted in the New York Evangelist, IV (26 Jan. 1833).

2. Barnes, 'Revivals of Religion in Cities and Large Towns', loc. cit. p.2.

3. Meares, Life of Edward Norris Kirk, pp.44-45, 127-28, 176, 200. New York Obs. XVIII (18 Apr., 25 May 1843). Kirk gave up contemporaneous preaching in favour of written sermons.

were thought by some to be socially disruptive. They could disrupt business, divide the churches. They bred a 'presumption and boldness ... through the lowest classes of society' by emphasising the individuals own role in his conversion and his equality with all other men before God.¹

Albert Barnes' appeal to his Philadelphian church members in 1841 well exemplifies the fears of conservative laymen over the capacity of revivals to induce social and religious disorder. Addressing his 'highly respectable congregation', he wrote:

I am no advocate for suspending the proper business of life, or of breaking in upon regular employment in honest and honorable industry. I have no views of religion or of revivals which would not make men more sober, and honest, and industrious, and chastened in their lives. I have not one word to say in disregard of the urbanities and civilities of social life; of the respect due to rank and office; not one word to say in favor of what has sometimes been charged on the promoters of revivals - falsely in general - a contempt for the courtesies of life, and an outrage on the feelings of others. I hold no views of religion which would not make men more courteous, refined, and truly polite and respectful in revivals and at all times.²

Barnes' statement signified that new measure Presbyterians and Congregationalists were adjusting their tactics to meet the demands of urban gentility. Edward Norris Kirk's methods were not always as refined as they became after he had settled in 1843 as the cultured pastor of Mount Vernon Church, Boston. In 1828 he had been forced to resign his Albany pastorate, having offended the more fashionable families in his congregation by his use of new measures; and it was only as he lost his youthful bravado and refashioned his approach that he found himself welcomed into the pulpits of respectable city churches on the eastern seaboard.³ Finney too was able to quieten doubts about the boisterousness

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1. (Dewey,) Letters of an English Traveller, p.117. Beecher and Nettleton feared that the western revivalists were stimulating a tide of uncontrollable democracy. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp.35-36.
 2. Barnes, 'Revivals of Religion in Cities and Large Towns', loc.cit., p.38.
 3. Mears, Life of Edward Norris Kirk, pp.44-68, 153-55, 179, 318. Cf. New York Obs. XVIII (18 Apr., 25 July 1840). Once settled in Boston, Kirk gave up extemporaneous preaching in favour of written sermons.

of his earlier revivals. When he conducted his first large-scale city revival, in Rochester in 1830, the most significant feature was its 'phenomenal dignity'.¹ As he reached the eastern cities so his methods became ever more refined. 'The only thing insisted upon under the gospel dispensation, in regard to measures', he announced, 'is that there should be decency and order'.²

In Methodist churches, too, the polishing down of the rougher edges of revivalism was taking place. It has been mentioned that the excesses of New York City's Methodist revivalism were being eliminated to some extent in the second decade of the century, and as the design and furnishings of Methodist churches indicated increasing Methodist prosperity, a parallel movement towards propriety and decorum in the conduct of religious meetings was taking place. In Portland, Maine, a controversy over the introduction of pew-rents, an indication of growing prosperity, was closely connected with dissension over the issue of shouting and other departures from seemly behaviour in prayer meetings.³ As members of Methodist churches grew more wealthy, and as the numbers of Methodist ministers with formal ministerial training increased, so the cruder emotionalism of urban Methodist revivals was eliminated.⁴

1. Cross, Burned-Over District, p.155.

2. Finney, Lectures on Revivals, ed. McLoughlin, p.276.

3. Allen and Pilsbury, History of Methodism in Maine, pp.241-42.

4. The first permanent Methodist college was the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Connecticut, founded in 1831. By the Civil War there were 34 Methodist colleges. The Baptist experience was similarly impressive. Sweet, Revivalism in America, p.149; Baker, Early New England Methodism, pp.72-79. Cf. Bucke and others, History of American Methodism, I, 546-71; II, 193-96. The movement towards greater respectability was not confined to urban areas. Elizabeth K. Nottingham, Methodism and the Frontier. Indiana Proving Ground (New York, 1941), pp.208-09 and passim, illustrates the increasing emphasis on the externals of religion as communities grew larger and more prosperous.

By the time of the urban revival of 1857-58 these changes had preceded apace; and statements could be made about the nature of revivalism that would have been inapplicable thirty years earlier. Of the revival meetings in general, the New York Tribune was pleased to note that they were characterized by a 'higher moral tone and a more fitting decorum',¹ a judgement which found expression in the religious press, too. '(At) scarcely any other period has there been less of that kind of religious fervor, which tends to fanaticism. In the midst of the most striking displays of Divine power, there is a wonderful calmness and even coolness among both the actors and subjects of the revival (Persons) become awakened, set out to seek religion, and pass through all the stages of repentance and conversion with a sober self-possession as pleasing as it is unprecedented.'² Inevitably, there were groups like the Episcopalians who found the whole movement to be 'an epidemic' and 'fanaticism', but it is clear that those more sympathetic to revivalistic religion found the movement unexpectedly restrained.³ Even the Negro churches were commended for their decorum and restraint.⁴

IV

These adaptations and modifications made city revivalism more resilient, but a great sea of population still lay beyond its net. At both extremes of the more highly stratified urban society existed sizable groups that

1. Quoted in Carl Lloyd Spicer, The Great Awakening of 1857 and 1858 (Ohio State University Ph.D. thesis, 1935), p.115.

2. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXIII (25 Mar. 1858).

3. Ibid., XXXIII (11 Mar. 1858). Cf. Conant, Narratives of Remarkable Conversions, pp.376, 400.

4. Russell E. Francis, Pentecost: 1858. A Study in Religious Revivalism (University of Pennsylvania Ph.D. thesis, 1948), p.177.

5. In Cities and Large Towns, loc. cit., pp.33-34.

6. Ibid., pp.31-32.

7. Baird, Religion in America (1844), pp.132-33; Gray, History of Religion, p.133; Rosenberg, Religion and the Rise of the American Church, pp.43-44; Francis, Pentecost: 1858, p.20. Probably the best known free church movement was instigated in New York by the Tappan brothers. History of the Movement, pp.282-83, 313-24; Barnes, Anti-Slavery Journal, pp.1-2.

proved generally unresponsive or antipathetic to the evangelical appeal. On the one side stood 'that part of society which is deemed respectable', the fashionable 'votaries of pleasure'.¹ Rarely could these sophisticated upper classes be reached, even through the most vigorous efforts. When in the revival of 1857-58 a scheme of systematic house-to-house visiting in New York City was extended to embrace the fashionable areas, including Fifth Avenue, there was some success, but the 'number of rich people who were found never to attend any church was enormous.'² For this polite class, noted Albert Barnes, revivals were the equivalent of 'wildfire, fanaticism and disorder', and its education and religious attachment, if any, to a church like the Episcopalian, which was socially prestigious and emotionally restrained, militated against any change in attitude.³

At the other end of the spectrum were to be found the urban poor - a 'dense and dark mass, the population of alleys, and cellars, and garrets - the ignorant, the degraded, the grossly sensual, the idle, the worthless - the refuse of society.'⁴ Neither the evangelising activities of the Benevolent Empire and the city missions, nor the Free Church movements in Presbyterian and Episcopal churches, which complemented the almost universally free accommodation provided by Quakers and Methodists, succeeded in bringing the growing numbers of urban slum-dwellers firmly under the revival umbrella.⁵ This failure was due in part to the problems of social environment, in part to the unbending Catholicism of the German and particularly the Irish immigrant population. Louis Pease's Five Points House of Industry failed almost wholly to win converts in that destitute and predominantly Irish

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1. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., III (27 Feb. 1829).
 2. Conant, Narratives of Remarkable Conversions, pp.359-60.
 3. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., IV (25 June 1830); Barnes, 'Revivals of Religion in Cities and Large Towns', loc. cit., pp.53-54.
 4. Ibid., pp.51-52.
 5. Baird, Religion in America (1844), pp.132-33; Gray, Memoirs of Cutler, p.133; Rosenberg, Religion and the Rise of the American City, pp.32-52; Francis, Pentecost: 1858, p.20. Probably the best known Free Church movement was instigated in New York by the Tappan brothers. Finney, Memoirs, pp.282-83, 318-24; Barnes, Anti-Slavery Impulse, pp.21-22.

Catholic community.¹ 'Mr. Finney, Mr. Kirk, or any other minister distinguished in revivals', wrote a New Yorker in 1854, 'might preach at the Broadway Tabernacle all winter; and his labors might be blessed in a genuine, and powerful revival of religion, and yet hardly a wave of that 'religious excitement' would reach the Five Points, which is within a stone's-throw of the building, or the large population of French, German and Italians, living in its vicinity.'²

The urban evangelical can be forgiven his concern when his experience is compared with that of the revival-minded minister in smaller centres. For instance, in 1842, the same year that Finney, Kirk, Knapp and Maffitt were attempting to win Bostonians to the evangelical gospel and away from powerful counter-attractions like Unitarianism, Jabez Swan - a revivalist who rarely worked in city churches - was helping to promote a revival in the small town of Mystic, Connecticut in which over four hundred were baptized, 'and so thinned were the ranks of unbelievers ... that it was easy to believe that the whole community had become or was in a way to become experimentally acquainted with pure and undefiled religion.'³ Mystic's experience was not the norm; but neither was it unprecedented. One of Nettleton's 'most remarkable revivals', in Salisbury, Connecticut, in 1815-16, provoked such intense interest that '(h)usbandmen would leave their fields, mechanics their shops, and females their domestic concerns, to inquire the way of eternal life. Religion was the great and all absorbing theme in almost all companies, and on almost all occasions.'⁴ At New York Mills in 1830 cotton production was halted as penitent factory workers held prayer meetings; and the religious excitement was so intense that Christians were 'encouraged

1. Rosenberg, Religion and the Rise of the American City, pp.240-42.

2. Charles L. Brace in the Independent (9 Mar. 1854), quoted in Weisberger, They Gathered at the River, p.157.

3. Denison, ed., Life and Labors of Jabez S. Swan, pp.203-04.

4. Tyler, Memoir of Nettleton, pp.74-76.

5. Chr. Adv. and Int., 1 (11 Nov. 1826); Knapp, Autobiography, pp.31-60.

to pray for, and even to expect, the conversion of every unconverted person in the place.¹ Even when the community found itself divided, and there was opposition to revival, dissenters frequently found themselves reduced to silence if not to actual acceptance of the movement.

That revivals could sometimes achieve a tight hold over smaller towns and villages, presents no mystery. Of crucial importance was the cultural and ethnic homogeneity possessed by a relatively tightly-knit community such as a New England township, with its common religious traditions, its experience and expectation of periodic revivals, and its population small enough for all of the families to be known to each other.² In this environment, once a revival had broken out in the churches themselves (usually during the leisure time afforded by winter)³ not only did it soon become common knowledge but it was often possible effectively to bring the rest of the community into the revival's embrace, after house-to-house visiting by pastor, evangelist and church members.⁴ With the whole town aroused, with secular entertainments discouraged, and sometimes with regular daily business suspended, the backslider, the unconverted inquirer or the non-conformist - Universalist, Deist or Atheist - might find himself under intense psychological and social pressures to attend and submit.⁵ It was not by mere accident that the pastor or evangelist sought to influence

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1. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., IV (14 May 1830); and also I (7 Apr. 1827). The Washington National Intelligencer reported in 1858 'that there are several New England towns in which not a single adult person can be found unconverted.' Quoted in J. Edwin Orr, The Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain (London, 1949), p.22.
 2. Keller, Second Great Awakening in Connecticut, pp.4-7 describes the homogeneity of that predominantly agricultural state.
 3. Smith, Recollections of Nettleton, passim; (Presbytery of Albany,) A Narrative of the Revival of Religion, within the bounds of the Presbytery of Albany, in the year 1820 (Schenectady, 1821), p.16. Summer came to be regarded as something of an off season by evangelists. Much of Finney's later city evangelism was done in winter. Knapp, Autobiography, p.120; Ob. Evang., XIX (29 Apr. 1857); Finney, Memoirs, pp.415, 441-42; Beardsley, History of American Revivals, pp.140-42.
 4. (Dewey,) Letters of an English Traveller, pp.51-60.
 5. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., I (11 Nov. 1826); Knapp, Autobiography, pp.76-77.

'the greatest weight of character in the community'.¹ He was well aware that if the leading families were sympathetic and involved in the revival, then they might exert considerable influence on the rest of the community. The conversion of the principal lawyers, doctors, merchants and other professional men in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, in 1821, and the presence at the services of the high sheriff of the county, provided what for Heman Humphrey was the key to the success of the revival and to the quietening of the drum-banging, cannon-firing body of dissidents who tried to disrupt the services.²

The comprehensive sweep of small-town revivals and their success in bringing those communities into closer conformity with the social morality of evangelical religion - sobriety, observance of the Sabbath, shunning of 'profanities' - were important factors in helping many city evangelicals to see revivals as the key to urban problems. Revivals would reach the inaccessible pockets of population; they could provide the only viable antidote to the 'interlocking sins' of drinking, gambling, Sabbath-breaking and corrupting doctrines which, in an age of unsophisticated social analysis, were regarded as causing the crime, vagrancy, poverty and other social ills afflicting American cities.³ Nor were revivals wholly unsuccessful in pursuing these twin ends. Many accounts of revivals noted that 'all classes of the people' had been affected, rich as well as poor.⁴ Converts might include 'persons whose previous character was not only doubtful, but openly vicious', as in the revival in Harlem Mission in 1843, when 'a leader in

1. Calvin Colton, History and Character of American Revivals of Religion, (London, 1832), pp.61-62.

2. Humphrey, Revival Sketches and Manual, pp.242-58.

3. Barnes, 'Revivals of Religion in Cities and Large Towns', loc.cit., pp.14-15, 66-67. For an idea of the social evils attributed to intemperance see Chr. Adv. and Jnl., III (10 Apr. 1829); Albert Barnes, Life at Three-Score: A Sermon (Philadelphia, 1859), pp.44-45.

4. Cf. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., V (11 Mar., 6 May 1831); XVII (16 Nov. 1842).

5. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., I (4 July 1827).

mischievous rioting' and a prominent tavern keeper were involved.¹ Sometimes, when revivals broadened their hold, theatres, circuses, billiard halls, bar-rooms and other places of entertainment were closed for lack of custom.²

It is not intended crudely to suggest that revivals were regarded simply as a means of social control. Certainly it was recognised that revivals might promote 'an era of good feelings in neighbourhoods - promote individual and social felicity - (and) strengthen the bonds of civil ... confidence.'³ Certainly evangelicals wished to see society conform to those moral and social standards that they set themselves. Certainly the revival gospel may have reinforced social quietism and contentment.⁴ But such an approach fails properly to understand the mind of the evangelical. Primarily he sought to achieve the salvation of his fellow men, 'to point to erring humanity the road to immortality.'⁵ Social cohesion was a secondary outgrowth of that. Community conformity to a strict evangelical morality was important at least as much because it indicated the spiritual wholesomeness of that community as because of its secular implications. Moreover, it has already been made clear that in practice revivalism could at times appear, not cohesive, but both ecclesiastically and socially disruptive. Like all weapons, there was always a possibility that revivalism could explode in the faces of its users.

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1. Conant, Narratives of Remarkable Conversions, p.364; Seaman, Annals of New York Methodism, p.310; Knapp, Autobiography, pp.107-10.
 2. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., II (12 Oct. 1827); Knapp, Autobiography, p.129, argues that the Tremont Theatre, Boston, was closed during the winter of 1842 as a result of the revival, a fact seemingly substantiated by a report in the Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 19 Feb. 1842.
 3. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., I (6 July 1827).
 4. Conant, Narratives of Remarkable Conversions, p.357. 'The gospel of Christ breathes contentment and resignation to the divine dispensation, in whatever situation we are placed (We) are, in respect to food and raiment, therewith to be content.' Chr. Adv. and Jnl., I (27 July 1827); see also the article 'Poverty a Blessing' in the issue of 27 Mar. 1827. For the concept of 'Calvinistic contentment' see Cole, Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists, p.175ff.
 5. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., I (6 July 1827).

City revivals, however, did little more than tinker with the problems facing urban evangelicals, because city populations, in the first instance, were much too large and internally mobile. Gardiner Spring found himself hampered by the 'wide dispersion (of Christians), the continual change in their place of residence, and the consequent difficulty of ascertaining where they reside from year to year.'¹ How much more difficult, then, was the problem of reaching non-Christians. Moreover, to these problems were added those presented by the greater heterogeneity and stratification of city populations and, in the case of seaboard cities in particular, their exposure to cosmopolitan influences. Evangelicals were faced by city masses composed of discordant elements with 'vast varieties of habits, manners, customs, and opinions ...';² by non-English speaking, foreign-born populations (a problem at its most challenging in New Orleans, with its large 'French semi-infidel Catholic element');³ and by overseas visitors who came 'to debase and corrupt the young with the lax notions of morals which prevail in the licentious capitals of Europe.'⁴ All of these forces militated against the cultural uniformity essential to successful revivalism.

Rarely did evangelicals break effectively into these unevangelical or anti-evangelical cultures: revival^{converts} were drawn mainly from the churches themselves (from the unconverted adherents and the Sunday Schools), from lapsed churchgoers and backsliders, and from migrants from the country and immigrants from Europe who boasted an evangelical heritage.⁵ Even here the

the canal boom of the late 1820s pushed Yankee

1. Knapp, A History of the Brick Presbyterian Church, pp.253-54. For the effect on Methodist churches of the same movement of population from downtown areas, see Seaman, Annals of New York Methodism, pp.279-83.
2. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., I (2 June 1827).
3. Ibid., I (10, 31 Mar. 1827); XV (16 Sept. 1840); XXXIII (8 Apr. 1858).
4. Barnes, 'Revivals of Religion in Cities and Large Towns', loc.cit., p.31.
5. Evangelical missions to city German populations, for example, were not wholly without success. Cf. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XV (18 Nov. 1840), XVI (18 May 1842).

Finney Revival, 1830-31 (University of
1839). Basil Hall, Travels in North America
(3 vols., Edinburgh, 1829), I, p.315.
'young village'.

churches faced problems: for while, in the words of a Philadelphia minister, '(t)he man of profaneness in the country village is usually almost alone... and the burning lens of public indignation usually meets him wherever he goes', the urban sinner could often find anonymity and avoid evangelical pressures to conform.¹ Indeed (and again in contrast to the small-town experience), it was made easier for him by the general dissociation of the more sophisticated city elite from revivalism and its 'enthusiastic' connotations.

When urban revivals did appear to match in extent those of smaller communities, they seem to have been the product of essentially small-town circumstances. Rural immigrants to the cities often tried to adapt their village culture to the urban setting.² In Rochester, for example, the revival of 1830-31 'swept through the town, and converted the great mass of the most influential people, and the change in the order, sobriety, and morality of the city was wonderful'; saloons, taverns and theatres closed; and the rate of crime was dramatically reduced.³ Even allowing for exaggeration, this was clearly a brilliant evangelical achievement in an urban environment. Yet Rochester's outlook was in fact culturally much closer to the small town than to that of a larger east-coast city. It had grown with amazing rapidity, from a mere 1,049 inhabitants in 1818, to nearly 10,000 in 1830. But much of this growth had been based on migration from the evangelical richness of rural New England.⁴ When the height of the canal boom of the late 1820s passed, Yankee morality re-asserted itself in Rochester - a community whose leaders of opinion (the 'higher classes')

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1. Barnes, 'Revivals of Religion in Cities and Large Towns', loc.cit., p.58.
 2. They often created living subcommunities described by some urban historians and sociologists as 'urban villages'. For a twentieth-century example, see Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers. Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans (New York, 1962).
 3. Finney, Memoirs, pp.293-98; Cross, Burned-Over District, p.154-56.
 4. Mark Shipley, A Shower of Religion at Rochester: The Charles Grandison Finney Revival, 1830-31 (University of California Ph.D. research paper, 1969). Basil Hall, Travels in North America, in the Years 1827 and 1828 (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1829), I, p.158, describes Rochester as a 'gigantic young village'.

referred to by Finney) were, unlike the semi-aristocracy of larger, longer-established cities, 'well-to-do but not so sophisticated as to deny their religious heritage.'¹

Similar features of homogeneity and small-town roots can be found in Lowell, Mass., a textile-company manufacturing town which grew from a population of 3,500 in 1827, to one of 20,000 in 1840. The many cotton and woollen factories were 'filled with Protestant workers brought in from all the country round', especially young women over fifteen years old.² The company refused employment to 'any one who is habitually absent from public worship on the Sabbath, or known to be guilty of immorality.'³ These concentrations of likeminded operatives, from culturally and religiously similar backgrounds, provided an extremely fruitful field for revival work; and the contagious effect of a factory conversion gave Lowell even greater resemblance to a small town, with its social network conducive to a speedy chain reaction.⁴

Even the urban revival of 1857-58 can be interpreted partly in small town terms. The unprecedented coverage of the revival by the secular press and national telegraph system promoted the rapid dissemination of news and increased the community interest essential to the spread of religious excitement.⁵ The clever psychological technique of dealing with people in their occupational groups - special meetings were held for businessmen, firemen, policemen and even waiters - reproduced the sort

1. Finney, Memoirs, p.437; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp.56-57.

2. Mudge, History of the New England Conference, pp.220-21; Baird, Religion in America (1844), p.182.

3. Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller, The Age of Enterprise. A Social History of Industrial America (New York, 1961), p.20.

4. Cf. the case of Paterson, N.J., in Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XVII (8 Mar. 1843).

5. Weisberger, They Gathered at the River, pp.107-8; Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform, pp.64-65.

6. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXII (10 Dec. 1857); John C. Barry, The Revival of 1857-58 (New York, 1951), pp.130-31.

of pressures and bonds of social sympathy more usually connected with small town religion.¹ Moreover, central to the revival in many areas was the work of the Young Men's Christian Association, established in the principal cities in the 1850s to protect the morals and piety of young men recently arrived from the country.² They offered sociability and friendship in hostile surroundings. 'Young men and youth are "at home" here and must not hesitate to take part', announced a typical YMCA church-meeting poster in 1858;³ and the conversion of young men through YMCA agency testified in some cases to a disenchantment with city life or a homesickness for home-town roots. For such people revivals could provide a simple, uncomplicated view of a world that in reality was complex and culturally and ethnically diverse. Involvement in a revival might also reflect a young man's sense of guilt for the betrayal of an evangelical background: ministers and laity spent much time ensuring that such apostates returned to the evangelical fold.⁴

These urban manifestations of small-town revivalism were not paralleled by a reproduction of its numerical success. Despite impressive growth, city church membership failed to expand at a rate proportionate to the growth-rate of the whole urban population. Nor, more significantly, did it grow as rapidly as in non-urban areas.⁵ One of the greatest disparities was to be found in New York City. In 1810 there had been one Methodist for every forty-two people in the city, a proportion only slightly lower

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1. See, for example, Conant, Narratives of Remarkable Conversions, p.411; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXIII (15 Apr. 1858).
 2. Francis, Pentecost: 1858, pp.33-45. 'It is universally admitted that it is now almost at the peril of piety that a Christian young man embarks in business' noted Henry Clay Fish, Primitive Piety Revived, p.48.
 3. Conant, Narratives of Remarkable Conversions, p.380.
 4. During the 1857-58 revival parents residing outside Boston were asked to make contact with Boston organisations like the YMCA if they wanted their sons, engaged in urban business, to be visited and subjected to religious conversation. Ibid., p.376.
 5. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXIX (26 Jan. 1854); John C. Hare, The Presbyterian Church in Pittsburgh: 1837-70 (University of Pittsburgh Ph.D. thesis, 1951), pp.130-31.

than that for the country as a whole (one Methodist for every 41 inhabitants). But in 1850, when the national figure stood at one in twenty-one, the ratio for the city had deteriorated to 1:63.¹ It is perhaps also worth noting that there is some evidence to suggest that after revivals there may have been a more dramatic rate of backsliding in city churches than those in other social milieux. In the six years following the New York revival of 1858, the total church membership dropped by 294, or 13.7% of the increase of the revival year (2,149).² At the same time, the nineteen Methodist churches in Connecticut that had each added more than fifty members in 1858 (many of them in country areas, and none in very large cities) added 1,420 members, or 86% of their increase in membership in the revival year.³ On a statistical basis, then, revivalism had clearly not proved to be the universal panacea that had been anticipated.

and many have been added to the churches.

Probably the worst crucial of the revival to this was the

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the financial panic of 1837 and the revival of 1858. It now remains briefly to sketch the general incidence of revivals and the popularity of new measures revivalism in the generation between the climax of the Second Great Awakening and the Revival of 1857-58. The high tide of revival of 1831-1832 had ebbed somewhat by the middle of the decade. Total Presbyterian membership for 1837 was actually lower than the denominational figures for 1833-34;⁴ and even the most aggressive body, the Methodists, experienced in 1836 a decrease in membership, their first recession since 1814, and only their second of the century.⁵

2. The Monthly Miscellany of Religion and Literature, II (1840), 73. This was a Boston publication.

1. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXVIII (2 June 1853).

2. Seaman, Annals of New York Methodism, p.497.

3. Dike, 'A Study of New England Revivals', loc.cit., pp.371, 373. I have corrected Dike's calculations.

4. Weber, Presbyterian Statistics, p.44.

5. Goss, Statistical History of American Methodism, p.110.

While individual churches might continue to experience revivals - five New York City Methodist churches, for instance, claimed significant revivals in the general recession year of 1836 - the full momentum of the early '30s had clearly been lost.¹ It was only in the later years of the decade that psychological exhaustion gave way to a new burst of growth and the revival cycle began again. By 1839-40 a general revival movement was underway: 'The Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Orthodox Congregationalists have been most generally affected, but some of the congregations of the Episcopalians have felt the same influence. Along the seaboard - in Savannah, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Boston and Portsmouth; in the West - at Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and other places; and in various towns in the interior of New England, great numbers have shown an interest in the special religious meetings which have been held, and many have been added to the churches.'²

Probably the most crucial of the stimuli to this new upsurge was the financial panic of 1837 and the ensuing six or seven years of an economic depression that was marked by a decline in wages and acute unemployment.³ All classes were affected; if the poor and the labouring men were usually the hardest hit, the professional and salaried classes, the landowners and eastern capitalists, did not remain generally unaffected.⁴

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1. Seaman, Annals of New York Methodism, p.273. Hotchkin, History of Western New York, pp.151-53; Samuel W. Dike, 'A Study of New England Revivals', in The American Journal of Sociology, Vol.XV No.3 (Nov. 1909), 366.
 2. The Monthly Miscellany of Religion and Letters, II (1840), 236. This was a Boston publication of evangelical Unitarianism.
 3. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Jackson (Boston, 1945), pp.217-26. By January 1838 one third of all working-men were unemployed; by 1839 wages had fallen from between 30 and 50 per cent. Joseph G. Rayback, A History of American Labor (New York, 1966), p.92.
 4. Reginald Charles McGrane, The Panic of 1837. Some Financial Problems of the Jacksonian Era (Chicago, 1924), pp.130-33.

Some workers - their infant trade union movement shattered by the depression - turned towards political activity as a remedy. Others pursued more utopian, other-worldly ends, sometimes joining cooperative associations distinguished by religiosity and mysticism,¹ and frequently providing a fruitful constituency for the evangelist. Not that there was a straightforward correlation between unemployment and revivalism - factory hands thrown out of work were more likely to throw their energies into seeking, not the Lord, but new jobs² - but contemporary ministers accepted without question the primary significance of economic distress in drawing men of all classes into the churches. It seemed to an Australian visitor that the economic crisis had 'proved highly favourable to solemn reflection, and (had) led multitudes of gay and thoughtless persons to "consider their ways"', now that they had been stripped of their worldly goods.³

Monocausal explanations rarely suffice, however: in addition to widespread economic and social distress, the revival movement traced its essential origin to the evangelical's ever-present expectation of revivals (the sine qua non of revivalism); found its reinforcement in the Methodists' intensified efforts towards denominational growth during their centenary year;⁴ and located its continued and increasing momentum in the impact

1. Cochran and Miller, Age of Enterprise, p.27.

2. The church of the Protestant Methodist, George Brown, was adversely affected when 60 of its members, factory hands in Pittsburgh and Alleghany, were thrown out of work and driven to find employment elsewhere. Brown, Recollections of Itinerant Life, pp.269-70. Cf. Seaman, Annals of New York Methodism, p.274.

3. John Dunmore Lang (a senior Presbyterian from New South Wales), Religion and Education in America: With notices of the state and prospects of American Unitarianism, Popery, and African Colonisation (London, 1840), p.320. Cf. Kirk, Lectures on Revivals, pp.142-43; Monthly Misc. of Relig. and Lttrs., VI (1842), 235; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XVII (26 July 1843)

4. Monthly Misc. of Relig. and Lttrs., II (1840), 236. The Methodist revival of greatest dimensions occurred in Baltimore, where over 2,000 members were added. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XVI (20 Oct. 1841). Other denominations benefited, too. Knapp, Autobiography, 99-103.

of the Millerite Adventist movement that reached a climax in 1843.¹ William Miller, a New York Deist turned Baptist, had predicted that Christ's Second Coming would occur in 1843; and for a decade after 1833 he and his followers had conducted revivals in the north, east and west, borrowing techniques and personnel from the more orthodox evangelical denominations.² By 1842-1843, with their prophecies of doom matched by an appropriate bleakness in the economy, the Millerites were counting their converts by the thousands. And even though the orthodox were distressed by this 'fanaticism' and by a considerable loss of members to the Adventists, they more than balanced their accounts through the general religious excitement aroused.³

Consequently, for many churches, especially in the north and east, the winters of 1841-42 and 1842-43 brought enormous gains. Richmond, Va., was blessed in 1842 with a 'gracious revival' in which about a thousand people were added to the communions of all the evangelical churches.⁴ At the same time Methodist churches in New York City were enjoying a revival 'more extensive and powerful than has ever been enjoyed by our churches before.'⁵ And in Boston, a city notorious amongst revivalists for its evangelical lukewarmness, the revival of 1841-42 - conducted by the heavy artillery of Finney, Kirk, Knapp, Maffitt, Abel Stevens and William Miller

1 When the millenium was seen not to have arrived, the new date of October 1844 was set. This proved to be the final climax. A balanced account of Millerism is to be found in Cross, Burned-over District, pp.287-321.

2. Loud, Evangelized America, pp.162-74.

3. See, for example, Denison, ed., Life and Labors of Jabez S. Swan, pp.237-41; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XVII (18 Jan. 1843).

4. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XVI (6 July, 3 Aug. 1842).

5. Ibid. (9 Feb. 1842).

himself - proved the most extensive the city has ever known.¹ Translated into denominational terms these gains meant that Methodists experienced their largest ever annual increase of over 60,000 members in 1842, and a phenomenal one quarter of a million new members in the following year - a growth of well over 25 per cent;² while even for the less aggressively evangelical Old School Presbyterians, 1843 brought a percentage growth that was during the whole century second only to that of 1832.³

This runaway growth could not last, and the ensuing, inevitable 'reaction' produced a pattern of spluttering growth and even recession in very many evangelical churches for half a decade after 1843-44.⁴ The Methodist complaint of 1841 that 'greater efforts are made to bring sinners into the fold, than to preserve those who are already in from straying away', was an articulation of the widely held opinion that evangelical activity did far too much to encourage the transient and the temporary in religion at the expense of longer term consolidation.⁵ Was it right that the glitter of Knapp's triumphs should be achieved, so it seemed, by scrapping '(t)he ancient traditions of having converts come before a committee, and wait a month before they could be baptized', a system

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1. Finney, Memoirs, pp.353-54, 370-73, 379, 384-85; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XVI (8 Dec. 1841, 26 Jan., 13 July 1842); Mudge, History of the New England Conference, p.405; Beardsley, History of American Revivals, pp.169-70, 201; Knapp, Autobiography, pp.130-37; Monthly Misc. of Relig. and Lttrs., VI (1842), 115-16. The columns of the Christian Advocate and Journal, XVI and XVII (1841-43) indicate the extent of the revival glut.
 2. Goss, Statistical History of American Methodism, p.110; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XVII (4 Jan. 1843).
 3. Weber, Presbyterian Statistics, pp.44-45. New School Presbyterians produced only triennial returns; Baptists offer no regular denominational returns for this period.
 4. Dike, 'A Study of New England Revivals', loc.cit., pp.366, 368; Goss, Statistical History of American Methodism, p.110; Seaman, Annals of New York Methodism, p.497. Old School Presbyterians, benefiting perhaps from their more cautious approach during the wave of revivals, continued to grow in the mid 1840s, though with only modest annual increases. Weber, Presbyterian Statistics, p.44.
 5. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XVI (29 Sept. 1841).

which the precipitate Knapp regarded as far too cautious?¹ And was not the frothy excitement of Millerism even more to blame for the straw conversions of those years? '(W)ithout a doubt', wrote a Troy Methodist, still bitter a decade later over the losses sustained by his denomination, 'the Second Advent delusion has proved inconceivably the greatest calamity that has befallen us since our organisation as a conference.'²

The discrediting of Millerism may well have made the religious recession more severe; but the revival momentum would have been lost, regardless. Economic recovery, gaining pace during the later 1840s, allowed for a return to fuller employment and to a preoccupation with more secular affairs. Soon '(t)he rage for money ... (the) universal passion for gain' had conceived a 'worldliness' and complacency in the churches that troubled the more single-minded evangelicals whose only business was souls.³ At the same time, those energies that were left for internal church affairs were increasingly directed towards the resolution of the explosive issue of slavery. The arguments over the churches' responsibility to the slave and over the practical problem of how to deal with the slaveholders within their communions, brought bitterness to all denominations and divisions of the two largest, the Baptists and the Methodists.⁴ Consequently, the years of the schism - 1844 and 1845 - saw few revivals, with acrimony and litigation consuming too much of the churches' energies. 'It is difficult', confessed one analyst, 'to arouse

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1. Knapp, Autobiography, pp.107-08. Cf. 'An Examination of the Comparative Statistical Results of the Labors of Elder Jacob Knapp in the State of Massachusetts' by A. Wilbur; reprinted in ibid., pp.335-41. For E.N. Kirk's tribute to Knapp, based on first-hand experience, see Edward Norris Kirk, Lectures on Revivals, ed. David O. Mears, pp.142-43.
 2. Parks, Troy Conference Miscellany, pp.65-66. Cf. Nathan Bangs in Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXIII (22 Nov. 1848).
 3. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXII (5 Jan. 1848); Fish, Primitive Piety Revived, pp.44, 45, 48.
 4. Donald G. Mathews, Slavery and Methodism. A Chapter in American Morality 1780-1845 (Princeton, 1965); Bucke and others, eds., History of American Methodism, Vol. II, pp.1-192; Torbet, History of the Baptists, pp.282-89.

the public attention to a variety of subjects at the same time.¹ Indeed, when slavery and its related issues produced the great crisis of the winter of 1860-61, the realisation that revivals had rarely been so scarce occasioned gloom but not surprise amongst evangelicals aware that 'the excitements about secession are so intense that it is scarcely possible to concentrate public attention and interest upon any other subject.'²

The absence of a dramatic revival movement between 1843 and 1857 implied no general repudiation of new measure revivalism.³ In fact, many of the practices and emphases of the new measures took firmer hold in the major evangelical denominations in those years. Early in 1853 one Methodist observed that 'Revivals are no longer exhibitions of Methodist fanaticism in the estimation of our brethren of other churches. On the contrary, they too glory in them, and labor for them with great zeal and diligence, having become quite reconciled to the reproach of fanaticism and enthusiasm which they must endure from "the wisdom of the world"'.⁴ Certainly elements within even the better-inoculated denominations, the Episcopalians and the Unitarians, were unable completely to resist the new measures virus.⁵

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1. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XVII (26 July 1843).
 2. Ob. Evang., XXIII (16 Jan. 1861). For an indication that revivals and mild political activity could go hand in hand, see Hunt, ed., First Forty Years of Washington Society, p.160.
 3. 'There has rarely been a period within the past thirty years when there were so few revivals within our knowledge as at the present time. Extensive powerful revivals are to us unknown.' Ob. Evang., XI (24 Oct. 1849). Individual churches knew revivals, though; and, whilst it failed to keep pace with the total population growth rate, evangelical growth was steady and regular. Revivals in the late 1840s, for example, can be found in Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXI (27 Jan., 10 Mar. 1847), XXII (16 Feb. 1 Mar. 1848); Halliday and Gregory, Church in America, p.598; Ob. Evang., X (1 Mar. 1848), XI (15 Aug. 1849); Benjamin R. Lacy, Jr., Revivals in the Midst of the Years (Richmond, Va., 1943), pp.108-09.
 4. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXVIII (24 Feb. 1853).
 5. Ibid., XVI (3 Aug. 1842); Monthly Misc. of Relig. and Lttrs., II and III (1840), 154-59, 227-29. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform, pp.45-62, outlines denomination by denomination the acceptance of new measures revivalism between 1842 and 1857.

at Hartford, Conn., in 1851, where the segregation 'put the Negroes into a strait jacket' - Finney understood the situation. He was not like the abolition bench. Finney, Revivalism, pp.61-62, 43-44.

The Episcopalian, Benjamin Cutler, participated during the 1857-1858 revival movement in evening meetings for prayer and short addresses that, he said, 'twenty years ago ... would have been denounced as Methodistical.'¹ Indeed, similar changes of emphasis in all denominations meant that by that time the Oberlin Evangelist could note that 'the long agitated questions about revival measures appear to be tolerably settled.'²

The 'settlement', however, had not been achieved completely on the terms of the new measure revivalists of the 1820s and 1830s. The new measure 'extravagances' of that period - over-emotionalism, reliance on 'human machinery' - had been very largely brought under control. Already by 1840 some Unitarians believed that revivals were 'conducted with more propriety than in some former instances'; and Robert Baird's conclusion later in the decade was essentially the same.³ The professional revival preacher failed to achieve his anticipated pre-eminence;⁴ and even the anxious seat, or similar techniques for securing public commitment, found their popularity on the wane.⁵ The latter measure continued to be used, of course, but not without criticism;⁶ and, significantly, it never became

1. Conant, Narratives of Remarkable Conversions, pp.424-25.

2. Ob. Evang., XIX (29 Apr. 1857). By 1877, according to David O. Mears, the Old School Presbyterian Church had 'gone over bodily to the very measures it opposed in 1837'; and Dwight L. Moody's methods (which were supported by Old School men) were 'substantially those of Mr. Kirk.' Mears, Life of Edward Norris Kirk, p.66.

3. Monthly Misc. of Relig. and Lttrs., III (1840), 236; Baird, Religion in America (1844), pp.214-16.

4. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXII (16 Feb. 1848); Knapp, Autobiography, p.175.

5. Leonidas L. Hamline wrote to Mrs. Hamline from Lebanon, New Hampshire, on May 10th, 1849: 'Here is degeneracy, both in spirit and form, from Methodism. No altar here in the Methodist church. They left it out for more seats to rent. I asked them what they do in revivals. They said they had never had one since the church was built. No wonder.' Walter C. Palmer, Life and Letters of Leonidas L. Hamline, D.D., late one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York, 1866), p.349. Nevin, Anxious Bench, p.15.

6. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXX (8 Mar., 12 Apr. 1855); XXXII (21 May, 4 June, 10 Dec. 1857); XXXIII (1 Apr., 13 May 1858). At times in the 1850s - as at Hartford, Conn., in 1851, where the congregation 'put the Holy Ghost into a strait jacket' - Finney encountered opposition to the use of means like the anxious bench. Finney, Memoirs, pp.415-19, 439-40.

part of the armoury of respectable post-war revivalists such as Dwight L. Moody.¹ The development of a greater decorum in worship was having its effect. 'I sometimes go into a Wesleyan church to warm up a little', wrote James W. Alexander to Francis Wayland. 'Why? - they are as genteel and formal as so many Presbyterians.'² Thus to talk of the broadening hold of new measure revivalism implies not the multiplication of excitement, of revival techniques and mechanisms, as witnessed in the 1820s and 1830s; but more the continuing development of a psychology which saw revivals as being capable of promotion and control, as being less than ever an occasion for evangelical surprise and bewilderment. It is only in this sense that someone such as Heman Humphrey - a convinced Nettletonian and, at New Lebanon in 1827, an opponent of Finney and his revivalism - can be seen as a new measures minister. Humphrey's attachment to promotionalism and an instrumentalist approach, and rejection of all but the most regular and Nettletonian of measures, serves in fact to reinforce the argument already advanced that the differences between the older, Nettletonian revivalism and the new measures approach were, on the issue of instrumentality, small enough to be of no real significance.³ Once the emotionalism and extravagance of the new measures revivalism had been tempered in many churches by the 1840s, the gap between the two groups continued to narrow; and by 1857-1858 there was considerable intra- and interdenominational harmony.⁴

1. Findlay, Dwight L. Moody, pp.262-63.

2. Wayland and Wayland, The Life and Labors of Francis Wayland, II, 177-78.

3. Cole, 'The New Lebanon Convention', loc. cit., pp.395-96. Humphrey, Revival Sketches and Manual; 'Extra efforts to Promote Revivals' in New York Obs., XIX (23 Jan. 1841); John Hall, ed., Forty Years' Familiar Letters of James W. Alexander D.D. 2 vols., (New York, 1860), I, 186. For an unaccommodating Nettletonianism, see Smith, Recollections of Nettleton, pp.111-25.

4. Infra, pp.357-58.

This chapter has traced the roots of the more overtly promotional and anthropocentric revivalism of the second third of the nineteenth century; it has shown how and with what success that revivalism adjusted itself to the reality of the expanding cities. Despite its many limitations (and in particular its dependence on cultural uniformity) the religious revival had proved remarkably flexible, capable of embracing men, women and children in a wide variety of social settings and of adapting its techniques and style to the particular groups in question, from isolated frontier farmers to city merchants, from small-town lawyers to industrial operatives and seamen. It is against this background of relative flexibility and adjustment to changing environment that the subject of the remainder of this study - the impact of new measure, promotional revivalism in the religious society of mid-nineteenth-century Britain - has to be examined. Would American revivalism prove flexible enough to be received in a country where there was a long tradition of revivals but where 'revivalism' in its more calculated, American sense had only limited currency and acceptance?

Congregationalists.

1. *Cong. Mag.*, 2 (1827), 310-14. Robert Stewart (1791-1861) was an independent pastor in North Wales, in 1827 he was pastor of a Welsh church in Wales. A leading figure in the moderate Calvinism within Welsh nonconformity. He was consequently at home in the similar situation of Calvinistic churches in America.

CHAPTER TWO

BAPTISTS, CONGREGATIONALISTS AND NEW MEASURE REVIVALISM IN ENGLAND:

THE CLIMATE OF OPINION

Late in 1826 Robert Everett of Utica, New York, wrote to his former colleagues in the ministry in North Wales, reporting 'a wonderful outpouring of the Spirit of the Lord on the congregations of this country', which in the past year had brought some two or three thousand 'hopefully to the knowledge of Christ.'¹ Everett's letter provided one of the earliest reports of burned-over district revivals to reach Britain; its publication and that of similar communications in 1827 helped launch a period of intense interest in American revivalism. Everett, significantly, was a Congregationalist; so too was his immediate British audience. For although British Methodists welcomed reports of a prosperous transatlantic evangelicalism, they had their own flourishing revival tradition, and remained relatively unaffected by American events. In Britain it was amongst evangelical Calvinists that the revival movement, through its challenge to traditional evangelical methods and their theological basis, caused the greatest stir. Consequently, this chapter and the following one will examine the place of revivals within the two most important denominations of English Calvinistic Nonconformity, the Baptists and Congregationalists.

I

British Nonconformists had long been aware of the vitality of religion and the prevalence of religious revivals in America; at a time

1. Cong. Mag., X (1827), 392-94. Robert Everett (1791-1875) left his Independent pastorate in Denbigh, North Wales, in 1823 to take charge of a Welsh church in Utica. A leading figure in the promotion of a moderate Calvinism within Welsh Independency (*infra*, p.198ff). he was consequently at home in the similar climate of revival-minded Calvinistic churches in America. Dict. of Welsh Biog.

of general transatlantic exchange total ignorance of the religious conditions in the young Republic would have been impossible. It has become almost a cliché to assert the existence of a thriving 'Anglo-American community' in the early and middle years of the nineteenth century. This community found perhaps its most positive expression in evangelical co-operation and dialogue¹ - a dialogue which thrived on an awareness of a common Puritan ancestry, and on a sense of joint mission that was well articulated by an American Presbyterian in 1829. '(I)t is evident', he wrote, 'that God expects great things from Great Britain and America. Such ... are the situation and character of these two nations, that on them is devolved the great work of converting the world' in the face of Infidelity, Popery and Deism.² This feeling of a common purpose could not fail to stimulate a continuing and reciprocated interest in each others affairs and prosperity: since the 1790s the British evangelical press had intermittently reported accounts of the camp meetings and revivals in settled and frontier areas of the United States;³ and American ministers sent proud letters across the Atlantic describing their country's religious advance.⁴ By the 1820s British Baptists and Congregationalists were practised in looking to America for stimulus and example, though it was often to the past glories of the American church under Jonathan Edwards rather than to contemporary prosperity that they turned. There could, after all, be no questioning the divine origin of the Edwardean Awakening.

2. John Blackburn and several colleagues received converts from the United States in 1827. *Evangelical Magazine*, 1827, 114-15.

1. See, for example, Frank Thistlethwaite, America and the Atlantic Community. Anglo-American Aspects, 1790-1850 (New York, 1963), p.80ff; C.I. Foster, An Errand of Mercy. The Evangelical United Front 1790-1837 (Chapel Hill, 1960).
2. Evang. Mag., new series VII (1829), 458. Cf. W.R. Ward, 'The Baptists and the Transformation of the Church, 1780-1830' in The Baptist Quarterly, XXV, No.4 (Oct. 1973), 171-72.
3. John Rippon's Baptist Annual Register, Vols. I-IV (1790-1802), contains much information on American Baptist and Congregationalist revivals, as do the earlier volumes of the Baptist, Congregational and Evangelical Magazines.
4. Thomas Lewis of Islington, for example, from the early years of the century corresponded with John Codman of Massachusetts. J. Burrell, Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Lewis of Islington (London, 1853), p.71; John Codman, A Narrative of a Visit to England (Boston, 1836), p.74.

The dramatic flowering of American revivals in the late 1820s - and the improved reliability, speed and regularity of transatlantic sailings - turned an intermittent stream of revival news to Britain into a steady flow.¹ Emigrants' letters, private correspondence between American and British ministers, and accounts of the revivals in the monthly periodical press made British evangelicals aware of this thriving movement, as did, even more effectively, the personal visits made by a number of American ministers.² One of these, Thomas Charlton Henry of South Carolina, spent four or five months in Britain in 1826. During his few weeks stay in London he formed an 'intimate association with eminent evangelical Ministers, and the best religious society', to whom he was able to relate his own first-hand experiences of promoting revivals in American Presbyterian churches.³ Another Presbyterian, William Patton of New York, fulfilled a similar role. His church in Broome Street, where he was pastor from 1821, was noted for 'its powerful revivals', and Patton played a major part in holding the earliest 'four-day meetings' in New York City. As a sympathiser with the revivals of the late 1820s, Patton used his visits to England in 1825 and 1828 (the earliest of fourteen such trips to Europe) to publicise the merits of that movement.⁴ The friendship he forged with John Angell James, pastor of Carr's Lane Congregational Chapel, Birmingham, and one of Nonconformity's

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1. Thistlethwaite, America and the Atlantic Community, pp.13-14.
 2. John Blackburn and several colleagues received documents from the United States in 1827 describing the revivals. Cong. Mag., XVIII (1835), 604. The publication in instalments of the favourable Narrative of the Revival of Religion in the County of Oneida, particularly in the bounds of the Presbytery of Oneida, in the year 1826 in ibid., X (1827), aroused great interest as the first detailed account of the revival movement in Western New York. The expanding facilities of the religious presses gave to this phase of the Second Great Awakening a publicity that had been impossible at the turn of the century.
 3. Burrell, Memoir of Lewis, p.255; Cong. Mag., XI (1828), 114-22.
 4. William Weston Patton, A Filial Tribute to the Memory of Rev. William Patton D.D. (Washington, D.C., 1880), pp.12-13, 17; Halliday and Gregory, Church in America, pp.205-10.

luminaries in the mid nineteenth century, ensured that American evangelicalism would never go undefended in English Nonconformist circles.¹ So, too, did the association James developed at the same time with another American minister, William Buell Sprague. Pastor in West Springfield, Massachusetts, during the 1820s, Sprague toured Britain and parts of the continent in the winter and spring of 1828; the subject of American revivals, he noted, was a frequent subject of conversation in the distinguished metropolitan and provincial Nonconformist circles in which he moved.²

Dissenters reacted with considerable curiosity to these reports and visits. The publication of Robert Everett's letter 'excited considerable attention'; a London minister noted that the spread of revival intelligence in 1827 'produced an unusual impression on the minds of our ministers and churches in town and country.'; Patton's visit, claimed J. A. James, had helped promote 'a considerable excitement throughout the country at large.'³ These revivals, merely the latest in a long history of rich heavenly blessings, served to confirm America in her special position as God's chosen

1. Patton, Filial Tribute, p.18; R. W. Dale, The Life and Letters of John Angell James: including an unfinished autobiography (second edition, London, 1861), pp.219-20, 242, 246. 'At one time, before the citizens of the United States became so sore on the subject of slavery, (James) insisted on receiving so many of them under his roof, that it was suggested he should put the stars and stripes over his door.' T.S. James, quoted in ibid., p.579. Cf. Edward A. Lawrence, The Life of Rev. Joel Hawes, D.D., tenth pastor of the First Church, Hartford, Conn. (Hartford, 1871), p.123; Codman, Visit to England, pp.80-81; John A. Clark, Glimpses of the Old World, or excursions on the continent, and in Great Britain (2 vols., London, 1840), II, 113-14, 117-18. For James' life (1785-1859), see Dale, op. cit.; Jack Reynolds Kennedy, The Life, Work and Thought of John Angell James (University of Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis, 1956); Dict. of Nat. Biog.
2. William Buell Sprague, Letters from Europe, in 1828 (New York, 1828), especially pp.68-135; Henry Forster Burder, Memoir of the Rev. George Burder (London, 1833), p.344.
3. Cong. Mag., X (1827), 414, and XVIII (1835), 604; Dale, Life of James, p.250.

country. William Orme, secretary of the London Missionary Society, spoke for many Nonconformists when he concluded that, in the light of the great Christian resources and the advances that were being made in the United States, 'we are almost disposed to believe there may be some truth in the idea of Jonathan Edwards, that the Millenium shall commence in America.'¹

This generous reaction to American reports of multiplied conversion and militant evangelism prompts a number of questions about the evangelical temper of the English Baptists and Congregationalists in the 1820's. What was it in their theology, activity and mood that brought them to focus their attentions onto an evangelical firework display some three thousand miles away? In what ways did they hope to benefit from that movement? And just how wholehearted was their apparent espousal of the cause of American revivalism?

II

Vast sections of Nonconformity underwent a considerable revolution during the half century before 1820, when enormous strains (especially in the Revolutionary decade of the 1790s) were placed on the structure of secular and church authority.² Much of Old Dissent was jolted out of its exclusive, introverted, passive and generally unaggressive outlook into a fervour and militancy that owed considerable debts to the example and impact of the Methodism of the Evangelical Revival. Baptists and Congregationalists directed their attentions to attracting recruits from out of

1. William Orme, Discourses on the Blasphemy against the Holy Spirit; Divine Influence, and its connexion with instituted means (London, 1828) pp.274-75. Cf. Dale, Life of James, pp.242-43. For the 'unequivocally evangelical' William Orme (1787-1830), see Cong. Mag., XIII (1830), 330, and Dict. of Nat. Biog.

2. This theme is fully developed in W.R. Ward, Religion and Society in England 1790-1850 (London, 1972), pp.1-104.

those groups alienated by or geographically remote from the Established Church; for, as A. D. Gilbert has argued, the demographic, social and cultural changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution had created an audience that sought an opportunity to assert its 'independence' from the traditional sources of authority - squire and parson - and that was unprecedentedly receptive to the appeal of evangelicalism.¹

In the confrontation between Old Dissent and a newer, zealous evangelicalism, both a new theology and a more aggressive mode of action were fashioned. By the third decade of the nineteenth century most Congregationalist churches professed a moderate, evangelical Calvinism that had been given its expression and, to an extent, had been moulded by Edward Williams of Rotherham.² Williams' youthful association with Methodism left its mark on his theology and evangelism. He had attempted to break the lingering determinism of a High ('hyper') Calvinism which remained inconsistent with much of the evangelical preaching of Congregationalist pastors, and which was at odds with the evangelical temper of those Calvinists who had been spurred to zealous soul-saving. Williams' theological system - 'Modern Calvinism' as he called it - denied the more negative aspects of High Calvinism without surrendering to what he considered to be the errors of Arminianism.³ High Calvinism insisted on the absolute and unconditional

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1. Alan D. Gilbert, The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, with special reference to the period before 1850: an historical interpretation of statistics of religious practice (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis, 1973), pp.150-315.
 2. For Williams' life (1750-1813) and its significance, see William Thomas Owen, The Life and Thought of Dr. Edward Williams, with special reference to his influence on Welsh and English Nonconformity (University of London Ph.D. thesis, 1960); R. Tudur Jones, Congregationalism in England, 1662-1962 (London, 1962), pp.169-71.
 3. Williams' most important works were An Essay on the Equity of Divine Government and the Sovereignty of Divine Grace (1809) and A Defence of Modern Calvinism (1811). Owen, Life of Williams, pp.122-241, discusses Williams' theology.

nature of predestination, as arising out of the sovereign will of God; on an atonement made strictly for the elect; and on the total depravity of man - who can in his bondage do nothing until his will is renewed by the energy of necessitating grace. Such a theological system seemed to stand in the way of those anxious for efforts to bring home to the sinner a sense of responsibility for his own salvation. Those doubtful of and frustrated by hyper-Calvinism found their spokesman in Williams,¹ whose writings and work posited that Christ's death was a price paid sufficient for the salvation of all; that a man's depravity extends to his nature, but not to his will, which is entirely free; and that in consequence man can voluntarily make use of the means of grace. In emphasising the activity and responsibility of man and the universal character of the atonement, Modern Calvinism provided an ideology which justified and gave validity to the militant evangelistic efforts that distinguished much of Congregationalism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century; and as such efforts - especially in the fields of foreign and home missions, tract and Bible societies, and Sunday Schools - were intensified, so moderate Calvinism completed its successful challenge to the creed of the 'hypers'.

By far the most significant aspect of this evangelical drive, on the domestic front, was the assiduous though often unsystematic activity of the more aggressive Congregationalist pastors towards the twin ends of improving and increasing the membership of their own churches, and of evangelising the areas next to them. Fired by the practical example of both Methodists and ministers of their own denomination, and often helped by zealous laymen, settled pastors directed their energies into 'village

1. In the development of a Modern Calvinism Williams seems to have acted as a codifier of existing thought as much as an original thinker. In publishing a coherent statement of Modern Calvinism he gave direction and impetus to the attack on hyper-Calvinism already implicit in much of Congregationalist preaching and evangelical activity.

preaching'. In the face of severe difficulties - perhaps the apathy of the villagers, or the opposition of the local clergy, the magistrates and portions of the general community, 'respectable' and rough - pastors itinerated in 'dark and destitute' places preaching the gospel of salvation to the poor (both indoors and out), distributing tracts, instituting prayer-meetings and founding Sunday Schools.¹ Country-wide reputations could be established. George Burder's work while pastor at Lancaster and Coventry in the last quarter of the eighteenth century was held to have been 'eminently conducive to the revival of village preaching throughout the country.'² At the same time the energetic William Roby was planting many new churches through similar methods: the weeknight sermons that he preached in his early years were inevitably 'blessed to some one of his hearers.'³

To reinforce and supplement the efforts of settled pastors, attempts were made to create a body of itinerating missionaries who could pursue full-time evangelising in destitute areas and set up new churches. The Village Itinerancy, or Evangelical Association for Spreading the Gospel in England (1796) and the later Home Missionary Society (1819) were attempts to train agents for itinerant evangelism amongst the poor, in addition to supporting penurious pastors already active in village preaching.⁴ Meanwhile,

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1. See, for example, Evang. Mag., XI (1828), 181-82; John Waddington, Congregational History, III (London, 1876), 719-20.
 2. Burder (1752-1832) was a founder of the Warwickshire Association of Ministers for the Spread of the Gospel at Home and Abroad. His Village Sermons proved enormously successful in both England and America. See Burder, Memoir of Burder, pp.220-23; John Sibree and M. Caston, Independency in Warwickshire, (London, 1855), pp.86-99.
 3. William Roby's work during his pastorates in Wigan (1789-95) and Manchester (1795-1830) played a major role in the growth of evangelical Nonconformity in Lancashire. Cong. Mag., XIII (1830), 225-31; Dict. of Nat. Biog.
 4. Cong. Mag., XIV (1831), 801. By 1830 the Home Missionary Society had 28 agents regularly employed in village preaching, covering between them 172 villages in 15 counties, amongst a population of 140,000. It claimed to have some 20,000 hearers, 75 Sunday Schools and 3,000 Sunday scholars. Ibid., XIII (1830), 683-84.

at a county or more local level organisations acting usually on limited funds were instituted with militant evangelism as their prime object.¹ The Surrey Mission, for example, which united evangelicals of various denominations in its work, had by its twenty-ninth anniversary introduced the Gospel into about a hundred villages and had built eight chapels.² Despite their haphazard and frequently unco-ordinated modes of action, such societies - whether denominational or inter-denominational, whether organised on a local or wider level - were sufficiently successful for it to be asserted in the late 1820s 'that more has been effected for the religious instruction of the poor and ignorant of our land, within the last thirty years, than during any preceding century of its history since Christianity was introduced into Britain.'³ This may have been an extravagant boast, but in the climate of prosperity created by Congregationalist growth its extravagance was understandable: over five hundred new Congregationalist chapels were established in the first three decades of the century.⁴

An essentially similar theological and evangelical picture can be drawn for the Particular Baptists in the 1820s.⁵ Moderate Calvinism and

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1. The various Associations of Congregationalist churches either made their own efforts for home evangelism or worked in league with the Home Missionary Society. Ibid., XI (1828), 500-01. For the interdenominational and local origins of organised itinerancy, see Ward, Religion and Society in England, pp.48-50.
 2. Evang. Mag., new series IV (1826), 519.
 3. Cong. Mag., XI (1828), 500.
 4. Between 1800 and 1829, 517 new chapels were built. This figure does not include chapels that were rebuilt or enlarged. Cong. Yr. Bk. (1849), p.132. Between 1800 and 1838 Congregationalist membership increased from 35,000 to 127,000. Gilbert, The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, p.45.
 5. There were three main groups of Baptists - Particular Baptists; General Baptists, who were Arminian in theology; and Strict and Particular Baptists, who were High Calvinists. The Particular Baptists were by far the strongest, both numerically and in learning. 'Baptist' is here used to denote Particular Baptists. Ward, 'The Baptists and the Transformation of the Church, 1780-1830', loc. cit., pp.167-84, demonstrates the new evangelical frame of mind and historical outlook which accompanied the organised evangelistic drive of that half-century.

of the Will, ed. Paul Harvey (New Haven, 1977), pp.139-141. See also, 'The Baptists and the Transformation of the Church', loc. cit., pp.1-10, 129; Maradan, New School Presbyterian Experience, pp.31-34.

energetic evangelism were the predominant characteristics of a denomination as yet lacking an effective central co-ordination of its efforts. Amongst Particular Baptists Andrew Fuller had performed the role of catalyst in much the same way as had Edward Williams within Independent churches, and he had provided in his theology a suitable rationale for militant evangelistic effort.¹ However, as with Williams, Fuller was giving expression to patterns of thought and activity that had been gradually developing within the Baptist body, and was not creating them. He challenged the prevailing hyper-Calvinistic theology of men like Hussey, Gill and Brine which had been his spiritual diet as a youth and which he believed to be so contaminating the Baptists that in a matter of years they 'would ... become a perfect dunghill in society' were it not countered.² Aided by like-minded ministers - John Ryland, John Sutclif and Abraham Booth - and influenced, as was Edward Williams, by Jonathan Edwards' writings on the freedom of the will, Fuller attacked High Calvinism for discouraging evangelism (and hence church growth) and for its tendency to Antinomianism.³ Despite the challenge of Arminians

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1. For detailed accounts of the breakdown of High Calvinism and of the role of Fuller (1754-1815), see Olin C. Robison, Particular Baptists in England, 1760-1820 (Oxford University D.Phil. thesis, 1963), passim; A.C. Underwood, A History of the English Baptists (London, 1947), pp. 149-200; W.T. Whitley, A History of British Baptists (London, 1923), pp.195-278. Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 'Northamptonshire and The Modern Question: A Turning-point in Eighteenth-century Dissent' in Jnl. of Theol. Studies, new series XVI (1965), 101-23, explains the Northamptonshire context into which Fuller's The Gospel worthy of All Acceptation was introduced with such dramatic effect.
 2. J.W. Morris, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London, 1815), pp.262-72. Fuller noted that having been weaned on hyper-Calvinism he 'durst not for some years address an invitation to the unconverted to come to Jesus.' John Ryland, Life and Death of the Reverend Andrew Fuller (London, 1816), pp.50-51.
 3. Edwards argued that man is free in the sense of being able to do what he wills, though he has no power to determine the will itself. Clarence H. Faust and Thomas H. Johnson, Jonathan Edwards: Representative Selections (New York, 1935), p.1. Edwards' distinction between man's 'natural ability' to do good and his 'moral inability' to do so (self-love controls man's will until the Holy Spirit intervenes) was widely influential on both sides of the Atlantic in the eighteenth-century offensive against High Calvinism. Jonathan Edwards, Freedom of the Will, ed. Paul Ramsey (New Haven, 1957), pp.159-62; Ward, 'The Baptists and the Transformation of the church', loc.cit., pp.168, 179; Marsden, New School Presbyterian Experience, pp.31-34.

like Dan Taylor on the one hand, and the counter-attacks of High Calvinists such as the Gadsbyites on the other, Fullerism had by the 1820s become the prevalent theological strain in Particular Baptist churches. Its grip was not as strong or as universal as was that of moderate Calvinism within Independent churches, since eighteenth-century Congregationalists with their less insular and better-educated ministry had found it easier to reconcile Calvinism with broad evangelistic effort. Theoretical - but not practical - Antinomianism was more widespread in Baptist than in Independent churches in the 1820s.¹

Amongst Particular Baptists in general, however, the doctrines of man's inability and of limited atonement and election no longer stood in the way of indiscriminate preaching of the Gospel to all men. The village preaching and small-scale itinerating carried out by some Baptists as early as the 1760s was given organisation and co-ordination at the turn of the century by ministers like William Steadman and John Rippon who profited from the interdenominational exchange of ideas;² and who were stimulated by the threat of Infidelity and Deism given immediacy by the horrors of the Revolution in France.³ The encouragement and supervision of village preaching by County Associations, and the establishment in 1797 of the Baptist Society in London for the Encouragement and Support of Itinerant Preaching (later the Baptist Home Missionary Society) gave an impetus to itinerant evangelistic work, especially as the expense was now being met by group contribution and

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1. Examples are plentiful. In the late 1820s the new Baptist pastor in Braintree found his initial efforts towards revival thwarted by 'antinomianism'. Bapt. Mag., XXXI (1839), 440. Cf. Joseph Belcher, ed., Pastoral Recollections (London, 1837), pp.133-42. Antinomianism and strict communion continued to paralyse some Baptist churches in the 1830s. James Matheson, Our Country; or, The Spiritual Destitution of England Considered (London, 1839), p.48.
 2. Robison, Particular Baptists in England, pp.95-106.
 3. Bapt. Ann. Reg., II (1794-1797), 465-69, printing the address of the Baptist Society in London for the Encouragement and Support of Itinerant Preaching (1797).

not simply by individual pastors.¹ As with Congregationalist village preaching, efforts were directed mainly towards the poor in rural areas or small towns where there was no religious instruction other than that provided by the (usually far from evangelical) parish church. Through such missionary efforts, and through Sunday Schools, tract and Bible distribution, and other evangelical machinery, Baptists could point to a three-fold increase in churches between 1790 and 1830.²

Baptist and Congregationalist growth in the early part of the nineteenth century helped produce within these denominations a prevalent mood of optimism.³ It was an optimism tempered by warnings: '(T)here is not one city or large town in this whole kingdom in a state of even moderate religious culture,' lamented 'A Watchman' in 1826.⁴ Nevertheless, the Jeremiahs were in a minority. The Congregational Board of London reported in April 1829 that there was no cause for 'morbid dispondency', pointing with satisfaction to the increased strength of evangelical Anglicanism and to the numerous societies concerned with spreading the Gospel at home and abroad.⁵ '(T)he general character of the times', remarked one representative writer, is not declension, nor deterioration, but improvement and incipient revival.⁶

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1. Ibid., III, 1-40, illustrates the extent of village preaching in Particular Baptist churches in England in 1798.
 2. Bapt. Mag., XXIV (1832). Gilbert's figures are less dramatic but still impressive; moreover, membership rose from 27,500 in 1800 to 100,000 in 1838. Gilbert, The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, pp.33, 45.
 3. 'It would be difficult to select a period since the primitive age, which has been characterized by more ardent zeal, and evangelical activity, than the present.' Bapt. Mag., XIX (1827), 454-60.
 4. Evang. Mag., new series IV (1826), 236.
 5. Cong. Mag., XII (1829), 177-78.
 6. Ecl. Rev., third series I (1829), 542-43.

Theological and practical developments within English Dissent had brought it into much closer harmony with the mood of American evangelicalism. The urgent soul-saving, growing church membership and buoyant optimism of much of American Protestantism found an (admittedly more subdued) echo in English Baptist and Congregationalist circles. But discrepancies remained, the most significant of which in the present context was the general absence in these English denominations of periods of extraordinary 'ingathering' or revival. The religious excitement, the anticipation of often dramatic conversions in large numbers, the setting up of special services to promote or further the revival, and the contagious effect on the larger community and on neighbouring churches which marked even the more subdued New England revivals of the earlier nineteenth century seem not to have been typical of English Baptists and Congregationalists.¹ Their growth was relatively steady and gradual and was much less likely to be marked by short, powerful bursts of religious fervour in which the attentions of church and congregation were completely absorbed in the revival. This of course does not deny the likelihood of marked fluctuations in their growth, either on a local or a wider level;² but only if 'revival' is taken in the less technical sense of a gradual increase in membership over a broad period of time can English Nonconformist churches be said to have experienced revivals during these years.

The numerical increase of Baptists and Congregationalists was produced in two main ways, both of which tended to be gradual and unspectacular. On the one hand, churches might grow through the addition of new members resultant on the efforts of an energetic pastor. This was the case at

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1. Welsh Baptists and Congregationalists present a somewhat different picture; see below, p. 182ff.
 2. Gilbert, The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, pp. 120-22.

2. Cong. Mag., XIV (1831), 201-02. In one year, churches of 30 to 100 over a period of several years, were fairly regular in Hutton's revivals in the north of England and New York from 1812 to 1819. Tyler, History of England, pp. 43-51.

Portsea under the fairly typical ministry of the Congregationalist John Griffin. Converted at the age of fourteen, and infused with a burning desire to save souls, Griffin gathered a large and prosperous church through the exercise of the traditional pastoral methods. But, significantly, it was noted that 'No extraordinary revivals were experienced during his ministrations, the "shower of blessings" seldom fell, but the "dew of heaven" constantly descended on the "garden of the Lord": continual and regular progress marked his course.'¹ Even when the term 'revival of religion' was used in the context of church growth, it generally signified an advance far removed from the spectacular multiple and rapid conversions frequently found in American revivals in the same period. Although the pastorate of Lewis Winchester, Independent minister at Andover, Hampshire, was said to have witnessed 'a considerable revival of religion', in fact only twenty three persons were added to the church in the years 1807-1813.²

Denominational growth could also be achieved by establishing new churches through mission activity, and in particular through the village preaching already outlined. Here too growth was generally gradual, and not marked by revivals of the more spectacular kind. Often against a background of opposition to or ignorance of evangelical preaching, single-minded efforts to bring souls to Christ tended not to produce large numbers of conversions in a short period of time. The introduction of gospel preaching, more than likely in the open air, followed by the setting up in private rooms and houses of regular meetings for prayer, preaching and reading conducted by both lay brethren and ministers, and culminating in the building of a small chapel - this was the standard pattern of advance,

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1. Cong. Mag., new series, V (1841), 569-75 (emphasis added). It is worth remarking that this statement was made at a time when Congregationalists were concerned to an unprecedented extent with revivals and special services. See below, p.144ff.
 2. Cong. Mag., XIV (1831), 201-02. In contrast, additions to Congregationalist churches of 50 to 100 over a period of months, rather than years, were fairly regular in Nettleton's revivals in the small towns of New England and New York from 1812 to 1819. Tyler, Memoir of Nettleton, pp.45-93.

4. There are sufficient similarities between Baptist and Congregationalist reactions to American revival reports to deal with both denominations.

which could take several years to reach its climax.¹

There were occasional exceptions to this general rule of undramatic increase. James Sherman, for example, experienced numerically significant revivals within short periods while at Norwich, Bath, Bristol and Reading, from 1817 to 1836, both in his own church and in the neighbouring villages in which he had established preaching places; and considerable emotionalism was not unknown in his services at such times.² But even if such local church revivals sometimes occurred, the type of religious revival that characterised New York's burned-over district - a contagious religious movement spreading rapidly from church to church, community to community, over a wide geographical area and drawing in large numbers of converts - was not a feature of the religious life of the English Calvinistic Dissenters. 'Of Revivals, strictly so-called', complained John Angell James, 'we know nothing in this country. It is true that religion is, I think, steadily advancing, but it is more in the way of silent and unmarked progress, than in that of conspicuous and noticeable movements.'³

This provides the immediate explanation for the initial welcome given by English Baptists and Congregationalists to news of American revivals.⁴

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1. Sibree and Caston, Independency in Warwickshire, *passim*, provide good examples of energetic village preaching and the establishment of new causes in that county in the early decades of the century.
 2. Henry Allon, Memoir of the Rev. James Sherman; including an unfinished Autobiography (second edition, London, 1863), pp.99-100, 142-49, 172-87. Cf. Bapt. Mag., XVIII(1826), 171-72, recording an increase in one congregation from 40 to 300 in two years. This was unusual.
 3. J.A. James to W. Patton, 2 Feb. 1828, in Dale, Life of James, p.244. An interesting testimony along similar lines came from the Rev. Robert Bolton of Henley-on-Thames. Bolton was an American who had left his country in 1822 and had married the daughter of William Jay of Bath, and who had long hoped for a religious revival in Henley. He wrote in 1828 that he had never seen 'a more general attention to Religion than at present'; but three years later he told Asahel Nettleton that he had never experienced in Britain religious interest as intense as in America, to which he returned 'after some years'. R. Bolton to A. Nettleton, 4 Aug. 1831, Nettleton Papers; R. Bolton to T. Wilson, 7 Oct. 1828, New Coll., London, Wilson correspondence, 340/4; George Redford and John Angell James, eds., The Autobiography and Reminiscences of the Rev. William Jay (second edition, London, 1855), pp.92-92. Cf. Evang. Mag., new series VI (1828), 358.
 4. There are sufficient similarities between Baptist and Congregationalist reactions to American revival reports to deal with both denominations

As denominations which saw their raison d'être in the conversion of souls, and whose theology and evangelical machinery were now directed to that end, but which had not experienced powerful bursts of revival, they naturally reacted to reports of huge accessions to churches with considerable curiosity and the desire to experience the same for themselves. The optimistic were inspired, the Jeremiahs comforted, by descriptions of America's greater piety, of her unparalleled energy and benevolence, and above all of thousands converted from all walks of life. For the moment, those Nonconformists sceptical of the genuineness of the American movement remained silent; the less down-to-earth indulged in fantasies of constant revival in certain favoured spots, by which the millenium would commence;¹ and the majority of articulate Nonconformists engaged in energetic discussion of the whole subject of revival. A host of Baptist and Congregationalist publications, holding up American religious prosperity as a spur and example, urged the need for religious revival in Britain. The promptings of Henry Burder, Joseph Fletcher, John Angell James and William Orme amongst Congregationalists were paralleled in Baptist circles by the encouragements of John Howard Hinton, Joseph Ivimey and John Neave;² and insofar as their writings were taken from delivered sermons or were circular letters speaking on behalf of an Association of churches, they represented only the tip of the exhortatory iceberg.³

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1. Cong. Mag., X (1827), 535-36.
 2. Numbered amongst a long list of such publications were J.A. James, A Pastoral Letter on the Subject of Revivals in Religion ... submitted to the consideration of the Independent Churches in general (3rd edition, London, 1829); Henry Foster Burder, Pastoral Discourses on Revivals in Religion (London, 1829), containing a long 'statement of facts regarding American Revivals'; Joseph Fletcher, On the Prosperity of Christian Churches, and the Revival of Religion, (London, 1829); John Pye Smith's 'Introduction' to Jonathan Edwards' Narrative of a Revival (Glasgow, 1829); John Howard Hinton, the Means of a Religious Revival (London, 1829) a work much respected in America (see Weiser, Mourner's Bench, pp.27-28); John Neave, The Means of Promoting a Revival of Religion in the Churches (London, 1828); Joseph Ivimey, The Divinely Appointed Means for preserving a prosperous, or restoring a declining Church (London, 1828).
 3. 'The greater number of our ministers have preached upon (the subject of revivals).' J.A. James to W. Patton, 2 June 1829, in Dale, Life of James, 253.

The underlying theme of these publications was that through the correct use of means the American experience could be duplicated in Britain (an argument easily accommodated by the prevailing moderate Calvinism, with its justification of efforts by sinner and saved to promote conversions)¹ Revivals were not to be seen as the inexplicable, arbitrary act of God.² Passively to await them involved the same mistake found in the 'Antinomian' interpretation of the doctrine of election and the sovereignty of God, and ignored the fact that an omnipotent God had demanded the use of means by man - means which he would bless through the agency of the Holy Spirit, provided that man were sufficiently aware of his ultimate helplessness and dependence on God.³ Some might see the revivals in America as the result of an extraordinary or miraculous influence, but 'though they sometimes commence without an apparent cause, there is a system of efficient and suitable means employed to carry them on and extend them.'⁴ Joseph Fletcher represented orthodox Congregationalists when he wrote that 'the conversion of sinners requires the active use of all the means which are placed within the power of a church for that purpose'. He denied that he was deprecating the importance of the doctrine of divine sovereignty: God could of course act without human instrumentality and produce miraculous revivals if he so wished, but in his benignity he had condescended to employ feeble and unworthy instruments to achieve his great purpose.⁵

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1. Not all agreed. Matthew Wilks had long held that 'a miracle only can produce (revivals) in England.' Some ascribed American revivals to a particular national character, to America being a 'rude, untrammelled country' and to peculiar social characteristics, such as its ever increasing unsettled population, which made it 'subject to impulses'. Hence, with its contrasting social make-up, England should not expect revivals to the same extent. Cong.Mag., XII (1829), 180; Evang.Mag., New series VII (1829), 190, 245; Bapt.Mag., XXIV (1832), 241-44.
 2. See for example, Fletcher, On the Prosperity of Christian Churches, pp.5-6; Cong.Mag., XII (1829), 264-66.
 3. A frequently used text was I Corinthians iii 6: 'I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase.'
 4. Orme, Discourses on the Holy Spirit, p.141 and passim.
 5. Fletcher, On the Prosperity of Christian Churches, pp.42-79, especially p.45.

Consequently the lack of revivals in England, at a time of considerable American prosperity, was seen as an indictment of Nonconformity's passive waiting on God's good time. This was the diagnosis of visiting Americans. William Orme reminded his readers of the recent strictures of Thomas Charlton Henry 'that we (British Nonconformists) had the means of producing these revivals among ourselves, and that if they do not occur the fault is our own.'¹ Thus local conferences of ministers and deacons were called in 1828 and 1829 to discuss how best to seek revivals in British churches (and how to promote a fuller dialogue with American evangelicals).² Tentatively they urged the multiplication of special meetings for prayer, humiliation and fasting.³ Sometimes independently, sometimes in association with neighbouring congregations, and - on at least one occasion - simultaneously throughout the denomination, churches held these special meetings 'for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit'.⁴

A stimulus to such meetings was the prosperity of American religion;⁵ their ostensible aim was the promotion of revival. Yet they were scarcely revival meetings in the American sense of the term. First, the services

1. Orme, Discourses on the Holy Spirit, pp.258-59, 265.
2. London Congregationalist ministers wrote to American Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches in February 1829 complimenting their evangelical zeal and noting that 'on no topic are we so anxious to receive your deliberate opinion, as on the subject of divine influence, in connexion with the happy revivals of religion in your favoured country.' New York Obs., VII (28 Nov. 1829); Cong.Mag., XI (1828), 670-71.
3. Public fasting was believed to be more prevalent in the United States than in Britain, and together with prayer was regarded as a major means of revival. Evang.Mag., new series VI (1828), 441-42, 529; Burder, Pastoral Discourses on Revivals, pp.142-43; Cong.Mag., X (1827), 633-38.
4. Dale, Life of James, pp.247-48; Cong.Mag., XI (1828), 502 and XII (1829), 61. Baptists and Independents country-wide spent Good Friday, 1829, in humiliation and prayer. Dale, op cit., p.253.
5. The day of fasting and prayer held by the united Congregationalist churches of eastern London in July 1828 was preceded by a pastors' meeting to discuss the thriving state of American religion. Evang.Mag., new series VI (1828), 528.

did not aim single-mindedly at securing the salvation of the unconverted during the service itself. Their primary aim was more to increase the piety of those who were already church members, and to sharpen the appetite for general revival, rather than secure there and then, through practical measures, the conversion of the unregenerate hearers in the congregation. Conversions were anticipated at a future date. The 'powerful, yet subdued feelings' manifested at these meetings did not amount to conversions; such expectations, if they existed, were disappointed.¹ The services, though exhortatory, were solemn, quiet and undramatic. There was no revivalistic ranting: 'We have ... no scene of agitation and outcry to record; these were not made the necessary signs of revival!'.² Second, the services were 'once and for all' occasions, intended to supplement the regular Sunday and weekday services. Unlike systematic revival meetings, these services were not multiplied over a short period of time. Even the more regular weekly or monthly prayer-meetings, established by some Baptists and Congregationalists and aimed at 'praying down' a revival of religion, should be seen as meetings preliminary to revival and not as services during which conversions were sought.³ Indeed, these meetings had much more in common with the prayer-meetings 'for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit' found in the late eighteenth century, than with the various new measure revival services and protracted meetings found in America in the late 1820s.⁴

1. Cong.Mag., XI (1828), 614 and XII (1829), 287.

2. Evang.Mag., new series VI (1828), 529.

3. Ibid., new series VI (1828), 401; Bapt.Mag., XXI (1829), 80.

4. In the 1780s and 1790s a number of Baptist Associations and Independent churches, influenced by the appearance in Britain of Jonathan Edwards' 'Humble Attempt to promote ... extraordinary prayer for the Revival of Religion', established prayer meetings on the first Monday of every month to pray 'for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit'. Bapt. Ann. Reg., I, 60. Cf. Andrew Fuller, The Nature and Importance of Walking by Faith: A Sermon ... To which are added, a few persuasives to a General Union in Prayer for the Revival of Real Religion (Northampton, 1784).

III

English Baptists and Congregationalists, then, in spite of their apparent elation at American prosperity, had not wholeheartedly adopted an American mode of revival. In part this reflected their relative ignorance of the details of transatlantic methods, in part the prevailing cautious denominational attitude to revivals of the American kind. The term 'religious revival' was 'an equivocal phrase' that could be variously interpreted.¹ Few Nonconformists would have rejected the traditional, scripturally-based and unprovocative definition of revival as a two-fold movement involving on the one hand a revival of piety amongst church members, and on the other the conversion of sinners, both in the congregation and 'from the world'.² For many, such a broad definition meant nothing more than a slow and general increase in vital evangelical religion, such as had characterised the advance of religion in Britain during the previous forty years.³ But others interpreted 'revival of religion' as a period of great religious excitement marked by extraordinary conversions and the use of special means by a revival-minded pastor and his lay helpers. This kind of revival, which in at least some of its aspects was thought by English Nonconformists to characterise American religious life, was regarded with caution by advocates of revival of the quieter, gradual variety. And as some of the implications of American revivals became clearer, many of their early advocates began to hedge their position.⁴

Of what did their doubts consist?

1. Ecl. Rev., third series I (1829), 545-46.

2. See, for example, Fletcher, On the Prosperity of Christian Churches, pp.5-6; James, Pastoral Letter on Revivals, p.6; Burder, Pastoral Discourses on Revivals, p.15. The definition was well established. See John Fawcett, Thoughts on the Revival of Religion (Halifax, 1802), p.6.

3. Cong.Mag., XII (1829), 316.

4. Although ministers and hearers preached and listened to sermons on the desirableness of revivals, nevertheless 'in private companies both parties are prepared to qualify the term to a degree almost equal to disavowal.' Ibid., 314-15.

Theologically speaking, it was widely held that the too vigorous prosecution of revival efforts might lead to demands on the individual sinner that could not be justified by orthodox Calvinistic doctrine. This fear manifested itself in the arguments over John Howard Hinton's Work of the Holy Spirit.¹ Hinton's book was in some ways an attempt to provide a theology of revivalism; its main aim was to find a theological justification for putting the onus squarely on the individual in the work of salvation. At the time ^{of} its appearance, in 1829, there was a widespread realisation of the need to bring home to both ministers and congregations the extent to which loose and confused thinking prevailed on the subject of human inability. Without being technically hyper-Calvinists, there were many who, stressing their dependence on God, refused to do anything to facilitate their own conversion, or the conversion of others, who confused their disinclination with inability, and who argued that 'we can do nothing till God's time come.' To eradicate this High Calvinistic legacy became the aim of those who emphasised the sinner's duty to call on the Lord and seek salvation.²

Hinton's Work of the Holy Spirit put the argument against human inability in its strongest and most controversial form. It was a direct attempt to remedy 'the notion that men cannot repent, or do any other part of their duty, while they certainly can.'³ Hinton argued that man possessed the means to turn to God, that since these means exist in man before the Holy Spirit ever begins to operate, and that since 'the possession of the means of repentance constitutes the power of repentance; therefore, a sinner has power to repent without the Spirit.' This deliberately controversial

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1. John Howard Hinton, The Work of the Holy Spirit in Conversion considered in its relation to the condition of man and the ways of God ... (London 1830). Hinton (1791-1873), had left Edinburgh University in 1816 to become Baptist minister at Haverfordwest, and was at this time pastor of Hosier Street Baptist Chapel, Reading. Dict. of Nat. Biog.
 2. For a particularly direct attack on the 'hyper-Calvinistic' school, see Orme, Discourses on the Holy Spirit, pp.232-33. Cf. Fletcher, On the Prosperity of Christian Churches, pp.ix-xi.
 3. Op cit., p. xv and passim.

statement aimed to shake the sinner out of his apathy by showing him that he had the 'power' to set his salvation in motion quite independently. In fact Hinton defined 'power' in a particular and unusual sense which allowed him to claim orthodoxy for an apparently heterodox position. He was not, as many hastily assumed, denying the influence of the Holy Spirit: in the conversion of the sinner its operations were 'ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY' and 'CERTAINLY EFFECTUAL'. Although man had the power, or means, he lacked the disposition to repent; and only the Holy Spirit could effect, 'by an extraordinary impulse', a change of disposition ('the habitually prevalent state of the heart'). The Holy Spirit, however, would change man's disposition only if the individual used the means at his disposal: he must put himself into the right state of mind, by loving God, by praying for a new and holy heart, and by reflecting on internal religion. 'You are to pray, not for salvation, but for the state of mind with which salvation is connected; that is, for a change of heart (Y)ou perish ... because you do not attain a particular state of mind, which you have the means of attaining.'¹

This was a heady brew. Hinton's emphasis on the 'entire wilfulness and deep criminality' of the sinner, on his power and responsibility to act for himself and to go beyond formal prayer, helped produce a formula that could harmonise with the immediacy of revival evangelism and that can be seen to parallel the promptings of Taylorite New Divinity men in New England.² This was hardly surprising. Hinton appears to have been well versed in

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1. Ibid., pp.1, 81, 87, 381-82. Of course, there was nothing new in the idea that the depraved sinner could prepare the way for the supernatural gift of effectual grace. Norman Pettit, The Heart Prepared: Grace and Conversion in Puritan Spiritual Life (New Haven, 1966) examines the development of this concept in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
 2. Hinton's text 'Make you a new heart and a new spirit' was one which landed Finney into similar controversy in 1835 over the 'power' of the sinner in achieving his own conversion. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p.65ff.

those developments in American Calvinistic theology which rejected the idea of salvation as entirely the work of the Holy Spirit and which thereby allowed the preacher to make immediate demands on his unregenerate hearers to repent; he readily concluded that the prevalence of American revivals and the powerful effects of American preaching could be attributed to American ministers being in general less tainted with the 'pernicious notion' of inability.¹ The lesson was clear: this lingering doctrine - 'a poison of the most direful kind'² - was the greatest stumbling block to revivals. Eliminate it, and English Calvinists too would experience evangelical advance.

Hinton, as he himself realised, did not stand alone; even those who regarded his Work of the Holy Spirit as controversial included a number of sympathisers.³ But not all were ready to forgive him his bluntness and apparent heterodoxy. The reviewer of his work in the Baptist Magazine claimed that Hinton had 'involved himself in notions very little, if at all, different from that of the self-determining power of the will.'⁴ This had not been Hinton's intention, but the criticism continued, especially from Baptist elder statesmen who viewed with alarm the Socinian and Pelagian tendencies of this 'new doctrine'; and who, if they recognised that Hinton did not really deny the role of the Holy Spirit, nonetheless

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1. 'The new calvinism of New England ... bears upon the conscience with a direct and immense pressure; and to this cause... (is) ...attributed the signal success of their ministry.' J.H. Hinton, ed., The History and Topography of the United States (2 vols., London, 1832), II, 380ff; and Work of the Holy Spirit, pp.xxii-xxiv. 'In his theological views, Mr. Hinton, it is thought, is somewhat inclined to certain American peculiarities, respecting human ability, etc.' Codman, Visit to England, p.174.
 2. Hinton, Work of the Holy Spirit, p.xviii.
 3. Ecl. Rev., third series IV (1830), 107-13, had reservations but praised the 'useful tendency' of the book. Cf. Cong.Mag., XIII (1830), 521-26.
 4. Bapt.Mag., XXII (1830), 279-84, 318-23.

shrewdly pointed out that in practice he reduced its influence to ineffectuality.¹ If adulteration of their theology were the price, they wanted nothing to do with American-inspired revivals.

Similar caution was clear in the debate over the nature and extent of the instrumentality legitimately to be employed in promoting revivals. Though moderate Calvinists agreed that man had a duty to use means to promote God's work, there was, as in America, no unanimity on the type to be used. Nonconformists were generally very wary about deviating from those well-established methods that, in promoting conversions, had traditionally emphasised man's subordination to the Holy Spirit. Hence the 'revival services' that marked Nonconformist reaction to the American revivals of the late 1820s were conducted along wholly uncontroversial lines, and used only the most traditional and regular of means - prayer, exhortation, and fasting - to achieve similar results in Britain. Prayer ('persevering and earnest prayer for the influences of the Holy Spirit') was emphatically the most warmly advocated of the classical Protestant weapons. Without this all other means would fail; private and social prayer, which recognised man's total dependence on God and which aroused an expectancy of success, was the sine qua non of any and every revival.² Equally important was the direct and forceful preaching of the Gospel, to arouse the slumbering conscience of the sinner. Conversion was, of course, the work of God, but the simple preaching of the Gospel would bring the sinner to a position where this could be achieved.³ In addition to preaching and prayer, such ministers as Henry Burder, Joseph Fletcher, John Howard

1. Ibid., XXIII (1831), 3-8.

2. Typically, see Neave, Means of Promoting a Revival, p.38ff.

3. Evang.Mag., new series VI (1828), 442; and new series X (1832), 293, 472-74.

4. Evang.Mag., new series VI (1828), 442-44; Evang.Mag., X (1832), 293 and 473 (1832), 505-06.

Hinton and John Angell James demanded behaviour of their church members (a general revival was predicated on a preliminary revival in the church itself) that was more accurately the consequence, not the means, of revival.¹ The improvement of domestic religion; the rejection of worldly values and materialism; the elimination of personal enmities within the church; more self-examination; regular attendance at religious services; self-denying exertion for others; a revival of religion in the hearts of ministers - by such means the individual and then the church would be revived, and conversions would follow.²

No evangelical eyebrows were raised by these directives. The methods advocated were undramatic, well-tried and suitably reliant on Divine favour. There were some Nonconformists, however, who looked to America and felt that customary methods should be supplemented by certain less traditional means of revival. Not that reports of American revivals suggested, initially at least, that a multitude of novel methods had been employed. The descriptions of the revivals in the burned-over district were at pains to note their orderliness, dependence on preaching and prayer, and lack of extravagance; and they upheld as 'irreproachable' the Christian character of Finney, Nash and other helpers whose activities were later to come under fire.³ Nevertheless these revivals had seen the successful use of methods unfamiliar to many Nonconformist ministers, and whose legitimacy became the subject of discussion in British evangelical circles.

This was true of the 'inquiry meeting' - the special meeting held after the main service, where those under concern for their souls conversed

1. Bapt.Mag., XXI (1829), 190-92.
2. Burder, Pastoral Discourses on Revivals, pp.30-83; Hinton, Means of a Religious Revival, passim; Neave, Means of Promoting a Revival, passim; James, Pastoral Letter on Revivals, p.23ff; James' essay 'On the Necessity of a Religious Revival in the hearts of Ministers' in Evang. Mag., new series VII (1829), 7-11; Ecl.Rev., XXVIII (1827), 180-85.
3. Evang.Mag., new series VI (1828), 440-41; Cong.Mag., X (1827), 479 and XII (1829), 505-10.

in private with the minister and his lay helpers. The inquiry meeting was an almost ever-present feature of American revivals as reported in Britain, and it was regarded as remarkably successful in securing converts.¹ Predictably, John Angell James was an eager advocate of these special meetings as an important supplement to preaching in the conversion of sinners. He reprimanded those ministers who supposed that everything could be effected through the pulpit ('The public preaching of the Gospel is not enough') and urged the adoption of an 'INDIVIDUALISING SYSTEM... in reference to all the members of our congregation who are yet unconverted.'² Shortly after he had established his own weekly anxious-inquiry meeting in 1829 he wrote to his American friend Patton, telling him of twenty-one members added to his church, and of nine proposed as candidates for fellowship. His congregation had been much impressed. By American standards the numbers involved may have been small, 'but here it is thought an extraordinary occurrence.'³

James' eagerness was not matched by all Nonconformists. The novelty, apparent lack of scriptural justification, and possible affront to the Holy Spirit implied in the use of the inquiry meeting, jeopardised its widespread adoption. That there should have been such caution over an instrument on

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1. The Narrative of the Revival of Religion in the County of Oneida...in ... 1826, reprinted in the Congregational Magazine, supported the claim that 'Meetings of inquiry have been greatly blessed.' Loc. cit., X (1827), 414-18, 452-53, 476-80, 534-38, 562-64, 579-83, 638-42.
 2. See James essay 'On the Necessity and Importance of Ministers Establishing and Supporting "Inquiry Meetings"', in Evang. Mag., new series VII (1829), 242-46. Cf. Ibid., 54-59; and Burder, Pastoral Discourses on Revivals, pp.141-42. Prayers too could divert sustained and energetic activity: William Orme complained that monthly prayer meetings for the spread of the Gospel substituted 'pious hopes' about revival in the place of calculated effort. Discourses on the Holy Spirit, p.266.
 3. J.A. James to W. Patton, 2 June 1829, in Dale, Life of James, pp.253-54.

2. Evang. Mag., new series VII (1829), 54-59.

3. Congregational Magazine, VII (1829), 242-46.

which even the most circumspect of New England revivalists, Asahel Nettleton, placed great reliance, indicated the general timidity of English Nonconformists in experimenting with new methods. The inquiry meeting savoured too much of mere 'technique' for many to stomach it. Not all technique was considered ill-conceived; it was quite acceptable to discuss the best way of conducting prayer meetings, or the most effective means of preaching to promote a revival - an essayist in the Evangelical Magazine acknowledged that 'the manner as well as the matter, of our sermons, has an intimate connexion with, and influence upon, the salvation or damnation of our hearers.'¹ But it was one thing to discuss the best way of implementing the scripturally authorised and classical means of conversion; it was quite another to design instruments of revival and thereby assign to human means a role that should be left to a sovereign God and his Holy Spirit.

Significantly, even James had reservations over the inquiry meeting. He found the phrase savoured 'rather too much of what some may call slang and cant.'² For there was a general fear - even amongst those eager to promote revivals on an American model - that too much experimentation in the fervent pursuit of conversions might provoke a revival in which excitement and novelty, indiscretion and fanaticism, took the place of a true invigoration of religion. The proper evangelical should be 'well guarded against the cant of revivals - the flash and frothiness of temporary excitement.'³ Sheer animal emotionalism and 'mere excitements of natural sensibility' in religion were anathema to all, for animal feeling could subside as quickly

1. 'A Specimen of Nonconformist Eloquence, recommended to the attention of modern ministers, with special reference to the connexion between energetic preaching and the Revival of Religion.' Evang.Mag., new series VII (1829), 302-04. Cf. On Social Prayer. The ... circular letter of the ... South Devon and Cornwall Baptist Association (Falmouth, 1835), pp.9-11.

2. Evang. Mag., new series VII (1829), 245.

3. Cong.Mag., XII (1829), 267.

as it arose, leaving in its wake both religious and social disorder.¹ That certain revivals had been marked by such unhappy features - notably in the extremities of the British Isles, in Methodist circles, and in earlier American awakenings - had helped create a prejudice against revivals generally. 'From the manner in which revivals have been talked about and promoted among Wesleyan Methodists,' wrote William Orme, 'I am afraid that a revival is considered by many something necessarily connected with fanaticism and extravagance; and that means to promote such a thing would be regarded as altogether absurd or improper.'² Experience of Welsh revivals, too, reinforced such prejudices. J. A. James was not wholly critical of the Bala revival meeting he attended in July 1818 ('I like the fire, but not the smoke'), but he found the 'pulpit raving', hand clapping, shouting, jumping, wild gestures and general hysteria to be in conflict with the 'many very interesting cases of deep, and silent emotion.'³

Nonconformist experience of glossolalia and millennialist excrescences in the late 1820s and early 1830s may also have nurtured these fears. It was within the established churches in England and Scotland that fascination with Biblical prophecy was most evident, but Nonconformists were not wholly immune from the millennialist virus.⁴ Most notably, Independents were amongst those attracted by the preaching of Edward Irving, popular minister of the Scots Presbyterian chapel in Regent Square, London.⁵ In 1825 Irving

1. Burder, Pastoral Discourses on Revivals, pp.15-16; Cong.Mag., XIII (1830), 127, 350-51; Fletcher, On the Prosperity of Christian Churches, p.v.

2. Orme, Discourses on the Holy Spirit, p.260.

3. James to his sister, 1 Aug. 1818, in Dale, Life of James, pp.221-23. D.M. Evans, Christmas Evans: a Memoir ... with selections from his sermons (London, 1863), p.11.

4. Ernest R. Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism, British and American (Chicago, 1970), p.20.

5. J.F.C. Harrison, Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America. The Quest for the New Moral World (London, 1969), p.92ff, especially pp.96-97.

had adopted premillennialist views; in 1831 his chapel witnessed outbursts of 'speaking with tongues'; in the following year he was expelled from the Church of Scotland and eventually he and his 'apostles' set up the Catholic Apostolic Church. Millennialism in its post-millennialist form (Christ's Second Coming would follow a millenium ushered in through ordinary Christian effort) was generally an acceptable doctrine within orthodox evangelicalism. It was the cataclysmic, apocalyptic, premillennialist vision that worried Nonconformists. Referring to the Irvingite movement, John Angell James wrote: "I am ... afraid that evil will arise from the prevalence of the study (of prophecy), inasmuch as religious people will be taken off from labouring to bring on the millenium, to watch the signs, and calculate the time of its approach."¹ Irvingism was only part of general 'agitation' in the evangelical world. Revivals in the West of Scotland in 1830 were marked by pre-millennialism and 'miraculous' manifestations. James thought orthodox Dissent relatively safe from these developments.² But it was often difficult for Nonconformists to be sanguine in the face of such curious excitements. Excitement may have been rejected as the measure of a revival's power, but emotion was recognised as having some place in conversion. The heart, it was urged, had as crucial a role to play as the mind; some held that the Gospel truths could occasionally act with power enough to arouse man's emotions to the extent of bodily manifestations of excitement. 'The unrestrained expression of real compunctions is not extravagant; it is only the imitation of them, by those who do not actually feel them that is outrageous,' explained Thomas Jenkyn, expressing the frequently-made distinction between 'true' and 'false' emotion, and 'good' and 'bad' excitement. The practical difficulties in the way of making such a distinction

1. J.A. James to W. Patton, 2 Feb. 1828, in Dale, Life of James, p.245.

2. J.A. James to W.B. Sprague, 13 Apr. 1831, in ibid., pp.262-64.

did not invalidate the argument. Indeed, armed in the belief that extraordinary emotion and excitement in religion had been sanctioned by the example of Pentecost, some claimed that in cases of religious stagnation extreme emotionalism might be acceptable.¹ One of Henry Burder's correspondents demanded bluntly: 'Give me the most objectionable Revival that ever was experienced, rather than Laodicean torpor and apathy.'²

Advocates of revivals adduced two arguments to mollify those fearful of rampant emotionalism. First, it was patently ridiculous to believe that English Nonconformist churches were on the brink of uncontrollable religious fervour. More accurately they were similar to the churches of Sardis and Laodicea, strongholds of 'lukewarmness', 'worldliness' and 'formal profession of religion'. At a time when pastors complained of hearers sitting for up to thirty years in their congregations without making profession of religion, the very last threat to Nonconformist churches was one of overenthusiasm. Any sign of a religious flame should be fanned, not smothered.³ The second argument was based on the belief that the character of revivals was largely determined by the nature of the society in which they occurred. Because revivals in certain countries were marked by emotion and excitement, it was improper to infer that similar features would attend revivals in English Nonconformist churches. Societies marked by 'comparative simplicity, ... limited intercourse with the world, and ... inartificial manners of the people', posited Joseph Fletcher - no doubt having in mind societies such as the American frontier,

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1. Thomas W. Jenkyn, On the Union of the Holy Spirit and the church in the Conversion of the World (London, 1837), pp.187-212; Evang.Mag., new series IX (1831), 388-89; Cong.Mag., XI (1828), 456-57. Not all were convinced that Pentecost was a fair parallel. See James Edmeston's 'Cautions on the Subject of Revivals' in Evang.Mag., new series VII (1829), 190.
 2. Evang.Mag., new series VII (1829), 246.
 3. Burder, Pastoral Discourses on Revivals, pp.28-30; Orme, Discourses on the Holy Spirit, pp.265-66; Cong.Mag., XII (1830), 129-30, 430-32.

or Wales - 'may (produce) the most undisguised exhibition of all the feelings of such as have been brought under religious impressions.'¹ In England,

however, 'we are accustomed greatly to repress ... the indications of powerful feeling, and especially of religious emotions', a factor which would ensure that a revival of religion would proceed with 'greater tranquillity and less sympathetic excitement' than in some other countries.²

Such cajoling did not remove the suspicion of revivals as a source of disruptive enthusiasm, theological heterodoxy and practical negation of divine agency; and until these suspicions could be removed American revivals in particular would remain suspect.³ It is scarcely surprising, in this climate of wariness and reluctance to employ unusual methods, that the revival meetings and publications of 1828 and 1829 promoted no more than 'mere public stir and excitement', as had been predicted at the time.⁴ 'Alas! for England, on the subject of revivals!' bemoaned a disappointed John Angell James in 1831: 'The little stir that was made about two years ago has nearly all died away; and ... it has not been followed by any visible general result.'⁵

1. Fletcher, On the Prosperity of Christian Churches, pp.vi-ix. A contributor to the Congregational Magazine argued that popular excitement was 'favoured by wild, secluded, mountainous scenery.' Loc.cit., XII (1829), 266-67.

2. Burder, Pastoral Discourses on Revivals, p.16. Cf. Bapt.Mag., XXIV (1832), 241-44.

3. The cautious recalled that even the most famous of American revivals, at Northampton under Jonathan Edwards, had not been exempt from indiscretion and had eventually resulted in declension and the dismissal of Edwards himself. Cong.Mag., XII (1829), 268-71. For a more positive attitude, see Burder, Pastoral Discourses on Revivals, pp.17-27; Dale, Life of James, pp.250-51.

4. J.A. James to W. Patton, 13 Dec. 1828, in Dale, Life of James, p.248.

5. J.A. James to W. Patton, 12 Apr. 1831, in ibid., p.261. '(T)he growing indifference of British Christians' towards American revivals was noted by the Congregational Magazine in March 1831 (XIV, 193). Cf. Bapt.Mag., XXIII (1831), 484-86; New York Obs. XII (26 Apr. 1834); The Revivalist (1832), preface.

2. Trollope, English Society in the Eighteenth Century, p.100.

3. Ibid., pp.43-44.

IV

Distrust, caution and scepticism were increased by two quite separate factors. In the spring of 1832, some months after returning from four years of travel in the United States, Frances Trollope published her Domestic Manners of the Americans. With the novelist's eye for the colourful and dramatic, she painted a vivid picture of American society, which, if accurate in the detail, was too selective to give an authentic and rounded picture. This was particularly the case with her description of American religion, which ignored the calm church life of New England and rested heavily on western revival scenes, brimful of noise and emotionalism.¹ Her graphic descriptions of a revival in Cincinnati and a rural Indiana camp meeting - no doubt accurate, even if unsympathetic - were not calculated to win adherents to the cause of American revivalism. At a revival meeting in a Presbyterian church in Cincinnati:

The perspiration ran in streams from the face of the preacher; his eyes rolled, his lips were covered with foam, and every feature had the deep expression of horror it would have borne, had he, in truth, been gazing at the scene he described (the opening pit of Hell). The acting was excellent.²

Such preaching, aided by vehement and 'offensively familiar' prayer, anxious benches, and other new measure devices, produced dramatic effects within the crowded congregation:

One young girl, apparently not more than fourteen, was supported in the arms of another, some years older; her face was pale as death; her eyes wide open, and perfectly devoid of meaning; her chin and bosom wet with slaver; she had every appearance of idiotism. I saw a priest (sic) approach her, he took her delicate hand, 'Jesus is with her! Bless the Lord!' he said, and passed on.³

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1. Frances Trollope, Domestic Manners of the Americans (London, 1832), ed. Donald Smalley (New York, 1960), especially pp.74-81, 107-15, 167-75, 274-77. For Mrs. Trollope (1780-1830), mother of the novelist Anthony Trollope, see Dict. Nat. Biog.
 2. Trollope, Domestic Manners of the Americans, ed. Smalley, p.79.
 3. Ibid., pp.80-81.

Mrs. Trollope's description of American religious life and revivals were not the first by a British traveller, nor did the Americans allow her assertions to go unchallenged.¹ But her impishness and search for humour guaranteed her a large and receptive audience ever ready to laugh at the foibles of an inferior relation, and ready also to accept the essential fairness of someone who was assumed to be an objective and detached reporter in a foreign country. The London correspondent of the New York Observer, Calvin Colton, angered by Mrs. Trollope's 'caricatures and falsehoods' and her unfair generalisations from the exceptional and extraordinary in American religious life, held her to have been largely instrumental in bringing about a diminished respect for American revivals and a reaction against the 'deep impression' they had made in 1827. Supporters of revivals had been 'pained and embarrassed', for even good Christians, while recognising the caricature, believed that there must have been some truth in the book.² The reputation of American revivals did not stand untarnished.

More subtle in its influence, but in the long term perhaps more damaging to the status of American evangelical religion, was the relationship of the American churches to the institution of negro slavery in the southern states. Concern in Britain over American slavery was not new, but the issue began to assume a new importance in the eyes of British evangelicals in the early and mid 1830s. At that time Nonconformists were witnessing the climax of the campaign against British colonial slavery. Once abolition had been achieved in 1833, they were free to criticise American slavery without embarrassment and with a new enthusiasm generated by their own success. Furthermore, British attention was

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1. See Jane Louise Mesick, The English Traveller in America, 1785-1835 (New York, 1922), pp.246-269. A number of American reviews of Mrs. Trollope's work were republished in Britain in American Criticisms on Mrs. Trollope's 'Domestic Manners of the Americans' (London, 1833).
 2. New York Obs., XII (19 Apr. 1834). Colton's concern over the damage that Mrs. Trollope had wrought led him to publish a defence of his country, The Americans, by an American in London (London, 1833).

attracted, and good feeling towards American reformers jeopardised, by the controversy over the American Colonization Society.¹ British reformers in general sided with the 'immediatism' of the American Anti-Slavery Society against the Colonization Society's scheme of transporting American negroes to Africa. They regarded this latter plan as, at best, 'a mere delusion' which helped maintain slavery and, at worst, as a scheme to get free blacks back to Africa in order to safeguard slave property and increase its value.²

At a purely official level, the remonstrations of British churches remained mild and friendly, urging American Christians to use their influence to bring the Peculiar Institution to an end.³ But many British Nonconformists were in their private capacity severely critical of not only the slave system itself, but also the general system of white supremacy which produced 'deeply-rooted prejudices against the free people of colour'. There seemed to be a grave inconsistency between the profession of a love of freedom made by the various states of the Union and, in contrast, their upholding of a system of human bondage; and even those Britons who saw that slavery was mainly a matter for state and not federal legislation,

1. Barnes, Antislavery Impulse, pp.29-63; Thomas F. Harwood, 'British Evangelical Abolitionism and American Churches in the 1830's, in Jnl. of South. Hist., XXVIII (Aug. 1962), 287-306.

2. J.A. James to W. Patton, 30 Nov. 1833, in Dale, Life of James, pp.268-70; New York Obs., XII (19 Apr. 1834). William Lloyd Garrison's visit to England on behalf of the New England Anti-Slavery Society in 1833 helped promote the anti-colonizationist cause. Garrison received the support of some evangelicals, particularly Thomas Price a London Baptist minister in the forefront of abolitionism. The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison, Vol.I: I Will Be Heard!, ed. Walter M. Merrill (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), p.203 ff., especially pp.238-39, 241, 244-45.

3. See, for instance, the Letter to the Baptist Churches in America from the Board of Baptist Ministers in and near London in December 1833. Bapt.Mag., XXVI (1834), 504-06 and (for the reply) XXVII (1835), 8-11. Cf. Cong.Mag., XIX (1836), 204, 379-83, 386-91, 517-20.

For Congregationalists, see Cong.Mag., XII (1830), 710-19; and of Unitarian Baptists, see Harwood, 'British Evangelical Abolitionism and American Churches in the 1830's', loc.cit., p.291.

believed 'that the anti-slave States have not done all they could and should do in the way of intelligent and affectionate appeal to their slaveholding neighbours.' In these circumstances, British anti-slavery opinion concluded that if Americans could betray their espousal of liberty and freedom, their religious profession might well prove just as hollow and insubstantial. The American churches - Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist, in particular - had thousands of slave-holding communicants over whom they might wield enormous moral influence: 'If the pulpit be once engaged against slavery it will fall'.¹ The longer that slavery remained in existence, the greater the indictment of American religion. Calvin Colton, a colonizationist, noted British religious opinion inferred from the perpetuation of slavery 'that our religion is hypocrisy, and American revivals an unholy excitement. With such views of our morality, it is not easy for them to entertain respect for our religion.'² It became customary for American ministers in Britain to be taken to task for their continuing toleration of slavery.

There was some retaliation: visiting American evangelicals were not averse to indulging in tit-for-tat moralising. American caution over slavery was paralleled, they argued, by the weak-kneed, compromising approach to temperance shown by British evangelicals. The temperance cause in America, and its teetotal manifestations, had been integrally related to the revival movement of the late 1820s. Not only had the theological thrust of those revivals invigorated benevolent reform activity, temperance included - 'faith without WORKS is dead', Theodore Weld reminded a

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1. J.A. James to W. Patton, 30 Nov. 1833; J.A. James to W.B. Sprague, 10 July 1834, in Dale, Life of James, pp.268-69, 345.
 2. New York Obs., XII (19 Apr. 1834). For the similar view of Monmouthshire Congregationalists, see Cong.Mag., XIX (1836), 718-19; and of Leicester-shire Baptists, see Harwood, 'British Evangelical Abolitionism and American Churches in the 1830's', loc.cit., p.291.

colleague¹ - but temperance gatherings themselves, with their attention to pledge-taking and moments of decision, could easily metamorphose into revival meetings.² During the 1820s American experiments with temperance caught the imagination of British reformers who established their own anti-spirits and temperance societies.³ But most evangelicals jibbed when pressed by Americans and a few of their more uninhibited British colleagues to translate anti-spirits into total abstinence.⁴ 'We are in advance of our British brethren, on the subject of temperance', John Codman argued, pointing to the drinking of 'stimulating liquors' at public religious meetings in England, the offering of wine to the preacher as he left the pulpit, and the absence of united support for the British and Foreign Temperance Society.⁵ Such criticisms continued, but only very gradually did British evangelicals move towards full teetotalism.

V

The indictment of American religion was never total: there were too many forces at work in the early and mid 1830s upholding its essential

1. Theodore Weld to Elizur Wright, Jr., 10 Jan. 1833, in Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond, eds., Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimke Weld and Sarah Grimke 1822-1844 (2 vols., New York, 1844), I, 99. Cf. Barnes, Antislavery Impulse, pp.3-28; Anne C. Loveland, 'Evangelicalism and "Immediate Emancipation" in American Antislavery Thought', Jnl. of South. Hist., XXXII (May 1966), 172-88.
2. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., V (22 Apr. 1831). Cf. ibid., IV (18 Sept. 1829).
3. Brian Harrison, Drink and the Victorians. The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872 (London, 1971), pp.87-106.
4. See, for example, John Pye Smith, 'Preface', to Moses Stuart, An Essay upon the Wines and Strong Drinks of the Ancient Hebrews, and their reference to dietetic and religious views on the modern use of Spirituous Liquors ... (London, 1831), pp.i-viii; Patton, Filial Tribute, pp.20-21; Wilbur Fisk, Travels in Europe; viz. in England, Scotland, France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands (4th edition, New York, 1838), pp.513-16.
5. New York Obs., XIII (24 Oct. 1835); Cong.Mag., XIII (1830), 266-72, and XIX (1836), 463-66, 613-15; Codman, Visit to England, pp.116-19, 124-47.

integrity. British Nonconformist magazines reprinted from American sources reports of the most powerful and least objectionable revivals;¹ a new monthly magazine, The Revivalist, was established to promote the cause of revivalism, American and British, within Calvinistic churches;² private and official correspondence between evangelicals continued to promote a favourable picture of American religious prosperity;³ and, most important of all, American evangelicals visited Britain in greater numbers than ever.

Few of these visitors had come primarily to conduct preaching tours or to seek conversions. Some came as agents on specific missions. Calvin Colton, for instance, was sent by the trustees of Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, to solicit funds and books for the fight against Romanism and infidelity in the Mississippi Valley.⁴ Some, like John Codman, Heman Humphrey and Gardiner Spring in 1835 and Robert Breckinridge in 1836 came as official delegates to the Congregational Union.⁵ Others came in the capacity of reformers and anti-slavery men. Samuel H. Cox, for example, a prominent Presbyterian minister of New York, visited England in 1833 and

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1. For example, Cong.Mag., XIV (1831), 193-94, 320-21; XV (1832), 258; XVI (1833), 720-24; XVII (1834), 433-36, 496-97; XVIII (1835), 643-44.
 2. The Revivalist was edited by Joseph Belcher (1794-1859), Baptist minister in Chelsea and then Greenwich for a total of fourteen years before he emigrated to the United States in 1844. A writer and preacher of enormous energy, his publications on both sides of the Atlantic were alleged to total some two hundred. Labelled 'unsectarian', The Revivalist was aimed at evangelical Calvinists and reprinted from American periodicals many reports of more restrained revivals. It reached an estimated 3-4,000 families by the end of its first year of publication. Bapt.Mag., XXV (1833), 222-23; Revivalist (1832), pp.iii-iv; The Freeman, V (3 Aug. 1859).
 3. The correspondence between the Congregational Union of England and Wales and The General Association of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. provides a good example of the friendly dialogue that existed at a formal, official level. Cong.Mag. XVI (1833), 55-57, 695.
 4. Ibid., XIV (1831), 787-89; XVI (1832), 253-55.
 5. Cong.Mag., XVIII (1835), 380-85; XIX (1836), 461-72. New York Obs. XIII (12 Dec. 1835); XIV (2 July 1836); Chr. Witness, II (1845) 155.

was deputed two years later to visit Europe (with Joshua Leavitt) by the American Anti-Slavery Society to help effect a union between abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic.¹ And there were those who came, as did Charles Pettit McIlvaine, William Patton and William Sprague, essentially for pleasure or for the benefit of their health.² If these visitors had not come to promote revivals, they were, however, pressed to discuss them. English eagerness for information was well captured in Anson Phelps' report from Liverpool in August 1833 that 'Revd. Mr. Fraser (A.G. Fraser of New York) is Evrywhere beset to Preach Revival Sermons and Tell Something about the american Revivals. Even in country towns if its given out that he is to give some account of the American Revivals the places of worship will not contain the People.'³

The visitor with undoubtedly the most distinguished reputation as a revivalist was Asahel Nettleton; though by the time he sailed from New York in May 1831 it was clear that his challenge to the growing influence of new measure men and New Haven theology had failed, and that his greater triumphs lay behind him.⁴ His entourage - which included the New England

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1. Cong. Mag., XVI (1833), 374-76; XVIII (1835), 327; Dict. of Am. Biog. Humphrey was greatly concerned with promoting the temperance cause in Britain.
 2. The evangelical Episcopalian McIlvaine (1799-1873) was elected Bishop of Ohio in 1831. Earlier he had caused a stir by holding revivals at West Point. He first visited England in 1830, returned in 1834-35, and became its lifelong friend; there he moved mainly within Anglicanism and in socially more elevated circles than most visiting evangelicals, but he also made the acquaintance of Nonconformists. William Carus, ed., Memorials of the Right Reverend Charles Pettit McIlvaine, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., Late Bishop of Ohio ... (second edition, London, 1882), pp.45-48, 102-07; Alfred Lee, In Memoriam. Charles Pettit McIlvaine ... (Cleveland, 1873), p.25; Dict. of Am. Biog.
 3. A.G. Phelps to C.G. Finney, 29 Aug. 1833, Finney Papers. Herman Humphrey's similar testimony is to be found in his Great Britain, France and Belgium: a short Tour in 1835 (2 vols., New York, 1838) p.47, and in Chr. Witness, II (1845), 155. Cf. Codman, Visit to England, pp.100-01. For J.H. Hinton's questioning of M. Malcom, a Baptist from Boston, see Conn.Obs., VII (29 Aug. 1831).
 4. Nettleton's visit is discussed in Sherry Pierpont May, Asahel Nettleton: Nineteenth-Century American Revivalist (Drew University Ph.D. thesis, 1969), pp.124-27; George Hugh Birney, Jr., The Life and Letters of Asahel Nettleton 1783-1844 (Hartford Theological Seminary Ph.D. thesis, 1943), pp.204-10.

ministers Joel Hawes, Nathaniel Hewit and Samuel Green - was steeped in temperance and revivals; but though convinced that England was in dire need of a religious awakening they made no attempt to translate what was for most of them a visit for convalescence, into a systematic revival campaign. Hewit, 'the apostle of Temperance', spent most of his time advocating total abstinence and helping in the formation of the British and Foreign Temperance Society, before returning prematurely to New Haven in September;¹ Hawes returned at the same time, after visiting, and sometimes preaching for, a number of luminaries of Calvinistic Dissent;² Green, his promising evangelical carrier cut short by a disease of the throat, made^a/similar (but non-preaching) tour.³ Nettleton himself arrived with no intention of embarking on sustained revival work: "If I go", he had said, "it is not to labor".⁴ He was mainly interested in recruiting his health and promoting the sale of his anthology of Village Hymns.⁵ But - even without the benefit of advance publicity - he was subject to pressing invitations to preach;⁶ and inevitably he was lured on occasions into the pulpit, preaching for John Angell James, William Wardlaw of Glasgow, Thomas Raffles of Liverpool,

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1. Conn. Obs., VII (29 Aug. 1831); N. Hewit to A. Nettleton, 5 and 17 Sept. 1831, Nettleton Papers. For Hewit (1788-1867), Yale-educated and theologically a Nettletonian, see Lyman H. Atwater, The Life and Character of Nathaniel Hewit, D.D. (New York, 1867), especially pp.15-17, 34.
 2. Joel Hawes, pastor of the First Congregational Church, Hartford, from 1818-64, had by 1831 already witnessed four of the ten revivals that marked his ministry. He was a traditionalist, cool towards new measures. Lawrence, Life of Hawes, pp.109-14, 121-35; Joel Hawes to W.B. Sprague, 12 Mar. 1832, in William B. Sprague, Lectures on Revivals of Religion (second edition, New York, 1833), pp.279-83.
 3. During the active ministry of Samuel Green (b.1792-d.1834) in Union Church, Boston, from 1823 to 1831, there were three separate periods of special revival. Richard S. Storrs, Memoir of the Rev. Samuel Green (Boston, 1836), pp.157-59, 213-31 and passim.
 4. May, Asahel Nettleton, pp.124-25.
 5. Cong. Mag., XV (1832), 309-10.
 6. See, for example, the letters of Thomas Smith (Sheffield), 4 Oct. 1831, W. Roaf (Ellesmere, Salop.), 23 Mar. 1832, and M. Goulty (Brighton), 14 May 1832, to A. Nettleton, Nettleton Papers.

William Wilson of Nottingham, and Robert Bolton.¹ He was not a success. James later told Lewis Tappan that Nettleton 'produced no effect by his preaching'; less charitably, James Sherman described him as 'so cold and dead ... that he seemed to have a special faculty for sending people to sleep.'² Nettleton and his colleagues would have retaliated by pointing to the 'truly deplorable' state of religion in England and to its 'antinomianism' (an exaggerated characterisation of Nonconformists' general failure to press home the sinner's obligations).³ Yet Nettleton's fifteen-month trip was not wholly profitless, for his advocacy of temperance and his defence of American revivals appear to have helped remove some of the prejudices against American evangelicalism.

Of all the visiting publicists of American revivalism probably the most successful was Calvin Colton.⁴ As a child and then as an ordained evangelist and Presbyterian pastor in western New York, Colton had had first-hand experience of revivals; and shortly after his arrival in Britain in 1831 he drew on this experience to propound the merits of American revivalism before congregations of interested evangelicals.⁵ The success of these expositions, the promptings of his British friends, and Colton's desire to convince a wider audience of the genuineness of revivals

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1. Conn. Obs., VII (15 Aug. 1831). W. Wardlaw to A. Nettleton, 18 July 1831; R. Wilson to A. Nettleton, 18 May 1832; R. Bolton to A. Nettleton, 4 Aug. 1831, Nettleton Papers.
 2. Lewis Tappan, Journal, 17 July 1843; Allon, Memoir of Sherman, pp.277-78. Cf. Cong. Mag., XVI (1833), 423-30.
 3. G.P. Shipman to A. Nettleton, 18 Oct. 1831; G.A. Calhoun to A. Nettleton, 1 and 30 Aug. 1831; J. Douglas to A. Nettleton, 24 Aug. 1831, Nettleton Papers.
 4. Ill health and the death of his wife led Colton (1789-1857) to leave the ministry in 1826. His visit to Britain lasted for four years. Dict. of Am. Biog.; Calvin Colton, Four years in Great Britain (New York, 1836).
 5. Hotchkiss, History of Western New York, p.132; Calvin Colton, Thoughts on the Religious State of the Country (America); with reasons for preferring Episcopacy (London, 1837), pp.2-3. For a description of one of these meetings, designed to promote a revival in the western parts of London, at which three visiting Americans spoke, see Revivalist (1832), pp.10-14.

in the United States led to his writing History and Character of American Revivals, published early in 1832. Drawing on his own experiences, Colton argued that 'extra efforts and extra measures' were 'in some form indispensable to a revival';¹ and he defended the vast majority of American revivals, in particular those of New England, from charges of extravagance, impermanence, and spuriousness. As an antidote to Mrs. Trollope, as the first fully comprehensive picture of American revivals, and as a potentially powerful instrument in promoting greater evangelical zeal in Britain, the work was warmly welcomed.²

Colton's book was better suited to commend American revivals to a British audience than another work which appeared later in 1832 - William Buell Sprague's Lectures on Revivals of Religion. Though well received³ - it carried the impeccable credential of enthusiastic introductions by John Angell James and George Redford of Worcester⁴ - it might conceivably have been seen as a useful anti-revival weapon. For Sprague had written his book as a corrective to Finneyite revivalism and was critical of some of the measures, theology and excitement connected with that movement. As such, the book contrasted strongly with Colton's ardent advocacy of American revivals. But the differences between the two were more apparent than real.

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1. Colton, History and Character of American Revivals, p.106.
 2. Revivalist (1832), pp.28-31, 141; Evang.Mag., new series X (1832), 103-05; Bapt.Mag., XXIV (1832), 241-44; Cong.Mag., XV (1833), 55-57. A cheap and abridged version was produced, 'containing hints on the Formation of Revival Unions.' Bapt.Mag., XXIV (1832), 347. Austin Dickinson of New York, yet another American evangelical convalescing in Britain, found the book 'so much better than I feared it might be'. Nettleton, worried about anxious seats, appears to have been less convinced of its merits. A. Dickinson to A. Nettleton, 26 Mar., 12 Apr. 1832, Nettleton Papers.
 3. Bapt.Mag., XXV (1833), 71-72; Cong.Mag., XVI (1833), 423-30. This work made Sprague one of the best known American ministers in Britain in the 1830s. J.A. James to W.B. Sprague, 2 Sept. 1835, in Dale, Life of James, pp.347-50. Charles McIlvaine thought the work well designed to satisfy British curiosity on American revivals. Cong.Mag., XV (1832), 713-21.
 4. 'Introduction to the Republication of Dr. Sprague's Letters on Revivals of Religion', in The Works of John Angell James, edited by his son (London, 1861), IX, 489-521. Cf. J.A. James to W.B. Sprague, 7 Dec. 1832, in Dale, Life of James, p.264.

Despite his cautions, Sprague (and the twenty other evangelical contributors to his book) emphasised the need to seek and work for a revival, and recognised the legitimacy of ministers using means which might be 'to a certain extent of their own devising'.¹ Colton was sympathetic. 'I have read (Sprague's book) with great satisfaction,' he announced 'as the views generally expressed accord with the results of my own observation, and with my own sentiments.'² The differences between the two approaches could be explained satisfactorily in terms of religious context: Sprague in America was faced with a Christian world that needed regulating; Colton, on the other side of the Atlantic, found a Christian community that had to be roused. Their emphases were bound to differ.

Within five years Colton's outlook had changed. He found on his return to America in 1835 that Presbyterians and Congregationalists were 'lying under the blighting desolation of the new and extravagant measures ... and of endless and bitter theological controversy', and that the religious world was infected with 'spurious excitements, all tending to fanaticism.' His faith in revivalism was badly shaken.³ Soon his sympathy for ecclesiastical discipline and authority found expression in his taking orders in the American Protestant Episcopal Church. The strong church organisation of that denomination would, he hoped, control the 'rashness and boldness' which grew out of the governing influence held in the religious world by 'the lower conditions of life and (by) the ladies'.⁴ Whatever the true reasons for Colton's decision,⁵ this at least was the explanation proffered

1. Quoted in McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp.124-5.

2. Cong.Mag., XVI (1833), 423ff.

3. Colton, Religious State of the Country, pp.5, 20, and passim.

4. Ibid., pp.155-56.

5. Was Colton simply responding to a new measures revivalism that had run rampant? Although these measures were more widespread by 1835-36, this had not driven critics like Sprague out of the Presbyterian Church. Colton's judgement on his return may have been coloured by his long absence in a religious climate that emphasised propriety, decorum, and order. He may have found it difficult to readjust to some of the more boisterous manifestations of revivalism that he had previously accepted.

in his Thoughts on the Religious State of the Country (America); with reasons for preferring Episcopacy, written in 1836 and published in England in 1837. The book's significance in the present context lies not so much in its attack on the baleful results of new directions in American revivalism, as in the reception afforded to it in Britain. In contrast to the enthusiastic welcome given to Colton's first British publication, it received little positive response. For by this time British evangelicals had been able to come to conclusions about the nature and desirability of American revivals on the basis of first-hand experience. In particular the visits of two separate ministerial delegations to the American churches in 1834-35 gave both Congregationalists and Baptists their own reliable and official testimonies to the state of American religion which dispensed temporarily with the need to rely on 'second-hand' American assessments.¹

The idea of exchanging delegations with their American counterparts had been mooted by Congregationalists for some time. It had been aired during the first phase of excitement over American revivals in 1827, and following the establishment of the Congregational Union in 1832 the proposal received serious consideration.² Eager to see for themselves the operation of revivals, to examine at close quarters the workings of the voluntary system, to make known their views on slavery and emancipation, and to acquaint themselves generally with the status and quality of religion in America, the Committee of the Congregational Union persuaded Andrew Reed of Wycliffe Chapel, London, and James Matheson of Durham to travel as their represen-

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1. For a private, less influential, but interesting report on American revivals from close range, see John Hill to Thomas Wilson, 21 Mar. 1831, Wilson correspondence, New Coll. London, 299/2.
 2. Cong. Mag., XVI (1833), 379; and XVIII (1835), 604-14. Inevitably, J.A. James was amongst the first to propose the idea. Ibid.; Dale, Life of James, p.248.

tatives to the American churches.¹ The two men left Britain in March 1834 and for the next six months toured vast stretches of North America. Matheson - the junior partner - spent much of his time in Canada; Reed remained in the United States, travelling extensively in the West, the upper South, New England and New York. Both were much impressed. Their report indicated that religious life in America was based on solid foundations; that Popery, infidelity and heterodoxy were all being checked; and that slavery would be modified and ultimately abolished.² In sum, the United States displayed a 'moral magnificence' from which Britain had much to learn.³

Inter-denominational barriers posed no obstacle to imitation: in the following year a Baptist delegation was despatched on a similar mission.⁴ In their objectives Francis Cox and James Hoby differed little from their Congregationalist exemplars.⁵ But they faced a thorny problem that had not confronted Reed and Matheson: how could they best maintain their position on negro emancipation when faced on the one hand by a denomination that had strong Southern support and firm associations with slaveholders (to an extent not true of Congregationalists or Presbyterians) and on the

1. Cong.Mag., XVII (1834), 178-80, 235-41, 308. John Angell James was offered the chance of going, but he reluctantly refused, as did John Liefchild, of Craven Chapel, London, and John Blackburn, editor of the Congregational Magazine. J.A. James to W. Patton, 14 Mar. 1834, in Dale, Life of James, pp.338-39; J.A. James to J. Blackburn, 25 Nov. 1833, J. Turnbull and others to J. Blackburn, 4 June 1833, New Coll. London, Blackburn correspondence, IV L52/5/47-48. For Reed (1787-1862), philanthropist and fifty years' pastor at New Road Chapel and then Wycliffe, see Dict. of Nat. Biog.; for Matheson (1793-1846), later pastor at Durham, and lifelong supporter of home missions, see Chr. Witness, III (1846), 116-22.
2. Andrew Reed and James Matheson, A Narrative of the Visit to the American Churches by the Deputation from the Congregational Union of England and Wales (2 Vols., London, 1835), passim; Cong.Mag., XVII (1834), 685-86.
3. New York Obs., XII (13 Dec. 1834).
4. Methodist exchange of delegates was well established; see below pp.
5. Cox and Hoby, of Hackney and Birmingham respectively, were to attend the Triennial Convention of American Baptists at Richmond, Virginia, in May 1835. Bapt.Mag., XXVI (1834), 344-45, 392, 464-66, 476-77, 548-50. For Cox (1783-1853), university-educated and for 42 years pastor at Hackney, see Dict. of Nat. Biog.

other by the criticisms of radicals like George Thompson, the controversial Scottish abolitionist whose visit to the United States coincided with their own mission? When Thompson charged Cox with betraying the principles that he had held before leaving Britain, the Baptist delegate was forced to remain silent, to avoid jeopardising the success of the visit.¹ This silence could not hide the delicacy of the deputation's position, nor the prospect of deteriorating relations between British and American Baptists over the slavery issue; for the moment, however, the sense of transatlantic identity of interest was reinforced.

What verdict had the delegates reached on American revivals? The fullest treatment came from Reed, whose association with a number of different denominations in various parts of the United States, together with his participation in various kinds of religious service, and his conversations with leading evangelical figures - including Sprague, Patton and Nettleton - gave him a vantage point for examining American revivalism that allowed his British audience to consider his assessments to be peculiarly reliable.² He had left Britain with only moderate expectations and with doubts about the genuineness and good effects of many revivals; he returned, as did the other delegates, with most of his doubts removed, and with an enthusiastic endorsement of revivals of the approved variety - those revivals which were characterised by numerous, genuine and longstanding conversions; and which presented 'no irregularities ..., no boisterous expressions of joy'. These

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1. Frederick Augustus Cox and James Hoby, The Baptists in America: a Narrative of the Deputation from the Baptist Union in England to the United States and Canada (New York, 1836), pp.69-70; New York Obs., XIII (16 May 1835), XIV (13 Aug. 1836); Chr. Adv. and Jnl., IX (29 May 1835).
 2. Reed and Matheson, Visit to the American Churches, I, 321, 340, 347, 443, and passim; A. Reed and J. Matheson to the Secretaries of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, 16 Apr. 1834, New Coll. London, Blackburn correspondence, IV, L52/5/57.

revivals, promoted by 'regular' means, formed the vast majority and could be in no way offensive to British evangelicals.¹

His verdict on the new measures was less straightforward and less favourable. These measures had indeed produced extravagances. 'Protracted meetings' often exhausted and dissipated religious feeling; they were sometimes extended far beyond the customary three or four days, with little apparent regard for the deleterious effects on the spiritual well-being of the participants. More serious were the objections to the anxious seat. This particular instrument, Reed maintained, was an offence against the scriptures and the rights of the congregation. In practice it detracted from the effect of the preached word, and its novelty diverted attention from serious inward inquiry. It played on the social not the spiritual side of the individual's nature: the vain and conceited would respond, the modest and reflective would be repelled. 'Conversions' produced through its implementation might well - as shown by Methodist experience - prove precipitate and shortlived.²

In addition, 'rash measures' could attract 'rash men'. Reed, having been harangued by Sprague and by a Nettleton still licking the wounds inflicted by Finney, pointed to the mischievous efforts and unsettling influence of itinerant evangelists - 'young and raw men, previously unknown to the ministry, and without pastoral experience'. These itinerants, in their self-assertiveness and misplaced confidence in their own judgements, were ready to denounce any pastor or layman who opposed their novel methods and experimentation. The result had been division in the churches: 'Pastors

1. Reed and Matheson, Visit to the American Churches, II, 8-10, 14-30, 273.

2. Ibid., II, 32-40. Cf. Bapt.Mag., XXIV (1832), 241-44, which held that the anxious seat was 'calculated to render religion too mechanical, too much of the nature of mere excitement, and too ostentatious.'

have ... stayed to mourn over diminished influence and affection; or they have been driven away to find in calmer regions a field of renewed labour'.¹ As a member of a denomination for whom the settled pastor was an essential and stabilising influence, Reed quite naturally found this to be one of the most telling criticisms of all.

The term 'new measures' was not synonymous with 'extravagance and disorder', however, and Reed's criticisms of them were judiciously qualified.² He recognised that they had amongst their supporters many ministers 'of undoubted piety and talent'.³ His strictures on the anxious seat were modified by evidence that it could be used effectively, and without confusion or extravagance.⁴ He confessed that the discreet use of the protracted meeting in urgent cases was undoubtedly justified - it was the making of the protracted meeting a component part of the revival system, and giving it an undue importance compared with ordinary and stated means, that troubled him.⁵ He distinguished between the protracted meeting in the strict sense of a prolonged period of uninterrupted attention to religion, and more acceptably defined as a mere increase in the number of meetings, with more or less normal intervals for worldly and social business. Thus Reed endorsed the use of the protracted meeting in the 1834 revival at Northampton, Mass.: the extra services were appointed only after it was clear that religious feeling had already been awakened by more

1. Reed and Matheson, Visit to the American Churches, II, 31-32, 41-43.

2. He believed they were at their most extravagant 'where there has been the largest infusion of the New Divinity', which excluded the doctrine that 'the hearer ... can convert himself'. Ibid., II, 74.

3. Ibid., II, 32.

4. Reed noted that when the anxious seat was used in the African church at Lexington, Virginia, some 12 slaves came forward; there was no confusion nor extravagance. Ibid., I, 217-22.

5. For Reed's use of the protracted meeting in his own congregation, after religious feeling had been awakened, see below, p.152.

5. See, for example, Song-Mag., XII (1879), 215-22.

regular means; and the meetings, spread over a few weeks, did not weary the community through over-concentration. Essentially what caused concern was not the measures themselves, but the spirit in which they were used. New measures sparingly and wisely employed could have beneficial results; regular means adopted in the wrong spirit might well have no effect.¹

On the question of the extent and nature of the new measures, Reed - and Cox² - allayed many British fears and cleared a number of doubts. The measures and the evils they produced were 'as nothing compared with the good consequent on the revivals generally.'³ If the distrust of anxious seats and uncontrolled itinerancy was reinforced so too was the legitimacy of a single-minded and scriptural search for revivals. Extravagance was clearly not the inevitable concomitant of revival; if the revival were conducted in the right spirit then there should be no blameworthy excesses. Even camp meetings - to many a synonym for excitement - had a justifiable and necessary role to play in the religious economy of frontier regions.⁴

With similar persuasiveness Reed dismissed certain of the broader objections levelled against revivals. Was not the conversion of a sinner during a revival - asked the critics - inferior in quality to conversion in quieter times? Were not slow and gradual conversions always more desirable than sudden conversions?⁵ Did not reaction and declension inevitably follow revivals? Was not a gradual but sustained advance more productive than

1. Reed and Matheson, Visit to the American Churches, I, 374-86; II, 32-33, 52ff.
2. In his Suggestions designed to promote the Revival and Extension of Religion, founded on observations made during a journey in the United States of America in ... 1835 (London, 1836) Cox argued in favour of the new measures: extraordinary means and extravagance did not have to go hand in hand.
3. Reed and Matheson, Visit to the American Churches, II, 43.
4. Reed had first hand experience of camp meetings. Ibid., I, 270-98. He concluded that 'There may be a state of things in which I should consider (camp meetings) not only amongst the things useful, but the things necessary.' Cf. Hinton, History and Topography of the U.S., II, 390.
5. See, for example, Cong. Mag., XII (1829), 315-16.

intermittent and uncontrollable religious explosions?¹ To each question Reed replied in the negative. Only in the case of ill-managed revivals, where ministers were impatient for results, were conversions false and impermanent: in some anxious-seat revivals perhaps not one tenth of the converts stood.² But these revivals were the exception. Generally the intensity of revival made the conversion experience that much more memorable for the individual and all the more likely to stand the test of time. There had been cases where relapses had occurred between revivals; but this tended not to have been the case with the converts of 'approved' revivals. Where the reaction was most noticeable 'the state of the church subsequent to the revival, as compared with the state previous, (had) still been a decided improvement.' Uniform and continuous advance was much to be desired, but revivals in Britain and America would always be welcome; 'a true revival ... is unspeakably desirable', concluded Reed.³

The delegates' defence of American revivals elicited a generally favourable response from British evangelicals. In one sense, Nonconformists had little option but to accept this judgement of the revivals' essentially beneficial character, since there was a necessary tactical reason for believing in and finding evidence for a flourishing evangelicalism in America. Both Baptist and Congregationalist delegations had left at a time when arguments were raging in Britain over the merits of an established church system. The Dissenters campaign against church rates, against the virtual monopoly held by the Established Church of baptismal registers, marriages and funeral rites, and against other disabilities, reached a new and bitter

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1. George Redford dealt with this argument in his Introduction to Sprague's Lectures on Revivals, Cong.Mag., XVI (1833), 423-30. Cf. Evang.Mag., new series VII (1829), 190.
 2. Reed and Matheson, Visit to the American Churches, II, 37-40.
 3. Reed and Matheson, Visit to the American Churches, II, 56-58, 60.

stage in 1833 and 1834.¹ Dissenters saw these as part and parcel of a whole range of wider ecclesiastical abuses - clerical ignorance, non-residence, idleness - which grew out of the union of church and state.² Only disestablishment would remove these and allow an unfettered evangelical attack on the bastions of irreligion and immorality: '... to leave Christianity to her spontaneous and self-derived energy, is at once the shortest and the surest way of securing the triumph of religion'.³

Dissenters had assumed for some time that American experience testified to the validity of this analysis,⁴ and the findings of the delegates to the American churches reinforced this assumption. Although the deputation had not been dispatched, as was vigorously claimed by a number of worried clergy, to produce a 'body of one-sided evidence ... to subserve their own particular interests',⁵ it was nevertheless disposed to translate evidence of American prosperity into an argument for the supremacy of the voluntary system. As James had noted in 1833 to a New York correspondent, he and his colleagues looked to American revivals as proof of the greater vitality that could and would result from disestablishment.⁶ They had a vested interest in upholding the essential integrity of these revivals. American revivals, and the state of American religion generally, had become a useful focus for the polemics to which the church and state argument had given rise.

1. Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part I (London, 1966), pp.60-95.

2. J.A. James, Dissent and the Church of England, quoted in Dale, Life of James, p.163ff.

3. Cong.Mag., XVIII (1835), 241. Parliamentary grants to build churches came under fire from Dissenters, on the grounds that the churches in question were usually much too ornate and quite incapable of reaching the 'lowest portions of our population'. Ibid., X (1827), 445-51.

4. See, for example, ibid., XII (1829), 505-10; Evang.Mag., new series VII (1829), 456-59.

5. This was the charge of Fraser's Magazine. See Cong.Mag., XIX (1836), 41-48.

6. '(Y)our spontaneous liberality will far outstrip the tardy zeal of government and the inadequate supplies of legal enactments.' New York Obs., XI (15 June 1833).

spoke of the 'priestly' domination of the American ministry over their congregations. Domestic Manners of the Americans, ed. Bailey, p.73ff.

High Churchmen who saw the attack on the union of church and state as 'blasphemous and anarchical', and who held that disestablishment would 'unchristianize the nation', swooped eagerly on any evidence that suggested that large parts of the United States were 'rapidly sinking into heathenism' and that the American voluntary system was unable to cater for the religious needs of her rapidly growing population.¹ Some pointed to the multiplicity of sects and religious splinter groups; their extravagant and varied beliefs; and the poor education of many ministers.² Others capitalised appreciatively on the descriptions of hostile reporters. Mrs. Trollope's emphasis on the 'disgraceful and dangerous character' of revivals and their attendant religious and social disorders provided fodder for the establishmentarians.³ So too did Bristed's complaint that in a society with no national church the 'unbaptized infidels' were 'the most atrocious and remorseless banditti that infest and desolate human society.'⁴ William Hull argued that under the American system the ministry was both utterly degraded and absolutely powerful. The people's control of the minister's purse-strings produced a ministry which to make itself popular contrived a system of excitements by which it could hypnotise an ignorant congregation. From this there grew a 'reign of fanatical imposture and intolerance' in which 'Roman priests, and American revival-men' were ascendant. A system in which 'priest and people' were 'mutually enslaved' had replaced one of 'wise and salutary restraints'.⁵

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1. J.A. James to W.B. Sprague, 7 Dec. 1832, in Dale, Life of James, p.266; Cong.Mag., XVII (1834), 235f.
 2. Cong.Mag., quoting the Quarterly Review, XI (1828), 78-9. Cf. ibid., XIX (1836), 31-36, quoting Fraser's Magazine; Observer, Remarks on the United States, pp.v-vi and passim.
 3. The Established Church, claimed Calvin Colton, was 'ready to adopt and swallow every word of Mrs. Trollope, and it was far more welcome than Scripture itself.' New York Obs., XII (19 Apr. 1834).
 4. John Bristed, America and Her Resources, quoted in Hinton, History and Topography of the United States, II, 370-380.
 5. William Hull, Ecclesiastical Establishments not Inconsistent with Christianity... (Second Part, London, 1834), pp.48-52. Mrs. Trollope too spoke of the 'priestly' domination of the American ministry over their congregations. Domestic Manners of the Americans, ed. Smalley, p.75ff.

In contrast, many evangelical clergy, while committed to the union of church and state, were less hostile to America. Their very evangelicalism meant that they responded with enthusiasm to the vast increases recorded in American church membership and to the high degree of piety that the American system produced amongst the young. Some, like Daniel Wilson, Vicar of Islington, in their pleas for a revival of 'true religion' derived much hope from the revival groundswell in the United States.¹ But their pleasure was mixed 'with trembling', as they encountered reports of dismissed pastors, 'partial derangement' of the subjects of the revival, 'groans and loud weeping'. They heeded Lyman Beecher's 'correct and temperate' assessment of American revivals which set the 'false fire', 'the contagion of mere animal feeling', and the indiscretions of Finney against the 'legitimate' Nettletonian revivals of New England.² They certainly did not regard the revival system, standing alone, as a panacea for a nation's religious ills.³ 'Clericus' was anxious to point out that 'revivals are often only temporary; and then is peculiarly felt the necessity of fixed forms, that ... when the flame of religion for a time decays, it may not become wholly extinguished.' A revival system unsupported by a state church could never prevent spiritual desolation in some areas.⁴

Dissenters, aided by the occasional American ally, rushed to arms in

1. Daniel Wilson, 'Introductory Essay' to Richard Baxter's Reformed Pastor (Glasgow, 1829), pp.xxix-xxx. Wilson was one of those later to welcome Charles P. McIlvaine.

2. Chr.Obs., XXVIII (1828), 473-81, 537-44; XXIX (1829), 186-87.

3. Dissenters saw Anglican evangelicals as being in the embarrassing position of having to support a Church containing clergy whose theology they rejected and whose piety they might even deny. It was a cause of Nonconformist complaint and disappointment that these evangelicals failed to ally themselves more closely with evangelical Dissenters. Cong.Mag., X (1827), 445ff; New York Obs., XII (26 Apr. 1834).

4. Chr.Obs., XXVI (1826), 343-45.

5. Cox and Eoby, Baptists in America, pp.v, 78-79.

defence of Americans and, by extension, themselves.¹ America, they maintained, demonstrated a level of individual piety, and supply of churches and pastors relative to population that stood to her advantage in any comparison with Britain.² Voluntarism had produced in that country a degree of inventiveness, energy, free discussion, and benevolence which had created the necessary instruments to deal with the spiritual needs of the people, and which had provided the funds to keep those instruments operating.³ The religious advances under a voluntary system during the first three decades of the century had shown that the religious destitution of the frontier could not be solved by a state church with its heavy expenses, worldly ministers and corrupting influence of church patronage. Only through the efforts of bodies like the American Home Missionary Society and the American Sunday School Union would the vast Mississippi Valley be evangelised.⁴ When the findings of the British deputations in 1834 and 1835 confirmed this, their 'unhesitating testimony ... in favour of ... the purely "voluntary principle", in support of religion' was much bruited. Dissenters eagerly concurred with President Jackson's remark to a delighted Cox and Hoby, that 'Human legislation in matters of religion may make hypocrites, but it cannot make Christians.'⁵

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1. As well as rebutting Mrs. Trollope, Colton entered into controversy with the Bishop of London, Dr. James Blomfield, over the value of a voluntary system. See Colton's Church and State in America, Blomfield's The Uses of a Standing Ministry and an Established Church, and Colton's Review of the Bishop of London's Reply. Not all Americans denounced the state church system in Britain. John Codman argued that in America a national establishment was clearly out of place, but in Britain it had become an integral part of the way of life and perhaps could not be jettisoned. Cong.Mag., XVII (1834), 115, 229-33, 603-10; XIX (1836), 685-91.
 2. Reed and Matheson, Visit to the American Churches, II, 132-52.
 3. Cong.Mag., XVI (1833), 720-24; Ecl.Rev., third series II (1829), 379-88.
 4. Hinton, History and Topography of the United States, II, 370-80; New York Obs., XI (15 June 1833).
 5. Cox and Hoby, Baptists in America, pp.v, 28-29.

The reaction of articulate English Baptists and Congregationalists to American revivalism had been marked by ambivalence. They were evangelical enough to be fascinated; yet the sediment of High Calvinism, the lack of revival tradition and the fear of Methodist extravagance led them to hold back from wholehearted commitment to American methods. These doubts remained in the mid 1830s. But by this time opinions were changing. Although not everyone found it possible to make the necessary readjustment in outlook, there was a growing readiness on the part of certain ministers to experiment. They no longer stopped short at the unremarkable 'revival services' of the late 1820s. The rapid sale of Francis Cox's twopenny tract, Suggestions designed to promote the Revival and Extension of Religion, with its endorsement of the use of protracted meetings and other new methods of reviving religion indicated a readiness to make innovations.¹ In part this was due to a much greater acquaintance with American ideas and practice than had hitherto existed. But it also reflected changing denominational and social circumstances. The flirtation of English Nonconformists with American revivalism indicated the existence of certain denominational needs which could not be met adequately by traditional methods, and to which American experience seemed to provide an answer. It is the question of these denominational needs, the social context in which they were rooted, and the way in which new methods were employed to remedy them that now demands attention.

1. Joseph Clarke, 'On Revivals in America', *Bapt. Mag.*, XXVII (1833), 31-32. Clarke had at one time resided in America. He believed American revivalism 'should be confined to the interior of America, and even there, be considerably modified.' For the rejection of Clarke's views by John Copley of Lincoln, see *ibid.*, 37-39.

1. On the Duty of Christians towards Enquirers, and the Younger Members of our churches. The Circular Letter ... of the Buckinghamshire Association of Baptist Churches (Aylesbury, 1836); *Bapt. Mag.*, XXVIII (1836), 32, 111-12.

Clarke had 'just established Meetings amongst my friends embracing the leading features of the American plan'. Thomas Haynes to F. Wilson, 17 June 1833, New Coll. London, Wilson correspondence, 387/33.

3. Protracted meetings were held in Lynn, Spalding, Horncastle, Grimsby, and Lincoln. *Revivalist* (1834), pp. 314-16.

CHAPTER THREE

BAPTISTS, CONGREGATIONALISTS AND NEW MEASURE REVIVALISM IN ENGLAND:

ADOPTION

I

'The attempts which are made to establish revival meetings in England, are, no doubt, well intended; they appear to have originated in a wish to imitate the americans ... (But r)eligion cannot be imported Revival meetings ... will not do for England.' This was the protest of the Baptist John Clarke in December 1834 against the recent attempts of a number of his denominational colleagues to establish protracted services for the revival of religion.¹ In the previous April a young Baptist minister of Boston, Lincolnshire, had arranged a week's revival meetings, 'being the first of the kind ever held in this Country'.² Within nine or ten months similar meetings had been held in the same part of the country on five separate occasions.³ They conformed to no rigid pattern, since arrangements were in the hands of the host pastor; but in general the services were non-sectarian, under Baptist auspices, with a number of ministers, sometimes Methodist or Independent, contributing to the proceedings. Prayer meetings, sermons, discussions and addresses - some in the open air, and all directed to promoting 'by the blessing of God' a revival of religion - began early in the morning and continued until the evening (some not ending until ten

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1. Joseph Clarke, 'On Revivals in America', Bapt.Mag., XXVII (1835), 51-54. Clarke had at one time resided in America. He believed American revivalism 'should be confined to the interior of America, and even there, be considerably modified.' For the rejection Clarke's views by John Craps of Lincoln, see ibid., 87-89.
 2. A. Perrey, Narrative of the Services Connected with One Weeks Revival Meetings in Boston, April 21st to April 27th, 1834...with Remarks on the Vast Importance and Practical Utility of Such Meetings and the best means of rendering them efficient (1834) noted in Bapt.Mag., XXVI (1834), 341; Revivalist (1834), p.278. Five years earlier Boston's Independent minister wrote that he had 'just established Meetings amongst my friends combining the leading features of the American plan'. Thomas Haynes to T. Wilson, 17 June 1829, New Coll. London, Wilson correspondence, 382/33.
 3. Protracted meetings were held in Lynn, Spalding, Horncastle, Grimsby, and Lincoln. Revivalist (1834), pp.314-16.

o'clock), with appropriate interruptions for rest and meals. The American title of 'four-days' meeting' was adopted, but services might well continue into a fifth or sixth day.¹

Clarke was correct in seeing protracted meetings as something new. In contrast to the united meetings confined to a single day and to the days set aside for 'special humiliation and prayer',² protracted meetings were much more systematic attempts to promote revival. They were the product of minds frustrated by the lack of direction in earlier prayer meetings for revival; and which saw that protracted services would focus attention on the specific task of securing conversions. Multiplication of services was not in itself novel. The 'cholera revivals' of 1832-1833 had seen Baptist meeting-houses open daily for scripture reading, sermons, addresses and prayer.³ But these services had been the product of panic; they arose in response to this particular and manifest congregational need. The protracted services of 1834, on the other hand, were established to create the very church climate that pre-dated and prompted the extra services of the cholera year.

The promoters of protracted meetings displayed a firm grasp of technique and an untypical readiness to experiment that allow them to be regarded as the British counterparts of American new measures men. In the

1. Ibid., pp.314-16, 350; Bapt.Mag., XXVI (1834), 568-70.

2. These more established revival meetings continued, of course. The day's united (Baptist and Congregationalist) prayer-meeting for revival at Staines, Middlesex, had become an annual affair. Cong.Mag., XV (1832), 795; Evan.Mag., new series XI (1833), 532. Cf. Revivalist (1834), p.64. The first Monday of 1836 was set aside by British and American Baptists and Congregationalists as a day of humiliation and prayer. Bapt.Mag., XXVII (1835), 543; New York Obs., XIII (31 Oct. 1835).

3. For example, in the Falmouth revival of autumn 1833, which accompanied a violent cholera epidemic, the meeting house was opened for worship every weekday except Saturday. The 'experience-meetings' were thronged. Forty-five were added to the church in four months. Bapt.Mag., XXVI (1834), 433-35.

week's revival meeting at Grimsby in late 1834, when ministers sought a means of bringing home to sinners the duty of immediately seeking salvation, 'for the first time, we ventured to follow up the American plan of calling out those who had received impressions, for the purpose of private conversation and prayer.'¹ Some twelve inquirers adjourned to the vestry where they were attended to by the minister, while the congregation remained in the chapel to pray for the 'anxious'. The separation of inquirers from the rest of the congregation might even approximate to the American use of the anxious seat. The Baptist minister at Eccleshill, Yorkshire, had some months earlier adopted the practice of calling forward to the desk those convinced sinners concerned about their salvation and in need of advice. In this, however, he seems to have been stimulated by Methodist as much as American usage.² Nonetheless, it was generally American example that gave encouragement and legitimacy to the use of new methods.

Despite the opposition of Clark and other critics, by mid 1836 these services were increasing in number and were no longer confined to Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, although it was here that they continued to predominate.³ In their promotion the reports of Baptist and Congregationalist delegates to America were clearly important.⁴ The adoption of special services in London was directly attributable to Francis Cox's efforts at Hackney.⁵

1. Revivalist (1834), p.350.

2. Ibid., pp.249-58.

3. Baptist Union First Annual Letter to the Churches and Associations (June 1836), Bapt.Mag., XXVIII (1836), 590; cf. ibid., 300-01. Outside of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, the counties most involved in the movement were apparently Buckingham, Cheshire and Cornwall. Revivalist (1836), p.105. But cf. ibid., pp.173-74.

4. Bapt.Mag., XXVIII (1836), 406. Cf. Stephen Davis, Notes of a Tour in America, in 1832 and 1833 (Edinburgh, 1833), pp.65-67.

5. At about the same time Edward Steane held a protracted meeting at his church in Camberwell. Revivalist (1836), p.38; Bapt.Mag., XXVIII (1836), 162; Cox, Suggestions, pp.19-23. American influence could be even more direct. The Rev. B. Godwin of Bradford was apprehensive about revivals until the arrival of an American Baptist minister named Thompson, whereupon he agreed to establish special meetings on the American plan. Bapt.Mag., XXVIII (1836), 5-9.

Important too was the apparent success of these early meetings. If 'the number of avowed converts (at times bore) small proportion to the astounding results witnessed so frequently in America',¹ several churches nevertheless experienced large increases relative to total membership. John Craps at Lincoln held protracted meetings in his own church on at least two occasions during this period and increased its membership by almost a half; Benjamin Price of Newtown, Montgomeryshire, told of eighty to a hundred waiting for baptism as a result of revival meetings; Saunders of Haworth reported forty-nine baptised in the first few months of 1836, most of whom had been brought to decision by the revival meetings after years of hesitation.²

II

The adoption of protracted meetings by increasing numbers of Baptist and, at a slightly later date, Congregationalist churches is explained by more than the influence of effective publicity. Nonconformists were receptive to protracted meetings and other novel methods in the 1830s because they were confronted with problems which, though not entirely new, appeared to be intensifying. Action was needed to reach the vast numbers of people untouched by evangelicalism. Precise data were lacking, but one estimate put the proportion of regular church-goers to total population at less than one-sixth;³ another calculated that some four million of church-going age remained 'spiritually destitute'.⁴ Widespread lack of religious instruction promoted crime, created a climate favouring the advance of

1. Revivalist (1834), p.315.

2. Bapt.Mag., XXVI (1834), 568-70 and XXVIII (1836), 70-73; The Circular Letters of the Northamptonshire Association for 1834 (Northampton) and 1836 (Kettering); Bapt.Mag., XXVIII (1836), 161, 297.

3. Thomas Raffles, in his opening address to the Congregational Union in October 1839. Cong.Mag., new series III (1839), 677.

4. Matheson, Our Country, pp.58-59. This calculation included an estimated 1½ million who attended 'anti-evangelical' churches.

The Revival of Religion: a narrative of the state of religion at the Wesleyan Chapel during the year 1839 (5th edition, London, 1845), p.11.

4. James Matheson estimated that of the 11,000 clergy in England and Wales, only a quarter could be described as evangelical. Of these, the vast majority operated in manufacturing districts and large towns, and not in agricultural parishes. Our Country, pp.23-31.

'Popery' and 'infidel doctrines', and ensured that 'profane swearing, Sabbath-breaking, and drunkenness (emerged as) the prevailing sins of (the) nation.'¹ The problem was most apparent in the cities, where concentration of population dramatised evangelical shortcomings. The failure of London evangelical churches to reach the urban masses was greater in degree, but little different in kind, from the lack of success in provincial cities and industrial centres.² Large proportions of city-born populations had never seen the inside of a church; while those rural immigrants that had been sucked into the urban industrialisms often found their church ties (if indeed they had ever existed) severed by inertia or by the counter-attractions and greater apparent relevance to their needs of socialist or atheistic ideas.

Many thought that rural 'ignorance' and 'superstition' was an equally acute problem. The social organisation of the city seemed to allow for an immediate and coordinated attack on irreligion;³ combative agencies did exist. In many agricultural areas, however, the scattered population, anti-evangelical character of the clergy, high rate of illiteracy, and general rural conservatism posed much more intractable problems.⁴

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1. Annual Address of the Congregational Union. Cong.Mag., new series II (1838), 393-402.
 2. London's claims did not suffer for lack of champions. See, for example, James Haldane Stewart, The State of the Metropolis: or, the Importance of a Revival of Religion in London (London, 1823); John Blackburn, Reflections on the Moral and Spiritual Claims of the Metropolis... (London, 1835); Robert Ainslie, The Present State and Claims of London (London, 1836); John Harris, The Christian Citizen, a sermon preached in aid of the London City Mission (London, 1837) and London: a sermon preached on behalf of the Christian Instruction Society (London, 1838). For an excellent and undoubtedly typical picture of the alienation of the urban masses from the churches, see E.R. Wickham, Church and People in an Industrial City (London, 1957), especially pp.84-89.
 3. See William Patton's sermon, 'The Duty and Importance of Special Efforts for the Conversion of Cities' in Cong.Mag., XI (1828), 283-95. Not all agreed: 'Sympathy spreads quickly through a small body of Christians in retired situations; but in London, and in a large community, it is very difficult to impart to all what is known and felt by some.' Andrew Reed, The Revival of Religion: a narrative of the State of Religion at Wycliffe Chapel during the year 1839 (5th edition, London, 1840), p.11.
 4. James Matheson estimated that of the 11,000 clergy in England and Wales, only a quarter could be described as evangelical. Of these, the vast majority operated in manufacturing districts and large towns, and not in agricultural parishes. Our Country, pp.23-31.

Evangelical instruction was often non-existent, often bitterly opposed. The attachment of rural gentry and landlords to the Established Church frequently led them to outlaw evangelical preaching from their tenants' cottages, sometimes driving out tenants if they encouraged Dissent. Promises were extorted from poor labourers not to attend chapels, under the threat of losing their jobs, and there were instances of poor law guardians imposing religious conditions on the distribution of relief.¹

Consequently, evangelical activity in the later 1830s and early 1840s was marked by increasing urgency and determination. Evangelical self-confidence was reinforced by continued growth and the Dissenting campaign against church rates and associated grievances.² The shaking of the evangelical fist against a defensive Church was conducive to Nonconformist self-esteem. Greater evangelical effort was also encouraged by the formation of the Congregational Union in 1831 and the reorganisation of the Baptist Union in the following year. Neither body wielded much power - the member churches were too jealous of their independence and too fearful of hierarchy - but their meetings provided a forum for discussion of common problems and allowed for some central direction of effort. It was, for example, in specially convened Union meetings that Congregationalists launched a better-coordinated Home Missionary Society.

Others besides evangelicals appeared to be on the offensive. Non-conformists saw insidious movements ready to gobble up those areas starved of evangelicalism. Algernon Wells identified, in 1839, three major forms

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1. See, for example, Cong.Mag., new series II (1838), 665-78; new series VII (1843), 132-36; new series VIII (1844), 65-68, 144-46.
 2. Andrew Reed noted that Nonconformist liberation from old attitudes of docility and subservience was still not complete. He looked enviously across the Atlantic: 'The corresponding sections of the church in America have a nobler bearing, more freedom of thought and action, and greater confidence before the common enemy, because they have never worn our fetters.' The Advancement of Religion the Claim of the Times (London, 1843), p.251.

of 'Error' to be checked at all costs: Popery, Infidelity and Puseyism.¹ The former had always been a useful evangelical rallying-cry, and the sprouting of Roman Catholic churches in the decade after Emancipation gave substance to the posited threat. In fact it was not until the great migrations from Ireland during the famine of the 1840s that Roman Catholicism represented a substantial challenge to Protestant evangelicalism. The exaggeration of the Popish threat is more easily understood in the context of growing evangelical concern over Puseyism, 'the extensive and alarming diffusion, by divines professing to be reformed but not Protestant, of semi-papal doctrines concerning the christian ministry, sacraments and way of salvation.' The Tractarian threat - identified in the late 1830s - represented, because of its growth from within the church, a force even more insidious than Jesuitism.²

If the influence of Popery and Puseyism was exaggerated by evangelicals - as it undoubtedly was - then so it would seem was the pervasiveness of 'Infidelity'.³ The anti-clericalism of much of the working-man's literature was not to be equated with heathenism. It was true that Robert Owen's socialist and communitarian ideas held an appeal for radicals and Chartists in the late 1830s and early 1840s. But orthodox Dissenters tended to overestimate the extent of his anti-religious influence. Chartists loyal to the teachings of Christianity but hostile to the organised churches, with their indifference or antagonism towards Chartism, 'undoubtedly far

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1. Address to the Congregational Union, October 1839. Cong.Mag., new series III (1839), 677-86. Cf. the address of the Committee of the Congregational Union to Independent Churches and Pastors of England and Wales, in June 1840. Ibid., new series IV (1840) 483-87.
 2. Fears of the spread of Romanism and Puseyism were echoed across the Atlantic and helped draw evangelicals in both countries into closer sympathy. See, for example, Carus, ed., Memorials of McIlvaine, passim.
 3. For the difficulty of assessing the impact and influence of radical working-men's literature in the 1830s, see Patricia Hollis, The Pauper Press. A Study in Working-Class Radicalism of the 1830s (London, 1970), pp.259-294.

outnumbered either the infidels or the active church members.¹ Atheism or even scepticism was much less prevalent among working-men than more limited anti-church or anti-chapel feeling.²

Dissenters exaggerated the appeal of Infidelity and Tractarianism, but their misjudgment was understandable. They were anxious. They could see how feeble was their hold on masses of the poor and the working class at a time when economic depression, social dislocation and political unrest were intensifying. The good harvests and trade boom of the mid 1830s came to an end in 1836 and were followed by six years of unrelieved economic depression. Unprecedented unemployment in manufacturing districts, was accompanied by high food prices and inadequate relief.³ Faced by hunger and destitution, thousands of working-men proved responsive to the appeals of Chartism and radical movements. The disruptions of 1839-40 and the riots of 1842 ensued.

In the face of apparent social collapse,⁴ Nonconformists reacted in a variety of ways. While the middle-class emphasis of Nonconformist leadership prevented general sympathy for radical Chartist methods, some Congregationalists, Edward Miall in particular, proved sympathetic to the democratic demands of the Charter, as did liberal Baptists like George Dawson, Eustace Giles and William Jackson.⁵ There was, however, a unanimity

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1. H.U. Faulkner, Chartism and the Churches (New York, 1916), p.17.
 2. Chadwick, Victorian Church, I, 333-36. For a good example of evangelical fears, see Baptist Wriothsesley Noel, The State of the Metropolis Considered in a letter to ... the Bishop of London (second edition, London, 1835), pp.55-65.
 3. Rostow's 'Social Tension Chart', based on fluctuations in the trade-cycle and wheat prices, indicates that 1837-1842 were years of high social tension. W.W. Rostow, British Economy of the Nineteenth Century (Oxford, 1948), p.125.
 4. Rioting and house-burning in Birmingham in the summer of 1839 led John Angell James to conclude that it was only the presence of the military that prevented country-wide anarchy. J.A. James to W. Sprague, 22 July 1839, in Dale, Life of James, pp.354-56.
 5. Faulkner, Chartism and the Churches, pp.96-101.

in Dissenting ranks, an agreement that only the spread of evangelical religion could defuse the social and political crisis.¹ Purely secular remedies would inevitably prove impermanent if men's hearts were not first changed. At a time when a revival of the 'feudal distinction' between rich and poor was provoking bitter social tensions, some Dissenting ministers, sandwiched nervously between both poles, saw it as their duty as representatives of 'the mediate classes' to fashion agencies that would take evangelical religion to the extremes of society. It would, however, have to be a religion divested of its elitist and partisan trappings: it was clear that the poor had been alienated from formal religion as a result of the 'disastrous conjunction of religion with bigotry, religion with oppression, religion with ignorance, religion with indifference to the present social welfare of the masses.'² These Nonconformists believed (in common with other mediate groups in time of social crisis) that the general adoption of their own values and beliefs would provide the key to social harmony and the promotion of national prosperity. The active promotion of a universal evangelicalism, already established as the duty of the dissenter-as-evangelical, now became the responsibility of the dissenter-as-patriot.³

III

Archibald MacLay of New York was thus sure of a sympathetic hearing when he told the Baptist Home Missionary Society in 1840 that 'If Christians

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1. See, for example, Revivalist (1838), p.256.
 2. Reed, Advancement of Religion, pp.207-08, 267-68, 288-300.
 3. '(T)he highest order of patriotism is that which leads us to seek the salvation of our countrymen.' John Harris, Christian Patriotism; a sermon, preached before the friends of the Home Missionary Society.. (London, 1842), p.5.

3. English Literature, new series I (1837), 91-98, 176, 341-43, new series II (1838), 230-33, 341-43, 393-400, 435-41; new series III (1839), 173-81, 730-66, 847-50.

4. Ibid., new series III (1839), 375-39, 504-71, new series IV (1840), 734-85.

laboured as they ought for God, they would have no reason to fear Socialism, or any other ism.¹ His chiding would have been particularly welcomed by those in Nonconformity who believed that aggressive evangelism, so powerful in the previous generation, was beginning to decline. A.D. Gilbert sees this decline to have been in part the result of external factors - an evangelical re-orientation and counter-attack from within the Established Church, and the disappearance of the social catchment area that had provided the basis for Nonconformist growth - and in part a consequence of an internal re-ordering of denominational priorities: the conversion of outsiders increasingly took second place to organisational consolidation.² But the aggressive strain was far from dead, and evangelicals in all denominations were confident of a revival of religion through organisation, better direction of effort, increased manpower and a little novelty.

Many Congregationalists, for example, were increasingly aware of the paucity of funds, deficient manpower and limited enterprise of the Home Missionary Society (in theory an interdenominational body, in practice a Congregationalist organisation) and the uneven effectiveness of County Associations. They recognised the need for a centralised and strictly denominational offensive.³ In 1840, after much discussion in which American and Methodist example was adduced, the Congregational Union took the Home Missionary Society under its wing.⁴ Within three years, its income and

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1. Bapt.Mag., XXXII (1840), 345-47. Maclay was in Britain as an agent of the American and Foreign Bible Society, to promote the translation and distribution of the Bible. He was again in Britain in 1855 on a similar mission. Ibid., XXXI (1839), 546 and XXXII (1840), 658; Freeman, I (8 Aug. 1855); A. Maclay, An Address delivered at a Public Meeting held in Hope Street Baptist Chapel, Glasgow, January 1840 (Glasgow, 1840).
 2. Gilbert, The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, pp.317-416.
 3. Cong.Mag., new series I (1837), 93-98, 399, 544-45; new series II (1838), 290-92, 381-88, 393-402, 658-61; new series III (1839), 677-86, 738-66, 841-47.
 4. Ibid., new series III (1839), 535-39, 866-73; new series IV (1840), 764-85.

operations were 'much enlarged.'¹ The Society's impact was still restricted, but as an active response to the stated need for more coherent, better organised institutions, its relative growth was indeed significant. There were similar developments in urban areas: the operations of existing city missions were expanded;² and new missions were born in London and other cities.³

New and better-focussed organisations demanded a staff of helpers; since Nonconformist ministers could not operate the machinery alone, they constantly and forcefully encouraged church members to participate in organised revival activity.⁴ That they were having to urge laymen so energetically provides some support for Gilbert's argument that the spontaneous lay participation in evangelism earlier in the century had given way to lower levels of lay commitment and to a much clearer and formal differentiation of function between layman and educated ministry.⁵ A bevy of Baptist and Congregational authors - fortified with restatements of

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1. The Home Missionary Society supported in part or in full some 110 missionaries and pastors in 1838. In 1843 its agents totalled 150. They operated amongst 50,000 hearers, in rural areas. Matheson, Our Country, p.43ff; Cong.Mag., new series VII (1843), 821-23. The early 1840s were, statistically-speaking, the years of the Society's greatest effectiveness. Gilbert, The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, p.361.
 2. The Liverpool Town Mission, formed a decade earlier, boasted 16 missionaries by 1839. Revivalist (1839), p.68.
 3. The London City Mission, founded by David Nasmyth in 1835, supplemented the operations of the Christian Instruction Society. For Manchester and other Lancashire towns, and Norwich, see Cong.Mag., XIX (1836), 527 and new series I (1837), 812-17; Revivalist (1839), p.68ff.
 4. See, in particular, John Campbell's prize essay, Jethro: a system of lay agency in connexion with Congregational Churches for the diffusion of the Gospel among our home population (n.p., 1839); and James Matheson's Our Country. Both were entered in competition for the 100 guineas offered for the best essay on the employment of lay agency by Congregationalist churches in Home Mission work. Cf. David Everard Ford's highly successful Decapolis: or, the individual obligation of Christians to save souls from death (5th edition, London, 1841). This small volume went through six editions in one year, and eleven by 1844. It was almost as popular in America, where four editions appeared by 1842.
 5. Gilbert, The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, pp.374-416.

moderate Calvinism¹ - instructed their lay audiences on such subjects as 'The Duty of Individual Effort for the conversion of souls', and reminded them of 'the righteousness of God in punishing the neglect of souls.'² Andrew Reed picked up this theme - 'Lay agency is as extensive as lay piety' - and played a predictable variation: no matter what myopic establishmentarians might maintain about the need for state support, only individual Christian effort would usher in the millenium.³

American experience provided encouragement.⁴ It stimulated some evangelicals to improve tract distribution⁵ and promote prayer meetings conducted by laymen.⁶ Others established Maternal Associations - groups of praying mothers which met to encourage the conversion and spiritual welfare of their families. The first of these had been established in New England in the second decade of the century, but Samuel Green of Boston found no such Associations in Europe during his visit of 1831; he claimed

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1. J.H. Hinton's Work of the Holy Spirit in Conversion went into a revised third edition in 1841. For typical reiterations of the 'modern' approach to the doctrines election, man's responsibility, and the atonement, see the Circular Letters of the Midland Baptist Association for 1840 and the Baptist Association of Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Warwickshire and Worcester for 1833; and, particularly, Thomas W. Jenkyn, On the Extent of the Atonement, in its relation to God and the Universe (London, 1833), a work of some considerable influence not just in Britain, but also in America, where its statement of an unlimited atonement was well received by New Divinity men. The first American edition appeared in 1835, the third in 1859. Bibl. Rep. and theol. rev., VII (Oct. 1835), 675-78. Jenkyn (1794-1858), from a humble Welsh background, was Congregationalist pastor at Wem, Salop., and Oswestry before eventually becoming professor of theology at Cowerd College. Dict. of Welsh Biog.
 2. The Circular Letter of the Ministers and Messengers of the Lancashire and Cheshire Association of Baptist Churches (Accrington, 1838); Charles Stovel, The Dreadful Requisition; or a treatise on the righteousness of God in punishing the neglect of souls (London, 1837). Stovel was a London Baptist who had contributed to the earliest protracted meetings in 1834. Cf. his Pastoral Appeals on Conversion (London, 1837).
 3. Reed, Advancement of Religion, pp.83-84.
 4. Revivalist (1838), pp.101-04.
 5. The Duty of Every Christian to seek the Conversion of Sinners. The Circular Letter from ... the Northamptonshire Association (Kettering, 1840); Matheson, Our Country, p.86ff.
 6. Cox, Suggestions, pp.6-8; David Ford's advocacy of these meetings did not go unchallenged. Cong.Mag., new series IV (1840), 770ff.

to have acquainted London and Liverpool with their purpose and organisation.¹ London and Reading had certainly acquired Maternal Associations by 1835, thanks to the efforts of Andrew Reed's wife, and of James Sherman and J.H. Hinton.² They were never very popular and occasionally ran into outright opposition.³ A more attractive import was the Bible Class, part of the regular business of church life which sought to prepare young people for conversion and missionary work through the study of the scriptures, and regarded in Britain for some time as influential in promoting American revivals. In the late 1820s and 1830s Bible Classes sprang up in British evangelical churches, and were recognised as a means of prolonging the attachment of senior Sunday scholars to the church - often they had left before they were fifteen.⁴

Similarly encouraging was the success of American Sunday Schools, dependent on the evangelical offices of lay teachers, in securing the conversion of young children.⁵ This, argued Andrew Reed, was the proper business of English Sunday Schools: their emphasis on secular learning - reading and writing - should be replaced by activity that recognised the Sabbath Schools' position as 'the nurseries of the church'.⁶ Challenging

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1. Storrs, Memoir of Green, p.105; Cox, Suggestions, pp.12-15; Harvey Newcomb, Newcomb's Manual for Maternal Associations (Boston, 1840).
 2. Bapt.Mag., XVIII (1836), 74; Codman, Visit to England, pp.76-77, 174-75.
 3. Matheson, Our Country, pp.76, 193-200. Cf. E.N. Kirk's sermon in Surrey Chapel (Nov. 1838) on 'The Nature and Influence of Maternal Associations', in his Sermons on Different Subjects, delivered in England and America (5th edition, New York, 1842), pp.155-79; Revivalist (1838), pp.315-22.
 4. Cong.Mag., XII (1829), 20-28; XVI (1833), 591-92; Bapt.Mag., XXVII (1835), 129-32; Matheson, Our Country, pp.64-70; Reed, Advancement of Religion, p.255; Chr. Witness, I (1844), 274. In the late 1820s the Congregationalist John Morison launched a periodical, The Monthly Bible Class-Book, upon the American Plan; or, Scriptural Aids to promote a Revival of Religion among the Rising Generation; noted in Wesl. Meth. Mag., third series VIII (1829), 185.
 5. The Scriptural Means of Promoting a Revival. The Circular Letter (of) the Northampton Association (Kettering, 1837).
 6. 'The object should be throughout the salvation of the pupil, and this, not to be realised in years to come, but now.' Reed, Advancement of Religion, p.254. See also The Circular Letter (of) the Northamptonshire Association for 1840.

those British ministers sceptical of the value and permanence of early conversions, Francis Cox noted that his American experience 'would lead to this conclusion, that those who had professed the earliest, had persevered the longest.'¹ In promoting this means of revival the layman, both as recruitment officer and teacher, had a significant role to play.²

Some ministers wanted to extend even further the responsibility of the layman. James Matheson and Edward Leighton reckoned that the generous use of Congregationalist lay preachers would achieve in rural areas the success realised by the Methodist lay preacher system in industrial districts: '(C)ould we employ local preachers as extensively as the Methodists, we might then build chapels as fast as they.'³ In fact some pastors already allowed their church members to teach or preach publicly, but the extensive use of laymen as preachers was liable to opposition from older and more 'respectable' churches fearful that self-important laymen would usurp the pastor's role - as was alleged to happen in Methodism.⁴ Baptists, in contrast, with less of a tradition of an educated ministry and often short of manpower in feeble country churches, were much readier to employ lay preaching, and had a long history of lay involvement in services.⁵ A reaction against a 'priestly' conception of the ministry had been produced by the rise of the Oxford Movement, but not even this could remove the

1. Cox, Suggestions, p.11.

2. Revivalist (1838), pp.173-74; On the Duty of the Church to the Young. The Circular Letter (of) the Northamptonshire Association (Kettering, 1841), passim.

3. Matheson, Our Country, p.86ff; Edward Leighton, The Church at Work: An essay on the best means of promoting the increase of places of worship, of congregational hearers, and of members in church fellowship (London, 1840), p.29; Matheson estimated that there were less than one thousand lay preachers in the whole denomination.

4. But cf. Cong.Mag., new series II (1838), 409-13.

5. Matheson, Our Country, pp.42-43; Bapt.Mag., XXVIII (1836), 549. Cf. John Rippon, Bapt. Ann. Reg., III (1798-1801), 1-41, for the employment of laymen in reading, praying and expounding in Baptist village preaching.

Congregationalists' long-standing fear that lay preachers might make up in pride, arrogance and presumption for what they might lack in education, and as a result an unadventurous policy prevailed.¹ Nonetheless, the fact that a broad plan of lay preaching could be seriously suggested is further evidence of a new evangelical climate at this time.

English needs and American example also encouraged Dissenters in the 1830s to use itinerant and outdoor preaching. It has been shown that itinerancy and outdoor services had an established place in the dissenting denominations, in connection with village preaching and home missions in 'destitute' areas. Such work was often haphazard. Moreover, it lacked status; the itinerant or home missionary found himself the poor relation of the denomination, inferior to the settled pastor, in comparison with whom he was often poorly paid, uneducated and generally ill-equipped. This does not fully explain the pastor's aloofness and sense of superiority. After all, such deficiencies in training could have been remedied; yet the poor preparation of itinerants was never systematically redressed. Matheson complained of the almost complete neglect of preparing men to work as evangelists; the Home Missionary Society, when established in 1819, made no plans for the training of its itinerant agents.² Dissenting pastors - especially Congregationalists - valued the pastoral function and the settled order of their churches too highly to allow any real emphasis on itinerant work. They saw two sides to the ministry - one of evangelising and bringing sinners to conversion, and the other of instructing those converts and sustaining the piety of the church membership. Both functions were regarded as indispensable and as best combined in the same man. A settled pastor could fulfil both roles; in contrast, an itinerant evangelist - as Methodist

1. Matheson, Our Country, p.3ff.

2. Bapt.Mag., XXIX (1837), 103-04; Cong.Mag., new series II (1838), 665-78.

3. Ibid., (1839), 22, 38-39.

experience indicated - might successfully gather converts, but his infrequent and irregular ministrations would inevitably result in that church's speedy decline.¹ Even the ardent evangelical, John Angell James, objected to this separation of functions: the most he would concede was that a class of itinerant evangelists 'might be useful as an auxiliary to our stated pastors.'²

Furthermore, itinerant evangelism - especially outdoor itinerancy - savoured rather too much of vulgarity and impropriety to meet the approval of the more genteel and respectable middle-class elements in Dissent. Apart from notable rule-proving exceptions like Rowland Hill, outdoor preachers had been taken from 'the lower orders of the religious world'. Many thought it faintly ridiculous and certainly not respectable to stand up out of doors and face crowds of 'promiscuous strangers'.³ Outdoor itinerancy had frequently been opposed by mobs and accompanied by social disorder, and dissenting itinerants could find themselves competing in the same areas as the 'Ranters', with their more 'enthusiastic' approach to evangelism.⁴ This did not alienate by any means all Baptists and Congregationalists from itinerancy and outdoor preaching, but it made it obligatory for the advocates of these methods to testify to their 'order', 'decorum' and 'prudence' whenever they were used.

Despite these objections from 'lady-like preachers',⁵ advocates of outdoor preaching obtained a better hearing in the 1830s and 1840s. Scores of latter-day Whitefields overcame their scruples and participated in

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1. Matheson, Our Country, p.18.
 2. Dale, Life of James, pp.311-12 (emphasis added).
 3. Revivalist (1836), pp.181-84.
 4. Cong.Mag., new series VIII (1844), 537. There may have been a hint of camp-meeting boisterousness and indecorum about outdoor services that offended dissenting 'good taste'. The holders of outdoor services in Manchester were careful to secure police permission before they erected their preaching platform. Revivalist (1844), pp.282-83.
 5. Ibid., (1839), pp.349-50.

schemes for open-air preaching.¹ Some fifty Baptist and Congregationalist ministers began in 1839 to prosecute a vigorous open-air campaign throughout Gloucestershire.² A few years later the Independent ministers of Manchester and Salford arranged a series of outdoor services, imaginatively employing a specially-built mobile platform and appropriate publicity.³ Both missions claimed success in reaching large numbers unaccustomed to attending church services, including 'several infidels and socialists.' Ante-dating and in part precipitating these efforts was an open-air campaign of considerable dimensions begun in the summer of 1835 in London; forty-seven ministers were said to have reached weekly audiences of 10,000 in various parts of the city and its suburbs.⁴

Equally significant, the 1830s saw an extension of the existing system of itinerancy. Home missionaries were irked to discover the discrepancy between their position and the superior status of American itinerants. But they took heart from the greater attention paid in the 1830s to the training and financing of home evangelists; to the encouragement and support of pastors who itinerated in the areas around their charges; and to the work of Baptist and Congregationalist itinerants in those areas of Scotland where a scattered population could be reached only by itinerancy

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1. See, for example, Evang.Mag., new series VII (1829), 484-87; John Campbell, ed., Services at the Centenary Celebration of Whitefield's Apostolic Labours, held in the Tabernacle, Moorfields, May 21st, 1839. With introductory observations on open-air preaching (London, 1839). J.C. Galloway of West Bromwich suggested the use of a large tent allowing for spontaneity and mobility while offering protection against bad weather and 'the contemptuous gaze of uninterested passers-by'. Cong. Mag., new series IV (1840), 729. For the summer tent-services of the Hertfordshire Congregational Union, see I. Antony to J. Blackburn, 6 Dec. 1841, New Coll. London, Blackburn correspondence, V, L52/6/22.
 2. Revivalist (1839), pp.315-18; Bapt.Mag., XXXII (1840), 84.
 3. Revivalist (1844), pp.282-83; cf. Chr. Witness, I (1844), 407. Meanwhile the Baptist Home Missionary Society was reviving open-air preaching, and its Congregationalist counterpart appears to have been intensifying similar efforts. Cf. Bapt.Mag., XXVIII (1836), 414; Cong.Mag., new series VIII (1844), 703-04.
 4. Revivalist (1835), pp.392-93; (1837), p.23. Cf. Noel, State of the Metropolis, pp.42-55.

and outdoor methods that echoed the usages of American frontier regions.¹ More important than the extension of earlier practices was the adoption of a relatively novel evangelism much nearer to the American model - the itinerancy of full-time evangelists who, in order to promote revivals, visited both untenanted preaching stations and, more significantly, the churches of settled pastors. On his return from the United States Francis Cox demanded: 'Let us have some journeys exclusively for the revival and diffusion of religion.'² His colleagues joined the refrain. Charles Hill Roe, as secretary of the Baptist Home Missionary Society, was an enthusiastic advocate of appointing a few evangelists ('an order of ministers in our religious polity too much overlooked') to visit Society stations and - when invited - to hold public revival meetings in neighbouring churches.³

Of course, it was not simply American practice that persuaded Baptists of the value of itinerant evangelism.⁴ At times, the methods of Welsh Baptists, with their apparent success in filling their chapels and reaching the poor, caught the eye of their envious English co-religionists. Welsh Baptists appeared to combine the travelling preacher system of the

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1. Bapt.Mag., XXIX (1837), 103-04; XXXII (1840), 85; Cong.Mag., XVI (1833), 377; XVIII (1835), 130-31; XIX (1836), 654-55; new series V (1841), 510-11; new series IX (1845), 536. Ireland was also a focus for attention. Cf., ibid., XIII (1830), 49-51; new series VI (1842), 626-29.
 2. Cox, Suggestions, p.18. Cf. Revivalist (1837), pp.138-39. There had been occasional itinerancies attempted in Britain but they had been neither 'sufficiently frequent, nor sufficiently countenanced.' They had usually been associated with the collection of money, not the promotion of revivals.
 3. Bapt.Mag., XXX (1838), 93. Cf. ibid., XXIX (1837), 568-575. Roe, one of the many young men fired by the evangelical example and tutoring of William Steadman, his father-in-law, had given up his pastorate at Middleton-in-Teasdale, Durham, to become secretary of the B.H.M.S. in 1835. He later gave his assistance to Finney. Ibid., XXIII (1831), 596; David Douglas, History of the Baptist Churches in the North of England, from 1648 to 1845, (London, 1846), pp.274ff.
 4. Though the American itinerant experience was kept in full view. Archibald Maclay of New York told a sympathetic B.H.M.S. Assembly in 1840 of the major role played by evangelists in the widespread American revival of 1839, particularly by that showman-cum-revivalist, Jacob Knapp. Bapt. Mag., XXXII (1840), 345-47.

4. Address to the B.H.M.S., 1840. Ibid., XXXIII (1841), 112-13. Cf. ibid., XXXIV (1842), 219.

Methodists with the settled pastorate of the Independents, through the frequent visits of their settled ministers to other churches or to the various Association meetings. His first-hand experience of this system prompted Charles Roe to advocate that English Baptist ministers engage in a system of reciprocated visiting, designed to encourage revival. Even more persuasive was the nagging testimony of Methodist growth. There was a long history of Nonconformist appreciation of Methodist energy - William Steadman's itinerancies in the 1790s and his efforts to train evangelists were born of the opinion that the Methodists had 'set an example worthy the imitation of all friends of religion, however different from them their religious opinions may in some points be'¹ - and the generation of the 1830s and 1840s proved no less appreciative of the aggressive evangelism of the Methodist itinerancy.² It was thus a complex of influences that brought Baptists to consider the merits of itinerant revivalism - a complex made clear in Roe's impatient question: 'When will our denomination learn wisdom from the Bible's examples - from our Welch brethren's efforts and success - from the American churches' zeal - and from the plans and prosperity of the Methodists, which are daily before our eyes?'³

Certain sections of his denomination were learning the lesson he taught. In the latter half of the 1830s full-time evangelists began to conduct revivals, albeit on a relatively limited front. John Hinton was pleased to see that by 1841 the Baptist Home Missionary Society was supporting the visits of evangelists to existing churches, perhaps for several weeks at a time.⁴ Generally these agents were ministers who had given up thriving

1. Bapt. Ann. Reg., II (1794-97), 459-64.

2. See, for example, the Circular Letter (of) the Northamptonshire Association for 1840; Douglas, Baptist Churches in the North, pp. 306-08. 'The Methodist system is a missionary society, without the pastoral character. Ours is too exclusively pastoral.' Bapt. Mag., XXXI (1839), 133-36.

3. Bapt. Mag., XXIX (1837), 365-66.

4. Address to the B.H.M.S., 1841. Ibid., XXXIII (1841), 322-23. Cf. ibid., XXXIV (1842), 339.

pastorates to devote themselves wholly to evangelism. Thomas Pulsford was the most strikingly successful of the group. As pastor in Torrington, Devon, in the early and mid 1830s he had made a reputation in village preaching.¹ Now, in 1839, he put settled work behind him and, inspired by Jenkyn's Union of the Holy Spirit and the Church and by Finney's Lectures on Revivals, began a career as an 'evangelist'.² He travelled over the whole country, the industrial North in particular, to conduct revivals that brought denominational fame to himself and significant additions to the churches.³

The itinerant work of Pulsford, and other B.H.M.S. agents of his mould - men like Roe, Barnes and Jameson - met, though it did not satisfy, a pressing denominational need.⁴ It also met a degree of denominational disapproval. Roe had anticipated that the wealthier, older and larger churches might be cautious. Their security, after all, bred conservatism and obviated the need for experiment. It was mainly the 'hundreds of decaying, sleeping, sinking, poor, neglected little churches in England' that would approve of

1. Ibid., XXVII (1835), 28-29.

2. He was also much impressed by the works of Colton, F.A. and S.H. Cox, Hinton and E.N. Kirk. 'An affectionate appeal to the Churches of Christ', pp.2-3, 24, in Pulsford, Helps for Revival Churches and Christian Instruction Societies... (London, 1846). This particular tract proposed a Revival Tract society, to spread their abridged writings cheaply, and a Revival Union, to put their dicta into practice. The volume as a whole illustrates the tremendous urgency underlying Pulsford's work and the Finneyite influences on him.

3. The major stops on Pulsford's itinerancy and the 'unparalleled excitement' he could produce can be traced through the pages of the Bapt.Mag., XXXII (1840), 505-06, 697-98 (Newcastle and Carlyle); XXXIII (1841), 157-59, 540 (Bridlington, Shipsea, Stockton-on-Tees, Malton, Salop., and Shrewsbury); XXXIV (1842), 219 (Driffield, Yorks.); XXXV (1843), 75-76, 237, 506 (Sheffield, Newark, Farsley, Rotherham, Wakefield, Shipley, Bramley and Stockport); XXXVI (1844), 59-61, 226 (Chowbent, Lewes, and Bromsgrove); Bapt.Rep., new series I (1844), 20-21, 95-96 (Birmingham and Manchester); new series II (1845), 69, 140 (Halstead, Essex, and Houghton, Hunts.); Bapt.Rec., III (1846), 72-73, 286-87 (Hereford, Ledbury and Haddenham). Douglas, Baptist Churches in the North, pp.284-86, provides a summary of Pulsford's work in that region. Cf. W.T. Whitley, Baptists of North-West England 1649-1913 (London, 1913), p.119.

4. For William Barnes, see Bapt.Mag., XXXIII (1841), 537-40; for R.G. Jameson, who burnt himself out by 1842, see ibid., 541-42; XXXIV (1842), 513-14.

and benefit from new methods.¹ Indeed for some of these churches the use of itinerants never went far enough. Congregationalists, too, for the reasons already established, seem to have taken a more conservative position. In contrast to the more radical Baptists, their traditional loyalty to pastoral independence and the relative fewness of pastor-less churches in their denomination made them reluctant to countenance anything more than the work of itinerants in 'destitute' areas under the auspices of their own Home Missionary Society.

IV

The most novel method used to promote that revival of religion considered so essential in the later 1830s was the protracted meeting. At a time of heightened awareness of the challenge facing evangelical religion, both ministry and laity, it unquestionably helped launch revival activity those wary of technique or 'machinery' in religion may have been prepared in general and protracted meetings in particular. Indeed, there were precedents to blur the line dividing 'proper' from 'improper' means. Precedents for the multiplication of services were sought.² Biblical examples were contrived.³ If all else failed, the urgency of the need for new measures was argued.⁴ Whatever the justification, by the late 1830s this particular measure was being employed in both Baptist and Congregationalist churches

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1. Ibid., XXIX (1837), 365. But cf. Ward, Religion and Society in England, p.73: the hypercalvinistic position of the Gadsbyites may have 'formed a last-ditch defence of the poorest in the denomination'.
 2. Reports of protracted meetings and revivals in the United States continued to litter the evangelical magazines. For those who found American experience inappropriate or unpersuasive, the Scottish example of the four-day sacrament - formal protracted services accompanying the observation of the Lord's Supper - was adduced. Cong.Mag., new series II (1838), 751-52; Reed, Advancement of Religion, pp.262-63.
 3. Revivalist (1838), pp.37-39; Cox, Suggestions, p.23; William Patton, 'Introduction' to Edwards on Revivals (London, 1839), pp.x-xi.
 4. Revivalist (1837), p.365.

to an extent inconceivable in the previous decade.¹

Amongst Independents, James of Birmingham attributed the introduction of protracted meetings to George Redford, who had held meetings at Worcester in 1837.² James' customary reliability seems to have forsaken him here; it has been noted that some Congregationalists were involved in Baptist protracted meetings in 1834³ and that many had been acquainted with this American practice for some years. But James was correct in claiming that it was not until the later 1830s and early 1840s that they were adopted on any significant scale. American influence was directly instrumental. First, Finney's Lectures on Revivals appeared in Britain in 1837, sold quickly, and re-appeared in 1839 in a new edition designed specifically for a British audience.⁴ Its direct, practical advice on all aspects of revival procedure made a considerable impact, favourable and unfavourable. Widely read by both ministry and laity, it unquestionably helped launch revival activity in general and protracted meetings in particular. Second, there were present in Britain at this time a number of American ministers who were prepared to put at the disposal of Independent ministers their expertise in revivals. The most notable of these were Nathaniel Sidney Smith Beman, Edward Norris Kirk and William Patton.

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1. See Joseph Belcher's remarks in ibid. (1839), pp.iv-v; and ibid. (1840), p.111. In the 1820s many Independent churches still refrained from multiplying services even on the Lord's Day: Sunday evening services did not become general practice until the late 1830s. D. Tyssil Evans, The Life and Ministry of the Rev. Caleb Morris (London, 1902), pp.151-52. At the height of the cholera revival in North Shields in 1832 services were held no more frequently than every week. Cong.Mag., XV (1832), 222-24. But for regular nightly services in the first decade of the century, see Burrell, Memoir of Lewis, p.15ff.
 2. J.A. James to W.B. Sprague, 22 July 1839, in Dale, Life of James, p.355. But for James' own use of special services in 1832, see ibid., pp.306-07.
 3. Revivalist (1834), pp.314-15.
 4. By April 1838 a 7th edition of 2,000 copies was required. The special British edition, 'With Introductory Prefaces by Rev. John Angell James, Rev. George Payne, D.D., and Rev. N.S.S. Beman, D.D. with Notes, and Carefully Revised, by Rev. William Patton, D.D.', was published in 1839.

7. Weisberger, The Revival

Beman and Patton had been prominent New School men in the Presbyterian schism of 1837-1838.¹ Indeed Beman, with Albert Barnes and George Duffield, had been central figures in the doctrinal controversies that produced the division;² and as a leader of that group in the Assembly of 1838 he had earned the name 'War-horse of the New School'.³ He and Patton arrived in Britain in 1839 as delegates from the New School General Assembly to the Congregational Union, anxious to secure the goodwill and recognition of British Christians for the new denomination.⁴ Congregationalists were sympathetic. James spoke for many when he deprecated the schism, but spoke generously of the New School: 'I like their theology better, and I like their conduct better.'⁵ Both Beman and Patton were associated with the new revivalism. The former had found himself in the centre of the new measure controversy in 1827, when in the Troy revival he had, in collaboration with Finney, adopted the practice of praying aloud for named individuals.⁶ Loud groaning and 'liberal' theology proved too much for some of his congregation, and the strong-willed Beman was brought before the presbytery for trial.⁷ Patton's career was less stormy, and he continued to experience considerable success in revivals as pastor of New York's Spring Street church from 1837-1848. Both men were active in the various

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1. Marsden, New School Presbyterian Experience, pp.54, 77, 95, 135; Robert Ellis Thompson, A History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States (New York, 1895), pp.109, 118-19, 127; Dict. of Am. Biog.
 2. Beman's Four Sermons on the Doctrine of the Atonement (1825), published in America and Britain, proved offensive to Old School men. His influence, however, derived mainly from his preaching. Thompson, History of the Presbyterian Churches, p.109.
 3. Ibid., p.127.
 4. For the addresses of both men to the Annual Meeting of the Congregational Union in May 1839, and their warm reception, see Cong.Mag., new series III (1839), 373-99.
 5. J.A. James to W. Sprague, 22 July 1839, in Dale, Life of James, p.355.
 6. The friendship cooled after 1841, when Beman signed the Troy Presbytery resolution condemning Oberlin perfectionism. James E. Johnson, 'Charles G. Finney and Oberlin Perfectionism', in Journal of Presbyterian History, XLVI (1968), 132.
 7. Weisberger, They Gathered at the River, pp.113-16.

May meetings of 1839 and found their services in demand, though of the two Patton's impact in Britain was apparently the more marked.¹ In particular, he achieved 'a great deal of good' at a series of protracted meetings in Birmingham. The congregations were clearly impressed by the genuine article.

It is Kirk's visit that is of greatest interest and significance. Though he is probably best known as the Boston Congregationalist under whose ministry in 1855 Dwight L. Moody was converted,² when Kirk left America in April 1837 for a two-year visit to Europe he was already established at the age of thirty-five as a prominent exponent of new measure revivals. As had Finney's, his conversion had interrupted a planned career in law. In 1828, after four years at Princeton, he became pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Albany, New York.³ His congregation, composed of a number of the elite of Albany society, 'eminent lawyers, merchants, and statesmen', soon discovered to their chagrin that Kirk was a most un-Princetonian appointment.⁴ His uncompromising preaching of the gospel 'in all its fulness' and his espousal of new measures offended many who wanted only 'the simple intellectual presentation of the truth.' They urged Kirk 'to "tone down" his doctrines, (and) to "beware of offending the tastes" of his congregation.' He refused, and was dismissed. Supported by a loyal section of his congregation, Kirk set up a new Fourth Church in April 1829 in a poorer area of the city. Here he continued to employ the new measures, in particular the 'continuous meeting' and the practice of calling on sinners to rise or come forward for prayer - measures whose utility he had first

1. Cf. Evang.Reg., XI (1839), 356-57; J.A. James to W.B. Sprague, 22 July 1839, in Dale, Life of James, p.355-6; New York Obs., XVII (1839); Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XIII (7 June 1839).

2. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p.172.

3. Mears, Life of Edward Norris Kirk, p.44.

4. Ibid., p.45. The congregation included such prominent New York figures as Martin Van Buren, William L. Marcy, Chief Justice Savage and Benjamin F. Butler.

appreciated at Nathaniel Beman's church in Troy.¹ Eight years later, when Kirk terminated his ministry in Albany, he could claim to have added over one thousand to his church and to have assisted other churches in about thirty protracted meetings.²

The nature of Kirk's career to this point goes some way towards explaining his warm reception by British Congregationalists in 1837-38. In his ministry he had struck a balance between the educated and refined 'formalist' and the ignorant and emotional itinerant revivalist. In rejecting the self-satisfied traditionalism of the Second Church he had not, despite the charge of 'fanaticism' by some of his opponents, adopted 'Methodistic' or 'enthusiastic' extremes; he could not jettison his Princetonian accretions completely. Though his preaching was, to use the terminology of the time, aimed at the heart as well as the head, he was fully aware of the secular and purely physical sources of 'religious' emotionalism.³ He was a tried and tested pastor, who knew the problems of maintaining a permanent ministry; but he also appreciated the value of injecting a degree of novelty into the unrelieved routine of church life - hence his contributions to the work of other churches and his readiness to train revival itinerants.

Kirk's approach struck a sympathetic chord amongst the British Congregationalists with whom he worked. They represented a denomination much of whose membership and tone was essentially middle-class (especially in the metropolitan churches where Kirk's most effective work took place) and which

1. Allen, *Memoir of Sherman*, pp. 777-78.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 63-74. Kirk's friendship with Beman led to their joint establishment in 1833 of the Troy and Albany Theological School, for the training of itinerant evangelists. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47, 75-76; *Dict. of Am. Biog.* During his first year in the Fourth Church, Kirk readily received Finney into his pulpit. Finney's later espousal of perfectionism and abolitionism soured their relationship. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, pp. 171-72.

3. Mears, *Life of Kirk*, pp. 95, 98.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-78.

valued order, education and pastoral authority; but which saw too the need for a certain amount of fire and novelty in religion, providing it were controlled and did not spill over into methodistic excesses or vulgarity. Kirk could provide that requisite degree of novelty and urgency; James Sherman, writing in 1860, considered him the most effective American preacher that he had ever heard addressing an English congregation.¹ But Kirk was also able to wrap up his radicalism in a cloak of culture, education and respectability. It was significant that on his return to America Kirk was very much at home while officiating in a season of revivals at Dr. Skinner's Mercer Street Church in New York - 'one of the largest, wealthiest, and most intelligent congregations to be found in the city.' Through his status as a pastor and his polished manner, Kirk helped make revivalism palatable to an audience that had previously associated it with all that was vulgar, emotional and disruptive in religion.²

Kirk had travelled to Europe to broaden his experience. Hence, during the part of his stay spent in Britain, he travelled widely and involved himself in a wide range of activities.³ He attended Church of England services; preached to Calvinistic Methodists; debated the virtues of the voluntary system with young Oxonian establishmentarians; involved himself in the Dissenting challenge to the privileged position of the state church in public education; gave 'valuable aid' to the Baptist Home Mission; and contributed to the temperance campaign.⁴ Most of all, however, he was

1. Allon, Memoir of Sherman, pp.277-78.

2. Mears, Life of Kirk, pp.153-55, 318, 334.

3. Arriving in Liverpool, Kirk travelled to Birmingham, London, Windsor, Oxford, Warwick, Wales, Dublin, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, before returning to London in October 1838. Thereafter he toured France, Italy and Switzerland. Ibid., p.100ff, 150.

4. Ibid., p.105, 107; Kirk, Sermons on Different Subjects, pp.127-54, 217-54; Evang. Reg., XI (1839), 239; Bapt.Mag., XXX (1838), 501.

remembered for his assistance at Congregationalist protracted meetings, and in particular for his work in Surrey Chapel, London, in 1838.¹

The pastor at Surrey Chapel was James Sherman, one of the great popular preachers of his time.² When Sherman took the pastorate in 1836 he had already spent nearly twenty years in energetic evangelistic work as a village preacher and minister in the Countess of Huntingdon's connexion in Bath, Bristol and Reading. His message was simple, his preaching direct: like all good revivalist preachers and evangelists he gave no indication of being afflicted with the slightest doubt. His unspeculative frame of mind and his practical approach (embracing lay assistance and interdenominational cooperation) helped produce in his early charges those 'times of refreshing' that he sought so eagerly.³ Surrey Chapel was one of the largest and most strategically placed of London churches, and one which under its previous pastor, Rowland Hill, had known an equally popular and evangelical ministry.⁴ Sherman set about rebuilding the church to the strength it had known before the years of Hill's decline and the interim period between pastorates.⁵ In his quest for conversions 'he was ready to sanction, or to adopt any lawful means that seemed likely to secure it. He was not afraid of novelties.'⁶

1. At Carr's Lane, Birmingham, he made a 'considerable impression'. J.A. James to W.B. Sprague, 22 July 1839, in Dale, Life of James, p.355. His successes in London brought him invitations to settle as the pastor of Lady Huntingdon's Spa Field's Chapel, where he worked for a short while late in 1838. Allon, Memoir of Sherman, p.277; P.C. Headley, Evangelists in the Church (Boston, 1875), pp.188-89.

2. John Codman regarded Sherman as 'one of the most acceptable (preachers) in England.' Codman, Visit to England, pp.175-76. For an outline of his life (1796-1862), see Dict. of Nat. Biog.

3. Allon, Memoir of Sherman, pp.142-49, 172-73, 177-87, 207-15, 456-63.

4. For Rowland Hill (1744-1833), see Dict. of Nat. Biog.

5. Allon, Memoir of Sherman, pp.263-69.

6. Ibid., p.458. Once during his Reading pastorate (1821-36) Sherman called for immediate decision by his hearers, to be marked by their coming forward to partake of the Lord's Supper. It would be misleading to describe this as a revivalistic technique (it was used only once, and then spontaneously); but insofar as it demanded an immediate and public demonstration of commitment it calls to mind the use of the anxious seat. Ibid., pp.185-86.

Consequently, Sherman collaborated with Kirk to establish a series of protracted meetings late in 1838.¹ A week of special services of preaching and prayer commenced on Sunday 4 November, designed to maintain the progress of the revival that had broken out in the previous year.² Kirk played the leading part, preaching on a variety of subjects, all of which centred on revivals, and which made constant appeals to 'the progress and principle' of revivals in America.³ Kirk was aided by a number of ministers - including Caleb Morris, Charles Roe, John Stevenson and Sherman himself - for whom this was a single episode in a general association with revivalism and American evangelicalism.⁴ The novelty of such services (at least as far as London was concerned) and the publicity afforded them by the distribution of special handbills, caught the imagination of the evangelical community. Some eight hundred 'spectators' attended Kirk's first sermon, and a special reporter was dispatched to document the proceedings. 'Whole weeks, morning and evening, were devoted to services.'⁵ What Kirk called the 'Philosophy of Revivals' - 'the principle of constantly holding the minds of the people fixed on the truth' through daily meetings - appeared to be vindicated, as interest grew ever more intense.⁶ The chapel was crowded every day of the week. Kirk's sermons produced the desired effect: 'On one occasion we had the vestry and three rooms in the parsonage filled with souls crying for

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1. See The Church Awakened. A Report of Special Meetings for the Revival of Religion held in Surrey Chapel, London, November 5, 1838 and following days (London, 1838).
 2. In the year beginning September 1837, 257 members had been received into the church, 84 of whom attributed their conversion to one of Sherman's sermons. Allon, Memoir of Sherman, pp.273-75.
 3. Evang.Reg., X (1838), 531.
 4. Evangs, Life of Morris, pp.213-17. Caleb Morris (1800-1865) was the Welsh minister of Fetter Lane, London, who extracted much pleasure from reports of American revivals, and whose extempore and 'fervid' preaching was regarded by American visitors (G.B. Cheever and Horace Bushnell) as 'up to the mark' and likely to stimulate revivals. Ibid., p.170 and passim; New York Obs., XVIII (25 Jan. 1840); Cong.Mag., XI (1828), 614. Other participants in these meetings included J. Adey, Thomas Binney, and Joseph Davis. For the association of Roe and Stevenson with Finney, see below, pp.304-05.
 5. Allon, Memoir of Sherman, pp.275-79.
 6. Kirk, Sermons on Different Subjects, pp.329-35.

mercy, and very often the vestry and two rooms crowded.' Private conversation with the individual and the visits of church elders supplemented these anxious meetings. By the second week of December - by which time Kirk had left England - some 140 persons, drawn from 'the most respectable' and 'the meanest' sections of the community, were 'under concern'. Despite the doubts of the older church members over the unusual methods and the speed of admission to membership, some 251 new additions were made during the church year of Kirk's visit.¹

The events at Surrey Chapel proved contagious. By early 1839 'a powerful interest' in these services had ensured their imitation in various districts in London. Meetings lasting from three to six days - some of them in Baptist chapels - were arranged at Shadwell, Clapham, Chelsea, Tottenham, Walworth and other districts.² In east London, Andrew Reed set about re-awakening a church that had already been revived once since his return from America;³ after a lengthy period of preparation, through prayer and lectures, a week's special services were established over the New Year period in 1838-39. Within less than a year over two hundred persons had been received into his church.⁴ Over the next few years similar meetings sprouted all over the country, some of them - as at Rochford, Essex⁵ - directly attributable to London's example, and others more particularly the result of local influences.⁶ Whether or not their conveners were all as

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1. Revivalist (1839), pp.26-30; Allon, Memoir of Sherman, pp.331-32.
 2. Revivalist (1839), pp.26, 62-64, 137.
 3. Shortly after his return from America in 1834 Reed experienced a revival in his church. Over fifty persons were proposed for membership in one month, according to Heman Humphrey. New York Obs., III (7 Feb. 1835); cf. Codman, Visit to England, pp.14-15.
 4. Reed, Revival of Religion at Wycliffe Chapel, p.18 and passim.
 5. E.F. Bodley, Three Sermons on Revivals of Religion (London, 1843), p.8, acknowledged the influence of Reed's pamphlet account of the Wycliffe Chapel revival, 'many copies of which have...been circulated in this town and neighbourhood.'
 6. For further Congregationalist protracted meetings see, for example, Cong.Mag., new series IV (1840), 496-97, 725-29; new series VIII (1844) 704; Revivalist (1843), pp.417-18; (1844), pp.351-53; Chr.Witness, I (1844), 230; II (1845), 30-32.

aware as James or Reed of these meetings' American origins, their relatively widespread adoption marked a highpoint in the practical expression of American revivalism in English Independency.

In many of these special services, Congregationalists were joined by Particular Baptists,¹ for the Baptist underwriting of protracted meetings that began in the mid 1830s was growing ever more generous. The expansion of Baptist membership in both Britain and America in the last few years of the decade seemed to the Baptist Union to vindicate special efforts; its members announced in April 1840 that they 'affectionately recommend the continued and still extended adoption of extraordinary meetings'.² Consequently, churches that had already sponsored protracted meetings were spurred to repeat performances - the old Baptist church at Shrewsbury, which had held a series of revival meetings in the summer of 1839, made renewed efforts twelve months later, and again in the winter of 1840-41 - while other churches mounted such services for the very first time in their history.³ In the metropolis and the provinces, in agricultural and industrial areas, special revival meetings emerged as a prominent feature of Baptist church life in the later 1830s and early 1840s. Sometimes their moving spirit was the experimenting pastor, but more often than not it was the itinerating evangelist who took the lead in popularising them. Barnes, Jameson, Roe and Tunnicliff found their services in considerable demand, as did 'on-call' pastors like John Craps.⁴ In greatest demand of all was

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1. And sometimes by General Baptists and Methodists, too, as at Wesley Chapel, Nottingham, in 1839 and Abbey Chapel, Ramsey, in the following year. J.C. Weller, The Revival of Religion in Nottingham, 1780-1850 (University of Nottingham B.D. Thesis, 1957), p.171; Revivalist (1840) pp.137-38.
 2. Bapt.Mag., XXXII (1840), 299. Cf. ibid. XXIX (1837), 312-13; XXX (1838), 256-57; XXXI (1839), 268; XXXIII (1841), 284.
 3. Ibid., XXXIII (1841), 540; Revivalist (1839), p.318; (1841), p.178.
 4. Craps of Lincoln was active in the Shrewsbury revival meetings in 1839; and in Sheffield in 1840. See Charles Larom, The Awakening. A memorial of a year of revived religion, in the First Baptist Church, Sheffield (Sheffield, 1840), pp.6-9. General Baptists were involved in this revival movement, too. One of the most noteworthy was Jabez Tunnicliff (1809-65), who gave up his pastorate to become an evangelist for the Derbyshire Home Missionary Committee from 1842-45. He found 'Finnie's lectures' helpful. H. Marks, The Life and Labours of the Rev. Jabez Tunnicliff, Minister of the Gospel at Call Lane Chapel, Leeds, and Founder of the Band of Hope in England (London, 1865), especially pp.103, 110; Dict. of Brit.Temp.Biog. pp.129-30; Bapt.Rep., sixth series II (1843), 67.

'the Baptist Evangelist', Thomas Pulsford himself, whose labours in any one place automatically took the form of a protracted series of revival services. On occasions Pulsford remained for no more than a few days' sustained evangelism. At other times he could be found conducting two services a day, every day, for several weeks. This he did at Bridlington in the later part of 1840 for five weeks out of six.¹ It was men of this kind who gave the protracted meeting its most passionate endorsement within English Calvinistic Dissent.

V

It will be clear that at the time when the United States was experiencing the second phase of the new measure movement - the revival period of 1837-1843 - parallel developments were occurring on the other side of the Atlantic. A considerable number of English Baptists and Congregationalists were for the first time in their history dabbling in the promotion of revivals through untraditional means that emphasised human instrumentality in the great scheme of awakening and regeneration. Inevitably, these 'instrumentalists' manifested some diversity of approach. Protracted meetings - taken as a generic term embracing any extra meetings that aimed at awakening religious concern - conformed to no single type. Methods and emphases differed according to the temper of the minister, to his assessment of the needs of the church, and to the particular social and theological blend of his congregation. Many ministers thought it improper to apply any given scheme universally. The Congregationalists' most authoritative spokesman on revivals concluded:

1. Bapt. Mag., XXXIII (1841), 157-59. Pulsford was much impressed by Kirk and Sherman's protracted meeting at Surrey Chapel, and wanted 'all our churches' to employ similar means. 'An affectionate appeal to the churches of Christ', pp. 12-13, 18-20, in Pulsford, Helps for Revival Churches.

No two cases in which a revival of religion may be desirable will be alike To offer the same remedy for every disease, without any regard to the character of the malady, or the state of the patient, is a species of empiricism which has long been exploded elsewhere.¹

Hence, in the Wycliffe Chapel revival in 1840 he adopted certain measures while neglecting others. He refused to use the 'inquiry' or 'anxious meeting', despite its frequent and successful use elsewhere in the denomination. He insisted on seeing all inquirers individually and in private. Though agreeing that the inquiry meeting might sometimes prove advantageous, he was worried that on this occasion, in the emotionally-charged atmosphere of the inquiry room, 'human sympathy' rather than strictly spiritual considerations might prevail in bringing the inquirer to a decision.²

It might be argued that the social make-up of the individual church determined the character of revival meetings. Perhaps it was significant that Reed was a London Congregationalist: insofar as novel revival methods might have been distasteful to fastidious middle-class congregations, it was from the elite of London Independency that objections to the potential 'enthusiasm' of revivalism were to be anticipated; in contrast, the poorer Baptist congregations, especially in the northern industrial areas, might have been expected to adopt a new style of revivalism more readily. There may be a degree of truth in this. The new measures did take hold in poorer Baptist churches, especially in the North, more strikingly than in middle-class Congregationalism. But the difference was at most one of emphasis. Certainly, social make-up was not necessarily the only, nor indeed the main, factor in determining receptivity to new measures, even if it did help determine the tone of revival services. If working-class men and women - the artisan class in particular - formed the bulk of Baptist and Independent

1. Reed, Revival of Religion at Wycliffe Chapel, p.25.

2. Ibid., p.23.

3. Cong. Mag., new series 24 (1841).

4. See, for example, Cong. Mag., 1841, p.1011.

congregations, there was often a leavening of 'middle-class respectability' in revivals. This was the case in the protracted tent services held by Francis Cox and others in Hertfordshire in the summer of 1841; and 'persons of all ages, classes, and characters' participated in Thomas Pulsford's Stockport revival of 1843.¹ In fact social class was no more important a determinant than theology: as has been noted, the 'Antinomianism' that marked a number of Baptist congregations, including the poorest, provided a barrier to the use of revival techniques; whereas Independency's moderate Calvinism and urgent desire to save souls could prove much stronger than its impulse towards middle-class respectability - as witnessed by Kirk's and Sherman's efforts at Surrey Chapel.²

Variations in their character should not obscure the fact that these revival meetings possessed certain common features connected with their preparation, conduct and results. First, in most cases a considerable amount of effort was expended in preparing the church and congregation psychologically for the setting up of revival meetings. Few ministers were wholly ignorant of basic psychology. Those, like Galloway of West Bromwich, who attempted protracted meetings without first warning their church, quickly realised that it was virtually impossible to generate useful evangelical heat from a cold start.³ More typical were the ministers who used their routine services to draw attention to the proposed meetings, who aroused expectations through special prayer meetings for revival, and who might even visit, with their deacons, 'lukewarm' members and unconverted adherents to prepare them for the anticipated revival.⁴ Once the required

1. Bapt.Mag., XXXIV (1842), 82; XXXVI (1844), 59. Such all-inclusive descriptions were common in revival reports, but should not be taken too literally. On this occasion it seems that most of the congregation were factory hands.

2. Sherman, unlike Reed was ready to use the anxious meeting. Allon, Memoir of Sherman, p.276.

3. Cong.Mag., new series IV (1840), 726.

4. See, for example, Bapt.Mag., XXXI (1839), 500; Larom, The Awakening, p.16ff.

pitch of excitement or anticipation had been achieved, the establishment of protracted meetings, and especially the arrival of a respected 'evangelist' or minister associated with revivals to participate in those meetings, acted as a detonator. To be sure that his arrival would set off a revival, Thomas Pulsford came to rely - as had Nettleton, Finney and any other successful itinerant evangelist - on his reputation travelling ahead of him and creating an atmosphere of anticipation in the church he was to visit. Handbills and placards would announce his impending arrival. Typically, when he reached the Baptist church at Broomhill, near Newcastle, in mid 1840 he discovered that he had been 'long expected... and in that expectation the prayers of the people had more or less a specific reference to the object of his visit.'¹

The services themselves varied greatly in degree of multiplication, venue and groups involved. At their most intensive, meetings might be held four times daily for four or five days. At Shakespeare's Walk Baptist Chapel, Shadwell, in 1837, services were held at 6.30 and 11.00 in the morning, 3.00 in the afternoon, and 6.30 at night over five consecutive days.² There were obvious problems attached to such a concentration of services. The less rigid patterns of work and leisure found in American frontier, semi-frontier and rural areas had thrown up the camp-meeting and protracted meeting, since they allowed more or less unrelieved attention to religion regardless of the day of the week. In contrast, English working hours (and indeed those of urban America) were less flexible, and protracted meetings which ignored this might well be more than ever dependent on the women of the congregation. Consequently, some ministers, especially in

1. Bapt.Mag., XXXII (1840), 697-98; cf. XXXV (1843), 75-76; XXXVI (1844), 59; Bapt.Rep., new series I (1844), 961.

2. Bapt.Mag., XXIX (1837), 121-22, 500-01.

3. Bapt.Mag., XXIX (1837), 220; Bapt.Rep., new series I (1844), pp. 417-18; Long.Mag., new series I (1844), pp. 220, 266. In 1843, after which Galloway left to become pastor of a church in the United States.

industrial areas, postponed their weekday protracted meetings until holiday periods. The Baptist minister at the mill town of Haworth, Yorkshire, held four meetings a day during the first two days of the Shrovetide holiday week in 1836. His hardy congregation found the stamina to endure some twelve hours of services that struggled on from five in the morning until ten at night.¹ But this solution was not wholly satisfactory: holidays were too infrequent, and allowed ministers no real flexibility over the timing of extra services. Increasingly ministers came to sandwich the working day between early-morning and evening meetings, and to extend the period of special services from a few days to one, two or even several weeks. This scheme was not always practicable. At Stockport in 1843, Pulsford was unable to hold his customary morning meetings since his congregation of factory hands began work at 5.30, 'and in many other ways his usual plans of operation (were) frustrated, by the long hours the people (had) to work.'² Nonetheless, the plan of two meetings a day was by far the most commonly employed.³

Sometimes services were held out of doors; other experimentalists may have followed James Galloway's example of tent preaching.⁴ But most meetings were held securely within the chapel walls. They were also, in the main, denominational and single-church occasions. Sometimes - as at Sheffield in 1840, when the two Baptist churches held services jointly for two weeks of the revival - there was a pooling of effort, and there were

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1. Ibid., XVIII (1836), 295. In neighbouring Bradford in the previous year Roe and the American Thompson used the closure of the mills for two consecutive half-days to establish revival services. Ibid., 5-9.
 2. Bapt.Rep., sixth series II (1843), 345; Bapt.Mag., XXXV (1843), 506.
 3. See, for example, Bapt.Mag., XXXIII (1841), 541; Revivalist (1844), pp. 140-01; Cong.Mag., new series IV (1840), 727. The practice of holding several meetings on a single day also continued. On one day of the Sheffield revival of 1840 Townhead Baptist Chapel never closed. Larom, The Awakening, p.19.
 4. Bapt.Mag., XXIX (1837), 500; XXXIII (1841), 542; Revivalist (1843), pp.417-18; Cong.Mag., new series IV (1840), 727. For Galloway, see A.G. Matthews, The Congregational Churches of Staffordshire (London, 1924), pp.220, 266. In 1843, after nine years at Ebenezer, West Bromwich, Galloway left to become pastor of a church in St. John's, New Brunswick.

indeed occasions when union took place across denominational lines.¹

However, the majority of services, though they might attract members of other denominations and ministers of other congregations, were held under the auspices of, and were designed specifically for, a single congregation.²

The minister and his lay assistants might well supplement the day's prayer meetings and addresses with tract distribution, 'lecturing' in the streets around the chapel, and visiting from house to house.³ This work was designed to direct attention to the climax of the day's proceedings - the evening service. Here the minister was likely to direct his address at a particular group in the evangelical community in the legitimate belief that the more specific the appeal, the more dramatic would be the results. Andrew Reed on separate occasions singled out 'professors', the unconverted, fathers, mothers and the young as the object of his particularised promptings.⁴ Specificity was matched by immediacy, as the sinner was reminded of 'the great importance of immediate decision for God'.⁵ Consequently, many evening services ended with large numbers emotionally unsettled and ready to stay behind for a special inquirers' meeting. Reed and the more conservative ministers apart, the revival-minded regarded these meetings as legitimate and effective.⁶ Pulsford used them more or less nightly.⁷ But not all ministers employed them so promiscuously; and, though it is difficult

1. Larom, The Awakening, p.7.

2. Some ministers preferred to do without outside ministerial help. Andrew Reed believed that after such visits the congregation would have less appetite for the ministrations of their regular pastor. Reed, Revival of Religion at Wycliffe Chapel, pp.24-25.

3. See, for example, ibid., pp.11, 22; Bapt.Mag., XXXIII (1841), 157-58.

4. Reed, Revival of Religion at Wycliffe Chapel, pp.8-12.

5. Revivalist (1839), p.318; cf. Reed, Revival of Religion at Wycliffe Chapel, p.13.

6. For an American minister's encouragement to Britons to employ the inquiry meeting, see Revivalist (1836), pp.33-34. Cf. Cong.Mag., new series II (1838), 753-54.

7. See, for example, Bapt.Mag., XXXIII (1841), 157.

to tell, it seems that few ministers - not even Pulsford - intensified the psychological pressures by conducting the anxious meeting while the public service was in progress. Nor was the anxious seat a favourite device. These techniques may have been prominent in Methodist and American circles, but English Baptists and Congregationalists were reluctant to introduce them: there was a limit to the pressure to be imposed publicly on the individual. Occasionally English revival services encouraged dramatic and public 'confessions' of past sins and stood at odds with the general Non-conformist emphasis on private testimony of spiritual experience and the need to respect personal feelings.¹ Testimonies of wife-beating, swearing, drunkenness and sabbath-breaking no doubt stimulated temporary interest in the revival and may have provided a certain amount of disguised titillation; but they were not typical.

Equally, there were numerous protestations of good order and denials of 'extravagance', 'false enthusiasm' or 'undue excitement' in revival meetings.² Ministers possibly protested a degree too much. The tense, expectant atmosphere of revival services, heightened when - as was the case so often - the chapel was 'crammed almost to suffocation', and occasionally moved by the spectacle of an adult baptism or electrified by the announcement of a death, could easily induce hysteria.³ Even the most circumspect revival ministers found their congregations affected by occasional bouts of extreme emotionalism, though the more prudent were quick to treat these as signs of 'human infirmity', not true religion.⁴

1. Cong.Mag., new series IV (1840), 727.

2. See, for example, Bapt.Mag., XXIX (1837), 501; (1840), 171, 698; Larom, The Awakening, p.16; Revivalist (1840), 137-38.

3. Bapt.Mag., XXXII (1840), 171; Bapt.Rep., sixth series II (1843), 135; Reed, Revival of Religion at Wycliffe Chapel, pp.14-15. Of course, tears were not to be equated with hysteria: they were evidence of 'deep-toned (religious) feeling', and as such they were encouraged and their appearance recorded with approval. Bapt.Mag., XXXII (1840), 697-98.

4. Reed, Revival of Religion at Wycliffe Chapel, p.15.

In their avowed aim of producing conversions these services met with considerable success, despite the problems presented by bad weather, or counter-attractions like political elections.¹ Galloway's West Bromwich revival produced some two hundred 'who felt deeply-anxious for their souls', of whom he expected over one hundred to join the church; in the two Baptist churches in Sheffield the figures were similar; Reed had three hundred 'under concern'.² These were the most dramatic figures, but elsewhere results could be almost equally remarkable. On infrequent occasions revivals went beyond securing conversions, to stimulate the 'moral elevation' of the neighbourhood. Though the part played by temperance in this English wave of revivals was much more limited than in the corresponding Welsh and Scottish movements, some of the more committed teetotallers achieved their ends. Moses Saunders of Haworth reported that as the result of the revival of 1836 'the streets and roads were quiet, the public-houses had little to do, and the beer shops ... were for a time forsaken.'³ But the effects of revival on the broader community were not always so marked; and it was with the more immediate impact of the revival on his church membership that the minister was primarily concerned.

The converts themselves were generally young - an unremarkable fact, perhaps, given the view widely held by behavioural scientists that adolescence is the period of life during which conversion is most likely to occur.⁴ But on occasions the majority of the converts were over twenty years old;

1. Bapt.Mag., XXXIII (1841), 538.

2. Cong.Mag., new series IV (1840), 728; Larom, The Awakening, pp.10, 37; Reed, Revival of Religion at Wycliffe Chapel, p.18.

3. Bapt.Mag., XXVIII (1836), 296; New York Obs., XIV (17 Dec. 1836).

4. For a discussion of how the psychological changes and anxieties of adolescence and old age make these age-groups more susceptible to religious appeals, see Michael Argyle, Religious Behaviour (London, 1958), especially pp.58-70.

5. Bapt.Mag., XXXIII (1841), 121; Cong.Mag., new series IV (1840), 728; Reed, Revival of Religion at Wycliffe Chapel, p.18.

sometimes they were well-advanced in life and more susceptible to the revivalist's promptings to consider the rewards and punishments of the after-life.¹ Interestingly, a very large proportion appear to have been drawn from Bible Classes and Sunday Schools² : rarely did the revival represent 'an extensive ingathering of souls from the profligate and abandoned world.'³ A.D. Gilbert has argued cogently that at this period, with previous sources of converts drying up, Nonconformity was increasingly having to turn its attention to recruiting new members, not from outside itself, but from within. Sunday Schools ceased to play a supporting role, secondary to aggressive itinerancy, and became an important area of recruitment in their own right; as the nineteenth century proceeded, the chapels drew their new members more and more from the pool of unconverted adherents.⁴

Gilbert's argument is certainly consistent with the evidence from this period of revival. Pressures exerted on unconverted members of the congregation by both minister and church members were undoubtedly intensified. Delinquent family members were coaxed by the regenerate in the household; masters brought servants, and parents their children to the revival.⁵ For the revival tolerated all kinds of persuasion, uses of authority, and perhaps the manipulating of feelings of guilt, as a means of bringing the unconverted but regular churchgoers to the brink of conversion. Further,

1. Cong.Mag., new series IV (1840), 728.

2. See, for example, Larom, The Awakening, pp.12-15; Bapt.Mag., XXVIII (1836), 160-61.

3. See David Ford's description of his revival at Lymington, Hants., in Cong.Mag., new series IV (1840), 674-75, and in 'The Autobiography of David Everard Ford', Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc., XI (1930-32), 273-74. Cf. Larom, The Awakening, p.18.

4. Gilbert, The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, pp.126ff, 325ff, 444ff. One Congregationalist estimated in 1835 that the members of an Independent church might sometimes number no more than one-sixth of the total congregation. A similar ratio often existed in Baptist churches; even in the churches of hyper-evangelical pastors such as J.H. Hinton and Thomas Pulsford, men likely to pressurise the undecided in their congregations, the hearers outnumbered members. Gilbert argues that the proportion of members to adherents increased during the century. Bapt.Mag., XXVII (1835); Cong.Mag., XVIII (1835), 548-49.

5. Bapt.Mag., XXVIII (1836), 162; XXXII (1840), 506, 697. Sometimes children persuaded their parents to attend. Reed, Revival of Religion at Wycliffe Chapel, p.28ff.

insofar as conversion was predicated upon experience of at least some elementary evangelical instruction - concepts such as 'sin', 'grace', 'salvation' and 'regeneration' employed in revival sermons would otherwise have been unintelligible and meaningless - it would have been surprising had not most converts been established members of the congregation or Sunday School. It was often discovered at inquiry meetings that inquirers had already been awakened at an earlier date by the efforts of the pastor and were well acquainted with the major evangelical concepts;¹ when those who did not actually belong to the congregation were examined, it usually transpired that they were lapsed churchgoers who had interpreted some secular disaster as retribution for their apostasy and had hurriedly returned to the fold.² Sometimes, too, they were members of another church or denomination and had learnt their evangelicalism there; for inadvertent proselytism brought gains to both Baptists and Congregationalists at each other's and the Methodists' expense, and Baptists profited more than once from the attractiveness to Methodists of believers' baptism.³

VI

Evangelical Calvinists plundered much more than the occasional church member from Methodism. It was from English Methodism as well as from American practice that they acquired much of their interest in newer revival measures. The different evangelical denominations often worked alongside and sometimes even in cooperation with each other. This naturally encouraged a degree of deliberate copying - provided it did not over-strain theological tolerance or disfigure too drastically traditional and accepted practice.

1. Larom, The Awakening, pp.7-8.

2. Reed, Revival of Religion, pp.42-43.

3. See, for example, Bapt.Rep., sixth series II (1843), 166, 350.

Here was a clear and striking parallel with the American evangelical experience; on both sides of the Atlantic evangelical Calvinists were being driven by the pressure of Methodist success to consider a more aggressive evangelism.¹

There were strong reasons why Baptists might have been expected to remain unaffected by Methodism. Not only were the stricter Calvinists in the denomination offended by Methodist Arminianism, but there was no complete overlap in the geographic concentrations of the denominations. With Methodism strong in industrial or urban centres, in particular in the north of England, and with Baptist resources focussed in southern, more agricultural counties,² there may well have been areas where there was little interaction. Yet the ability of Methodists to reach at least some of the poor in the north, in contrast to their own relative weakness in that area, led certain Baptists to adopt a more 'methodistic' approach in both theology and practice.³ Sometimes the effects were far-reaching. William Steadman - as head of the Northern Education Society's college at Bradford - transmitted his admiration for an aggressive, muscle-flexing Methodism to a generation of young students who were to play a major role in Baptist efforts to evangelise the North.⁴ Between churches, too, there were exchanges, especially at times of revival. Thomas Barker of Eccleshill testified to an experience common to other Baptists when he attributed the beginnings of his own revival to 'a glorious change' already apparent in

1. Supra., pp.18-33.

2. Matheson, Our Country, pp.31-37.

3. For example, some Baptists made no bones about their admiration for the Methodist class-system and openly sought its adoption. Bapt.Rep., sixth series II (1843), 67, 137, 249, which notes the tract by a Baptist evangelist, Bruton, The Class System vindicated and recommended.

4. Douglas, Baptist Churches in the North, p.281; Robison, Particular Baptists in England, p.67. Cf. Bapt.Mag., XXVIII (1836), 295. Notable amongst the group were C.H. Roe and Charles Larom. See Larom, Townhead. The History of the Baptist Church, assembling in Townhead Street, Sheffield (Sheffield, 1870), pp.14-15.

4. Cong.Mag., new series VIII (1844), 700-09.

the neighbouring Methodist congregations.¹

A similar feeling pervaded the parallel wing of Congregationalism. There were, broadly speaking, two broad groups or emphases, within Independency. On one side stood those churches which emphasised propriety in worship, conservatism in theology and respectability in all things. They might be represented by young ministers, but they reflected the tradition of Old Dissent, often tracing their origin back to the seventeenth century and embracing the socially well-to-do. This was the case with the old meeting house at Norwich. Established under the Commonwealth, it became a socially important community in the eighteenth century, numbering amongst its members 'men of money and position'. Even its slight decline in the early nineteenth century did not affect its position as one of the wealthiest societies in East Anglia; everything continued to be conducted 'with the greatest propriety on the part of the people', while Samuel Newton, their pastor, a be-wigged, pipe-smoking autocrat, 'ruled his flock with rather high handed notions of clerical authority.'² This was the less aggressive, less evangelistic side of Congregationalism. It was in this soil that opposition to lay preaching flourished;³ it was here that fastidious congregations objected to open-air preaching on the grounds that it was 'not respectable'.⁴ Its ministers were more likely to have been educated at the Stepney Institution or Doddridge's academy at Northampton than at

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1. Revivalist (1834), pp.251-52. Not simply Wesleyans, but other Methodist bodies, including the Primitives ('Ranters'), provided encouragement. Cf. Bapt.Mag., XXVIII (1836), 509, 294-97. Bapt.Rep., new series I (1844), 96, spoke for General Baptists when it said: 'We had rather turn "Ranters" at once, than become frigid, ice-bound baptists!' Cf. ibid., new series VII (1850), 266.
 2. John Stoughton, Reminiscences of Congregationalism Fifty Years Ago (1881), p.6. Very occasionally Congregationalist churches could embrace the socially eminent. William Bengo Collyer, D.D., 'attracted the attention not only of the middle-class, but of people in the highest ranks, including members of the Royal Family.' Ibid., p.68.
 3. Matheson noted that the strongest prejudice against lay preaching existed in some of Congregationalism's 'old and most respectable congregations', where pastoral authority was strongest. Our Country, p.10.
 4. Cong.Mag., new series VIII (1844), 788-89.

Highbury; and through that education might have come a refinement and polish that stood in contradistinction to rough evangelism.¹

In 1819 a second church was formed at Norwich, not through secession 'but through the awakening effect of John Alexander's ministry.... It was a kind of revivalistic movement.'² Here was the other side of Independency - those churches that had been powerfully affected by or had grown out of the militancy of the Methodist Revival of the eighteenth century.³ It would be mistaken to attempt too rigid a categorisation: Congregationalist churches born in relative poverty through the care of an evangelical midwife, might well settle, with growing prosperity, into complacent, unevangelical middle-age. Nevertheless, for many of this group mission came before propriety, experiment before conservatism, aggression before respectability. Some suffered persecution of a kind well-known to Methodists in the cause of evangelism.⁴ Others found themselves more comfortably placed, but uneasy in their comfort. At Union Chapel, Islington, an 'elegant structure' built by Episcopalians and Nonconformists jointly, Thomas Lewis expressed his regret at such finery: 'Jesus Christ does not... require it - a plain building would have been better.... I feel my insufficiency - Oh, how ill-furnished, how unqualified am I to appear before so respectable a congregation!'⁵ For these ministers education was seen as important only as a means to the end of conversion, and not as an end in

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1. Education at Highbury 'proceeded in lines laid by modern religious revivalism', and was allegedly indebted to Methodism. Stoughton, Reminiscences of Congregationalism, pp.11-14.
 2. Ibid., pp.7-8.
 3. Leaders of this movement, like William Roby in Lancashire, sometimes manifested considerable hostility to older Dissent. Wes. Meth. Mag., XLIII (1830), 225-31.
 4. See, for example, Sibree and Caston, Independency in Warwickshire, p.320ff.; Cong.Mag., XII (1829), 332-33.
 5. Thomas Lewis, A Retrospect of the Moral and Religious State of Islington, during the last forty years... (London, 1842), p.52; Burrell, Memoir of Lewis, p.45. This was the attitude that lay behind Congregationalist efforts to abolish pew rents. Cong.Mag., new series VIII (1844), 348.

itself.¹ Doctorates of Divinity were to be rejected if they were simply for adornment.² In theology their moderate Calvinism might occasionally verge on Arminianism.³ In preaching they attacked the 'wordy, unevangelical harangue', the cultivation of 'an intricate and ornamental style of composition', especially by young ministers.⁴ Sermons should be colloquial, free from philosophical speculation, direct and, if possible, extemporaneous.⁵ There was great need for a more 'earnest' ministry altogether, however 'vulgar, ignorant, and methodistical' it might appear.⁶

It was to this group of hyper-evangelical Congregationalists that Methodist single-mindedness in soul-saving made the most successful overtures. A number of them had been weaned on Methodism, and the religious life of many more had been seasoned with Wesleyanism. Thomas Lewis, thirty-six years Congregationalist minister in Islington, had, after his 'awakening' and conversion by Methodists in 1793, spent several years thereafter as a Methodist itinerant and lay preacher.⁷ John Campbell spent over a year as a Methodist local preacher when a young man. Notwithstanding his later

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1. Cong.Mag., new series IX (1845), 236.
 2. J.A. James on at least two occasions refused a D.D. from American colleges. Dale, Life of James, pp.256, 259, 260, 424-26.
 3. Stoughton, Reminiscences of Congregationalism, pp.51-53.
 4. See, for example, Cong.Mag., X (1827), 534; Evang.Mag., new series X (1832), 293, 472-74; Reed, Advancement of Religion, pp.183-85.
 5. See, for example, the article on 'American and English preaching' in Cong.Mag., XV (1832), 353-67.
 6. Andrew Reed, An Efficient Ministry (London, 1837), especially pp.55-56. These evangelical Congregationalists were also characterised by a lack of interest in tradition and denominational history. Hence their approach was more pragmatic than that of some of the older men, who disliked them. Walter Wilson, The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses, in London, Westminster and Southwark . . . (4 vols., London, 1808-1814).
 7. Burrell, Memoir of Lewis, pp.7-13.

2. Stoughton, Reminiscences of Congregationalism, pp.51-53.

4. 'The well-known efficiency of the private members of our churches. Methodist connection is chiefly attributable to their frequent religious intercourse with their brethren at class and other meetings for Christian fellowship.' John Blackburn, in Cong.Mag., new series IV (1840), 718.

disillusionment with the 'tyranny' of the Methodist system, he maintained great admiration for their evangelistic vigour.¹ John Angell James' life-long concern for 'usefulness' and his sympathy, especially in his early ministry, for 'excited religious affections', is partly attributable to the Methodism he knew in his youth. As a boy in Blandford, Dorset, he and his family belonged to an Independent congregation containing many of the town's 'most respectable inhabitants' and 'paralysed by respectability and dulness'. His mother, critical of the 'coldness and formality' of Congregationalist services, frequently took him to the Methodist meeting-room where she found 'less polish, but more power'.²

Such experiences suggest that a large group of Independents possessed a much closer awareness of Methodist practice and a readiness to absorb its lessons than is immediately apparent from the bulk of Nonconformist literature. First, these more aggressive Congregationalists were cautious admirers of Methodist organisation. They supported demands for a Congregational Union to counter the centrifugal tendencies of the denomination, on the grounds that 'Cohesion strengthens Methodism'.³ They were also envious of the Methodist class-system, for which Congregationalists had 'unhappily' discovered no substitute.⁴ Second, they were prepared to admit the popularity of the inclusive, egalitarian appeal of Methodist Arminianism. They were aware that Calvinism despite its 'modern' refinements, was in

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1. Robert Ferguson and A. Morton Brown, Life and Labours of John Campbell, D.D. (London, 1868), pp.24-25, 31-33, 59-62, 141; Chr.Witness, II (1845), 168-69.
 2. 'I set out in my ministry...with the idea of usefulness... deeply imprinted on my heart.... I mean usefulness of one kind - that is, the direct conversion of souls.' Dale, Life of James, pp.7, 21-23, 218-19. Throughout his life he was more ready than most Congregationalists to preach for Wesleyans, though his greatest regard was reserved for the Methodist New Connexion. Ibid., pp.596-597; William Guest, A Tribute of Grateful Love to the Memory of the late John Angell James.... (London, 1859), pp.5, 14.
 3. Stoughton, Reminiscences of Congregationalism, pp.20-21.
 4. 'The well-known efficiency of the private members of the Wesleyan Methodist connection is chiefly attributable to their frequent religious intercourse with their brethren at class and other meetings for christian fellowship.' John Blackburn, in Cong.Mag., new series IV (1840), 768.

the popular mind still susceptible to distortion and misrepresentation as a doctrine that placed restrictions on the mercy of God and limited the operations of the Holy Spirit. Their own reflection in the mirror of Methodism taught concerned modern Calvinists the need to demonstrate that their appeals to sinners were not subject to crippling reservations.¹

Third, and most controversially, many of this group were attracted by the fervent tone of Methodism. Its single-minded making of conversion its primary end, often with little regard for social niceties, (a fact made all the more emphatic by the vast numerical growth of the individual Methodist bodies) prompted serious consideration by the Jameses of Independency. They felt qualms about Congregationalism's restricted appeal. They learned uneasily of Congregationalist defections to Methodism, especially when the new loyalties were justified on the grounds that 'The Independent ministers aim to preach doctrines, the Wesleyans to save souls.' The warmth of Methodist worship that had attracted James' mother was still a powerful force three and four decades later, and Congregationalists noted the popular appeal of 'thrilling music', 'soul-piercing' appeals, audible congregational responses, 'strange enthusiasms', and 'boisterous excitement'.² They were aware that the Methodist appeal to all the senses and the imagination, and not simply to the intellectual faculties, could be consistent with sincere, devotional worship. Accordingly, Congregationalists were urged towards revivalistic Methodism:

Methodism is a favourite with the public.... (E)ven the most boisterous and disorderly revival meetings, awaken in the popular mind more of admiration than disgust.... A man who has jested a thousand times about methodist conversions, if his conscience be touched, will run to this body, in preference to any other.... Should not we Independents do better, had we a few 'new measure men?' (to adopt a well-understood phrase.)³

1. *Ibid.*, new series I (1837), 233-36.

2. *Ibid.*, new series VIII (1844), 342-44.

3. *Ibid.*, new series I (1837), 236. (Original parenthesis.)

Yet - and this is an important qualification - when the moment of decision arrived, almost all Congregationalists shied away from Methodist 'enthusiasm'. There had always been those who were generally cold towards Methodism: George Smith of Plymouth rejected the idea of competition with Wesleyans, and argued that 'Our principles do obtain much of approbation and much of favour from the intelligent, educated, and thinking portion of the middle classes of society; and there is our stronghold.'¹ But even Congregationalists sympathetic to Methodism found it hard to swallow its alleged revivalistic rowdiness and irregularities. It was this in particular that had made 'methodism' and 'methodistic' into terms of abuse,² and made even those who wanted Congregationalism to reach all strata in society reluctant to commit themselves to Methodist revivalism.

It was at precisely this point - where Methodism failed to provide an acceptable example of practical revivalism - that American revivalism secured an entry into the Congregationalist evangelical scheme. Until American revivalism made its major appearance in the late 1820s, Methodism, revivalism and irregularities in religion were generally synonymous amongst Nonconformists. In 1828 J.A. James noted that in America 'The subject (of revivals) is under no stigma of reproach', whereas in Britain a prejudice existed which 'may have been produced by the noisy and disorderly scenes with which supposed Revivals have been attended amongst certain persons in this country',³ a clear reference to both Methodist and Welsh revivals.⁴

1. Ibid., new series IV (1840), 775-76.

2. See, for example, George Redford, Memoirs and Select Remains of the late Rev. John Cooke, forty-three years pastor of the Independent Church, Maidenhead, Berks. (London, 1828).

3. Evang.Mag., new series VI (1828), 487-89.

4. Welsh revivals had a reputation for irregularity, though a broad assessment of Welsh revivalism was hampered by a language barrier that prevented the reliable spread of information. Visits to Welsh churches by Baptist and Congregationalist deputations sought to remedy this. Bapt.Mag., XXIX (1837), 365ff; Cong.Mag., new series V (1841), 70-71, 728-33.

Many Nonconformists wanted a revival, 'but then it is a quiet revival which would not offend against a refined taste. We do not wish to be ranked as enthusiasts, or to be shunned as fanatical by our respectable worldly connections.'¹ For men like these, American revivalism offered an example of revivals - Calvinistic revivals - that appeared to combine effectiveness with propriety. Nonconformists now had what they took to be an effective reply to the charge that revivals were equatable with Methodist irregularity, for here was a new and successful brand of revivalism not yet tarred with the Methodist brush. No wonder that ministers like James, Lewis and Reed seized American example so enthusiastically; no wonder they were so eager to find authoritative rebuttals of Mrs. Trollope and other critics who were striking at the only contemporary examples of legitimate revivalism. They could not afford, if they were to do more than toy with revivalism, to let American revivals fall into the same sort of discredit associated with revivals of the Methodist variety.

VII

The adoption of new measure revivalism coincided with the upsurge in Nonconformist recruitment of the later 1830s and early 1840s. This was the latest in a number of periodic 'quickenings' which had marked Nonconformist growth since the mid eighteenth century. Figures for Congregationalists are not available in this period, and annual Baptist returns are available only from 1834. However, the similarity between these two denominations and the Methodists in periods for which statistics do exist, suggests that there was a pattern common to all three groups. Wesleyanism had experienced peak years in 1827-28 (10.1% increase on the membership of the previous year) and 1832-33 (8.8% increase). Though full denominational

1. Cong. Mag., XII (1829), 316. Cf. James, Revival of Religion, p.6.

figures are not available for Baptists, the experience of the Northampton Baptist Association (which was probably typical, given the harmony between its own and the broader denominational returns from 1834) suggests that these were peak years for Baptists too. Wesleyan growth in the mid 1830s stagnated, but this was due more to denominational controversy over the Theological Institution than to the absence of potential recruits; this was clear from the simultaneous steady growth of the Baptist body and from the disproportionately large number of accessions to reformed Methodism - many of which were from the ranks of Wesleyan seceders. Baptist growth from 1834 to 1838 oscillated only slightly from a high mark of 4.7 average additions per church, to a low of 3.7. The figure jumped to 7.9 in 1839, 8.8 in 1840, and a massive 13.1 in 1841. The latter figure was in all likelihood artificially inflated by Barkerite seceders from the Methodist New Connexion, attracted by the anti-paedobaptism and decentralised church structure of the Baptists. Accelerated Baptist growth continued at a slightly reduced rate into the mid 1840s. Wesleyan figures indicate a similar upswing: the figures for 1838-39 (3.4% increase) and 1839-40 (5.3% increase) represent the beginning of a quickening that was prematurely ended by the Methodist quarrels over teetotalism in the early 1840s.¹

These periodic upswings were attributable to no single factor, but to a complex of internal and external pressures. The dramatic revival of 1832-33, for example, at first appears identifiably related to a single stimulus - the threat of cholera, which approached from Asia across Europe in the summer of 1831, reached the ports of north-eastern England later in the year, and hit London in February 1832. Panic and fear filled churches across the country; united interdenominational prayer meetings were held;

1. *Evang. Mag.*, new series X (1832), iv, 399; *Bapt. Mag.*, XXIV (1833), 74.

1. Gilbert, *The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales*, pp.104, 106, 114-19; *The Centenary of the Association. The Circular Letter...of...the Northamptonshire Association* (Northampton, 1865), pp.18-19.

2. *14 Mar. 1834*, in Dale, *Life of James*, pp.338-39. Cf. *Evang. Mag.*, XVII (1834), 394-403; *Revivalist* (1837), pp.4-5.

3. Gilbert, *The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales*, p.188ff.

and 'cholera converts' continued to be received by the churches until well into 1834.¹ But there were additional, if secondary, stimuli to revival. The impact of American revivalism, as in 1827-28, undoubtedly encouraged conversions and revival services: the publication of Calvin Colton's influential History and Character of American Revivals, for example, coincided with the advent of cholera in London and gave focus to evangelical effort. Moreover, both peaks - 1827-28 and 1832-33 - coincided with a period of high social tension; more specifically, Hobsbawm and Rudé offer evidence that in some areas religious revival followed upon the frustrations and failure of agricultural revolt in 1830.²

During the mid 1830s the pace of growth slackened a little, perhaps in keeping with a natural rhythm^{of} religious boom and slump, perhaps because an improved economic climate brought a reduction in social tension, perhaps because evangelical attentions were too consumed by political concerns. The latter was the interpretation offered at the time. Referring to the issues of disestablishment and the disabilities of Dissenters, and to the bitterness prevalent in 1834 between Church and Dissent, John Angell James told William Patton that 'The mischief of the present state of things is, that all hopes of a revival of religion are at present checked; the heads, hearts, and mouths of our people are full of the secularities of religion'.³ Gilbert suggests that during the Victorian era revival consistently coincided with political agitation that related to specifically religious objectives, in contrast to the previous period when radical politics acted as a hindrance to recruitment. The controversy of the 1830s clearly belongs to the category of religious politics, yet no revival ensued.⁴

1. Evang.Mag., new series X (1832), iv, 399; Bapt.Mag., XXIV (1832), 74, 119-20, 263, 446-47, and XXVI (1834), 433-35. But cf. A. Dickinson to A. Nettleton, 26 Mar. 1832, Nettleton Papers: 'There seems to be very little apprehension here (in London) in relation to the Cholera'.

2. Rostow, British Economy in the Nineteenth Century, p.125; E.J. Hobsbawm and George Rudé, Captain Swing (London, 1973), p.248ff.

3. 14 Mar. 1834, in Dale, Life of James, pp.338-39. Cf. ibid., pp.347-50; Cong.Mag., XVII (1834), 394-403; Revivalist (1837), pp.v-vi.

4. Gilbert, The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales p.418ff.

This chapter has made it clear that the upswing in recruitment from 1839 (together with certain other signs of religious upheaval - the beginnings of significant Mormon emigration to America, and the establishment of Millerite adventist groups in Britain)¹ had an American dimension. The adoption of special techniques undoubtedly helped stimulate revival growth, in the Calvinistic denominations at least. It may also be pertinent that the upswing coincided with a further period of social tension linked to economic depression and concomitant social dislocation. But the precise nature of the relationship is not easily determined. Attempts to relate religious phenomena to particular economic and social circumstances have a habit of running into trouble. Whitney Cross's detailed examination of the burned-over district led him to conclude that the best time for the growth of religious ultraism was a period of moderate rather than extreme economic recession - the period of the early and mid 1830s.² This may have been true: yet it could be argued with equal conviction that in other parts of the United States it was during the more severe depression that followed the panic of 1837 that religious revivals flourished most.³ Aware of the problems involved in trying to establish such correlations, J.F.C. Harrison, in his examination of British millennialism, has concluded that the relationship between the growth of millennialist sects and the cycle of economic boom and slump in the first half of the nineteenth century was 'ambivalent'.⁴

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1. The first early peak in this emigration was reached in 1842, when 1,600 left Britain. P.A.M. Taylor, Expectations Westward. The Mormons and the Emigration of their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1965), p.145. Millerites realised their greatest strength from 1842 to 1846. Louis Billington, 'The Millerite Adventists in Great Britain, 1840-1850' in Journal of American Studies, I (1967), 191-212. For other strains of millennialism (e.g. Campbellites, Swedenborgians, Plymouth Brethren) and their Anglo-American character, see Harrison, Owen and the Owenites, pp.92-139.
 2. Cross, Burned-Over District, pp.268-70.
 3. See above, pp.61-64.
 4. Harrison, Owen and the Owenites, p.138. R.B. Walker, 'The Growth of Wesleyan Methodism in Victorian England and Wales', in Jnl. of Eccles.Hist., XXIV (July, 1973), 269-71, reaches a similar conclusion for the Victorian era: 'no clear pattern of relationship between religious revivals and economic changes emerges.' Cf. R.B. Walker, 'The Growth and Typology of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in New South Wales, 1812-1901', Journal of Religious History, VI (1971), 337.

The psychological motivation towards church attendance and conversion in time of cholera is clear: the very real fear of death concentrated the mind wonderfully on the evangelical message. But substantial social-psychological investigation of why the evangelical appeal should prove so attractive in times of social and economic crisis is as yet unforthcoming. In Lancashire and the West Riding (Harrison's English 'Burned-Over District'),¹ for example, the revivalism of the poorer Baptist and Congregationalist churches perhaps offered working-people a hope and comfort that sustained them in their struggle for a better material existence. Others might find an escape in the other-worldliness of the evangelical message. (In its offer of emigration Mormonism represented escapism taken to its extreme.) But for those whose experience of social dislocation was more that of the concerned observer - perhaps the more middle-class elements of Dissent - religious revivalism offered a means of spreading an evangelical doctrine that would, they thought, ease tension and harmonise social relationships. Of course, to see religion simply as offering some kind of compensation for social deprivation in times of crisis is to limit severely the role and value of religious experience. It suggests that religious profession is to be seen in predominantly 'negative' terms; it suggests, for example, that religion was no more than a stabilising influence on the socially unbalanced. It thereby obscures the positive spiritual warmth and sense of community that church membership provided. Nevertheless, it is clear that at times of social and economic upheaval involvement in revivals could satisfy a variety of social needs.

There is, however, no scheme which can explain all revivals as a product of a particular set of socio-economic conditions; these conditions could vary greatly from one revival to another. The only stable factor amongst the whole complex of influences which operated at times of revival was the

1. Ibid., p.102. IV (1847), 456.

existence of a desire for and expectancy of revivals on the part of the churches involved. Absolutely essential to revivals at this time, as at all times, was a climate of opinion - in this case in Nonconformist churches - which regarded revivals as desirable (for all the reasons previously discussed, theological and congregational, as well as social and economic). It was within this particular climate that the social and economic upheaval of the later 1830s worked to intensify the movement to revivalism. That upheaval was not however the basic factor: without economic depression there would still have been some revivals; without an appropriate theological and congregational climate there could have been none.

During the mid (and late 1840s the era of revivals gave way to a period of only limited increase, and the exuberant confidence and high expectations associated with the 'revival system', as some called it, began to evaporate. Baptists complained of an annually declining rate of growth; Congregationalists echoed this complaint.¹ If severe economic and social distress had contributed to the revival boom in the late 1830s, then a continuing decade of less severe but still troublesome commercial depression seemed to prove equally effective in dulling spiritual appetites and in cutting off the funds without which the agents of home missionary societies - the most aggressive of the revival corps - could operate effectively.² Political events, too, were blamed for diverting the energies of the churches into 'the things of the passing world', as activist ministers joined in the agitation over the Factory Education Bill, the Dissenters' Chapels Act and the Corn Laws.³ 'What a snare are these (political controversies) to men's

1. Bapt. Mag., XXXVII (1845), 364; XXXVIII (1846), 502; XXXIX (1847), 511; XL (1848), 325-28; Chr. Witness, III (1846), 64. The annual net increase in Baptist membership per church during the 1840s was as follows: 8.8 (1840), 13.1 (1841), 9.8 (1842), 7.1 (1843), 6.3 (1844), 3.7 (1845), 2.9 (1846), 1.7 (1847), 3.1 (1848), 2.9 (1849). Gilbert. The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, p.106.

2. Bapt. Mag., XXXIX (1847), 65; XL (1848), 389-92.

3. Chr. Witness, IV (1847), 486.

souls', remarked John Angell James, noting British evangelical stagnation and the blighting effect of the slavery dispute on American religious life.¹

VIII

It was the 'revival system' itself which took most of the blame for the decline. Critics argued that the calculated use of new measures ('bellows-blowing, and systems of mechanical apparatus', as William Jay called them²) by an irresponsible revivalist simply wound the psychological mainspring of a gullible congregation to breaking point and drove scores of unprepared but easily excitable hearers into precipitate church membership. On the revivalist's departure, the spring snapped, excitement declined, 'converts' relapsed into a less hopeful state than they had known before his arrival, and several years of church disequilibrium ensued.³ Certainly the critics did not lack damaging evidence. During the 1840s Townhead Chapel in Sheffield lost a number of those added during the revival, who had 'made a profession without a renewed heart'.⁴ The annual accessions at Surrey Chapel in the two years after the revival of 1838 were the lowest of the next ten years and served to temper James Sherman's initial enthusiasm for the new approach.⁵ By the mid and later 1840s, with revivals at a premium, the revival system had lost many supporters.⁶ Thomas Pulsford, a Baptist hero at the height of the revival boom, now found himself treated with 'derision' and as something of an outcast in certain

1. J.A. James to W. Patton, 27 Jan. 1844, in Dale, Life of James, pp.421-23.

2. Cong.Mag., new series IV (1840), 888-89.

3. Bapt. Mag., XXXIII (1841), 57.

4. Larom, Townhead, pp.43-44.

5. Allon, Memoir of Sherman, 279-82, 331-32.

6. Chr. Witness, IV (1847), 325. Protracted meetings and revivals did not die out completely, of course. See, for example, ibid., IV (1847), 93; Bibl. Rev. and Cong. Mag., (1846), 326.

sections of the denomination. By 1847 funds for his support had dried up, few churches outside his previous orbit applied for his services, and the B.H.M.S. had been forced to conclude that 'the system with which his name was so closely identified, had been brought, by providential circumstances, to a close.'¹ This evidence, together with the reports of relapse and disorder in American churches, emphasised to traditionalists that the older pattern of gradual, steady growth was more stable and less harmful than the explosive American strategy.²

The integrity of the new revivalism was further questioned by its seeming erosion of theological standards, especially by the sprouting of heretical views on the role of the sinner in conversion - a development more or less attributable to the fertilising effect of American revival theology. The 'New Divinity' as a whole was not rejected. Writers like Moses Stuart and Albert Barnes had a wide and sympathetic audience amongst Nonconformist orthodoxy.³ Indeed, the work that was ultimately to give greatest offence - Finney's Lectures on Revivals - was itself welcomed, albeit with some caution, when it first exploded into the English Nonconformist world. Not only did it become the most popular handbook of the new race of evangelists bred in the 1830s - the Pulsfords and the Tunnickliffs - but it also received the endorsement of some of the intellectual leadership of Nonconformity. George Payne, one of the foremost Congregationalist theologians, gave it his qualified approval;⁴ John Angell James' preface to the special English edition enjoined caution but was essentially

1. Bapt.Rec., III (1846), 72-73, 286-87; Bapt.Rep., new series IV (1847), 210.

2. The Christian Witness, II (1845), 151-60, 483-88, relied on Heman Humphrey to point to 'most distressing and extraordinary' spiritual state in American churches. For the spirited reply from Philadelphia evangelicals, (including Albert Barnes and Ezra Stiles Ely), see Cong.Mag., new series IX (1845), 691-96. Cf. Dr. Cunningham's generally complimentary 'View and Report on the State of the American Churches' in Cong. Mag., new series VII (1843), 502-07; and the addresses of the Americans Condit and Beatty to the Congregational Union in ibid., 443-47.

3. Cong.Mag., new series VII (1843), 503.

4. See Payne's 'Introductory Preface' to Finney, Lectures on Revivals (London, 1839), pp.v-vi.

commendatory;¹ John Harris, tutor at Cheshunt College, presented all of his students with a copy.² It was possible to see Finney as simply driving home in strong language the message of human responsibility then being argued by British authors like Thomas Jenkyn and John Howard Hinton. Finney's works,³ despite their 'vulgarity', 'rash and hazardous phraseology', and 'theologically discordant diction', would, it was thought, achieve much good by pressing on the sinner his duty and ability to repent immediately, at a time when the prevailing tendency of Nonconformist preaching and theology was 'too scholastic, stiff and cold'.⁴

Views changed quickly once revivals were underway and the tendencies of this theology became apparent. John Angell James, who in late 1840 thought that 'responsibility can(not) be too much dwelt upon and pressed home', had in less than two years revised his ideas and reached the conclusion 'that our danger...lies in going over to the opposite extreme, to the neglect of Divine sovereignty.'⁵ The enormous influence of Finney's works, and his imitation by others, had given unprecedented circulation to the view that men could convert themselves. Finney himself may not have intended it,⁶ but his incautious language and the uncritical reading of his works had helped fashion an approach that in practice ignored, if it did not deny, the work

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1. 'I believe (the Lectures are) adapted to do good to all, who will read (them) with a sifting judgment and a pure intention.' James 'Introductory Preface', ibid., p.v.
 2. E.H. W(eeks) to C.G. Finney, in Ob. Evang., VII (18 June 1845).
 3. For the mixed reception afforded to Finney's Lectures to Professing Christians and his Skeletons of a Course of Theological Lectures, see Bapt.Mag., XXXI (1839), 263 and XXXIII (1841), 621-29; Cong.Mag., new series IV (1840), 557.
 4. Bapt.Mag., XXX (1838), 149-54; J.A. James to Joseph Fletcher, 2 Nov. 1840, in Dale, Life of James, pp.283-84.
 5. Ibid.; Cong.Mag., new series VI (1842), 790-93.
 6. James asserted that 'the general strain' of Finney's Lectures served to underline the work of the Spirit in conversion. 'Introductory Preface' to Finney, Lectures on Revivals (London, 1839), pp.iv-v.

of the Spirit. The early sympathisers with American revival theology withdrew from their exposed position. James regretted ever having given his imprimatur to Finney's Lectures, as he told the Congregational Union in October, 1843, during a discussion on the threat to evangelical orthodoxy.¹ Like many Nonconformists, he was concerned about the need for a reinforced evangelical doctrine to counter threats from without and within. Against the outside threat of the Tractarian movement Nonconformist theology had to be stiffened and re-stated. The central doctrine of salvation would have to be set against Puseyite notions of sacramental efficacy and the priestly character of the ministry; in stating their views of salvation, Nonconformists should prune them of the near-heresy implicit in revival theology. From within, the threat came from young pastors and ministerial students attracted by novelty, and especially by the directness of the American approach to salvation. Nine students had to be expelled from Glasgow Theological Institution for heresy in 1844.²

The wariness aroused by the disturbing practical and theological repercussions of American-style aggressive revivalism provide part of the background to the arrival in Britain in 1849 of Finney himself. But before examining the British itinerancy of the best-known revivalist of the mid nineteenth century, two major investigations are necessary - one of the area in Britain with the richest revival seam, the other of the denomination with the longest revival tradition. The first examination explores the character of Welsh revivalism and the part played by American contacts and Finney himself in its development; and ends with a discussion of the revivalistic emphases in Scotland. This is followed, in Chapter Five, by a scrutiny of

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1. Cong.Mag., new series VII (1843), 953f; cf. J.A. James to W. Patton, 27 June 1843, in Dale, Life of James, pp.418-21. James was clearly embarrassed by the implied criticism of himself found in his colleagues' strictures on American theology.
 2. Cong.Mag., new series VII (1843), 502-03, 857-63, 950-54, and new series VIII (1844), 463-64.

Wesleyan Methodist revivalism, as exemplified in the eventful campaign of the American itinerant, James Caughey, during the 1840s - a campaign which closed less than eighteen months before Finney himself arrived.

Finney's Lectures on Revivals arguably achieved their most enthusiastic reception not in England but across the border, in Wales. The rapid sale and dissemination of the Welsh edition translated by the Congregationalist, Evan Griffiths,¹ enhanced the reputation of the volume as a people who read nothing but theology.² More dramatically, the agency of the Lectures was alleged to have played the major role in producing the 'powerful awakenings' experienced in North Wales in 1839 and 1840, and in South Wales in the following three years.³ This revival was said to have drawn some 20,000 new members into the churches, and was especially marked amongst the Independents.⁴ As pastor successively of the Congregationalist churches at Aberdare and Llanelli in the early 1840s, Thomas Rees possessed first-hand knowledge of the movement.⁵ He was in no doubt as to the extent of Finney's influence; the revival had been 'chiefly promoted', he said, by the agency of that book.⁶ Writing to Finney in April 1850, having been urged by other ministers and friends to encourage the revivalist to make a personal visit to Monmouthshire, he informed the American that his Lectures had 'been instrumental in the conversion of hundreds if not thousands of our countrymen.'⁷

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1. C.G. Finney, Darlithiau ar Adfywriadau crefyddol (Aberystwyth, 1839). Griffiths' other translations included Finney's Sermons on Profaning Christians (Progethau ar wargwyl o'i tanwio purpwr), Aberystwyth, 1841.
 2. See James Rhys Jones' essay on 'Characteristics of Welsh Preaching' in William Rees, Nemour of the late Rev. W. Williams, of Venn (transl. James Rhys Jones, London, 1846), pp.157-88; Chr. Witness, I (1844), 947.
 3. Chr. Witness, VII (1850), 315.
 4. The Baptists apparently added about 2,000 new members, the Calvinistic Methodists some 7,000. Henry Hughes, Diwydiadau Crefyddol Cymru (Cardiff, 1906). Wesleyans grew from 16,033 in 1835 to 19,267 in 1841; their numbers then dropped steadily until 1848. Gilbert, The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, p.54.
 5. For Rees (1815-85), see Dict. of Nat. Biog.
 6. Thomas Rees, History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales, from its rise in 1633 to the present time (2nd edition, London, 1883), pp.420-21.
 7. T. Rees to C.G. Finney, 19 Apr. 1850, Finney Papers.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NEW REVIVALISM IN WALES AND SCOTLAND

Finney's Lectures on Revivals arguably achieved their most enthusiastic reception not in England but across the border, in Wales. The rapid sale and dissemination of the Welsh edition translated by the Swansea Congregationalist, Evan Griffiths,¹ enhanced the reputation of the Welsh as a people who read nothing but theology.² More dramatically, the study of the Lectures was alleged to have played the major role in producing the 'powerful awakenings' experienced in North Wales in 1839 and 1840, and in South Wales in the following three years.³ This revival was said to have drawn some 20,000 new members into the churches, and was especially marked amongst the Independents.⁴ As pastor successively of the Congregationalist churches at Aberdare and Llanelli in the early 1840s, Thomas Rees possessed first-hand knowledge of the movement.⁵ He was in no doubt as to the extent of Finney's influence: the revival had been 'chiefly promoted', he said, by the agency of that book.⁶ Writing to Finney in April 1850, having been urged by other ministers and friends to encourage the revivalist to make a personal visit to Monmouthshire, he informed the American that his Lectures had 'been instrumental in the conversion of hundreds if not thousands of our countrymen.'⁷

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 5. For Rees (1815-85), see Dict. of Nat. Biog.
 6. Thomas Rees, History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales, from its rise in 1633 to the present time (2nd edition, London, 1883), pp.429-30.
 7. T. Rees to C.G. Finney, 19 Apr. 1850, Finney Papers.

Finney's work undoubtedly had considerable impact: it was not without cause that the revival was popularly known as 'Finney's Revival'.¹ But in attributing a wave of revivals to the circulation of a single publication, Rees' analysis bordered on the simplistic. The Lectures may have provided a major - perhaps the most influential - immediate factor in the outbreak of revival, but the success of that volume is only fully intelligible when seen against a background of particular theological and practical emphases in Welsh dissenting churches without which it would have remained untranslated and unsung. Only in an evangelical community peculiarly attuned to revivalism could the publication of a work such as Finney's produce such an immediate and electrifying effect. Welsh Nonconformity provided that community.

I

When Calvin Colton visited Wales in 1834 he was moved to write: 'The Welch are a very religious people - more so than the Scotch, or the people of New England. - There is perhaps no other christian people in the world, who manifest so much religious susceptibility, or who can, as a body, be brought so much under its power.'² Colton was writing a century after the first stirrings of the Methodist Revival had projected Welsh religion onto the course that brought Wales this reputation for highly-charged evangelism. The spiritual warmth of that Revival, expressed at the most startling and ephemeral level in the hand-clapping and 'jumping for joy' of many of the early meetings, had thawed the perimeters of cold Dissent, with its rationalist and unitarian tendencies, changing its shape and infusing at least some Dissenters with a concern for the salvation of souls. This change

1. See the obituary of Finney in Y Tyst A'r Dydd (Merthyr Tydfil), 10 Sept. 1875, p.2.

2. New York Obs., XIII (7 Mar. 1835).

in mood, both within and without the Established Church, produced a drive towards expansion: in the second half of the eighteenth century Dissenting congregations doubled in number.¹ But the greatest growth was to come in the nineteenth century, triggered by the anticlimatic separation of the Calvinistic Methodists from the Church in 1811, and abetted by the accelerating process of industrialisation, to which Dissent proved eminently more adaptable than the Established Church.

Canon E.T. Davies has depicted the failure of the Established Church to meet the Nonconformist challenge in the coalfields of Monmouthshire and Glamorgan,² and a story similar, though less dramatic, was recognisable elsewhere. In the North in particular Methodism spread rapidly; while older Dissent tightened its grip on the South, especially in the industrial concentrations. Nonconformity was blessed with considerable advantages. Its use of itinerant preachers stood in marked and utilitarian contrast to the inflexible parochial system of the Establishment. The identification of the Church with the Welsh landowning and gentry classes, the wielders of local power, did much to aid its estrangement from the vast mass of the population who turned with increasing confidence to Nonconformity. Welsh-speaking farmers, labourers, miners and ironworkers found their spokesman in the Nonconformist preacher, a man of similar social background, a 'tribune of the people'³ who stood 'before his audience more as a friend than an official.'⁴ Few churchmen were as imaginative as bishop Connop Thirlwall of St. David's, who spent the first year after his appointment in 1840 learning the Welsh language: he saw the need to recruit a little of the

1. David Williams, A History of Modern Wales (London, 1950), p.166.

2. E.T. Davies, Religion in the Industrial Revolution in South Wales (Cardiff, 1965), pp.97-140 and passim.

3. See the report of John Blackburn and Henry Richard in Chr. Witness, I (1844), 950.

4. 'The people feel that he is of them, and with them, and that their interests are one and undivided.' J.R. Jones, in Rees, Williams of Wern, p.171.

sympathy that Nonconformity attracted through its use of Welsh and its promotion of Welsh education through the Sunday Schools.¹ All these factors gave to Nonconformity a power which strengthened, and was also itself nourished by, a germinating sense of nationalism.² Consequently, if in the first years of the century the Church could still outbid Dissent (in numbers if not in potential), by 1851 the evidence of the census suggests that Dissent outnumbered the Establishment in attendance by about three or four to one.³

The growth of Dissent and the broad revival of evangelical religion associated with it were marked by a myriad of local revivals (of diverse character) which observed a fairly regular rhythm of 'boom' and 'decline'.⁴ Thomas Rees noted five such clusters of revivals in the first half of the nineteenth century. The earliest, between 1807 and 1809, drew several thousands into the churches, chiefly in the South; North Wales was similarly affected from 1815 to 1820; and both sections were equally involved in the movement of 1828 to 1830, when an estimated thirty thousand members were added to the four major non-established denominations. 'Finney's revival' a decade later was itself followed by the great 'cholera revival' of 1849, which took firmest hold in the industrial areas of the south.⁵

What were the major features of these revivals? Apparent to all commentators, both outsider and Welsh, was the central place of preaching in

1. Chr. Witness, I (1844), 945-48. In contrast to the English model, Welsh Sunday Schools were aimed at adults as well as children; they also taught the rudiments of reading and writing. Davies, Religion in the Industrial Revolution, pp.19-22.
2. Kenneth O. Morgan, Wales in British Politics 1868-1922 (Cardiff, 1963), pp.11-18.
3. But according to the census, 47.67% of the population stood unattached to any denomination. Ibid., p.12. Cf. the work of the evangelical curate William Jones of Anglesey, Prize Essay on the Character of the Welsh as a Nation in the Present Age (London, 1841), pp.28-53.
4. Relations between the various Dissenting denominations were usually poor and sometimes bitter. Davies, Religion in the Industrial Revolution, pp.50-54. Cf. Evans, Life of Morris, pp.243-44. No doubt the spirit of competition intensified the drive towards church growth.
5. Rees, Protestant Nonconformity in Wales, pp.429-31; Davies, Religion in the Industrial Revolution, pp.55-57.

Welsh religion and revivals. James Rhys Jones did not wildly overstate his case when he remarked: 'There has been, and there still is, much more preaching in the Principality, according to its size and population, than in any other country in Christendom.'¹ The character of Dissenting sermons was well adapted to producing emotion and religious fervour. Since the reaction against the 'dry', 'formal' ministry of the mid eighteenth century, preaching had become generally more extempore, its delivery more animated, and its style more colloquial and colourful. It was known for its passion, its appeal to the imagination and feelings, and its great variety of intonation. All these elements were best exemplified in the 'hwyl' - the musical, sem-chanted, emotional climax to the sermon - which at its most effective could reduce a whole congregation to tears.² Of course, when practiced by impetuous novices, such preaching could be crude and 'artificial'; but in the hands of an experienced minister, especially if he were an itinerant (itinerancy meant that a small stock of sermons could be constantly polished and improved), preaching developed into something of a sophisticated art form. Dissenting churches. Their object was the salvation of a fallen

The preacher himself came to take on the character of a folk hero, and the prospect of a visit from a celebrated preacher invariably promoted intense excitement and expectancy.³ This was especially true of Calvinistic Methodism, where itinerancy was the norm; but Baptists and Congregationalists also used itinerancy as a supplementary agency: as a North Wales pastor, Christmas Evans made over forty preaching trips to the South.⁴ Nor was it

1. J.R. Jones, in Rees, Williams of Wern, p.160. Cf. Jones, Character of the Welsh, p.53 : 'The institution which has produced the greatest effect on the religious character of the people is that of preaching the gospel.'

2. Evans, Christmas Evans, pp.211-17. Portrait of John Jones (London, 1864).

3. See, for example, ibid., pp.163-73.

4. Ibid., pp.133-46.

5. Portrait of John Jones, p.10. It was the opinion of one society member that 'of all places on earth, there was none so much like heaven as the Calvinistic Methodist assembly.' Jones, Character of the Welsh, pp.44-50.

the preachers alone who travelled. Thousands would journey for many miles to hear their favourites at the annual Association ('sasiwn') - one, two or three days of services held by a number of churches of a particular denomination, and carried on wherever possible out of doors.¹ At the Bala Calvinistic Methodist Annual Association in 1835, where the prime attraction was John Elias, companies of forty or more people, some starting more than two days before the Association, made their way from outside the county, holding prayer-meetings and singing hymns along the route; while the newly whitewashed houses in Bala itself betokened intense local interest.² It was not unusual for a preacher of Elias' stature to find himself addressing crowds of ten to twenty thousand people.

Of course, preaching was not the whole story. Congregational singing, prayer-meetings, sometimes spread over a number of days, and inquiry meetings, intended for those under concern, were a fairly regular feature of Welsh revivals.³ So too were 'society' meetings, an institution which resembled the class meeting of English Methodists, but which in Wales was employed by all Dissenting churches. Their object was the cultivation of a fuller Christian life among church members, through mutual encouragement and rebuke, and through the relating of 'experience'. In time of religious excitement they proved of enormous value, especially when they took inquiring non-members into their embrace.⁴ Yet in general it was the preaching service which provided the dramatic focus. Even allowing for predictable exaggeration,

1. See, for example, David Rhys Stephen, Memoirs of the late Christmas Evans, of Wales (London, 1847), pp.39-40; Evans, Life of Morris, pp.112-14. For an American view, see New York Obs., XIII (7 Mar. 1835).

2. Owen Jones, Some of the Great Preachers of Wales (London, 1885), pp.252-59. For Elias (1774-1841), the greatest Calvinistic Methodist preacher of his age, see E. Morgan, A Memoir of the Reverend John Elias (London, 1844), and Dict. of Nat. Biog.

3. See, for example, Jones, Character of the Welsh, p.49; Cong.Mag., XII (1829), 510-11; Revivalist (1841), pp.66-69. Sometimes fasting was employed.

4. Bapt.Mag., XXIX (1837), 260. It was the opinion of one society member that 'of all places on earth, there was none...so much like heaven as the Calvinistic Methodist society.' Jones, Character of the Welsh, pp.49-50.

3. Davies, Religion in the Industrial Revolution, p.75.

there was significance in the claim that as a result of a single sermon at the Pwllheli Association in 1831, John Elias kindled a conflagration of 2,500 conversions in Caernarvonshire.¹ For like him, the other great Welsh preachers of his generation, notably Christmas Evans and William Williams ('o'r Wern'), all sought conversions and revivals through preaching: it was the sermon and not the prayer-meeting through which, in the first instance, impressions were sought.²

It may already be apparent that the practice and character of Welsh evangelical religion shared a number of common features with the evangelism of the American frontier. This is in part explained by the presence in Wales of certain 'frontier' characteristics. The isolation - through language and geography - of the population of much of its rural areas, and the expanding, unsettled and 'disoriented' character of the working population in the industrial belt offered grounds for comparison with the isolated, moving and restless population of the American West. Since in both regions the Established Church system was either weak or non-existent, the work of evangelising a 'deprived' population was left to the voluntarist, revivalistic churches. In these new social conditions, churches in both countries found themselves adopting novel roles: just as American frontier Presbyterianism stood ready on occasions to become the church of the ordinary man, jettisoning its eastern traditions of respectability, so early nineteenth century Welsh Dissenters in the industrial belt 'departed from (their) middle-class character to revert to it later in the century',³ and set about providing for the religious needs of working-men.

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1. Morgan, Memoir of Elias, pp.167-68; Jones, Great Preachers of Wales, pp. 250-51. Instrumental in the revival was the fear of the possible outbreak of cholera. Ibid., p.483. The enormous force of Elias' preaching and personality should not be underestimated: on various occasions he proved able to stop the progress of fairs, plays and other kinds of 'irreligious' entertainments. It was said 'that in almost every country place, village, or town, one could find some one ascribing his conversion to the preaching of this man.' Ibid., 236, 240-44, 283, 476-77.
 2. For Evans (1766-1838) and Williams (1781-1840), see the works by Evans, Rees and Stephen, already cited, and R. Morris, Christmas Evans (London, 1870).
 3. Davies, Religion in the Industrial Revolution, p.75.

Those mission instruments most typical of the American frontier - itinerant and lay preaching, and camp meetings - were employed with corresponding vigour, and often with similar effect, in Wales. They developed to meet similar needs: itinerancy and supplementary activity of laymen helped make the most of thin resources in the efforts to evangelise 'dark' areas; camp-meetings and Associations recognised the problems of social isolation. The American frontiersman and the poor Welsh farmer or ironworker found his opportunities for social recreation very limited. Great outdoor gatherings for religious purposes offered one of the few opportunities for large-scale social intercourse and entertainment. 'Preaching seasons became to large numbers of people their principal holidays, and great religious gatherings ranked among the festivals of the nation.'¹

In both countries, too, the character of preacher and people, and their mutual relations, were conducive to revivals. In the first place, preachers found themselves addressing audiences of common people who possessed limited education, a narrow range of intellectual experience and little social refinement. In both places there was a critical absence of a large educated middle-class body which might have tempered this lack of intellectual and social sophistication.² In addition, geographic isolation slowed the entry of new ideas³ - 'infidel' doctrine spread very slowly into Wales in the nineteenth century - and delayed the erosion of old superstitions.⁴ An

1. Evans, Christmas Evans, p.205.

2. Ibid., pp.203-04.

3. When Evans of Tyclai, renowned lay preacher of the 18th century revival, first saw the Bristol Channel 'he was almost overpowered with a sense of infinity.' Ibid., p.15. John Rule, 'Methodism and Chartism among the Cornish Miners', and especially the ensuing discussion, in Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History, XXII (1971), 8-11, notes the importance of, and draws comparisons between, the geographic isolation of Cornwall and North Wales. A.H. Dodd, The Industrial Revolution in North Wales (Cardiff, 1933), p.89ff, describes the poverty of communications which exacerbated this isolation.

4. Native commentators would have agreed with Calvin Colton's verdict in 1834 that 'The poison of modern infidelity has hardly found its passage into Wales. The people generally believe in Christianity, and respect it.' New York Obs., XIII (7 Mar. 1835). There was very little infidel or scientific publishing in Wales. Jones, Character of the Welsh, p.65.

English Wesleyan Methodist in Merthyr in 1830 discovered that 'The people on the mountains (were) serious believers in fairies, ghosts and spirits.'¹ A frame of mind existed amongst some elements in both 'frontier' areas that accepted the existence of a God and a Devil which interfered directly in the affairs of man; and the sense of nearness to God or the Devil, Heaven or Hell, was of course heightened by the often precarious nature of life.² The preaching of death and salvation was assured of positive effects in environments where life expectancy was markedly shortened by the reality, in Wales, of industrial disasters or cholera epidemics and, in America, by factors like disease or violence.³

Secondly, the preachers themselves drew on much the same social and intellectual background as those to whom they ministered, and thus could rely on a powerful bond of sympathy with their hearers.⁴ American Baptist and Methodist frontier ministers were men of the people, sometimes farmers themselves, with little education and probably less refinement; they spoke the same language as their audiences. The same was true of Welsh Dissenting ministers: unlike the 'literary dissenters',⁵ amongst their English brethren, they were men of limited education, of low social origins, whose sermons were saturated with Biblical metaphor⁶ (and who were in full rapport with

1. James Kendall, Rambles of an Evangelist (London, 1853), p.41.

2. Evans, Christmas Evans, pp.2-26.

3. 'Terrible accidents and fearful deaths (are) not uncommon in these iron and coal districts.... (H)ence funeral sermons are frequent, and are often attended with good moral and religious effect.' Kendall, Rambles of an Evangelist, pp.42-43. Nottingham, Methodism and the Frontier, p.19ff.

4. Evans, Christmas Evans, p.206ff.

5. The phrase is Christmas Evans'. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XVIII (24 July 1844).

6. '(T)he whole style of (the preacher's) speech was thickly inlaid with scriptural figure, simile, and metaphor, indicating the fact of (his) restricted training and his complete baptism in the element of the Book.' Evans, Christmas Evans, pp.208-09.

an audience which spoke the same Biblical language).¹

A limited education and intellectual outlook, a fair grounding in evangelical doctrine, and a firm bond between preacher and congregation provided a recipe for a revivalism of some potency: like the revivals of the American frontier, Welsh revivalism often exhibited an emotionalism and fervour often found unpalatable by the less religiously naive in refined, better-educated congregations. By the 1830s and 1840s in Wales, 'jumping' was 'getting pretty much into disrepute' and was 'pretty much over and done', but 'physical manifestations' reminiscent of American frontier revivals were still not unknown.² In the 1829 revival at Merthyr some individuals suffered fits, and in one Calvinistic Methodist chapel 'Women continued to throw off their bonnets and kerchiefs, and, with disarranged apparel, swayed themselves to and fro, some jumping in their ecstasy, others groaning as if in their agony.'³ Six years later at the Bala Association 'strong men (fell) down dead like logs of wood, their limbs stiffened, their eyes glaring' under the power of John Elias' preaching.⁴ And if these more extreme manifestations were unusual, the encouragement of enthusiastic singing, audible congregational responses during sermons, and weeping during emotional preaching, marked most of the services of Dissenters.⁵

1. The widespread dissemination of the Bible through the Sunday Schools (attended by some 20-25% of the population in 1833) meant that 'adults among the poorest class are far better acquainted with the Bible than persons of the same class in England', according to Commissioner Johnson. Quoted in Artegall: or remarks on the Reports of the Commissioners of the Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales (London, 1848), p.30; Evan Jones, A Vindication of the Educational and Moral Condition of Wales.... (Llandovery, 1848), p.12.

2. Jones, Character of the Welsh, pp.67-68; New York Obs., XIII (7 Mar. 1835).

3. There were similar manifestations in the earlier revivals of 1803 and 1815. Charles Wilkins, The History of Merthyr Tydfil (Merthyr Tydfil, 1867), pp.221-227.

4. Jones, Great Preachers of Wales, pp.252-59.

5. Many preachers grew to depend on congregational response as an integral part of their preaching. Evans, Christmas Evans, p.205ff. Taken to extremes it could prove disruptive. See, for example, David Young, The Origin and History of Methodism in Wales and the Borders (London, 1893), p.571.

But the parallel must not be strained. Not all aspects of Welsh religion fitted snugly into a frontier model. There were, for example, forces making for broader education, and for greater refinement and less emotion in religious exercises.¹ More importantly, Welsh revivals possessed something other than the expansive, missionizing character of frontier revivalism: in many areas there was a degree of religious continuity, stability and community which ensured that the Sunday School, for example, as an instrument of that continuity, emphasizing spiritual feeling and gathering in the younger generation, became a more valuable institution than the itinerancy, which represented dynamic, quick growth rather than settled, orderly progress. In the first half of the nineteenth century, when 'ingatherings' through the Sunday Schools were increasingly common,² itinerancy was seen increasingly to have passed its golden age and to be ever more open to abuse.³ Therefore, if an American parallel is required, there was a side to Welsh revivalism which stood much closer to the practices of New England than to the religious style of the frontier. New England revivals were less an instrument for reaching a rapidly growing or mobile population, than a means of drawing into the church the younger generation of a community where profession of evangelical religion had long been the social norm, and which was relatively 'stable' in its population.

Perhaps what is of greatest significance is that in Wales, as in both New England and frontier areas, many communities were tightly-knit and bound by strong social ties. In rural and small-town Wales and New England, a homogeneous population, bonds of tradition and custom, and a history of evangelicalism, produced a social cohesion that was duplicated in young American frontier communities and the Welsh industrial population by the

1. See, for example, Chr. Witness I (1844), 951; Rees, Williams of Wern, pp.118-19.

2. For their prominence in the revival of 1828-29, see Cong.Mag., XII (1829), 224-25, 510-11; Evang.Mag., new series VI (1828), 564.

3. Evans, Christmas Evans, pp.133-43.

arduous conditions of life. Such cohesion was of enormous importance in the spread of religious sympathy. Occurring within communities possessing social and intellectual homogeneity, and powerful evangelical churches, an event such as the conversion of an 'infidel', the death of a church deacon, the threat of cholera, or any other dramatic occurrence, might easily detonate a whole host of conversions. It was with a fair degree of sociological perception that Calvin Colton was prompted to remark that, in contrast to the situation in Wales, '(revivals of religion) are not to be expected in a state of society where there is not a community of feeling.'¹ Moreover, this social and religious sympathy was not checked in any of the three regions by the operations of a powerful Established Church seeking to throw its social weight against the workings of revivalism. On the contrary: in Wales the Church did not possess sufficient numbers or prestige for the task; whereas in those New England areas where there was an establishment, it was itself a Church of revivals.

II

With revivals so integral a part of Welsh religious life, the dissemination and reading of Finney's Lectures on such a broad scale should come as no surprise, especially as the publication appeared at a time when the revival pendulum was on the upswing. There had been no major revival movement since that of 1828-1830, and its recrudescence at the time of the cholera threat in 1832. After a period of lull, and with a new generation of young adherents to gather into the churches, the expectations of church members, some fearing that the revival system might be losing its power (great, spontaneous, and emotional outbursts seemed to be a thing of the past), provided a powerful impetus to the renewal of the revival cycle.²

1. New York Obs., XIII (7 Mar. 1835). Cf. Colton's History and Character of American Revivals, p.10ff.

2. Chr. Witness, I (1844), 949. For Christmas Evans' anticipation of revivals in 1837, see Y Traethodydd, January 1846.

A handbook on the promotion of revivals would be read avidly.

Nor was it surprising that the catalytic agent of the 1839 revival was transatlantic in origin. Welsh-American bonds created one of the closest of 'transatlantic communities'. Constant emigration from Wales to a country of alleged abundance in material wealth, and possessing an enviable degree of political and religious freedom, promoted through travel and correspondence a remarkable awareness of American conditions.¹ In these circumstances American religious prosperity was contagious. It could inspire a preacher as eminently successful and well-grounded in revivals as Christmas Evans. While minister at Caerphilly from 1826-1828:

I ... heard that the churches in America were exceedingly prosperous, and that great revivals had been called forth by persevering prayer... (W)e united to seek in the name of Christ an outpouring of Divine influence... In answer to our prayers, we received the same blessings as were vouchsafed to the American churches. In the course of two years, some hundred and fifty members were added, by baptism, to the church.²

Some of the most colourful of all the episodes in this story of cross-fertilisation centred on the person of the Welsh emigrant, Benjamin Chidlaw of Ohio. Chidlaw had been a child of ten when in 1821 his parents had set out from Bala in North Wales on an emigrant route that eventually took them to the Welsh settlements of Lower Sandusky. Here he discovered that his Nonconformist upbringing, early grounding in the Bible and Sunday School education brought him into close sympathy with the prevailing evangelical temper; and in 1829, the year before the 'wonderful revival', he made a public profession of religion. Six years later, becoming a licensed Presbyterian minister, and eager to equip himself properly for the task of

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1. Alan Conway, ed., The Welsh in America. Letters from the Immigrants (Cardiff, 1961), 3-13, 51-93. In 1820 a Welshman described America to his nine year old son as 'a great and good country beyond the ocean, where there is no King, no tithes, and where poor people can get farms, and where apples abound.' Benjamin W. Chidlaw, The Story of My Life (Philadelphia, 1890), p.17.
 2. Evans, Christmas Evans, pp.227-28. Cf. Chr.Adv. and Jnl., XVIII (24 July 1844). For the introduction into Wales of American-style protracted meetings, in the early 1830s, see the letter of the Rev. Jenkin Jenkins to the New York Evangelist, IV (2 Feb. 1833).

preaching to Welsh-speaking congregations, Chidlaw decided to return to Wales. For two months the raw young preacher learnt much from his native countrymen, and especially from encounters with Williams of Wern, John Elias and John Jones (Llanllyfni). In return, Chidlaw set evangelical imaginations alight with his addresses on temperance.¹

Attitudes to temperance in the 1830s in Wales - as in the rest of Britain - were in a state of flux. The efforts of the expatriot Robert Everett in forming a Temperance Society in Utica had served as a direct stimulus to the birth of the Welsh Temperance Society (Cymdeithas Cymedroldeb Gymraeg) in 1831.² But the moderate approach of such societies soon came under attack from total abstiners who believed that nothing but the proscription of all alcohol would promote the new moral order they so eagerly desired. For an older generation of ministers accustomed to find themselves regaled after the sermon with a restorative draught of beer, teetotalism was rarely welcome. But there was sufficient enthusiasm from the younger ministry and congregation to ensure some success in the advocacy of total abstinence.³ This was certainly true of Chidlaw, who related contentedly that '(a) preacher from America was an attraction, and temperance was a new subject. The chapel (at Mivod) was crowded. Much interest was excited on the subject of total abstinence, and a temperance society was organized, the first in that part of Wales.'⁴ If in fact Chidlaw did not immediately succeed in provoking a close alliance of total abstinence with all Nonconformity, yet within a few years the value of teetotalism to the churches seemed to be exemplified in compelling fashion; for during the revival of 1839-43, as in Scotland, taking the pledge and admission to church membership

1. Chidlaw, Story of My Life, pp.14-89.

2. R. Tudur Jones, Hanes Annibynwr Cymru (Abertawe, 1966), p.216.

3. Davies, Religion and the Industrial Revolution, pp.62-63.

4. Chidlaw, Story of My Life, p.75.

were regarded as complementary and often functioned as mutual stimuli. There was no dearth of ministers to testify that 'the readiness with which the Total Abstinence principle was received and acted upon' was the means, together with the reading of Finney's Lectures, by which great numbers were added to the churches.¹

Chidlaw made a return visit in 1839.² By now the American was surer and more experienced in handling revivals. Occasionally on his preaching tour of North Wales' Congregationalist churches he held four day meetings. More usually, he remained in one station for one or two services - in country chapels at noon, and in villages or towns in the evening. Frequently he would follow his services with inquiry meetings ('the new measure I... introduced') where from five to twenty inquirers might present themselves for conversation, prayer and encouragement.³ The holding of inquiry meetings immediately after the sermon, and not on a separate occasion, may well have been unusual in the parts of Wales Chidlaw visited; but this practice was not so 'new' as he believed and was known in other areas at an earlier date.⁴

It was at Llanuwchllyn in December of 1839 that Chidlaw made the most dramatic use of the inquiry meeting. After prayer, a sermon on the duty of repentance, and a call on those who were seeking or had found salvation to stand up, some 150 people stood to the enthusiastic and noisy delight of the onlookers. The Llanuwchllyn revival made Chidlaw's a name synonymous with revivalism, though as he himself realised, in Llanuwchllyn he was merely capitalising on a religious awakening that was already under way in the village: the church had long been divided on theological and personal

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1. Michael Jones and other North Wales Congregationalists to C.G. Finney, 27 Feb. 1840, Finney Papers.
 2. The trip was not originally contemplated as a revival mission, but as a family visit. Chidlaw, Story of My Life, pp.94-96.
 3. Ibid., pp.98-100.
 4. Bapt.Mag., XXIX (1837), 260, describing the Brecon revival of 1836.

issues, and the reoccupation of the chapel, after a considerable period of litigation, by the Rev. Michael Jones and his congregation in October 1839, had set the church in the direction of revival.¹ Nevertheless Chidlaw received much of the credit (though for some the revival was 'a tempest', 'a whirlwind' which had 'an unhealthy craving...and died of self exhaustion'),² popularised certain tactical revival manoeuvres, and provoked a revival that played its part in the unfolding revival movement throughout North Wales. It was not a coincidence that one of the major foci of the 1839-43 revival was the very county (Merionethshire) in which Chidlaw operated so successfully; nor indeed that one of the foremost figures of the revival in South Wales - William Williams of Llandeilo - was allegedly stimulated by Chidlaw's work.³

Despite the existence of a steady two-way stream of men and ideas across the Atlantic,⁴ the Lectures could never have been so influential had not Finney's theological assumptions knitted in well with contemporary developments in Welsh Calvinism. As in America, much of the Calvinistic theology that underpinned the majority of revivals of the earliest decades of the nineteenth century frequently spilled over into the 'hyper' or 'high' variety. Reacting sharply to the entry of Wesleyan Methodism into Wales in the early 1800s, and concerned at the sinister similarity between Arminianism and the cold Pelagianism embraced by much of eighteenth-century Nonconformity, many Calvinists had sought to defend their tenets against the

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1. Chidlaw, Story of My Life, pp.100-110. It was later reckoned that two hundred and fifty converts were made during the Llanuwchllyn revival sparked by Chidlaw.
 2. M. Jones and others to C.G. Finney, 27 Feb. 1840, Finney Papers; Rees, Williams of Wern, pp.64-67; Chr. Witness, XII (1855), 19-20.
 3. Jones, Hanes Annibynwr Cymru, pp.200-201.
 4. For traffic in the opposite direction, see the visit of Henry Rees and Moses Parry as a Calvinistic Methodist deputation to the U.S. from the Bala Association in 1839. Jones, Great Preachers of Wales, pp.384-86. Chidlaw's lifelong Sunday School work in America was a direct result of his early attachment to these schools in Wales. Chidlaw, Story of My Life, pp.14-17, 89ff. and passim.

new threat by retreating from the middle ground of moderate Calvinism to a somewhat higher position.¹ The doctrines of election and reprobation, the total depravity of man, and his complete inability to do anything towards his salvation, were widely held in the three major Calvinist denominations, and in particular amongst Methodists; many, believing that revivals were due to be experienced only at those times appointed by God, and not at the instigation of man's efforts, were reluctant to employ any but the most traditional and cautious of means.² Nevertheless, in practice Calvinism was probably much less 'high' than critical contemporaries alleged. Even strict Calvinists like John Elias and Morgan Jones of Trelech spent their whole life evangelising, eager to make converts.³ Moreover, this theological reaction was far from acceptable to all Calvinists, with the consequence that the second, third and fourth decades of the century witnessed a controversy in all three denominations, between moderate and hyper Calvinists, that was ultimately to achieve a considerable liberalising of beliefs.

To an extent this easing of hyper-Calvinism had been instigated by the very agency that had driven Calvinism to its higher ground - Wesleyan Methodism. The rejection, bitter persecution and initial hardships suffered by Wesleyans was not the whole story: it soon became clear that Wesleyanism offered a system of beliefs whose attractiveness might occasionally draw converts from Calvinist denominations, despite the social ostracism they were likely to experience. More frequently, if less dramatically, the preaching by Wesleyans of a full, free and present salvation, the moral agency of man and the possibility of falling from grace, was directly or

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1. Rees, Williams of Wern, p.18ff; Rees, Protestant Nonconformity in Wales, pp.418-23.
 2. Jones, Great Preachers of Wales, p.486; Rees, Williams of Wern, pp.80-81.
 3. An informed observer remarked in 1842 'that in almost every country place, village, or town, one could find some one ascribing his conversion to the preaching of (John Elias).' Jones, Great Preachers of Wales, p.283. For Jones (1768-1835), see Dict. of Welsh Biog. In one sense of course the later modifying of Calvinism simply squared theology with popular practice.

indirectly effective in winning Calvinists away from 'antinomian' views and towards a more moderate position.¹

A broader, but less easily documented, stimulus to this liberalising of theology was to be found in changes in the contemporary social and political climate. Without suggesting that a particular set of socio-political conditions will automatically give rise to corresponding changes in theological formulations, it is nevertheless clear that broad social developments which promote a refashioning of a person's view of the world may lead ultimately to a reconsideration of his relationship to his God. Was it an accident that the egalitarian emphases in American society in the Jacksonian era and the increased sense of individual participation in politics were paralleled by theological developments that asserted the 'democratic' and 'egalitarian' nature of Christ's atonement and the participation and responsibility of the individual with regard to his own spiritual fate? In Wales the early nineteenth century was a time of growing political awareness and of the broadening hold of egalitarian and liberal ideas. It is true that during the French Revolution Dissenters remained generally loyalist; that great preachers of the early nineteenth century like John Elias and Christmas Evans were strong Tories in politics; and that the predestinarianism of the Calvinists, and of the Methodist branch in particular, smothered stirrings towards reform.²

But there was another side. Joseph Harris, Baptist minister and influential editor of the weekly paper Seren Gomer, was a moderate political reformer who urged a more egalitarian electoral system and who did much to wean a Welsh peasantry towards political radicalism.³ The democratic spirit

1. See, for example, Young, Methodism in Wales, pp.272-75, 533, 561-62, 592, 708.

2. Williams, History of Modern Wales, pp.173-75, 251; Morgan, Wales in British Politics, p.14.

3. Williams, History of Modern Wales, p.175.

6. Williams, Rebecca Plots, p.126.

of Nonconformity was equally well embodied in the person of Samuel Roberts ('S.R.'), minister and radical publicist, who espoused the cause of franchise extension, Catholic emancipation, the abolition of religious tests and church rates, and the improvement of tenant conditions.¹ Moreover, despite the coolness and opposition of much of articulate Nonconformity to disruptive egalitarianism or levelling causes like Chartism or Rebecca, the links between Nonconformity and these movements were undeniable.² Clearly there was a sufficiently extensive drift towards social and political egalitarianism, action and 'democracy' in the first few decades of the century to assume that the theological thinking of many Dissenters may have been affected. The exclusive, quietist implications of predestinarian Calvinism were replaced by an assertion of the inclusive, egalitarian aspects of the Gospel and the capacity of the individual to act for himself.³ It was surely significant that some of the most eager liberalisers of theology were also strong political liberals;⁴ that the stricter Calvinists came under fire for authoritarianism and exclusiveness;⁵ and that the denomination most moderate in its Calvinism - the Independents - was the most radical politically.⁶

1. For Roberts (1800-85), see Dict. of Nat. Biog.

2. David Williams, The Rebecca Riots. A Study in Agrarian Discontent (Cardiff, 1955), esp. pp.122-36; and his 'Chartism in Wales' in Chartist Studies, ed. Asa Briggs (London, 1959), p.220ff; Davies, Religion in the Industrial Revolution, pp.76-87.

3. For the role of laymen in this movement, see the biographical sketch of Michael Jones of Llanuwchllyn in Chr. Witness, XII (1855), 16-20.

4. This was the case with John Hughes of Flint (1796-1860) and William Rees of Denbigh (1802-1883), for example. See Dict. of Nat. Biog.; Dict. of Welsh Biog.; Jones, Great Preachers of Wales, pp.382-83. For a rule-proving exception, consider the case of David Peter (1765-1837), President of Carmarthen Academy and a Tory in politics. Jones, Character of the Welsh, p.43.

5. 'Those Theologians who represent the Supreme Being as arbitrary in his decrees and the dispensations of his grace, and who entertain contracted views of the atonement of Christ and of the provision of the Gospel, will always be found of a lordly and despotic temper'. Rees, Williams of Wern, pp.19-24. Rees was describing both Welsh and American (Old School Presbyterian) hyper-Calvinists.

6. Williams, Rebecca Riots, p.126.

The pace at which modifications were made in High Calvinism varied considerably from denomination to denomination. The enormous influence of John Elias within Calvinistic Methodism meant that it was only during his failing years of the 1830s that the issues began to be thrashed out thoroughly; and only in 1841 - the year of Elias' death and of a special denominational meeting of enquiry into the extent of heterodoxy in its churches - was the moderate party, centred on John Jones of Talsarn, John Hughes and Henry Rees, to impose its authority.¹ Unlike American Presbyterianism, however, there was no formal split - theological differences were not aggravated by problems of 'new measures' or slavery - and the conversion of the influential Henry Rees from high to moderate Calvinism helped soothe potentially inflammable tempers.² Amongst Baptists the wheels of theological change turned more quickly. Here the conflicting forces were represented in the figures of John Jenkins of Hengoed, a defender of the high Calvinistic views of John Gill, the eighteenth-century Baptist theologian; and John Philip Davies of Tredegar, an apostle of Andrew Fuller, who rejected limited atonement and the innate ^{moral} inability of man.³ Together with such allies as Micah Thomas and Joseph Harris, Davies' influence brought hyper-Calvinists like Christmas Evans to a much modified theological position and ensured that by the end of the 1820s Baptist theology was generally moving to more liberal ground.⁴

The most rapid and wholehearted adoption of moderate Calvinism at this time, however, was to be found in Congregationalist circles, where Edward

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1. Owen Thomas, Cofiant y Parch. John Jones, Talsarn... (Wrexham, 1874). Jones, Great Preachers of Wales, pp.382-84, 486-89, 491-94; individual entries in Dict. of Welsh Biog.
 2. But there could well be schism within individual churches. See, for example, Wilkins, Merthyr Tydfil, pp.224-27.
 3. For Jenkins (1779-1853), see Rees, Protestant Nonconformity in Wales, pp.446-48; for Davies (1786-1836), see Dict. of Welsh Biog.
 4. Stephen, Christmas Evans, pp.108-09; Jones, Character of the Welsh, pp.40-41. There were still strict Calvinistic elements remaining in Baptist churches in 1840. Ibid., p.41ff.

Williams' brand of Calvinism was operating in a manner similar to Fullerism amongst Baptists and where there was no formal Confession of Faith to protect orthodoxy.¹ It was one of Williams' students, John Roberts of Llanbrynmair, who was the most forceful exponent of what came to be known as the 'New System'.² His pamphlet of 1815 on 'The Ends of Christ's Death', upholding the general nature of the atonement, provoked both a 'considerable sensation throughout the country' and also bitter demonstrations from leaders of the 'old system'.³ Undeterred, in 1820 he published a second and celebrated work, Galwod ddifrifol ar Ymofynwr am y Gwirionedd ('A Serious Call to Inquirers for the Truth'), better known as 'The Blue Book'. At first Roberts found himself barred from many pulpits, but within North Wales the barriers soon began to fall. As early as 1818 he wrote to his brother in America that the views of Williams and Fuller 'are greatly gaining in popularity in Wales, and it is pleasing to notice that the violent opposition to them which existed in some districts has almost entirely disappeared.'⁴ Though opposition from the older generation of ministers, especially in the South, continued for some two decades more, by 1840 the 'New System' had been adopted generally. A minister like Williams of Wern, who in his own words 'swallowed hyper-Calvinism raw' at the beginning of his ministry, could now be criticised for having assumed a position that pushed views of the efficiency of human agency 'beyond their legitimate bounds.'⁵

It was during this confused period of theological transition that Finney's Lectures made their appearance. Not surprisingly, given their exhortation to use calculated means, and their fundamental acceptance of

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1. The Confessions of Faith of the American Presbyterians, and the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists helped impose some check on seemingly heterodox inroads.
 2. For Roberts (1767-1834), see Dict. of Welsh Biog.
 3. Rees, History of Protestant Nonconformity, pp.431-32.
 4. Owen, Life and Thought of Williams, pp.268-69.
 5. Rees, Williams of Wern, pp.98-104, 124-26.

'modern' views of atonement, election and ability, the Lectures found their most ready and widespread acceptance amongst the Independents - the denomination that had travelled furthest in their theological direction. Two letters sent to Finney in 1840 made clear to him the extent of Congregationalist acceptance. The first, acknowledging that the reading of his works had in 'great measure' promoted the conversion of 'several thousand souls', owes its significance to the fact that amongst the ten Congregationalist ministers of North Wales who signed the letter were several who had taken a prominent part on the side of the New System in the recent theological battles.¹ Notable were Michael Jones of Llanuwchllyn, one of the seven contributors to John Roberts' Blue Book, whose position had led to his expulsion from his church by the older High Calvinist members; Hugh Pugh of Mostyn, friend of Jones;² and Lewis Everett, whose older brother Robert had contributed to the Blue Book (and, as noted above, had emigrated to America in 1823 to become pastor of a Welsh church in Utica, New York.³ The second letter, from James Griffiths of St. David's, conveyed in similar vein a resolution of thanks to Finney, passed by some fifty Independent ministers of Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, and Pembrokeshire.⁴

For these ministers - and men of similar minds in all denominations - Finney was a powerful and articulate ally. His work helped push them

1. Jones and others to C.G. Finney, 27 Feb. 1840, Finney Papers. Another contributor to the 'Blue Book', David Morgan, wrote a warm letter to Finney in 1850, on behalf of over twenty Welsh Congregationalist pastors assembled at Dolgellau. Morgan to C.G. Finney, 29 May 1850, Finney Papers.
2. Jones had been re-instated by 1840. Chr. Witness, XII (1855), 16-20. At the same time Pugh, together with William Rees of Denbigh and E. Hughes of Treffynon, were translating Jenkyn's ubiquitous Extent of the Atonement into Welsh: Traethawd ar Natur a Helaethrwydd Iawn Crist (Llanrwst, 1840).
3. Supra., p.70. Robert Everett's letters helped keep his countrymen informed on American revivals, and help explain why Jones could tell Finney that 'your name is familiar to us: with your Christian labours we are also acquainted....' M. Jones and others to C.G. Finney, 27 Feb. 1840, Finney Papers.
4. Griffiths to C.G. Finney, 13 July 1840, Finney Papers. Griffiths (1782-1858), as a friend of John Roberts and a Blue Book essayist, had borne the brunt of 'Old System' hostility in South Wales. Cong.Yr.Bk. (1859), pp. 196-98; Owen, Life and Thought of Williams, pp.287-89.

further along the road of moderate Calvinism and active prosecution of revivals; it promoted 'a feeling which... led them to seek the revival of pure religion in a more suitable manner than they had done before.'¹ The revival of 1839-1843 was marked by promotional techniques that were for many churches more single-minded and carefully calculated than ever. The Congregationalist minister at Henllan described the new approach: in addition to 'plain', 'pungent' and 'earnest' preaching, '(p)rayer-meetings also were organised, on the principles recommended by the great Revivalist, with a view to producing strong, striking, and instantaneous impressions'; to remedy the absence of focus that marked 'vague and aimless' prayers, the hearers were divided into classes ('the children of believing parents', 'unbelieving husbands of believing wives') that allowed for greater specificity and psychological effectiveness in the appeals to them to repent immediately; hymns were chosen with an eye to their psychological propriety; '(a)ll legitimate means, psychological and moral, that could be thought of were employed to arrest the attention and awaken the conscience.'² It was perhaps such elements of calculation and contrivance that led John Blackburn and Henry Richard to remark in 1844 that contemporary Welsh revivals were, in contrast to earlier manifestations, 'of a far more equivocal character, having lost much of (their) spontaneity and irresistible power'.³

As this would suggest, some Welsh ministers were none too happy with the effects of Finney's influence. White-hot denunciations issued from the elderly Morgan Howell, a life-long battler against every variety of heretic - whether Finney, Pusey or the Pope himself - and one who, in a more trenchant moment, was heard to remark 'that it would have been a blessing if the ship that brought over Finney's work had been buried in the Bay of Biscay rather

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1. J. Griffiths to C.G. Finney, 13 July 1840, Finney Papers.
 2. Evan Davies, Revivals in Wales: Facts and Correspondence supplied by pastors of the Welsh Churches (London, 1859), p.21.
 3. Chr. Witness, I (1844), 949.

than for it to have been brought to (Wales) to poison minds.¹ Others were more restrained but no less critical, believing that through the influence of men like Finney and John Jones, Talsarn, the 1839-43 revival lacked spontaneity: it had been 'reasoned up' through unevangelical argument. It seemed to these older evangelicals that the absence of excitement and noise, and the emphasis on calculation, threw doubt on the revival's integrity.² It might be considered ironic that amongst the criticisms of Finney's early revivalism in western New York state had been the charge of over-emotionalism and over-dependence on noise, and that now, in a country where religious excitement had a long pedigree, Finney-inspired revivals were regarded as too 'quiet' to be the work of God. But there was no irony in this: the excitement and emotionalism of Finney's early revivals had been misleading. Finney's essential aim in revivals was to persuade the mind of his hearers. He did not aim simply at arousing the emotions; nor did he deny the power or the value of such appeals. But primarily he aimed to persuade through cool reasoning. And in contrast to the traditional fiery diet of the Welsh, this was tepid fare.

There was, however, no general disillusionment, and Finney received urgent pleas to visit Wales during both his trips to Britain:³ he had, after all, helped promote a revival that had brought positive and substantial gains to the churches. But while the glory was Finney's, the explanation of the revival has necessarily to extend beyond the work of a single man. The flourishing Welsh-American connection and the contribution of Benjamin Chidlaw;

1. Y Tyst A'r Dydd, 10 Sept. 1875. Cf. Howell's obituary in Y Methodist (Denbigh), 1852, p.63.

2. It was thought by some 'that there was more of man than of God in the movement.' Rees, Protestant Nonconformity in Wales, pp.429-30.

3. See, for example, Thomas Rees to C.G. Finney, 19 Apr. 1850, 10 and 17 Jan. 1859; David Rees to C.G. Finney, 17 and 22 Mar. 1859; Joseph Morris to C.G. Finney, 23 Apr. 1859, Finney Papers.

1. J.H.H. Bartle, A Church History of Wales, 1875. For James Alexander Williams (1790-1851), and his revival work who engaged in extensive evangelistic work during the 1790s, see James Rees, A History of Welsh Nonconformity (Glasgow, 1906), pp.41-99.

the developing tandem relationship of temperance and revivalism; the imponderable effect on the churches of severe economic recession: all these factors served to reinforce the drive to revival. More fundamentally, the Lectures were well received by so many Welsh evangelicals because they gave articulate expression to a growing emphasis on individual responsibility and participation found in both theology and social thinking; and because they offered a comprehensible method of perpetuating a revival system regarded as essential to the livelihood of the churches. Like certain other great popular works - Thomas Paine's Common Sense and Mrs. Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin serve as excellent examples - the success of the Lectures was ultimately attributable to the fact that they expressed forcefully and cogently what many were thinking and others were groping towards, but which few had been able to articulate so clearly. The Lectures were novel; but not so novel as to conflict with the experience of their readership, nor to encounter blank incomprehension. Their success was substantial testimony to the assertion that there is nothing more powerful than the impact of an idea whose time has come.

III

In Scotland, too, in the 1830s the cause of evangelicalism lay almost wholly in the hands of Calvinists - in the Church of Scotland, other Presbyterian bodies, and the smaller Congregationalist and Baptist churches. It had been the Calvinist George Whitefield who had first carried Methodism to the Scots in the eighteenth century and his rather than Wesley's was the greater influence on the Kirk. In the early years of the nineteenth century the most interesting developments in Scottish popular evangelism were associated not with the Arminian Wesleyans or Primitive Methodists, as in England, but with the Haldanes and their Calvinistic helpers.¹ Scottish

1. J.H.S. Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland (London, 1960), pp.293-95. For James Alexander Haldane (1768-1851), and his brother Robert (1764-1842) who engaged in extensive evangelistic tours throughout Scotland from the 1790s, see James Ross, A History of Congregational Independency in Scot' (Glasgow, 1900), pp.41-99; Dict. of Nat. Biog.

evangelical churches could of course invoke a history of revivals that included such dramatic landmarks as those at Kirk o' Shotts in 1630, and Cambuslang and Kilsyth in 1742-43, or more recent but lesser explosions as at Moulin in 1798-1800 and Lawers in 1815.¹ But a fairly strict Calvinism kept evangelism and efforts for revival within bounds. In the 1820s even revivals of the most traditional variety had no prominent place in the life of Scottish churches.

Yet there were stirrings in the early and mid 1830s that presaged a new wave of revivals, a new kind of revivalism and a much modified Calvinism within the Scottish Protestant churches, and made it clear that the Welsh and English pattern was repeating itself north of the border. A functioning evangelical machinery stood ready - Bible classes, Sunday Schools, tract distribution, city missions and open-air preaching were regularly employed by evangelical Calvinists of all denominations - and in the Glasgow area, for example, there were encouraging signs of revival. In Kilsyth, the Presbyterian William Burns, trying to combat the 'frightful outbreaks of wickedness, arising out of drunken quarrels' amongst the handloom weavers, colliers and shopkeepers of his parish, and aided by the panic that accompanied the cholera epidemic of 1832, attracted large numbers to his weekly prayer-meetings and held a series of revival lectures.² The Rev. John Hercus, sometime itinerant disciple of Robert Haldane, successfully brought his Greenock Congregational church to a revival in 1830, after establishing a regular weekly prayer-meeting in the previous year.³

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1. Burleigh, Church History of Scotland, pp.292-93; Islay Burns, The Pastor of Kilsyth; or, Memorials of the Life and Times of the Rev. W.H. Burns, D.D. (London, 1860), pp.123-24; Thomas Brown, Annals of the Disruption; with extracts from the narratives of ministers who left the Scottish Establishment in 1843 (Edinburgh, 1884), p.9; Chr. Witness, XV (1858), 350-57; Narratives of Revivals of Religion in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales (Glasgow, 1839), tracts 1-6, 8, 10 and 11.
 2. Burns, Pastor of Kilsyth, pp.98-102; William Burns, 'Kilsyth, 1839' in Narratives of Revivals of Religion in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, pp.1-2.
 3. Cong. Mag., XIII (1830), 515-16.

Significantly, Hercus' moderate success - 34 joined the church over a period of six months - was initiated by the preaching of a visiting American minister: a 'Mr. Fraser of New York' who had arrived 'quite unexpectedly' in January and spent seven or eight weeks preaching in most of Greenock's pulpits. Other Scottish evangelicals too were in touch with developments in American revivalism. In Glasgow a 'Revival Society' set about publishing a number of narratives of American revivals; correspondents exchanged evangelical news (Woods of Andover, for instance, was 'a faithful correspondent' of Ralph Wardlaw); religious periodicals, in particular Leavitt's New York Evangelist, were sent from America; and when the occasion presented itself, visiting Americans were closely questioned.¹ When in Glasgow, Asahel Nettleton found himself interrogated on the nature of his country's revivals. He declined to make sustained efforts to vindicate them - his fight with Finney over the new measures had blunted the vigour of his advocacy - but he could not avoid offering evidence which emphasised the effectiveness of legitimate revivals at a time when the subject was receiving increasing attention in Scottish evangelical circles.²

Of even greater significance in keeping aggressive American revivalism in Scottish minds in the early 1830s was the work of David Nasmith. Born in 1799 into a pious Glasgow family 'respectable in circumstances', Nasmith was an energetic representative of the harder edge of Scottish evangelicalism. Before his twentieth birthday, he had thrown himself into Sunday School and prison work, Bible distribution and other forms of missionary and benevolent activity, and had joined Greville Ewing's Congregational Church in Nile Street.

1. Revivalist (1832), pp.119-25, 141-42; John Campbell, Memoirs of David Nasmith: his Labours and Travels in Great Britain, France, The United States, and Canada (London, 1844), p.220; A. Nettleton to William Sprague, 16 Mar. 1833, Nettleton Papers.

2. Joel Hawes, a minister experienced in revivals, spent some time in the summer of 1831 in Edinburgh and Glasgow, where he met Thomas Chalmers and preached for Ralph Wardlaw. Lawrence, Life of Hawes, pp.129-30. Three years later John Codman set about putting Chalmers and other Scots right in their views of American religion. Codman, Visit to England, pp.211-12, 227.

During the 1820s his position as secretary of the new Religious Institution House, the central organisation for twenty-three of Glasgow's religious and benevolent societies, allowed him to concentrate on the promotion of two kinds of evangelical work: the organisation of Young Men's Societies for Religious Improvement, which offered to young men the opportunity for religious association and 'mutual improvement', and the organisation of city missions to the poor. The contagious effect on other cities of the first enterprise allows him to be considered, along with George Williams, as of primary importance in the development of the YMCAs. But it was as 'the City Mission man' that he was best known. By 1830, despite the temporary collapse of Nasmith's health, the interdenominational Glasgow City Mission he had formed in 1826 had been followed by a further twenty missions in Scotland and Ireland.¹

A restless, urgent young man, Nasmith sailed in July 1830 for New York. He knew he was leaving fledgling organisations still susceptible to collapse, but he was anxious to visit a country whose paucity of city missions he regarded as a personal challenge. His Glasgow reputation preceded him across the Atlantic. Within three weeks of his arrival he had made the acquaintance of William Patton and the philanthropist Arthur Tappan, called a meeting of fifty ministers and laymen, set up a New York City Mission and secured funds for the support of two missionaries. Thereafter he travelled widely in New England, the East and the South. Before his return to Scotland in December 1831 the New York mission had been supplemented by missions and young men's societies in New Orleans, Augusta, Charleston, Baltimore, Richmond, Alexandria, Washington D.C., Philadelphia, Boston and other centres in both the United States and Canada.

1. Campbell, *Memoirs of Nasmith*, 274.

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1. Campbell, *Memoirs of Nasmith*, pp.1-150; Clyde Binfield, *George Williams and the Y.M.C.A. A study in Victorian social attitudes* (London, 1973), pp. xi, 136-48; Hall, *Forty Years Familiar Letters*, I, 160-61.

both If Nasmith had been too pre-occupied with establishing new societies to the detriment of their careful cultivation (it was said of him that he 'framed constitutions with more facility than some men write letters of common friendship'¹) and if he had over-extended his energies (none of these American societies continued to operate successfully for long), his travels had at least brought him into contact with a considerable number of revival converts and prominent Calvinistic ministers with strong sympathies for revivalism. In Thomas Skinner and James Paterson, Nasmith met Philadelphia ministers favourable to Finney and the new measures; and at Yale and Hartford he was able to speak at length to some who had been converted in the revivals of 1831. Though aware that in American revivals there may have been too much 'smoke', he took back with him across the Atlantic an urgent longing for similar revivals in Scotland. He immediately set about holding meetings to explain American revivals and to encourage 'prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit'. During the following winter of 1832-33 he continued to organise revival meetings, temperance societies and maternal associations, for all of which the impetus derived largely from his American experience.²

The revival that Nasmith sought did not come until the later 1830s. By that time the earlier, smouldering interest had been fanned, as in Wales, by a temperance reformation, a worsening economic climate and the introduction, from indigenous and trans-Atlantic sources, of much modified Calvinist ideas that would support an aggressive evangelism. First, the 1830s saw the emergence of teetotalism as a challenge to the anti-spirits movement of the late 1820s. The latter had been stimulated by John Dunlop and John Edgar,

1. Horriath, *Drink and the Victorians*, pp. 90, 102, 104.

1. Campbell, *Memoirs of Nasmith*, p. 345. William Adamson, *The Life of the Rev. James Nasmith* (London, 1893) pp. 48, 96-97, 127; Thomas G. Nasmith's death in 1839, his City Mission work centred on the industrial areas of northern England and London. *Ibid.*, pp. 301-56.

3. *Chr. News*, 19 Aug. 1863.

4. R. H. Campbell, *Scotland since 1707: The Rise of an Industrial Society* (Oxford, 1965), p. 131.

both of whom had been much influenced by American ministers and pamphlets;¹ American example - Lyman Beecher's enormously popular Six Sermons on Intemperance went through several Scottish editions - also played its part in the drive to teetotalism. It was amongst evangelicals who believed that only after the eradication of drunkenness could the Gospel be successfully advanced, that the more radical cause made greatest ground. Of course, the progress of teetotalism was largely a symptom of a revival whose leading ministers regarded teetotalism as a concomitant of conversion.² Yet the desire for total abstinence may also have helped promote revivalism. The identification of so many ministers and laymen with 'liquor-selling and liquor-drinking Christianity' cast a doubt on the quality of their religion, and to some at least it seemed that evangelicals would have to introduce a new kind of religious effort before there could be a complete revolution in drinking habits. One of this new breed of ministers later reflected: 'when a religion that cherishes the liquor-seller and delights in liquor-drinking prevails in a community, and is regarded as the true Christian religion, earnest temperance agitation will bring in not only abstinence from liquor, but also a different religion.'³

Second, there seems good reason to believe that the economic depression of the late 1830s and early 1840s created conditions in which revivals could flourish. It is true that at this time in the rural areas of the Lowlands, Highlands and Islands - where there is evidence of a number of revivals - factories and manufacturing towns, where large numbers of people were in prosperity was returning after the period of low agricultural prices from 1832 to 1836.⁴ But the real foci of the revival movement were to be found in

1. Harrison, Drink and the Victorians, pp.96, 102, 104.

2. Burns, 'Kilsyth', loc. cit., pp.1, 25; William Adamson, The Life of the Rev. James Morison, D.D. (London, 1898) pp.46, 96-97, 227; Thomas D. Landels, William Landels D.D. A Memoir (London, 1900), pp.45-46; William Adamson, The Life of the Rev. Fergus Ferguson (London, 1900), p.69; Helen Kirk, Memoirs of Rev. John Kirk, D.D. (Edinburgh, 1888), pp.163, 188.

3. Chr. News, 19 Aug. 1865.

4. R.H. Campbell, Scotland since 1707: The Rise of an Industrial Society (Oxford, 1965), p.152.

the industrial belt that ran from Renfrewshire and mid-Ayrshire to mid-Fife and the north-eastern outposts of Dundee and Aberdeen. Here an industrial and commercial revolution was being fed by an industrial proletariat made up of Highland and Lowland peasantry and Irish immigrants. Population was growing at a bewildering pace.¹ At a time of fundamental change, economic depression could cause enormous social strain. In the coalfields, textile mills and iron works the economic boom of the mid 1830s had given way by 1837 to a general depression - low wages and unemployment - which helped feed Chartism and related forms of social and political protest.² Some felt that the depressed conditions of working people, and the 12 to 15 hour day they worked, allowed no time for religious concern and presented 'no slight discouragement and hindrance to the revival of sound and loving piety.'³ Nevertheless, many of the affected labouring groups did turn to evangelical religion. Colliers in Lanarkshire villages, mill workers in the jute-manufacturing city of Dundee, Perth men and girls from the 'manufactories and large workshops', Shotts iron workers, and servants, quarrymen, factory workers and colliers in the carpet manufacturing town of Kilmarnock provide useful examples of some of the groups drawn into the revivals' embrace.⁴ Significantly, it was the social group hit hardest by the depression, the

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1. Alexander Wilson, The Chartist Movement in Scotland (Manchester, 1970), pp.1-19. Gilbert argues that the greatest Nonconformist success in England and Wales took place in semi-urban industrial villages dependent on mines, factories and manufacturing towns, where large numbers of people were in 'unfamiliar, unstructured, and largely normless environments'. The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, pp.198ff, 297ff. The Scottish revival of the late 1830s was apparently nourished by such an environment, notably in the villages of Lanarkshire that were becoming large towns almost overnight.
 2. Campbell, Scotland since 1707, pp.108-10, 121-24.
 3. Patrick Fairbairn, 'Hindrances to a Revival of Religion', in Lectures on the Revival of Religion (Glasgow, 1840), by Ministers of the Church of Scotland, pp.365-69.
 4. Burns, 'Kilsyth', loc. cit., pp.6-7; Adamson, Life of Ferguson, pp.29-32; Alexander Cumming, Memorials of the Ministry of the Rev. Alexander Cumming... (Edinburgh, 1881), p.191ff; New York Obs., XIX (9 Jan. 1841); Marjory Bonar, Reminiscences of Andrew A. Bonar, D.D. (London, 1895), p.83ff; Adamson, Life of Morison, pp.109-10, 251-52. It is worth noting the success of Chartists in setting up their own churches in 1840 and 1841. Wilson, Chartist Movement in Scotland, pp.124-25, 142-50.

handloom weavers, whose economic status had been mortally affected by the recent introduction of the power-loom, that made perhaps the major contribution to an evangelical explosion that helped set the tone of the whole revival movement. In the Kilsyth revival of 1839 William Burns found weavers (who elsewhere were generally regarded as 'Radical or opinionative', and their shops 'hotbeds of anarchy') to be '(w)ell-read, sober' and '(a)mong the best friends and upholders of the hands of the minister'.¹ For handloom weavers and others living marginal existences, the revival perhaps offered spiritual succour and support.

Certainly ministers themselves regarded revivals as the best answer to the depression and the heightened social tension it brought with it.

'It seems', one Church of Scotland minister told a Glasgow audience in 1840, in semi-apocalyptic vein, 'as if some universal convulsion were on the point of bursting forth, to wrench and shake asunder the entire fabric of society throughout the world, and to cast the shattered fragments into the boiling vortex of confusion...preparatory to the formation of a completely new order of things.'² 'Squalid poverty', 'neglected families', 'vice', 'domestic misery', 'drunkenness', 'profaneness', class disharmony and 'a spirit of insubordination, breaking out at times into lawless and fearful outrage' (he no doubt had the Chartist disturbances in mind) were the most serious social evils to be eradicated. Politicians might advocate free

1. Brown, Annals of the Disruption, p.450; Burns, 'Kilsyth', loc. cit., p.12. Opposition to the revival was often to be found amongst the 'decent professors' and 'moral people'. James Morison came under attack from 'the better class socially' in his Kilmarnock congregation. But merchants, manufacturers, 'little gentry' and 'some of the best educated ladies and gentlemen' might also be found amongst his converts; and generally, though the evidence is impressionistic, the revival seems to have affected a wide social spectrum. It seems also to have embraced both sexes and all age groups, though it was probably amongst adolescents that the greatest impact was made. Ibid., pp.5, 9, 11; Adamson, Life of Morison, pp.61-62, 64-65, 69, 75-76, 84, 111-12, 150, 199-200, 233, 252; Cumming, Memorials of Cumming, pp.122, 155, 194-96; New York Obs., XVIII (17 Oct. 1840).

2. 'W.M.H.', 'Preface' to Lectures on the Revival of Religion, by Ministers of the Church of Scotland, pp.xxi-xxii.

3. Annals of the Disruption, pp.1-11; J.A. Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland (Edinburgh, 1927), pp.7-13; Burns, 'Kilsyth', loc. cit., p.2.

trade, emigration, a wider franchise, lower corn laws and other panaceas for the elimination of distress, but such remedies rested on false diagnoses. Only a revival of religion could stamp out the 'infidelity', 'Popery' (recently sustained by the gangs of Irish 'navvies' working in the heavy industries) and 'religious liberalism', which were fundamental contaminators of the public mind. Moreover, evangelical religion would 'bind all classes together in mutual kindness and sympathy, as all equally in need of, and all equally depending on, the mercy of a common Redeemer.'¹ Ministers who in more stable times would have been wary of revival efforts were perhaps much more likely to sanction them when they feared that society might otherwise be torn apart.

Third, by the 1830s the harsher Calvinistic formulations were already being softened in some churches, especially amongst the Independents, but clearly the prevailing strict emphases of Calvinism would have to be further modified before revivals could occur in significant numbers. Both their 'doctrine of assurance' - more accurately in this case the doctrine of uncertainty, that an individual could never really know that he was on the way to heaven until he actually got there - and the emphasis on gradual progress to a full Christian condition militated against revivals.² So too did the reluctance to use special methods. During the 1830s these views came under growing pressure. Wesleyan and Primitive Methodism offered a clear Arminian alternative: as a youth in the 1830s William Landels, son of a humble Berwickshire farmer, found the urgent appeal of the Primitive Methodists, a denomination of very recent arrival in Scotland, a refreshing contrast to 'the humdrum decorousness' and the suffocating indifference of the Moderatism so prevalent in the Auld Kirk, the Church of Scotland.³ But

1. Robert Buchanan, 'Introductory Essay' to James Robe, Narrative of the Revival of Religion at Kilsyth, Cambuslang, and other places in 1742 (Glasgow, 1840), pp.vii-xii.

2. Chr. News, 14 Oct. 1865.

3. Landels, William Landels, pp.14-17; J.R. Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland (Edinburgh, 1927), pp.7-13; Burns, 'Kilsyth', loc. cit., p.2.

in the shifting of Calvinistic views, Arminianism was of only marginal importance relative to the challenge from within the orbit of Calvinism itself.

As in Wales, it was American modified Calvinism that proved a major agent of change, particularly in Congregationalist and United Secession Churches. John Kirk reflected in 1865 on the upheavals in Calvinism in the 1830s (when he had left the Church of Scotland, given up his blacksmith's trade, and turned his thoughts to the Congregational ministry) and recalled how 'there were two books which had very great influence in suggesting those ideas which ripened into a true revival of religion': Reed and Matheson's Visit to the American Churches, whose descriptions of American special services were to draw activists like Kirk into enthusiastic imitation, and of even greater value and impact, Finney's Lectures on Revivals, published in inexpensive form and circulated widely.¹ In 1839 James Morison, newly-licenced minister of the United Secession Church, and trained in the eclectic and modified neo-Calvinism of Professor John Brown at Edinburgh Theological Hall, read Finney's Lectures while travelling to his first appointment in remote Banffshire. It made an enormous impression on him. 'I do strenuously advise you', he wrote to his father, 'to get Finney's Lectures on Revivals, and preach like him; I have reaped more benefit from the book than from all other human compositions put together. It has its faults, but its excellencies are very extraordinary.'² Finney was not of course the only New School Presbyterian theologian to influence Scottish Calvinistic thinking. Moses Stuart and Albert Barnes were allegedly influential in liberalising her churches' religious thought.³ But at the popular, less intellectually-

1. Chr. News, 2 Sept. 1865. Cf. E. Young to C.G. Finney, 2 Feb. 1850, Finney Papers.

2. Adamson, Life of Morison, p.55. Morison's immediate reaction is of more significance than his later, more qualified verdict. Fergus Ferguson, A History of the Evangelical Union, from its Origin to the Present Time (Glasgow, 1876), p.7.

3. Fleming, History of the Church in Scotland, p.16.

sophisticated level, Finney had no rival.

It is plain that there were stirrings of revival in Scotland throughout the 1830s, in the shape of city missions, the revival of outdoor preaching and the multiplication of prayer meetings.¹ It was not, however, until 1838 that revival meetings really 'arrested public attention'.² Late in that year and early in 1839 protracted meetings were held in Denholm and other parts of southern Scotland following reports of Edward Norris Kirk's successful use of them in Surrey Chapel;³ in the same winter John Kirk conducted successful revival services at Alexandria, north-west of Glasgow.⁴ Then, in the summer of 1839, Kilsyth experienced a revival explosion whose tremors were felt across most of Scotland.⁵ The sexagenarian pastor, William Burns, assisted by William C. Burns and other ministers of the Church of Scotland, tried to control a revival which affected hundreds of all denominations. For a brief period swearers renounced their curses and drunkards their cups. 'Infidel and impure books' were burned, 'frozen formalists' awakened, and meetings held at all hours in church, church-yard, loomshops, factories and market square. 'The state of society is completely changed', Burns observed. 'Politics are quite over with us. Religion is the only topic of interest.' Out of curiosity and disbelief crowds flocked from the whole Glasgow area. At the service for new communicants held in September between ten and twelve thousand crowded into the communion tent; and by this and other means the news of an extraordinary revival was spread even further. Letters from eye-witnesses were sent to relatives all over

1. See, for example, the work of Henry Wight in Edinburgh and elsewhere at this time. Ninian Wight, Memoir of the Rev. Henry Wight (Edinburgh, 1862), pp.20-87.

2. Chr. News, 5 Aug. 1865.

3. Wight, Memoir of Wight, pp.94-95.

4. Chr. News, 14 Oct. 1865; Kirk, Memoirs of John Kirk, p.138ff.

5. Burns, 'Kilsyth', loc. cit., passim.

Scotland and read out to interested congregations.¹ The 'kind of laudable jealousy' that had helped multiply conversions in Kilsyth itself, now began to operate elsewhere. In Perth and Dundee in the winter of 1839-40 Alexander Cumming and William C. Burns, with reports of his triumphs at Kilsyth, stirred churches to revival.² In Ross, Moray and Banff, a similar imitative revival followed James Morison's use of his father's accounts of the revival in the Glasgow area.³ During 1840 the revival movement became general, though the focus continued to be the industrial belt in general and the Glasgow region in particular. Soon the elements of surprise and relative spontaneity disappeared; but it was not until the mid 1840s that the drive to revival finally lost its impetus.

In December 1840, soon after the first burst of revival, the Presbytery of Aberdeen questioned all of its ministers, asking amongst other things: 'Have revivals taken place in your parish or district; and if so ... by what instrumentality and means?'⁴ The Presbytery was clearly concerned that 'revival meetings', by employing unusual means, encouraging physical excitement, and causing a stir in the community, might be bringing the Church into disrepute. Cautious Calvinistic ministers regarded two prayer meetings a year as normal and two sermons a week as energetic; they addressed their congregations from carefully-written texts and made no attempt to separate unconverted hearers from the saved; they regarded with suspicion ministers such as McDonald of Ferintosh, or laymen of the Haldane school, who 'trespassed' into distant parishes to deliver the gospel message;⁵ and they felt that caution should be the burden of private advice

1. New York Obs., XVIII (25 Jan. 1840).

2. Cumming, Memorials of Cumming, pp.107-09, 114ff.

3. Adamson, Life of Morison, pp.59-61.

4. Andrew A. Bonar, ed., Memoirs of McChayne. Including His Letters and Messages (Chicago, 1948), p.417.

5. New York Obs., XVIII (17 Oct. 1840); Brown, Annals of the Disruption, p.161; Ross, History of Congregational Independency in Scotland, p.66ff.

given to awakened sinners. These ministers generally accepted the traditional methods of revival - though outdoor preaching continued to suffer a stigma and was reckoned by some to be 'a Kinna blackguard thing to do.'¹ They were in much less sympathy with the introduction of the novel techniques making headway in America and other parts of Britain. The earnest Henry Wight of Edinburgh argued before the Congregational Union of Scotland in 1838 the value of protracted meetings to foster revival.² In the Presbyterian bodies, too, ministers sometimes held two prayer meetings or delivered three or four sermons daily. Robert Murray McCheyne, one of the more traditionalist of revival-minded ministers and typical of the most evangelical wing of the Church of Scotland, readily condoned the holding of meetings nightly for four months at the height of the Dundee revival of 1839-40.³ On occasions such meetings might be extended, by popular request, until midnight or even longer; at Kilsyth there was outdoor preaching by moonlight.⁴ Some ministers held special meetings for the young. Preaching was often extempore and always pointed.⁵ Sometimes there were 'boisterous demonstrations of feeling.'⁶ The afflicted might be directed to the inquiry or anxious meeting - a further, and central, innovation

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1. Chr. News, 5 Aug. 1865. For the practice of outdoor preaching in rural and industrial areas, see Adamson, Life of Morison, pp.74, 207ff, 227-28; Kirk, Memoirs of John Kirk, p.207; Adamson, Life of Ferguson, p.32. An estimated 15,000 attended one outdoor service in Skye in the summer of 1842. Revivalist (1843), pp.136-140.
 2. Chr. News, 14 Oct. 1865. A number of his colleagues were equally impressed by the effectiveness of American-style protracted meetings. Ferguson, History of the Evangelical Union, pp.7, 277-78.
 3. Bonar, ed., Memoirs of McCheyne, pp.418-19. McCheyne and the evangelistic wing of the Church of Scotland, however, were rather more cautious in their view of means and human instrumentality than the equivalent wings of the non-established evangelical denominations. McCheyne objected to the use of the term 'revival meetings'. Ibid., p.424. Cf. Lectures on the Revival of Religion, by Ministers of the Church of Scotland, passim.
 4. Cumming, Memorials of Cumming, pp.138-39; W.M. Harvard, Defence of Protracted Meetings ... (London, circa 1840), p.48; Burns, 'Kilsyth', loc. cit., p.10; Bonar, ed., Memoirs of McCheyne, pp.424-25.
 5. Adamson, Life of Morison, pp.53-54, 67, 69, 98, 265-66.
 6. Burns, 'Kilsyth', loc. cit., p.3; Cumming, Memorials of Cumming, p.135.

during this period of religious excitement.¹ As the revival progressed sympathetic ministers were inclined to supplement their pastoral duties with evangelistic excursions into neighbouring territory, or even further afield. William C. Burns, ^{the} Fergusons, father and son, John Kirk, and James Morison operated at times more as itinerant evangelists conducting series of revival meetings in likely locations, than as full-time pastors.

Criticisms, then, were levelled at the methods employed in revival meetings; even a convinced activist, James Morison, began to have second thoughts about 'all sorts of anxious and protracted meetings'.² But it was in the area of theology, not methods, that the most acrimonious and divisive quarrels developed. The contemporary American schisms were re-enacted on the Scottish stage - not least because the two leading insurgents (within United Secession and Congregationalist Churches) on behalf of a more liberal theology were both much affected by their reading of Finney. In the remote Presbytery of Elgin James Morison, beyond the supervision of denominational authorities, increasingly questioned one of the central orthodoxies of the United Secession Church, that Christ had not been sent to die for all men, and was soon unequivocally to uphold the universality of the atonement. If his mind had been in part turned in this direction by John Brown, it was Finney who gave coherence and definition to his thinking. In Morison's first and enormously popular tract, The Way of Salvation, published in 1840, Finney's influence is unmistakable. Morison sought to answer the objections and questions of unbelievers in clear and practical terms, urging on them their capability and duty of immediate repentance, through reading and believing the gospel. Do not take refuge in 'waiting for the Holy Spirit', Morison demanded; 'Believe NOW, and live'; 'God never makes it our duty to do anything which we are utterly unable to do.'³

1. Adamson, Life of Morison, pp.31-32.

1. Adamson, Life of Morison, p.233; Kirk, Memoirs of John Kirk, pp.140, 224. When in America, Nasmyth described William Patton's use of the inquiry meeting as 'new and interesting to me.' Campbell, Memoirs of Nasmyth, p.216.

2. Adamson, Life of Morison, p.73.

3. James Morison, The Way of Salvation; or, the Question, 'What Must I Do To Be Saved?' Answered (London, 1843), pp.11-13 and passim.

Morison's views continued to drift further away from orthodoxy, until by 1843 he had concluded that the influence of the Holy Spirit was resistible and election conditional: man alone was responsible for his unregenerate condition - he simply had to believe in order to be elected and justified.¹

Similar developments were taking place within Congregationalism. John Kirk, after an orthodox ministerial education in the Independent Academy, Glasgow, had been appointed pastor of a humble Church in Hamilton, where during 1840 - by which time he had become 'to some extent a pupil of Finney' - he began to develop unorthodox views on election and the role of the Holy Spirit. Most Congregationalists, especially in the Lowlands, already held moderate Calvinistic views - believing in the universality of the atonement, in man's natural ability, but moral inability, to believe the gospel, and in the irresistibility of the Holy Spirit's work in conversion. Kirk proceeded several steps further, in the direction taken by Morison, though the two men had not yet developed their later close friendship, and in 1842 delivered a series of lectures to outline his 'new views' of universal atonement, man's ability to believe, the resistible nature of grace, and the conditional character of election.² Several capable Congregationalists in the Glasgow area responded positively to Kirk's preaching. One of these was Fergus Ferguson, Jr., 'the boy preacher', student at the Glasgow Theological Academy and a member of Kirk's congregation. As the son of a church deacon who had spent much time 'reading the works of Finney, Dwight and Independent writers', and who had corresponded with American theologians, Ferguson's response was predictable.³

Temperamentally John Kirk was a radical. In 1831, when only eighteen, he had thrown himself vigorously into the Reform Bill agitation; during

1. Adamson, Life of Morison, pp.36-244.

2. Kirk, Memoirs of John Kirk, pp.36-199; John Kirk, The Way of Life Made Plain: being Twelve Lectures on Important Propositions (Glasgow, 1844), passim.

3. Adamson, Life of Ferguson, pp.26-45; Tim Jeal, Livingstone (London, 1973) p.13.

4. Adamson, Life of Morison, p.236.

the 1830s and 1840s he attacked Church Establishments, denounced Corn Laws and American slavery, and suffered the reprimands of less committed evangelicals for his undeviating teetotalism. By such means - secondary only to the power of the gospel - would the cause of social reform and the working man be advanced.¹ Fergus Ferguson, Sr., and Henry Wight were of a similar mould, both lifelong liberals and powerful advocates of voluntarism and temperance.² Such minds would welcome with little hesitation theological formulations that were based on egalitarianism, freedom of the will, and the responsibility of the individual. Theologically conservative evangelicals might well prove politically Tory - Thomas Chalmers regarded Radicalism as nothing less than an 'aspect of infidelity and irreligion' - and others considered that serious soul-saving excluded vigorous political activity.³ But there can be little doubt that changing social and political attitudes helped erode the old Westminster Confession of Faith. An Evangelical Unionist, looking back on the emergence of the Union (see below), reflected:

The doctrine of limitation in the love of the divine Father, in the atonement of the divine Son, and in the indispensable influence of the divine Spirit is, when logically applied to politics, a bulwark of arbitrary power and political partiality and ... tyranny. Whereas, the doctrine of the three divine universalities ... affords the only unimpeachable guarantee for the ultimate universal recognition of the rights of the masses everywhere, and for the ultimate elevation and regeneration of all the peoples of the world.⁴

It will be recalled that though English Calvinists reacted warily to the 'new theology', they experienced no significant denominational disputes or schisms. When James Morison visited Manchester in 1845 and preached universal atonement and God's love he discovered that his hearers, attuned to Methodist and Congregationalist preaching, found nothing startlingly new in his message.⁵ In Scotland the popular hold of a much stricter

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1. Kirk, Memoirs of John Kirk, pp.13, 155, 172-74, 187, 275ff.
 2. Adamson, Life of Ferguson, p.28; Wight, Memoir of Wight, p.5.
 3. Burleigh, Church History of Scotland, p.316.
 4. The Evangelical Repository, 2nd series, III (1861), 271.
 5. Adamson, Life of Morison, p.258.

variety of Calvinism ensured more pronounced and extreme reactions to the new views. Some who had been taught all their lives that their salvation or damnation had been settled before their birth found positive relief in adding the words 'conversion' and 'human ability' to their vocabulary: such people, of course, provided many of the revival's converts.¹ But there was also considerable popular hostility from those who had been brought up similarly to believe that one's salvation would only be made known on judgment day. The young Fergus Ferguson was told by an aged layman (there seems to have been a generational dimension to the theological dispute): 'Young man, you must believe that the sinner is as dead and impotent as Lazarus was in his grave.'²

The tenacity of stricter Calvinism was apparent in the reaction of the denominational authorities, especially in the United Secession Church, a denomination as a whole unsympathetic to the revival movement. In July 1840, not long after his return from revival triumphs in the Highlands, James Morison accepted a call to the pastorate of the Secession Church in Clerk's Lane, Kilmarnock, and two months later, despite the opposition of some members of the Kilmarnock Presbytery, he passed his 'trials' and was ordained. Within a few more months Morison had been arraigned before the bar of the Presbytery for failing to keep to the spirit of his earlier pledge to suppress the circulation of The Way of Salvation (a London edition had been followed by further Scottish editions) and a minority of his church, 'being of the better class socially', had objected to his revivalism, his continued preaching of human responsibility and ability, and his other challenges to the doctrine of assurance. On 9 March, 1841, Morison - now at the centre of a popular storm in Kilmarnock - was suspended from the ministry. Despite his appeal to the Church's supreme court, the Synod, the

1. Ibid., pp.33-34, 41; Adamson, Life of Ferguson, pp.54, 59.

2. Adamson, Life of Ferguson, pp.33-34, 41.

4. Adamson, Life of Ferguson, pp.54-55.
occurred in Edinburgh; see also
Kirk, Memoirs of John Kirk, pp.100-101.

decision was upheld. Within a year Morison's father, Robert Morison of Bathgate, had been similarly thrown out of the denomination for his views of the atonement; and in May 1843 two further ministers - A.C. Rutherford of Falkirk and John Guthrie of Kendal - were suspended. The popularity of these men in their own churches ensured the sympathy and support of almost all the members of their congregations. Moreover, because of their ubiquitous evangelism and their numerous publications advocating the new views, these four men succeeded in shaking the United Secession Church to a much greater degree than their numbers indicated.¹

Though Congregationalists were also affected by schism, their more moderate Calvinism and the looseness and decentralisation of their denominational structure allowed for greater toleration of new views.² Many churches sympathetic to the revival movement remained within the Scottish Congregational Union. But there were significant exceptions. Ralph Wardlaw and the committee of the Glasgow Theological Academy, having questioned twenty students closely on their views of Divine influence, found some tinged with the 'self-conversionism' of the new views. America was blamed;³ and in May 1844 the Academy expelled nine students, one of whom was the young Fergus Ferguson, a member of John Kirk's church at Hamilton. Within a year, during which he was admitted as a student into James Morison's Kilmarnock Theological Academy, eighty sympathisers in Glasgow's North Allen Street Church split away from their church and invited Ferguson to be their pastor.⁴ Divisions grew up between as well as within

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1. Ferguson, History of the Evangelical Union, *passim*; Fergus Ferguson, Jr., 'Morisonianism', in The Cyclopaedia of Religious Denominations.... (Glasgow, 1853), pp.248-52. Significantly, Morison thought briefly of settling in America, as a means of escaping opposition in Scotland. Adamson, Life of Morison, pp.93-94.
 2. For the controversy within Scottish Congregationalism, see Ross, History of Congregational Independency in Scotland, pp.121-36; Ferguson, History of the Evangelical Union, pp.273-349.
 3. J.A. James to W. Patton, 27 June 1843, quoted in Dale, Life of James, pp.418-21.
 4. Adamson, Life of Ferguson, pp.53-59. Similar congregational division occurred in Edinburgh; John Kirk became pastor of the schismatic group Kirk, Memoirs of John Kirk, pp.219-24.

churches. Four Glasgow Congregational churches - probably aware that the Congregational Union was reluctant to enter the doctrinal controversy - took independent action and withdrew from fellowship with five churches in the Glasgow area known to espouse the new doctrines: Kirk's church at Hamilton and Fergus Ferguson's at Belshill, and those at Cambuslang, Bridgeton and Ardrossan under M'Robert, Simpson and Mather. Similar local exclusions from fellowship were repeated further North, in Blackhills, Cotton, Forres, and Fraserburgh.¹

The most fundamental and turbulent of church schisms in the 1840s, the 'Ten Years' Conflict' in the established Church of Scotland, had its roots not in theological dispute over new evangelical formulations, but in differences in approach to the relationship of church and state.² Evangelicals within the established church were largely conservative in theological outlook, adhering to the Westminster Confession, and largely out of sympathy with the eloquent prophecy and encouragement of glossalia shown by Edward Irving, and with the implicit denial of election and limited atonement found in the sermons of John McLeod Campbell. When both men were condemned in the 1830s, there was no general withdrawal from the Church.³ Yet the great disruption cannot be divorced from the swelling evangelical wave of the 1830s. Those Church of Scotland ministers who played the most dramatic part in the revival - Burns of Kilsyth, W.C. Burns, the Bonars, James G. Lorimer, A. Cumming - were later to join the Free

Berwick, the Congregationalist James Douglas of Glasgow was given the

1. The schismatics were themselves occasionally subject to splintering on 'the left'. The challenge to church authority, stimulated by the individualistic emphases of the revival, was easier to set in motion than to stop. One of James Morison's principal defenders during his trial later adopted the views of the Plymouth Brethren and repudiated Morison's ministerial authority; others challenged the concept of the paid ministry; and a number left for Baptist churches. Adamson, Life of Morison, pp.219-20, 255-56, 262-63. Cf. Landels, William Landels, pp.28-31; Kirk, Memoirs of John Kirk, p.226.

2. Burleigh, Church History of Scotland, pp.334-369.

3. Ibid., pp.328-33. This theological orthodoxy pervades Lectures on the Revival of Religion, by Ministers of the Church of Scotland.

4. New York Obs., XVIII (17 Dec. 1861).

Church, and most evangelicals withdrew from the Established Church at the time of the disruption.¹ Indeed, 'evangelical' and 'non-intrusionist' were often synonymous. It is not entirely clear why this should have been, though undoubtedly the experience of flourishing churches re-inforced evangelicals' self-confidence and their commitment to spiritual independence. Certainly, once completed, the disruption ceased to be a symptom of revival and became a cause of it, as minister after minister found himself in need of church and congregation. In an intensive if unco-ordinated evangelistic drive, Free Church ministers preached out of doors, and in barns, sheds and wooden churches to attract and maintain a congregation. J. G. Lorimer reported that at Bothwell 'many of the young people who applied for admission to the Lord's table... in the summer of 1844... attributed their first serious thoughts of religion to that great event (the Disruption), and its immediate consequent widespread and warm gospel preaching.'² This experience was repeated across Scotland.

Schism was not the whole story. The divisive tendencies of the revival were to some extent balanced by the harmonious interdenominational co-operation occasionally found in the more committed evangelical wings of the participating churches. In Kilsyth, William Burns worked sympathetically with like-minded evangelicals in the Relief Church.³ John MacDonald of Ferintosh participated in revival work in Dissenting churches - to the chagrin of some of his colleagues in the Established Church - and at Spittal, near Berwick, the Congregationalist James Douglas of Cavers was given assistance in revival meetings by neighbouring Baptists and Church of Scotland ministers.⁴ The most lasting expression of co-operation, however, was that forced upon those single-minded evangelicals involved in the expulsions described above.

2. In May, 1842, Horison and Kirk had exchanged pulpits. *Ibid.*, p.229.

1. Burns, Pastor of Kilsyth, pp.181-82; Gilchrist, 'Memorial Sermon', in Cumming, Memorials of Cumming, pp.21-22; Brown, Annals of the Disruption, passim.
2. Brown, Annals of the Disruption, pp.190-245, especially p.201.
3. Burns, 'Kilsyth', loc. cit., p.13.
4. New York Obs., XVIII (17 Oct. 1840).

In May 1843, on the heels of the suspension of Guthrie and Rutherford, James Morison took the initiative in calling a meeting of excluded ministers and disaffected members of the United Secession Church. His intention was the creation of an association that would 'be on a revival ground, and take cognizance only of revival matters.'¹ The resultant Evangelical Union soon won the co-operation of the ostracised 'new views' group within Congregationalism, which for several years had already shown a sympathy for and had conducted protracted meetings with the Morisonians, though not all joined formally what was intended at first to be a loose association of like-thinking evangelicals and not a fully-fledged denomination.² At the same period the Union was able to attract disaffected evangelicals from the Relief and Free Churches, most notably William Scott of Free St. Mark's, Glasgow.³

Whatever its founders' intention, the Evangelical Union could not long remain simply a co-operative association. Most important, the request for preachers from newly-formed churches of Morisonian sympathies demanded the establishment of a Theological Academy that would train students in the distinctive theology of the Union - the universality of the atonement, the universal love of the Father and the universal and resistible influence of the Holy Spirit. Here, in evangelism and theological similarity of outlook, lay the cement of the Union; for although the various member churches enjoyed an independence in their relationship to the Union and to each other, in their internal organisation and church government they differed widely, according to their Presbyterian or Congregational background. It was

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1. Adamson, Life of Morison, pp.236-38.
 2. In May, 1842, Morison and Kirk had exchanged pulpits. Ibid., p.229. Some sympathetic ministers, including Thomas Jenkyn, remained in fellowship with the Congregational Union of Scotland, even though in many ways their views approximated to the Evangelical Unionists'. Kirk considered himself 'much improved' by reading Jenkyn's Extent of the Atonement. Kirk, Memoirs of John Kirk, p.178.
 3. Ferguson, History of the Evangelical Union, pp.353-57; Ferguson, 'Morisonianism', loc. cit., p.254.

revivals and their promotion that mattered most. As one of John Kirk's correspondents wrote, during the earliest years of the Union: 'I suppose none of these "bodies" (Free Church, United Secession and Independents) can uphold (revival) meetings, night after night, for conversions. How different it is with us! It is the only subject which, night after night, draws forth hundreds of attentive hearers.'¹

The Scottish revival of the 1830s and 1840s, then, had thrown up a new denomination entirely committed to soul-saving and revivalism. If it was a small denomination - in the early 1850s it had about forty ministers and a somewhat larger number of churches² - its influence, through its newspapers and itinerancy, spread more widely than mere numbers would suggest. If the energies of its major figure, James Morison, were largely consumed in the running of the Academy at Kilmarnock, he was still able to find time for some revival work.³ John Kirk was even more influential. In addition to his evangelical pastorate in Edinburgh and his editorial duties on the Day Star and Christian News, the first Scottish newspapers to direct popular attention to the issues of evangelism and total abstinence, Kirk spent significant periods annually in the 1840s and 1850s itinerating not only in Scotland, but also in England. It was as a direct consequence of such influences that Cumberland and Northumberland and other areas of the North of England became exposed to the 'new views' and revival services of the Evangelical Union.⁴

The advent in Scotland of America's revival methods and her moderate Calvinism had helped promote both a widespread and remarkable revival, and a number of church schisms that had produced a new revivalistic denomination. It was not without significance that John Kirk and James Morison, two of the

1. Ferguson, 'Morisonianism', *loc. cit.*, p.247.
2. *Lectures on the Revival of Religion*, by Ministers of the Church of Scotland, pp.xii-xiv.
3. Adamson, Life of Morison, pp.232-33, 241-44, 250-55, 264-65.
4. Kirk, Memoirs of John Kirk, p.227; Adamson, Life of Morison, pp.236-41.

revival's outstanding figures acknowledged their debt to Finney. Of course, American influence on the breakdown of Calvinism and the outbreak of revival was only one amongst several, and on the actual course of the revival that influence had only limited effect. But America and her revivals remained firmly in mind.¹ In addition to Finney, Sprague and Jonathan Edwards were read at revival meetings;² American example was invoked in popular tracts;³ and it was during the course of the revival that Charles Livingstone (brother of David, and son of a Blantyre tea-dealer recently won over to liberal Calvinism by the efforts of a visiting Canadian preacher) left Scotland to take up his studies at Finney's Oberlin.⁴ A little later William Cunningham, after a visit to America on behalf of the Free Church, reported on the favourable state of American theology and religion.⁵ Moreover, when some Evangelical Unionists welcomed Finney into their (somewhat suffocating) embrace during the American's second visit to Britain in 1859-1860, their hospitality represented an acknowledgement of Finney's role not only in advancing the cause of applied evangelism but more particularly in acting as midwife to their denomination.

1. Ferguson, 'Morisonianism', loc. cit., p.247.

2. New York Obs., XVIII (25 Jan. 1840); Lectures on the Revival of Religion, by Ministers of the Church of Scotland, pp.xii-xiv.

3. Lectures on the Revival of Religion, by Ministers of the Church of Scotland, pp.256, 400; James Douglas, 'On the Revival of Religion', in Cong. Mag., new series III (1839), 613-28. Cf. Buchanan, 'Introductory Essay', loc. cit., pp.xxxii-xxxiii.

4. Jeal, Livingstone, pp.12-13; Sherlock Bristol, The Pioneer Preacher (1898), pp.320-25. During the 1830s the Livingstones were made familiar with Oberlin and developments in American abolitionism through the letters of Alexander McKellar, who had emigrated to study at Lane Seminary. Waddington, Congregational History, V, 78-81.

5. Cong. Mag., new series VIII (1844), 504-07.

CHAPTER FIVE

'A VOICE FROM AMERICA': JAMES CAUGHEY'S ITINERANCY IN BRITAIN,

1841-1847

There languishes in the historical shadow of those eminences of nineteenth-century American evangelism, Charles G. Finney and Dwight L. Moody, a large band of lesser known but once highly effective and respected revivalists. Amongst those consigned to this near oblivion is an Irish-American named James Caughey, who in the early railway age became one of the first full-time evangelists of the 'urban frontier' and who - if remembered at all - is recalled largely for his evangelical influence over William Booth, the founder of the Salvation Army.¹ Yet in his own time Caughey was an enormously popular and powerful figure, especially in Britain, where he was regarded by his many sympathisers as another Wesley or Whitefield. His reputation derived initially from six years of revival campaigns held during the 1840s in the industrial areas of the Midlands and the North of England, and in which tens of thousands were alleged to have been converted or 'entirely sanctified'. This represented success that no visiting denominational revivalist had previously achieved or was going to achieve again in the nineteenth century. The better-remembered Lorenzo Dow, an agent in the emergence of Primitive Methodism, was an historically more colourful character, but a much less disciplined revivalist; Finney probably had a wider influence than Caughey, but this was achieved primarily through his publications rather than his visits, which were much less successful in purely revivalistic terms; Moody's campaigns were broadly inter-denominational and derived their strength from that very strategy. For this reason, and also because his visit reveals something of the nature of British Wesleyan revivalism and contributes to an understanding of the

1. Harold Begbie, Life of William Booth. The Founder of The Salvation Army (2 vols., London, 1920), I, 9, 61-62.

Wesleyan disruption of mid-century, Caughey's itinerancy of 1841-1847 invites a critical examination. But in the first place the general context within which that visit occurred needs to be described.

I

To some evangelicals it seemed strange that Britain, the generator of overseas missions, should herself be the object of foreign missionizing. But given the well-established two-way transatlantic traffic in Methodist personnel and writings, Caughey's visit appears less extraordinary. Ever since British emigrants had established Methodist societies in the colonies in the mid eighteenth century, there had been a constant to-ing and fro-ing. Admittedly, after the Revolutionary War ties with Britain weakened somewhat (despite Coke's Superintendency) and the movement in personnel was preponderantly westward across the Atlantic. But British Methodists were kept in touch with American developments, and after 1820 - when the Methodist Episcopal Church sent John Emory to meet British Wesleyans in Liverpool to settle the longstanding jurisdictional dispute over Canada - a steady flow of delegates and unofficial 'fraternal messengers' from one country to another supplemented the informal channels of communication.¹

In the next quarter century a number of American Methodists, distinguished and lesser-known, attended the British Conference. The list included William Capers, one of the most popular preachers of Southern Methodism;² Wilbur Fisk, temperance advocate, educator, and first president of the Wesleyan University, in Middletown, Connecticut; Bishop Joshua Soule, a widely experienced minister and a fine administrator, out of whose large head had emerged the ideas behind the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal

1. Robert Emory, The Life of the Rev. John Emory, D.D., one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York, 1841), pp.84-131; Bucke, and others, eds., History of American Methodism, I, 416-18.

2. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., II (27 June 1828), III (7 Nov. 1828); Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series VIII (1829), 341-43. For Capers (later made bishop) and others in the following list, see individual entries in Dict. of Am. Biog.

Church; John Price Durbin, a product of frontier Methodism, Chaplain to the Senate in 1831, editor of the New York Christian Advocate and Journal from 1832 to 1834, and the President of Dickinson College; and Tobias Spicer, not a denominational leader, but a minister whose thirty years of revival work in New England and New York State had been a major contribution to the progress of Methodism in that section.¹ British Wesleyans reciprocated with some of their most prominent and respected figures: the venerable Richard Reece; John Hannah, theological tutor at Hoxton and then Stoke Newington, who visited America twice - once with Reece in 1824 and later with Frederick Jobson, another ministerial educator, in 1856; Robert Newton, one of the luminaries of the British Conference and the only minister to have equalled Bunting's feat of being elected four times its President; and James Dixon, one of Wesleyanism's best known preachers.²

The issue of slavery did not sour the interchange. Visiting American Methodists were thrown onto the defensive,³ but the tone of British Wesleyan

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1. Fisk, Travels in Europe; Horace M. Du Bose, Life of Joshua Soule (Nashville, Tenn., 1911), pp.196, 200-07; Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series XXI (1842), 751; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XVIII (6 Sept. 1843); John P. Durbin, Observations in Europe, principally in France and Great Britain (2 vols., New York, 1844), II, 44ff; Spicer, Autobiography, pp.142-91 and passim. Spicer was just one of several American Methodists present at the London meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in 1846. (The Alliance's aim of evangelical unity against 'Popery and infidelity' was somewhat betrayed by sectarian bickering and friction over slavery and temperance.) Other Methodist visitors during these years included Robert Emory, son of bishop John Emory and successor to Durbin in the Presidency of Dickinson College, and George Peck, vigorous opponent of slavery. Ibid., p.167; Matthew Simpson, Cyclopaedia of Methodism (Philadelphia, 1878), p.341.
 2. R. Denny Umlin, Father Reece: the Old Methodist Minister (London, 1899), pp.33-35, 118; Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series II (1823), 605, and III (1824), 333, 609-13; Benjamin Gregory, The Life of Frederick James Jobson, D.D. (London, 1884), p.154; Thomas Jackson, The Life of the Rev. Robert Newton, D.D. (London, 1855), pp.105-06, 171-72, 186-229; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XIV (22 May, 19 June 1840); James Dixon, Methodism in America: with the Personal Narrative of the Author, during a Tour through a Part of the United States and Canada (London, 1849); Richard Watson Dixon, The Life of James Dixon, D.D., Wesleyan Minister (London, 1874), pp.286-88. Like Newton, Dixon received a doctorate of divinity from an American university. Ibid., p.267; Umlin, Father Reece, p.62. Cf. Dict. of Nat. Biog.
 3. In addition to American counter-arguments based on British intemperance and State Churchism (supra, pp.104f, 122), at least one Methodist invoked the 'ignorance, degradation and beggary' amongst the British, especially in Ireland, as an instance of a moral blight equally as damaging as American slavery. Durbin, Observations in Europe, II, 256-57, 309-11. Cf. Spicer Autobiography, pp.174-80; Fisk, Travels in Europe, p.684.

criticism was generally more moderate than that of other British evangelical denominations.¹ The colonisationist Wilbur Fisk was protected by the Wesleyan Conference against the barbs of the ardent emancipationist Joseph Sturge; gratefully he argued that British Methodists, unlike Baptists and Presbyterians (or indeed Quakers), were 'as a body...reasonable men.'² The representations of American Methodists in 1840, that further action against slavery (their members were already prohibited from buying and selling slaves) would have been 'in defiance of the law of the land', were broadly accepted by Wesleyans respectful of secular authority. Thus when, in the same year, the British Conference sent Robert Newton to America, it was anxious to make clear its dissociation from 'violent and ill-considered (anti-slavery) measures.'³ Newton himself - his co-operation with the forces of law and order well established during the Luddite disturbances of an earlier day - rejected any radical approach. 'I have refused all invitations to attend Temperance and Abolition Meetings', he wrote. 'Both parties are so violent and ultra, that I cannot but conclude they will defeat their own design.'⁴

The exchange of delegates was demonstration that Methodists in Britain and America wanted to assert their sense of unity, derived from their common origin, their essentially similar discipline and doctrine, and their oneness of purpose ('let the Methodists of Great Britain and America regard the whole world as the field of their evangelical labours');⁵ the irritant of

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1. See, for example, Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series IV (1825); Dixon, Methodism in America, pp.149-51; Frederick Jobson, America, and American Methodism (New York, 1857), pp.78, 84-91, 102-03, 252-70, 393-94. Cf. Mathews, Slavery and Methodism, pp.139ff, 149ff, 197-98.
 2. Fisk, Travels in Europe, pp.581-82, 598-99; Mathews, Slavery and Methodism, pp.106-08.
 3. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XV (30 Sept. 1840).
 4. Jackson, Life of Newton, pp.67-74, 95-98, 211, 229. However, Newton's mild approach did not escape criticism at home. New York Obs., XVIII (5 Dec. 1840).
 5. Official letter of the British to the American Conference, 1823. Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series III (1824), 610.

negro slavery, however, indicated that in practice the vast differences in prevailing social and ecclesiastical conditions between both countries had produced two Churches that were scarcely mirror images.¹ This was manifest in the case of revivals. Although Wesleyan Methodists, in contrast to British Baptists and Congregationalists, were a revival denomination; although they possessed an Arminianism which sanctioned an unrestricted evangelical appeal to all men; although there were times when the whole denomination might be ablaze with revivals, as in the mid 1790s and early 1820s; and although English Methodism embraced individual revivalists who would have been equally at ease in an American environment - nevertheless, the religion of American Methodists in the early and mid-nineteenth century was clearly more emotional, revival-centred and tolerant of innovation, on a broad denominational front, than was that of British Wesleyans. As Wilbur Fisk reported in 1836: 'what we in America term revivals are comparatively rare (in Britain).'² The broad forces making for this imbalance in distribution are discussed later.³ But here it is worth noting that American Methodists had been faced with the task of evangelizing a new continent, with its vast frontier and near-frontier areas, and a population that often possessed little education or social refinement. In this they lacked the resources of an established church or an educated ministry. These factors

1. 'Methodists and Methodism the same in England and America' in Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XV (11 Nov. 1840); G.R.H. 'British and American Methodism Compared' in The National Magazine, XIII (Nov. 1858), 410-14. The most obvious differences were in structure and organisation. The American Church was episcopal, had replaced the office of District Chairman with that of presiding elder (who sanctioned itinerant supervision of circuits), and did not employ band meetings.

2. 'A Wesleyan preacher in England seriously asked me whether I thought revivals were, on the whole advantageous to the church. I could only reply to him that I was astonished to hear a professed disciple of Wesley make that a question.' Fisk, Travels in Europe, p.602. James Dixon regarded American Methodism 'as having retained the original Wesleyan stamp more faithfully than the parent Connexion itself.' Dixon, Life of Dixon, pp.286-88. Cf. Durbin, Observations in Europe, pp.52-54; 'Observer', Remarks on the United States, p.22, quoting Henry Fearon.

3. Infra, pp.339-52.

contributed to the employment of a revivalism that was both broad in extent and emotional in character. It was only as American Methodists turned to education and grew more sophisticated and prosperous, that the crudities of earlier revivalism were eliminated.¹ In Britain, on the other hand, the established church was not without social and ecclesiastical authority, the Oxford origins of Methodism were more conspicuous (British Methodism's first institution for ministerial training was established decades in advance of a similar American college) and, according to Durbin, the 'wealth and respectability' of many Wesleyans compared favourably with the status of most American Methodists. Consequently, revivalism was less extensive and its manifestations less crude.²

In this climate reports of the new measure revivals began to arrive in the later 1820s, well before Caughey ever set foot in Britain. They made considerably less impact on Wesleyan than on Calvinistic denominations, primarily because British Methodism was sufficiently revivalistic not to need an overseas spur to action. In 1826, 1827, and 1828, when revival news filtered through via the columns of the Christian Advocate and Journal, the official correspondence of the Conferences, and the testimony of visiting ministers (Capers in 1828, Hammett in 1829), British Wesleyans in Scotland, Cornwall and the industrial areas of the North of England were themselves scoring revival successes that offset the slow advance during the fallow years of the mid 1820s.³ American example may have contributed to these revivals, but if so it was only one stimulus among many and did no more than help set in motion an existing revival machinery. In contrast, the response of the Calvinistic evangelicals, possessors of no such machinery,

1. Supra, p.49.

2. Durbin, Observations in Europe, p.106.

3. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., I (4 Nov. 1826; 27 Jan., 10 Mar. 1827), II (16 Nov. 1827); Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series VI (1827), 400-04, 470-71, 699; VII (1828), 626-27, 695-99, 844; VIII (1829), 338, 343, 611-12, 691-92; IX (1830), 20.

had been to attempt the building of a revival structure where none existed before, and had been qualitatively different.¹

The temperate Wesleyan response was conditioned, too, by the far-reaching effects of an earlier flirtation with American revivalism. In 1807 a group of revivalists at Harriseahead, led by Hugh Bourne, an enthusiastic Wesleyan local preacher, had held the first English camp meeting, at Mow Cop in Staffordshire. For several years written reports of the dramatic use of these outdoor meetings in the United States had stirred their interest, but only with the arrival in England of the American revivalist, Lorenzo Dow, did the stimulus to their use become irresistible. Field preaching was an established part of the eighteenth-century Methodist practice but the idea of large crowds spending the whole day in religious exercises, as at Mow Cop, with preaching, prayer, exhortation and singing taking place simultaneously in separate groups, was quite new. The American practice of multiplying meetings over several days (they were, after all, camp meetings) did not, however, take root in British soil.²

Dow himself, son of a Connecticut farmer, had deservedly acquired the nickname 'Crazy Dow'. Asthmatic and epileptic, he cut an extraordinary figure, with his long hair, thin face, stooped shoulders, and unkept dress. Driven by a belief in his special calling, and claiming visionary powers, Dow ran into trouble with his Methodist superiors in America. Late in 1799 he left for Ireland convinced he was to be God's instrument in the cataclysmic overthrow of Popery. Not surprisingly, his eccentric appearance, fervent and patriotic republicanism, avowed hostility to George III, and lack of proper credentials, ensured a short period of imprisonment. For the local magistrates, their nerves strained by the tensions of the Rebellion in 1818-19, a time of conspicuous revival, and worked in camp meetings and other services in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire. Kendall, *Primitive Methodist Church*, I, 312-13.

1. Wesleyans noted with predictable approval the 'very lively interest which a large body of the evangelical Dissenters have recently taken in the subject of revivals of religion.' *Ibid.*, 3rd series VIII (1829), 185.
2. H.B. Kendall, *The Origin and History of the Primitive Methodist Church* (2 vols., London, 1909), I, 31-31; *Prim. Meth. Mag.*, I (1819), 149-50. Kendall, *Primitive Methodist Church*, I, 37-43.

and its aftermath, were acutely fearful of the consequences of his irregular itinerancy. Returning to America in 1801, Dow itinerated widely and again without proper authority in the southern and south-western states, New England, New York and Canada. Then, in November 1805, he re-crossed the Atlantic with his wife Peggy to make his first, eighteen-month, visit to England. As well as arousing interest in camp meetings, Dow worked assiduously in south Lancashire and east Cheshire, often in New Connexion, Quaker Methodist or other extra-Wesleyan chapels, since most Wesleyan leaders except Adam Clarke proved unsympathetic and, afraid of the consequences of his irregular movements, closed many of their chapels to him.¹

The adoption of camp meetings by revivalist Wesleyans was a more serious concern to Conference than the movements of Dow. As W.R. Ward has shown, during the 1790s and 1800s many in the rapidly changing industrial society of the North were finding Wesleyan Methodism too restricting for their spiritual needs. The adoption of camp meetings was only part of a general search for novelty and of a challenge to traditional, rather tedious, methods. 'Modernists' confronted 'primitives', the latter embracing revivalistic groups both within and outside the parent denomination - the Magic Methodists of the Delamere Forest, the Quaker or Independent Methodists of Warrington, the Band-room Methodists of Manchester, the Tent Methodists of Bristol and the Revivalists of Leeds.² Conference sought to stifle these dissidents, but the weapon used against the camp-meeting men -

1. Kendall, Primitive Methodist Church, I, 58-61; H.B. Kendall, 'The Primitive Methodist Church and the Independent Methodist Churches', in W.J. Townsend, H.B. Workman and G. Eayrs, A New History of Methodism (London, 1909), pp.563-65; Charles Coleman Sellers, Lorenzo Dow. The Bearer of the Word (New York, 1928), pp.3-100. Dow returned to England in 1818-19, a time of conspicuous revival, and worked in camp meetings and other services in Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire. Kendall, Primitive Methodist Church, I, 312-13.
2. Ward suggests that at this time Conference was not acting from political motives, even though there was later, in a period of critical social radicalism, an identity of interest between the government and the Wesleyan Conference which produced Wesleyan requests for legislation against camp meetings. Ward, Religion and Society in England, pp.76ff; Kendall, Primitive Methodist Church, I, 37-43.

a restrictive resolution against these meetings 'even supposing (them) to be allowable in America' - fanned rather than choked the revival flame. Ten months after Bourne had ignored the resolution he was expelled from Wesleyan Methodism, and within three years headed a recognisable group of Camp Meeting Methodists. Their union with William Clowes and other 'primitives' in 1811 resulted in the establishment of the Primitive Methodist Church.¹

Dow and Camp-meetings had not inoculated Wesleyan Methodists against revivalism as such. But they had injected them with a wariness of novelty, a revitalised fear of the potentially schismatic tendencies of revival and a hunch that the American brand of evangelicalism was less well disciplined than it ought to be. These feelings were rekindled when the new measures revivals made their debut.² When the most likely champion of these measures, James Caughey, arrived to give them effect, he could confidently expect to find a residue of distrust for things American which no amount of practical success could ever remove.

II

James Caughey was born in the north of Ireland on 9 April, 1810. During his youth his family, 'of Scotch ancestry', succumbing to the entreaties of friends who had already crossed the Atlantic, and to those forces that were driving thousands of Irishmen annually to emigrate, set sail for the United States. There is a paucity of material relating to this stage of

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1. Kendall, Primitive Methodist Church, I, 77-135.
 2. The pages of the Primitive Methodist Magazine illustrate the continuing loyalty of that denomination to their American import, the camp meeting; while the efforts of their missionaries - William Summersides, Thomas Morris and Ruth Watkins - in America from 1829 meant that new measure developments did not go unnoticed in British Primitive Methodist circles. In 1838 and 1839, after Summersides' return and the approved spread of Finney's Lectures on Revivals, evening 'PROTRACTED meetings (were) gaining ground', particularly among the working-men of the North. Prim. Meth. Mag., XI (1829), 25; XXI (1839), iii, 13ff, 31-35 and passim; XXII (1840), iii.

Caughey's life. At some time he repudiated his family's Calvinism. This was probably before 1827, when a 'J. Caughey' was reported to hold a post in the Methodist Sunday School Association at Newburgh, New York, an auxiliary of the newly formed Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By 1830 we know definitely that Caughey was employed in a flour-mill in Troy; and along with thousands of others in the burned-over district, he found himself swept along by the tide of revival. Two years after his conversion and his entry into church membership of State Street Church, Troy, he was admitted as a preacher on probation into the Troy Conference. He received Deacon's orders in 1834, and after a further two years was ordained elder.¹

Such scanty information conceals many of the formative influences on Caughey's mind. It tells nothing of the nature and impact of the close associations made in adolescence and young manhood. From his anonymous teachers he learnt enough to study the Scriptures in Hebrew and Greek, to allow discerning English Methodists to label him 'well read', 'a philosopher' and 'a clever man', and to ensure that even (Methodist) critics considered him 'a good scholar'.² It would have been from his immersion in the revival

1. This jigsaw of Caughey's early life is pieced together from unforthcoming obituaries and fragments. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., I (29 June 1827), LXVI (5 Mar. 1891); 'A Sketch of the Rev. James Caughey', in the Yorkshireman and quoted in ibid., XX (7 Jan. 1846); Headley, Evangelists in the Church, p.297; Joseph Hillman, The History of Methodism in Troy, N.Y. (Troy, N.Y., 1888), p.75; Nathan Bangs, A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church (4 vols., New York, 1838-41), IV, Supplement, p.10; Minutes of the Fifty-Fifth session of the New Jersey Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church... March 18-24, 1891 (Camden, N.J., 1891); James Caughey, Earnest Christianity Illustrated; or, Selections from the Journal of the Rev. James Caughey...with a Brief Sketch of Mr. Caughey's Life, by John Unwin, Sheffield (London, 1857), p.7; James Caughey, Letters on Various Subjects (5 vols., London, 1844-47), IV, 105.

2. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., LXVI (5 Mar. 1891); Benjamin Gregory, Sidelights on the Conflicts of Methodism 1827-1852 (London, 1898), pp.368-69, quoting Joseph Beaumont and James Dixon; Joseph Dyson, 'James Caughey. A Great American Evangelist', Sheffield Cuttings, p.102; Kendall, Rambles of an Evangelist, pp.107-10.

Also, 'Sketch of James Caughey, Methodist in England, by the Rev. J. W. Allen', in A Great Revival in Great Britain...selected and arranged by J. W. Allen, London, 1859, pp.v-vii.

that he derived his single-mindedness, sense of mission and belief in the unfolding conversion of the world that were to mark his movements in Britain. The revival would have taught him that any evangelical minister worth his salt must be primarily a revivalist, for he was never to sympathise with ministers who allowed their spiritual work to be smothered by administrative duties, nor with those pastors whose work was confined simply to unaggressive flock-tending.¹ Here too he would undoubtedly have acquired that sense of the nearness of God and the Devil, and their direct intervention his daily activities, that remained with him throughout his life.

Caughey's sense of God's nearness made him peculiarly susceptible to what he called 'impressions'. Even in the detail of life - what text he should choose for his sermon, what itinerary he should follow - he frequently felt himself guided by a special Providence or checked by Satanic agency. It seemed to his denominational critics in both England and America that he came at times dangerously close to claiming for himself a degree of supernatural revelation, and this became all the more disquieting once Millerism, a movement dependent on 'fanatical impressions and revelation', had upset the equilibrium of the Methodist Episcopal Church.²

Although Caughey was anxious to deny the charge, his description of the circumstances surrounding his decision to visit Britain reinforced the fears of his critics. In 1839, while preparing to settle on his new circuit of Whitehall, New York, he had decided to marry. He met no opposition from his fellow ministers, but shortly he began to entertain doubts. His decision, he felt, had met with divine disapproval. Plagued by anxiety, he spent three days in prayer, until on a July evening at twilight, in his own words,

1. See, for example, Caughey, Letters, III, 295-312; IV, 178.

2. Ibid., I, 106, 116-17, 165-66; II, 82, 92-94; IV, 196; James Caughey, A Voice from America; or, Four Sermons preached by the Rev. J. Caughey, the Great American Revivalist (2nd ed., Manchester, 1847), pp.3-5; Daniel Wise, 'Preface' to James Caughey, Methodism in Earnest: being the History of a Great Revival in Great Britain...selected and arranged from 'Caughey's Letters', by Rev. R.W. Allen and edited by Rev. Daniel Wise (Boston, 1850) pp.v-vi.

a light, as I conceived from heaven, reached me. My soul was singularly calmed and warmed by a strange visitation....(T)he following, in substance, was spoken to my heart....: 'These matters which trouble thee must be let entirely alone. The will of God is, that thou shoulst visit Europe. He shall be with thee there, and give thee many seals to thy ministry. He has provided thee with funds. Make thy arrangements accordingly; and, next Conference, ask liberty from the proper authorities, and it shall be granted thee. Visit Canada first; when this is done, sail for England. God shall be with thee there, and thou shalt have no want in all thy journeyings; and thou shalt be brought back in safety again to America.'¹

This splendidly specific and practical 'message' illustrates very well the tendencies of Caughey's mind. He was essentially a pragmatist, not a mystic. Later he was to explain that he had 'heard no audible voice', had seen no 'visible manifestation', at the time of this 'visitation'. In fact the 'call' can be explained as a practical response to the exigencies of Caughey's personal situation.² What better way was there of resolving his 'mental troubles' - perhaps caused by personal embarrassment over a broken engagement³ (the reason is obscure) - than to leave the area? And to what better arenas could he turn than neighbouring Canada, where he had already participated in revivals, in 1835 and 1837, and Ireland, where he could search out surviving relatives and family friends?⁴

Caughey prepared to depart, though not before he had ensured that his circuit participated in the revival experienced generally by American Methodists in their centenary year. Eventually, in September 1840, he took his leave, equipped with private funds for two years travel; with a certificate from Bishop Roberts testifying to his 'good standing' in the Methodist Episcopal Church and commending him to British Methodists; with a reasonably thorough grounding in the techniques of American revivals, camp meetings and religious excitement; and with 'the solemn impression'

1. Caughey, Letters, I, 6-9.

2. Caughey, Methodism in Earnest, p.viii; Caughey, Letters, I, 15.

3. Caughey eventually married in 1860. His wife outlived him. Minutes of the New Jersey Annual Conference, 1891; Dyson, 'James Caughey', loc.cit., p.102.

4. Caughey, Letters, I, 3, 16-24; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XVI (9 Feb. 1842).

5. Memoir, p.68; Caughey, Letters, I, 14-15.

that in Europe he would prove instrumental in bringing 'great multitudes of sinners...home to God'.¹

As planned, Caughey travelled first to Canada, holding protracted revival services and delivering temperance addresses in Montreal, Quebec and St. John's, and eventually claiming to have helped convert four or five hundred sinners. Much encouraged, he embarked on the two-week crossing of the Atlantic, arriving at Liverpool at the end of July, 1841, and moved on almost immediately to Manchester where the annual Wesleyan Methodist Conference was in session.² Here, when he had presented his papers and gained an entry, the despondency bred of uncertainty evaporated in the company of men like Dr. John Hannah, Secretary of the Conference, and William Lord, both of whom were well acquainted with the nature of American Methodism;³ and through the kindness shown by the Rev. William Stewart ('the most agreeable and entertaining companion I have ever met') and the Rev. Thomas Waugh, the most influential and respected of Irish Methodists, and one who had already established himself as a friend to visiting Americans.⁴ Waugh's influence secured for Caughey an Irish pulpit - that of Henderick Street Wesleyan Chapel, Dublin - for his first British sermon. 'The American' made such an immediate impact that he was persuaded to stay to conduct special services in the city's Wesleyan chapels.⁵ Within five

1. Caughey, Letters, I, 3-12.

2. Ibid., I, 16-87, 94.

3. Gregory, Sidelights, p.315; A Wesleyan Methodist, A Brief Memoir of the Labours and a Vindication of the Character and Call of the Rev. James Caughey, including a Critical Examination of the resolution of the Wesleyan Conference, and of the President's declaration prohibitory of his labours (London, 1847), pp.5-6 (hereafter cited as Brief Memoir). Lord's visit to the United States in 1835 had left him with a considerable interest in the progress of American Methodism. Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series XVIII (1839), 329-30.

4. Caughey, Letters, I, 110; Fisk, Travels in Europe, p.633. While in Manchester, Caughey heard Bunting and Newton preach. He had already seen Newton in 1840 in New York. Caughey, Letters, I, 107, 109.

5. At Henderick Street, Caughey preceded the new minister, the Rev. Robinson Scott, whose sympathy for American revivalism persisted into the revival of 1859. See the letter of Richard Craig of Dublin, 9 Mar. 1847, in Brief Memoir, p.68; Caughey, Letters, I, 148-49.

months there had been a dramatic improvement in society finances and numbers - seven hundred converts were claimed - and even the sobering effect of time did not alter the conclusion that the results had been 'unequalled in the entire history of Methodism in Dublin.'¹ This was the impetus Caughey needed to give momentum to his Irish mission: thereafter he selected his route according to the flow of unsolicited invitations. And in the cases of Limerick and Cork he chose wisely, for the numbers converted more than exceeded expectations.²

However, at Bandon, in Co. Cork, during the late summer of 1842, Caughey was confronted by those constraints on growth that had plagued Irish Methodism throughout the century. The admixture of constant emigration, 'the frowns of papists' - who formed the vast majority of the population - and 'the contempt of the establishment', a church not noted for its evangelicalism, rendered difficult a regular increase in Methodism and its expansion beyond its existing boundaries. 'The congregations are tolerable', Caughey wrote after two months' work, 'but our doings or sayings excite but very little interest beyond the families of Methodism'.³ Caughey's methods, as will be seen later, were well designed to reinvigorate well-established churches nestling within a friendly evangelicalism; but they were less well suited to the task of aggressive expansion into a hostile environment. Caughey was no Gideon Ouseley, the Irish itinerant preacher of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, whose audiences had been generally poor, often hostile, and reachable only through outdoor preaching. Caughey's audiences, in contrast, sympathetic and evangelically-minded, indoor and 'highly respectable', reflected the changing character of Irish

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1. Brief Memoir, pp.6-7, 40, 68-69. Some one hundred were allegedly 'entirely sanctified'.
 2. Over 500 professed either conversion or sanctification in the two towns. Ibid., p.40. The warm reception at Cork was reinforced by the American connections of the Rev. Fossey Tackaberry, who had a brother in the New York Conference. Caughey, Letters, I, 203. Cf. Fisk, Travels in Europe, p.630.
 3. Caughey, Letters, I, 186; II, 67; Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series XX (1841), 742-43; XXI (1842), 751.

Methodism.¹ Caughey was certainly not unsuccessful: even in Bandon he claimed seventy converts.² But his means for getting beyond Methodism and breaching the defences of Roman Catholicism - the distribution of circulars amongst non-Wesleyans, and house-to-house visiting, for example - were scarcely any more hopeful of success than the rather pathetic, if fervent, prayer 'for the destruction of popery and the conversion of its benighted votaries and victims' that he was later to offer when alone at the top of St. Peter's, Rome, on his continental trip of 1844.³

Accordingly to his original schedule, Caughey should now, at the end of his Irish mission, have returned to America, moderately successful, but his reputation as a revivalist still unmade. However, in May, 1842, he had written to the Troy Conference asking for a 'located station'. The request was granted: he was freed for itinerant work outside the Conference for an indefinite period, but kept his status as a fully accredited minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Caughey's funds were stretching further than anticipated and his recognised successes in soul-winning had convinced him of the propriety of further efforts. But where? Predictably Caughey's general conviction was translated into a particular 'impression': 'Liverpool is constantly before me', he wrote, 'although I have no official invitation from thence'; and once he had arrived in the great port he was 'strongly impressed to remain'. Liverpool, it seemed, was 'the pass' into England.⁴

Caughey was correct: in the next five or six months Liverpool provided

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1. Charles H. Crookshank, 'In Ireland', in Townsend, Workman and Eayrs, eds., New History of Methodism, II, 28-29; Caughey, Letters, I, 159, 186, 203.
 2. Brief Memoir, p.40. Interestingly, Caughey's visit coincided with the numerical high point of Irish Methodism in the nineteenth century. The peak year was 1844 when there were approximately 50,000 members. Then came the famine and mass emigration. Crookshank, op. cit., in Townsend, Workman and Eayrs, eds., New History of Methodism, II, 15.
 3. Caughey, Letters, I, 179, 193; Brief Memoir, p.15.
 4. Caughey, Letters, I, 229-39; II, 82, 92-93, 115.

the setting for the biggest revival he had so far experienced in Britain.¹ In the North Circuit in particular, where special services had been held some two or three years previously, and where the revival-minded Superintendent, Abraham Farrar, and his colleagues John H. James and Joseph Beaumont, warmly welcomed the uninvited evangelist, the protracted meetings flourished - as indeed they did amongst the Welsh Methodists, whose emotional style of worship naturally won Caughey's endorsement. In the second Liverpool circuit the going was not so easy. Caughey's invitation had come from the circuit leaders, apparently against the better judgment of the Rev. William Atherton, the Superintendent, who was 'evidently not at all enthusiastic' about the proposed visit, and had reservations about the propriety and genuineness of revivals in general.² Caughey did not perceive it, but the battle-lines of 1846-47 (he would have appreciated the military metaphor) were already forming: for Atherton was to preside over the Conference of 1846 which effectively excluded the American from Wesleyan pulpits, while Farrar and Beaumont were to the American's chief defenders.³

It was difficult for Caughey to treat evidence of non-cooperation with real seriousness when there were increasing signs that he was becoming a much sought after figure. Liverpool was indeed 'the pass' into England. His successes there prompted invitations from other large northern cities, and in the next four years Caughey's efforts in the large industrial and urban areas of the Midlands and the North, demonstrated his increasing

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1. John H. James, The Work of God Acknowledged and Reviewed.... (Liverpool, 1843), held that over 1,000 professed conversion over five months. Caughey considered this to be a somewhat conservative estimate. Caughey, Letters, II, 169. Approximately 400 were entirely sanctified. Brief Memoir, p.40.
 2. Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series XIX (1840), 430-31; Caughey, Letters, II, 92-100, 146-50; Gregory, Sidelights, p.345.
 3. Support for Caughey was only to be expected from Farrar, a protégé of the great revivalist William Bramwell, and Beaumont, who found 'abundant scope for evangelical aggression.' Thomas Harris, A Memoir of the Rev. William Bramwell (London, 1846), p.113; Joseph Beaumont, The Life of the Rev. Joseph Beaumont, M.D. (London, 1856), pp.37-38, 202-03, 229-30; Dict. of Nat. Biog.

mastery of urban revivalism. His movements determined generally by ad hoc considerations, by the nature of his invitations, and by his ubiquitous 'impressions', Caughey adhered to no precise overall strategy and itinerary.¹ After Liverpool, his major campaigns, apart from that in Birmingham in 1845-1846, were conducted in Yorkshire: in Leeds, Hull, Sheffield, Huddersfield, and York. These were supplemented by a series of shorter efforts in other northern centres, most notably Nottingham, Lincoln, Sunderland and Chesterfield.² Eventually, after nearly six years of revivals, interrupted by relatively short periods of convalescence, including two trips to the continent, Caughey could claim to have been instrumental in over 20,000 conversions and to have brought 9,000 to experience entire sanctification. These startling figures were no doubt over-generous; but even at a more modest estimate Caughey's successes testified to his extraordinary energy, the receptivity of his audiences and the appropriateness (as far as numerical success was concerned) of his modus operandi. These factors are best analysed by examining the revivalist's operations within a single community, and are perhaps most easily identifiable in Sheffield, the city of his greatest triumphs, where during the summer of 1844, '(t)he revival... surpassed anything I had ever before witnessed'.³

III

Sheffield in 1844 was a fast-growing city of some 100,000 inhabitants, the majority of whom were in some way connected with the city's iron and

1. For instance, Caughey's work at Leeds in 1843 was at the invitation of William Lord, who had met the American at the Manchester Conference in 1841; his visit to Birmingham in 1845-46 was at the request of the Superintendent, Alexander Bell, who had been much impressed with Caughey when stationed at Sheffield in 1844. Brief Memoir, pp.10, 19.

2. Ibid., pp.5-21, 40-41; Caughey, Letters, passim. See Appendix A: Caughey's Itinerancy, 1841-1847.

3. Caughey, Letters, V, 164.

2. Ibid., pp.40-41.

3. Fish, Travels in Europe, p.25.

steel industries.¹ The growth of industrial Sheffield had offered great opportunities to its evangelical churches; and by mid century evangelicalism held a virtually unchallenged influence over the major Protestant denominations. This had been aided by the general co-operation of a predominantly evangelical Established Church that was anyway too weak and inflexible successfully to have checked the growth of evangelicalism, had it been that way inclined, and by the absence of a resident aristocracy of any real social significance. In other words, two forces which elsewhere were acting as powerful brakes on evangelicalism and revivalism were here too weak to be effectively obstructionist. By mid century the Methodists stood clearly to the fore amongst the various Sheffield denominations. Within the old parish the Wesleyans could claim fifteen chapels; the New Connexion, six; the Protestant Methodists, two; and the Primitives, one. The Church of England possessed thirteen places of worship.²

Methodist strength was based on a strong tradition of revivals, not least amongst the Wesleyan branch. In some areas of Wesleyan Methodism schism and growing prosperity worked towards hiving off revivalistic sections of the church and heightening the sense of propriety of the remainder. This was not the case in Sheffield. Despite suffering severe losses during the Kilhamite disruption of 1797 and some further losses during the Warrenite agitation of the 1830s, and despite undoubted upward social movement, Sheffield Wesleyan Methodism remained undeviatingly revival-minded. Wilbur Fisk, troubled by the coolness shown by so many English Methodists towards revivals, was relieved to find that at least in Sheffield '(n)o Methodist... asked me whether I thought religious revivals advantageous to the cause of Christianity.'³

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1. Wickham, Church and People, p.20. In the late 1820s nearly 80 per cent of the town's employed population were involved in these industries. Ibid., p.22.
 2. Ibid., pp.46-84.
 3. Fisk, Travels in Europe, p.682.

The question would have been superfluous. In every decade since the 1790s the Wesleyans had experienced a marked revival. From 1794 to 1796, during a decade of acute social and political tension, which spilled over into connexional politics, the Sheffield circuit experienced a revival whose early, noisy meetings contributed to an explosion throughout the West Riding.¹ One of the converts, William Miller (1766-1839), son of a music professor and a man of some social connections, and much influenced by William Bramwell - minister at Sheffield during the later stages of the revival - entered the Methodist itinerancy in 1799. His growing reputation as a revivalist was enhanced by the Sheffield revival of 1803-1804, his first year in the circuit.² Bramwell himself, probably the most effective revivalist of his generation, returned to Sheffield between 1810 and 1812: almost inevitably more members were added to the Society than during any other two years of the decade.³ The revival of the 1820s, which began in 1821 under John Nelson, renowned revivalist, 'son of thunder' and intimate friend of William Bramwell, was less clear-cut, for growth continued for every year until 1828, the peak year coming in 1824-1825.⁴ But as if to remedy the absence of the really dramatic, Sheffield Wesleyanism experienced between 1831 and 1834 its most spectacular revival for a generation, when over 1,500 were added to the two city circuits. In its early stages the revival was stimulated by the

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1. James Dixon, Memoir of the late Rev. William Edward Miller, Wesleyan Minister (London, 1842), pp.29-32; Harris, Memoir of Bramwell, pp.34-58; Agency and Progress of Wesleyan-Methodism as exemplified by statistical details, and considered with reference to its facilities for Promoting and Sustaining a General Revival of Religion throughout the Country (London, 1845), pp.11-12 and Table II; Wickham, Church and People, pp.60-69; Ward, Religion and Society in England, pp.20-53, esp. p.37.
 2. Dixon, Memoir of Miller, pp.9-115; Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series XIX (1840), 252-53.
 3. During the 1790s and the 1800s in particular, Bramwell (1759-1818) found himself at the centre of dramatic and often emotional revivals, mainly in the industrial areas of Yorkshire and Lancashire, Harris, Memoir of Bramwell, passim.
 4. For Nelson (1758-1826) see Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series VII (1828), 145-48; Memoir of the Life and Ministry of the Rev. William Bramwell, by Members of His Family (London, 1848), p.131.

savage cholera epidemic of 1832, and the efforts of ministers like Richard Treffry, Senior, for whom revival work was second nature. Later the dominant personality was a Manx clergyman, Robert Aitken, whose preaching irregularities had resulted in his withdrawal from the Church of England and his employment during part of the 1830s in Wesleyan pulpits, even though he was never formally received into Methodism.¹

Consequently, when Caughey arrived in the city he entered a veritable crucible of revivalism. Few cities could claim to have experienced the ministries of four of the best-known and respected English revivalists of the first half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, Sheffield would have known a glittering quintet, had not John Smith (1794-1831), admirer of Nelson and Bramwell, and a minister whose reputation as 'The Revivalist' had been confirmed by the far-reaching revival that accompanied his ministry at Lincoln from 1829 to 1831, died before he could commence preaching in the east circuit in 1831.² These men and their revivals meant that Sheffield Methodists were ready for Caughey. As in the other Northern cities where he worked, he entered churches whose members had learnt through past experience that revivals could be expected and worked for at regular intervals, to restore their churches to full prosperity and draw a new generation into the church, and that through the very act of expecting, revivals would be realised.³ In other words, the anticipation of revivals, encouraged by a

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1. T. Alexander Seed, Norfolk Street Wesleyan Chapel Sheffield (London, n.d.), p.159; Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series XIII (1834), 379-81; letters to Chr. Adv. and Jnl. VII (11 Apr. 1834) claimed that 'they are turning Sheffield upside down', as 'Harlots, Publicans, thieves' were being drawn into the revival. For Aitken (1800-1873), see Dict. of Nat. Biog. The marked effect of the revival on the Methodist New Connexion is made clear in Joseph Barker, The Life of Joseph Barker... Edited by his nephew, John Thomas Barker (London, 1880), pp.183-200.
 2. Frederick J. Jobson, A Mother's Portrait...with sketches of Wesleyan Life and of religious services (London, 1855), pp.198-216; Richard Treffry, Jun., Memoirs of the Life, Character and Labours of the Rev. John Smith, late of Sheffield (London, 1833), pp.42, 80f, 272, 275 and passim; Thomas Cooper, The Life of Thomas Cooper (London, 1872), p.88; Seed, Norfolk Street Chapel Sheffield, p.159.
 3. Such cities as Leeds, Hull, Lincoln, Liverpool, Nottingham, and York could all boast a lengthy tradition of revivals. Treffry, Memoirs of Smith,

(cont. over)

pattern of revival boom and slump, was in some ways self-fulfilling: there was a powerful internal force driving the churches towards revival. At the time of Caughey's arrival the membership of the two Sheffield circuits had dropped from the record figure of 4,950 reached in 1834, to 4,307.¹ Once again it was time for re-invigoration.

There were also considerations of a more secular kind, for the Methodist responded not simply as a chapel-goer, but as a member of the broader society. In 1844, Sheffield and the northern industrial areas generally were emerging from a period of severe economic depression, unemployment and acute social tension. Trade prosperity was returning, Chartist strength declining.² To much of the Wesleyan membership, and to a Wesleyan ministry and leadership recognisably in sympathy with authority and disturbed by social and political disruption, a revival represented a force for social harmony.³ During the Chartist agitation of 1839-1840 a Methodist local preacher put the case for a revival, arguing that by that means alone would 'good order and society, virtue and sobriety characterise

passim; Harris, Memoir of Bramwell, passim; Dixon, Memoir of Miller, passim; Wesl. Meth. Mag., new series XVIII (1818), 380; 3rd series VI (1827), 400-04; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., I (10 Mar. 1827). The other major area steeped in revivalism was, of course, Cornwall. Cf. M.S. Edwards, Cornish Methodism: A Study in Division, 1814-1857 (Birmingham University M.A. Thesis, 1962).

1. Agency and Progress of Wesleyan-Methodism, Table II.
2. Wickham, Church and People, pp.97-102, describes the nature of Chartism in Sheffield.
3. For the Tory disposition of some Wesleyans, see ibid., pp.102-06; Robert F. Wearmouth, Methodism and the Working-class Movements of England 1800-1850 (London, 1937), pp.175-94; E.R. Taylor, Methodism and Politics 1791-1851 (Cambridge, 1935), esp., pp.118-63. It had been accepted by many since at least the 1820s that revivals might do much to establish 'neighbourhood peace', 'order', and the conversion of 'avowed infidels' and those 'accustomed to spend...Saturday afternoons...in rioting and drunkenness.' Wesl. Meth. Mag., new series XVIII (1821), 459-62; 3rd series I (1822), 187; II (1823), 182-83; III (1824), 331. One patriotic Wesleyan, a proto-Halevyite, believed that '(i)n the perilous periods of sedition...Methodism has been, considering the classes on which she operates, one of the firmest pillars of the state. In truth, without some equivalent, society might, ere now, have been disorganised.' Ibid., 3rd series VIII (1829), 310-15.

our crowded cities (and) our rural districts; and all classes of society be distinguished by mildness, courtesy, benevolence and good-will.¹ Sheffield Wesleyans subscribing to this view could regard Caughey as an appropriate instrument in the creation of that harmony. Unlike Lorenzo Dow, whose unrepentant republicanism was an aggravation to secular authorities fearful of a social explosion, Caughey was untainted by social or political radicalism. His antagonism towards the 'Chartist conspiracy', as he called it, his regret over the 'villanous (sic) and successful attempts ...to blow up premises' and his confessed lack of understanding of the 'secret combinations among the workmen' exposed, as was to be expected, a mind which examined all issues through evangelical lenses, which ignored as unimportant all that could not be explained in evangelical terms, and which saw secular prosperity as dependent on a community's religious well-being.²

In so far as Caughey's campaigns in Sheffield and the industrial North took place during the lull between the peaks of Chartist activity in 1842 and 1848, there are possible grounds for believing that Edward Thompson's thesis - of a process of oscillation by a 'floating population' between political radicalism and religious excitement - might be applicable to this later period.³ There was, after all, a degree of Methodist influence in both personnel and institutions within the Chartist movement: in Sheffield

1. A Local Preacher, The Wesleyan Revivalist (Castle Donington, 1840), pp. 45-46. Cf. Henry W. Williams, 'Narrative of the Revival of Religion in St. Ives, Cornwall', in Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series XIX (1840), 26.

2. Caughey, Letters, V, 128-30.

3. E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (revised ed., London, 1968), pp. 427-30, 917-23. Thompson applies his thesis to the early part of the nineteenth century, up to the 1820s. Caughey's revivals also coincided with a period of economic recovery; but even though Methodists (and Caughey himself) believed commercial depression and poverty to be detrimental to revivals, there was no predictable relationship; Sheffield itself experienced a revival in the depth of depression in 1839-40. Caughey, Letters, IV, 191: Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series XXI (1842), 753; XXII (1843), 596-99.

and its environs, Chartist camp meetings and love-feasts on a Methodist model were employed particularly during 1839-1840; and during 1842, the critical year for Chartist disturbances, the Wesleyans suffered marked losses to their Society. Only an intensive local study will reveal the extent, if any, of oscillation in personnel, but it is worth noting that at the same time as the earlier period of disorder, in 1839-1840, the Wesleyans under confirmed Tories like James Dixon experienced their greatest increase in membership during the entire decade from 1834 to 1844; that if there was any oscillation this was more likely to have occurred within the less politically conservative branches of Methodism (it would have been from the Primitives that Chartists derived their camp meetings), rather than in a Wesleyan Church which, despite its working-class elements, was becoming increasingly 'respectable' and middle-class in character and tone; and that, as will be seen, the great majority of Caughey's converts were in regular church membership or attendance, and outside the group most susceptible to Chartist persuasions.¹

The receptiveness of Caughey's Sheffield audiences to revival was a product not only of their entrenched psychology of revivalism and of favourable secular circumstances, but also of the persuasive techniques, dramatic appeal and broad approach of the revivalist himself.² A truly powerful personality was at times manifestly capable of producing results that ran counter to broad connexional trends. William Miller and his colleagues in 1803-1804 had produced in Sheffield significant growth at a time of annual

2. Robert Currie, *Methodism Divided: A Study in the Sociology of*

1. Wearmouth, *Methodism and the Working-class movements of England*, pp.133-34; *Agency and Progress of Wesleyan-Methodism*, Table II; Dixon, *Life of James Dixon*, pp.206ff, 478.

2. The absence of major diversionary or divisive issues in ecclesiastical and internal denominational politics was thought to have aided Caughey. The Roman Catholic Emancipation issue in 1829 and the Warrenite split of 1835 had done nothing to promote revivals. *Agency and Progress of Wesleyan-Methodism*, p.58. (Birmingham, 1847), pp.3-5. But sometimes, as

in Leeds, the revival was well under way before Caughey was called in. *Wesl. Meth. Mag.*, 3rd series XXIII (1843), 540-55.

3. Durbin, *Observations of Europe*, p.130. Durbin was unimpressed by this practice, which was much more prevalent in England than America. Cf. J. Caughey to J. Everett, 20 Feb. 1843, *Meth. Ch. Arch.*

4. *Brief Memoir*, pp.13-14.

connexional decrease.¹ Caughey himself, after Sheffield, was to continue his spectacular revival work for three more years while Wesleyan Methodism was recording its lowest triennial increase in nearly thirty years, and when the revival flame was spluttering in the other denominations.² Consequently it is in the particulars of Caughey's campaign that one must find much of the reason for his success.

Caughey's arrival at Sheffield, in May 1844, reflected the role of anticipation and contagion in revivalism. Caughey himself well understood how essential was the creation of an atmosphere of expectancy: 'set all your people a-praying', he would exhort his intending hosts.³ At Sheffield his advice was unnecessary, for the connexional system had helped spread his reputation as a revivalist, after successful campaigns in Liverpool, Leeds and Hull (the scene of his greatest achievements so far), and his arrival was eagerly awaited.⁴ The city was littered with handbills and placards announcing his impending revival campaign - a fairly well-established means of advertising meetings⁵ - and such was the pressure of Sheffielders on the revivalist that Caughey was forced to cut short his 'special services' in the woollen town of Huddersfield. On 11 May he travelled the thirty miles south to the city of steel.⁶

From the very first Caughey was to benefit from the friendship and influence of John Unwin, secretary of the West Circuit, local preacher and

1. Ibid., Table II.
2. Robert Currie, Methodism Divided. A Study in the Sociology of Ecumenicalism (London, 1968), p.95. Gilbert indicates the following low annual Wesleyan growth-rates: 0.6%(1842), 1.4%(1843), 2.2%(1844), 0.5% (1846), -0.2%(1847), -0.2%(1848). Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, p.104.
3. J. Caughey to (?), 12 Apr. 1847, Meth. Ch. Arch. Cf. J. Caughey, Letters, IV, 170.
4. For similar anticipation of Caughey in Birmingham, see J.B. Melson, Farewell Address to the Rev. James Caughey delivered at the Town Hall Birmingham, July 14th 1847 (Birmingham, 1847), pp.5-6. But sometimes, as in Leeds, the revival was well under way before Caughey was called in. Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series XXIII (1843), 596-99.
5. Durbin, Observations of Europe, p.130. Durbin was unimpressed by this practice, which was much more prevalent in England than America. Cf. J. Caughey to J. Everett, 20 Feb. 1845, Meth. Ch. Arch.
6. Brief Memoir, pp.13-14.

class-leader in Carver Street chapel, the most imposing Methodist chapel in Sheffield. Unwin, who had made a public 'decision for Christ' in Aitken's revival services of 1834, introduced Caughey to the leading laymen of the West Circuit, including members of three families with substantial evangelical traditions - the Beets, Lofthouses, and Longdens. Caughey's single-mindedness and shrewdness in matters evangelical no doubt won the approval of men so sympathetic to revivals. Certainly Caughey's Sheffield campaign was marked by a generous degree of lay co-operation which contributed significantly to its overall success.¹

On Sunday, 12 May, Caughey held his first services, at Ebenezer Chapel, Moorfields, on the outskirts of the town, where Aitken had conducted similar services ten years earlier. Nearly a quarter of the chapel's 1,500 places were free, its members being, in Caughey's words, 'generally poor in this world'. At first this worried him, as did the relative remoteness of the chapel. Anxious to create an immediate impact, he would have preferred a more central venue and a more influential audience. But the decision of the Superintendent of the West Circuit, J.P. Haswell, and his colleagues that he should use Ebenezer was more than justified by the results. After Caughey's very first sermon, twenty-nine professed conversion; Caughey himself found it unnecessary to threaten imminent departure - a tactic he was wont to use to encourage attendance when things were not going well; and by the end of the first week the number of converts stood at 132.² From the beginning Caughey's primary methods - preaching, prayer and appeals to the penitent - were clearly taking effect.

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1. Joseph Dyson, 'John Unwin. Noted Methodist Class Leader', Sheffield Cuttings, p.111; Caughey, Letters, IV, 196; Caughey, Earnest Christianity Illustrated, pp.101-102; Roland Wilson, Carver Street Methodist Church, Sheffield. 1805-1955 (N.p., 1955), p.7; Agency and Progress of Wesleyan-Methodism, p.17.
 2. Wickham, Church and People, p.79; Caughey, Letters, IV, 263-68; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XIX (30 Apr. 1845).

Regular, frequent preaching was central to Caughey's work. 'Hammer on a rock long enough, and it must break in pieces: this is true, to some extent, with mind. God's word is as a hammer to break the rocky hearts in pieces before the Lord.'¹ This was Caughey's justification for a working life that was in practice nothing less than a continuous protracted meeting. For most of his stay at Sheffield, and for his working periods in Britain generally, he preached on six evenings a week; there were occasions during his career when eight to ten sermons weekly were not unusual.² Such strenuous efforts would probably have killed a weaker man (John Smith's unrelieved work in revivals had ensured his early death),³ but despite occasional 'violent attacks' Caughey's relatively strong constitution, reinforced by periods of recuperation, secured for him some twenty-five years of itinerant evangelism, a span rivalled by few of his contemporaries.⁴ Only in the later 1860s did he retire from active work, 'on account of broken health'.⁵

In the pulpit, Caughey cut an impressive but unaffected figure. His commanding height, keen eyes and strong, dark, not unattractive features gave him an assurance and presence which were reinforced by his 'easy' and 'natural' pulpit manner, by an unshakeable conviction of his utter rightness, and by a complete absence of self-doubt.⁶ There was no questioning his vocal powers. 'His voice', it was said by one of his Sheffield hearers 'was music of the gamut range. When tremulous with emotion, it had a bell-

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1. Caughey, Letters, I, 211. Cf. III, 294: 'repeat the blow, again and again, night after night, week after week, till the wicked stagger and fall.'
 2. Ibid., I, 128; II, 67; IV, 107, 195, 313; Zion's Herald, XXIII (7 July 1852); Chr. Adv. and Jnl., LXVI (26 Feb. 1891).
 3. Jobson, Mother's Portrait, pp.206-07; Treffry, Memoirs of Smith, pp.201-02.
 4. See, for example, Brief Memoir, pp.15-16, 21; J. Caughey to (?), 16 Dec. 1845, Meth. Ch. Arch.
 5. Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Spring 1891 (New York, 1891), p.104. Caughey died in his eighty-first year.
 6. The Yorkshireman, quoted in Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XX (7 Jan. 1846); ibid., LXVI (5 Mar. 1891); Begbie, Life of Booth, I, 9-14, 175.

like ring never to be forgotten.¹ But Caughey was no Ranter. He did not shout. Even a Wesleyan critic was forced to 'admire the general delicacy and beauty of his accent, pronunciation, tone, and emphasis.'² But he did possess the revivalist's inevitable and necessary plainness of style. His non-stop flow of language was to the point, often ungrammatical, and 'crowded with provincial idioms' and arresting Irish-American pronunciations. But this roughness was a virtue in a man whose strength lay in the telling anecdote, and in blunt denunciation and frank exposure. Essentially Caughey's pulpit magnetism and 'strange fascination' lay in his capacity for stating evangelical commonplaces in novel and arresting, yet simple, ways. He was not an original thinker; he more or less ignored speculative divinity and doctrinal preaching. Instead he relied on a vast store of anecdotes and real-life illustrations to bring to life the fundamental evangelical doctrines. Even the smallest incident could be turned to good use, as on the occasion when, gesticulating violently in the pulpit, he accidentally knocked a nearby brass candlestick out of its holder. Unperturbed, Caughey continued his appeals to the penitent, using the incident successfully to unsettle the equanimity of 'the lightless backslider' who would, like the candlestick, 'be removed out of his place suddenly, unless sudden repentance prevented the terrible catastrophe.'³

Some recalled the 'Irish wit and humour' of Caughey's sermons,⁴ but it was for their terror-inspiring qualities that they were best remembered. Directing his attentions primarily towards the unconverted,⁵ especially the

1. Dyson, 'James Caughey', loc. cit., p.102.

2. 'I thought him the most polished man for a revivalist I ever heard.' Kendall, Rambles of an Evangelist, pp.107-10.

3. James Caughey, Report of a Farewell Sermon, delivered in the Methodist New Connexion Chapel, Parliament St., Nottingham (Nottingham, 1847), p.2; Sheffield Iris, LVII (22 Aug. 1844); Caughey, Letters, III, 189-91, 236; Caughey, Earnest Christianity Illustrated, p.154.

4. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., LXVI (5 Mar. 1891).

5. In Sheffield, five of Caughey's six sermons a week were directed at this group.

more receptive but 'undecided' hearers ('How long halt ye between two opinions?' was his favourite text),¹ Caughey spent most of his time trying to frighten his audience into the Kingdom of God. He spared none of their delicate feelings in his descriptions of the horrors of hell, in his chilling reiteration of the terrors of the Devil and the severity of the law of God.² On an audience who accepted without question that hell had a vivid and terrifying reality, the effect could be electric. With his audience 'broken down', Caughey would switch suddenly to a theme of mercy - of Christ's atonement and God's willingness to save sinners: here was the escape-route from the brink of the bottomless pit.³ A generation later, in Moody's campaigns, the emphasis of the love of God would become total; with Caughey it still held second place to 'hell and damnation'. Nevertheless, it was an indispensable element in a preaching scheme erected on such antitheses. It provided an essential psychological jerk. It created in Caughey's audience the appropriate feelings of relief and gratitude that allowed him to press home his exhortations for immediate commitment. 'Decide now', he would demand. 'I tell you, you are reaching the point on which your destiny turns; the fearful crisis approaches that decides your fate.'⁴

In urging on the unconverted both their obligation and ability to find immediate salvation through present faith, Caughey differed not a jot from

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1. See, for example, James Caughey, Revival Miscellanies; containing Twelve Revival Sermons, and thoughts on Entire Sanctification.... (London, n.d.), pp.312-27; Caughey, Letters, II, 179; Gregory, Sidelights, pp.344-45.
 2. Caughey objected to the way that, in certain evangelical circles, 'The hard, impolite, and unfashionable little word is...employed...in such a manner as to give the least offence possible...(and with no) concern for the awakening and conversion of the sinner.' Caughey's hell was as real to him as the crater of Vesuvius that he visited during his continental excursion of 1844. Caughey, Letters, II, 200-02; III, 167-69.
 3. Ibid., III, 292-94; V, 17-21.
 4. Caughey, Voice from America, pp.5-14. In this preaching pattern, as in a number of other ways, Caughey was following a well-trodden path. Cf. Harris, Memoir of Bramwell, pp.104-07, 249-50. See Jobson, A Mother's Portrait, pp.201-02, for John Smith's technique.

his Methodist and moderate Calvinist compatriots, nor from the more fervent of the English evangelicals. Like some of them, too, he would have been open to the charge that in practice he nourished Pelagianism - the doctrine that man, without divine assistance, could save himself.¹ Thomas Cooper, for example, had been terrified that in seeking his salvation he would rely too much on his own efforts.² Some of his caution would have been appropriate to Caughey, since the latter's hearers were capable, in the excitement of revival, of holding crude views on human ability that lacked the refinements of Caughey himself, with his emphasis on the centrality of prayer and man's dependence on the Holy Spirit.³

It was in the meeting for prayer (or 'Knee Work', as Caughey called it, with his characteristic bluntness) that he not only offered an implicit rejection of Pelagianism, but sought to capitalise on the impressions created by his sermons. Experience had taught him that prayer-meetings held immediately after preaching - a practice regarded with caution by many English Methodists⁴ - were an essential antidote to the sinner's procrastination; during these meetings his keen sense of the power of human sympathy led him to employ regularly and with great effect the well-established American device of 'the call to the altar'.⁵ Leaving his pulpit, he would wander from pew to pew encouraging the anxious to vacate their seats and go forward to the communion rail or 'penitent bench'. His pre-sermon prayer-

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1. Caughey, Voice from America, pp.36-48; cf. Dixon, Memoir of Miller, pp.69-70; Wesl. Meth. Mag., new series XVII (1820), 574-78.
 2. Cooper, Life of Cooper, pp.36-38, 80-83. Cf. Thomas Cooper, Wise Saws and Modern Instances (2 vols., London, 1845), II, 150ff.
 3. See, for example, James Dyson to J. Caughey, 22 Jan. 1845, in Caughey, Earnest Christianity Illustrated, p.274.
 4. 'Though the Conference approves of occasional meetings for prayer in our chapels, after the evening preaching on the Lord's day, ... yet it advises that such meetings shall be only occasional'. Minutes of the Methodist Conference (1836), p.86.
 5. Caughey, Letters, I, 107-09; III, 285, 287-88; IV, 302; Caughey, Earnest Christianity Illustrated, p.358. The appeal might be made as part of the sermon, of course. Caughey, Revival Miscellanies, pp.413-14.

meeting in the vestry would already have strengthened the resolve of many of them to make the move. Now they were guided forward by specially selected helpers.¹ The more irresolute he would shame into obedience with the shout: 'Come out, man! and save your soul now.'² At the rail Caughey, with the aid of local preachers and leaders, would offer instruction as to how (often scores of) penitents could 'get liberty' from their sins, while the rest of the congregation, sometimes accompanied by an organ, sang hymns or joined in the prayer or shouted their 'Hallelujahs!'.³ At Ebenezer 'the noise was sometimes tremendous', but even 'influential and talented leaders', their ears attuned to revival disharmonies, sought only to control, and not eliminate, something that was regarded as part and parcel of revival, providing 'God was in it'. Occasionally, however, the excitement went beyond the acceptable limits of weeping and 'piercing cries of mercy': in Sheffield's Norfolk Street Chapel, the proceedings stimulated 'fits of the wildest fanaticism, carried on with such fervour', and on one occasion in Ireland there were instances of jumping and physical jerks.⁴

Caughey's use of the call to the communion rail was not restricted to Sheffield, and was regarded by some as the 'most remarkable' feature of his work in Britain, for although an integral part of American services, it was far from universally employed in the English branch of Methodism.⁵ Wesley

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1. Caughey, Earnest Christianity Illustrated, p.275; Begbie, Life of Booth, I, 12-13.
 2. Albert T. Bradwell, Autobiography of a Converted Infidel: being a Record of His Experience from childhood to his conversion under the ministry of the Rev. J. Caughey at Sheffield, and including A History of his Infidel Opinions (Sheffield, 1844), pp.24-25. Cf. Caughey, Letters, I, 56.
 3. At times there might be at least 70 or 80 at the communion rail. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XIX (30 Apr. 1845); Caughey, Letters, II, 145, 163-64; IV, 89-90; Caughey, Earnest Christianity Illustrated, p.155.
 4. Caughey, Letters, I, 175-76; II 222-23; IV, 78-81, 264-66, 307-08; Sheffield Iris, LVII (22 Aug. 1844).
 5. Caughey seems to have used the call to the communion rail in all of his stops before Sheffield, except possibly Leeds. Caughey, Letters, I, 136, 193, 241-42; II, 80, 145; Kendall, Rambles of an Evangelist, pp.107-10.

had never used anything that approximated to the penitent bench, and in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century penitents seem to have been dealt with individually in their seats or communally in a special penitents' meeting.¹ In the Sheffield revival of 1794, '(t)he cries of the distressed... broke out like a clap of thunder, from every part of the chapel'. The local preachers scattered themselves amongst them to offer prayer, and 'in two minutes ten little parties were praying in different parts of the chapel at the same time'; in the following year, perhaps to avoid confusion, Bramwell encouraged the distressed to retire to the vestry.² Neither Bramwell nor other revivalists of his generation appear to have called the penitents forward to kneel together in the full view of the congregation.³ It was in the later 1820s that the call forward made its appearance. Richard Treffry 'affectionately invited (penitents) to come together, near the communion table, or in some convenient part of the Chapel' during the Hull revival of 1826-1827; and that this was a new practice was indicated by the fact that some penitents persisted in the old procedure of staying in their pews. John Smith, in Nottingham in 1829, made use of 'the form usually appropriate to penitents', but the practice was not so automatic with him as to ensure its use in the London revival of the same year.⁴ Examples multiplied in the

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1. Penitent Benches (Nottingham, circa 1852), p.4.
 2. John Moon to T. Coke, 22 Aug. 1794, in Dixon, Memoir of Miller, pp.30-32; Harris, Memoir of Bramwell, pp.38-39. In the Dublin revival of 1790 the 'distressed sinner' found himself surrounded by three concentric circles of fifty to a hundred exhorters who knelt, stood or clambered on benches as they sang and prayed. Thomas Coke, An Account of the Great Revival of the Work of God in the City of Dublin.... (London, 1790), pp.3, 11.
 3. Bramwell Family, Memoir of Bramwell, p.112; Harris, Memoir of Bramwell, p.132; Dixon, Memoir of Miller, pp.149-50; James Everett, Memoirs of the Life, Character and Ministry, of William Dawson, late of Barnbow, near Leeds (London, 1842), pp.81-82. The Wesleyan Methodist Conference of 1821 advised 'Preachers occasionally to invite, after preaching on the Lord's Day, such persons as may be seriously concerned for the salvation of souls, to call upon them, and converse with them, on the following day'. Wesl. Meth. Mag., new series XVIII (1821), 850.
 4. Ibid., 3rd series VI (1827), 402; Treffry, Memoirs of Smith, pp.270-71, 275-76, 287; Richard Treffry, Jun., Memoirs of Mr. John Edwards Trezise, of St. Just, Cornwall.... (London, 1837), pp.84-85.

next decade - it was employed in Sheffield by 1834-1835 - but even by the early years of the 1840s it was by no means a regular feature of Methodist revivals.¹

The penitent form met a real and local need: it provided a means of tidying up the confusion of scattered prayer-groups, without removing the penitents entirely from the encouragements of a concerned church-membership.² Both good order and souls were thereby protected. But inevitably one is also led to seek an American stimulus to the use of this 'new measure' (which was indeed described as 'the American custom').³ The visit of Richard Reece to America in 1824 provides one sort of explanation, for it brought him into first-hand acquaintance with the practice, and the close friendships he made kept him in touch with American developments in revivalism over the next two decades.⁴ Moreover, the transatlantic supply of books and journals that such visits and emigration produced, kept British audiences well informed of American practices;⁵ while Caughey himself was a travelling salesman for the measure who probably won as many customers as he repelled.⁶

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1. Seed, Norfolk Street Chapel Sheffield, pp.161-62; Agency and Progress of Wesleyan-Methodism, pp.19-20 and Appendix B. In the 1843 revival in the Dewsbury circuit, for example, penitents were invited into the vestry. Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series XXII (1843), 591-93.
 2. A Local Preacher, The Wesleyan Revivalist, pp.127-28.
 3. Penitent Benches. It was feared that the use of the penitent form would produce 'Mrs. Trollope's stuff'. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., VIII (30 May 1834).
 4. Urlin, Father Reece, pp.34-35. Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series V (1826), 192.
 5. See, for example, Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series VII (1828), 844; VIII (1829), 343; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., VIII (11 Apr. 1834).
 6. For instance, John W. Greeves, John H. James and Robert Young called sinners to the communion rail in the powerful Truro revival of 1847. The first two had watched Caughey's impressive use of the call forward in Liverpool and Huddersfield. Young had acted as host to Caughey in London, though his attachment to the measure antedated this acquaintance. Wesl. Meth. Mag., 4th series III (1847), 607-12; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XV (20 Jan. 1841); XX (1 Apr. 1846); Caughey, Letters, IV, 196; Brief Memoir, p.10.

Wesleyan Methodism has been
purified. Hence, the
renewed from all who
find the purified individual
III, 163.

Caughey's results at Ebenezer would have reinforced enthusiasm for this as for all the other ingredients of the American's 'special services'. He could claim some 486 conversions in a little over three weeks - a dramatic achievement by even American standards. At the same time 262 were 'entirely sanctified', for the preaching of entire sanctification (or 'purification', 'perfection', 'perfect love', or 'entire holiness', as Caughey variously called the doctrine) formed an integral part of his work.¹ He saw the 'blessing of purification' as much more than an inessential appendage of the Christian experience. 'So long as you are only justified and not purified', he told his hearers, many of them recent converts, 'you are only half a believer; and do you think Christ can be satisfied with your being half a believer?'²

In his preaching of this (and indeed the other major Wesleyan doctrines), Caughey was essentially orthodox: it was not over doctrinal issues that he was to incur the wrath of the denominational leaders. Together with other Wesleyan Methodists in both Britain and America he held that there was a 'higher ground' in religion beyond simple regeneration, which - while it did not approximate to an absolute 'sinless perfection' or release from the temptations of sin - took the Christian to a happier state where his sense of purification and his 'clean heart' contributed to greater mental equilibrium and a triumphant acceptance of death.³ Advance to this state could take place only after justification (though sometimes, Caughey allowed, it could be realised simultaneously); but in contrast to Calvinistic belief,

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1. Caughey, Letters, IV, 267-68.
 2. James Caughey, Parting Sermon of the Rev. J. Caughey, ...delivered in Sans Street Chapel Sunderland on Friday evening Sept. 4, 1846 (Sunderland, 1846), p.8.
 3. Caughey, Parting Sermon in Sunderland, *passim*; Caughey, Voice from America, pp.23-36. Cf. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XVI (6 Oct. 1841); Wesl. Meth. Mag., 4th series II (1846), 1074-86. Thomas Harris, who worked with Caughey at Leeds in 1843, agreed that during the 1840s entire sanctification in Wesleyan Methodism had an importance 'perhaps greater than at any former period'. Harris, Memoir of Bramwell, p.144. Caughey spoke of being 'cleansed from all sin' but eschewed Antinomianism or Noyesian perfectionism: the purified individual could lose this status. Caughey, Letters, III, 163.

it could occur before death. Moreover, entire sanctification, though the result of gradual preparation, was achieved 'in an instant'. As with justification, there was an identifiable moment at which the individual realised his new spiritual status - hence it was not only the unconverted who were subjected to the high-pressure conditions of communion rail or vestry exhortation. And in Sheffield, where the doctrine had been absorbed into the Wesleyan bloodstream thanks to a long line of ministers fully committed to its transfusion, these exhortations were eminently successful.¹

Caughey's three weeks at Ebenezer were somewhat short of the five or six weeks that he regarded as the optimum period for sustained services in one chapel, but he was well pleased with the results. Before leaving he held his customary meeting for new converts, for which congregational admission was by ticket only. Here Caughey was concerned to forestall criticism and guard against backsliding, an evil commonly laid at the door of revivalists. He reminded the recent converts of 'their duties, responsibilities, and dangers' and called them forward to the communion rail where, once their personal details had been noted, they were assigned to class leaders. Prayer and congregational hymn-singing at appropriate intervals completed an emotional service, the memory of which would undoubtedly have sustained many of the new converts in time of future doubt.²

Shortly afterwards Caughey took over the pulpit of Carver Street Chapel, the finest Wesleyan chapel in Sheffield and one of the most impressive in

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1. Caughey, Letters, IV, 197-202, 207-11; V, 101-05; Dixon, Memoir of Miller, pp.166-80, 189-90; Harris, Memoir of Bramwell, pp.112, 115-18. Leeds in 1843 provided the setting for one of Caughey's greatest holiness revivals. The proportion of those sanctified to those justified was much higher than usual, perhaps because Caughey, arriving when the revival was well under way, was faced with a considerable number of recent converts - a fruitful reservoir of candidates for the 'second blessing'. The Superintendent of the Leeds Fourth Circuit, Alexander Strachan, author of The Doctrine of Entire Sanctification explained and enforced (1842) was sympathetic to Caughey and the revival. Brief Memoir, pp.10-11, 40-41; Caughey, Letters, II, 177-79, 244; Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series XXII (1843), 596-99.
 2. Caughey, Letters, II, 171; IV, 187-88, 266-67. The pattern for these services followed that set at Cork in 1842. Ibid., I, 242-43. Cf. II, 94-95, 190; III, 269; IV, 89-90; Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series VI (1827), 401.

the whole Connexion. It was here that the Wesleyan Conference met when Sheffield was the venue. Though plain in its exterior, it possessed large galleries, a recently acquired organ and elegant fittings appropriate to the advancing social status of much of its membership. But social pretension did not stand in the way of revival, and the numbers involved reached new heights. Within four weeks there was a total of 1,160 cases of conversion and entire sanctification, which gave meaning to the chapel's nickname of 'the converting furnace' and which, wrote Caughey, went 'beyond anything I (had) ever been before, in the same space of time.'¹

Caughey was not too busy to take time off from the revival to indulge an enthusiasm common to so many visiting Americans: early in July he addressed the Sheffield Total Abstinence Society. Significantly the meeting was not held in Carver Street. In 1841 the Wesleyan Conference, concerned at the growing identification in some areas of the teetotal movement and Wesleyan Methodism, had condemned teetotalism and ordered that Wesleyan chapels be closed to teetotal meetings. Most Wesleyan ministers saw teetotalism as unscriptural, tainted with radicalism, and associated with overbearing lay influence. The Primitive Methodists, on the other hand, had supported temperance societies since 1832 and, their Conference, in the same year that the Wesleyans prohibited the use of unfermented sacramental wine, had sanctioned that practice.² For this reason Caughey delivered his lecture in Sheffield's only Primitive Methodist chapel. Non-Wesleyans were not shy in acknowledging the moral leadership of America in this field.³ Nor did

1. Wilson, Carver Street Methodist Church, pp.6-7; Wickham, Church and People, p.58; Caughey, Letters, IV, 268, 299-300; V, 121; Agency and Progress of Wesleyan-Methodism, p.29; Waddy, Life of Waddy, p.55. 'Converting' was the technical name for turning iron into steel.

2. Harrison, Drink and the Victorians, pp.179-81. In Cornwall, a breeding ground for schism, disaffected Wesleyans broke away and set up their own sect, the Teetotal Wesleyan Methodists. Edwards, Cornish Methodism, p.148ff.

3. See, for example, A Vindication of the Case of the Tee-total Wesleyan Methodists of St. Ives, Cornwall.... (Penzance, 1842), title page.

in America. Caughey, Letters, I, 186-88.

the close connection between revivals and teetotalism go unrecognised by them, and when Caughey adapted revivalist techniques of producing commitment at temperance meetings there was no lack of response: 'At the close of the meeting, about three hundred persons came forward and testified...that they understood and appreciated (Caughey's) arguments...by uniting themselves with the Sheffield Total Abstinence Society'.¹

Not all Wesleyans would have been happy with Caughey's association with teetotalism, but at Sheffield he was in more sympathetic territory than most. Teetotalism had taken root there in the mid 1830s and while most of Caughey's temperance audience was composed of 'the lowest of the low' there were also 'many intelligent and good people present'.² Moreover, Caughey's teetotalism was of a less abrasive kind, which meant that he kept the friendship of Wesleyans of temperate but not wholly abstemious habits. He urged ministers to set a good example in smoking and drinking, but there appears to have been much less of the moral self-righteousness that marked the visits of other American Methodists like Wilbur Fisk, John Durbin and Tobias Spicer. In Liverpool, for example, where Caughey delivered several temperance lectures in the Music Hall, he won the friendship of Joseph Beaumont, who had strong reservations about the wisdom of associating teetotalism in any way with church membership.³ Essentially, and despite his later tangle with Conference, Caughey was not a controversialist.⁴

It was probably through the efforts of one of Sheffield's temperance leaders, Abraham Sharman, secretary of Brunswick Chapel in the East Circuit,

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1. Ibid., pp.6-7; Caughey, Letters, IV, 305-06.
 2. Ibid., IV, 303; Joseph Dyson, 'Abraham Sharman. Pioneer Temperance Worker in Sheffield', Sheffield Cuttings, p.109; Barker, Life of Joseph Barker, p.201ff.
 3. Caughey, Letters, II, 150; Beaumont, Life of Beaumont, pp.268-69. For Caughey's Temperance meetings in Cork and Hull, see Caughey, Letters, II, 64-67; IV, 107.
 4. Even with regard to the Established Church Caughey tempered his censoriousness: there were, he believed, powerful historical traditions and complex social connections that made disestablishment much less practicable than in America. Caughey, Letters, I, 186-88.

together with those of Alexander Bell, the Circuit superintendent, that Caughey agreed to transfer to Brunswick on completion of his spell at Carver Street.¹ His success so far had developed an unstoppable momentum and here the campaign reached its climax. His name drew thousands, many travelling from Hathersage, Eyam, Grindleford and other villages up to twenty miles away. At times the police had to be called in, to control the waiting crowds, hundreds of whom never gained entry. Those who did find seats, spiritual squatters who brought food for the day to keep possession of their places, were often 'crammed to suffocation' in a chapel that could hold nearly 2000 people.² Remarkably, since it was July, Caughey worked with 'much ease, and satisfaction, and...success'; nor was this the only summer period when he broke the rule, well-established on both sides of the Atlantic, that revivals were essentially a winter phenomenon.³

Caughey's work at Brunswick demonstrated clearly two aspects of his methods not yet mentioned. The first, his encouragement of his hearers to make restitution of goods fraudulently obtained, was a product both of the concern showed by so many Wesleyans for social harmony and an ordered community, and also of a revivalistic tradition in which the restoration of ill-gotten gains was a necessary concomitant of genuine conversion.⁴ The

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1. Ibid., IV, 300; Dyson, 'Abraham Sharman', loc. cit., p.109. Brunswick was built in 1834 on Sheffield Moor, at the south-western edge of the town. Ibid.; Wickham, Church and People, Appendix V. Bell later (in 1846) secured Caughey's services in Birmingham. Caughey, Letters, IV, 309.
 2. Dyson, 'James Caughey', loc. cit., p.102; Sheffield Iris, LVII (22 Aug. 1844). For similar scenes in Huddersfield and Birmingham, see Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XIX (30 Apr. 1845); Morning Chronicle, 15 Apr. 1846.
 3. Caughey, Letters, V, 121. In three and a half weeks, 933 professed justification by faith and 369 entire sanctification, figures even more remarkable than at Carver Street. Agency and Progress of Wesleyan-Methodism, p.29. Cf. E. Brice to J. Caughey, 30 May 1845, in Caughey, Letters, II, 235; III, 296; John H. James, Dr. Campbell and the Wesleyans... (London, 1847), p.11.
 4. Caughey, Letters, IV, 301-02. Cf. Ibid., I, 62; II, 68; IV., 90; Everett, Memoirs of Dawson; Wesl. Meth. Mag., new series XVIII (1821), 460; G. Stringer Rowe, T.B. Smithies, Editor of 'The British Workman'. A Memoir (London, 1884), p.32.

second was his habit of addressing his sermons to individual members of the congregation, never mentioned by name, but described in unusually precise detail. It is not clear if on these occasions Caughey actually had a particular individual in mind. His descriptions were usually broad enough to embrace more than a single person, but specific enough to prompt individuals in his congregation to feel they were being selected for special attention:

Now, there are several characters here before me tonight, my discourse will particularly concern. I will describe them. The first is a man who has heard me often before, both here and elsewhere. The next is one, who has heard me before, but not here: he has heard me in ---. Another, is a woman, who has heard me once before only, and that in this chapel: she was here on Sunday night. The last is an old, grey-headed man, who has never seen my face before, either here or anywhere else.

Usually Caughey would proceed to 'expose' their characters, implying that his particularising was of divine inspiration and maintaining that he had received on the individual's behalf 'a message from God' which more often than not was a prophecy of impending death.¹ 'This year thou shalt die' was an alarming text which Caughey used again and again with conspicuous success on audiences for whom death was always close at hand, whether from day-to-day industrial diseases like "grinders' asthma", or from a dramatic epidemic, as with cholera in 1832.² The penitent form was regularly crowded with men, women and children fearful that death would come before their escape from a sinful, unconverted condition.

1. Caughey, Letters, IV, 303; Caughey, Earnest Christianity Illustrated, p.285; Caughey, Revival Miscellanies, pp.408-09; Caughey, Voice from America, pp.3-12.

2. Caughey, Letters, I, 165; III, 269-70; Caughey, Revival Miscellanies, pp.404-14; Morning Chronicle, 15 Apr. 1846; Wickham, Church and People, pp.25-26. Caughey clearly had borrowed this technique from earlier American Methodists. Benjamin Lakin, the early Indiana itinerant, used the dramatic formula: 'I feel an impression that there is some young man or woman in this house who will be tramping in hell before this time next year.' Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier, IV: The Methodists, p.54.

The revival rolled on through August, most of the services being held in Norfolk Street, the oldest Methodist chapel in Sheffield. By the time Caughey was due to leave, early in September after suitably tearful farewell services, the grand total of cases of conversion and entire sanctification stood near the remarkable figure of 5,000.¹ Some may have doubted the value of the professed experiences, but the figures themselves are almost certainly reliable, since Caughey was determined not to leave himself open to the charge of exaggeration, and since the figures were compiled by the scrupulous circuit secretaries from lists of names and addresses collected during the revival services - a practice well-established in Sheffield and more generally.²

Caughey's converts were drawn from no single social group. According to the superintendent of the East Circuit, 'The work was not confined to the lower orders.'³ At the conclusion of his work in Ebenezer, where it will be remembered the members were 'generally poor', and in the more thrustful, influential Wesleyanism of Carver Street, Caughey remarked on the social variegation of his hearers, who included '(t)he rich and the poor; the educated and uncultivated; the refined and intellectual, on the one part, - the vulgar, and those of the "baser sort", on the other'.⁴ If Wesleyanism did not embrace the leaders of the community (it was to be another short generation before the Carver Street congregation could boast

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1. Caughey, Letters, V, 121, 133, 157-59. See Table I, p.268.
 2. Caughey, Letters, III, 269; V, 161-63; Seed, Norfolk Street Wesleyan Chapel, p.162; Barker, Life of Barker, p.188. Cf. Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series XXII (1843), 593.
 3. Alexander Bell, quoted in Gregory, Sidelights, p.368.
 4. Caughey, Letters, V, 5. John H. James wrote of the Liverpool revival of 1842-43: 'We have good reason to be persuaded that many persons of all ages, of different ranks in life, of widely opposite constitutions and prejudices, of great varieties of education and habit, have been convinced of sin'. James, Work of God. Cf. Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series XIX (1840), 24; XXII (1843), 591, for similar descriptions of converts at non-Caugheyite revivals.

Table IJames Caughey's Sheffield Campaign: 12 May to 8 September, 1844*

	Ebenezer	Carver Street	Brunswick	Norfolk Street	Bridgehouses	<u>Totals</u>
Number of days services	20	29	26	24	2	101
<u>Justified - 'From the world'</u>						
Appointed to East and West circuits	285	591	734	534	61	2205
Not appointed	13	60	25	26	-	124
Distant and other churches	25	72	116	83	8	304
<u>Total 'from the world'</u>	323	723	875	643	69	2633
<u>Justified - 'In the church'</u>						
Members of East and West circuits	145	150	104	82	11	492
Members of other circuits and churches	17	31	65	26	2	141
<u>Total 'in the church'</u>	162	181	169	108	13	633
<u>Entirely sanctified</u>						
Members of East and West circuits	225	292	332	306	24	1179
Distant and other churches	34	76	87	58	1	256
<u>Total sanctified</u>	259	368	419	364	25	1435
<u>Total justified</u>	485	904	1044	751	82	3266
<u>Total justified and sanctified</u>	744	1272	1463	1115	107	<u>4701</u>

* Compiled from statistics in Agency and Progress of Wesleyan-Methodism (London, 1845)

a Mayor and Master Cutler), she was nevertheless more likely to attract men of greater social standing and education than were the Primitives and the various Reform bodies. Shopkeeper Wesleyanism had arrived, Abraham Sharman, for example, a leader of Carver Street, was a grocer. Albert Bradwell, son of a tradesman, had been captivated by an education that had included Aristotle, Hobbes, Hume, Locke, Voltaire, Leibnitz and Kant. And there was a similar story in other areas where Caughey worked of a middle-class leavening of working-class Methodism.¹

If there was a lowest common denominator amongst Caughey's converts, it was religious and not social in character. Almost all of them boasted or concealed an evangelical background. Though nearly eighty per cent of the converts in the Sheffield revival were described as being 'from the world' (see Table I), most were regular attenders at Methodist services. Occasionally, of course, Caughey found himself regarded as a cheap entertainer by 'scoffers' and 'infidels', their curiosity aroused by his reported 'eccentricities'. But even this audience might betray an acquaintance of evangelicalism. Albert Bradwell, a professed atheist before he became the subject of one of the revival's more interesting conversions, had in fact 'found salvation' in a Methodist chapel when a youth of sixteen or seventeen. Only later had he jettisoned Methodism and fashioned his own system of 'infidelity'. His mocking attendance at Caughey's services backfired, as evangelical embers were rekindled and guilt over his apostasy was aroused. Yet Bradwell, as Caughey realised, was a special case: few of the revivalist's converts had ever come so close to repudiating their evangelicalism.²

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1. Wickham, Church and People, pp.138-39; Dyson, 'Sharman', loc.cit., p.109; Bradwell, Autobiography, pp.6-8; Caughey, Letters, I, 136, 159, 203; II, 148-49, 189, 221-23. In Hull's Waltham St. Chapel many were 'in the employment of others', but some had their own businesses. Ibid., IV, p.89.
 2. Bradwell, Autobiography. Cf. Caughey, Earnest Christianity Illustrated, pp.274-76; Wesl. Meth. Mag., 4th series III (1847), 607-12.

On at least one occasion Caughey's converts included 'some of the wildest and most dissipated characters' of a community.¹ But this was the exception. To all outward appearances most of his hearers led a sober, Christian life. 'I do not charge you with swearing, with sabbath-breaking, with whoremongering, with adultery', Caughey told them. Their sin, much less dramatically, lay in 'mental rebellion'; he criticised them for 'refus(ing) to yield to God's claims', for having remained regular hearers for perhaps years without making sufficient effort to seek salvation.² This unregenerate group, central to the work of all Methodist revivalists, provided the major source of Caughey's converts;³ there is good reason to suppose that most of them were young people, between sixteen and thirty years of age, brought up in Methodist families which had themselves probably experienced the earlier revivals of Aitken, Miller and Bramwell.⁴ Certainly there is no doubt of Caughey's concern to reach young people under sixteen who were still members of Sunday Schools and catechumen classes: he was pleased to find that the primary concern of Sheffield Sunday School teachers was to bring pupils 'to an early and to an experimental acquaintance with God.' And he would have been anxious in his evening services to catch those who had escaped the Sunday School net.⁵

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1. This was at Huddersfield. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XIX (30 Apr. 1845).
 2. Caughey, Voice from America, p.13. Cf. Caughey, Revival Miscellanies, pp.405-06.
 3. '(I)t may be conjectured that a large number of the converts of revivals consist of well-disposed persons upon whose minds the Spirit of God has long been operating, and who were only waiting the guiding hand of Christian sympathy to become decidedly religious.' Treffry, Memoirs of Trezise, p.87. Cf. Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series IX (1830), 24; XXI (1842), 686.
 4. See, for example, Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series XXII (1843), 596; 4th series III (1847), 607-12.
 5. Caughey was on good terms with G. Chaloner, Superintendent of Red Hill Sunday School (which had links with Carver Street). Chaloner published much pro-Caughey literature in the disputes of 1846-47. Caughey, Letters, V, 133-36, 163; Agency and Progress of Wesleyan-Methodism, p.24; Wilson, Carver Street Methodist Church, p.8. The conversion of children under fifteen years old was well established in Wesleyan circles. Cf. Harris, Memoir of William Bramwell, p.30; Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series I (1822), 186; VI (1827), 403-04.

That so many of the 'justified' had been in close connection with the churches before their conversion reflected the profound changes that had taken place in Wesleyan Methodism over one or two generations. As revivalism had come indoors, the Methodist mentality had altered. The sectarian aggression of Wesley's day, reflected in the commitment to reach through outdoor preaching well beyond the walls of Methodist chapels, had now given way to denominational consolidation, the pastoral tending of flocks, the building of finer and more substantial chapels, the education of ministers. The transition was not total. Wesleyans sought through Sunday Schools, tract distribution, city and home missions, and various benevolent societies to reach the unreachable. But aggression into the 'darkness of Paganism' was absorbing relatively less time than in the past. Open air preaching was in decline; increasingly the bulk of converts, as Caughey discovered, was recruited from within the familial orbit of Methodism, for the children of Methodists offered a much more fruitful field for labour than did that class of the community '(s)aturated ... with Infidel, Socialist, Chartist and blasphemous notions.'¹

The remaining 20 per cent of Caughey's converts in Sheffield constituted a somewhat embarrassing group for diligent Methodists, for they were drawn not from the explicitly unconverted pool of church adherents, but from within the ranks of the church membership itself. The figure may seem high. In fact it was considerably lower than the returns for Liverpool and Leeds, where 50 per cent or more of those converted were already Methodist society

1. Cf. James Dixon, Methodism in its Origin, Economy, and Present Position... (London, 1843), pp.163-66; Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series XXIII (1844), 559-60 ('Sunday Schools: Nurseries for the Church'), 647; 4th series III (1847), 175-81, 860-65 ('Encouragement to Young Ministers to engage in open-air preaching'). But for examples of aggressive, outgoing evangelism in Wesleyan Methodism in the 1820s and 1830s, see Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series I (1822), 187, 434-36, 732; II (1823), 473-74; Treffry, Memoirs of Trezise, pp.85-86.

2. Caughey, Lectures, II, p.39; Caughey, Voice from America, pp.9-10, 14-22, 37; Dixon, Life of Dixon, p.483. Dixon himself agreed that he was 'no preacher for the revivalists'. I noticed in Sheffield (in 1837-1840) that some of the most active of our men in this work used to go to sleep when I preached. ibid., p.271.

members.¹ Some of these were complete or partial backsliders from a previous state of grace. But in many cases it was clear that large numbers had been admitted into society in a state of 'awakened concern' for their spiritual well-being, without ever having experienced a 'new birth'.² Caughey, like other less sympathetic observers, notably John Campbell the Congregationalist editor, was scandalised: 'a vast number meet regularly in class for years, and in good standing too, as it respects moral character, who have never obtained a satisfactory evidence of their adoption into the family of God.'³ He pointed, in contrast, to American Methodism, where the frequency of revivals and a searching style of preaching tended to expose anything less than full-blooded commitment. He proved his point as his direct, unsubtle American sermons released a stream of self-questioning amongst confused church members. Had they ever been truly converted? Could they remember the exact time and place of their change of heart? - as they surely should, given that 'the work of conversion is so momentous, that no man can pass through it, and not know it.' In Sheffield congregations superintended only a few years earlier by James Dixon, a minister who had never insisted 'upon instantaneous and sensible conversion in all cases' since '(t)he work of the Holy Spirit is often gradual and gentle', Caughey's questionings sowed doubt and confusion; many who had thought themselves converted would have been tempted to take out double indemnity at Caughey's communion rail.⁴

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1. Caughey, Letters, II, 99, 233-35; James, Work of God; F.A. West (minister in Leeds at the time of Caughey's visit), A Pastoral Letter on the Revival of Religion.... (Leeds, 1843). Of the one thousand converts associated with the Leeds Wesleyan Methodist Chapels, 650 were already church members. For the situation in Dublin, Hull, and Limerick, see Caughey, Letters, I, 164; Brief Memoir, p.12. Bramwell's experience in Sheffield was similar. Harris, Memoir of Bramwell, p.39.
 2. James, Dr. Campbell and the Wesleyans, pp.7-11.
 3. Caughey, Letters, II, 235-38; cf. III, 149-52. James, Dr. Campbell and the Wesleyans, passim. James was correct in alleging (ibid., pp.8-9) that Congregationalists were open to criticism from Caughey on similar grounds. Caughey, Letters, III, 149.
 4. Caughey, Letters, II, p.59; Caughey, Voice from America, pp.9-10, 14-22, 37; Dixon, Life of Dixon, p.483. Dixon himself agreed that he was 'no preacher for the revivalists'. I noticed in Sheffield (in 1837-1840) that some of the most active of our men in this work used to go to sleep when I preached. Ibid., p.271.

The 're-converted' element in Caughey's revivals contributes just one explanation of the great discrepancy between the total number of conversions (3,266) claimed by the revivalist, and the much lower figure of eight or nine hundred that represented the actual increase in the two Sheffield circuits for the revival year (March 1844 to March 1845). In addition there were hundreds on trial. There was also the customary revival wastage - about five per cent of the converts 'from the world', the magic of their conversion having rapidly evaporated, never presented themselves for church membership. Further, many of the converts - some 15 per cent of the total - joined churches of other denominations and Wesleyan churches outside the Sheffield circuits.¹ Caughey, like other Wesleyans, did not want to be charged with stimulating 'annexation' or the proselytising of members of other denominations. He would have agreed with Edmund Grindrod that '(w)e ought to accept them; but we should not seek them.'² In practice few of his audiences were exclusively Methodist. At Leeds, indeed, a huge proportion of his converts - 600 out of the total 1,600 - were members of other denominations, or from circuits outside the city, and many of those converted would have remained with their own churches.³

IV

Caughey's passage at Sheffield had been relatively smooth. He had received the co-operation of leading laymen and ministers (and his acknowledgment of their indispensability defused the charges of egotism to which

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1. The figures for the revival year in the Sheffield District showed an increase of 1,425 in membership, with 1,128 on trial; they were closer to, but still short of, the total number of Caughey's converts 'from the world'. Caughey, Letters, V, 163; cf. V, 132.
 2. Cf. ibid., III, 146-47, 152-53; Edmund Grindrod, The Duties, Qualifications and Encouragements of Class-Leaders.... (London, 1846), pp.17-18. Provoked into retaliation, a number of the Baptist and Congregationalist churches in Sheffield united to conduct their own special services and open air preaching during August. Bapt. Rep., 6th series II (1843), 313.
 3. Brief Memoir, p.11. For Caughey's similar experiences in Ireland, Hull, and York, see ibid., pp.8-12, 17.

all revivalists were subject); there had apparently been no concerted efforts of freethinkers to disrupt his meetings; and the press had proved generally favourable.¹ Elsewhere his experience was not always so placid. He reported that in Hull in 1844 'all hell' had been let loose against him; the next year the Huddersfield Socialists turned him into a useful whipping-boy in public debate; and in Lincolnshire in 1846 the revivalist received an unprecedented 'flailing from the public papers.' Much the most harmful of these external criticisms were those of respectable and Christian laity. The attack of the Morning Chronicle well illustrated their concern. The Whig newspaper saw Caughey's Birmingham revival of 1846 as stark evidence in a decade of social tension of the extent of popular ignorance and of the pressing need for improved education. The revival fostered 'family disunion', 'spiritual pride', and a fanaticism that the newspaper felt would surely bring genuine religious fervour into irremediable disrepute. 'Nothing that has grown of the transatlantic fusion of puritanism and democracy ever produced a more appalling frenzy than the ministrations of Mr. Caughey have engendered among the sturdy hammerers of the iron town.'²

External criticism was an occupational hazard; but attack from within the revivalist found more damaging and less forgivable. Wesleyan Methodists were ambivalent in their attitude to revivals, and afforded Caughey a mixed reception. For the denominational leadership it was received wisdom that connexional order lay at the mercy of the excitement and critical individual judgment encouraged by revivals.³ By the time of Caughey's itinerancy the

1. Caughey, Letters, V, 99. Cf. James Everett to H---, 18 Nov. 1845, in ibid., III, 238-40; Everett, Memoirs of Dawson, pp.271-74. Shortly before Caughey left Sheffield, new ministers were appointed to the East Circuit, some of whom 'were less sympathetic to the work' than their predecessors. Caughey, Letters, V, 158-59.

2. Ibid., IV, 90, 97-98; Caughey, Earnest Christianity Illustrated, pp.290-94, 364-70; Brief Memoir, p.20; Morning Chronicle, 15 and 16 Apr. 1846. Cf. Caughey, Letters, II, 102; Caughey, Earnest Christianity Illustrated, pp.95-96.

3. See, for example, Ward, Religion and Society in England, esp. pp.75-85; C.W. Andrews, William Bramwell. Revivalist (London, n.d.), pp.25-29, 45-46; Bramwell Family, Memoir of Bramwell, pp.42-43, 58-59, 69-71.

4. Caughey, Letters, XI, 100-17; XII, 136, 132-33, 245-56; V, 28-39. Cf. the review of Caughey's Notes on a Life of William in Rev. Adv. and Jol., XXVII (23 Dec. 1857).

advancing prosperity and respectability of early Victorian Wesleyanism was eroding support for 'Pentecostal excitement'. Revivalism as traditionally understood was being 'smothered between featherbeds' at theological institutions which turned out 'career ministers' and not evangelists.¹ 'The taste of the present day', complained William Bramwell's descendants in the 1840s, 'is by no means favourable to enthusiasm.'² Caughey accordingly came under attack from 'persons of taste and intelligence'.³ His meetings were at a reasonable remove from the boisterous tumult of an earlier generation, but they were still sufficiently noisy and confused for charges of 'enthusiasm' and 'disorder' to stick. Caughey, like a good revivalist, denied that there was any confusion (though perhaps only the regenerate could see the order and pattern) and defended the noise on the familiar grounds that as great a change as conversion could scarcely occur without considerable distress.⁴ Similarly he rejected the charge that his sermons, unsophisticated and bankrupt of speculative divinity, made such an unpromising appeal to emotion that 'many persons (were) merely frightened into religious life'.⁵ For Caughey the ends justified the means - and the

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1. See, for example, Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series XIX (1840), 294-97; Gregory, Sidelights, pp.180, 183-84; Dixon, Life of Dixon, pp.99-104, 334-338, 366-67. The Congregationalist Thomas Binney had been converted under Methodism but his intense 'craving for culture' was not satisfied in that denomination. Many of similar outlook did not leave, but remained to influence Methodism in its pursuit of a more cultivated, educated ministry. Gregory, Life of Jobson, pp.61-62.
 2. Bramwell Family, Memoir of Bramwell, pp.110-11. For other complaints of 'formalism' and the decline of revivalism, see for example Dixon, Memoir of Miller, pp.164-65, 182; Harris, Memoir of Bramwell, pp.275-78; Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series IX (1830), 20-21.
 3. Caughey, Earnest Christianity Illustrated, pp.154-55. It was alleged by some that Caughey was an agent in the estrangement of life-long Methodists from their Church. Gregory, Sidelights, pp.401-02.
 4. Caughey, Letters, IV, 114-17, 121-29. The imputation that critics of revivalism were ipso facto unconverted had long been a retaliatory weapon of revivalists. Defences of emotionalism (in the sense of religious, not 'animal', excitement) were well established in the revivalist credo. Cf. Treffry, Memoirs of Smith, pp.163-65; Bramwell Family, Memoir of Bramwell, pp.111-12; A Local Preacher, Wesleyan Revivalist, pp.125-30; Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series XIX (1840), 22-23.
 5. Caughey, Letters, II, 100-17; III, 156, 182-83, 245-58; V, 28-29. Cf. the review of Caughey's Helps to a Life of Holiness in Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXVII (23 Dec. 1852).

hammering of a single message had, it seemed, produced far more conversions than the refined exegesis of the scriptures had ever done.

His critics remained unconvinced. Their past experience suggested that despite the pressure-cooker conditions of a revival the protective skin of unbelief was never fully penetrated and that Caughey's converts were in danger of relapse. When the revivalist left, then his 'mushroom converts' - so the argument ran - would disappear too.¹ In fact, a number of his 'converts' never did present themselves for church membership, and amongst the others there were always some who were quick to backslide. But Caughey believed that such evils were no greater in time of revival than at any other time, and there was anyway no massive falling away of members. In Sheffield by the end of 1846, two years after Caughey had left the city, the figures for both the circuits and the District indicated no overall decline.² As part of his defence, Caughey took refuge in the primitivist argument that it was he and not his critics who represented most legitimately the true tradition and spirit of Wesley; that he was simply returning to an aggressive, vigorous revivalistic Methodism that has been strong in the past but which was now to be found only in certain parts of the country.³ Ministers like Harris, West and Everett agreed with him, convinced as they were that organs, theological institutions, and other trends towards growing 'formalism' would suffocate genuine Wesleyanism unless it were balanced by

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1. Caughey, Letters, II, 100; III, 245; Sheffield Mercury, XLII (10 July 1847); This was the common complaint against revivals. Cf. Treffry, Memoirs of Smith, p.166; Treffry, Memoirs of Trezise, p.93; Wesl. Meth. Mag., 4th series III (1847), 611-12; Cooper, Wise Saws and Modern Instances, II, 150ff; Agency and Progress of Wesleyan-Methodism, pp.16-17.
 2. Caughey, Letters, V, 161-64. Cf. ibid., II, 233-35; III, 241-44; IV, 161-62, 189; Brief Memoir, pp.10-12, 69; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXIII (21 June 1849).
 3. 'If now and then "a new-fashioned Methodist" grumbles, they set him to read Wesley's Journal', Caughey noted with pleasure of Yorkshire Methodists, as he bewailed Methodism's general tendency to compromise with 'the world'. Caughey, Earnest Christianity Illustrated, pp.358-61. Cf. J. Everett to H--- (18 Nov. 1845), in Caughey, Letters, III, 238.

men like Caughey, struggling to see 'old Methodism revived with new energy'.¹ Yet there was more to Caughey than is suggested by this atavistic interpretation. His critics, after all, believed that '(h)e had struck out a new line of things', and regarded him as 'a perfectly new phenomenon in Methodism'.² What were the grounds for their belief that he had introduced a new and unhealthy trend in the practice of revivals?

Methodists were at this time engaged in a debate over means and human instrumentality that corresponded closely to the instrumentalist debate in contemporary Calvinistic evangelical circles. Although their views on human ability were in theory more generous than the Calvinists', Methodist theological beliefs still did not give man carte blanche as to the means he could employ in pursuing his salvation. The regular evangelical agencies were well outlined in Jabez Bunting's 'Liverpool Minutes' of 1820, produced as a means of reversing the first annual decrease in Wesleyan membership since 1801. The central instruments of regular prayer and simple evangelical preaching were to be supplemented by watch nights, days of fasting and prayer, attention to the young, catechetical instruction and the reinvigoration of class leadership - all of which means, together with regular pastoral visiting and the distribution of tracts, were regarded as doing no more than preparing the individual for the influences of the Holy Spirit.³ Consequently, when the anticipated revival arrived in the following year, Methodists exulted that it had been 'very peculiarly, the work of GOD, in

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1. Caughey, Letters, IV, 114; Gregory, Sidelights, p.427. Caughey's friends 'regarded him as the personification an active spiritual ministry, divinely commissioned to arouse the drowsy Methodism of Britain.' William B. Carter, The Case Tested: Being an Inquiry into the Character and Labours of the Rev. James Caughey; and the action of the British Wesleyan Conference thereon.... (London, 1847), p.36.
 2. Ibid., p.9.
 3. Gilbert, Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, p.103; Currie, Methodism Divided, p.95; George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism III (London, 1862), 48-49; Results of the Conversation on Promoting an Increase of Spiritual Religion among the Methodists: held in the Liverpool Conference, 1820 (London, 1842); Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series I (1822), 228-31.

answer to prayer. Man ... had less than usual to do with (the revival's) origin and progress.'¹

Two decades later, in a similar crisis, the Methodist response was not quite so united.² The Annual Conference of 1842 urged the paying of 'particular attention' to the Liverpool Minutes, but at the same time less well established means were being employed to arrest the decline in numbers. Protracted meetings and penitent benches in some areas caught the imaginations of experimenters, and the incidence of 'special services' spiralled upwards in the early and mid 1840s.³ Evangelical activists scarcely questioned these new measures. Their thinking was a simple extension of the instrumentalist reasoning of the late John Smith, who had maintained that 'as it is within the power of the church to secure a certain measure of the Holy Spirit's operation, it is irrational and uprighteous to impute the absence of that operation, to anything but the want of effort and faith in the church. It is therefore...for every Christian minister in part to decide the measure of his own success.'⁴ Only the qualification 'in part' stood between the use of denominationally prescribed means and the novel creations of the experimenting minister - a qualification easily forgotten in the enthusiastic pursuit of revival.

Caughey arrived in Britain when less adventurous Methodists were afraid that these new techniques savoured of 'getting up' a revival, and would

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1. Wesl. Meth. Mag., new series XVIII (1821), 380-82, 458-61, 531-35; 3rd series I (1822), 117.
 2. Wesleyans estimated that, excluding overseas missions and Ireland, there was a decrease in membership of over 2,000 in 1841-42. Ibid., 3rd series XXI (1842), 753.
 3. Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, III, 431. Cf. Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series XXI (1842) 467-69; Results of the Conversation on...Spiritual Religion, passim. For 'special services' in Liverpool in 1840, and in Bingley, Dewsbury and Wakefield in 1842 and 1843, see Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series XIX (1840), 430-31; XXII (1843), 591-93, 595-96, 996-99.
 4. Agency and Progress of Wesleyan-Methodism, passim, esp. pp.5-7, 17, 19-21; Carter, Case Tested, p.29; Treffry, Memoirs of Smith, pp.254-55.

serve to undervalue the regular means.¹ His holding of daily services for months on end seemed to condemn him on both counts. The daily multiplication of meetings was not a new phenomenon in Methodism. Often, too, the revival prayer meetings of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century had gone on until a much later hour - sometimes until one, two or three o'clock in the morning, or even all night² - than did the much better organised meetings of Caughey. The crucial difference lay in the fact that the latter were premeditated. They were part of a preconceived campaign designed to stir a religious awakening, more or less without regard to the initial receptiveness of the audience. The more traditional protracted meetings, however, had been in a sense spontaneous: they had been prolonged and unexpectedly multiplied at the request of congregations that felt themselves spiritually and emotionally starved. Sometimes in Bramwell's meetings 'the enthusiasm excited was so great that... "the people would not go home"'; and Benjamin Carvosso reported that at Tuckingmill, Cornwall, in 1814, 'the meeting which commenced in the chapel on Sunday...could not be broken up, but continued without intermission, till the Friday morning following.'³ The premeditation that these services lacked, Caughey's possessed in abundance.

Other elements of calculation and contrivance in Caughey's meetings - the use of penitent benches, the technique of particularising in sermons, the delivery of 'death warrants', and the repeated use of the same text night after night - came under similar attack; though the additional charges,

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1. Dixon, Memoir of Miller, pp.161-64; Wesl. Meth. Mag., 4th series II (1846), 126-27.
 2. This was the case at Hull in 1794. See A. Mather to W. Marriott, 10 June 1794, in Copies of Original Letters and other Documents collected from different sources by J. Everett and L. Tyerman, II, 257. Cf. A Local Preacher, Wesleyan Revivalist, pp.108-09; Urlin, Father Reece, pp.7-8; Bramwell Family, Memoir of Bramwell, p.43.
 3. B. Carvosso, ed., A Memoir of Mr. William Carvosso, sixty years a class-leader in the Wesleyan-Methodist Connexion. Written by himself... (London, 1836), p.51. Cf. Andrews, Bramwell, p.45; Coke, Great Revival in Dublin, *passim*; Wesl. Meth. Mag., new series XVIII (1821), 531-32; 3rd series IV (1825), 556; VI (1827), 401-02; XXI (1842), 687.

that he planted 'decoy penitents' at the altar to encourage the shy penitents to come forward, and that he deliberately regulated the interior lighting for dramatic effect, were probably unfounded.¹ Under attack, Caughey was unflinching. Like a good revivalist he strenuously denied that he paid little attention to the agency of the Holy Spirit; like a good instrumentalist he pointed out the heresy of ignoring that God himself worked by means.² Yet, despite his emphasis on the role of prayer, it was difficult for him to escape the charge that his methods were coldly mechanical (the term 'Knee Work' suggested his commitment to revivalistic engineering); when, infrequently and mistakenly, he tried to adopt an out-dated, non-instrumentalist explanation of revival as simply God-given (as when he tried to argue that 'a revival is a miracle'), the argument rang hollow.³

In Caughey, then, there was a blend of the old and the new, though not in equal proportions.⁴ His equability in the face of noise and excitement, his appeal to 'Old Methodists' and certain similarities between his style and message and that of, say, William Bramwell, had been less significant than his innovations. To achieve success at a time when 'native springs of spontaneous revival were drying up' he had refrained from using some of the traditional procedures - outdoor preaching, for instance, still

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1. Caughey, Letters, II, 121-24, 196-97; III, 155-56, 183-84, 240; IV, 133-35; Gregory, Sidelights, p.345, alleging 'deliberate and systematic deception' by Caughey; Morning Chronicle, 15 Apr. 1846. Cf. Caughey, Earnest Christianity Illustrated, p.277: 'Give me a church brilliantly lighted, if success is to be the order of the night.'
 2. Brief Memoir, p.70; Caughey, Letters, III, 195; IV, 184-85; V, 41. Though Caughey readily accepted that regular means could in themselves prove sufficient, he, like his acquaintance W.M. Harvard, saw no good reason for objecting to special efforts. Ibid., II, 238-44; III, 187, 224-29; Harvard, Defence of Protracted Meetings.
 3. Caughey, Letters, II, 134-37; III, 275-81; IV, 177-78. Cf. supra, p.15n.
 4. This blend was clear in The Messenger of Mercy and Old Methodist Revivalist a weekly periodical of the north and east, dedicated to Caughey and to the 'sober-scriptural manner of conducting revivals', and a defender of 'new measures'. See, for example, II (1844), 49-50 and passim.

a part of rural and semi-rural evangelism, played an insignificant, almost non-existent role in his work.¹ As his use of the term 'revival campaign' suggested, he had set about giving revivalism a more premeditated, semi-professional character than the 'spontaneous' revivals of an earlier generation had possessed.² His movements, determined not by Conference fiat but by his own estimate of his likely success, had been advertised and announced in advance, and had been supported by the sale of his books and portraits and by often bountiful contributions from churches which had themselves profited financially from his visits.³ His every act, his every idea had been to a large extent determined by its implications for the conversion of souls.⁴ With James Caughey the day of the revival technician who was paid for his services had arrived.

V

For several years Caughey remained generally unhampered by his Methodist critics. He was protected primarily by his success. Wesleyan Methodists were as worried as any other evangelical denomination in the 1840s about the challenge of Tractarianism, Roman Catholicism and the seemingly impenetrable

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1. Ward, Religion and Society in England, p.287; Caughey, Letters, II, 232; IV, 194-95; Brief Memoir, p.19.
 2. Brief Memoir, pp.11, 16. The difference should not be over-stressed. The 'spontaneity' of earlier revivals had not lain in a complete absence of prior effort. Bramwell entered every circuit with the aim of 'getting up a revival'. Andrews, Bramwell, p.47.
 3. Brief Memoir, pp.8, 21, 63, 69-70; Caughey, Letters, II, pp. v, 247; IV, 111, 271-72; V, 97; Carter, Case Tested, pp.34-35. On his own admission, Caughey had 'ample funds', but there is nothing to suggest a mercenary nature or that he regarded his funds as anything more than a means of sustaining revival campaigns. Cf. A Review of the Whole Case, or What Has Conference Done in reference to The Rev. James Caughey, and why was it done?... (Sheffield, 1847), pp.6-7; Caughey, Letters, III, 285; IV, 107; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXIII (3 June 1858); Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Spring 1891, p.104.
 4. Even the minutiae of chapel design did not escape assessment along these lines. Caughey, Earnest Christianity Illustrated, pp.20-21, 403-05; James Caughey, Showers of Blessing from Clouds of Mercy, ed. R.W. Allen (Boston, 1857), pp.397-404.

conditions of crowded cities '(s)aturated...with Infidel, Socialist, Chartist and blasphemous notions'. Even the most myopic had to concede the merits of Caughey's urban performance.¹ Equally, even the most uncharitable found it difficult to challenge Caughey's personal integrity. Charges of vanity and hypocrisy carried little weight against a man so patently sincere and single-minded. Besides, remedial action against Caughey would probably provoke more dissension than was worthwhile, given his apparent intention of a relatively prompt return to America. Thus, though the annual Wesleyan Conferences at Sheffield, Birmingham and Leeds from 1843 to 1845 witnessed animated discussions of Caughey's case, no formal decisions were taken.²

When, however, by the summer of 1846 Caughey was seen to be entering his sixth year of itinerant work in Britain, Conference lost patience. Significantly his opponents turned for direction to Jabez Bunting, unchallenged leader of the 'High Church' party in Methodism. On Bunting's suggestion the President of Conference, William Atherton, brought forward a resolution which proposed that the American Bishops be 'affectionately requested' to recall Caughey to the United States, on the grounds that he

has now been for several years in this country, and has visited many of our principal circuits, subject to no ecclesiastical supervision, responsibility or control, such as those to which all other Methodist ministers, according to our established laws and usages, are required to submit; - (and) that such an irregularity is dangerous to the good order, peace and unity of our Body....³

The point at issue was essentially one of connexional discipline and the authority of the pastoral office. The value and necessity of revivals (of the non-mechanical variety) were not really in question. 'I am afraid lest

1. See, for example, Dixon, Methodism in its Origin, Economy and Present Position, pp.163-66; A Local Preacher, Wesleyan Revivalist, p.44; Agency and Progress of Wesleyan-Methodism, p.26; Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series XXII (1843), 1012-15 and passim.

2. Gregory, Sidelights, pp.344-45, 368-69, 390-91, 400; Caughey, Letters, III, 238-40; Sheffield Mercury, XLII (23 Jan. 1847); Brief Memoir, pp.17-18; Review of the Whole Case, p.5.

3. Gregory, Sidelights, pp.400-01; Protest in favor of The Rev. James Caughey (Sheffield, n.d.), p.2.

any impression should get abroad that we are against revivals of religion', announced Bunting, later adding: 'I am no anti-revivalist.'¹ What worried him, and those ministers like William Atherton, Robert Newton, George Osborn and John Scott who joined him in seeking to control Caughey's movements, was the possible damage that irregular movements could inflict on a body in which - they firmly believed - good order and pastoral care were essential preconditions of successful and long-lasting evangelism. Lorenzo Dow had shown that these were not illusory worries; Robert Aitken had posed similar problems; Bunting himself had bitter memories of the critical, insurrectionary spirit bred by the Bramwell and Sigston revivalists in Leeds.² By 1846 there seemed sufficient evidence to suppose that Caughey was re-awakening the irregularities of the past.

Apparently he had worked with responsibility to no one but himself. He had arrived in England without invitation; he had worked for five years without making any formal offer of his services to, or receiving any official recognition from, the British Conference; his movements to and from circuits had involved the exclusion of regular ministers from their pulpits and the disarranging of regular services; his enormous influence and fame, and his novel approach had created a popularity which had pressurised Superintendents into arrangements for which, left to themselves, they had little appetite; his great successes had stimulated all kind of invidious comparisons and jealousies.³ Perhaps worst of all, he had provoked others into demanding similar freedom from superintendence, the best known of whom was David

1. Review of the Whole Case, pp.5, 13; Brief Memoir, p.21; Sheffield Mercury, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 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Greenbury, a Sheffield local preacher, who had broken with regular practice and had taken up appointments for months at a time in various different circuits. Men like Greenbury, it was alleged, 'frightened (Conference) into the belief that irregular preachers were springing up like mushrooms, and (that) if Mr. Caughey were not sent back, the Connexion would soon be overrun with them.'¹

There was some foundation to these charges. If not wholly cavalier in his regard for connexional discipline, Caughey certainly had been by British standards somewhat at fault in his treatment of Conference. His attitudes to Methodist authority and to pastoral care had been formed in America, where discipline - at least when revivals were the issue - was less rigorous, where there was more room for individual initiative and manoeuvre, and where circuit itinerancy had long been central to Methodism.² Moreover, both he and his defenders in Conference (Alexander Bell, Joseph Beaumont, Abraham Farrar, J.P. Haswell, Thomas Waugh and other ministers with first-hand experience of Caughey's work) could claim legitimately that in practice Caughey was responsible to church authority. Of course, he was not susceptible to many of the sanctions that could be enforced against British Wesleyan ministers. Financially independent, he could not be threatened with the withdrawal of support from Connexional Funds; he was not obliged to defend his conduct before District Meetings; he had no hope of advancement in British Methodism.³ Yet there were two constraints at work. First,

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1. Review of the Whole Case, pp.5, 13; Brief Memoir, p.23; Sheffield Mercury, XLII (23 Jan. 1847). Greenbury, a converted coal porter and pugilist, later backslid and died of diphtheria in 1863. Revivalist (1863), pp.35-37.
 2. Wilbur Fisk noted that American Methodists had relaxed their discipline because of 'the inconveniences of a new country'. He also remarked upon the greater authority of the British Conference as contrasted to that of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Fisk, Travels in Europe, pp.595-96, 601. Cf. Zion's Herald, XXIII (7 July 1852); Caughey, Letters, IV, viii-ix; W.R. Ward, 'The Legacy of John Wesley: The Pastoral Office in Britain and America', in Statesmen, Scholars and Merchants, ed. Anne Whiteman, J.S. Bromley and P.G.M. Dickson, (Oxford 1973), pp.345-48.
 3. Carter, Case Tested, pp.22-23.

Caughey's 'location' had not severed his connection with the American Methodists. He remained a fully accredited minister of that denomination. And if Caughey intended (as indeed he did) to rejoin the itinerancy of that Church on his return, he would be required to produce, 'proper testimonials of good conduct'.¹ Second, it would have been difficult for Caughey to have made much headway without general acceptance by the ministers in whose circuits he worked. Most of the time he could claim to be operating at the invitation of the Superintendent.² One of the characteristics of Caughey's itinerancy was the eagerness with which he was sought by both minister and laymen alike, and once employed, Caughey, who well understood the problems of pastoral care, wisely sought to protect his ministerial hosts from invidious comparisons with himself.³

This defence of Caughey did not impress Robert Newton, Secretary of the 1846 Conference and, as Chairman of the Manchester District, instrumental in bringing Caughey's case to Conference's attention. Caughey had never worked in Manchester - an invitation had been issued and then rescinded. But it seems that, through the encouragement of William Atherton, now stationed in Manchester and critical of Caughey after the Liverpool episode of 1842-43, and of some recalcitrant members of the Sheffield District whose attempts to censure Caughey at their own meeting had failed, a ringing indictment of the

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1. The regulation of the Conference of 1807, prohibiting Conference from employing American ministers unless they were properly accredited, could not be applied. Caughey's papers had been examined by the Manchester Conference of 1841. Protest in favor of Caughey, p.5; A Wesleyan Leader, A Dialogue on the 'Whole Case' of the Rev. James Caughey (Sheffield, n.d.), p.11; Caughey, Letters, I, 229-39; Bishop Hedding to J. Caughey, 23 Apr. 1844, in ibid., IV, 90-91.
 2. Brief Memoir, pp.29-32. Only in Dublin and Liverpool in 1841-42 did he enter a circuit without permission. Caughey, Letters, I, 432. In Nottingham, in the summer of 1846, he was refused entry into the pulpits of the South Circuit. Carter, Case Tested, pp.34-35. For the testimonials of some twenty ministers to Caughey's acceptance of ministerial control and superintendence, see Protest in favor of Caughey, pp.9-12.
 3. See, for example, Brief Memoir, pp.68-69; Caughey, Letters, I, 203, 241; III, 269.

revivalist was inserted in the Minutes of the Manchester District Meeting to be read at Conference. It was Caughey's misfortune that Atherton was Conference President and that on the day that Newton made his case against Caughey one of his most influential supporters, Joseph Beaumont, was not present to spring to his defence. Beaumont, whom Caughey described as 'my warm, unflinching friend, both in Conference and out', had taken Caughey's part in Liverpool in 1842-43, and his friendship with Caughey was later strengthened when his daughter was converted under Caughey's ministry. Beaumont allegedly possessed 'important documentary evidence' which might have deflected the attack on Caughey, but in Beaumont's absence, and 'amidst much clamour, many objecting to the resolution' for the revivalist's recall, Caughey's opponents triumphed and the resolution passed, on Monday 10 August.¹

Up to this point - the carrying of the resolution - the decision of the Conference was clear, but the next step became the subject of much confusion and bitterness. Two days later Conference turned to discuss the Minutes of the Sheffield District, which referred critically to the activities of 'unauthorised Preachers, preaching for hire' and moving from circuit to circuit. No names were mentioned but the objects of concern were David Greenbury and another local preacher, and not Caughey. Inevitably, however, Caughey's name cropped up in the debate, and it was moved from the floor that Caughey should be no longer employed in Wesleyan pulpits. Thereupon the President 'declare(d) it to be the decision of Conference that no Superintendent is at liberty to employ the Rev. J. Caughey, Mr. Greenbury, or any other such person during the next year.' The President regarded this

1. Caughey, Letters, IV, xiv-xviii; Caughey, Earnest Christianity Illustrated, pp.348-51; Beaumont, Life of Beaumont, pp.80-81, 187, 259, 288, 292; Brief Memoir, pp.22-26; Gregory, Sidelights, p.400; Review of the Whole Case, p.16. Some of Newton's Sheffield hearers, when he was stationed there in 1806, 'alleged that he was not a Revivalist'; for the rest of his working life he showed no commitment to full-blooded revivalism. Jackson, Life of Newton, pp.56-57 and passim.

decision to be 'as binding as any law of the Connexion.' But unlike the resolution of two days earlier, the decision was not entered into the Conference Minutes, and the way lay open for constitutional arguments, ambiguity and rumour. Hard-liners spoke of a 'second resolution'; Caughey-ites of the absence of any permissive or restrictive resolutions vis-a-vis Caughey's movements, beyond a request to his bishops that he be recalled.¹

One of the difficulties in the way of applying the Presidential interpretation of the decision was that not all of the District Chairman, let alone ministers, were present at Conference. Caughey continued to receive applications for his services throughout September and October, while Atherton, Newton and Farrar (an admirer of Caughey and a reluctant communicator of the Conference decision) sought to inform and correct ignorant or recalcitrant Superintendents. Caughey himself seems to have had to wait for over a month after the Conference had ended to be told officially of the decision, though his abrupt exclusion from the Wesleyan pulpit in Gateshead in early September would have made its terms clear enough to him.² Angered by the decision ('If ever there were a period in which I was in danger of losing my love, that was the time'), Caughey refused at first to be bound by it and continued to accept invitations from various circuits, including Huddersfield and Nottingham. But as his temper cooled and as Conference pressure on Superintendents took greater effect he found it easier to comply with the 'earnest request' of his Bishop to plan his return. Yet still he equivocated, as his publishing commitments, lack of appetite for a winter crossing and, most important, pressure from the major branches

1. Review of the Whole Case, pp.7-8, 16-17; Brief Memoir, pp.53-60, 64; Gregory, Sidelights, pp.400-01; Sheffield Mercury, XLI (22 and 29 Aug. 1846); XLII (16 Jan. 1847).

2. Caughey, Letters, IV, viii; Brief Memoir, pp.21, 46-47. Caughey was, however, told of the Resolution for recall almost immediately. Ibid., pp.26-27.

of Reformed Methodism, held him back for a nine or ten month spell of revivalism and temperance work in the Midlands and the North, mainly in Primitive, New Connexion and Wesleyan Methodist Association chapels.¹

Caughey's exclusion sent partisans rushing for their pens and produced waves of protest around the Connexion. Various circuits and special meetings, composed predominantly of laymen, issued testimonials to the revivalist's capabilities and good character;² in pamphlets and in the columns of both denominational and secular journals, Conference came under fire.³ Caughey did not lack ministerial support; but most of his public defenders were local preachers, leaders and trustees, and other prominent laymen incensed by Conference disregard for their attachment to the revivalist, and often ready to take matters into their own hands if their pastors would not act for them.⁴ The tone of their attack ranged from the mild to the vitriolic, but the argument in essence was always the same: Conference's inflexible standing by Connexional discipline, in a decade when denominational growth was low relative to overall population and the increases of past decades,

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1. Brief Memoir, pp.46, 72-76 (J. Caughey to R. Newton, 17 Aug. 1846, and E. Hedding to J. Caughey, 26 Dec. 1846); Caughey, Letters, IV, v-xxiii; Sheffield Mercury, XLII (23 Jan., 20 Mar., 10 July 1847); J. Caughey to (?), 18 Jan. 1847; J. Caughey to (?), 12 Apr. 1847, Meth. Ch. Arch.; Caughey, Farewell Sermon, Nottingham, pp.18-19; Prim. Meth. Mag., XXVIII (1847), 739.
 2. See, in particular, the Sheffield meeting of prominent laymen from that city, Birmingham, Doncaster, Huddersfield and York. Brief Memoir, pp.44-45.
 3. The pamphlet debate (incorporating much of the newspaper discussion) is to be found in A Wesleyan Methodist (? a Sheffield layman), The Whole Case Stated: Being Correspondence on the case of the Rev. James Caughey, and the British Wesleyan Conference (London, 1846); Carter (Nottingham local preacher and friend of Joseph Beaumont), Case Tested; A Wesleyan Leader, Dialogue on the 'Whole Case'; Review of the Whole Case; Brief Memoir; Protest in favor of Caughey.
 4. Cf. Carter, Case Tested, p.6; A Wesleyan Methodist, Whole Case Stated, p.10. On one occasion, when a letter from Atherton closed the Wesleyan pulpit to Caughey 'the people erected a booth that would hold thousands, - covered with cloth.' J. Caughey to Mr. Clapham, 6 Apr. 1847, Meth. Ch. Arch. For the sort of bitterness that 'the James Caughey Case' could provoke between the Chairman of a District and one of his most prominent laymen, see the correspondence of G. Turner and Edmund Heeley, both of Birmingham, in Sheffield Mercury, XLII (16 and 30 Jan., 6 and 13 Feb. 1847).

was convincing demonstration that Conference's position was 'in effect, one of distinct opposition to revivals of religion and the salvation of souls.' Church order was important, but was not an end in itself: '...is there not reason to fear lest (Methodism) should become a mere compacted framework of ecclesiastical guards and precautionary regulations...?'¹ Thrown on the defensive, Conference sympathisers took up the position described earlier, tried to buttress it by casting doubt on the authenticity of Caughey's revival figures, and stooped on occasion to impugning the American's integrity on the slavery issue.²

Despite the acrimony, there was no explosion. Most of the ministry were prepared to bow to the Conference decision, while leading Caugheyite laymen like John Unwin of Sheffield and J.B. Melson of Birmingham (son of Robert Melson, one of the 'old Methodists' to whom Caughey's 'primitivism' would have appealed), urged loyalty to Wesleyanism and the setting aside of grudges.³ Melson assured Caughey at one of the several Farewell Meetings held in his honour in July 1847: 'Your name shall never be made the symbol of disaffection, or the watchword of a party.'⁴ Caughey was genuinely relieved. 'Peace - no splits - no divisions in Wesleyan Methodism, is my motto - my sincere motto', he had written after his exclusion from Gateshead Wesleyanism. It was alien to his character to want to stand at the centre of controversy; he possessed a genuine feeling of loyalty to Wesleyan Methodism; and, as has

1. Sheffield Mercury, XLII (9 Jan. 1847); Carter, Case Tested, pp.26-29; Brief Memoir, p.32.

2. Review of the Whole Case, pp.8-9. Bunting held that 'One reason for our present (1846) small increase may be that little is effected ^{because nothing is expected} till Mr. Caughey comes.' Gregory, Sidelights, p.401. Cf. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXIII (21 June 1849). Caughey was in fact soundly anti-slavery, as he made clear to his audience in the Sheffield Theatre two days after Joseph Barker had there attacked American Methodist complicity in upholding slavery. Sheffield Mercury, XLII (20 Mar. 1847); Caughey, Letters, IV, xxiii.

3. Sheffield Mercury, XLII (10 July 1847); Ward, Religion and Society in England, p.260.

4. Melson, Farewell Address, p.3.

been noted, he wanted to see no disruption that would work to his discredit in America. Consequently Caughey left peacefully, urging his sympathisers to be 'quiet, kind, and loving.' That there was no division in Wesleyanism in 1846-47 was very largely a tribute to his refusal to stir things up.¹

Conference had sought to remove Caughey in order to avoid a split. In the short term it seemed to have succeeded. Yet in fact Methodism was on the eve of the most bitter and devastating internal conflict of her history. The schism of 1849-50 and the consequent expulsions and secessions from Wesleyanism found their roots in a variety of causes, each the out-growth of divergent views within the denomination on the true locus of authority and control, and reinforced by social and educational lines of division. On the one hand, Buntingite orthodoxy maintained an emphasis on church order, on the minister's authority, and on his unique responsibility for his church; reformers in contrast had a vision of religious democracy and of greater lay and local participation in spiritual and not simply financial matters. The debate over Caughey and his revivalism was integral to this brewing conflict. His support derived from the 'low church' side of the denomination, from those who wanted to set the power of the local minister against the central power of Conference and who sought ministerial consideration of lay opinion instead of what they regarded as a Popish authoritarianism.²

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1. Brief Memoir, pp.18, 77-78, 81; Caughey, Letters, IV, x, xxii-xxiii. Cf. A Wesleyan Methodist Whole Case Stated, p.18; Conference was not over-recriminatory with Caugheyites in 1847. But another protest was sent to the Bishops of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, requesting that the General Conference of 1848 should restrain Caughey from visiting Britain again. Protest in favor of Caughey, p.3; Gregory, Sidelights, pp.412-19; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXIII (19 June 1849), XXXV (26 July 1860); Minutes of the Methodist Conference (1847), pp.551-53.
 2. Protest in favor of Caughey, p.5; Brief Memoir, pp.30, 56-60; Review of the Whole Case, pp.3, 7, 17; Gregory, Sidelights, p.537. Pressure of space has necessitated this telescoped treatment of the Methodist schism. For scholarly assessments of the issues and groups involved see Currie, Methodism Divided, pp.58-82; Ward, Religion and Society in England, pp.236-75; John Kent, Jabez Bunting. The Last Wesleyan (London, 1955) and The Clash Between Radicalism and Conservatism in Methodism : 1815-1848 (Cambridge Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1950).

Caughey's expulsion was not the best way of soothing that raw nerve of Wesleyan Methodism that his visit had helped to expose. It contributed to the rapid waning of confidence in the representativeness of Conference and the integrity of her evangelistic commitment; while Conference itself retained a suspicion of the reformers and a fear that some sought nothing less than the destruction of the Connexion.¹ Certainly the sides taken by Methodists over the Caughey affair corresponded closely, though not identically, to those drawn up in the later schism. The anti-Caughey forces generally took the Conference position. Bunting's position needs no elaboration - he was the prime target for the reformers; Atherton, though not a Bunting man, was 'scarcely a reformer'; George Osborn was the minister who pressed the loyalty oath in the Fly Sheets debate of 1849; and the expulsions of that year had the 'entire concurrence' of Robert Newton, lifelong friend of Bunting.² Caughey's ministerial supporters numbered men like Joseph Beaumont, a leader of the 'moderate conservatives' against Bunting's power, who was unhappy about the schism and expulsions, but who remained loyal to Wesleyan Methodism.³ They also included James Everett, who had stirred up opposition in York to Conference's policy towards the revivalist, and who was probably the author of the Fly Sheets. Everett was expelled from Wesleyan Methodism along with Samuel Dunn, another Caugheyite, with whom he was appropriately and immediately to establish an organ of revivalistic Methodism, The Wesley Banner and Revival Record.⁴ Significantly,

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1. Even after Caughey's departure, the Huddersfield Society was said to be 'in a critical state'. Bunting announced that 'we will not give up to them what we refused to Kilham and Warren.' Gregory, Sidelights, p.414.
 2. Currie, Methodism Divided, p.71; Ward, Religion and Society in England, pp.261, 263-64; Jackson, Life of Newton, pp.279ff, and esp. p.295.
 3. Beaumont, Life of Beaumont, pp.229-30, 293-94, 306-11; Kent, The Clash in Methodism, pp.233-50.
 4. Caughey, Letters, II, 179; III, 236-45; Gregory, Sidelights, p.413; Protest in favor of Caughey, p.10. Caughey was 'a hero of the Fly Sheets'. Kent, The Clash in Methodism, p.291; A Wesleyan Minister, Who is not yet Expelled, A Faithful Verbatim Reprint of The 'Fly Sheets'.... (London, 1849), pp.65-69, 72.

the scene of Caughey's most successful revival, Sheffield, spawned one of the strongest bands of Reform Methodists in the whole country, led by Abraham and John Sharman, John Unwin, and other prominent lay supporters of Caughey.¹

The conflict caused by Caughey and by his revivalism, then, was both prophetic of, and contributory to, the great upheaval in Wesleyanism. It challenged the belief of contemporaries like Richard Reece and James Dixon, that revivals were to be regarded as the great healing medicine for churches wracked by disunity and party division.² It questions, too, the kindred view of E.R. Taylor that revivals should be regarded as having been a great moderating influence on Methodism from 1827 to 1846.³ Revivals depended upon and fostered a critical individualism. They emphasised the capabilities of the individual and his need to act. There was no guarantee that once fostered, individualism in spiritual affairs might not run rampant and challenge connexional authority. Revivals needed careful guidance, even at the best of times. Yet what was the likelihood of this when the master of ceremonies was not a careful, painstaking pastor, but an apparently cavalier American revival tactician who had no long-term interest in preserving church order? Far from bringing peace and cohesion to the unsettled ranks of Wesleyan Methodism, James Caughey brought aggravation, divisiveness and an unsettling passion for souls.

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1. Joseph Dyson, 'United Methodist Free Churches. History of the Movement in Sheffield' and 'A Sheffield Chapel. The "Reformers" Movement in 1849', Sheffield Cuttings, pp.105, 108; Wickham, Church and People, pp.128-31. An exception to the general rule was Alderman Isaac Schofield, a Reform Leader, but a defender of Conference in the Caughey case. Review of the Whole Case, pp.15-17; I.W. Schofield and R. Morrison, Hanover United Methodist Church, 1860-1910 (Sheffield, 1910), pp.8-9.
 2. Dixon, Memoir of Miller, pp.184-85; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., I (1 May 1827).
 3. Taylor, Methodism and Politics, p.138.

CHAPTER SIX

'A GREAT NATIONAL MERCY': CHARLES FINNEY'S ITINERANCY IN BRITAIN, 1849-1851

I

With the call to 'save the West' resounding in American evangelical ears in the first half of the nineteenth century, few north-eastern pastors could refuse to make some contribution to the westward spread of the Gospel. Charles Grandison Finney was no exception. In 1835, after three years of intermittent revivalism at Chatham Street Chapel in New York City, he left the metropolitan east for the Western reserve of Ohio to become Professor of Theology in Oberlin Collegiate Institute. Oberlin had been founded as a 'manual labor school' and colony in 1833 by John Jay Shipherd, a new measure minister known to Finney from burned-over district days. Shipherd's plans for evangelising the Midwest had quickly run into financial troubles, and it had been only the simultaneous disruption at Cincinnati's Lane Theological Seminary that had ensured Oberlin's continued existence. At Lane, the revival-minded student body walked out virtually en masse after the trustees, supported by the President, Lyman Beecher, had prohibited all discussion of the slavery issue. Shipherd offered collegiate shelter to the homeless students, secured funds from the ubiquitous Tappan brothers, and attracted Asa Mahan, a sympathetic Lane trustee, to the Presidency. Together these men approached Finney to become head of the Seminary. Finney accepted, not because he professed a whole-hearted abolitionism, but because at Oberlin he saw the opportunity to breed 'a new race of ministers' crucial for the continued existence of driving revivalism.¹

1. Barnes, Antislavery Impulse, pp.64-78; Robert S. Fletcher, A History of Oberlin College (2 vols., Oberlin, 1943), I, 3-203; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp.81-83; Alfred Vance Churchill, 'Midwestern' in N.W. Ohio Q'tly., XXIII (1951), 107-32.

In accepting this new post, and in his assumption of the Presidency of the College in 1850, Finney bade farewell to his days as a full-time evangelist. The major revivalistic triumphs for which his name was to be remembered - the revivals in western New York, and in particular the great Rochester revival of 1830-31, the challenge to eastern Presbyterian orthodoxy, and, in May 1835, the month of his departure from the east, the publication of his Lectures on Revivals - were all achieved before his arrival at Oberlin. Of course, Finney still considered himself primarily a revivalist and insisted that his Professorship should not prevent winter-season soul-saving. For this reason he held onto his New York Presbyterian pastorate and, after his withdrawal from that denomination in March 1836, accepted a Congregationalist pastorate at the Broadway Tabernacle in the same city. He worked in these churches respectively during the winters of 1835-36 and 1836-37. Thereafter his new commitments as pastor of the Congregational Church at Oberlin prevented regular annual visits to the East; but during the 1840s and 1850s he still found time to travel east to conduct winter revival services in Boston, Rochester, Hartford, Conn., Providence, R.I., and, nostalgically, in western New York. In autumn 1849 Finney, now fifty-seven years old, was preparing to travel once more. This time, however, his destination lay not in the eastern states, but across the Atlantic.¹

On 6 November, 1849, Finney and his newly-acquired second wife, fifty-year-old Elizabeth Atkinson of Rochester, disembarked at Southampton.² It was an important, if uncelebrated, moment. If it was not the first time that an American evangelist had set foot in Britain with the professed intention of conducting revival services (Dow and Caughey could both lay claim to that), it was however the first occasion when a revivalist with his

1. Finney, Memoirs, passim; McLoughlin, 'Introduction' to Finney, Lectures on Revivals, pp. liv-lv.

2. See the obituary notice of Mrs. Finney in Chr. News, 2 Jan. 1864.

reputation already established in both countries had arrived to do more than adorn conventions or repair damaged health. During the decade between Edward Norris Kirk's departure and Finney's arrival, a number of American ministers associated with revivalism and well known throughout American Calvinistic denominations set foot in Britain. But none of them came primarily to preach. Kirk himself made a return visit in the summer of 1846 to attend the World's Temperance Convention. He was accompanied by a distinguished cluster of fellow Americans, one that included Lyman Beecher, now an old man but still retaining 'some of the old fire'; Samuel Simon Schmucker, a leading member of the revival party in the Lutheran Church; Emerson Andrews, the generally robust, unsophisticated Baptist evangelist, who had been much influenced in his youth by Asahel Nettleton and Lorenzo Dow, and who was now travelling as a delegate to restore his health; and a number of others such as Robert Baird and Samuel H. Cox, who were indubitably evangelical (in keeping with their membership of an Alliance which sought 'the revival of pure religion, and the conversion of the whole world') but who were less closely identified with the practice of revivalism.¹ Possibly the most distinguished of all visiting evangelicals was Francis Wayland, President of Brown University and a man of much wider interests and greater intellectual power than most of his co-religionists, as he was to demonstrate on an itinerary that included not only visits to the élite of Nonconformity, in whose circles he was widely known through his writings, but also to churchmen of standing, and men of prestige in the academic world. As a representative of the polished side of American evangelical Protestantism, he served

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1. Kirk preached for James Sherman, but conducted no revival services. Mears, Life of Kirk, pp.189-201. Beecher, Autobiography, ed. Cross, pp.390-93; Andrews, Living Life, pp.24-46, 57-98; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXI (2 Dec. 1846). For Baird, who bobbed across the Atlantic nine times in the service of the Evangelical Alliance, see Dict. Am. Biog.

his countrymen well. But he rarely stood in a British pulpit, and he certainly did not conduct revival meetings.¹

The novelty of his own situation would have forced Finney to ponder his chances of success in this new environment. He would have been well aware that in some quarters 'Finneyism' was a synonym for revivalistic extravagance; he would have known of the suspicion with which the perfectionist doctrines of Oberlin were regarded.² But he also knew of the great popularity of his Lectures on Revivals and the assurance of widespread acceptance that this implied.³ Moreover, his association with Oberlin guaranteed favourable introductions and a reasonably broad base of operations, for the College had established its reputation on both sides of the Atlantic as a crucible of reform activity. Within America some of its causes - dietary reform (or 'Grahamism') in particular - earned it ridicule; others - its admission of women and negroes, and especially its abolitionism - brought criticism and abuse.⁴ But in British evangelical circles Oberlin's antislavery stand served as a beacon of example, whose glare clearly exposed the stains of compromise on other American evangelical bodies.

Britons were tired of foot-dragging American evangelicals who professed concern for the slave while at the same time maintaining separate negro pews in their churches and failing to expel slave-owners from church communion;

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1. The visit took place in 1840-41. Wayland and Wayland, Life and Labors of Francis Wayland I, 165-67, 406-07, 425; II, 7-42. For other American visitors during the 1840s, including the Presbyterians Ezra Adams (1840) and Abenezer Mason (1847), and the Congregationalists Jonathan B. Condit (1843), John Codman (1845) and Philemon H. Fowler (1847), see Cong. Mag., new series IV (1840), 398; VII (1843), 443; IX (1845), 467; Chr. Witness, III (1846), 286, 303-04; IV (1847), 299; Cong. Yr. Bk. (1846), p.2.
 2. Chr. Witness, I (1844), 207.
 3. By 1850, 80,000 copies of one edition alone had been issued. It was claimed that the various editions had 'had a more extensive circulation than any other American publication on this side of the Atlantic.' Ibid., IX (1852), 129; Ob.Evang., XII (3 Dec. 1850). Finney's English correspondents testified to the Lectures' broad readership. See, for example, the letters of A. Walton (Fazeley), 7 Jan. 1850; J. Reynolds (Gloucester), 8 Jan. 1850; E.L. Forster (Stony Stratford), 6 Mar. 1850; S. Roberts (Stourbridge), 26 Mar. 1850, Finney Papers.
 4. Churchill, op.cit., in N.W. Ohio Qtly., XXIII (1951), 158-63, 171-74.

or, if slaveowners themselves, failing to manumit and instruct their chattels. The condemnation of American churches, voiced so frequently by the mid 1830s, grew even louder in the following two decades.¹ 'No minister, nor private Christian, coming (to Britain) from the United States', wrote John Angell James in a controversial letter that appeared in the New York evangelical press, 'can...expect to do much good who is not prepared to declare himself the warm and steady friend of emancipation.'² It is in this context that one should see such symptomatic incidents as Francis Wayland's exclusion from some British pulpits for equivocating on abolitionism and the unpopular reception afforded Robert Baird's argument that American slavery was a lesser evil than the British Church and State system in which an aristocratic establishment hindered the work of the Gospel.³ Increasingly, only Americans with pure antislavery credentials could expect an unqualified welcome in British Nonconformity.⁴

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1. See, for example, J. Birney to L. Tappan, 23 July, 11 Sept. 1840; J. Birney to W. Jay, 5 Oct. 1840, in Dwight L. Dumond, ed., Letters of James Gillespie Birney 1831-1857 (2 vols., New York, 1938) II, 585, 601, 606-06; Cong. Mag., new series IV (1840), 492, 886-91; Bapt. Mag., XXVIII (1836), 183, 361-62, 406-07; XXIX (1837), 251-58; XXXI (1840), 299 and esp. 657-58, quoting from Birney's tract, American Churches, the Bulwarks of American Slavery; Chr. Witness, IV (1847), 381-82; V (1848), 279, 350-51; X (1853), 278-85; XI (1854), 271.
2. New York Obs., XVII (31 Aug. 1839). James' near-abolitionism was worrying to all but a small group of American evangelicals (which included Oberliners). Cf. ibid.; XVII (5 & 12 Oct. 1839), XVIII (14 Mar. 1840); J.A. James to W. Sprague, 21 Dec. 1839, in Dale, Life of James, p.356; J. Keep to C.G. Finney, 19 Nov. 1839, Finney Papers.
3. Wayland and Wayland, Life and Labors of Francis Wayland, I, 390; II, 13; Francis Wayland, The Limitations of Human Responsibility (New York, 1838), pp.161-68; Ob. Evang., I (16 Nov. 1839), XIII (19 Nov. 1851). Cf. Bapt. Mag., XXXII (1840), 658-59; Chr. Witness, VIII (1851), 289-92.
4. Note the warm receptions afforded to black ministers like J.W.C. Pennington and H.H. Garnet, and white antislavery evangelicals such as Beman, Kirk, Cyrus P. Grosvenor, H.H. Kellog and John W. Chickering. Cong. Mag., new series IX (1845), 162; Chr. Witness, VIII (1851), 284, 290-91; Bapt. Mag., XXXII (1840), 526-27, 583; Revivalist (1843), 275.
5. Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. His major interest was slavery; he spent much time with British Quakers. Cf. ibid., V (19 Sept. 1843); Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Lydia Maria Child and the Abolitionist (New York, 1969), pp.137-61.
6. L. Tappan to W. Albright of Charlbury, Conn., 24 Nov. 1844. Tappan Papers, Container 4. Cf. G. Sturge to C.G. Finney, 14 Apr. 1840; J. Stevenson to C.G. Finney, 7 May 1840, Finney Papers. Revivalist, VI (20 Oct. 1843).

That Oberliners in general and Finney in particular were known to possess these credentials was in no small part due to the work of John Keep, committed new measure man, President of Oberlin's Board of Trustees, and the champion of the blacks in the early crisis at the College over negro admission. In 1839 Keep embarked with one of his colleagues, William Dawes, on a mission to 'Oberlinize England'. The College was in desperate need of funds, for after the financial panic of 1837 the Tappans' benefactions had dried up, and the two Oberlin men were despatched to Britain to solicit financial contributions. Here their refreshingly uncompromising position on slavery and their presence at the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London in June 1840 won them a host of friends, especially amongst Quakers, and ensured that they would not return empty handed.¹ Their work for the good reputation of Oberlin and Finney was reinforced three years later by Lewis Tappan, in England after a thirty-two year absence to attend the 1843 Anti-Slavery Convention.²

These visitors and the growing circulation of the Oberlin Evangelist in Britain helped suggest that Finney was, by association, a man 'of temperance, peace and abolition'.³ In fact, though Finney did want abolition, his position on the negro was equivocal. Tappan himself had earlier been of the opinion that Finney was 'unsound on the slavery question', since he refused to regard black men as the social equals of whites, and since he put

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1. They returned with \$30,000 and Hamilton Hill, an Englishman who became Secretary and Treasurer at Oberlin and who helped maintain the British connection. Fletcher, Oberlin College, I, 456-71 and II, 903; J. Keep to C.G. Finney, 19 Nov. 1839; W. Dawes and J. Keep to C.G. Finney, 25 Nov. 1840, Finney Papers: Revivalist (1839), pp.279-80, 327-31; Churchill, op. cit., in N.W. Ohio Qtly., XXIII (1951), 213-14; J. Keep to J. Birney, 31 July 1840; W. Dawes to J.G. Birney, 4 Aug. 1840; Dumond, ed., Letters of Birney, II, 585-90.
 2. Tappan describes his visit in his Journal for 1843 in the Lewis Tappan Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. His major interest was anti-slavery; he spent much time with British Quakers. Cf. Ob.Evang., V (27 Sept. 1843); Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery (Cleveland, 1969), pp.252-64.
 3. L. Tappan to W. Albright of Charlbury, Oxon., 29 Jan. 1844. Tappan Papers, Container 4. Cf. G. Sturge to C.G. Finney, 24 Apr. 1850; J. Stevenson to C.G. Finney, 27 May 1850, Finney Papers; Glasgow Examiner, VI (20 Oct. 1849)

the conversion of the individual before all reform movements and seemed to pull his punches in practical efforts to remove slavery.¹ When Finney left for England in 1849 a cynical compatriot remarked:

(Finney) has long professed to be an anti-slavery man, but Revivalism is his hobby, and when mounted upon that he always forgets the slave. Pro-slavery men and even leaders of the slave Democracy have often gone through the process of 'conversion' under his preaching, and been taken into the churches without hearing from him any intimation of the incompatibility of slavery with Christianity. The antislavery cause has nothing to hope, but much to fear from his influence in England.²

But English Nonconformists did not see it this way, and Finney's identification with Oberlin ensured that on his arrival he would be free from the attacks of sceptical Dissenters who generally 'associated with the word revival all that (was) ...detestable in American slavery.'³

II

It was by some of these many British friends of Oberlin that Finney was persuaded to cross the Atlantic. Early in 1849 he heard from Charles Hill Roe of Birmingham, at one time a travelling evangelist, but now a settled Baptist pastor, and from Potto Brown, a Huntingdonshire layman. They wanted Britain to share in the sort of revivals for which Finney was acclaimed in America. Finney's coming, he was told by Brown, would be 'a great national mercy'. Promising to put up £50 to defray Finney's travelling expenses, Brown urged Finney to arrive in time to hold special services in November.⁴ Finney obliged. For twelve years he had contemplated an

1. See, for example, C.G. Finney to T. Weld, 21 July 1836, in Barnes, ed., Letters of Weld and Grimké, I, 318-20. Finney, Lectures on Revivals, ed. McLoughlin, pp.287-88, 297-303; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp.108-12.

2. Unidentifiable newspaper cutting, Finney Papers.

3. Cong.Mag., new series V (1841), 175. Cf. ibid., IV (1840), 888-89; New York Obs., XVII (31 Aug. 1839).

4. P. Brown to C.G. Finney, 13 Feb. 1849, Finney Papers. Finney was glad of the cash: a promised American source of funds later dried up. W. Sears to C.G. Finney, 17 Sept. 1849, ibid.

expedition to a country for which he had a healthy curiosity (were the accounts of his enormous influence, as told by his British correspondents and visitors to America, really true?), to which he traced his ancestral roots, and where he would have a chance to engage in uninterrupted evangelism for the first time since he had left New York.¹ Equally, conversions were currently at a premium in America; and the thought may have crossed Finney's mind that England offered richer rewards for labour.

Once in England, Finney's first stop was Houghton, a small village in rural Huntingdonshire, between St. Ives and Huntingdon, where the strong-minded Brown had helped to mould a lively evangelicalism out of unpromising materials and against the social and ecclesiastical opposition of 'Tory magnates and Establishment bigots'.² Brown was a man of fifty - a flour miller of wealth and influence in St. Ives and Huntingdon, who was known for his building of schools and support for the Anti-State-Church Society and temperance cause, for his practical streak in both business and religion, and for his broad-based interdenominational evangelicalism. Brought up a Friend, he later became a Congregationalist (though he never lost the Quaker emphasis on the search after individual truth), built a number of Union Chapels in Houghton and the neighbouring villages, and manned the first of these, in Houghton itself, with a Baptist pastor. The latter, James Harcourt, had replaced Brown's first appointment, dismissed for embracing 'very high Calvinistic sentiments'. Harcourt in contrast, was a minister 'in full sympathy with the spirit of religious revival', as indeed were the other ministers later employed by Brown.³ Between them, Brown and Harcourt

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1. John Campbell, Valedictory Services and Farewell Sermon of Professor Finney... with critical observations on his preaching (London, 1851), pp. 38-39; Ob.Evang., VII (18 June 1845).
 2. English Independent, 20 Apr. 1871, quoted in Dict. of Brit. Temp. Biog., p.16. Finney, Memoirs, pp.386-90, recollects his visit to Houghton. For Finney's itinerary, see Appendix B, infra.
 3. See the entry for Brown in Dict. of Brit. Temp. Biog., p.16; Henry Bell, A Jubilee Memorial of the Union Chapel, Houghton, Huntingdon (Cambridge, 1890), pp.1-9, 20, 24.

encouraged revivals - 'very powerful awakenings' took place in Houghton between 1837 and 1841, and again from 1842 to 1844 - and supported evangelism. It was no coincidence that the best-known Baptist evangelist, Thomas Pulsford, had operated in Houghton during the special services of 1844; that a decade later Brown succeeded in bringing the boy-preacher Charles Haddon Spurgeon to Houghton; and that Harcourt, after reading Finney's Lectures on Revivals, should have urged on Brown the need for the introduction of the American to Britain.¹

Finney knew before he arrived in the area that he could expect opposition or non-cooperation, both from the Established Church (which, until Brown's efforts, had held a monopoly of religious services in Houghton) and from the 'frigid' or 'timid' Nonconformist pastors of Huntingdon and St. Ives, who were temperamentally disinclined to promote revivalism.² But Brown's preparatory efforts had stimulated a buoyant anticipation and ensured an immediate and favourable response to the American's daily services. Moreover, Brown had sensibly encouraged a winter campaign, to allow the attendance of agricultural labourers who at other times in the year could have attended regular evening services only at the risk of dismissal from employment.³ As it soon became clear that the Union Chapel could not hold the numbers demanding admission - many of them having travelled up to thirty miles to attend - Brown was driven to set up a large tent that would hold a congregation of at least a thousand.⁴

Finney himself worked in Houghton for only three weeks, since he was reluctant to renege on his promise to Brown's ally, Charles Roe, that he

1. C. Roe to C.G. Finney, Nov. 1849, Finney Papers; Bapt.Mag., XXXIV (1842), 515; Bapt.Rep., new series II (1845), 69; III (1846), 222; G. Holden Pike, The Life and Work of Charles Haddon Spurgeon, (3 vols., London, 1892), 86-89.

2. P. Brown to C.G. Finney, 3 June 1849, Finney Papers.

3. C. Roe to C.G. Finney, Nov. 1849; J.E. Simmons to C.G. Finney, 12 Feb. 1850, Finney Papers. City evangelism was generally less affected by such seasonal considerations, as Caughey's campaigns had demonstrated.

4. E.A. Finney to her sister Henrietta, 25 Dec. 1849, Finney Papers.

would begin work at Birmingham in December. But he stayed long enough to ensure that the revival would continue well into the New Year and spread into neighbouring villages. Finney's searching sermons and their postscript, the inquiry meetings in an adjacent school-room, apparently drew in converts of all ages, from fourteen to sixty, and 'of all classes'. Whereas Harcourt's earlier successes had been achieved amongst 'the poorer and lower classes', a customary audience of Baptists in rural areas, Finney's fame and transparent intellectual power attracted some of Houghton's leading families, people of 'wealth, intelligence and influence'; significant was the admission to the church of Neville and Joseph Goodman, sons of Brown's former business partner, and entrusted to Brown's guardianship since Goodman's death. But the services also attracted their fair share of 'poor working men'. 'Old John Clark the drunkard' was one of a colourful haul, together with 'Barnes the blasphemer - Ellis the pugalist (sic) - and Bass the harlot'.¹

At the height of revival it was hard for such social deviants to resist the sort of pressures towards more Christian behaviour and conversion that were implicit in the account given by a labourer, John Ashton, of his own spiritual awakening. 'Pious people called and spoke to (Ashton) ab(ou)t giving up sin(. He wished them gone, not he said that he disliked the people but he did not want them to talk pointedly to him, but he was now convicted of sin and saw differently.'² There were other pressures in this direction, too, particularly when those already converted ostentatiously directed their prayers towards the conversion of the rest of their family.³

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1. C. Roe to C.G. Finney, Nov. 1849; P. Brown to E.A. Finney, 25 Jan. 1850; M. Brown to E.A. Finney, 5 Feb. 1850; H.L. Tuck to C.G. Finney, 9 Apr. 1850; E. Finney to Mrs. Bissell, 22 Apr. 1850; P. Brown to C.G. Finney, Apr. 1850, Finney Papers; M. Brown to M. Goodman, n.d., Goodman Papers; Bell, Jubilee Memorial of Union Chapel, pp.11, 14-15, 61.
 2. M. Brown to M. Goodman, n.d. (? 3 Jan. 1850) A few days later Mrs. Brown wrote again: 'I have been told today that sinners feel afraid to come to chapel lest they should be converted.' Goodman Papers.
 3. P. Brown to C.G. Finney, 6 Dec. 1850, Finney Papers.

These persuasives were occasionally offset by the countervailing force of the Established Church. Such was the case with a Houghton gardener, employed by an influential Anglican family, who was reportedly in danger of losing his job should he not repudiate the conversion to which he had been brought by Finney's preaching.¹ But there was sufficient evangelical cohesion in the small village - its population, together with that of nearby Wyton, stood at well under one thousand - to ensure the success of the revival. Fifty new members were added to Union Chapel in the five months after Finney's departure (some of them led shivering to be baptised in the Ouse) and by 1851 the numbers in church membership stood at 285, an eight-fold growth since the church was first constituted seven years earlier. A later generation may have been in some doubt as to the long-term value of Finney's work, but for Brown and Harcourt the benefits of the visit were self-evident.²

Finney's spell at Houghton was interrupted in the later part of November by a brief visit to London, where - at the Baptist chapel in Borough Road - a fellow-Oberliner, President Asa Mahan, had been conducting protracted services for some weeks with moderate success.³ Mahan had arrived in Europe at the end of July, primarily to attend the Paris Peace Convention in August, but with that mission completed he turned his attentions to evangelism and to the full trio of reforms - antislavery and temperance, as well as peace - and for several months, until his final departure in January 1850, he toured England and Scotland preaching and

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1. E.A. Finney to her sister Henrietta, 25 Dec. 1850, Finney Papers.
 2. P. Brown to C.G. Finney, Apr. 1850; J. Harcourt to C.G. Finney, 21 Feb. 1851, Finney Papers; Bapt. Rep., new series VII (1850), 126; Bell, Jubilee Memorial of Union Chapel, pp.22, 32, 41.
 3. Mahan preached twice on Sundays and on three nights in the week, on perfection and salvation. One hundred were converted in two weeks. C. Roe to C.G. Finney, Nov. 1849, Finney Papers; Ob. Evang., XII (2 Jan. 1850).

speaking to reform-minded Dissenters.¹ Though not suited temperamentally to fulfil the role of a John the Baptist (he was too much of an egotist to want to play second fiddle to anyone),² his own experience in revivalism and his perfectionism would have prepared the London evangelicals for Finney's arrival.³

It was in all probability Mahan who persuaded John Stevenson, General Baptist pastor of Borough Road, to invite Finney to the capital. But also instrumental seems to have been Henry Allon, one of the major figures of Nonconformity in the second half of the nineteenth century, who in 1848 was co-pastor with Thomas Lewis at Union Chapel, Islington, and had recently married the daughter of Potto Brown's business partner Joseph Goodman. Allon would prove useful as a link between Houghton and the London evangelical world. True to his Cheshunt College training - as a student there in 1839 he would have been introduced to Finney's Lectures on Revivals - and to his association with Union Chapel, a well-established port-of-call for visiting American evangelicals, Allon had written to Finney within days of his arrival in England. He would have worked wholeheartedly to secure the American's services at either his own chapel or that of his friend John

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1. Mahan's major stopping points were Leeds, Birmingham, Manchester (a great peace meeting at the Free Trade Hall at which Richard Cobden, John Bright, and Mahan himself were the main speakers), Edinburgh, Glasgow and London. The broad outlines of his mission are to be found in Ob.Evang., XI (26 Sept., 7 and 21 Nov. 1849); Asa Mahan, Autobiography. Intellectual, Moral, and Spiritual (London, 1882), pp.135, 138-39; C. Roe to C.G. Finney, Nov. 1849; A. Mahan to C.G. Finney, 25 Jan. 1850, Finney Papers; Standard of Freedom I (22 Sept., 3 Nov., 8 Dec. 1849, 2 Feb. 1850); Christian Times (2 Nov., 7 and 14 Dec. 1849, 25 Jan. 1850); Chr. News (11 and 18 Oct. 1849); Glasgow Examiner, VI (20 Oct. 1849); Manchester Guardian (3 Nov. 1849).
 2. Mahan was 'a bold and self-assertive character' whose egotism secured him many enemies. This lay behind his resignation from Oberlin on his return in 1850. Finney took the side of the Faculty against Mahan, who later attacked Finney bitterly. Churchill, op.cit., in N.W. Ohio Qtly., XXIII (1951), 168-69; Fletcher, Oberlin College, I, 472ff.
 3. Mahan (1799-1889) had grown up in western New York, had participated fully in the great revivals of the 1820s and 1830s, and for a while had been a member of Finney's 'Holy Band'. Dict. of Am. Biog.; Barnes, Antislavery Impulse, p.71.

Stevenson.¹

Finney's major work in London was to come later. For the moment he turned towards the Midlands. His Birmingham host, Charles Roe, has already been introduced.² As a son-in-law of William Steadman and ex-Secretary of the Baptist Home Missionary Society, Roe's evangelical pedigree was excellent. In 1842 this restless, energetic man had taken up a settled pastorate in the Heneage Street Baptist Chapel perhaps because the demands of his huge family made itinerancy too difficult.³ Certainly he was under no illusions about the need for more and not less evangelism: 'Our settled ministers are much too stationary in the country', he complained to Finney. 'We go out collecting for our societies and Sunday Schools and chapel Anniversaries but seldom to save souls. Seldom to purely evangelise.' Finney he saw as the man to alter this, who would through inspiration strengthen the hands of those like Roe himself who were 'struggling for the Revival of the Churches and the establishment of the Revival System.' Eventually, in 1851, Roe resigned his pastorate and emigrated to the United States, carrying with him the hope that his ten children might force more successful lives there, and a heart made heavy by Britain's 'anti-revival position'.⁴

Roe's enthusiasm for Finney and his 'system' - he claimed his congregation had been waiting for seven years for the American's arrival - ensured

1. Albert Peel, Letters to a Victorian Editor (London, 1929), pp.1-7; H. Allon to C.G. Finney, 10 Nov. 1849, and to J. Stevenson, 12 Nov. 1850, Finney Papers. As with so many of the ultra-evangelical Nonconformists who found time for Finney, Allon had been much influenced by a Methodist preacher during his conversion. Gregory, Life of Jobson, p.59.

2. Supra, p.141.

3. His revival instincts did not perish, and occasionally he was tempted into short-term itinerancies. Bapt.Mag., XXXV (1843), 239; Bapt. Rep., new series I (1844), 20-21, 95-96; C. Roe to C.G. Finney, 20 Feb. 1851, Finney Papers; Arthur S. Langley, Birmingham Baptists, Past and Present (London, 1930) pp.122-24.

4. C. Roe to C.G. Finney, Nov. 1849, May and June 1850, 20 Feb., 3 Mar. 1851, Finney Papers; Bapt.Rep., new series VIII (1851), 212-13. Roe was to work as a chaplain in a Union regiment during the Civil War. Afterwards he did much to promote freedmen's education and played a significant part in the establishment of the University of Chicago.

an opening and a base for the revivalist.¹ But Finney could not be certain of consolidated, city-wide support until he had won over John Angell James, the brightest star in the Birmingham evangelical firmament. Of simple and abstemious habits, and generous in both disposition and girth ('his build was that of a country gentleman, rather than a Nonconformist divine') James was now in his forty-fifth year as pastor at Carr's Lane, where he had seen his own congregation grow to some 2,000 persons.² At the same time he had contributed both time and money towards the formation of evangelical colonies in the city and its environs, and had, through his close association with Spring Hill College, proved his commitment to the cause of ministerial education. Nationally his position amongst Congregationalists was not quite so prominent - his occasional nervous affliction and lack of a metropolitan base perhaps contributed to this - but he was still a figure of great stature and influence, not least because of the enormous popularity of his short work, The Anxious Inquirer after Salvation Directed and Encouraged, a sort of instruction manual for those 'awakened from sin' but as yet a step short of salvation. As with so much of James' work, this book operated on an intensely practical level, far removed from theory and speculation, and grew out of his own experiences in inquiry meetings and his knowledge of penitents' psychology. The Anxious Inquirer met a huge popular demand - some 200,000 copies were issued between 1834 and 1839 - and incidentally reinforced the author's reputation in America as one of England's most evangelical Calvinists.³

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1. Roe's attitude typified those of Baptists in the Birmingham area. C. Roe to C.G. Finney, 12 July 1849, Finney Papers.
 2. Dict. of Am. Biog.; Dale, Life of James, pp.159-60, 164, 167-68, 492. James' son noted certain ascetic traits in him which 'increased...very much after the revivalist preachers from the States visited him, who... (except William Patton) seemed to set themselves against all enjoyment whatsoever.' Ibid., pp.575-76.
 3. Ibid., pp.287-309, 371, 493-94; Kennedy, Life, Work and Thought of James, pp.227-28; Matthews, Congregationalist Churches of Staffordshire, pp.214ff, 223ff, 230, 232.

James' position in Birmingham and in his denomination ensured that his endorsement of Finney would be of critical importance to the success of the American's mission. Temperamentally, of course, he was too much of an evangelical to prevent a quickening of the pulse at the prospect of Finney's arrival, and Roe was able to write to Finney at Houghton in November that James was offering the American his pulpit.¹ The promise was kept, though not without misgivings. It will be remembered that James had earlier burnt his fingers in the cause of new measures, and that like so many of his colleagues he remained unconvinced that evangelists as a breed should be cultivated, especially after James Caughey's operations in Birmingham in 1846.² These doubts were rekindled as the unorthodoxies and oddities of Finney's revival theology surfaced once more. Through the pages of the Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review and its critical notice of Finney's Lectures on Systematic Theology (James was a regular reader of the American evangelical press), and from London correspondents troubled by Finney's recent sermons in Borough Road, James received indictments of Finney's views that made him question the wisdom of his friendly overtures. At a meeting with Birmingham Independent ministers late in December, and in frequent correspondence during January and February, Finney and James (whom the American regarded as 'a good and a great man') respectfully and frankly exchanged views and answered each other's questions.³

Finney's Systematic Theology, based on his lectures to Oberlin students and first published in 1846-47, represented the maturation of his theological

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1. C. Roe to C.G. Finney, Nov. 1849, Finney Papers.
 2. J.A. James to C.G. Finney, 29 Jan. 1850, Finney Papers. Dale, Life of James, pp.311-12; Chr. Witness, I (1844), 197-201, 214.
 3. (?) to J.A. James, 26 Jan. 1850; J.A. James to C.G. Finney, 26 and 29 Jan. 1850; E.A. Finney to her sister Henrietta, 25 Dec. 1849, Finney Papers. For Finney's description of this theological dialogue with James, see his Memoirs, pp.390-94.

2. C.G. Finney, A Fourth Voice from America, or, Rev. C.G. Finney, from America..., 25, Borough Road Chapel, London, 1849 (Manchester and London, 1849), pp.3-11.

3. Bibl. Rep. and Princeton Rev., XIX (Apr. 1847), 231-77.

thinking after twenty years of evangelism.¹ Underlying his whole argument is found the premise that man is a free moral agent with a moral obligation to repent. The revivalist's demands for action by the sinner (as opposed to the sinner's waiting God's good time), so crucial to successful evangelism, were otherwise indefensible and pointless. From here, Finney had elaborated the concomitant doctrines of a general atonement - that Christ had died for all, not a limited few (even though not all would avail themselves of the proffered forgiveness) - and of the wholly voluntary nature of sin and depravity. For Finney, man's depravity was not the consequence of Adam's sin but of man's voluntary transgressions. These doctrines were either stated or implicit in Finney's sermon on 'The New Birth', delivered at Borough Road in November. With great cogency the American argued that regeneration was the consequence of a necessary, immediate and voluntary action on the part of the sinner, involving the use of his rational faculties ('men are highly intelligent in their regeneration: never, perhaps, so much so in any action of their lives before'), dependent only in part on divine influence and involving no change in man's basic nature (regeneration 'is not a change in the substance of the soul or body, but a change in the use of that').²

The Biblical Repertory, an Old School organ, had condemned Finney and his publication, not on the grounds of faulty logic - 'If you grant his principles, you have already granted his conclusions' - but for having constructed his argument on the unscriptural premise that because man has the obligation to repent, God must therefore have given him the ability to do so.³ James did not swallow whole the Old School criticism of Finney;

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1. C.G. Finney, Lectures on Systematic Theology, embracing Moral Government, the Atonement, Moral and Physical Depravity...&c. Edited and revised, with an introduction by Rev. George Redford (London, 1851); James E. Johnson, 'Charles Grandison Finney and a Theology of Revivalism', in Church History, XXXVIII (Sept. 1969), 338-58.
 2. C.G. Finney, A Fourth Voice from America; or, two sermons preached by the Rev. C.G. Finney, from America...at Borough Road Chapel, London, Nov. 22 and 23, 1849 (Manchester and London, 1849), pp.3-21.
 3. Bibl. Rep. and Princeton Rev., XIX (Apr. 1847), 237-77.

but he did feel that the revivalist had not sufficiently proved his orthodoxy. Did not his views once implanted in the minds of injudicious hearers lead inexorably to the denial of God's role in conversion, of the depravity of man's soul, and of the doctrine of election? Fortunately for Finney, however, James was ready to concede that many of the differences between them were less serious than they appeared, the result of the American's use of deliberately provocative language to give force to commonplace orthodoxies; and his pulpit remained open to him, not least because James' good friend George Redford argued that Finney's theological oddities were not sufficiently serious to merit ostracism.¹ '(A)fter all', James was to write to William Sprague, 'there is so much deadness prevailing that one would welcome any instrumentality that is likely to infuse a little more life, providing it be not the life of a lunatic or a maniac' - and Finney's errors were not so serious as to qualify him for either category.²

Finney Carr's Lane - where Finney preached on five or six occasions - proved to be the point of Finney's entry into several of the Independent pulpits of Birmingham and its environs.³ But it was in fact amongst the Baptists that his major efforts were to be concentrated, in particular at Roe's Heneage Street Chapel and at the large but pastorless Ebenezer Chapel in Steelhouse Lane. Until his departure in mid March, with his health in danger of breaking down and with the revival 'in its most interesting and powerful form', Finney played almost daily to packed houses and encouraged swarms of inquirers. He and Roe between them secured the addition of seventy-five members to Heneage Street in the twelve months preceding June

1. H. Baker, *Historical Memoranda relating to Ebenezer Chapel, Steelhouse Lane, Birmingham*, (Birmingham, 1903), pp. 33-34, 50, 130. See Finney to J.A. James, n.d. ('Friday'), n.d. ('Monday morning'), 28 and 29 Jan., 27 Feb. 1850; E.A. Finney to Mrs. Bissell, 22 Apr. 1850, Finney Papers. pp. 391-92.
2. J.A. James to W. Sprague, 18 Sept. 1851, in Dale, *Life of James*, pp. 544-46.
3. Finney, *Memoirs*, pp. 392-95; P. Sibree to C.G. Finney, Mar. 1850, Finney Papers.
4. George Redford, *The Great Changes & Tracting on Conversion* (London, 1847), esp. p. 59; Chr. Witness, II (1847), 13-14. See Redford (1743-44) 'Angel Street Chapel, now Dist. of St. Mary, and William Wren's conformity in Worcester with an account of the Congregational meeting in Angel Street Chapel (London 1847), pp. 171-72.

1850, a figure well above the average annual increase, which gave Roe enormous satisfaction; indeed, new members acknowledging their debt to Finney were still being received months after his departure.¹ Amongst Birmingham evangelicals generally, however, Finney's three-month stay was little more than an absorbing interlude, regarded with great interest but attracting little organised support. '(T)he ministers', Finney later complained, 'were not then prepared to commit themselves heartily to the use of the necessary means, to spread the revival universally over the city.'²

A similar record of moderate, but not spectacular success was achieved at Worcester, a cathedral city of 30,000 inhabitants and 'a quiet retreat for persons living upon their money', where Finney worked until early May. Originally the visit had been intended as no more than an opportunity for recuperation and a friendly call on an American acquaintance converted by Finney years before.³ But Finney had not foreseen the entreaties of one of American evangelicalism's greatest admirers, and leading Congregationalist theologian, George Redford. Redford had written an introduction to Sprague's Lectures on Revivals of Religion and earned the reputation of the minister who had introduced protracted meetings into England. One of his works, The Great Change, was directed at unawakened but regular churchgoers, a group at an earlier stage of spiritual development than James' 'anxious inquirers', and its essential message - 'Try, sinner!' - clearly illustrated the immediatist, Finney-like quality of his evangelicalism.⁴ He read Finney's

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1. H. Baker, Historical Memoranda relating to...Ebenezer Chapel, Steelhouse Lane, Birmingham... (Birmingham, 1903), pp.53-54, 58, 139. E.A. Finney to Mrs. Bissell, 22 Apr. 1850; C. Roe to C.G. Finney, May and June 1850, Finney Papers; Bapt. Rep., new series VII (1850), 32, 224, 272, 496; Finney, Memoirs, pp.391-92.
 2. Ibid., p.395; J.A. James to W. Sprague, 18 Sept. 1851, in Dale, Life of James, pp.544-46; Birmingham Mercury (8 Dec. 1849, 19 Jan. 1850).
 3. E.A. Finney to her daughters, 1 Apr. 1850, Finney Papers.
 4. George Redford, The Great Change: a Treatise on Conversion (London, 1843), esp. p.59; Chr. Witness, II (1845), 69-74. For Redford (1785-60), pastor of Angel Street Chapel, see Dict. of Nat. Biog., and William Urwick, Non-conformity in Worcester with an account of the Congregational Church meeting in Angel Street Chapel (London 1897), pp.121-27.

Systematic Theology with much interest and considerable admiration for the powerful logic of the ex-lawyer, got Finney to agree to bring out an English edition, and set about revising it and removing some of the 'objectionable' phraseology' himself.¹ Redford's respect for Finney was fully reciprocated, and the relationship flourished until the latter returned to America.²

Helped by William Crowe, the pastor of Silver Street Baptist Chapel, a member of the Baptist Home Missionary Society, and an emancipationist whose children had settled in America, Redford persuaded Finney to stay to conduct special services. The small chapels of Worcester, hedged in by a dominating and a non-evangelical Anglicanism, were scarcely a promising arena. But Finney was too well known to go unwelcomed and as the chapels filled with the curious from Worcester and the towns around he soon began to make a 'great impression'. Even a few Churchmen, who 'had never known what true religion was', were allegedly involved. Mrs. Finney, whose own work was confined mainly to servant girls, noted that '(a)s usual, all classes, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, old and young were among the inquirers'; and the numbers involved, impressive by Redford's standards, were sufficient to ensure continual additions to the churches for several months and to warrant a further series of special services the following year.³

It will be clear that there was no careful orchestration behind Finney's movements. After six months in Britain it was still not clear

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1. Redford expressed his 'general satisfaction' with the work after he had completed his revisions, though as he was to state in his Preface to the book, he could not give it his 'unqualified approbation'. Redford, 'Preface' to Finney, Lectures on Systematic Theology, pp.iii-vi; G. Redford to C.G. Finney, 6 Dec. 1850, 29 Jan. and 4 Feb. 1851, Finney Papers.
 2. J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 22 Nov. 1850, Finney Papers.
 3. Bapt.Mag., XL (1848), 391; John Campbell, 'Rev. Professor Finney, of Oberlin College, United States. To the Christian Inhabitants of Finsbury, and of all other districts of London', handbill, 1 May 1850; Deacons of Angel Street Church, Worcester, to Finney, 4 May 1850; R. Joseland to C.G. Finney, 8 May 1850; E.A. Finney to Mrs. Bissell, 13 May 1850; W. Crowe to C.G. Finney, 4 Mar. 1851; G. Redford to C.G. Finney, 18 Mar. 1851, Finney Papers.

how long he would remain. During the summer of 1850 he was to receive conflicting advice, as Oberliners and British sympathisers vied for his services.¹ Eventually he chose to stay in order to supervise the publication of his Systematic Theology, and to satisfy the entreaties of his many British friends. Throughout his visit he had no lack of invitations to conduct special services, some from churches within his immediate orbit, others from further afield - from all parts of England, and from Wales, Scotland and Ireland.² Most of the requests of course came from Congregationalists and Baptists; some originated among Methodists (in at least one instance he was regarded as a useful replacement for Caughey); and a few were from Quaker and Union chapels.³ Moreover, as presaged by his earlier career and Potto Brown's support, many of Finney's greatest admirers were laymen;⁴ they were also likely to be associated with social and moral reform. Benjamin Parsons, for example, a minister in the Countess of

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1. P. Brown to C.G. Finney, 15 Mar. 1850; E.A. Finney to her daughters, 2, 4 Apr. 1850; J. Keep to C.G. Finney, 3 Aug. 1850; J. Morgan to C.G. Finney, 31 Aug. 1850. Henry Ward Beecher, in Britain himself and aware of Finney's impact, urged the revivalist to stay. Beecher to C.G. Finney, 28, 30 Aug. 1850. Cf. G.W. Finney to C.G. Finney, 1 July 1850, Finney Papers.
 2. See, for example, the invitations during 1850-1851 from K. Johnston (Shipley), J. Reynolds (Gloucester), E.L. Forster (Stony Stratford), E. Adler (Leighton), S. Richards (Stourbridge), H.L. Tuck (Fentbantton), J.S. Featherstone (St. Mary's Bay), I.E. Trimmer (Stamford), J. Fleming (Lancaster), R. Brindley (Lynn), B. Evans (friend of Roe and Pulsford, Scarborough), J. Ross (Woodbridge), W. Slater and others (Bideford), R.E. Forsaith (Royston), J. Gwyther (Manchester), W. Gregory (Clifton), G. Ridings (Cork), E. Young (Annan), T. Rees (Beaufort) in Finney Papers.
 3. See, for example, B. Stocks (Wesleyan Methodist Association) to C.G. Finney 14 Mar. 1850; Alfred Walton (Wesleyan) to C.G. Finney, 7 Jan. 1850; P. Brown to C.G. Finney, 10 Feb. 1850; R. Robinson to J. Ashton, 5 Mar. 1851, Finney Papers.
 4. See, for example, the letters to Finney from S. Clear, 7 Jan., 18 Feb. 1850; J. Slater (on behalf of the deacons of Mount Zion Independent Chapel, Sheffield), 27 Jan. 1850; L. Winterbotham, 24 May 1850; J. Stevenson, 27 May 1850, Finney Papers. It is worth remembering that Finney's Lectures on Revivals found their greatest support amongst laymen. John Keep wrote to Gerrit Smith from London in November 1839 that he had discovered many 'who seized upon the views of truth contained in Finney's lectures with a greediness, and that some of the ministers were beginning to read them - because they find that the people will have them.' Gerrit Smith Papers, Syracuse University.

2. For Campbell (1794-1867), see Life and Labours of Campbell.

3. Ibid., pp. 23-46, 148.

Huntingdon's Connexion who tried unsuccessfully to attract Finney to his chapel in Ebley, Gloucestershire, was closely identified with the causes of teetotalism, education, antislavery, Sabbatarianism, and opposition to the Corn Laws and Church rates.¹ In general, however, Finney's eager correspondents, with some notable exceptions, were not amongst the most influential or prominent in the denomination. Thus when the revivalist eventually found himself pressed by one of those exceptions, John Campbell of the Moorfields Tabernacle, to occupy his London pulpit, Finney accepted. In so doing, he embarked on the major phase of his work in Britain.

II

John Campbell, a large, energetic Scotsman, had left Kilmarnock in 1829 to replace the venerable Matthew Wilks, pastor of Tottenham Court Chapel and Moorfields Tabernacle, a century earlier the scene of Whitefield's labours.² Campbell carried with him a university education, moderate Calvinistic beliefs, a record of soul-saving in Congregationalist churches throughout the major Scottish cities and towns, and a fierce commitment to open-air preaching that was gradually to be replaced by other aggressively evangelical schemes.³ In common with a number of Finney's sympathisers - most notably Henry Allon, John Angell James, and Benjamin Parsons - he acknowledged an early admiration for the evangelical drive of Methodists, even though his prickly, independent temperament bridled in the face of rigid Methodist discipline. Gradually his commitments as Congregationalism's most active and effective journalist and editor, and his growing huskiness of voice, involved a running down of his pulpit activities. To fill his

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1. Edwin Paxton Hood, ed., The Earnest Minister: a Record of the Life, and selections from posthumous and other writings of the Rev. Benjamin Parsons, of Ebley, Gloucestershire (London, 1856); Dict. of Nat. Biog.; Dict. of Brit. Temp. Biog., pp.94-95; B. Parsons to C.G. Finney, 8, 16, and 20 Apr. 1850, Finney Papers. Parsons' teetotal work, Anti-Bacchus (1840), appeared in an American edition.
 2. For Campbell (1794-1867), see Dict. of Nat. Biog.; Ferguson and Brown, Life and Labours of Campbell.
 3. Ibid., pp.25-46, 148.

place he was wont to employ some of the leading ministers of the denomination for a few weeks at a time, and in 1850 Finney was an obvious candidate for invitation.¹

Echoing the sentiments of his fellow evangelicals, Campbell complained to Finney in that year that 'a general deadness prevails over the land'.² This was especially worrying at the end of a decade when Congregationalists' problems (and Baptists', too) appeared to have grown more not less perplexing.³ Puseyism, now maturing, posed a greater puzzle than ever; English Catholicism, thanks to Newman's conversion and rotten Irish potatoes, had been injected with intellectual vigour and numerical strength.⁴ Much of rural society was allegedly 'in a state of gross ignorance and apathy with respect to the Gospel'; the numbers of the 'faithful' failed proportionately to keep pace with an ever-increasing population; crime rates spiralled upwards.⁵ Some city ministers, apparently ignoring smaller Congregational chapels up and down the country, regarded Congregationalism as an essentially middle-class body, 'neither...very rich nor...very poor'; if they exaggerated the

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1. For example, James Parsons of York, a polished and careful preacher and 'the most remarkable pulpit orator of his time' was a regular supply. He was at work in the Tabernacle shortly before Finney's arrival. Ibid., p.416; Finney, Memoirs, p.401. For Campbell's American liaisons and abolitionist views, see Ferguson and Brown, op.cit., pp.550-51.
 2. J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 1 May 1850, Finney Papers. Cf. J.A. James to W. Sprague, 18 Sept. 1851: 'I do not think I ever preached with less saving results since I was a minister; and this the case with most others.' Dale, Life of James, p.554; Chr. Witness, VI (1849), 111.
 3. At least they were not wracked by schism as were the Wesleyans; though a trickle of Congregationalists did leave to join the Plymouth Brethren, and the open/close communion issue divided the Baptists. J.C.G. Binfield, Nonconformity in the Eastern Counties 1840-1885 (Cambridge Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1965), pp.139-43.
 4. Inglis, Churches and the Working Classes, pp.16-18.
 5. Chr. Witness, V (1848), 492-93; VII (1850), 353-56; David Everard Ford's Jeremiad, Alarm in Zion; or, a few thoughts on the Present State of Religion (London, 1848), esp. pp.5-20.

2. Chr. Witness, VII (1850), 345-46; X (1853), 233-33; Ford, Alarm in Zion, pp.41-44.

4. J.A. James to W. Sprague, 1 Sept. 1847, in Dale, Life of James, pp.342-43; Chr. Witness, VIII (1851), 1-3; X (1853), 209-11. J.A. James was in

absence of working-men from their chapels, that class was still very generally beyond the pale.¹ In some instances the middle-classes themselves posed problems, as they left the city centres for the growing suburbs, weakening once-thriving congregations. It was claimed that in London the Dissenting Chapels were 'fast being reduced to the poorer classes of tradesmen and to the operative multitude' and that without remedial action 'the whole mass of ... influential families (would) be lost to Nonconformity, and, to a great extent, to true religion.'² Often, too, the movement of these members reflected an increasing material prosperity which the revival-minded cadre viewed with trepidation. The return of prosperity in the early 1850s, and the opportunity for entry into municipal life afforded by the reform of municipal corporations in the 1830s seemed to encourage a pursuit of wealth and secular status which diverted time and attention from the riches of the other world and from proper Christian duty.³ Aided by 'mixed marriages', lower standards of church membership, infrequent and irregular church attendance, and a 'fondness for light reading', concerts and other 'worldly pursuits', this political and commercial spirit helped blur the dividing line between 'the church' and 'the world' so crucial to successful revivalism.⁴

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1. Thomas Binney to the Congregational Union, in Chr. Witness, V (1848), 294-95. The head of one of the Congregationalist Colleges stated: 'We scarcely touch the mass of people beneath us, or the minds of reading, culture, or more free thought above us. We do something with the orderly, the well-to-do, and the comfortable people of our time'. Ibid., VIII (1851), 401-05. Cf. the papers of Algernon Wells, Edward Swaine and J.W. Massie in ibid., V (1848), 568-86; J.A. James, Thomas Stratten, James Spence, C.H. Bateman, The Chester Conference. The Present State of the Churches and the Ministry, and the Means of their Revival (London, 1853), p.xiv. Gilbert's analysis of Nonconformist class composition (before 1836) suggests remarkable similarity in the social basis of the different evangelical denominations, and demonstrates their dependence on the artisan class. The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, p.150ff.
 2. Chr. Witness, VI (1849), 513-15; Brit. Ban., 1 Sept. 1852.
 3. Chr. Witness, VII (1850), 545-46; X (1853), 255-63; Ford, Alarm in Zion, pp.41-44.
 4. J.A. James to W. Sprague, 1 Sept. 1847, in Dale, Life of James, pp.542-43; Chr. Witness, VIII (1851), 1-5; X (1853), 209-11. J.A. James was to

Finally, and most sinister of all for the long-term prospects of evangelicalism, there was the challenge to faith itself. This challenge derived not from geology or biological evolution - the full implication of these for scriptural integrity was not to be realised fully until later in the century - but from German higher criticism. Previously, rationalist attacks on evangelical Christianity, as from Deism in the eighteenth century, had come from without and the blow had been parried. Now the questioning was coming from within, encouraged primarily by rationalist German divines, and most notoriously David Friedrich Strauss of Tübingen, who did not jettison all Biblical teaching, but who sought by applying secular scholarship to revelation to give natural, rational, explanations to the miraculous, and to expose many happenings described in scripture not as history but rather as myth. Jumpy conservative theologians were thrown on the defensive. An infallible Bible, read by every man for himself, and central to his religious experience, was crucial to evangelicalism in general, and revivalism in particular. But as Strauss' works appeared in translation during the 1840s, as English writers like Thomas Carlyle, and Americans like Theodore Parker and Ralph Waldo Emerson, openly abandoned the Bible as the sole lexicon of truth, no one could prevent the doubts from spreading, especially amongst younger ministers receptive to novel and exciting ideas.¹

Turning to meet these challenges, evangelicals demonstrated the complexity of their motivation. In part, their concern over the alienation of so many from the evangelical world revealed a class dimension. During 1848, for example, the year of European revolution, Algernon Wells called

complain in 1853 that Nonconformist ministers and congregations were too easily diverted from revivals by 'the subject of organs, psalmody, academic degrees, pulpit costume, architecture, political power'. James, et al., Chester Conference, p.41.

1. J.A. James to W. Sprague, 18 Sept. 1851, in Dale, Life of James pp.544-46; Willis B. Glover, Evangelical Nonconformists and Higher Criticism in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1954), p.11ff; Chadwick, Victorian Church, I, 527ff, 558ff. It is interesting that Finney's Old School critics in the United States charged him with falling into the error of the German critics: viz. of reaching his theological position through logic and reason, and not revelation; and thereby of downgrading the authority of Scripture. Bibl. Rep. and Princeton Rev. XIX (1847).

on Congregationalists to increase their efforts to reach the working-classes, in particular the rapidly growing body of artisans, a shrewd, intelligent group excluded from political power and with drifting social loyalties:

'They do not attach themselves to their employers, or confide in the classes above them in the social scale.' His remedy was evangelicalism - a social cement that would unite men across class lines and help prevent a European-style explosion.¹ Wells' proposition was not unique in the nineteenth century. Twenty-five years later, to use a well-known example, Lord Shaftesbury was to regard Dwight L. Moody and Ira. D. Sankey as the possible instruments of a moral revolution that would elevate the masses and reduce the likelihood of the abuse of their recently-granted franchise.²

It was evangelical thinking of this kind that has allowed those most critical of evangelicalism to swallow whole the 'religion-as-opiate' argument employed later in the century by Engels, and even those more sympathetic to evangelical religion have had to concede its occasional social paternalism. But the motivation behind middle-class evangelical activity carried another, more single-mindedly religious dimension. For, as evangelicals saw it, without religion, man - of whatever social class - was drifting inexorably towards everlasting ruin. If Wells regarded working-class alienation as socially dangerous, there were others for whom that class's unregenerate spiritual condition was just as calamitous, if not more so. Potto Brown, in a key passage that clearly illustrates the 'selfless' driving force behind his evangelicalism, exposed a frame of mind common to many: 'Sometimes when I look upon my relations, friends and neighbours, and in some degree realise...they are in the broad road to destruction, my soul faints within me, and my heart yearns over them, that I am obliged to give

1. Chr. Witness V (1848), 568-74. Cf. Ferguson and Brown, Life and Labours of Campbell, pp.491-92, for John Campbell's views on Chartism, Universal Suffrage and the working-classes.

2. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p.179ff.

vent to my feelings through tears'.¹ Equally, without religion man could not hope to achieve those heights of joy, that calmness of spirit, that equanimity in the face of worldly trials which characterised the daily life of the confirmed evangelical. As Brown's wife wrote to Mary Goodman during Finney's revival at Houghton, 'O what a privilege it is that we can approach our God at all times and under every circumstance and that he will lend an attentive ear to the most feeble prayers....O how delightful are these friendly (experience) meetings(. T)hey are indeed little helps by the way.'² The Browns were not platitudinous pietists, and their mental make-up illustrates that no explanation of the drive to soul-saving would be complete without including the urgency felt by the evangelical to remedy the grievous spiritual deprivation of the unconverted.

Spurred by these social and spiritual imperatives, many Nonconformists directed their attention towards fashioning counter-attacks on non-attendance and irreligion.³ Foremost was John Campbell, whose commitment to religious revival was in reality more whole-hearted than that of many of his colleagues with their tendency to shun in practice what in principle they accepted as highly desirable. Campbell's natural evangelical determination drew even greater resolution from the confrontation with massive church absenteeism amongst London's huge and growing population of some two and a half million, though Campbell regarded the situation as far from desperate (God's will, after all, would not ultimately be thwarted).⁴ He unhesitatingly welcomed

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1. P. Brown to C.G. Finney, 5 Sept. 1850, Finney Papers.
 2. M. Brown to M. Goodman, n.d. (3 Jan. 1850?), Goodman Papers.
 3. At the denominational periphery the Home Missionary Society continued its operations, though it was seriously hamstrung by limited income. Open-air preaching, chapel-building, lay activity and lectures for working-men were also encouraged. Chr. Witness, III (1846), 155-59, 222-24; IV (1847), 291; V (1848), 275, 280, 301-02; VI (1849), 273, 375-77, 513-15, 543; VII (1850), 91-92; VIII (1851), 594-95; X (1853), 550-56; Evang. Mag., new series XXVIII (1850), 376.
 4. Campbell estimated that less than one-fifth of the total population attended church or chapel. J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 18 Aug. 1851, Finney Papers. Cf. Campbell's contradictory statements regarding London's religious state in Chr. Witness VII (1850), 546-47, and Ferguson and Brown, Life and Labours of Campbell, pp.420-21.

Finney, regarding him as a Whitefield redivivus. It seemed only fitting that what had once been the pulpit of the great eighteenth ^{-century} /evangelist should be opened to the American.¹ The invitation came as no surprise to those who recalled Campbell's earlier enthusiasm for Finney's Lectures on Revivals, the undisguised interest in American revivals to be found in the pages of Campbell's Christian Witness, and the implicit approval he had given to James Caughey's fervent evangelism.²

Campbell saw Finney's arrival in London as tactically opportune. Metropolitan success would spread news of Finney's arrival denomination-wide and open pulpits to him across the country, and he would benefit from Campbell's influential co-operation and thriving press.³ Campbell was in many ways correct. At the Congregational Union's Annual Meeting, Finney was welcomed by James Morison, the Chairman, who devoted his opening speech to the subject of revival, and by John Angell James, George Redford, and James Sherman. Their favourable introductions and Finney's own address to some 500 ministers (who received him with 'loud acclamation') offset the suspicion of heterodoxy that surrounded him.⁴ For the first time in England, some six months after his arrival, Finney had access to a broad ministerial body, and the meeting was to pay dividends in terms of invitations to preach. The Tabernacle pulpit also gave Finney status in quarters where he had previously been mistrusted: one of Campbell's Glasgow correspondents told of 'an astonishing change of feeling respecting (Finney) in the North' after

13 May 1850, Finney Papers.

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1. J. Campbell, 'Rev. Prof. Finney', handbill, 1 May 1850, Finney Papers.
 2. 'I did my utmost to promote (the) universal circulation (of your Lectures on Revivals), besides convening, periodically, meetings of my own people - among whom copies were numerously distributed to hear them read and commented upon'. J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 28 Mar. 1850, Finney Papers; Campbell, Valedictory Services, p.25; Chr. Witness, II (1845), 17-26; IV (1847), 19, 27, 486; VII (1850), 145-56, 193-98, 241-45.
 3. J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 3 and 16 Apr. 1850; E.A. Finney to Mrs. Bissell, 22 Apr. 1850, Finney Papers. Cf. J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 1 and 29 Nov. 1850, ibid: '(S)ix months labour (in London) is more important than six years in such a town as Worcester.'
 4. Cong. Yr. Bk. (1850), pp.1, 15, 26-27; Chr. Witness, VII (1850), 271-73, 298, 302; Evang. Mag., XXVIII (1850), 303-04.

Finney's acceptance in London.¹ Equally helpful was Campbell's support of Finney and revivalism in his periodicals, the British Banner and the Christian Witness, the latter proving especially influential as a vigorously evangelical monthly, boasting a circulation over twice as large as any other evangelical magazine.² Consequently, many of the attempts to discredit Finney made by Americans in private correspondence and in American religious periodicals were effectively neutralised.³

Any disadvantages of Finney's liaison with Campbell were to be found in the realms of personality. Both were men of strong wills, and while there was no apparent discord the warmth of personal regard that marked Finney's relationship with Potto Brown was absent from this association.⁴ More important, Campbell's strength of purpose, untempered by the charity that made Finney a more tolerant man, could easily spill over into belligerence. His critics found him 'dogmatic', 'master of no one subject, yet working vehemently in all', 'narrow and sectarian and one-sided', 'superficial', 'vituperative' and 'terribly thin-skinned'.⁵ Finney's assessment was less critical, but still damaging. Campbell, he said, 'was given to "pitching into" everybody and everything that did not correspond with his views. In this way he did a great deal of good, and occasionally, I fear, some harm.'⁶ He counted his enemies in other denominations - Wesleyan

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1. J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 18 Aug. 1851. Cf. E.A. Finney to Mrs. Bissell, 13 May 1850, Finney Papers.
 2. In 1846, it claimed a circulation of 35,000. Its nearest rival was the Evangelical Magazine with 16,000. Chr. Witness, III (1846), 135.
 3. Ob. Evang., XII (3 Dec. 1850) and XIII (7 May 1851); H.W. Beecher to C.G. Finney, 30 Aug. 1850; J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 10 Oct., 13 and 20 Nov. 1850, Finney Papers. Interestingly, Finney's reputation in America was probably improved by the reports of his acceptance in prominent British pulpits. C.E. Fisher to C.G. Finney, 13 Sept. 1850; J.D. Porter to C.G. Finney, 1 Mar. 1851, ibid.
 4. See, for example, J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 20 and 22 Nov. 1850; 18 Aug. 1851, Finney Papers.
 5. J. Ewing Ritchie, The London Pulpit (London, 1858), pp.91-101.
 6. Finney, Memoirs, pp.402-03.

'autocracy' came in for an immoderate blasting during the later 1840s¹ - and within his own. During the period of Finney's stay he was in (occasionally bitter) dispute with ministerial colleagues critical of the way he used his journalistic power to link the Congregational Union with causes which were rejected by many of its membership.² Later he was to be one of the major disputants in the Rivulet controversy. The blessings of Finney's association with such a prickly individual were at best mixed.

At Moorfields and in London more generally Finney could anticipate a warm reception. Besides Campbell, ministers such as Allon, Thomas Davies at Lambeth, and James Smith at Lincoln's Inn, and influential laymen of George Williams' and George Hitchcock's stature, could be expected to be sympathetic.³ Enthusiastic young men and women from the Tabernacle congregation, copying the practice of contemporary evangelists, had distributed several thousands of handbills which announced Finney's arrival, told of his earlier successes and helped whip up the necessary amount of anticipation. But not all the auguries were good. Campbell wondered whether the summer were the best time for constant services, especially after the May Meetings had left the evangelical vanguard 'exhausted' and 'jaded' after endless daily meetings. Finney himself, aware that his major successes had been achieved in small towns receptive to revivals, must have felt twinges of concern as he looked out on metropolitan, unchurched London, with its huge population, challenging extremes of wealth and poverty, and peripheral revivalism. Even his evangelical haven at the Tabernacle, handicapped by

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1. John Campbell, Letters on Wesleyan Methodism in England and the Colonies (London, 1847); Chr. Witness, IV (1847), 19-28, 114-22, 170-74, 226-31, 258-64, 487; V (1848), 340-42.
 2. Chadwick, Victorian Church, I, 404-06. For his unorthodox stand on the 'so-called' Evangelical Alliance, see J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 1 May 1850, Finney Papers.
 3. J. Smith to C.G. Finney, 25 Apr. 1850; T. Davies to C.G. Finney, 16 May, 27 July 1850, Finney Papers. For the profound impact of Finney's Lectures on Revivals on the founder of the Y.M.C.A., see Binfield, George Williams, pp.17-18.

its irregular and constantly-changing ministry, could not boast particular prosperity.¹

Finney met the challenge in the way that he knew best, preaching on five week-day evenings and twice on the Sabbath, over an uninterrupted period of eighteen weeks. After Edward Norris Kirk, Andrew Reed and James Sherman, protracted meetings of this kind were no longer regarded in London as revolutionary. Indeed, one of Finney's disciples, John Kirk of the Evangelical Union, had conducted a three-week protracted meeting in the new Congregational Church in Kentish Town very shortly before Finney's first appearance in London.² But weekday meetings were still rare enough to make a protracted meeting a noteworthy occurrence, especially when a man not far off his sixtieth year was seen to cope so single-mindedly and successfully with the extraordinary physical and mental demands of the work.³ As Campbell, two years his junior, was enviously to tell Finney: 'the Lord seems to have created you for public speaking. You could speak...for ever.'⁴

In the pulpit, Finney - a tall, thin, dominating figure - retained much of his earlier magnetism. His greying, thinning hair and lined features betrayed his age; but his intense, pale-blue eyes and clear (his critics said 'nasal') voice penetrated into the farthest corners of the Tabernacle. His hearers were compelled to listen as he carefully and logically build up his case. At times he was utterly severe, sparing none of his audiences' more delicate feelings. Campbell, arguing the variety of Finney's preaching style, even claimed that the American could 'thunder and lighten' as successfully as the fiercest of Ranters; but his preaching rarely

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1. Campbell, Valedictory Services, p.12; J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 6 and 16 Apr., 29 Nov. 1850; C. Roe to C.G. Finney, Nov. 1849, Finney Papers; Chr. Witness, VII (1850), 474; Finney, Memoirs, p.401.
 2. Chr. News (27 Sept. 1849); Standard of Freedom, II (27 Oct. 1849).
 3. Chr. Witness, VII (1850), 474.
 4. J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 1 Nov. 1850, Finney Papers.

matched this description. Rather was he charged, when criticised, with 'dryness' and 'dullness'; for unlike Caughey his fascination as a preacher lay primarily in his highly analytical, argumentative approach. (Unlike Caughey, too, he rarely preached for less than one and a half hours, and often for over two.) As in his Systematic Theology, he would take a proposition and, analytical in the extreme, explore its implications to the verge of heterodoxy - and sometimes beyond.¹ Once his hearers granted his basic proposition they were compelled to follow where he so logically led. R.W. Dale, shortly to become John Angell James' assistant at Carr's Lane, was at that time one of those students at Spring Hill College searching for novelty in theology and for whose orthodoxy James feared. Dale's style by his own account was powerfully affected by Finney's preaching. '(I)t seemed to me', he wrote for the benefit of a later generation of preachers, 'that the iron chain of the elaborate theological argument which sometimes contributed the substance of his discourse...was fastened to an electric battery: every link of the chain as you touched it gave you a moral shock; but even in Mr. Finney's sermons the supreme impression usually came at the end; the effect was cumulative.'²

Finney's sermons were directed primarily at the unconverted, and their major burden - the sinner's duty immediately to repent - needs no recapitulation.³ Otherwise his task was the encouragement of believers themselves

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1. Campbell, Valedictory Services, pp.5-10; John Ross Dix, Pen Pictures of Popular English Preachers (London, 1851), pp.207-08; Chr. Witness, VII (1850), 474-75, 546-47. Cf. C.G. Finney to T. Rees, 27 Jan. 1859: 'I must...lay the foundations deeper in the convictions, and build up a more permanent structure, than I could do by a few appeals addressed to the feelings.... I must reason with the people.' Rees Mss. 384D.
 2. R.W. Dale, Nine Lectures on Preaching. Delivered at Yale, New Haven, Connecticut (London, 1877), pp.95-97, 146-50; Kennedy, Life, Work and Thought of James, pp.232-33, 236-37. Redford predicted that the novelty of Finney's style would 'TEACH MANY OF US TO PREACH IN A NEW WAY'. Campbell, 'Rev. Prof. Finney', handbill, 1 May 1850, Finney Papers.
 3. See, for example, C.G. Finney, Repentance: its Nature, Grounds, Necessity, and Infinite Importance (London, 1851). For some suggestion of the popular impact of this sermon, see F.W. Gough to J. Campbell, 27 Mar. 1851, Finney Papers.

to fulfil their twin evangelical responsibilities. On the one hand he argued their obligation to the perishing multitudes of city sinners. Laymen and women (an overlooked majority of church-members) represented a huge army, under-utilised, badly deployed and short on motivation.¹ They had largely forgotten that the church's great duty was the conversion of the world. Abdicating their responsibilities, they 'sought to be COMFORTABLE rather than USEFUL'. But, argued Finney, in a sermon which captured well the spirit of lay involvement flowering in the mid nineteenth century, the regenerate should jerk themselves out of their complacency, set a true evangelical example, when appropriate, to their impressionable servants, clerks and workmen, and help stimulate the conversion of London and the world through vigorous practical effort. His exhortation won him many friends among likeminded activists.²

The church member's parallel responsibility was to himself, and lay in the pursuit of a higher standard of Christian living. 'Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect', Christ had exhorted.³ Finney's gloss on this injunction, however, differed markedly from that of orthodox Calvinists on both sides of the Atlantic. Perturbed during the revivals of the 1830s by the low standard of piety so frequently manifested in the churches, and anxious to find a means of keeping converts from relapse, Finney had found an answer to these problems in the Methodist doctrine of entire sanctification and the perfectionist teachings of John Humphrey Noyes.⁴ First in his Lectures to Professing Christians, and later

1. J.A. James estimated 'that two thirds of the members of all our churches are females.' Dale, Life of James, p.544.

2. Finney's sermon to the Members and Visitors of the Christian Instruction Society, 'Why London is not converted', in Chr. News, 18 and 25 July 1850.

3. Matthew, v, 48. Cf. I Peter, i, 16; and Ezekiel, xxxvi, 25-27, commanding a 'full and perfect cleansing from all sinful dispositions, tendencies and habits.'

4. For a discussion of the extent of Finney's debts to these two separate sources, see James E. Johnson, 'Charles G. Finney and Oberlin Perfectionism', Journal of Presbyterian History, XLVI (1968), 42-56, 128-38; Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform, pp.103-13; Cross, Burned-Over District, pp.238-51.

in the various fora open to him at Oberlin, Finney made clear his espousal of perfectionism and the duty of all Christians to consecrate themselves more fully to God.¹ Logically, as a fervent believer in man's natural ability in the sphere of repentance, he could not deny man's capacity to obey the further scriptural command to be perfect, and in 1843 he himself achieved this sanctified state. It is important to note, however, that Oberlin perfectionism differed from Noyes' antinomian variety in maintaining that man, though sanctified, might still be tempted to sin, might do wrong and thereby lose his holiness; and that even though in some quarters Oberlin became a byword for fanaticism, Finney's interpretation of the doctrine never had the same ultraist implications which were manifest in Noyesian sexual communism and in the practices of his Oneida Community.

Waves of criticism, even from Finney's old allies, engulfed Oberlin after its leaders had embraced perfectionism,² and in Britain, too, where Mahan's and Cowles' works circulated in the early 1840s, dissenting voices were heard. Even if informed Nonconformist observers were aware that the Oberlin doctrine had no 'tendency to licentious practice' and might even have a 'holy tendency', they could not concede its theological validity. Man might have a duty to seek perfect sanctification, but in practice he would never attain it.³ Though regeneration and sanctification were to be differentiated - the first in a moment communicating life to the heart of the unbeliever, the latter gradually strengthening that life after its

1. Earlier, in his Lectures on Revivals, Finney had stipulated that new converts 'should aim at being holy, and not rest satisfied till they are as perfect as God.' Op.cit., ed. McLoughlin, p.403.
2. See, for example, S.B. Canfield, S.C. Aiken and H. Blodgett (Committee of Cleveland Presbytery), An Exposition of...Oberlin Perfectionism (Cleveland, 1841); New York Obs., XVIII (25 July, 12 Sept., 14 Nov. 1840). There was no uniform terminology amongst the Oberlin leadership of Cowles, Finney, Mahan and Morgan. 'Call it what you please, Christian perfection, heavenly mindedness, the full assurance of faith or hope, or a state of consecration; by all these I understand the same thing.' C.G. Finney, quoted in Johnson, 'Finney and Oberlin Perfectionism', loc.cit., 51-52.
3. J.A. James to W. Patton, 14 Apr. 1842, in Dale, Life of James, pp.531-32. 'The nearest approach I make to this doctrine', James stated, 'is, that it is not in itself to be considered impossible, and, therefore, in that sense it is attainable.'

communication - they were never wholly to be separated. Sanctification was simply 'the advancing process of personal purity', 'a loving of the Lord with all the soul, and heart, and strength, and mind', crucial to Christian development. It was never to be achieved before death in its sinless entirety.¹

It was galling for orthodox evangelicals to discover that, thanks in part to Oberlin, perfectionism had some currency within Nonconformity during the 1840s. This had occurred most readily in areas where Nonconformists were already semi-contaminated through their close proximity to a dominant Methodism.² 'The Wesleyans are mightily strong in (the West Riding of Yorkshire)', wrote William Lamb, Congregationalist minister at Wakefield, to Finney in March 1845, enthusiastically telling the American of how he and two neighbouring ministers, J. Millson of Pontefract and Edward Weeks of Dewsbury, had

fully embraced the doctrine of Entire Sanctification.... I preach it to a people who six months ago did not believe there was such a truth in the Scriptures. ... This doctrine only can save the world. It is the whole gospel. Our revivals without it will be transient, the spirit of truth must lead us into all truth before the latter day glory shall dawn upon the world.³

The discomfort felt by the orthodox was not removed by the presence in Britain a few years later of Asa Mahan, nor by the publication of a British edition of his Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection, for of all the Oberlin luminaries Mahan was the most fervently committed to the doctrine.⁴ Mahan was not without sympathisers - as reputable a pastor as James Sherman

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1. Evang. Mag., XXIX (1851), 578-83; Chr. Witness IX (1852), 135.
 2. For Oberlin perfectionist influence on Wesleyan Methodists, see F. White to C.G. Finney, 8 Apr. 1851, Finney Papers.
 3. Ob. Evang., VII (18 June 1845). Weeks had been introduced to Finney's Lectures on Revivals as a student at Cheshunt. Lamb had been considerably influenced by Caughey; he and most of his congregation were in 1848 forced to leave their chapel because of '(c)hanges in (his) religious views'. James G. Miall, Congregationalism in Yorkshire (London, 1868), p.377; The Way of Holiness, Dec. 1925, p.3. Cf. Cong. Yr. Bk. (1846), pp.119-20.
 4. Churchill, op.cit. in N.W. Ohio Qtly., XXIII (1951), 168-69. For Mahan's adoption of a near Wesleyan perfectionism, see his Autobiography, pp.289-96.

expressed an interest in Mahan's views - but he found many pulpits barred to him because of his association with a theology so pregnant with danger.¹

Finney was less unbending and more tactful than Mahan. Although he spent much of his pulpit time berating professing Christians for their low standard of piety and their half-hearted evangelical activity, the preaching of perfectionism - in contrast to Caughey's campaign - was not an integral part of his services. 'The London papers give flowing accounts of Finney's sermons and audiences', James Alexander reported in September 1850. 'There is no allusion to his later doctrines of perfectionism.'² Moreover, it seemed clear to those who carefully examined Finney's statements that his position was much less extreme than was suggested by his fiercest detractors and his own unnecessarily provocative language. It appeared to George Redford that Finney very clearly stopped short of the doctrine of absolute perfection, and he told him: 'After all I can make out of your views of Perfection you differ very little from ordinary theologians.'³ Redford was correct. Finney may have believed that there was a rational hope of achieving sanctification, but he never 'encourage(d) any to announce themselves as being in a permanent state of entire consecration' and maintained that he 'would creep on his knees all the way to the Atlantic ocean' to see a man who was wholly without sin.⁴

The call to repentance and the demand for heightened piety, then, were Finney's primary instruments of appeal. But the passing years had not eroded his loyalty to revival methods that best exploited the impressions created under his preaching. He had not totally abandoned the anxious seat, and

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1. Ibid., p.174; A. Mahan to H. Cowles, 27 Sept. 1849, in Ob. Evang., XI (7 Nov. 1849); A. Mahan to C.G. Finney, 5 and 25 Jan. 1850, Finney Papers.
 2. J. Alexander, 5 Sept. 1850, in Hall, Forty Years Familiar Letters, II, 124.
 3. G. Redford to C.G. Finney, 6 Dec. 1850, Finney Papers. Cf. Chr. Witness VII (1850), 475-76.
 4. Quoted in Churchill, op. cit. in N.W. Ohio Qtly., XXIII (1951) 167-68.

as with his other methods, he was not afraid to use this in England.¹ On at least one occasion in London clusters of penitents thronged the front seats of the chapel, near the pulpit, weeping and wailing in as an emotional a scene as Mrs. Finney - no novice in these matters - had ever seen in America.² Yet Finney was not being hypocritical when he protested, with reference to Caughey's activities: 'I fear and dread an unintelligent bluster and excitement.'³ He had too much experience, too much respect for the pastoral office, to attempt hurriedly to kindle a religious fire that would perhaps just as quickly burn itself out; he had too much shrewdness to organise a revival carnival within a denomination containing elements whose social and religious susceptibilities would be offended by too public a demonstration of commitment. Finney's primary instrument for bringing sinners to decision was, consequently, the inquiry meeting and not the anxious seat. Here Finney would pray, talk individually with, and sometimes address collectively, those moved by his sermons. 'Professors of religion' and 'careless sinners' were excluded. Occasionally the meetings were not held until a day or so after the main services, to avoid late meetings and over-excitement. John Angell James insisted that Finney abide by this practice.⁴ But more usual was the meeting which immediately followed the main service. Inevitably tens, and sometimes hundreds, crowded the vestry or lecture-room. Unlike Caughey, Finney did not make the call forward an automatic part of his daily labour. He had been at the Tabernacle for three/^{weeks} or more before he first asked for inquirers, at the end of a Sunday evening service. Campbell, afraid of confusion, cautioned against the idea: 'Mr. Finney, remember you are in England, and in London; and that you are not

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1. Finney, Memoirs, p.393, does not mention this particular measure, though it is clear from his remarks elsewhere that he used it.
 2. E.A. Finney to Mrs. Bissell, 16 Aug. 1850, Finney Papers.
 3. J. Campbell, 'Rev. Prof. Finney', handbill, 1 May 1850, Finney Papers.
 4. J.A. James to C.G. Finney, n.d. ('Saturday'), Finney Papers.

acquainted with our people....(Y)ou will not get people to attend here.' Finney confidently ignored the advice, and about a thousand attended the meeting.¹

The Finneys continued in this way at the Tabernacle until mid September when, persuaded by flagging strength and a helpful financial contribution from Potto Brown, they took a continental holiday.² A recuperative return to Houghton and a visit to Worcester to put the finishing touches to the English edition of his Systematic Theology completed a ten-week respite, after which Finney returned early in December to work at Campbell's chapels for a further four and a half months.³ During his absence Campbell had secured the services of a second-string evangelist, the Rev. Ebenezer Cornwall of Erith, to keep the fires burning. Along with ministers like William Landels and John Kirk, Cornwall had been much affected by the Scottish revival movement of the 1830s, had embraced Morrisonianism, and during the 1840s had been involved in conducting special revival services.⁴ It was fitting that a member of a movement in part inspired by Finney should now deputise for him. Both were low Calvinists who emphasised a general atonement and the free availability of salvation, though Cornwall, in keeping with his membership of the Evangelical Union, preached a gospel of love very different in tone from Finney's carefully argued warnings. Campbell regarded Cornwall as just the man, with his 'splinter and bandage,

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1. Finney, Memoirs, pp.401-14; E.A. Finney to her sister Henrietta, 25 Dec. 1849; E.A. Finney to her daughters, 1 Apr. 1850; and to Mrs. Bissell 22 Apr. 1850, Finney Papers.
 2. Brown gave Finney £50. At the Tabernacle Finney's remuneration was five guineas a week, plus board and lodging. The revivalist's was not yet a lucrative profession. J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 5 Sept. 1850; P. Brown to C.G. Finney, 10 July and 5 Sept. 1850, Finney Papers; Finney, Memoirs, p.414.
 3. P. Brown to C.G. Finney, 6 Oct. 1850; G. Redford to C.G. Finney, 16 Oct. 1850; J. Campbell to C.G. Finney 13 Nov. 1850; C.G. Finney to Julia Finney, 5 Dec. 1850, Finney Papers.
 4. E. Cornwall to C.G. Finney, 16 Aug. 1850, Finney Papers; Brit.Ban., 9 Oct. 1850; Chr. Witness, II (1845), 30-32; E(benezer) C(ornwall), The Unveiling of the Everlasting Gospel (London, 1848), pp.i-viii and passim; Ferguson, History of the Evangelical Union, p.7.

oil and balsam' to deal with the increasing number of inquirers who had been awakened under Finney's 'cannonading', and he was pleased with the results.¹

Finney's second spell in London followed much the same pattern as the first. If he had slightly fewer preaching assignments, he was still the devoted soul-saver. He rarely paid social calls. He eschewed sight-seeing. He turned down requests for his preaching help in fund-raising ventures. True to his insistence on the primacy of individual regeneration in schemes of social reconstruction, he showed no apparent interest in humanitarian or social reform. He generally avoided public discussion of the slavery issue. Only in the sphere of temperance, so integral anyway to the spiritual cleansing of the sinner, did he step outside his regular preaching commitments. The intemperate state of Britain seemed justification enough, for, as Finney told the Leeds Temperance Society, he 'had seen more drinking since he came to England than he had seen (in America) in the last fifteen years.'² Even so, when Finney reluctantly took his leave of London, and Britain, in April 1851 to assume the Presidency of Oberlin, it was for his single-minded attention to evangelism that he was celebrated.

Finney's London campaign had caused some considerable stir in evangelical quarters. He had continued to cast his spell until the very end: on the Sunday of the religious census (30 March 1851) 'several thousands' failed to gain access to the Tabernacle.³ Campbell, who was well aware of the discrepancy between momentary drama and sober, long-term reality, spoke of

1. E. Cornwall, The Ocean of Redeeming Love (London, 1852), passim; J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 1 Nov. 1850, Finney Papers.
2. Leeds Times, 29 Dec. 1849. Cf. J. Chapin to C.G. Finney, 22 Jan. 1851, Finney Papers. For invitations to participate in temperance work, see J. Sturge to C.G. Finney, 25 Apr. 1850; T. Prebble (Borough Road Chapel Temperance Society) to C.G. Finney, 25 May 1850; P. Brown to C.G. Finney, 2 June 1850, Finney Papers. Finney's teetotalism extended to tea, but he does not appear to have been too much disturbed by the proliferation of tea-meetings in British evangelical and temperance circles.
3. Finney, Memoirs, p.408. The Tabernacle had a capacity of approximately 3,000.

the 'furious tempest which kept raging in London for ten long months', but was convinced that Finney had 'done great good'. Certainly the curiosity inspired by the American's reputation - carefully exploited by a phalanx of eager laymen who distributed addresses, posted large bills and, remarkably, shouldered large placards round the streets announcing Finney's services - drew in large numbers of 'the unsophisticated, the men not Gospel proof, and sermon hardened.' These tactics helped pull in from all over London a congregation of which some two-thirds were strangers to the Tabernacle, a remarkable proportion even for evangelically-minded London pastors. Of course, these were not total strangers to the churches; very few, if any, would have been ignorant of the rudiments of the Gospel. Most were evangelicals from Dissenting and Methodist churches; a few were Roman Catholics; some were Anglicans.¹

The latter group included a number of clergy, one of whom, Hugh Allen, rector of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, was subsequently to promote a revival in his own parish through 'intensive preaching' and a large number of scattered prayer-meetings. Other Anglicans too, Finney maintained, were similarly inspired to hold special services.² Baptist Noel, once one of the best known of the Establishment's revival-mongers, had by this time abandoned the Anglican fold for the Baptists; but the drama of his departure should not obscure the place of revivals in the Church of England. Noel had left in 1849 in St. John Street Baptist chapel, the scene of his later ministry. his congregation, after all, largely because of the anti-evangelical implications of the Gorham case, which at that time (1848) had not yet been resolved to the satisfaction of the evangelical party, and because of his conviction that the union of Church and State was unscriptural, harmful and doomed - and not because he lacked evangelical companionship in the

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1. J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 22 Oct. 1850, 18 Aug. 1851; E.A. Finney to Mrs. Bissell, 16 Aug. 1850, Finney Papers; J. Campbell to Mrs. Schrievner (circa 1852), in Ferguson and Brown, Life of Campbell, pp.430-31; Campbell, Valedictory Services, pp.12-14; Wesleyan Times, 5 Aug. 1850.
 2. Finney, Memoirs, p.411.

Church of England.¹ Indeed, the evangelical party was about to embark on a decade of considerable prosperity, spurred by 'papal aggression', headed by a sympathetic Archbishop (Sumner) and numbering between two and three thousand clergy. In many ways their kinship with Nonconformists was close: both preached to convert, took comfort in extempore prayer, encouraged evangelical lay-workers, distributed tracts and nourished millennialist expectations. Their difference from Dissenters lay in their loyalty to the Establishment, their powerful attachment to the prayer book and in their generally higher social standing.² In general, on the subject of revivals they stood close to the more cautious Nonconformists, hungry for souls and critical of 'a mere intellectual religion', but constrained by their social milieu and generally (if mildly) Calvinistic assumptions from sanctioning too unrestrained a revivalism.

The approach of Daniel Wilson, Oxford-educated Vicar of Islington was typical. In the year Finney was in London Wilson lamented that in 'a large portion of the Church, conversion is not sought or recognised in the proper sense of the term', for after baptism the individual was seen automatically as growing up within the Church. At the same time he criticised the conversion-minded for their lack of application; he attacked 'the

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1. The Hon. Baptist Wriothsesley Noel (1798-1873) was publicly rebaptised in 1849 in St. John Street Baptist chapel, the scene of his later ministry. He had readily promoted Albert Barnes' Theory and Desirableness of Revivals (1842) and proved a receptive host to a troop of transatlantic evangelicals. He invited Finney to use his pulpit and, during Finney's continental absence, worked at the Tabernacle. He was as occupied as Finney in itinerating round the same evangelical circuit. Dict. of Nat. Biog.; Carus, Memorials of McIlvaine, p.48; Codman, Visit to England, pp.107-08; Clark, Glimpses of the Old World, II, 53; Ob.Evang., V (27 Sept. 1843), XI (26 Sept. 1849); Bapt.Rep., new series VII (1850), 538; E.L. Forster to C.G. Finney, 6 Mar. 1850; E.A. Finney to Mrs. Bissell 22 Apr. 1850; B. Evans to C.G. Finney, 26 July 1850; E. Cornwall to C.G. Finney, 16 Aug. 1850; J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 6 Nov. 1850, Finney Papers.
 2. Chadwick, Victorian Church, I, 440-55. Chadwick rejects a contemporary's estimate of some 6,000 active evangelicals (3,300 moderate, or 'normal'; 2,500 very low, or 'exaggerated'), or about a third of the total English clergy. W.J. Conybeare, 'Church Parties', in Essays Ecclesiastical and Social (London, 1855), pp.156-58.

idolatry of intellect' in the Church, its undisciplined spirit of religious controversy, and its propensity to be 'fashionable' rather than useful. Yet his advocacy of revival means was strictly traditionalist and orthodox: humility before God, days of fasting, improved piety, fervent and united prayer, Bible reading, direct preaching and greater attention to religion in the home were the proper measures.¹ His ministerial colleagues agreed. It was through such 'orderly arrangements', one of them argued before a meeting of London clergy in January, 1851, that '(u)nsound revivals... occur(red) less frequently in the Church of England than in most other denominations of Christians'.² Finney would have been left in no doubt that the Anglican Church, in common with the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, was not prepared to endorse an uncontrolled, and conceivably spurious, revivalism; but the support of Hugh Allen and others suggested that he was, for some at least, orderly enough, and that the Church of England could be a church of revivals.

Finney's experience with Anglicanism indicates that in London (as indeed elsewhere) he reached not only the curious and 'unsophisticated' amongst the city's lower classes, and 'poorer sort of small tradesmen' of whom the regular Tabernacle congregation was chiefly composed, but also a group of more sophisticated and intelligent hearers.³ Finney's peculiar strength lay in the fact that unlike so many of his cruder predecessors and imitators, he did not abuse his audiences' intelligence. On the contrary, he regarded an appeal to the understanding as crucial to his evangelism. If it is possible to argue that within the popular American evangelicalism of the early and mid nineteenth century (in which Finney was so central a

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1. Daniel Wilson, A Revival of Spiritual Religion the only effectual remedy for the dangers which now threaten the Church of England (London, 1851).
 2. B. Philpot, On Religious Revivals. An address delivered at a meeting of clergymen, January 8, 1851 (London, 1851), p.9.
 3. Ritchie, London Pulpit, p.93.

figure) there are to be found the seeds of a popular anti-intellectualism and distrust for polished learning,¹ it is equally possible to suggest that Finney himself had considerable respect for man's intellectual faculties. He demanded that, instead of paying unthinking allegiance to old dogmas, men use their minds positively to erect logical constructs on scriptural propositions. For these reasons he could appeal with considerable success to lawyers and other community leaders in America, and to men of 'wealth and intelligence' in Britain.² The dramatic effect of his preaching and writings on such thinking men as James Cranbrook, lapsed-evangelical turned Unitarian minister, and John Moore, a Methodist preacher with a penchant for metaphysics and philosophy, illustrated the effect of his sharp and powerful mind on unbeliever and believer alike.³

The reasonably well-read middle-classes generally marked the upper limits of Finney's social appeal; he was rarely able to poach from those classes above, which were broadly the preserve of the Established Church. Similarly, those at the bottom range of the social scale were under-represented in Finney's London congregations.⁴ The greatest concentrations of lower-class hearers were in fact to be found within the Tabernacle Sunday School - for in Britain to an extent not true of the United States, the Sunday Schools were often seen as suitable havens for the instruction

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1. Richard Hofstadter, Anti-intellectualism in American Life (New York, 1963), pp.55-116.
 2. Theodore Cuyler reflected that '(p)robably no minister in America ever numbered among his converts so many lawyers and men of intellectual culture (as did Finney)'. Theodore Ledyard Cuyler, Recollections of a Long Life. An Autobiography (London, 1902), p.216.
 3. J. Cranbrook to C.G. Finney, 16 Aug. 1850; J. Moore to C.G. Finney, 30 Apr., 15 Oct. 1850, 4 Mar. 1851, Finney Papers; Finney, Memoirs, pp.395-99; Minutes of the Methodist Conference, 1873, pp.33-34. Benjamin Parsons suggested that Finney replace the departing John Harris as President of Cheshunt, a suggestion which reflected the respect in certain quarters for Finney's intellectual capabilities. B. Parsons to C.G. Finney, 31 May 1850, Finney Papers.
 4. The highest proportion of poor working-men in his audience was probably at Houghton, where agricultural labourers had proved to be Harcourt's most fruitful constituency.

of the children of the poor, where they could be kept from mischief, but as insufficiently 'respectable' for the better-to-do.¹ In practice, of course, social categorising was one of Finney's lesser concerns, to be subordinated to the classification of hearers according to their spiritual state and to the requisite spiritual medication. The 'thoughtless', the 'inquiring' and the 'pious' were singled out and respectively awakened, brought to decision and spring-cleaned. Numerical precision is difficult, since Finney was always reluctant to employ the Methodist practice of revival book-keeping. He seems to have dealt with thousands of 'inquirers'. The numbers actually added to the Tabernacle ran into three figures - by mid August, 1850, one hundred had given Campbell their names for church fellowship, and an even greater number joined other evangelical churches in the city.² In addition considerable numbers confessed at Finney's prompting to all sorts of crime, and apparently paid thousands of pounds in restitution.³ John Campbell captured the buoyancy and sense of well-being that Finney's efforts had stimulated when he addressed the autumnal meeting of the Congregational Union in 1850. '(A)ll things considered', he said, 'the state of religion in the metropolis is highly encouraging as compared with what it was more than twenty-two years ago.... As to the churches generally ...never since I knew them were they more tranquil, more active, or better conditioned than at the present time'; and his audience apparently agreed.⁴

1. Chr. Witness, V (1848), 556-68; E.A. Finney to Mrs. Bissell, 16 Aug. 1850, Finney Papers.

2. Finney, Memoirs, p.409; C.G. Finney to Julia Finney, 5 Dec. 1850; J. Campbell and his church officers to C.G. Finney, 2 Apr. 1851, Finney Papers. There would undoubtedly have been, as in all revivals, a number of 're-conversions' amongst that group which Ebenezer Cornwall labelled 'self-deceivers'. Campbell anticipated an annual total of 150 admissions, a figure well above the annual rate of at least the previous five years. Brit. Ban., 30 Oct. 1850.

3. Finney, Memoirs, p.413.

4. Chr. Witness, VII (1850), 546-47.

IV

Finney returned to Oberlin, in the summer of 1851. No doubt he had mixed feelings about his English campaign. On the credit side, he had won both large numbers of converts at a time of general Nonconformist increase, and also the endorsement of a number of leading Dissenters, a clear sign of success to those Americans who had suspected that a man so closely associated in their own country with schism and irregularity would fail to find a toe-hold on the stern face of English orthodoxy.¹ Less favourably, Finney would have recalled the 'solitude' of his position at Birmingham and Worcester, where some Nonconformists had proven lukewarm in his support, and the reluctance of some of London's principal ministers to open their pulpits to him. This sense of only limited acceptance and success was to be reinforced during the ensuing months as Finney learnt of the ambivalence of some of his British friends regarding his possible return. In part the difficulties were financial. 'It is desirable that you should rather follow than lead - rather find than make a way', Finney was advised by Campbell, who suggested that Potto Brown, George Hitchcock and others should first raise supporting funds. In fact Hitchcock and George Williams were unhappy about a second visit, and Brown himself, Finney's staunchest friend, had to write despondently that 'we have not had the cooperation of many ministers in promoting your return.'²

1. After several years of slow growth, most denominations for which figures are available experienced a spectacular numerical increase in 1849-1850 - a growth attributable in large part to the threat of cholera in 1849. Baptist additions in 1850 averaged 13.0 per church; this came after five years when the average annual additions never reached 4.0. A similar pattern is observable in Primitive and New Connexion Methodism. Wracked by schism, English (but not Welsh) Wesleyans experienced only a marginal increase. Gilbert, The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, pp.104, 106, 420.

2. J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 22 Oct. 1850, 18 Aug., 10 Nov. 1851; J. Moody to C.G. Finney, 27 Oct. 1852; P. Brown to C.G. Finney, 9 Nov. 1853, 1. Finney Papers.

At one level, Finney's failure to achieve spectacular success can be explained in terms of timing, tactics and itinerary. Arguably, he arrived a decade too late. Had he appeared in Britain in the later 1830s or early 1840s it is highly probable that like Caughey he would have been able to cash in on the revival upswing. Certainly this had been the period of peak interest in special revival services, Americans^a and Finney's own Lectures on Revivals. Moreover, in 1850 Finney was not far off his sixtieth year, though his remarkable energy suggests that he was not seriously handicapped by his age. In terms of tactical advantage, Finney's initial movements were unremunerative. Houghton, Birmingham and Worcester may have benefited from a degree of revival, but by April 1850, six months after his arrival, it was still not generally known that Finney was in Britain. In a non-connexional system it needed an introduction to the Congregational Union, a London base and a denominational publisher to ensure a more general recognition. Even then Finney paid little attention to Wales and Scotland, areas where he was assured of a warm reception. But perhaps he was unwittingly wise: had he visited Scotland his most uncritical patrons would have been Evangelical Unionists¹ - a church ostracised by the other evangelical denominations in Scotland; had he visited Wales he might well have been handicapped by the complications of language and an emotional style of religion with which he had long since sought to dissociate himself. And, in fairness to Finney, once he had decided to confine his activities to England, he was certainly ready to employ that evangelical Nonconformist circuit developed by Baptist and Congregationalist home missionaries and evangelists, by Evangelical Unionists in England, and by determined laymen.

Finney's essential problem was not so much tactical error as the fact that the revival current running through this evangelical circuit was much

1. J. Stevenson to C.G. Finney, 27 May 1850; R. Simpson to Finney, 8 and 14 Mar. 1851, Finney Papers.

5. Ghr. Witness, VII (1830), 314.

less powerfully charged than that which Caughey found pulsating through Methodism. Congregationalists and Baptists, as has been shown already, were not committed as denominations whole-heartedly to revivalism, and the scepticism with which the 'new measures' and 'the new views' were regarded was not markedly altered by Finney's presence.¹ The 1853 Chester Conference of activist Congregationalists called to combat the absence of 'holy earnestness' in the churches, and including David Everard Ford, John Angell James, Thomas Raffles, George Redford and other members of the evangelical vanguard, made clear its caution on the question of special services, especially when conducted by an outside revivalist.² Finney's methods in England had been considerably less provocative than in his younger, New York days, but his presence could still prove unsettling. Laymen were encouraged to disparage their ministers. Redford noted that some of Finney's support came from those 'who (were) disaffected towards their pastors and ha(d) given us trouble in time past';³ straw converts later backslid - two of Hitchcock's relations 'turned back into the world', their conversions the result of 'mere excitement for the moment', achieved, according to George Williams, 'not (by) the power of God but (by Finney's) powers of reasoning or the influence of a mighty mind over others';⁴ and the pastoral office was generally overshadowed. By all means seek a revival through the traditional means, wrote Griffiths of Cannock, but '(i)tinerant evangelists, fast-days, protracted meetings, anxious seats, &c., are not necessary'.⁵

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1. 'We want neither new measures nor "new views"....We do not want foreign agency to get up "a revival"', wrote an essayist in the Chr. Witness, VII (1850), 357-64. Cf. the debate between Campbell and the Rev. Thomas Adkins of Southampton, on the question of 'Finneyism', in Brit.Ban., 30 Oct. 1850.
 2. J.A. James et al, Chester Conference, pp.iii-vi, xx-xxi, 11, 25. See in particular C.H. Bateman, 'Protracted Meetings', pp.74-85.
 3. G. Redford to C.G. Finney, 3 Dec. 1850. Cf. P. Brown to Finney, 3 June 1849, Finney Papers.
 4. J. Moody to C.G. Finney, 27 Oct. 1852, Finney Papers. By August 1851 London and the Tabernacle had allegedly slipped back into a 'still and insipid' religious condition, while the Great Exhibition absorbed metropolitan attentions. J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 18 Aug. 1851, Finney Papers.
 5. Chr.Witness, VII (1850), 314.

Nor was there universal rapture over Finney's message. The doubts held by Angell James were shared by others. Some of the Tabernacle congregation stood aloof;¹ Campbell himself made public his criticisms;² and when eventually in 1851 Finney's Systematic Theology was published, the Evangelical Magazine branded it 'a dangerous book', 'essentially destructive of all true theology.'³

Finney by reflex action labelled London a city 'cursed with hyper-calvinistic preaching.'⁴ The description was inaccurate, bred as it was of Finney's exaggerated sense of his own centrality in the break-up of American Calvinism and of his unwarranted reading of his American role into an English context. His analysis would have been more accurate had he confined it to the Wales and Scotland of some years earlier, but in England High Calvinism had long been a minority evangelical taste. Yet, terminology apart, there was point to Finney's criticism. Implicit in it were three charges that had long been brought against Nonconformist preaching by evangelical American visitors and revival-minded Dissenters. First, few Nonconformists could claim, as could Finney, that the majority or even a sizeable proportion of their sermons were addressed to the unconverted. That there was substance in Austin Dickinson's conclusion that 'ministers (in England) do not preach to sinners, and they scarcely know what conviction of sin means', was later confirmed by the Rev. Robert Young of London's

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1. G. Hale to C.G. Finney, 20 June 1850; E. Cornwall to C.G. Finney, 16 Aug. 1850, Finney Papers.
 2. Chr. Witness, VII (1850), 473-76; J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 10 Oct. 1850, in Ferguson and Brown, Life and Labours of Campbell, pp.421-23; J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 1 Nov. 1850, Finney Papers. Campbell was convinced of Finney's 'radical soundness on all the great points of Evangelism', but criticised his 'defective exhibition of the grace of God. We have heard sermons from him, in which the name of Christ was never mentioned, nor his work so much as referred to, - sermons which might have been preached by a Jew or a Turk....' Campbell's view was that the unusual emphases and apparent rashness in Finney's preaching were a result not of serious unorthodoxy, but of an evangelist's need for faster results and dramatic crises, as against the pastor's more gentle and well-rounded didacticism. Campbell, Valedictory Services, pp.11-12, 26-29.
 3. Evang. Mag., new series XXIX (1851), 717-21. Cf. J. Gwyther to C.G. Finney, 3 Feb. 1851, Finney Papers.
 4. Finney, Memoirs, p.406. Cf. Asa Mahan's letter from Britain in Ob. Evang. XI (21 Nov. 1849), and Thomas Spicer's remarks in Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXI (14 Oct. 1849).

Albany Chapel, when, on the occasion of his first ever series of sermons addressed exclusively to this particular group, he remarked: 'It is an unusual thing to preach to the unconverted.... There may be detached passages in many sermons that are applicable... but it is unusual to preach wholly and expressly to the unconverted as a class.'¹

Second, even when sinners were the subject of ministerial concern, their obligations and ability immediately to repent were rarely pressed with Finney-like vigour.² There existed a powerful corps within Nonconformity that regarded with suspicion the instantaneous conversions so achieved. 'In Britain', reported Calvin Colton, 'they estimate the evidence of a genuine conversion somewhat according to the time it has occupied.'³ The gradual advance to a religious state was much to be preferred over such conversions, even when they were valid. These views worried evangelical stalwarts like Andrew Reed and John Angell James, yet in 1853 the President of the Congregational Union found it perfectly acceptable that sudden and striking conversions were being replaced by more gradual, gentle conversions especially in the case of Sunday scholars and children of religious parents.⁴

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1. L. Tappan to C.G. Finney, 17 Aug. 1832, Finney Papers; The English Pulpit; collection of sermons by the most eminent living divines of England (New York, 1849), pp.4-5. Cf. Reed, Advancement of Religion, p.162: 'Our ministry...is too exclusively addressed to men as regenerated...and too often the whole assembly, however promiscuous, is comprehended under the common appellation of Christians'; William Patton's comments in Evang.Mag., new series VI (1828), 489. Cf. Dale, Life of James, pp.551-53; Caughey, Letters, III, 166ff; Storrs, Memoirs of Green, pp.227-29. The gradual elimination of a prevailing sacerdotal view of the ministry in America to one in which the minister's basic obligation and usefulness, both to God and society, was seen to lie in bringing the sinner to decision, is examined in Sidney E. Mead's excellent essay, 'The Rise of the Evangelical Conception of the Ministry in America: 1607-1850', in H. Richard Neibuhr and Daniel D. Williams, The Ministry in Historical Perspectives (New York, 1956), pp.208-49.
 2. Finney, Memoirs, pp.409-10; J. Keep to C.G. Finney, 3 June 1850, J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 18 Aug. 1851, Finney Papers.
 3. New York Obs., XII (26 Apr. 1834).
 4. Dale, Life of James, pp.311-12; Chr. Witness, X (1853), 255ff. '(T)he use of (means towards conversion), as well as their influence on the mind, may be spread over a progressive period; but conversion itself is not progressive, it is instantaneous.' Reed, Advancement of Religion, pp.79-81, 179. Cf. David Everard Ford, Damascus: or, conversion in relation to the grace of God and the agency of Man (London, 1842), pp.26-30.

In this advance towards Bushnellite ideas of Christian Nurture,¹ many gradualists would in fact have insisted that the conversion itself, though coming at the end of gradual preparation, took place 'in an instant'; but it was an easy slide from this position to one of the exclusion of the crisis experience altogether.

Third, Finney's simple, near-extempore, semi-colloquial pulpit style, contrasted starkly with the sermons of fashionable mid-century Nonconformity.² The reading of sermons (a practice now gaining currency in the more popular denominations on both sides of the Atlantic)³ that sought to satisfy good taste and the intellect, but failed to stir the conscience, came in for sharp criticism from ministers like James and Campbell who knew from their own educational experience that college-training need not necessarily replace pulpit directness and a natural style with 'excessive' and 'genteel verbiage', and 'a more smooth, soft and dulcet strain of address'.⁴ Set together, these three characteristics, and the contrasting directness towards sinners of so many American ministers, shed much light on Andrew Reed's conclusion after his return from the United States that '(t)hey make the better evangelists; and we the better pastors'.⁵

1. Supra, p.37.

2. Campbell, Valedictory Services, pp.5-10; Ecl. Rev., quoted in Ob.Evang., V (12 Apr. 1843).

3. The practice of reading sermons was especially well established in American Episcopal, Congregationalist and many Presbyterian churches. It was much less prevalent amongst Methodists and Baptists and other less well educated denominations. Baird, Religion in America (1844), p.191. Cf. Reed, Advancement of Religion, pp.183-85; Chr.Witness, IV (1847), 494.

4. Chr.Witness, VI (1849), 520-21; Ferguson and Brown, Life and Labours of Campbell, pp.463-64; J. Campbell, Letters to the Independent Churches of Great Britain, on subjects intimately connected with The Revival and Progress of Christianity (London, 1856), pp.27-31; J.A. James, 'The Conversion of the Soul of the Great End of the Ministry', in James et al., Chester Conference, pp.31-60; Allon, Memoir of Sherman, pp.102-04. Thomas Binney argued before the Congregational Union in 1848 that the studious, intellectually accomplished minister was now becoming predominant over the popular and practical. Chr.Witness, V (1848), 296.

5. Reed and Matheson, Visit to the American Churches, II, 200. Joshua Leavitt regarded 'the whole influence' of English ministers as 'sedative, quieting, comfortable, calculated to keep things at a stand'. J. Leavitt to A. Nettleton, 3 Sept. 1832, Nettleton Papers.

This approach to the function and style of preaching was a major obstacle to the acceptance of a direct revivalism. The attitudes that underlay such an approach could not easily be overthrown, especially as they were determined in part by the social composition of much of Nonconformity. Implicit in much of this study has been a rejection of any automatic and rigid correlation between social class and revivalism. This chapter has shown that Finney's own converts were drawn from more than one social group. But the educated, middle-class leavening of Congregationalism in particular cushioned the denomination against revivalistic extravagance, protecting it from the one-dimensional theology of crude revivalism and from the shock of novel methods. In contrast to those groups most susceptible to a fiery, immediatist, ecstatic revivalism - groups such as the American frontier folk, and the workingmen and women of industrial England in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, which religious sociologists would describe as socially uprooted, culturally unstable, and suffering from 'anomie' and 'relative deprivation' - English Nonconformists could point to the support of middle-class respectability (together with solid artisans and poorer folk from stable rural communities) for whom excitement in religion was less important than regularity in attendance and the gradual cultivation of Christian virtues. For the better-educated in particular, conscious of Nonconformity's traditions of theology and learning, it was impossible immediately to jettison layers of received wisdom to make way for a novel revivalistic theology and method. To have accepted Finney would not have meant the scrapping of all carefully acquired traditions, but it would have involved an affront to middle-class propriety. When some of the more impulsive, untraditionalist laymen of Campbell's congregation set about placarding London to announce Finney's visit, the 'delicacy and propriety' of 'not a few worthy people' was much affronted.¹ Campbell had

1. Campbell, Valedictory Services, pp.12-14. Further, the public nature of commitment demanded by the revivalist would have grated on delicate sensibilities. 'Generally speaking, the modes of admission into churches in England are easier on the feelings of the candidates...than in churches of

promised Finney that in London Congregationalism he 'would be free from all constraint from proud rich men, terrified for the disturbances of the proprieties of great and easy people'; yet ironically it had been the more cultured, educated tone of much of that denomination which had militated against the full acceptance of his revivalism.¹

But there were other factors, too. After all, Congregationalists in New England and Presbyterians in eastern and urban parts of America also included a sizeable proportion of the educated and socially better-to-do. Nevertheless, they were much readier than their English counterparts to embrace religious revivalism (albeit, as has been seen, of the more refined variety). One differentiating factor was tradition and historical circumstance. Initially the American colonies, of New England in particular, had been settled by men committed to the concept of regeneration and a distinct demarcation between the church of 'visible saints' and the world at large. The gathered churches which they formed, and which in Britain in the eighteenth century represented a minority way of religious life, were in New England at that time a powerful influence in the life of the small townships. Acceptance of non-members into the church was achieved in some instances through the Half-Way Covenant (which allowed children of church members to become members themselves with restricted rights before they actually gave evidence of being 'savingly converted'), and in others through local church revivals. Whereas English Nonconformists generally ignored such means, in New England Calvinists became closely identified with these 'outpourings of the Spirit of God'. Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Calvinistic (as opposed to Old, Six-Principle) Baptists stood at the centre of the eighteenth-century Great Awakening; in England, in contrast, the Evangelical Revival of the same century had drawn much of its strength from Arminian Methodism and had secured only secondary and tardy

the same name in America', Calvin Colton had reported in 1834. If anything, admission had become easier with the passage of time, and the line between 'the church' and 'the world' had grown less distinct. New York Obs., XIII (7 Feb. 1835); J.A. James et al., Chester Conference, pp.xi-xiii, 35.

1. J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 3 Apr. 1850, Finney Papers.

support from the older Calvinistic denominations.¹ Though the excesses of that Awakening led to considerable heart-searching and re-assessment of revivalism in American Calvinistic ranks, the concept of periodic regenerative revivals was much too deeply engrained in their thinking easily to be excised. At Northampton, Mass., where under Jonathan Edwards some of the Great Awakening's greatest excitements were witnessed, revivals continued to punctuate the life of the township, massively Calvinistic in disposition, at periods of between three and ten years, until at least the 1830s. Having no first hand experience of this revival pendulum, mid-nineteenth-century English Nonconformists lacked the essential psychological equipment of expectancy that stimulated their American counterparts.² 'If I were asked why revivals are so frequent in America, and so rare in Europe', wrote Yale professor Chauncey A. Goodrich, 'my first answer would be, that Christians on one side of the Atlantic expect them, and on the other side they do not expect them.'³

Equally influential as the constraints on revivalism within the Nonconformist churches were a number of external conditioning factors determined

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1. Gaustad, Great Awakening in New England, *passim*. In America, the thinking of anti-revivalists like Charles Chauncy had sent them down an Arminian road that others were to find led ultimately to Unitarianism. Conrad Wright, The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America (Boston, 1955).
 2. Reed and Matheson, Visit to the American Churches, I, 374ff (cf. II, 3-4). No British pastor could match the record of someone like Joel Hawes, no new measure fanatic, who experienced a series of ten revivals in forty-four years in his Hartford church. Lawrence, Life of Hawes, pp.110-14, 134-35. Cf. Cong.Mag., new series II (1838), 747. James told Patton that perhaps the main reason for American revivals was that 'you seek them and expect them'. J.A. James to W. Patton, 2 Feb. 1828, in Dale, Life of James, p.242ff.
 3. Quoted in Baird, Religion in America (1844), p.207. The significance of Goodrich's academic position should not be overlooked. During the Second Great Awakening the seminaries and colleges of higher education, dominated by the Congregationalist and Presbyterian denominations, were repeatedly visited by revivals in a way that would have been regarded as 'fanatical' by British universities. Halliday and Gregory, Church in America, pp.216-25; Evang.Mag., new series XI (1833), 68-71. Cf. Reed and Matheson, Visit to the American churches, I, 391-402. When Methodists and Baptists began their phase of college building in the West, between 1830 and the Civil War, they set higher education in that section on an even more revivalistic course. Sweet, Revivalism in America, pp.147-50.

by the general structure of religious and secular society.¹ At least one historian, influenced by Frederick Jackson Turner, has used the interpretive key of the American frontier to explain the prevalence of revivalism in nineteenth-century America, and its lesser significance across the Atlantic.² The religion of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century frontier certainly had possessed a novel character. The voluntaristic church system of the early Republic determined that, as in the older sections, revivals would be the primary means of recruitment in the rapidly developing West; but the raw, unsettled state of that society, the uneducated, uncultivated character of the people, and the necessity for ministers to use persuasive means of recruitment, determined in addition that those revivals would be marked by excitement, a lack of theological subtlety, an emphasis on itinerancy and dramatic conversion above pastoral care, and on institutions like the camp meeting which catered for the social needs of a culturally-starved population. Revivalism took on a new look. In Britain, however, where there was no frontier to give constant stimulation to revivalism, then - so the argument runs - revivals remained on the periphery of religious life. That the edge of American revivalism was sharpened during the Second Great Awakening by the peculiar conditions of the frontier has already been demonstrated, and is not in dispute. Yet the fact that Britain also had her 'frontier' areas - those areas harbouring unsophisticated and unlearned populations unsettled by the dislocations of the Industrial Revolution - where an excited and emotional revivalism flourished into the nineteenth

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1. Interestingly, Finney himself rejected all arguments that the extent and power of revivals could be significantly influenced by social conditions: the absence of revivals quite simply indicated Christian shortcomings and an absence of sustained prayer and effort. Brit.Stand., III (18 Feb. 1859).
 2. Peter G. Mode, 'Revivalism as a Phase of Frontier Life' in Journal of Religion, I (1921), 337-54. Elizabeth K. Nottingham, although a student of the Turnerian W.W. Sweet, employs in her Methodism and the Frontier a broader approach which is nearer to that suggested below.

M. Elkins, Slavery: A Problem in American Civilization (Chicago, 1965), p. 111.

century; and that in America in the later stages of the Second Great Awakening and during the middle years of the century revivalism's centre of gravity shifted eastwards and city-wards away from the frontier: these facts suggest that the influence of the American frontier on revivalism cannot be considered alone and that it is unhelpful to attribute transatlantic differences solely, or perhaps even primarily, to the frontier's existence. Possibly just as fruitful an area of investigation is the broad sphere of tradition and the role played by religious institutions. It has already been noted how America was traditionally a country of revivals, how the ministry's role was regarded as primarily evangelical; and that when America was confronted with the challenge of a newer kind of revivalism in the early nineteenth century, she did not have institutions of sufficient authority effectively to nullify it. Old School Presbyterians protested; Congregationalists checked the entry of Methodism into New England; but the structure of ecclesiastical authority in America was too loose, and its power too limited (especially now that the churches had been deprived of their secular arm) for the new men to be held back for long.¹ But in Britain, where revivals had traditionally held a minority position in church life, limited in the main to Methodist denominations, revivalism faced ecclesiastical opposition and inherited prejudices that were entrenched and largely unmovable. Francis Wayland wrote during his visit to Britain in 1840: 'I am struck with the great difference between an old and a new country. Here everything is fenced around by precedents; you cannot move without infringing on vested rights. If you attempt any reform, you are called upon to consider

1. America was arguably a country which, relative to Britain, lacked in many spheres sufficiently authoritative institutions to impose restraints and checks on behaviour. Andrew Reed's criticism of the American approach to temperance had a more general application: '(The Americans) have only one fault - they know not when to stop.' Reed and Matheson, Visit to the American Churches, II, 164. Stanley Elkins has argued this institutional deficiency with regard to the contemporary opposition to slavery. Stanley M. Elkins, Slavery. A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life (Chicago, 1908), p.27ff.

how it will affect the landed interest, or the aristocracy, or the church.¹ He was not referring specifically to revivalism - but his diagnosis was as applicable to that as to other areas of British life.

The most powerful and conspicuous of these institutional checks on revivalism was the Established Church, regarded by most American and British evangelicals as 'an incubus resting on the nation to a great extent, so far as revivals and piety are concerned.'² Calvin Colton's strictures on the Anglican Church, the thoughtful distillation of two years' British experience, were representative of much American thinking.³ Writing shortly after the final American state (Massachusetts) had dismantled her church establishment, he was appalled at the way in which Anglican wealth, social status, a system of patronage and the guarantee of state support dissipated the Church's drive to save souls. There was none of the evangelical aggression and hard-sell typical of American voluntarism. Nor, it seemed to him and others, was the Church's doctrinal position conducive to the spread of revivals. The doctrine of conversion, involving the mature individual's conscious passing from a state of sin to a state of grace, and essential for religious revivalism, had no universal currency in the Church of England. Infants were regarded as being regenerated by baptism; clergy were often held to

1. Wayland and Wayland, Life and Labors of Francis Wayland, II, 10.
2. T. Spicer, in Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXI (4 Nov. 1846). Cf. ibid., (14 and 28 Oct. 1846).
3. New York Obs., XII (19 and 26 Apr. 1834). 'I do not think', wrote Colton, 'that the whole history of Christianity and of human society affords any likeness to this community, where such a multitude of souls have ever been so strongly entrenched in the forms of religion, and so thoroughly and invincibly defended against all instrumentalities, that might promise to implant the energies of its power...(There) is not another so great an obstacle to the conversion of the world.' Anson Phelps described the Anglican Church as 'twice dead'. Phelps to C.G. Finney, 29 Aug. 1833, Finney Papers. The American pastor at Henley-on-Thames, Robert Bolton, was 'sick at heart of the exclusiveness and bigotry of the established church, and long(ed) to breathe the atmosphere of religious liberty in the western world.' Codman, Visit to England, p.177. From the polar point of view, Frances Trollope looked to Anglicans to check revivalism, and was upset to find that revivals increased in incidence during the 1830s. Trollope, Domestic Manners of the Americans, ed. Smalley, p.76.

possess the power to forgive sins; the burial service taught that all who died passed to heaven. Membership was open not to a select band who had earned it through their justification by faith, but - because of the territorial, national and pastoral conception of the Church - was available to all men as of right: there was none of that sectarian exclusiveness, and sense of separation from the contaminating world, so characteristic of the most urgently revivalistic churches. All was summed up in her commitment to dry and repetitive liturgical forms which crushed the urge towards a more free-wheeling, extempore and emotional style of worship. True, the Church did possess an evangelical wing firmly wedded to the concept of conversion, but it was neither strong enough nor sufficiently enthusiastic on the question of revivals significantly to shift the Established Church from its broadly anti-revival stance.¹

Had the Anglican Church been simply one church among many, operating on an equal footing alongside other denominations, then her position on revivals would have been no more significant than most. But as the national Church, the church of the governing classes, the nobility and gentry, her authority had a powerful social and political dimension. These classes both contributed to and were infected by the Church's distaste for revival excitement. Evangelicals had long been numbered in their ranks, of course (the Clapham Sect were scarcely socially obscure); and a concern for the spiritual condition of the poor - sometimes for secular ends that were demonstrably conservative - had marked much of their thinking. Sometimes, as with Sir Culling Eardley's sanctioning of tent services, and Shaftesbury's later support for Moody's revivalism, men of considerable social rank espoused

1. Hinton, History and Topography of the United States, pp.370-80; Cong.Mag., XIII (1830), 432; Dale, Life of James, pp.165-94, 244, 251; Reed, Advancement of Religion, p.252; Chr. Obs., XXVIII (1828), 220; Chr. Witness, I (1844), 264-66; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XVII (9 Nov. 1842).

novel and aggressive evangelical means.¹ But in general amongst these classes revivalism had connotations into the 1840s and beyond of popular ignorance, Methodistic extravagance, theological sterility, social disruption (through outdoor preaching) and occasionally political radicalism, which in some instances were justified, but which might simply be a mental hangover from the earlier years of the century and the days of Lord Sidmouth.

The hold of the Established Church had never been vice-like. Extensive parishes, changing population patterns, new industrial settlements, non-residence - all these factors weakened Anglicanism's power.² (It was no accident that so many of the most striking of British revivals were in newer industrial areas and non-Cathedral cities, like Sheffield, where the power of the Church had been weakened by its failure to come fully to terms with the social upheavals of the industrial revolution.)³ Nevertheless, the united front of anti-evangelical clergy and socially influential was often capable of spiking the evangelicals' guns. The annual reports of the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty during the 1820s illustrate the ways in which local magistrates - often clergymen, or Anglican laymen - could impede, through the use of the Vagrant Act, the progress of outdoor Methodist itinerants.⁴ In the 1830s and 1840s, as Baptists and Congregationalists began to intensify their own home missionary efforts, the agents of evangelical Nonconformity found themselves and their hearers subject to careful and effective discrimination from High Church and

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1. Bapt. Mag., XXXIV (1842), 82. Cf. Sir Wilfrid Lawson's hospitality to Evangelical Unionists in Carlisle. Adamson, Life of Morison, p.218.
 2. See, for example, Robert Currie, 'A Micro-Theory of Methodist Growth', Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XXXVI (Oct. 1967), 65-73.
 3. It will be remembered that Finney was only moderately successful in the cathedral city of Worcester. Charles Roe strongly and shrewdly urged him to attack some of the larger northern and midland industrial towns. Roe to C.G. Finney, 3 Mar. 1851, Finney Papers.
 4. See, for example, Wesl. Meth. Mag., 3rd series II (1823), 473-74. Sometimes however, the local magistrates protected Wesleyan and Dissenting ministers and their hearers from assault. Ibid., 3rd series VII (1828), 479-80.

Puseyite clergy, and the local gentry, especially in those small towns and rural areas where patterns of social and religious deference were particularly well established.¹ In Somerset in 1843 the Baptist Home Missionary Society agent found that children who attended the Baptist Sunday School were threatened with expulsion from the day school run by the local High Church clergy, and in some areas the threat was translated into practice.² Equally, the itinerating agent, bearing his evangelical fare, might well find that the local gentry's threats of expulsion from tenancies, or the withholding of poor relief, had taken the edge off his hearers' appetites.³

Even without such direct and blatantly obstructive means, the very climate of opposition to revivalism created by men of 'property and rank and influence' could prove fatal to the plans of the evangelically-minded, in a society marked by class deference and the percolation of ideas of correct behaviour downwards through the social scale.⁴ In America, or so it appeared to both British and American evangelical commentators, republicanism had promoted the 'intermingling of classes' and had bred in all men, including the poor, 'a firmer spirit of independence, which is less disposed to yield to the authority of custom or fashion.'⁵ But in Britain

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1. This did not hold true of all rural areas. Alan Everitt suggests that in the more recently settled and 'outcast' areas of the countryside, where the church was weak, Methodism could flourish - in the same way that, in the Weald, older Dissent had predominated in the interstices of parishes, and in the larger parishes where the minor gentry had failed to overawe the independent yeomen, and where population changes had overtaken the capacities of an inflexible church. Alan Everitt, 'Nonconformity in Rural Parishes', *Agricultural History Review*, XVIII (1970), 178-99.
 2. *Bapt. Mag.*, XXXIV (1842), 543-44; XXXV (1843), 505. Cf. *Wesl. Meth. Mag.*, 3rd series IX (1830), 483-84.
 3. *Bapt. Mag.*, XXXVI (1844), 226-27; XXXIX (1847), 406; *Bapt. Rep.*, new series IV (1847), 210; *Bapt. Rec.*, III (1846), 69; *Revivalist* (1844), pp. 351-53; *Chr. Witness*, III (1846) and IV (1847), *passim*; VII (1850), 613-16.
 4. J.A. James to W. Patton, 27 Jan. 1844, in Dale, *Life of James*, p. 423.
 5. *Evang. Mag.*, new series VI (1828), 488. Francis Cox attributed the success of inquiry meetings in American revivals to the fact that 'intercourse with each other... is unchecked by artificial distinctions or the pride of rank'. Cox, *Suggestions*, p. 9. Andrew Reed reflected similarly: '(The Americans) have fewer lines of distinction in society; and those few are much fainter;

it appeared that the pressure from above to conform to the dominant code of social and religious behaviour, a code that honoured refinement and decorum and rejected unambiguous revivalism, were too strong to prevent a compromising of evangelical principles.¹ There was some truth in this analysis; though one may dispute the implicit assertion that Americans were free from pressures to conform to the code of behaviour embraced by the dominant social group. So often, however, in America that dominant group was itself revival-minded. This was particularly true in small-town and rural America, whether in older or newer areas of the country. It has been seen that such communities in New England, New York and further west could be almost wholly consumed by revival, as dissenting individuals found themselves under pressure from majoritarian influences and were sucked into the whirlpool of conversions. Of course, near-total or majority involvement in revivals could occasionally occur in small communities in Britain where the Established Church was weak - in Wales, or the small mining communities of Cornwall or Shropshire, for example. But often the power of the Church of England in smaller communities tended to the social ostracism of the revival-minded.

Perhaps the best guide to the relative social status of aggressive evangelicalism in America and Britain was the standing of the Methodist Churches. From being one of the smallest denominations at the time of the Revolution, lagging well behind Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Anglicans and Quakers, by 1844 the Methodist Episcopal Church had become

so that there is far less difficulty in coming together'. Reed and Matheson, Visit to the American Churches, II, 4-5. Wilbur Fisk was at the same time grieving over the rigid separation of classes in British society. Fisk, Travels in Europe, pp.487, 490-91, 684. Cf. Henry Caswall, America, and the American Church (London, 1839), p.325 ('American revivals, in general, are partly to be ascribed to the equality of the people, and their habit of acting and thinking in masses'); Brit.Stand., III (7 Jan. 1859).

1. In Pulsford's revival at Bromsgrove in 1843, '(m)asters, threatened servants; husbands, their wives; parents, their children; trustees of our local charities, their poor expectants'. Bapt.Rep., new series I (1844), 20-21, 95.

the largest Protestant body in America. Size conferred status. 'The relative social importance and respectability of Methodists as a body, is greater in America than in England', wrote John Durbin in the year of the Methodist schism. 'There are no offices, either in our State or General Governments, except the Presidency' - had he forgotten William H. Harrison? - 'that have not been filled by members of the Methodist Church. Her ministers are occasionally professors in state universities, and often chaplains to Congress and State legislatures. I have heard of no case in England of high office having been held by a Methodist.'¹ A decade later Frederick Jobson came to a similar conclusion. American Methodism, he said, 'may be spoken of as having the prestige among the churches which the Church of England has in our own country.'² Revivalism and the American laissez-faire church system had placed Methodism in a position of numerical dominance; and that dominance in the interdenominational scramble for souls gave her influence over other churches. Methodism had played a major role in the first half of the nineteenth century, introducing a more engineered revivalism and helping erode Calvinistic defences. In Britain, too, Methodism helped ginger up the Calvinistic Dissenters, but because British Methodism lacked the same social status, and remained uncommitted to the full-blooded revivalism that marked the American branch, its influence in winning significant social acceptance of revivalism was never as potent.

Many years later, when writing his Memoirs, Finney reflected on his first mission to England, and recalled a proposal made to him at Worcester

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1. Durbin, Observations in Europe, p.77. Cf. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXI (4 Nov. 1846).
 2. Jobson, America, and American Methodism, p.233. The receptions afforded to visiting delegates reflected the comparative status of Methodists in both countries. No visiting American Methodist was ever fêted like Robert Newton, who preached to members of the United States government and to both houses of Congress, and had an audience with President Van Buren. Newton himself noted "the immense sway (of American Methodists) over public opinion." Jackson, Life of Newton, pp.200-01, 204-05, 212.

by a number of wealthy laymen, that they finance the building of a transportable tabernacle for Finney's use throughout the country. The plan appealed to Finney, who sensed that it might prove a means of circumventing some of those obstacles to successful revivalism already considered. The tabernacle would allow him to reach 'the masses, irrespective of denomination', and would free him from the restrictions imposed by an Independency that was itself 'so hedged in and circumscribed by the...Establishment'. But the Worcester ministers, wary of the lay motivation behind 'a scheme which might disturb the existing churches', cautioned against the American's preaching 'in an independent way' round the country, and Finney deferred to their advice.¹ Two decades later, with the advantage of hindsight, Finney had come to regret his decision. He had never been a rigid denominationalist, but the interdenominational aspects of his revivalism had for most of his life been held in moderate check by the strength of the prevailing denominationalism.² He was not to know that within a decade of 1850 interdenominational revival meetings conducted outside the regular chapels would be a significant feature of the major revival movement flowering in both Britain and America. Had Finney seized his opportunities in 1850 he might have secured the personal benefits accruing from the anticipation of broad evangelical trends (as he had done in the 1820s and 1830s). In the event, when Finney returned to participate in the revival movement of the later 1850s he was to be simply one prestigious but scarcely radical member of a large band of revivalists devoted to its promotion.

1. Finney, Memoirs, p.400; G. Redford to C.G. Finney, 3 Dec. 1850, Finney Papers. Cf. Finney, Lectures on Revivals, ed. McLoughlin, p.266.

2. There were, of course, distinct examples of denominational co-operation in support of Finney in 1849-1851; nor should his work in Union chapels be forgotten. Cf. E. Adler to C.G. Finney, 15 Mar. 1850; S. Richards to C.G. Finney, 26 Mar. 1850; W. Yates to W. Crowe, 15 Apr. 1850, Finney Papers.

1. Orr, Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain, p.6.

CHAPTER SEVEN

TRANSATLANTIC REVIVAL, 1857-1863

In 1859 a remarkable wave of religious revivals spread over Ulster, Wales, much of Scotland and parts of England. Hundreds of thousands were said to be converted; religious emotion ran high; most evangelicals responded with enthusiasm and wonder; and even the secular press was forced to take note of the occurrence. From a twentieth-century perspective the movement appears rather less important. Unlike the eighteenth-century Evangelical Revival, to which it has been uncritically likened,¹ it marked no fundamental upheaval in the broad patterns of religious and secular life. More realistically, it represented simply another quickening of the revival pulse, a development with fairly limited implications for the churches and society at large. Yet the movement is not without its interest or significance. It indicated that revivalism was spreading beyond those churches and denominations well used to the revival cycle, into some quarters traditionally wary of revival efforts; that church services were being supplemented by a resurgent open-air preaching and revival services in theatres, music halls and other venues which might attract an urban working class largely untouched by the churches; and that evangelicals and revivalists were capable, albeit for short periods, of capturing popular attention nationally in a dramatic way. Many of the movement's converts were recruited into the burgeoning mission activities of mid-Victorian Britain. Moreover, the broadening of the impact of revivalism meant that its techniques and practices were all the more likely to be influential outside strictly religious life. Olive Anderson has suggested how the female preachers of the revival may have helped affect Victorian attitudes to women; R.T. Shannon has argued that the revival was one of the 'primary sources of inspiration' for the agitation

1. Orr, Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain, p.6.

over the Bulgarian atrocities in 1876.¹

Certainly the revival movement of the late 1850s and early 1860s had a significance sufficient to warrant a more perceptive treatment than it has yet been afforded and a more comprehensive analysis than can be offered here. This chapter simply examines the American dimension of that movement, a dimension which contemporaries regarded as of determinative significance. The examination divides into two parts. An investigation of the reaction of the British religious community to the American revival explains something of the origins and the early characteristics of the British movement. Then, more specifically, an analysis of the itinerancies of the major American revivalists in Britain between 1857 and 1863 will tell something of the progress and practices of the movement, even if their activities were not fully representative of the total evangelistic activity of these years. But first a brief assessment of the character and importance of the American revival of 1857-1858 is appropriate.

I

When Heman Humphrey wrote optimistically in 1859 of his anticipation 'that the next revival may spread over the whole land; that not a single church may be passed by', his views were not to be dismissed as the product of a feeble octogenarian mind. Rather they were to be seen as typical of the evangelical response to the dazzling revival of 1857-1858.² After a decade in which American churches had looked nervously at the increasingly unfavourable ratio of church membership to total population, and at the swelling tide of unchurched and Catholic immigrants, the revival of Annus

1. Olive Anderson, 'Women Preachers in Mid-Victorian Britain: Some Reflections on Feminism, Popular Religion and Social Change', Historical Journal, XII (1969), 467-84; R.T. Shannon, Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation 1876 (London, 1963).

2. Humphrey, Revival Sketches and Manual, pp.298-99.

Mirabilis was enthusiastically acclaimed in every evangelical denomination. This, it seemed, was a unique revival possessing a number of characteristics differentiating it from earlier movements.

First, it was city-based. Though rural and small-town America, including the South, shared in the movement, it was the cities which captured popular attention.¹ As the revival spread from New York, its immediate source, into the urban centres of New Jersey, New England and Pennsylvania during the winter of 1857-58, and thence into the cities of the South and West, so evangelical doubts were quietened: cities could, after all, inspire a powerful revival.² Moreover, the movement's urban roots could be traced to those very downtown areas from which the respectable middle-class population was emigrating, leaving behind weakened churches and worried pastors; the Fulton Street and John Street noon prayer-meetings, which provided the early downtown momentum for New York's revival, were soon copied in other major cities.³ Second, the revival appeared to affect classes generally regarded as out of evangelicalism's reach. In New York, not only were the 'fashionable' and well-to-do of Fifth Avenue reportedly canvassed with some success, but the efforts to reach the 'mechanics' and 'openly vicious' of the downtown areas or even the Five Points were in part effective; similar efforts in the Bedford Street mission in Philadelphia and in Boston's slum areas resulted in a number of conversions. Unusually, too, some of the major groups affected were city businessmen and clerks, groups hitherto peripheral to revivals. Women, customarily regarded as the

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1. Partisan claims that the moral corruption of slavery had made the South immune to revivals were misleading. But revivals there were less dramatic and less well advertised than in the rest of the country. Spicer, Great Awakening, pp.176-233; Francis, Pentecost: 1858, p.152; Orr, Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain, pp.27-28.
 2. A Journal Kept by Mrs. Elizabeth Ford Atkinson Finney during a Visit to England in 1859-1860, Oberlin College Archives, pp.11-12.
 3. Conant, Narratives of Remarkable Conversions, p.414; Halliday and Gregory, Church in America, pp.234-35.

mainstay of revivals and 'the moral support of American society', were now frequently relegated to the sidelines, especially in the noon-time city prayer meetings.¹

Third, the revival had been promoted to an unprecedented extent by the laity. The development of lay efforts in soul-saving, marked during the 1850s by the growth of YMCAs, the expanding activities of Sunday Schools and the cultivation of city missions, now came to fruition. It was the lay city missionary, Jeremiah Lanphier, who had set up the seminal Fulton Street meeting in October 1857, and laymen, especially through the YMCAs, took an active role in visiting the unconverted and conducting the proliferating prayer meetings of the following winter. A half century earlier it had been, in the words of Lyman Beecher, 'a new thing...for the clergy and laymen to meet on the same level and co-operate.' By the 1850s lay education and self-confidence, in part promoted by the equalising tendencies of revivals, had reached a stage where a few ministers felt their own status threatened, though most evangelicals welcomed the mobilising of a lay army. 'The people are the preacher', exulted William C. Conant, for whom lay participation in the revival ('Democracy under CHRIST') was 'in beautiful harmony with the nature of modern American existence.'²

Fourth, much greater interdenominational harmony prevailed than in any previous revival. Earlier revivals had seen elements of co-operation, but now union meetings became the order of the day, some held in churches under denominational or Y.M.C.A. auspices, others in theatres, music halls

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1. New York Tribune, quoted in The Religious Movement in the United States (Edinburgh, 1858); Conant, Narratives of Remarkable Conversions, pp.361, 364, 376; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXII (29 Oct. 1857), XXXIII (8 and 15 Apr., 9 Sept. 1858); Ob. Evang., XX (17 Mar. 1858); Spicer, Great Awakening, pp.76, 155-57.
 2. Spicer, Great Awakening, pp.78-79, 160, 254; Wayland and Wayland, Life and Labors of Francis Wayland, II, 220-21; Conant, Narratives of Remarkable Conversions, pp.365, 416; Mead, Nathaniel William Taylor, p.81; Humphrey, Revival Sketches and Manual, p.284; New Englander, XVI (Aug. 1858), 663; Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform, pp.80-83.

or huge mobile 'union tabernacles' associated with no single denomination. The extent of union varied from place to place - the revival in Boston developed primarily within the individual churches - but everywhere the general absence of sectarian argument occasioned remark and was reckoned to be the primary reason for the success of revival prayer meetings.¹ Finally, as noted earlier, the revival appeared unique for its 'solemn earnestness and tranquillity.'² This time there was no uncontrolled enthusiasm, there were no exceptionable measures; itinerant denominational revivalists had only a subordinate role to play in a scheme of things that thrust lay interdenominationalism to the fore;³ there could be little physical excitement in a revival that prized prayer and the carefully-organised prayer meeting so highly.⁴

The uncritical enthusiasm of contemporaries who reckoned to count additions to the churches by hundreds of thousands has inevitably to give way to more sober assessments. The movement was arguably closer to an artificial or temporary religious excitement than a 'Great Awakening'. Most clearly, it was related closely to the financial panic and crash of October 1857, much more obviously so than the revival of the late 1830s to the accompanying severe depression.⁵ In New York anxious businessmen found

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1. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXIII (11 Apr., 13 May, 1858); Spicer, Great Awakening, pp.87-89, 132, 210-11; Ob. Evang., XX (17 Mar. 1858).
 2. Supra, p.50.
 3. Finney, Knapp, Absalom B. Earle, Mrs. Maggie Van Cott, William Taylor and Henry Morgan appear to have been the foremost among the evangelists at work. Spicer, Great Awakening, pp.67-77, 152-53, 189.
 4. There were a few isolated cases of trances and 'the jerks' in Illinois, Tennessee and New York backwaters amongst Methodists and Baptists. Ibid., pp.115, 128-29, 203-05. It is worth noting that prayers for named individuals, a central and widely-accepted feature of the prayer meetings in 1857-58, had been a major cause of conservative evangelical concern during the 1820s and 1830s. Humphrey, Revival Sketches and Manual, p.283; Conant, Narratives of Remarkable Conversions, pp.391-94.
 5. Contemporaries were in no doubt as to the connection between panic and revival. Humphrey, Revival Sketches and Manual, pp.278-79; Ob. Evang., XX (24 Mar. 1858).

of the country with some of the
Manual, pp.281-82.

it convenient and comforting to step into the brisk noon-time prayer meetings in Fulton Street and other downtown centres. Here they might be led to see the crash as necessary retribution for the growing worldliness and selfish concern for wealth of a prosperous nation.¹ Equally, business frustrations could be diverted into socially harmless channels: 'Prayer was never so great a blessing to me as it is in this time!' claimed one prominent New York businessman, who probably spoke for many; 'I should certainly either break down or turn rascal, except for it.'² As the religious excitement spread in one business centre after another, daily newspapers - in particular Greeley's New York Tribune - seized on a good story and through detailed description exaggerated its importance relative to earlier revivals, and helped advance it; while the new telegraph system that linked the revival activities of north-eastern and western cities also helped dramatise the excitement.³ Only as prosperity returned in mid 1858 did the businessmen's meetings lose their novelty and the revival its momentum. That the South was less dramatically affected than the North-east by both the effects of the panic and the religious revival, also indicates the clear association of economic crash and religious excitement.

If the connection of panic and revival suggests that something less than a fundamental religious awakening was taking place, so too does the failure of the revival substantially to reach the unchurched masses.

Despite grandiose contemporary claims, the urban poor and non-Protestant immigrant populations were scarcely touched. One observer argued that generally the revival's participants 'do not consist of the poor, the

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1. Henry Clay Fish's Primitive Piety Revived helped foster such attitudes. For the renunciation of wealth, see Brit. Stand., II (27 Aug. 1858).
 2. Conant, Narratives of Remarkable Conversions, p.357.
 3. Heman Humphrey reflected: 'Twenty years ago it was difficult to get even a short paragraph of religious intelligence into a secular city paper.... I believe...it took a whole year to get the amount of two columns into any secular city paper, when revivals in almost every part of the country were going on with mighty power.' Revival Sketches and Manual, pp.281-82.

industrious, the hardworking class of the community';¹ indeed it was in part this very failure of the churches that drove believers into the more melioristic, socially-reformist brand of evangelical enterprise that marked the various city missions from the 1840s onwards.² In fact the basic constituency of the 1857-58 revival was already within the reach of the churches. The report from the Methodist Seventh Street Church, New York, that in three weeks 'nearly a hundred souls professed conversion, chiefly young persons connected with the families of the members', was a common one at this time.³ One official Methodist report calculated that in the eleven years before 1857, 'nearly eighty-nine per cent of the net increase of our church membership has been derived from our Sunday Schools'.⁴ The pattern continued into Annus Mirabilis.

Much of what appeared admirable in the revival may have represented weakness. Interdenominational co-operation was perhaps a retreat from the confident denominational self-reliance that had marked the high tide of the Second Great Awakening in the 1820s and 1830s. Then Methodists, for example, secure and optimistic in their remarkable growth, had often shunned interdenominational union.⁵ Now, despite continued numerical advance, the realities of urban problems threw them more into the company of the evangelically like-minded. The watering down of theological differences between Arminian and Calvinist clearly helped. Nathan Bangs told how in 1857 he

1. Spicer, Great Awakening, pp.104, 280-82; Francis, Pentecost: 1858, pp.58-60. Significantly, the membership of New York's John Street Church, where 2,000 met daily at the height of the revival in 1858, fell as follows during the later 1850s: 146 (1855), 134((1856), 138 (1857), 116 (1858), 112 (1859). Numbers began to rise a little in the early 1860s. Seaman, Annals of New York Methodism, *passim*; Conant, Narratives of Remarkable Conversions, p.361.
2. Rosenberg, Religion and the Rise of the American City, pp.186-224 and *passim*; Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform, pp.163-77.
3. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXIII (1 Apr. 1858). Cf. *ibid.*, (18 Feb. 1858); Mears, Autobiography, pp.12-14.
4. Wardle, History of the Sunday School Movement, p.89.
5. See, for example, the columns of the Chr. Adv. and Jnl., I-IV (1826-1830).

modified his unbending defence of Methodism against Calvinism, in response to reciprocated concessions from his long-standing opponents.¹ 'No controverted points discussed', announced the posters advertising New York prayer meetings, and it was theological controversy, as well as the slavery issue, to which they referred.² In the hands of laymen, in particular, an already much modified Calvinism was further watered down. 'Hell awaits you - Come to be saved', urged the tracts handed to the audiences at the interdenominational meetings in Philadelphia's Jayne's Hall, and the message which followed emphasised to a degree shocking to an earlier generation of Calvinists, the simplicity of salvation and the near-autonomous role of the sinner in achieving it.³ 'Getting religion' was becoming much less arduous. There was considerable agreement that 'the cases of conversion...have taken place without those deep, pungent, and distressing convictions of sin, which usually attended conversions' in the days of Edwards or Nettleton; conversion 'now...seems to be comparatively a slight affair.' Not all thought this discreditable: perhaps the reduction of trauma was a reflection of the effective nurturing work of Sunday Schools. But there were those who believed, correctly, that the criteria for church membership were now less rigorous than formerly, as the harsh preaching of the law and sovereignty of God, and the doctrine of endless punishment, had given way to a softer, more sentimental approach.⁴ Certainly after the Civil War these standards clearly deteriorated as the gap distinguishing membership from simple attendance narrowed, especially in city churches anxious for an audience of any kind.⁵

1. Halliday and Gregory, Church in America, pp.253-54.

2. Spicer, Great Awakening, Appendix B.

3. Francis, Pentecost: 1858, p.101.

4. Chr. Witness, XV (1858), 446-47, reprinting American newspaper analyses. Cf. the account of the conversion of the ex-prize-fighter, Orville Gardener, in Ob. Evang., XX (14 Apr. 1858).

5. Weisberger, They Gathered at the River, p.164.

Methodism, pp. 109-10, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

Perhaps there is a danger of being too dismissive. McLoughlin's verdict (that the revival was 'a very respectable affair in which attending prayer meetings became the thing to do for the season')¹ is arguably too harsh. For the movement was more than an ephemeral response to an economic crisis. Revivals were multiplying before the financial panic occurred: New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia Methodist churches reported special services and significant additions in the first half of 1857, a time of intensive lay effort for revival.² Neither can the panic explain the extent of the revival nor its impact in areas where economic distress was limited. The crash simply helped set in motion a revival machinery that had until recently been in only limited operation: an outside stimulus joined with an inner need - that of getting a new generation of adherents into the churches - to produce a revival of considerable dimensions. Even allowing for a weakening in standards of membership, the numbers involved were substantial. The membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church grew from 820,519 to 956,555 in the year 1857-1858 - an increase of 16 per cent in a decade when the average annual increase in membership was four per cent. This was a huge growth, hitherto matched in numerical terms only by the phenomenal increase of 1843.³ Increases in other denominations were proportionately less spectacular, but they still set 1858 apart as a year to be favourably compared with other peak years of 1832, 1843 and 1876. Perhaps most important of all, the revival had demonstrated that cities could sustain a religious movement capable of holding public attention, and that lay organisations such as the Y.M.C.A. could play a positive

1. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, p.164.

2. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXII (21 May, 11 and 25 June 1857); Conant, Narratives of Remarkable Conversions, p.417; Robinson Scott, The American Revival: Its Facts and Lessons (Dublin, 1860), p.12.

3. Methodist membership reached 994,447 by 1860. Then came a reaction in 1861 and 1862. The figure for 1865 was lower than that for 1858. War, and the secession of many border churches from the Methodist Episcopal Church, accounted in part for this. Goss, Statistical History of American Methodism, pp.109-10, 149. For stunted growth in other churches during the post-revival period, see Dike, 'A Study of New England Revivals', loc. cit., 366-75; Weber, Presbyterian Statistics, p.64.

interdenominational part in evangelism. These lessons were not lost on a new generation of evangelicals, one of whom, a young Chicagoan named Dwight L. Moody, was to refine an interdenominational lay evangelism that in the mid 1870s would capture the imagination of urban churches on both sides of the Atlantic.

II

Well before the American movement broke out in 1857, British churches were directing renewed attention to the question of revival. The publication late in 1853 of the report on the religious census, which emphasised the weakness of the churches in 'chief manufacturing districts' and their failure generally to reach the working classes, seemed likely to stir the churches out of the 'languor and death' reported by a frustrated Edward Weeks in the same year.¹ The 1854 Wesleyan Conference resolved that the second week of the New Year should see 'Special Religious services daily throughout the kingdom', and in each of the winters immediately following services for revival were held in various parts of the country.² The pages of the Revivalist, a Lincolnshire-based magazine of evangelical zealots in Primitive and Reform Methodism, suggest that special services were on the upswing in these denominations from 1855.³ At the same time Congregationalists and Baptists continued their in and outdoor mission work, sought non-contentious revivals of the prayer-dominated type, and introduced with some success their own kind of special services: meetings in halls and

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1. K.S. Inglis, 'Patterns of Religious Worship in 1851', Jnl. of Eccles. Hist., XI (1960), 74-86; E.H. Weeks to C.G. Finney, 26 May 1853, Oberlin College Archives, 7/1/5, Box 10. Cf. J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 29 Apr. 1855, Finney Papers: despite the initial shock of the census, 'there is every danger lest we once more sink down into our former apathy.'
 2. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXX (18 Jan. 1855), XXXII (26 Mar. 1857); Gregory, Life of Jobson, p.46.
 3. Op. cit. (1855), pp.46-47; (1856), pp.43-45, 49-50, 74-80, 89-93, 107-11, 121-22, 137-43, 185-91; (1858), p.29.

theatres, designed to attract urban working-men and consisting of popular addresses by local and prominent ministers on subjects secular and religious.¹ Evangelical Anglicans, too, warmed to the idea of special services to reach the unchurched. While Robert Aitken conducted High Church revivals in Cornwall, the Black Country, and the North, and while some low churchmen directed outdoor preaching at 'the humbler classes in society', Lord Shaftesbury sponsored a Religious Worship Act (1855) that allowed Anglicans like Hugh Stowell, John C. Miller, Hugh McNeile, and John C. Ryle to officiate in special services in Exeter Hall, London, and in unconsecrated buildings in other cities. Often these services were designed to bring hearers to a decision, though there appears to have been no attempt at the meetings themselves to secure public expressions of conversion.²

The pace of revivals quickened in the winter of 1857-58. As on earlier occasions of upswing, economic distress appears to have been a contributory factor. In October the chairman of the Congregational Union attributed the 'increasing conformity to the world among professing Christians' to the current prosperity of trade and commerce.³ By the end of the year the economic picture had changed dramatically and had brought back bleak echoes of the 1840s. Trade was depressed, wages fell, unemployment spread, and in some areas there were significant increases in pauperism and

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1. See, for example, Freeman, I (28 Jan., 14 Mar., 11 Apr., 2 and 23 May, 27 June, 1 and 15 Aug., 14 and 28 Nov., 12 Dec. 1855); Chr. Witness, XI (1854), 141-43, 280-82; XII (1855), 215-18, 260-65; XIII (1856), v-vi; XIV (1857), 255, 279, 406-07, 516-19; XV (1858), 272-73; Cong. Yr. Bk. (1859), p.270. At the same time, the young Charles Haddon Spurgeon had opened his London ministry and was pulling crowds by the thousand into Exeter Hall and then the Surrey Gardens Music Hall. Horton Davies, Worship and Theology in England, Vol. IV (London, 1962), 333-34.
 2. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXIX (9 Nov. 1854), XXX (6 and 27 Sept. 1855); Bryan Edwin Hardman, The Evangelical Party in the Church of England, 1855-1865 (Cambridge Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1964), p.230ff; Hugh Stowell, 'How Long Halt Ye Between Two Opinions?' A sermon preached at the Special Services at Exeter Hall.... (London, 1857).
 3. Cong. Yr. Bk. (1858), pp.30-42.

in the numbers receiving poor law relief.¹ From Sheffield, where a recession in the steel industry helped lower wages in Christmas week to about a third of the total of the previous year, there issued reports of a major revival; and in Bradford, though some of the distressed mill operatives held 'meetings of bitter complaint', Frederick Jobson enthused that 'religiously, our societies prospered'.² The shock of recession may well explain the jolting into revival activity of Methodists generally during this winter. But it is also worth recalling that the peak of revival in Britain did not come until 1859 and 1860, by which time trade and price indices were again on the upturn.³ Indeed, one of the most remarkable of William Booth's revivals, in St. Ives in 1861, occurred at the height of the fishing season when it was thought that the local population 'would be too much absorbed in catching pilchards to think about saving souls.'⁴ Economic recession may have given a stimulus to revival, but it cannot explain the sustained movement of these years. Once underway, the revival took on a momentum of its own.

It was in this context of clear stirrings of revival that news of the American movement began to break early in 1858. By summer English and Scottish evangelicals had a fairly good grasp of transatlantic events. American newspapers, including Greeley's Tribune, were gutted for 'revival intelligence', which was in turn condensed and republished in the various denominational magazines and newspapers or in tract form.⁵ At the same time,

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1. Freeman, III (6 Jan. 1858); B.R. Mitchell and Phyllis Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (Cambridge, 1962), pp.64, 283, 343, 410.
 2. Revivalist (1858), pp.30-39, 57-63, 76-78; Gregory, Life of Jobson, pp.46-47.
 3. See the pages of the Revivalist for late 1857 and early 1858, and U.M.F.C. Mag. for early 1858; Mitchell and Deane, British Historical Statistics, pp.283, 472.
 4. Revivalist (1862), pp.68-70.
 5. For examples across the denominational board, see Chr. Witness, XV (1858), 441-43; U.M.F.C. Mag., I (1858), 268-70, 366-70; Wesl. Meth. Mag., LXXXI (1858), 364-66, 459, 501-05; Revivalist (1858), pp.64, 73-75; C.G. Finney, The Prevailing Prayer Meeting (London, 1859), p.27; Religious Movement in the U.S., *passim*.

correspondence was published, and Americans like William Patton who happened to be in Britain (the transatlantic interchange continued apace during the 1850s) gave public addresses and were subjected to furious evangelical questioning. So too were Britons newly returned from the 'work of grace'.¹ During 1859, the coverage of American events reached saturation point. A flood of tracts and addresses from distinguished members of the major evangelical denominations - most particularly John G. Lorimer, Octavius Winslow, John Angell James, William Arthur, and Benjamin Evans - applauded the revival; the British editions of some of the most successful American publications, especially Prime's Power of Prayer, enjoyed a rapid sale.² American eye-witnesses remained in great demand: Baron Stow, exhausted by his work in Boston, Emerson Andrews, and particularly Bishop McIlvaine, whose generous attitude to the revival found a sympathetic response from his 'old friends' in the evangelical wing of the Established Church and from Archbishop Sumner himself.³ It was only as the American movement itself declined, and British evangelicals found adequate demonstration of

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1. See, for example, Brit. Stand., II (14 May 1858); J. Palmer to C.G. Finney, 18 Aug. 1859, Finney Papers; Revivalist (1858), pp.88, 272, (address of 'Rev. Dr. McLean of Philadelphia on American Revivals' to Manchester Presbyterians); W. Patton, Suffering with Christ the True Spirit of a Revival (London, 1859), pp.3-4; New York Obs., XXXVI (7 Oct. 1858), XXXVII (13 Jan. 1859). Isabella Lucy Bishop wrote The Aspects of Religion in the United States of America (London, 1859) on her return, and did much to spread descriptions of the revival.
 2. John G. Lorimer, The Recent Great Awakening in America, and the Lessons Which It Suggests (Glasgow, 1859); Octavius Winslow, 'Is the Spirit of the Lord Straitened?'... (London, 1858); John Angell James, On the Revival of Religion (London, 1859) and Revival of Religion: its Principles, Necessity, Effects (London, 1859); B. Evans, The American Revivals (London, 1859); W. Arthur, May we hope for a Great Revival? (London, 1859), an extremely fast-selling penny tract. Cf. G.B. Cheever, and others, An Accurate and Detailed Account of the Extraordinary Revival of Religion in America and Ireland... (London, 1859); The Great Revival (Nottingham, 1859); William Brock, Revivals: A lecture delivered before the Young Men's Christian Association at Ryde (Ryde, 1860); Samuel Irenaeus Prime, The Power of Prayer, Illustrated in the Wonderful Displays of Divine Grace at...Fulton Street...and Elsewhere, in 1857 and 1858 (London, 1859); Committee of the Y.M.C.A. of Philadelphia, The Work of God in Philadelphia in 1858 (London, 1859), with an introduction by Henry Groves, a Briton who witnessed the revival.
 3. Freeman, V (16 Mar., 27 Apr., 20 July 1859); Carus, ed., Memorials of McIlvaine, pp.176-77, 185-93, 200-02. Cf. J. Keed to C.G. Finney, 18 Jan. 1859, Finney Papers. For the visit of Swann Lyman Pomroy, see Chr. Witness, new series I (1859), 95 and Cong. Yr. Bk. (1860), p.24.

revival nearer home, that the fascination with America dwindled, though a to-ing and fro-ing still continued.¹

This sympathetic reaction, so much more widely based than the response to American revivals a generation earlier, is to be explained in two ways. First, British churches, helped by the American stimuli described in earlier chapters, had been moving gradually towards a more instrumentalist, promotional conception of revival than they had hitherto held. Of equal significance, the descriptions of the American revivals that reached Britain emphasised that the excrescences of earlier revivals were now generally absent. There had been '(l)ess passion - less religious excitement' than in 1831-32. The revival 'was not a forced movement, got up for the occasion': by generally avoiding anxious seats and the other elements of 'a ponderous and complicated machinery of means', and by giving prayer pride of place, the Americans had ensured that there would be 'less of man and more of God.' This was precisely the language British evangelicals, particularly Calvinists, wished to hear. Though prejudice against American revivalism persisted, not least because of the 'foul blot of...slavery' and 'widespread political corruption', reservations were remarkably limited.²

American-style revival services quickly sprang up all over England and Scotland, often encouraged by the highest denominational authorities.³ It was primarily the prayer meeting that captured the experimenters' imagination. Daily noon meetings were encouraged in churches, public halls and business

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1. Such luminaries as Henry Ward Beecher, and Bishop Janes of the Methodist Episcopal Church visited Britain in the early 1860s. Dict. of Am. Biog.; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXVI (29 Aug., 19 Sept. 1861). The Irish evangelist Henry Grattan Guinness, worked in some of the major American cities in 1859-60. Ibid., XXXV (5 July 1860).
 2. Evans, American Revivals, pp.4-5; Winslow, 'Is the Spirit Straitened?', pp.84-85. Cf. Prime, Power of Prayer, pp.34-35; A. Oxenden, The Revival; or, the Church's Duty in the Present Crisis (London, 1860), p.7; Religious Movement in the U.S., passim; Bishop, Aspects of Religion, pp.2-3; Freeman, V (23 Feb. 1859).
 3. Chr. Witness, XV (1858), 263-64; Minutes of the Methodist Conference (1858) p.124; Minutes of the Methodist New Connexion Conference (1858), p.57.

*Evangelicalism in
Ireland, 1830-1860*
(London, 1969)

premises, some of them quite blatantly aping the Fulton Street model: they were union meetings, often under the aegis of the Y.M.C.A. and sometimes specifically for businessmen, at which hymns, extempore prayer and short addresses were blended into a mixture demanding little in time or sustained concentration.¹ At these and similar evening meetings, laymen played a major contributory, and often directing, role;² as in America, the 1850s had seen a new level of lay involvement in church work, in part a consequence of the sense of individual autonomy and responsibility constantly nourished by evangelical preaching. In fact, ministerial encouragement of lay participation was more limited than in the United States. Many evangelical Anglicans were 'rather shocked' by the idea of lay leadership in public worship, and Nonconformists too were afraid that the proper procedures would be washed away by a wave of embarrassing improvisation. More than one observer noted the greater fluency of Americans in lay prayer meetings, and remarked how traditional reserve and social deference made for awkwardness in similar British attempts.³

Two particular examples of American-inspired services deserve attention. In Scarborough, Benjamin Evans, thirty-three years Baptist minister, powerful supporter of home missions, admirer of Finney and long-standing friend of Joseph Belcher, turned his admiration of American voluntarism and religious progress into a didactic analysis of the American movement which was eventually translated into a religious revival. For the first three months of 1859 the

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1. See, for example, Revivalist (1860), pp.12, 60-61 (meetings in West Bromwich, Carlisle); Freeman, V (5, 12, 19 and 26 Jan., 24 Aug. 1859 - London, Aberdeen); Guest, Tribute to James, p.18 (Birmingham); Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXIII (11 Nov. 1858 - Islington, Bristol, Liverpool); New York Obs., XXXVI (25 Nov. 1858 - Stirling, Inverness), XXXVII (23 June 1859 - Exeter). 'Had it not been for the revival in the United States, we may safely say no such meetings would have been called into existence.'
 2. Lorimer, Recent Great Awakening in America, p.1.
 2. See, for example, Chr. News, 20 Nov. 1859; Brit. Stand., III (21 Oct. 1859) where Edinburgh laymen are shown taking the initiative from their Presbyterian ministers.
 3. New York Obs., XXXVI (7 Oct. 1858), XXXVII (13 Jan. 1859); Josiah Bates to R. Bulman, 4 June 1858, in Cheever, and others, Revival in America and Ireland, p.28; A Canadian, The American Revival and Individual Agency... (London, 1859), pp.13-15.

ordinary week-day services of the different denominations were cancelled as Anglicans, Baptists, Quakers, Plymouth Brethren and Primitive, Free Church and Wesleyan Methodists joined in twice-daily 'united revival services' that were dominated by hymn-singing and prayer, and followed by inquiry meetings; except for the Sunday services there were no sermons.¹ A rather different series of meetings were held during the summers of 1858 and 1859 under Anglican auspices in Hertfordshire. William Pennefather, rector of Christ Church, Barnet, is best remembered as the co-founder of the annual Mildmay Conference on mission work, and the man responsible for bringing Moody and Sankey to Britain in 1873. But well before moving to Mildmay Park in 1864, Pennefather had won a wide reputation as a mission preacher apparently oblivious to the distinctions of denomination and social class; indeed, it was at Barnet, not Mildmay, that the summer conferences were first held. At one of the earliest of these, in 1858, twenty clergymen and Dissenting ministers, and some six hundred laymen (ranging from nobility, gentry, and bankers to 'large numbers of the middle-class and peasantry'), met for four days 'to glorify God and pray for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit on England such as had been witnessed in America'. Following the directions of a visiting New York Presbyterian, Pennefather adopted many of the features of the New York revival and jettisoned the Prayer Book in favour of extempore prayer. Similar services were held in the following year. Though the meetings were sustained for a much shorter period than at Scarborough, the dispersing ministers were able to continue revival meetings 'after the American mode' in their own churches.²

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1. Evans, American Revivals, passim; Freeman, V (27 Apr. 1859); Work of God in Philadelphia, pp.94-95.
 2. New York Obs., XXXVI (7 Oct. 1858), XXXVII (11 Aug., 6 Oct. 1859); Robert Braithwaite, ed., The Life and Letters of Rev. William Pennefather, B.A. (London, 1879), pp.297-98, 314-17, 338; Dict. of Nat. Biog.; Findlay, Moody, pp.149-50.

However, the most explosive, if indirect, repercussions of the American revival took place in the Protestant enclave of Ulster, where one of the most extraordinary of nineteenth-century revivals reached its peak in the summer of 1859.¹ A generation of intensifying evangelical activity had followed the Union of Presbyterian Synods in 1840; revivals, for so long mainly the preserve of the Methodists, became part of the religious life of the dominant, and increasingly Moderate, Calvinistic denominations. After stirrings of renewed revival in 1856 and 1857, accounts of the American movement produced more concerted efforts in the following year. Emigrants' letters, pulpit readings of accounts of the revival, and the return from the United States of impressed Irish ministers played their part. Robinson Scott, appointed by the Irish Wesleyan Conference to accompany William Arthur on a fund-raising mission to the United States in 1855, extended his stay into the revival year; Presbyterians, equally curious, sent two of their ministers, William Gibson and William McClure, to report.² These men, and various North American visitors (Michael Bosner, John Cooke, Theodore Cuyler, Edward Payson Hammond, and Walter and Phoebe Palmer) encouraged lay-directed prayer meetings and camp meetings 'in...the American style'.³ Of course, once the revival had been set in motion in the agricultural villages and small towns of Ulster, as well as in the

1. For the most thorough accounts, see, Alfred Russell Scott, The Ulster Revival of 1859 (Trinity College Dublin Ph.D. thesis, 1962).

2. Ibid., pp.57, 65-100, 112, 119-200; Cheever, and others, Revival in America and Ireland, pp.ii-iv; The Late Revival in Ireland, in Connexion with religious efforts in London.... (London, 1860), p.32; New York Obs., XXXVII (30 June, 15 Sept. 1859); Christian Remembrancer, XXXIX (1860), 364-416; Scott, American Revival, pp.iii-iv, 52-60; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XX (6 and 27 Sept., 1 Nov. 1855), XXI (6 and 20 Mar., 14 Aug. 1856), XXXIII (29 Apr., 29 July 1858); W.P. Strickland, ed., Addresses delivered in New York by Rev. William Arthur, A.M. (New York, 1856), pp.19-20. Scott made another visit to America in 1860. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXV (9 Aug. 1860).

3. Scott, Ulster Revival, pp.168, 170, 197, 223; Cuyler, Recollections of a Long Life, p.86; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXVI (14 Nov. 1861), XXXVIII (18 Sept. 1863); Revival, 27 Aug. 1859.

larger manufacturing centres, it increasingly assumed an independent character. Most significantly, the appearance in March 1859 of physical prostrations in Ahoghill, Co. Antrim, gave the revival a new and dramatic dimension which did much to shape its course. By summer the 'sleeps', 'trances' and 'marks' that characterised so many of the crowded revival meetings had affected a sizable proportion of the more impressionable and less well educated converts; factory girls in overheated rooms were the most likely victims. These manifestations were reminiscent of the even more convulsive physical phenomena of the Kentucky revival at the turn of the century. But their degree and extent were unique in mid-century revivals; and it was the fear bred of this uniqueness that actually helped spread the revival amongst potential converts, for revival reports make plain the sense of an advancing and inescapable wave of physical prostrations felt by 'sinners' terrified that they too would be afflicted.¹

These unique characteristics attracted scores of evangelicals from other parts of Britain. Most simply watched in fascination; a few, like Baptist Noel, and Richard Poole and John Unwin of Sheffield, actually participated. If the majority concluded that the prostrations, which were anyway dying out by the end of the summer, were unnecessary to conversion, they also rejected the criticisms and ridicule of much of the secular press, and in particular the Lancet's characterisation of the revival as an hysterical disease. They returned home to tell of the salvation of thousands, a fall in crime rates, and a general improvement in the tone of religious and secular society. They noted that the fractured morality of 'slave-ridden America' and the dead weight of Roman Catholicism in 'Papal Ireland' had not prevented spiritual and social uplift in either country. Surely

1. Scott, Ulster Revival, pp.121-24, 257-83. A Belfast boy told 'An English Clergyman': 'I heard that (the revival) was coming near...and I dreaded it as if it was disease like cholera, coming upon every one'. Revival in Belfast. The Meeting of the Wee Ones.... (Dublin, 1860), pp.52-53.

4. Davies, Revivals in Ulster, pp. 1-2.

England and Scotland, lacking similarly crippling moral injuries, could emulate those countries' achievements?¹ In the west of Scotland in particular, geographically and religiously proximate to Ulster Presbyterianism, a wave of prayer-meeting revivals, conversions and even some physical prostrations reached its peak in the second half of 1859, though the movement continued there, and in eastern and Highland Scotland, into the following year.² In England the exhortations to revival were never quite matched by the reality of achievement. But the winter of 1859-60 saw even more special prayer meetings and revival services than twelve months earlier.³

Meanwhile, Wales was in the grip of a revival which demonstrated clearly the powerful effect of social and religious contagion. Welsh churches, operating within a framework of periodic revivals, were reckoned to be in a state of relative decline in the mid 1850s. The last widespread revival had taken place in 1849-50, and by 1857, according to David Charles, President of Trevecca College, 'the rising generation were strangers to the manifestation of any very general influences of the Spirit of God upon the churches'.⁴ It was only a matter of time before the ingathering of another generation would occur. When a revival eventually broke out in

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1. See, for example, Freeman, V (7, 14 Sept., 12 Oct. 1859); Robert Baxter, Revivals of Religion: with especial reference to the present movement in the North of Ireland.... (Doncaster, n.d.), p.11 and passim; Late Revival in Ireland, pp.6-9, 50-51; John Baillie (Anglican), The Revival: or, What I Saw in Ireland.... (London, 1860), p.68 and passim; English Clergyman, Revival in Belfast, passim; Wesl. Times, XI (18 July, 17 and 24 Oct. 1859); Chr. News, 20 Aug., 8 and 24 Sept., 17 Dec. 1859; The Great Revival, pp.7-9. Irish ministers and laymen active in the revival related their experiences to English and Scottish audiences. Brit. Stand., III (21 Oct. 1859 - Grattan Guinness in Exeter); Chr. News, 8 Oct. 1859 (James McQuilkin of Connor, in Greenock); Revivalist (1859), p.173 (Hugh Hanna of Belfast, in Newcastle-on-Tyne).
 2. The pages of the Christian News for 1859 best suggest the gathering momentum of revival. Cf. Hamilton Macgill, On the Present Revival of Religion in Scotland (London, 1860), passim; F. Ferguson, Sr., to C.G. Finney, 23 July 1859, Finney Papers.
 3. See The Revival for 1859-1860. Catherine Booth reflected twenty years later: 'We had united prayer-meetings all over (England) to pray for (revival), and it did not come.' The War Cry, 23 Dec. 1880.
 4. Davies, Revivals in Wales, p.89.

Cardiganshire in the winter of 1858-59, the rest of Wales, more consistently evangelical than any other comparable area of Britain, quickly and consciously set about emulating Cardiganshire's achievement. By the spring of 1860, the village-to-village, county-to-county advance of revival had allowed the four major evangelical denominations, representing four-fifths of the worshipping Welsh, to estimate their total gains at approximately 80,000, a huge proportion of a population numbering not much over one million.¹ The strong generational character of the revival was clear from John Venn's conclusion that 'the great mass of the converts' were generally 'regular attendants upon the work of grace', especially Sunday Schools, and that '(a) great many of the converts...were the children of Christian parents.'²

What determined that this revival, which in the context of Welsh religion was bound to occur sooner or later, should begin in 1858? In the summer of that year an apparently unstable young man, Humphrey Rowland Jones, returned to Cardiganshire, the country of his birth, after three or four years in the United States. In America Jones had sought to show the short-sightedness of those Welsh Wesleyans who in 1854 had rejected him as a ministerial candidate. In Oshkosh and other Wisconsin settlements he won a reputation as an effective exhorter. During the general revival of 1857-1858 he worked with some success in the Welsh town of Remsen, Oneida County, New York, where the whole community of several hundred people was allegedly converted.³ Jones returned to Talybont, Cardiganshire, in September, 1858, solely to 'promot(e) a similar movement to what was going on in America' - no

1. John Venn, The Revival in Wales (London, 1860), pp.2-5. The Wesleyan growth rate in Wales in 1860 was a phenomenal 19.9%, much greater than anything experienced since the first decade of the century. Gilbert, The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, pp.54, 107.
2. Venn, Revivals in Wales, pp.8-9.
3. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXIV (18 Feb. 1858). Jones later suffered a mental breakdown. For his life (1832-95), see Dict. of Welsh Biog.

doubt to show the legitimacy of his earlier ministerial ambitions. He succeeded immediately in attracting attention. With David Morgan of Ysbytty Ystwyth he began a protracted series of prayer meetings in the Wesleyan and Calvinistic Methodist chapels, and 'in a few weeks the upper part of the county was in a blaze.'¹ Morgan was apparently unsympathetic to things American, but he had been converted in 1841 during the later stages of 'Finney's revival', he took a firmly instrumentalist view of means (he considered it harmless to try 'to stir up the mind of the country, and hold prayer-meetings, even if there should be nothing but man in the whole') and was prepared to adopt the central feature of the American revival - the united prayer meeting - in his later peregrinations.² The activities of Jones, Morgan, and the son of Samuel Griffiths (Horeb), a recent arrival from America, justified the contemporary conclusion that the Cardiganshire revival was American in origin and style.³ Eventually, given the country's multiple subsidiary links with the United States, and the competitive instincts of local churches, the harnessing of the American and Cardigan thrust of revival created an unstoppable momentum throughout the whole of Wales.⁴ Partly because of the language barrier, partly because the Welsh revival was well underway by the summer of 1859, the Ulster revival made only minor impact in the Principality.⁵

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1. W. Evans to E. Davies, July 1859; E. Jones to E. Davies, Apr. 1859, in Davies, Revivals in Wales, pp.2, 9.
 2. J. Morgan to Revival, 6 Aug. 1859, in ibid., pp.6-9; T.R. Roberts, Eminent Welshmen: A Short Biographical Dictionary of Welshmen (Cardiff, 1908), p.349. For Morgan (1814-83) see Dict. of Welsh Biog.
 3. W. Evans to E. Davies, July 1859, in Davies, Revivals in Wales, p.12.
 4. For B. Williams' (Dowlais), W. Jenkins' (Brynmawr), D. Griffiths' (Bethel, near Caernarvon) and other ministers' testimony to American example, see ibid., pp.41, 51, 58, 89 and passim. Samuel Prime's Power of Prayer was translated into Welsh in 1859 (Y Diwgiad Mawr in America. Nerth Gweddi...). For the reading of emigrants' letter, see Evan Price, The History of Peniel Calvinistic Methodist Church, Ebbw Vale (Wrexham, 1925). Gilbert suggests that the revival was closely connected with the great wave of evictions of tenants by Anglican landlords in 1859. The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, p.262.
 5. Apart from the occasional case of 'jumping', there were few of the physical prostrations found in Ulster. Davies, Revivals in Wales, pp.29-30, 34-35, 53, 55, 63; Venn, Revivals in Wales, p.2.

III

The spread of American revival news helped stimulate British revival; once in motion, it was the presence of energetic American revivalists that gave the movement its most significant American dimension. Some were lesser figures: the 'Rev. Mr. Graves' of the Troy Methodist Conference, who conducted camp meetings in Ireland for a number of summers, and the 'Rev. Dr. McCleon', who assisted Baptist Noel, William Brock and Edward Bickersteth in holding evangelical 'midnight meetings' for prostitutes.¹ Some, though better known, came too late and too briefly to make a major impact. William Taylor, his reputation made while a Californian street-preacher from 1849 to 1856, and an active figure in urban Methodist churches in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois during and after the 1857-1858 revival, arrived in Britain in May, 1862. He remained until early in the following year, holding special services for two or three weeks at a time in English and Irish Wesleyan chapels; then he sailed on to Australia.² But a few American revivalists with established reputations came for long enough to make their presence more generally felt.

Foremost was the indefatigable Caughey. He returned ten years to the month after his reluctant departure in July 1847. In that decade he had continued to work at a pace matched by few ministers. Despite - perhaps because of - the complaints of British Wesleyans to the American Conference,³ the demand grew in America for Caughey's services, while the condensed American edition of his Letters on Various Subjects outlining his major English revivals, raced through numerous reprints;⁴ he was not the first nor

1. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXVI (14 Nov. 1861), XXXVIII (10 Sept. 1863); U.M.F.C. Mag., III (1860), 253.

2. Halliday and Gregory, Church in America, pp.606-08; William Taylor, William Taylor of California, Bishop of Africa. An Autobiography. Revised by C.G. Moore (London, 1897), pp.150, 157-61; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXVII (18 Dec. 1862).

3. Supra, p.282ff.

4. Caughey, Methodism in Earnest. Cf. his Helps to a Life of Holiness and Usefulness, or Revival Miscellanies (5th edition, Boston, 1852) and his Showers of Blessing. R.W. Allen claimed an American sale in six years of about 70,000 copies of Caughey's various works.

the last nineteenth-century revivalist to find his reputation enhanced by a successful itinerancy in Britain. In the towns and cities of Canada and the north-eastern states of the Union his unstinting efforts (ten sermons a week, for most of the weeks of the year) won friends and a constant flow of conversions.¹ Far from removing his desire to return to England, his triumphs only reinforced his determination to complete what he regarded as unfinished business. After a series of successful revival services in Newark and Philadelphia early in 1857, he prepared to cross the Atlantic.²

Caughey had remained in touch with James Everett, John Unwin and other British friends, and his impending return had been rumoured since the late 1840s.³ Wesleyans contemplated his arrival with trepidation, and were relieved to find that when he disembarked at Liverpool the American Methodist deputation to the forthcoming British Conference (Bishop Simpson and Dr. McClintock) was on hand to encourage his obedience to the denominational authorities. Simpson feared 'that their advice would not be heeded'. But Caughey's advent provoked no connexional storm.⁴ The revivalist was genuinely anxious to avoid controversy: not until January, 1861, when invited to lead prayer in a union meeting, did he officiate in a Wesleyan building. There

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1. The major stops on Caughey's itinerancy were: Providence, R.I., New York City, Albany, N.Y. (where he held a pastorate for a few months) (1847-1848); Fall River, Mass., New York City, Burlington, Vt. (1849-1850); Montreal, Toronto (1851-1852); Hamilton, Ontario, and Cincinnati, Ohio (1853-1854); London, Hamilton and Brockville, Ontario (1855-1856). E.R., The Rev. James Caughey in Canada and the United States (1852), pp.3-11; McDonald, History of Methodism in Providence, pp.70-72; Caughey, Methodism in Earnest, pp.442-44, and Showers of Blessing, pp.397, 401-04; Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, pp.191-92, 200; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXII (22 Mar. 1848), XXIX (2 and 23 Mar. 1854); Zion's Herald, XXIII (7 and 21 July 1852); Wesl. Ban. and Rev. Rec., II (1850), 140-41; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXIII (21 June 1849).
 2. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXII (5, 19 Feb., 12, 19 Mar., 27 Aug. 1857).
 3. Revivalist (1854), *passim*; (1855), 118-19; (1857), 72. Cf. Wesl. Ban. and Rev. Rec., II (1850), 140; III (1851), 70; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXIII (21 June 1849).
 4. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXII (25 June, 23 July, 20 and 27 Aug., 3 Sept. 1857).

was no need. Non-Wesleyan Methodism, within whose revival circles he had become something of a folk hero, welcomed him with warmth and enthusiasm. From the moment that he began his work in Sheffield, it was clear that 'the King of the Revivalist Preachers' could tap a reservoir of goodwill. The United Methodist Free Churches in particular - a denomination generally committed to giving chapel space to revivalists, and sustained by so many of Caughey's 'spiritual children' - were to ensure that during this and later visits he would never go short of preaching invitations.¹

Sheffield was a sensible choice for the launching of his new campaign: it harboured many friends, Reform Methodism was strong, and men like Richard Poole and John Unwin had ensured that it remained a major centre of revivalism during the 1850s.² For thirteen months, working almost daily in the city's non-Wesleyan chapels, Caughey stood at the centre of an extraordinary revival that numbered converts 'by the cart load'.³ Thirteen years had elapsed since his earlier triumph, but his unchanging preaching style, revival techniques and general approach remained as effective as ever. When he moved on to Hanley, Manchester, Hull and Louth in 1858 and 1859, a time of gathering revival momentum in the churches generally, he was well placed to repeat his Sheffield success. By the time he came to leave England in the summer of 1859 the figures provided by the various church secretaries indicate over 8,000 converted and 3,000 or more 'entirely sanctified'.⁴

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1. Ibid., XXXII (27 Aug. 1857); Revivalist (1857), 72, 137-38, 187; (1861), pp.25-26. Cf. Wesleyan Methodist Association and United Methodist Free Churches Annual Minutes (1857), p.54.
 2. Revivalist (1856), pp.46-47.
 3. Ibid. (1857), pp.137-38, 185-91; (1858), pp.10-11, 32-33, 57-63, 76-78, 89-92, 129-31, 145-60; W.R. Sunman, Memorials of Mr. Councillor George Mills of Sheffield (Sheffield, 1865), pp.110-17. The Sheffield statistics were: 2,393 entirely sanctified; 5,268 converted ('from the world' and 'from the church'). Cf. Schofield and Morison, Hanover United Methodist Church, pp.8-11.
 4. Revivalist (1859), pp.16, 24-32, 75, 91-92, 125, 140-43, 173-74; U.M.F.C. Mag., II (1859), 280-83; Wesl. Times, XI (18 July 1859); Messenger of Life, I (1859), 173.

These totals, probably swollen no more than most by fraud or misjudgement, were matched by few of the many itinerants active during this period of revival.

The statistics are less precise for Caughey's third visit from August 1860 to August 1862. Again he wisely directed his attentions to the urban centres of the Midlands, Lincolnshire and the industrial North, though he once strayed south, making a three-month visit to Bristol in 1862;¹ again his work was highly approved and appreciated by the United Methodist Free Churches; again he scored impressive statistical successes, particularly for the first twelve month period, when the figures were in line with those for the previous visit and when denominationally the rate of growth was slackening.² Only in the last few months of his stay, in the summer of 1862, when his health began to give way, was there any sign of a decline in his effectiveness. Even then his results in Nottingham, Leicester and Walsall won the approval of revivalist colleagues, and contributed several hundred converts to the approximate total of seven and a half thousand recorded over his two-year stay. He was never to repeat this sustained performance. His fourth, and final, visit to England was interrupted by ill-health and occurred in the fallow period of the mid 1860s when most churches were recording only very limited growth. But for short periods Caughey was still able to recapture past glories, as in London in 1864 (the centre of his orbit had now shifted south) and in Exeter and the South-West in the winter of 1865-66.³ Caughey had not lost the capacity he first

1. Revivalist (1860), pp.152-53, 163-64; (1861), pp.14, 24-26, 74-75, 140-41, 182; (1862), pp.29, 76-77, 91-93, 109, 126, 142. For Caughey's itinerancies, see Appendix C.

2. United Methodist Free Churches Annual Minutes (1861), p.60; (1862), p.65. Somewhat incomplete returns suggest that Caughey recruited about 4,500 converts between August 1860 and July 1861, and approximately 3,000 between August 1861 and July 1862. Gilbert, The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, p.104, presents the following U.M.F.C. growth rates: 1858/ 6.9 (%); 1859/ 10.00; 1860/11.4; 1861/ 4.3; 1862/ 7.5; 1863/ 4.9; 1864/ 1.2; 1865/ 0.6; 1866/ -0.7.

3. Revivalist (1863), p.152; (1864), pp.69-72, 110, 139, 154-55, 178-80, 196-200; Revival (1865), pp.17, 77, 362-64; (1866), p.124; (1867), p.179.

demonstrated in the 1840s of conjuring up revivals in times of general denominational stagnation.

This particular problem did not face the elderly Finney, who returned to Britain at a time of incipient revival. Encouraged by Potto Brown, Neville Goodman and other Huntingdonshire laymen, Finney had been contemplating a second visit since at least 1857.¹ His plans hardened as, from his Boston and New York pulpits, he watched the spread of American revival and wondered whether he should 'see if the same influence would not pervade' Britain. For a while he vacillated as Oberlin colleagues tried to prevent his departure, but eventually his strong-willed, determined wife made up his mind for him. In December 1858 he and Mrs. Finney set sail for Liverpool.²

Superficially the omens were good. The Finneys were welcomed at Houghton; their arrival was announced in Campbell's British Standard; immediately invitations and letters of welcome arrived from all over Britain; and there was evidence of conversions in their early work in Huntingdonshire.³ But in fact there was cause for concern. American events had re-opened the debate over revivalism and demonstrated once again the Nonconformist ambivalence towards special efforts. Finney's arrival provoked a restatement and clarification of views. 'The system of revivalism', wrote a Cambridgeshire Baptist once tolerant of its use, 'is not adapted to any place, (and) is sure ultimately to do harm.'⁴ George Hitchcock and George Williams, once

1. St. Ives, Ely, Bedford, Peterborough, and Lynn Gazette, 20 Mar. 1856; P. Brown to C.G. Finney, 16 June 1856; C.G. Finney to P. Brown, 1 Oct. 1857, Finney Papers; but cf. G. Cockle to C.G. Finney, 25 Aug. 1858, Goodman Papers.
2. Finney, Memoirs, pp.442-48; Hall, Forty Years Familiar Letters, II, 278; Mrs. Finney, Journal, pp.1-15. For Finney's itinerancy, see Appendix D.
3. Mrs. Finney, Journal, pp.16-18, 30; Finney, Memoirs, pp.448-49; G. Redford to C.G. Finney, 6 Jan. 1859; G. Williams to C.G. Finney, 7 Jan. 1859; T. Jones to C.G. Finney, 6 Jan. 1859; J. Moore to C.G. Finney, 12 Jan. 1859, Finney Papers; Brit. Stand., 7 and 21 Jan. 1859.
4. M. Robinson to C.G. Finney, 4 Feb. 1859, Finney Papers. Cf. Freeman, V (23 Feb. 1859); Mrs. Finney, Journal, p.28; R. Alliot's address to the Congregational Union, Oct. 1858, in Cong. Yr. Bk. (1859), pp.38-52; Brit. Stand., II (30 Apr. 1858).

sympathetic to Finney's methods, were now more interested in the special Sunday services in St. Pauls, Exeter Hall and elsewhere than in the American's more systematic revivalism; others undoubtedly shared their views.¹ Theologically, too, Finney was suspect and, ominously, had lost the support of those who had earlier defended him. John Campbell had in 1850 given Finney the benefit of the doctrinal doubt, but now, chastened by the heretical theological infiltrations implicit in the Rivulet issue, he denied Finney access to his pulpit and gave Dr. S.P. Tregelles and other Nonconformist theologians space in his newspaper to undermine even further the remaining confidence in Finney's orthodoxy.² Nor was Campbell's the only pulpit to be lost to Finney. For various reasons few of his influential supporters of 1850 were now available: John Angell James was an old man (he was to die within the year) and his congregation somewhat less than wholly sympathetic towards Finney; Redford, who had recently left Worcester for an Edgbaston retirement, told Finney that his old church was divided over asking for Finney's help; Charles Roe had emigrated to America.³ Only Brown and Harcourt remained.

Finney's early movements reflected this new situation. Huntingdonshire, where Brown's influence was now even more strongly established, remained his base for the first two months, while he conducted services in Houghton and St. Ives. Only in late February did he move to Borough Road, London, where Harcourt now held the pastorate.⁴ From this time onwards, however, apart from a brief, semi-recuperative return to Huntingdon in May and June, Finney's choice of itinerary indicated his determination to avoid the error of his

1. J. Campbell to C.G. Finney, 5 Jan. 1859, Finney Papers.

2. Finney, Memoirs, pp.450-52; Brit.Stand., III (11 Mar., 1, 8, 15 and 29 Apr. 1859). Cf. C.G. Finney to his daughter, 5 May 1859, Finney Papers; Ob. Evang., XXI (22 June 1859). In 1856 Campbell had criticised The Rivulet, a collection of hymns written by T.T. Lynch, for anti-evangelicalism. The ensuing furore shook the Congregational Union.

3. P. Brown to C.G. Finney, 16 June 1856; G. Redford to C.G. Finney, 25 May 1858, 25 Jan. 1859, Finney Papers. But cf. P. Sibree to C.G. Finney, 27 Jan. 1859, ibid.

4. Mrs. Finney, Journal, p.19ff; Finney, Memoirs, pp.449-50.

earlier visit and shun evangelical backwaters. Acknowledging the primacy of city revivalism, he scolded British evangelicals for the 'impression extensively prevalent...that it was a thing quite Utopian to attempt to move (the) large cities (of Britain).'¹ At the same time his lack of favour amongst leading Congregationalists drove him into the arms of churches more firmly wedded to revivalism. First, he returned to London in the summer of 1859 to take up one of the many invitations he was receiving from Methodists, and for two months preached in the four United Methodist Free Churches of the east end; the arrangement worked harmoniously, as only to be expected in churches familiar with the visits of revivalists, and in which Caughey was later to hold special services.² Next he made good his promises to John Kirk and other Morisonians (who, as Kirk reminded him, 'For the last 22 years at least...have thought of you, read your every line almost and loved you... as one of themselves'). From late August, when the impact of the Ulster revival on Scotland was at its peak, Finney spent over three months in Evangelical Union pulpits working for Kirk in Brighton Street, Edinburgh, officiating at the re-opening of the younger Ferguson's church in Glasgow, and contributing to Ferguson Senior's revival efforts in Aberdeen. He never met James Morison, who was absent ill.³

Finney returned to the Congregationalist fold in the New Year to hold revival services for the very first time in the North of England. His immediate success at Bolton suggested his error in never before tackling

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1. Wesl. Times, 6 Aug. 1859; Brit. Stand., III (18 Feb. 1859); C.G. Finney to Julia Finney, 27 May 1859, Finney Papers.
 2. L.D. Reary to C.G. Finney, 25 Jan. 1859; T. Jones to C.G. Finney, 23 May and 3 June 1859; C. Smedley to C.G. Finney, 30 Aug. 1859, Finney Papers; Revivalist (1857), pp.72-74.
 3. Finney, Memoirs, p.455ff; J. Kirk to C.G. Finney, 10 May and 29 July 1859; F. Ferguson, Jr., to C.G. Finney, 1 July 1859, Finney Papers; Chr. News, 23 July, 27 Aug., 10 Sept. 1859; Mrs. Finney, Journal, p.52. John Hart, pastor at this time in Houghton, and a graduate of Morison's Academy, undoubtedly encouraged Finney to work with the Evangelical Unionists.

those industrial areas where Caughey and other revivalists had achieved their most notable triumphs; it also threw into relief the rather limited success of his movements hitherto. In the quiet of Huntingdonshire, where the visit of a celebrity could attract public attention with some ease, Finney's return clearly drew in the crowds and prompted conversions; in St. Ives, a small commercial town of 4,000 inhabitants, the Finneys caused a considerable local stir. But the visit had little wider significance and, in Huntingdon at least, the number of converts proved fewer than originally expected.¹ The sharpest contrast between Finney's own estimate of 'a glorious work of grace' and the reality of the achievement is found in his six weeks' work with London Methodists. The quarterly statement of the U.M.F.C. Third Circuit, issued after Finney's departure noted an increase of 34 full members on the quarter and a decline of 15 in the numbers on trial.² Richard Poole in 1857 and Caughey in 1864 made a much more dramatic impression.² Even in Edinburgh, where Kirk's church was regularly packed, where seventy had professed conversion by the month Finney left, and where the revival continued after his departure, one reporter noted that 'he has done nothing towards the originating, and very likely will do but little towards extending, the Revival in Scotland.'³

In Bolton, however, Finney was to participate in what the local newspaper described as 'the most extraordinary spiritual movement ever known' in the cotton-manufacturing town.⁴ Arriving when the various evangelical churches were in the middle of efforts to promote revival, Finney began work with the Congregationalists in Duke Street chapel. But growing crowds and

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1. J.H. Millard, Jubilee Memorial of Trinity Church, Huntingdon, p.101; Mrs. Finney, Journal, pp.28, 40-41; St. Ives, Ely, Bedford, Peterborough, and Lynn Gazette, 26 Feb. 1859.
 2. Finney, Memoirs, p.454; U.M.F.C. Mag., II (1859), 516, 618; Revivalist (1857), pp.72-74; (1864), pp.110, 139, 154-55, 178-80.
 3. Chr. News, 26 Nov. 1859; 7 and 14 Jan. 1860; Freeman, V (26 Oct. 1859).
 4. Bolton Chronicle, 7 Apr. 1860.

flourishing relations between Independents and Methodists - Finney himself stayed with an influential and 'very unsectarian' Methodist mill-owner, James Barlow - quickly suggested the use of the Temperance Hall for special union revival services. Here Finney recaptured some of his past vigour and power, preaching six or more sermons weekly to audiences of over a thousand with an energy worthy of a younger man. There was no significant change in his methods during this trip: more or less daily preaching and prayer, and appeals to the anxious remained central to his operations in Bolton as elsewhere. Though he looked older and now preached in spectacles, the simplicity, colloquial and anecdotal style, and vigorous logic of his discourses - 'altogether natural and unique' - could still, at their most effective, entrance his audience. His efforts, and those of his wife in her ladies' prayer meetings, helped gather an alleged total to 2,000 inquirers and 1,200 converts over three months. Inflated as these figures may be, there is no doubt that the revival captured popular attention on a broad scale; one emphatic minister claimed that 'the revival had reached every family in the city, and that every family had been visited.'¹

The Finneys' results in Manchester and Salford, their final stop before returning to Oberlin, proved somewhat anticlimatic after their Bolton achievement: though there was no lack of converts, neither was there any city-wide revival.² Various factors were blamed. It was noted that 'Trade has been brisk. The working and middle classes have been employed until a late hour. Many of the higher classes are out of town'; and that 'the Whitsuntide holidays...interfered with the regularity of the meetings'. Finney

1. Ibid., 31 Dec. 1859; Finney, Memoirs, pp.458-68; Mrs. Finney, Journal, p.60ff; Chr. News, 21 Jan. 1860; Ob. Evang., XXII (29 Feb., 11 Apr., 23 May 1860); Hall, Forty Years Familiar Letters, II, 278; Wesl. Times, XII (6 Aug. 1860).

2. Bolton Chronicle, 4 Aug. 1860. It was Finney's great admirer, E.H. Weeks, who was most instrumental in getting Finney to Manchester. Weeks to C.G. Finney, 11 Mar. 1859; Mrs. Finney, Journal, pp.62, 79.

himself blamed the lack of harmony between the Congregationalists in whose chapels he worked, and the Methodists.¹ Perhaps, too, Caughey's efforts in the previous year had left the Methodist community too emotionally drained for new revival efforts. But there were other, less local, reasons. Finney's Manchester experience was, after all, in keeping with the broad pattern of only limited success that marked most of his movements in 1859-1860. First, his age told against him. Though in Bolton he showed his old energy, he could not maintain this vigour indefinitely: his health had not been strong in the early months of 1859; on arrival in Manchester he was, by his own admission, 'exhausted'.² More important, Finney missed the benefits that others drew from working fairly consistently within the same denomination or connexion. Though barriers were often non-existent in times of revival, denominationalism was still a primary fact; other revivalists sheltered profitably within denominational itinerancy, and, as in Caughey's case, they were often able to exploit the revival momentum within a particular connexion. Unfortunately for Finney, when he did commit himself to a single denomination, in Scotland, his choice, as will be seen, was a constricting one.

Two Americans who did take advantage of connexional organisation were Walter and Phoebe Palmer, a unique couple in mid-century evangelism. Brought together by their common New York Methodist background, they married in 1827 and never lost the optimism and energy that characterised that city's growing Methodist community in the early nineteenth century. Walter, a physician with a 'large and lucrative practice', used his earnings to support the Sunday School, temperance and missionary work that was always his primary interest. Phoebe, daughter of a Yorkshire Methodist, Henry Worrell, was

1. Ob. Evang., XXII (15 Aug. 1860); Finney, Memoirs, pp.468-70.

2. He returned to Oberlin 'still suffering somewhat in health'. Ob. Evang., XXII (12 Sept. 1860).

3. Ob. Evang., XXII (12 Sept. 1860); Finney, Memoirs, pp.468-70.

the dominant personality of the pair. Central to her work was the legendary 'Tuesday meeting', a regular and interdenominational weekly prayer meeting, established in 1835 and opened to men from 1839, where laymen and ministers met on equal terms to 'inquire after the Way of Holiness'. The Tuesday meeting was one of the primary contributions to and expressions of the upsurge of American interest in entire sanctification during the 1830s and 1840s.¹ It was Mrs. Palmer's utter commitment to propagating the doctrine of holiness, and perhaps too her tendency to look for the hand of God in the most everyday of occurrences, that laid her - like Caughey - open to charges of 'mysticism' and 'fanaticism'. But, again like Caughey, she was generally able to dispel these fears by her complete pragmatism and interest 'in every form of practical Christianity.'² In addition to her work for the spiritual and material elevation of the sick and the poor in her native city, from 1840 she and her husband conducted regular and effective evangelistic expeditions in churches and camp meetings throughout the north-east of America and into Canada.³

By 1857 the Palmers had become celebrities whose sense of their own centrality in a widening revival movement was heightened when in October in Hamilton, Canada West (Ontario), they presided over a revival regarded by some contemporaries as causally connected with the seminal New York movement of that year.⁴ It was probably this feeling of being at the centre of events that persuaded them, once they had seen the American revival through its most rewarding stages, to turn to Britain where there were signs

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1. George Hughes, The Beloved Physician, Walter C. Palmer, M.D. ... (New York, 1884), passim; Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, pp.196-97, 238-57 and passim.
 2. M. Simpson, in Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, p.v. Mrs. Palmer wrote in later life: 'I have no sympathy for mysticism in religion.' Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXVIII (26 Mar. 1863).
 3. Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, pp.219-27; Hughes, Beloved Physician, pp.164-88.
 4. Orr, Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain, pp.14-15. Cf. Revivalist (1858), pp.97-101.

of developing revival, and where knowledge of Mrs. Palmer and her Tuesday meeting ensured their acceptance.¹ Various of Phoebe Palmer's works on holiness had circulated in Britain for several years. Edward Weeks read some of them 'with pleasure and profit' in 1853; by 1856 demand was sufficient to warrant English editions of Faith and Its Effects, a collection of short letters on holiness designed for church members, class-leaders, local preachers and other groups of believers, and The Way of Holiness, her best-known and fastest-selling work, which had run into further editions within a few years; and other of her works found an English publisher before she arrived.² Two earlier schemes to visit England (in 1845 and 1856) had fallen through, but now, in June 1859, after constant invitations, the Palmers disembarked at Liverpool.³

Several weeks spent in London with Methodist holiness advocates, and in Belfast Methodist chapels at the height of the Irish revival, formed the prelude to the series of special revival services in the north-east of England and in Scotland in the autumn and winter of 1859-60 that was to give the Palmers' itinerancy the early impetus it required.⁴ In Brunswick Chapel, Newcastle-on-Tyne, where the couple arrived for thirty-five days' services in September, the minister was the elderly Robert Young, District Chairman, ex-President of Conference, life-long friend of revivals, sympathiser of Caughey, and correspondent and admirer of the Palmers for some time.

1. Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, pp.249 (noting the attendance of Britons at the Tuesday meeting), 336-37.
2. E.H. Weeks to C.G. Finney, 26 May 1853, Oberlin College Archives, 7/1/5, Box 10; Revivalist (1858), pp.43-44; Phoebe Palmer, Faith and Its Effects: or, Fragments from my Portfolio (London, 1856), The Way of Holiness with Notes by the Way: being a Narrative of Religious Experience resulting from a determination to be a Bible Christian (London, 1856), Present to My Christian Friend on Entire Devotion to God (London, 1857), and Incidental Illustrations of the Economy of Salvation, Its Doctrines and Duties (London, 1858).
3. Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, p.348.
4. Ibid., pp.349-50; Revivalist (1859), p.111; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXIV (25 Aug. 1859).

Young's aegis and his earlier preparations for revival, and the anticipation aroused by American, Irish and Scottish events, offered the Palmers promising conditions for evangelism. 1,300 had professed conversion by mid October, when the couple moved on to further circuits in the same District, Sunderland and North Shields. Similarly impressive results followed here. Young and his colleagues had no hesitation in ascribing the annual District increase of nearly 1,600 members (a figure of which Gaughey himself would have been proud) to '(t)he proximate instrumentality' of the Americans.¹ The Palmers were to return to Tyneside in May and June, but not before they had made a positive impression amongst Methodists in the Glasgow and Carlisle areas.² Thereafter they may possibly have been guilty of a tactical error: whereas Gaughey had continued to work very largely in those urban and industrial areas where a minimum success could be more or less guaranteed, the Palmers consciously decided to turn down the many pressing invitations from the 'promising' large towns in order to attend to smaller, out-of-the-way places in England and Wales where often, especially in southern England, the 'religious thermometer...has been very low'.³ It may have been partly for this reason, in addition to the slackening of the pace of revival generally, that some of the impetus achieved in the north-eastern campaigns was lost in the second and third years of their visit. The Palmers did not wholly ignore urban and industrial areas, however, and eventually returned to them for a sustained period in 1863.

In fact, whatever the venue, the curiosity aroused by this novel American couple guaranteed them substantial audiences at their twice or

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1. Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, pp.353-54, 366-67; Phoebe Palmer, Four Years in the Old World; comprising the Travels, Incidents, and Evangelistic Labors of Dr. and Mrs. Palmer in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales (New York, 1866), pp.93-162; Wesl. Meth. Mag., LXXXIII (1860), 738-41; Revivalist (1859), pp.169-75, 186; (1860), p.28.
 2. Palmer, Four Years in the Old World, pp.170-268; Revivalist (1860), 30, 42-43, 59, 121-28.
 3. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXV (1 Nov. 1860), XXXVII (26 June 1862). See Appendix E: Walter and Phoebe Palmer's Itinerancy, 1859-63.

thrice-daily services. If some of the ingredients in their services - of Finney's sermons and the fully-fledged sacramentalism of early and latter-day the call to the communion rail, for example - were not novel, and others - the emphasis on conversion and holiness - were part of the customary proceedings in many Wesleyan chapels, the particular blend offered by this lay husband-and-wife duet was unique. The Palmers ordinarily worked closely with the minister to produce a well-orchestrated service that to the unsympathetic observer had all the elements of performance. The Newcastle arrangement was fairly typical. There the service opened with singing and prayer led by one of the circuit preachers; Dr. Palmer then read and expounded a chapter of scripture. This was followed by 'a brief and appropriate address' from the minister, after which Dr. Palmer announced the hymn, and invited intending leavers to depart. Few did so, for the peculiar attraction of the service was yet to come. 'Mrs. Palmer now modestly walks within the rails of the communion, not to preach according to the modern acceptation of that term, but simply to talk to the people... She speaks deliberately.... Her voice is clear and musical.' Her address (not a sermon) 'on the duty of Christians to be holy, and to exert all their powers to bring sinners to Christ', was in style emphatically anecdotal, and very heavily flavoured with sentimentality. On completion of her address, her husband 'in a very affectionate manner' invited penitents to walk forward to the communion rails while the rest of the congregation continued to sing hymns. Prayer and the recording of penitents' names brought the service to a close.¹

1. Revivalist (1859), pp.171-75; cf. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXVIII (23 July 1863). For an unsympathetic description of one of the Palmers' meetings, see William Bunton, 'A Visit to Dr. Palmer's Revival Meetings at the Wesleyan Chapel (Banbury), 1860', Cake and Cockhorse. The Magazine of the Banbury Historical Society (1966), 75-77.

2. Revivalist (1860), p.39.

3. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXVII (9 Oct. 1862), p.326-27.

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In/mood much of the Palmers' service stood between the close reasoning of Finney's sermons and the fully-fledged sentimentalism of Moody and Sankey's work a decade later; in pattern and style their services were close enough to the instrumentalist revivalism of much of American Methodism and to Caughey's practice to offer cautious Wesleyans grounds for concern. Their offence in some eyes would have been compounded by their lay status - and worse still, Mrs. Palmer was a woman. Yet for three years they continued to be welcomed into the churches of a denomination whose wariness of special revival efforts and the movement of itinerants had not diminished since the days of Caughey's itinerancy. Samuel Waddy, in his Presidential sermon at the 1860 Conference was critical of 'revival schemes and agencies', but the Conference itself took no action against them.¹ The Palmers were to some extent protected by their determination not to supersede the minister - both, for example, steered clear of the pulpit itself.² But that they were still vulnerable was made apparent in the summer of 1862, when Conference passed a resolution directing Superintendents to exclude from their chapels persons 'who are not amenable to our regular discipline'. That the Minutes of 1847 (relating to Caughey's case) were specifically invoked, and that those of 1807 (Dow's case) were mentioned in the broader debate, suggests that the Palmers and the American aspect of the problem were influential in determining the Conference decision.³

More significant, however, were the cases of native evangelists, some of whom, in the eyes of the authorities, were 'no better than religious charlatans, who make considerable sums by working in a violent and irrational manner on the physical and emotional susceptibilities of uneducated

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1. Messenger of Life, II (1860), 451-54; Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, p.369. For other examples of Wesleyan opposition to special efforts, but support for 'a more genuine and spiritual revivalism', see Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXVII (13 Nov. 1862); Wesl. Meth. Mag., LXXXI (1858), 521-33, 694-700; Arthur, May we hope for a Great Revival?, pp.14-15.
 2. Revivalist (1860), p.59.
 3. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXVII (9 Oct. 1862); Minutes of the Methodist Conference (1862), pp.326-27.

crowds.' More troublesome and important were Richard Weaver and William Booth. Weaver, collier-turned-evangelist and powerful in build and voice, was especially effective amongst the 'fustian jackets' and the 'unwashed', for whom his racy style and 'broad vulgarisms' had considerable appeal. Wesleyans came to regard his employment in their chapels as 'worse than a hazardous experiment' when they found him attacking 'the black-coated and well-seeming', as 'hard headed formalists, if not hypocrites', sometimes 'addicted to sensual and secret sin'.¹ Booth presented a somewhat different problem, for up to 1861 he had been a member of the Methodist New Connexion. In the mid 1850s as a young man he had achieved remarkable results as an evangelist in Guernsey, the West Country, the Midlands and the North, employing special services that were indisputably modelled on Caughey's revival methods.² The New Connexion Conference at first approved of his itinerancies, but in 1857 those critical of the emotionalism, promotional ('penitent-form') revivalism and challenge to connexional order involved in his work managed to persuade Conference that he should be given a regular circuit. Some of his lay supporters, temperamentally akin to Caughey's lay champions a decade earlier, boiled with resentment: 'the only way for such men as you and Caughey to escape the mental rack and handcuffs', one of them wrote to Booth, 'is to take out a licence to hawk salvation from the great Magistrate above, and absolutely refuse to have any other master.'³ For four years he ignored this advice, hopeful he would eventually achieve his evangelistic ambitions; only when the 1861 Conference rejected his application to return to evangelistic work did he withdraw from the New Connexion and offer his services as a freelance revivalist to those churches

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1. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXVII (13 Nov. 1862), XXXVIII (23 July 1863).
 2. For Booth's attachment to the revival techniques of Bramwell, Caughey and other Methodist revivalists of the first half of the nineteenth century, see W. Booth to Catherine Mumford, 17 Nov. 1852, in Begbie, Life of Booth, I, 158-59.
 3. Ibid., I, 308. Booth probably received less divisive advice from Caughey when he took his son Ballington to be baptised by the American later in the same year. Ibid., I, 310.

that would receive him. Almost at once he was invited to hold special services in Cornwall, where he was soon at the centre of an emotional and at times disorderly revival in the various branches of Methodism in Hayle, St. Ives, St. Just and elsewhere.¹ Wesleyans were terrified lest such an untamed creature should prey on their vulnerable societies.

The Palmers were saddened by the Wesleyan resolution of July 1862 but were neither temperamentally suited nor strategically placed to challenge it; for soon after the meeting of Conference, when she was in Ireland, Phoebe suffered a major breakdown in health which kept the couple out of revival services for several months.² By the time she had recovered, the Primitive Methodist Conference, too, had directed 'station authorities to avoid the employing of Revivalists, so called.'³ The only major branch of Methodism officially still in full sympathy with the Palmers' style of revivalism was the United Methodist Free Church. This was a denomination not without its sticklers for order but was nevertheless composed of too many members indebted to 'penitent-form revivals' for their advocates to come under sustained attack; significantly, even in 1866, when the denominational increase totalled a mere 63 members, the annual Conference address recognised 'the valuable services of the Rev. J. Caughey and other brethren' in conducting revival meetings.⁴ Thus from late 1862 onwards much of the Palmers' work took place in U.M.F.C. chapels and in those of the New Connexion (which, despite the Booth affair, had left the initiative in matters of revivalism to each individual circuit).⁵ But the Americans were never fully to lose

1. Ibid., I, 154-322; Revivalist (1862), pp.65-70; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXVII (9 Oct. 1862).

2. Palmer, Four Years in the Old World, pp.428-30.

3. General Minutes of the Primitive Methodist Annual Conference (1862), p.28; cf. Revivalist (1860), pp.10, 14; (1862), pp.142-43.

4. Messenger of Life, I (1859), 85-92; Revivalist (1862), pp.145-50; United Methodist Free Churches Annual Minutes (1866), pp.75-77.

5. Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Methodist New Connexion (1861), p.50.

the support of and contact with Wesleyans, so many of whom declined to regard the Conference decision (the act 'of a few mistaken persons', and not 'the voice of the body') as binding.¹

For the final year of their visit, then, the Palmers were far from friendless as they itinerated in the Midland and Northern strongholds of Reform Methodism. Their performance in statistical terms continued to match that of the most effective periods of their tour. During the first eighteen months, for example, according to Mrs. Palmer's estimate, 'at most places' they 'witnessed an average of not less than one hundred saved weekly'. In Wales in 1862 they claimed over 1,000 converts in three or four months. Now, in Wolverhampton, Birmingham and Walsall in early 1863, they calculated that in twelve weeks about 1,400 had received 'forgiveness of sins' and 200 'the blessing of purity'; soon afterwards a total of 1,300 justified and sanctified were recorded in Manchester and Nottingham over a period of eight weeks.² These figures were comparable with those achieved by Caughey, though it should be remembered that Caughey had what was probably the more difficult task of sustaining revivals in a single place for several months at a time. He had, for instance, averaged 150 converts a week (justified and sanctified) over a whole year in Sheffield in 1857-58. The Palmers, on the other hand, regarded two or three weeks as the optimum period, after which they were ready to move on to new pastures. Providing the minister in question had prepared the church for their arrival, they could expect a period of intense recruitment for the duration of their stay, but were not burdened with having to maintain this performance during the period when congregational exhaustion might conceivably set in. Nevertheless, when the Palmers finally sailed out of Liverpool in October, 1863, they could reflect

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2. His most effective work took place in Dunfermline, Glasgow, Edinburgh, 1860, and Belfast, 1861.
1. Palmer, Four Years in the Old World, pp.625-26, 632, 645-46, 659-60; Revivalist (1863), pp.61-62, 73-74, 91, 121, 123.
 2. Revivalist (1863), pp.122-23; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXVI (4 Apr. 1861); Palmer, Four Years in the Old World, p.556.

with pleasure on a record that was by contemporary evangelistic standards enormously impressive.

The final member of this group of Americans itinerating in Britain was Edward Payson Hammond - an earnest young New Englander bred on small-town Congregationalism and revivals, converted at seventeen, college-trained, and intent on devoting his life to missionary work. Hammond's trip to Europe in 1859 in his twenty-eighth year was designed simply as a brief interruption of his seminary studies, not as a major evangelistic enterprise. Once he had visited Ireland for a fortnight to watch the revival and defend the American movement, had made a continental tour, and had visited John Angell James (by his own account, The Anxious Inquirer had been his 'guide...to Christ and heaven'), he had expected to return to America. Instead he attended the Free Church College in Edinburgh and was there persuaded to give assistance to Congregationalists in nearby Musselburgh. Predictably, given Hammond's proven sympathy for revivals and the percolation of Ulster news throughout Scotland, emotional and well-attended revival services became daily events in Musselburgh, for which Hammond was given most of the credit.¹

Thereafter Hammond never looked back. For twelve months he itinerated in various Scottish milieux - villages, towns and cities; mining areas and agricultural regions - holding crowded daily services for a week or two in each place, and generally associating with Congregationalists or Free Churchmen.² Hammond estimated that during 1860 some 1,700 had been 'awakened' in revivals in which he had been involved, a figure nowhere near those

1. P.C. Headley, ed., The Harvest Work of the Holy Spirit. Illustrated in the Evangelistic Labors of Rev. Edward Payson Hammond (Boston, 1863), pp.22, 37-61.

2. His most effective work took place in Dunfermline, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Tillicoultry, Motherwell, Wishaw, Annan, Dumfries, and Glasgow. He engaged in a four-week Sabbath Observance campaign in Lowestoft in 1860; and held special revival meetings in London and Liverpool before leaving in the following year. Ibid., pp.76-199.

It was at Rhode House in Lowestoft that Hammond conducted a 'three days' campaign' in Norfolk Street Church, New York City, in 1861. Hammond, pp.191-92.

produced by Caughey, the Palmers, and other Methodists, but still a considerable achievement, given the limited acquaintance with revival methods apparent in some of the churches he visited. The features of his work that had proved so successful in Musselburgh continued to mark his movements thereafter. They included an earnest 'unstilted' preaching style characterised by 'godly simplicity' and 'a marvellous knack of making mundane themes the medium for conveying precious spiritual truths', together with his regular use of a separate inquirers' meeting after the main service. These were of course methods much less challenging to conservative evangelicals than the more robust methods of the Methodists. Moreover, Hammond may have benefited considerably from the levelling effects of his lay status: it seemed to a Glasgow editor that Hammond, lacking 'the pride of office... of a thorough clerical training', was more approachable than most of the ministry.¹ Of most long-term significance, however, was his holding of services exclusively for children, and his preparedness to regard children no older than five as potential converts. Within the decade he was to be established on both sides of the Atlantic as 'the children's evangelist'.² Hammond's departure, in 1861, unlike the departure of other Americans at this time, marked less an end than a beginning.

IV

These Americans scarcely constituted a closely-united phalanx amongst the activists of the British revival movement. Their movements were never co-ordinated and rarely did they overlap. True, Finney, Hammond and the Palmers found themselves in Scotland during the winter of 1859-60, and Caughey and the Palmers were at work in Rochdale simultaneously in 1861.³

1. Ibid., pp.117-18, 177-78, 197.

2. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp.155-58; Dict. of Am. Biog.

3. Revivalist (1861), pp.74-75; Palmer, Four Years in the Old World, p.693.

3. It was at Phoebe Palmer's behest that Caughey conducted a 'brief campaign' in Norfolk Street Church, New York City, in 1850. Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, pp.191-92.

But such convergences were not planned. In fact on at least one occasion, at Manchester, Finney was reluctant to begin work, principally because Caughey had operated there in the previous year; probably recollecting their joint presence in Cincinnati in 1854, Finney asserted that 'he always found he could do nothing after Mr. Caughey.'¹ The absence of real cohesion between these revivalists does not, however, invalidate an examination of the common features of their itinerancies.

The enthusiasm and numbers that greeted the Americans' movements suggested not only the drawing-power of popular and successful personalities,² but also the increased prominence of evangelists. In the revival movement of the 1830s, when the American churches sustained a burgeoning itinerancy, British evangelicals had made rather cautious efforts to promote evangelistic agency, for which enthusiasm had waned during the reaction of the mid 1840s. In the late 1850s the emphases were reversed, for as itinerant evangelists came to play an unaccustomed secondary role in the American revival, they were participating more and more in British church life. British itinerants at that time could be divided broadly into two categories. The first, the ministerial group, was most firmly based in the various branches of non-Wesleyan Methodism, where historically there had prevailed a more mobile conception of the ministry than in other Nonconformist denominations, and where special services had been increasingly employed in the 1840s and 1850s. Foremost in this small group were William Booth and James Codd Milbourn, who held revival services throughout the Midlands and North during the late 1850s and early 1860s. It seems possible that, as was true of Booth, Milbourn's decision to become a revivalist was attributable to Caughey, for he used revival techniques curiously similar to the American's.³

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1. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXIX (2 and 23 Mar. 1854); XXXV (19 July 1860).
 2. In Darlington, North Shields and other places where the Palmers worked, special trains were run from neighbouring towns. Ibid., XXXVI (12 Sept. 1861); Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, p.357.
 3. For some indication of Milbourn's work, see Revivalist (1859), pp.22-23, 42-44, 58-60, 93-94, 111-12, 126-28, 144; (1860), pp.9-16, 73-76, 93-96; (1862), p.142; (1863), pp.33-35, 89-90; (1864), pp.64-67. He used, for example, Caughey's preaching formula of 'This year thou shalt die'.

Numerically much larger was the group of lay evangelists, whose growing centrality in the work of revival was typified in the opportunities made available to Hammond and the Palmers. The emergence of full-time lay evangelists during the 1850s in part developed out of the encouragement of general lay involvement in the work of church recruitment. It also appears to have reflected increasing lay prosperity and experience of public meetings.¹ This, however, was more immediately true of the better-to-do laymen - Reginald Radcliffe, Gordon Forlong, Henry Grattan Guinness, Hay McDowell Grant, and Brownlow North, for example - than those like Richard Weaver, William Carter, an ex-chimney-sweep, and 'Mr. Bamford, the converted navvie', who emerged from the ranks of working-men and were welcomed for their capacity to speak to the working-class in its own language.² In some cases, too, in Reformed Methodism during the 1850s lay revivalists emerged whose admiration for Caughey was undoubtedly a factor in their decision to itinerate: this was surely the case with John Unwin and Richard Poole of Sheffield.³ Moreover, the very success of these path-breakers in lay evangelism offered perhaps the major reason for the increasing proliferation of such evangelists during the later phases of the revival, when the earlier

1. Anderson, 'Women preachers in Mid-Victorian Britain', loc.cit., p.475.

2. See, for example, Chr. Witness, XV (1858), 44; Freeman, V (9 Mar., 6 June 1859), VI (25 Apr. 1860); Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXIII (13 May 1858); New York Obs., XXXVI (25 Nov. 1858); Scott, Ulster Revival, pp.210-11; Revivalist (1862), p.76; Orr, Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain, pp. 232-38; William Carter, The Power of God: or Results of Theatre Preaching (London, 1863), pp.iii-iv and passim; Richard Weaver, A Voice from the Coalpit; or Six Addresses to the Working Classes.... (London, n.d.), passim.

3. See, for example, Revivalist (1857), pp.72-74, 138-43, 156-57, 191; (1858), pp.9-10, 25-26, 40, 70-71; (1862), pp.44-45, 77, 109, 127, 141-42; Begbie, Life of Booth, I, 211. The United Methodist Free Churches Annual Minutes (1859), pp.20-21, described Poole and Unwin as 'in Church Membership with the Sheffield Mount Tabor Circuit (; they) labour as Evangelists in Circuits or Churches which arrange with them for their services.' Poole was soon to become a full minister. There were a number of Primitive and Reform Methodist lay evangelists operating in the late 1850s and early 1860s. Some had no doubt begun as local preachers. For William Tomlins, William Braimbridge and James Marsden, for example, see Revivalist (1857), pp.43-45, 49-50, 74-80, 89-93, 107-11, 173-74; (1858), pp.12, 29-30, 63-64, 109-10; (1859), pp.12-13; (1860), p.7; (1861), pp.61, 174; (1862), p.76; (1863), p.63.

'spontaneity' had disappeared, in the 1860s.

More challenging to traditionalists than lay evangelism was the emergence of a new strain of female preaching, forcefully represented by Phoebe Palmer. The female ranting associated with the Methodists earlier in the century was well on the wane by the 1850s, though some direct descendants of these relatively ill-educated women itinerants were still operating at that time in Primitive and Free Methodist circles. Elizabeth Bennett, Sarah White and the wife of James Codd Milbourn between them conducted special revival services in Wales, the West Midlands, the industrial North and Lincolnshire in the late 1850s and early 1860s.¹ But at the same time a more decorous, middle-class female preaching was emerging, just part of the general broadening of women's activity in church life during the 1860s, and developing in particular out of the laicism, search for novelty, sensationalism, and emphasis on holiness typical of the revival generally.² The supply of invitations reaching Phoebe Palmer suggested a widespread ignoring of the resolution of the 1803 Wesleyan Conference, which had placed a broad restriction on the speaking of women in public, and especially in sexually-mixed assemblies; and from the outset in the North-East Mrs. Palmer came under fire from Scripture literalists insisting that her practices were 'diametrically opposed to an inspired apostle's precept', a reference to St. Paul's injunction that 'women keep silence in the churches' (I Corinthians xiv 34-35).³ Robert Young and Catherine Booth (on Tyneside herself during the Palmers' north-eastern successes) sprang to Mrs. Palmer's defence, the former emphasising her 'extraordinary call', and both adducing counter-

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1. Ibid., (1857), p.22; (1858), pp.121-23; (1859), pp.22-23, 144; (1863), pp.75-77. 'Ye sons and daughters of the Lord, Arise and preach his sacred Word' was the injunction of one of the hymns in Hugh Bourne's collection for camp meetings and revivals.
 2. For a thoughtful and amplified discussion, see Anderson, 'Women preachers in Mid-Victorian Britain', loc. cit., pp.467-80.
 3. P.J. Jarbo, A Letter to Mrs. Palmer, in reference to Women Speaking in Public (North Shields, 1859), pp.1-2 and passim; Arthur Augustus Rees, Reasons for Not Co-operating in the Alleged "Sunderland Revivals" (Sunderland, 1859), pp.6-14; cf. pp.5-6, where Rees calls female preaching 'unnatural'.

arguments from the Scriptures.¹ The affair was a major element in the controversy over female 'prophesying' that continued through the 1860s and subsided when female preaching in its more sensational form declined in the next decade.

Yet on strictly secular feminist issues, Mrs. Palmer's views, like those of most contemporary women preachers, were scarcely radical. 'We do not intend to discuss the question of "Women's Rights"', she wrote in her Promise of the Father, a work designed to remove the prejudice against women speaking in the churches, but specifically disclaiming any commitment to revolutionising women's social or domestic relationships.² Here she shared the same ground as Mrs. Finney, who, it was said, confined herself in Edinburgh 'to the sphere of a true lady, according to the most stringent notions of "women's place"', and whose meetings in Bolton were regarded as remote from 'eccentric exhibitions' of 'women's rights'.³ Mrs. Finney's public work on this visit was actually far more prominent and was better integrated with her husband's efforts than in 1850; at her daily prayer meetings, sometimes interdenominational affairs attended by two or three hundred people, this gentle but articulate sixty-year-old coaxed and prayed with many who were later to be converted at Finney's services proper.⁴ Unlike Mrs. Palmer, she abstained from work in sexually-mixed meetings (in Calvinistic Nonconformity women's active participation in mixed public

expanding techniques of publicity, another aspect of the new forms of

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1. Robert Young, North of England Revivals. Prophesying of Women (Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1859); Catherine Booth, Female Teaching; or, the Rev. A.A. Rees versus Mrs. Palmer, being A Reply to a pamphlet by the above gentleman on The Sunderland Revival (London, 1861). But Mrs. Booth also rejected Mrs. Palmer's premillenarian arguments that the emergence of a female ministry was eschatologically significant, heralding the fulfilment of prophecy regarding 'the last days'. Anderson, 'Women preachers in Mid-Victorian Britain', loc.cit., 479-81.
 2. Phoebe Palmer, Promise of the Father; or, A Neglected Speciality of the Last Days (Boston, 1859), pp.1-2, 13, and passim. Much exercised by her shortcomings 'as an experimental Christian', Mrs. Palmer sent a copy to Queen Victoria. Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, pp.368-69.
 3. Ob. Evang., XXII (11 Apr. 1860); Chr. News, 15 Oct. 1859.
 4. See, for example, Finney, Memoirs, pp.455-56, 467-68; Chr. News, 5 Nov. 1859, 2 Jan. 1864; Mrs. Finney, Journal, passim.

prayer was not widely encouraged),¹ and received no prompting to do so from her husband, who - though accused in 1827 at New Lebanon of encouraging women's speaking aloud in 'promiscuous assemblies' - was not the radical in this area that his opponents had sometimes claimed. But Mrs. Finney's work did make considerable impact, particularly in Scotland. Here not only was her daily ladies' prayer meeting in Bristo Place, Edinburgh, continued with vigour by Mrs. Kirk for many months after her departure, but similar meetings sprang up in direct imitation in other places.² Clearly the work of both Elizabeth Finney and, in a less palatable way, Phoebe Palmer was demanding that the evangelical community re-assess the status and increase the active role of women in the life of the churches.

The Americans' challenge to conservative evangelicals was positively welcomed by those with whom they worked. There was no ad hoc thrusting into stand-offish churches. Instead they itinerated according to pressing invitations from sympathetic admirers eager to promote them as established soul-savers and champions of American freedom (for they were unanimously anti-slavery and, later, anti-Confederate).³ Often they arrived to find the churches in question already embarked on a course of special services; but on some occasions the revivalist - Caughey in Manchester, and Finney in Huntingdon, in 1859 - was called in specifically to invigorate a 'slumbering' church. Invariably they were treated as celebrities, and the expanding techniques of publicity, another aspect of the new degree of sensationalism attendant on this revival, were brought into play to trumpet

1. Binfield, Nonconformity in the Eastern Counties, p.123.

2. Chr. News, 5 Nov. 1859, 18 Feb. 1860; both the attendance and the frequency of meetings dropped in early summer, 1860. Ibid., 28 Apr., 5 May 1860. Cf. Mrs. Finney, Journal, p.52; M. Foster to C.G. Finney, 9 Mar. 1859, Finney Papers. She did encounter some opposition, Chr. News, 24 Sept. 1859.

3. Revivalist (1863), p.125; Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, p.380. Cf. William Taylor, Cause and Probable Results of the Civil War in America. Facts for the people of Great Britain (London, 1862). Finney was much concerned to demonstrate the contribution of revivals to American antislavery. Chr. News, 4 Feb. 1860; Freeman, V (9 Mar. 1859).

their 'Revival Services'. The use of placards, showbills and printed circulars, better established in Britain than North America, reached a new level of intensity;¹ the religious periodicals - some new, and all invigorated by this injection of revival - were now supplemented by a secular press which, attracted by the startling manifestations of the movement, 'no longer deem(ed revivals) beneath their notice'.² The celebrity status accorded the Americans (and other evangelists) by these agencies did not, however, bring them huge material reward. The Palmers, sustained by the Doctor's private means and the sale of Phoebe's books, gave their services free; Hammond generally worked 'without fee or reward'; Finney, supported by wealthy laymen like Brown and Barlow, received occasional generous donations, but worked for no personal profit.³ Caughey, whose crowd-pulling capacity was legendary (well over a thousand paid to attend four hours of speeches at his 'Farewell Soiree' in Sheffield Music Hall in August, 1858), seems to have been financially comfortable, but his personal life-style was beyond reproach, and he was known to make generous financial contributions to evangelical causes.⁴

The interdenominational emphases of this period of revival were, with certain exceptions, well represented in the Americans' operations. All at some time or other supervised union prayer meetings and the fully-fledged revival services in which ministers and members of various evangelical

denominationalism grew in the first place out of a sense of the churches'

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1. Revivalist (1859), p.169; (1862), p.157; Chr. News, 20 Aug. 1859; Palmer, Four Years in the Old World, p.262; Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, p.369; Finney, Memoirs, p.461; R. Bushell to C.G. Finney, 16 June 1859, Finney Papers. Mrs. Palmer was by her own account upset by such publicity. Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, pp.322-23.
 2. Revivalist (1860), p.45. The most dramatically popular of the new magazines was The Revival of Chase and Morgan. Cf. their homiletic The Evangelist, or monthly journal.
 3. Hughes, Beloved Physician, pp.71-72; Revivalist (1859), p.172; Headley, Harvest Work of the Holy Spirit, p.62, 195; Mrs. Finney, Journal, pp.52, 59; Wesl. Times, XII (6 Aug. 1860).
 4. Revivalist (1858), pp.145-60; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXIII (3 June 1858).

denominations participated. The Palmers' work in Newcastle, in which five denominations co-operated, was described as the 'Evangelical Alliance Revival'; Hammond had a similar experience in Annan, where Churchmen joined Dissenters; Caughey attracted ministers and members of other denominations to his services in Manchester in 1859.¹ The accelerating drift during the 1850s towards interdenominationalism and the use of unconsecrated buildings now resulted in some temperance halls and theatres being taken over by ministerial activists to hold joint special services. This was Finney's experience in Bolton; in Huntingdon, the Institution Hall was seen as suitably 'neutral ground' for him to conduct united prayer meetings; in Aberdeen he preached in the Music Hall.²

Yet the Americans were all essentially denominational revivalists. Caughey and the Palmers stayed within the Methodist fold, generally moving outside the church walls only when the pressure of numbers dictated;³ Hammond worked under Scottish Calvinist auspices; Finney's operations were conducted through denominational channels. Co-operation between the churches meant interdenominationalism, not extra-denominationalism. The work of the American revivalists was much more in keeping with the denominational special services that had developed (to a substantial degree through their own efforts) during the previous thirty years, than with the swelling under-current of work outside the churches apparent in this period. This extra-denominationalism grew in the first place out of a sense of the churches' failure to reach the working class, and was perhaps best represented by the theatre preaching of ministers, and lay revivalists like William Carter and

1. Palmer, Four Years in the Old World, p.105; Headley, Harvest Work of the Holy Spirit, pp.100-17; Revivalist (1859), p.125. Cf. Wesl. Times, XI (18 July 1859); Bolton Chronicle, 31 Dec. 1859; Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, p.371; Revivalist (1859), pp.171-72, 186; (1860), p.2.

2. Minutes of Trinity Church, Huntingdon: insertion between entries for 21 Apr. and 2 Aug. 1859; Mrs. Finney, Journal, p.55.

3. Revivalist (1861), p.183; (1862), pp.91, 126.

Richard Weaver. In various London and provincial theatres Carter managed sometimes to make contact with working men on the fringes of society, beyond the orbit of the regular churches and conventional preaching.¹ At about the same time the Booths, rejected by so many of the principal churches to which they turned, were being driven to work independently. In 1863 they conducted meetings at Cardiff in a circus; at Walsall they worked in the open air.² Such relatively spontaneous movements had, however, to be given permanent form and organisation if they were not to evaporate into nothing. Consequently, Carter eventually established his own 'Church for Theatre Converts'; the Booths set up a Christian Mission in East London in 1865 that in time metamorphosed into the Salvation Army.³

Whatever the erosion of denominational constraints, the Americans still tended to regard the British evangelical churches as hidebound by denominational prejudice. 'Sectarianism, I am very sorry to say', Caughey told his American readers, 'still runs very high in England.'⁴ Finney, carrying rather less than pleasant memories of his work in Manchester and Edinburgh, echoed these sentiments: in England and Scotland, he was to write, 'the members of the different churches keep more closely within their lines, than in (America).'⁵ It was his Scottish experience in particular which soured his views. Not only was his name associated in the minds of a number of conservative Scottish evangelicals with revivalistic extravagance,⁶

1. Thomas A. Binckes, Preaching in Theatres (London, 1860), *passim*; Carter, The Power of God, *passim*; Freeman, VI (25 Apr. 1860); Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXVI (14 Nov. 1861); Revivalist (1864), pp.42-43.

2. Begbie, Life of Booth, I, 322.

3. Ibid., I, 364-404; Carter, Power of God, p.78.

4. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXIV (21 July 1859).

5. Finney, Memoirs, p.470. Cf. Wesl. Times, XII (6 Aug. 1860); Finney, The Prevailing Prayer-Meeting, pp.30-31; Ob. Evang., XXII (15 Aug. 1860).

6. For A.A. Bonar's uncomplimentary view of Finney's revivalism, in contrast to Nettleton's, and for John Moore's defence of Finney against this attack, see Chr. News, 3 Sept. 1859. Cf. ibid., 17 Sept. 1859; Wesl. Times, XI (31 Oct. 1859); J. Moore to C.G. Finney, 16 July 1855, Finney Papers.

but his sponsorship by the Evangelical Unionists brought onto his head all the scorn and suspicion reserved for that denomination by orthodox evangelical churches.¹ Reginald Radcliffe was to discover in Scotland in 1860 that after dissociating himself in name from the Morisonians, his influence and 'popularity considerably increased.'² Unfortunately for Finney, he was unable similarly to dissociate himself, even though Morison himself was unfriendly to the idea of Finney's coming to work in his church. The American thus found himself generally ostracised by evangelical denominations (Congregationalists and Presbyterians) that elsewhere were ready to receive him. John Kirk, who regarded Finney as 'a thorough and bold Arminian like ourselves', was happy to keep him well away from Calvinistic pulpits; but Finney was less sanguine and eventually decided to turn down a number of invitations from Morisonian pastors.³ Union meetings were much more common in the Scottish circles in which Hammond and the Palmers worked, though Mrs. Palmer noted that, relative to her English experience, there were certain reservations over full ministerial involvement in union activities.⁴

In methods used, the Americans demonstrated a basic agreement. All aimed for immediate commitment. All gave a central place to prayer and addresses. All encouraged lay participation in bringing the unconverted to decision. 'We do not visit any place to do all the work, but to help the people in the great work of bringing their friends to Jesus', explained Mrs. Palmer; in Glasgow it was said that Hammond 'had developed the lay agency to a larger extent than ever'; Finney and Caughey similarly cultivated lay

1. For the ostracism of the Evangelical Union, see Evang. Rep., second series III (1861).

2. Chr. News, 8 Sept. 1860.

3. Finney, Memoirs, p.458; Mrs. Finney, Journal, pp.51-57; Chr. News, 16 Apr., 3 Sept., 15 and 22 Oct., 26 Nov., 24 Dec. 1859, 7 Jan. 1860; J. Kirk to C.G. Finney, 19 July 1859, Finney Papers; Alexander McArthur, Finney versus Morison: or, Oberlin Strictures on Morisonian Faith (Glasgow, 1859), passim.

4. Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, p.362.

assistance.¹ Yet in many of the particulars of their approach - the precise form of service, the number to be held daily, the best instrument for achieving commitment - there was considerable diversity, determined in part by the predilections of the individual revivalist, in part by church milieu and denominational emphasis. Caughey was rarely, if ever, deflected from his attachment to the public call forward to the communion rail. The Palmers, equally wedded to the device, found in Scotland a prejudice against it, and in Glasgow while waiting for the installation of a communion rail, Walter Palmer called on penitents to stand up in the congregation; on other occasions, when the rail was too crowded, he encouraged the overflow to raise their right hands 'that we may unite our supplications on your behalf'. Hammond, in contrast, working amongst Scottish churches whose suspicion of anxious seats reflected his own tastes, consistently held inquiry meetings immediately after the daily service. Finney's methods varied from place to place. When working with Methodists he used the communion rail; in Manchester and Huntingdonshire he held separate 'meetings for anxious inquirers'; in Scotland he challenged the prevailing antipathy towards public decision by encouraging the anxious to stand or raise their hands.²

Rather was it in their evangelical message that the major differences between these revivalists were to be found, though it is sensible first to note that here too there were significant similarities in their approaches. The predominant theology of the revival, as preached, was essentially

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1. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXV (29 Nov. 1860), XXXVIII (9 Apr., 3 Sept. 1863); Headley, Harvest Work of the Holy Spirit, pp.138, 196; Finney, Prevailing Prayer-Meeting, passim; Revivalist (1858), p.90. Wesleyan 'Young Men's (and Female) Vigilance Bands' for home missionary work grew out of the Palmers' north-eastern revival in 1859-60. Palmer, Four Years in the Old World, pp.255-59, 270, 478.
 2. Wesl. Times, VIII (10 Mar. 1856); Revivalist (1860), pp.2, 41, 43, 123; (1862), p.44; Palmer, Four Years in the Old World, p.495; Headley, Harvest Work of the Holy Spirit, pp.62, 90-95, 299-303; Finney, Memoirs, p.462; E.A. Finney to her daughter, 20 July 1859, Finney Papers; Ob. Evang., XXII (15 Aug. 1860); Kirk, Memoirs of John Kirk, pp.323-24.

Arminian, and the Americans contributed to that emphasis.¹ Finney and Hammond would have rejected the Arminian label, but in practical terms their appeal to sinners was almost as broad and general as the Methodists', even if never so crude as the simplistic theology of William Carter and his ilk.² Certainly neither of them was as boldly Calvinistic as Spurgeon or Grattan Guinness appeared to be.³ Similarly, none of the Americans, not even Mrs. Palmer, with her premillennialist explanation of female preaching as a sign of 'the last days', could be designated 'visionaries and enthusiasts'. A significant gulf divided their views from those of preachers like the gentleman-evangelist Captain Trotter, who represented those extreme premillennialists utterly convinced of their own infallibility and who upheld strenuously the proximity of Christ's Second Coming.⁴ Rather the Americans shared in the broad, unrelenting optimism of more mid-stream evangelicals such as William Arthur, whose tracts ('The Conversion of All England', 'May we hope for a Great Revival?') provide excellent illustration of the widespread and utter conviction that the Christian world was on the verge of great achievements. 'The entire conversion of England and America, within the next fifty years', Arthur wrote, 'would not be so great a work for the Christians now existing, as the progress made since a hundred years ago has been for those then existing.'⁵ It is in this common context - a

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1. William Arthur's tracts, Did Christ Die For All? (London, 1859), and Free, Full, and Present Salvation and Only Believe (London, 1860) were representative of this theological strain: all may be saved, Christians must work for the salvation of all, and if the sinner is not saved now it is his own fault. However, the days of theological conflict on a more theoretical level had not passed. J.H. Hinton's Moderate Calvinism Re-examined (London, 1861), which trod a careful middle path between Arminianism and high Calvinism came in for strong criticism from both sides.
 2. For the utter absence of theological sophistication in Carter's preaching, see Carter, The Power of God, pp.23, 56-57 and passim.
 3. Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXIII (13 May 1858), XXXIV (20 Jan. 1859).
 4. Ibid., XXXV (23 Feb. 1860). Cf. The Great Revival, p.3; Brock, Revivals, p.85.
 5. William Arthur, The Conversion of All England (London, 1859), p.13.

firm belief in an accelerating movement towards achieving God's plan - that the Americans must primarily be seen. That stated, it is clear that in their message to sinners their emphases differed. Not only were Finney and Hammond set apart from the others by their inability completely to disguise their Calvinism, but Hammond's own brand of Calvinism appears to have elevated the concept of God's love to a position of greater relative centrality than in Finney's preaching. In this he stood nearer to Moody and the generation reaching maturity a decade hence, than to the preachers of the first half of the century.¹ Moreover, Hammond was the only one of the group not to embrace holiness or perfectionism; while Finney's preaching of the doctrine was much more peripheral to his activities than was true of Caughey and the Palmers.

It is clear that in both the British and American revival 'sanctification' or holiness ('perfectionism' was widely regarded as too extravagant a term) played a much more prominent role than hitherto. The Tuesday meeting, Oberlin perfectionism and Caughey's earlier campaigns suggest that from the 1830s in America, and from at least the 1840s in Britain, the search had intensified for a higher level of piety than that achieved at the time of conversion. They also suggest the weighty Methodist contribution to the fuller flowering of the doctrine in the 1850s, when a number of highly popular works flooded the transatlantic evangelical market. Not only Mrs. Palmer's works, but William Boardman's Higher Christian Life (arguing, typically, the case for a distinct, instantaneous 'second experience' for the Christian believer which enriches his life but does not approximate to 'sinless perfection'), and The Life of Faith, by Thomas Upham (one of the first men to benefit from the Tuesday meeting), enjoyed an extensive British readership during the revival.² Simultaneously Richard Poole (author of

1. Headley, Harvest Work of the Holy Spirit, pp.164-67.

2. W.E. Boardman, The Higher Christian Life (London, 1859); Brit.Stand., III (4 Mar. 1859); Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, pp.239-40, 379. Cf. William Arthur, The Tongue of Fire: or, The True Power of Christianity (London, 1856). The Guide to Holiness, the organ of the American holiness movement, had an English readership. Chr.Adv. and Jnl., XXXVIII (29 Oct. 1863).

Lectures on the Old Doctrine of Entire Sanctification, and The Centre and Circle of Evangelical Religion, or Perfect Love), J.C. Milbourn, and other English Methodists sought with considerable success 'to revive...the "Great Gun" of revivalism.'¹ Many 'High Church' Wesleyans 'discountenance(d) the profession of holiness'.² But the efforts of popular Methodist evangelists, and of Caughey and the Palmers, in whose hands the search for holiness was often little more than the pursuit of a sentimental experience, considerably extended the influence of the doctrine.³ Many non-Methodists attended the Palmers' services, for example, and Finney's more limited promotion of similar tenets, through press and pulpit, helped their spread both in and outside Methodism.⁴

One historian has suggested that the spread of holiness at this time might be interpreted as a religious equivalent of the secular cult of self-improvement.⁵ It may also have been encouraged by more strictly internal church developments: perhaps by the need felt by some church members to set higher standards of piety and Christian living at a time when the criteria for ordinary church membership seemed to be deteriorating; perhaps too by the increasing number of inward-looking characteristics of revivals themselves. Gilbert's examination of Nonconformist statistics indicates that

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1. Revivalist (1857), pp.73, 121. Cf. ibid. (1860), p.9ff; (1863), p.77.
 2. Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, pp.369-70.
 3. Mrs. Palmer was criticised (with some justice) for deviating from the orthodox Wesleyan doctrine of sanctification: she seemed to say that to experience holiness the individual had simply to believe that he had achieved it; that failure to achieve holiness could nullify regeneration; and that public testimony was necessary to maintain a sanctified state. John Leland Peters, Christian Perfection and American Methodism (New York, 1956), pp.112-13. She was wholly orthodox, however, in seeing holiness as instantaneously achieved and as forfeitable, and in denying that it meant complete sinlessness. Palmer, Way of Holiness, pp.37, 46-47 and passim.
 4. C.G. Finney, Guide to the Saviour, or, the Secret of a Holy Life (London, 1859); Bolton Chronicle, 2 June 1860; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXVIII (29 Oct. 1863). Methodist reaction to Finney's perfectionism covered the whole spectrum from endorsement to distrust. Revivalist (1859), pp.9-10; (1863), p.77; Wesl. Meth. Mag., LXXXIV (1861), 646.
 5. Anderson, 'Women preachers in Mid-Victorian Britain', loc. cit., 447.

as the nineteenth century progressed the evangelical churches collected an ever smaller number of their converts from outside the evangelical community; increasingly their aggressive, external evangelism gave way to recruitment from within.¹ Often, as has been seen, the converts in revivals were already in church membership, and the movement of 1858-1863 confirmed this pattern: Hammond's inquirers included '(u)nconverted communicants in the churches';² Finney dealt with 'careless professors of religion'; Caughey's and the Palmers' list of 'justified' included a considerable percentage of church members.³ That attention should be given to the holiness and 'the higher Christian life' of the churches' membership was simply one more dimension of the displacement of evangelical energies from external to internal activity.

This is not to suggest that 're-conversions' can explain the revival in its entirety. The movement may not have been an 'Awakening' in any fundamental sense, but there were huge recorded increases in membership which have to be accounted for. The major Welsh and English Methodist denominations grew from a total of 444,369 members in 1859 (the lowest total since 1839) to 565,272 in 1863; only in 1866 was the progress reversed. There were, of course denominational and regional variations. Welsh Wesleyans registered a phenomenal growth of 19.9% in 1859-60. In England the annual returns to the various Methodist Conferences never reached these proportions, but they indicate that all except the New Connexion (whose

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1. Gilbert, The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, passim.
 2. Headley, Harvest Work of the Holy Spirit, p.92. An Aberdeen minister of the Church of Scotland held that half of the converts in the Scottish revival had been earlier received into church communion 'upon profession of an orthodox, instead of saving acquaintance with Christ.' Ibid., pp.94-95.
 3. See, for example, Chr. News, 24 Sept. 1859; Revivalist (1859), pp.16, 75. 962 (over 18%) of Caughey's 5,264 converts ('justified') at Sheffield in 1857-58; and 1,450 (nearly 36%) out of the 4,039 converts he won between December 1860 and October 1861 were already members of the churches. Ibid. (1858), p.148; (1859), p.182.

3. Revivalist (1859), p.409; Chr. News, 2511 (11 Apr. 1860).

peak came in the mid 1850s) experienced a sharp upturn in growth rate in 1858 and/or 1859, and that all except the Wesleyans registered a second upswing in 1862 after the first phase of revival appeared to be over by 1861. The Baptist increase during the two peak revival years of 1859 and 1860 averaged over ten members per church, and above average growth continued up to 1862; Congregationalists apparently experienced 'a proportionate share' of the general Nonconformist increase during this period; General Baptist returns indicate that following the stagnant decade after 1846 nearly 3,000 (16%) were added between 1856 and 1864, with the period of most marked growth coming in the two years after 1860.¹

An examination of the background of the converts won under the Americans' auspices offers some indication of the primary catchment areas for this growth. Some converts had been sucked in from outside the boundaries of evangelicalism. A few of these had been members of non-evangelical denominations: the Finneys and the Palmers made much of the handful of Quakers, Unitarians and Roman Catholics they managed to attract.² A few seem genuinely to have been from the ranks of the 'unchurched': some in Finney's Bolton audiences were described as being 'not usually found' in religious meetings; amongst Caughey's Sheffield converts of 1858 were youngsters 'from the corners of the streets, who have never been inside a church or chapel'.³ Yet it is clear that the pattern described in earlier chapters was repeated: the majority of converts came from within the unregenerate but evangelically-minded pool of church 'adherents' or 'hearers'.

1. Gilbert, The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, pp.49, 54, 104, 106-07, 121-22, 459-60; Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Methodist New Connexion (1855-66); United Methodist Free Churches Annual Minutes (1857-66); Minutes of the Methodist Conference (1855-66); General Minutes of the Primitive Methodist Annual Conference (1855-66); Freeman, VI (25 Apr. 1860), VII (24 Apr. 1861). Cf. Cong. Yr. Bk. (1861), pp.6-12, 332.

2. Mrs. Finney, Journal, pp.46, 61; Ob. Evang., XXII (15 Aug. 1860); Revivalist (1859), p.173; (1863), pp.91, 122. It was of course in the Ulster revival that conversions from Catholicism were most evident. See, for example, Baillie, The Revival, p.83ff.

3. Revivalist (1858), p.89; Ob. Evang., XXII (11 Apr. 1860).

These Americans were not field-preachers or frontier exhorters striving to reach an audience hitherto unexposed to evangelical doctrine. Their outdoor efforts were exceptional and comparatively ineffectual (those who heard Caughey preach in front of the 'moutebank-swayed masses' at the Rochdale New Year Market in 1861 remarked that his voice was 'not well-adapted for open-air preaching').¹ Moreover, when the Americans used halls instead of chapels as a means of reaching the unchurched, it was largely the churches themselves that contributed the audiences. The Americans were at their best when addressing congregations well acquainted with their message and which they could bully or charm into conversion.

Many of these 'congregational converts' were often closely acquainted with, perhaps related to, professing Christians. Moral pressures, especially in the family orbit, could be intense. For example, James Barlow, Finney's Bolton host, who had been a church member 'for many years', was converted in Ireland during the summer of 1859. His wife, according to Mrs. Finney, felt 'the want of a Saviour that (she and her husband) might again find sympathy in the same thing'. She turned to Finney for help, and was converted. The force of example extended further into the household as 'Lizzy the servant girl (and) Sarah the cook...submitted' later the same day.² Perhaps the strongest family pressures of all were those exerted on the young. Certainly all the Americans (and not just Hammond, with his more formally organised special children's meetings) gave considerable attention to children and adolescents, many of them prepared for the moment of decision by their Sunday School training. Precise figures are available for Caughey's converts only. By far the largest proportion, sometimes as many as fifty per cent, were under twenty years old. In Sheffield's Watery Street Wesleyan Reform Chapel in 1858, 502 converts out of a total of 982 were aged between

1. Revivalist (1861), p.25; (1864), p.71.

2. Mrs. Finney, Journal, pp.60-62. Cf. Revivalist (1859), p.91; (1860), pp.4, 7.

ten and twenty;¹ of the 270 professing conversion in Hanover Chapel during Gaughey's services there in 1861, 34 were under nine and a further 98 under fifteen.² Elsewhere the proportion of young to middle-aged and elderly was less emphatic, but these suggestive data together with other contemporary evidence point to a revival fed largely from within the evangelical churches, and disproportionately from the young and the Sunday Schools.³

The Americans' failure to secure significant successes outside the established evangelical network is reflected in the absence from their audiences of the socially outcast. They were all proud of the social mix in their congregations - the claim that 'all classes', 'high and low, rich and poor' attended their services was a recurrent motif in descriptions of their revival, as in descriptions of the revival generally.⁴ However, the Palmers 'simple and uneducated' hearers, Gaughey's 'rude rough men' and Hammond's 'poor and illiterate' inquirers generally embraced not vagrants and those on the fringes of society, but the 'respectable', or at least regularly-employed, working class. Miners, blacksmiths and sailors were converted in the Palmers' north-eastern revival; Gaughey dealt happily with iron and steel workers and factory operatives in Sheffield; and while Mrs. Finney coped with 'shop girls', 'factory women' and 'poor mothers',

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1. The figures for the various age groups were: ten to fifteen - 157; fifteen to twenty - 345; twenty to thirty - 224; thirty to forty - 115; forty to fifty - 72; fifty to sixty - 42; sixty to seventy - 23; over seventy - 4. Revivalist (1858), p.78.
 2. Ibid. (1861), p.182. Cf. ibid (1858), pp.35, 91-92; (1859), pp.16, 75; Mrs. Finney, Journal, pp.38, 72; Chr. News, 24 Sept. 1859; Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, p.378.
 3. Typical seem to have been the Scarborough revival services. Benjamin Evans was delighted to see some attending who had rarely been to church before; yet of the fifty or sixty who eventually joined his church all but three were members of his congregation. Freeman, V (2 Mar., 27 Apr. 1859). For the emphasis on the young, see for example Venn, Revival in Wales, p.7; Baillie, The Revival, p.36ff; 'English Clergyman', Revival in Belfast, passim; J.M. Crosby, The Extension and Perpetuity of the Work of God in Christian Churches, by the Conversion of Children... (Leeds, 1862); S. Jackson, Conversion of Children to God the immediate work of Methodism... (Leeds, 1858).
 4. Finney, Memoirs, pp.462-63; Wesl. Times, XII (6 Aug. 1860); Revivalist (1858), p.130; (1860), pp.14, 60, 125; (1861), p.125; (1862), p.69; Baillie, The Revival, p.30ff; Freeman, V (24 Aug. 1859).

her husband made an impression on Huntingdonshire shepherds and farm labourers, and mill-workers in the industrial North.¹ Though these revivalists' audiences 'generally consisted of working people, the majority of whom were female' (the description given to Finney's Bolton congregations), they all possessed a considerable middle-class leavening.² These particular Bolton services of Finney's achieved the conversion of some of the socially significant mill-owners of the town and a couple of school teachers; the Palmers boasted the attendance (and in some instances the conversion) of brewers, master butchers, physicians, 'ladies and gentlemen of high respectability and mental culture' and on one much-treasured occasion a duke's grand-daughter; Caughey's Wolverhampton converts in 1862 included a town councillor; and in the Lanarkshire coal region Hammond's preaching affected 'men and women of education and superior circumstances'.³

From one perspective this mingling of social classes in revival services represented the prominent members of the community imposing their code of religion and morality on their social dependents. James Barlow arranged nightly meetings in his cotton-mill for his operatives, many of whom were converted, and he was not the only manufacturer with whom the Americans were acquainted who exerted pressure on his work-force; the conversion of sea-captains in Sunderland had a contagious effect on their

1. Revivalist (1858), pp.90, 130; (1859), pp.174, 187-88; (1864), p.71; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXV (12 Jan. 1860); Mrs. Finney, Journal, pp.52, 57, 59, 72; St. Ives, Ely, Bedford, Peterborough, and Lynn Gazette, 26 Feb. 1859; Headley, Harvest Work of the Holy Spirit, p.95.
2. Bolton Chronicle, 3 Mar. 1860. The disproportionate number of females at Caughey's meetings allowed his critics to regard his successes as based on the soft minds of 'silly women'. Revivalist (1864), p.179.
3. Finney, Memoirs, p.467; Mrs. Finney, Journal, pp.36, 70-71; Revivalist (1859), pp.172, 174; (1860), p.7; (1862), p.92; Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, pp.379, 395; Headley, Harvest Work of the Holy Spirit, pp.94-95. With a few exceptions (Finney addressing Bolton mill workers, Hammond Glasgow 'cabmen and drivers'), the Americans tended not to employ the technique of holding meetings for particular occupational groups. This was a device in increasing use on both sides of the Atlantic. In Britain, William Carter, for example, held special meetings for such groups as chimney sweeps, cab drivers, costermongers, policemen and postmen. Carter, Power of God, passim; Headley, op. cit., p.168.

crews; while domestic servants were a group particularly susceptible to pressures from their employers.¹ But from the perspective of the socially dependent themselves, the revival could represent not social control, but an occasion, however fleeting, for social equality. It was said of Hammond's revival in Annan, in which a wide social spectrum was represented: 'A kindly Christian sympathy took possession of all hearts rendering the people oblivious to class distinctions, and causing them to realise their common brotherhood in nature and in grace.'² At the communion rail, or in the inquirers' meeting, social distinctions gave way to a common concern for salvation and for the winning of Christ's kingdom: this was, after all, the logical implication of the revivalist's preaching 'the equality of... salvation to all'.³

Whatever the perspective, the practical result of the intermingling of classes tended to be the end of 'social feuds' and the advent of 'social peace' in the churches.⁴ Sometimes social behaviour was significantly altered. Salvation, spiritual enrichment and practical efforts for the advent of the millenium were the major pre-occupations of revivalists and church leaders, but the revival had inevitable repercussions for the secular activity of evangelicals and sometimes, when at its most pervasive, of non-evangelical members of the wider society as well. All of the Americans preached total abstinence and on occasions claimed sufficient success with drunkards to incur the wrath of publicans starved of custom.⁵ All of them, despite their genuine sympathy with the poor, were social quietists who

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1. Finney, Memoirs, pp.463-64; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXV (12 Jan. 1860), XXXVIII (23 July 1863); Revivalist (1860), p.4.
 2. Headley, Harvest Work of the Holy Spirit, p.103. Cf. pp.127-28.
 3. Revivalist (1858), p.130.
 4. Ibid. (1859), p.174.
 5. Ibid. (1858), p.35; (1860), pp.41-42; (1861), p.141; (1862), p.93; Mrs. Finney, Journal, pp.48-49; Ob. Evang., XXII (29 Feb. 1860); Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXV (2 Feb. 1860); Headley, Harvest Work of the Holy Spirit, p.100ff.

regarded the division between rich and poor as ineradicable and preached the restitution to their rightful owners of goods acquired through fraud or theft; Finney and Caughey, as on their earlier trips, were particularly successful in this field. Other social deviations from the sound Christian norm - prostitution, swearing, wife-beating, gambling, theatre-going, for instance - came under harsh attack.¹ At times the tone of a whole community could be dramatically changed, albeit temporarily. In Sunderland and North Shields, for example, after the revival of 1859-60, there were no criminal cases to bring before the assize courts, and theatres and taverns were apparently closed; the Palmers later boasted very similar effects of revival in Macclesfield and Cardiff.² The Americans' activities indicate that the drama and power of revival could endow the chapel with even greater social prestige, throw non-believers in a community onto the defensive, and briefly force community behaviour into a mould of which evangelicals approved.³

The religious excitement, rapid rate of church growth and moderating effect on community behaviour that accompanied the peak of revival could not last, of course. By the time the Palmers left Britain in the autumn of 1863 (when only Caughey remained to wave the American revivalist flag) the high point of revival lay in the past. After 1861 Welsh Wesleyans suffered annual decreases in membership in every year until 1866 (and only in 1875 was the 1861 total actually bettered); in the three years from

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1. Revivalist (1857), p.185; (1858), p.37; Finney, Memoirs, pp.464-65; Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, pp.356, 400, 600; Palmer, Faith and Its Effects, pp.192-97; C.G. and E.A. Finney to their daughter, 20 July 1859, Finney Papers; Headley, Harvest Work of the Holy Spirit, p.98.
 2. Revivalist (1861), p.141; Wheatley, Life of Mrs. Palmer, 355-57; Chr. Adv. and Jnl., XXXVII (24 Apr. 1862).
 3. For a reported decline in crime rates and intemperance in parts of Wales, Scotland and Ireland, see Venn, Revival in Wales, pp.9-10; Baillie, The Revival, p.72ff; Brock, Revivals, p.68ff; Revivalist (1861), p.125.

1864-1866 not one of the major English Methodist denominations could average an annual growth rate of over one per cent; Baptists' average additions per church from 1863 to 1866 slumped to the low levels of the early 1850s; General Baptists' membership went into a three-year decline after 1864.¹ New admissions were only just keeping pace with deaths and lapses in membership. The revival had been based largely on the unconverted in church attendance. Now that the Sunday Schools, the nurseries of the churches, and the pool of 'adherents' had been thoroughly worked over by revivalists and urgent ministers hungry for an immediate success (the revivalist's time in particular was always short: commitment had to come before he left), the numbers of the untapped but sympathetic unconverted were severely depleted. Revivalists continued to operate throughout the decade, but the revival itself - in statistical terms - was over.

1. Gilbert, The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, pp. 49, 54, 104, 106.

1. Dale, Life of 1833, p. 29.

CONCLUSION

The extensive British revival of 1859 made it clear that enormous changes had occurred in revivals and in attitudes towards them in the generation or so since the 1820s. Of primary significance had been the emergence of a far more instrumentalist approach to conversion. Earlier generations of evangelicals had appreciated the effectiveness of the classical Protestant weapons of preaching and prayer as a means of bringing sinners to a position where they were more susceptible to the operations of the Holy Spirit; the alleged 'spontaneity' of late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century revivals often hides a considerable degree of calculation and under-emphasises the sophisticated understanding of human psychology possessed by the George Burders and William Bramwells (and of course the Asahel Nettletons) of that era. However, by the middle of the century there had grown up a new generation of soul-savers readier to resort to novel and more startling techniques of producing commitment in the sinner; they believed passionately that the initiative in conversion lay with man himself; and they were much less embarrassed about defending a more systematic, calculated approach in the promotion of revivals. The Congregationalist, R.W. Dale, for example, writing in mid century, argued that at the end of the eighteenth century '(i)t was not then so customary as it is now to call out persons from the congregation that may be pious or anxious, and to invite them into fellowship.... (W)e in these days are too much in haste to press persons into communion.'¹ Much more dramatic was the new emphasis on a promoted revivalism within Methodism, always the most urgently revivalistic of the major denominations. For instance, when in the 1860s the revivalist James Codd Milbourn placed his advertisements in The Revivalist magazine, announcing his availability to conduct special revival services in Methodist churches according to a timetable of his own choice, he was

1. Dale, Life of James, p.39.

making it clear that revival services were no longer simply an ad hoc multiplication of services that met the immediate needs of the congregation; increasingly they were meetings held at the convenience of a revivalist who was confident that revivals would occur (with God's blessing, of course) at the time of his own choosing.¹ 'Revivalism', in the sense of a careful engineering of revivals, was now firmly entrenched.

A second development, closely related to the first, was the steady weakening of Calvinism. Stricter Calvinism had been on the defensive for some decades before the 1820s, but the attack of moderate Calvinists on the concepts of human inability and a limited atonement continued to remain a major feature of the theological debate, particularly in Wales and Scotland in the 1830s and 1840s. By 1859 not only had moderate Calvinism triumphed, but in practice it was often indistinguishable from Arminianism. Their continuing attachment to the doctrine of election did not prevent evangelical Calvinists making a bold, unrestricted appeal to sinners. In fact, the theology of conversion as found in revivals generally was tending to become less sophisticated, and conversions themselves less protracted and, conceivably, less traumatic than they had once been. Thirdly, a relaxation of theological barriers was paralleled by an increasing inter-denominational co-operation in the pursuit of souls. Evangelicals had often co-operated in revivals and aggressive evangelism, but in its formal inter-denominationalism and absence of proselytism (the stealing of converts) the 1859 revival marked a return to the high level of co-operation that characterised the 1790s.

A blend of often inter-related factors produced these changes in the character of revivals. Growing city populations exposed to 'infidel' and anti-evangelical influences; the limited church attendance of working-class men and women; evangelical fears of Puseyism and Popery; the newly-found

1. Revivalist, front cover, July 1864.

aggression of a revived Established Church; the gradual disappearance of those semi-urban industrial villages that had proved so fertile for rapid Nonconformist recruitment; the diverting of Nonconformist attention into organisational consolidation - these were problems that forced evangelicals to give consideration to novel means of recruitment, and legitimised their resort to a more calculated revivalism. At the same time the secular thrust towards a more egalitarian and 'democratic' society, with its emphasis on greater individual responsibility and participation, may well have helped in the erosion of 'despotic', exclusive Calvinism; there certainly seems to have been such a connection in the American, Scottish and Welsh experiences described in chapters one and four. But also influential in stimulating this new revivalism was the power of example. Not only was the broad, inclusive and activist appeal of British Methodists an indication to the less aggressive evangelical denominations of what could be achieved, but this study has attempted to show the constant and powerful American stimulus to a more vigorous revivalism.

The community of transatlantic evangelicals was a major fact. If American evangelicals were socially and ecclesiastically more powerful than the British, if that power gave them a greater confidence, if that confidence was translated at times into a seemingly boundless optimism for the future of America as God's chosen country, and if the foundation of these attitudes was a revivalism more deeply-rooted and far-flung than anything Britain could offer, British and American evangelicals nevertheless saw themselves as branches of the same closely-knit family. The two-way traffic in ideas, publications and personnel that has been one of the major themes of this study, indicated a unity that is even more effectively demonstrated in the similar American and British chronological pattern of revival boom and slump. The contagious element in revivalism, so clearly seen locally, as a revival hopped from one small community to the next, was at work at a transatlantic

level. In the late 1820s and early 1830s, in the late 1830s and early 1840s, and again in the late 1850s, both British and American evangelical churches experienced a significantly quickened rate of growth. Close contacts reinforced this simultaneity. Only the 'cholera' revival of 1849-1850 in Britain was not matched by recruitment of similar dimensions in America, though there too 1849, 1850 and 1851 were clearly much more prosperous years than any in the previous half-decade, and helped pull the churches out of the trough of the mid and late 1840s.

In such a context the American new measure developments were bound to make an impression on British churches. It was not always a favourable impact: the emotionalism, post-revival disorder and reaction, theological heterodoxy, and the association of many of the affected churches with the contaminating institution of slavery perhaps worked to discourage some British churches from employing novel means. But the sight of voluntarist churches thriving on a systematic revivalism was, for a large number of British evangelicals, too exciting to ignore. With a certain discretion they appropriated for themselves some of the less disorderly or 'mechanical' of American usages - protracted meetings, itinerating evangelists, the public call for commitment - and made room in their pulpits for the occasional American representative of the new methods.

The most successful of these representatives were primarily urban revivalists. Earlier in the century the major American impact had been made by Lorenzo Dow, a revivalist temperamentally closer to the frontier exhorter than to the more 'respectable' eastern and urban itinerants. Dow had helped in the British appropriation of the camp meeting, essentially a rural and semi-rural instrument of evangelism. Appropriately, now that Britons were fretting increasingly over the religious state of urban society, it was the cities and large towns, particularly in the north of England, in which American revivalists worked to best effect; though it is important to note

that the Americans' success was very largely achieved within existing city churches in need of invigoration, and did not consist of a revivalistic drive into areas unacquainted with evangelical teaching. Finney, his reputation made amongst the small towns of western New York, turned his attention in his later career to urban work and experienced his most worthwhile British achievements in city churches. Bred and based in New York City, the Palmers performed their most effective work in an urban context. Caughey, by far the most consistently successful of American revivalists in Britain during the period, was also the one most consistently found in well-populated areas, particularly the manufacturing centres of the industrial North. Interestingly, the established American revivalist with least success in Britain was Asahel Nettleton. If this was largely because by 1831 he lacked the physical strength to sustain a vigorous campaign, it is also worth noting that he was a minister ill at ease outside the network of small towns in New England and New York State.

To a large extent these revivalists depended for their success on being able to show that their brand of revivals was untainted by the religious and social disorder that had marked the revivals of an earlier generation. The Kentucky Revival of 1800, and British Methodist revivals of the same era, had thrived on a seemingly unrestrained emotionalism distasteful to more refined sensibilities in the wider evangelical world. The Americans of the next generation, purveyors of a more sophisticated urban revivalism that was having its rougher edges constantly polished, had lost much of the early frontier 'enthusiasm' and crudeness, and were consequently much more likely to be welcomed by British evangelicals concerned about church 'order' and 'decency'. Their well-planned meetings ended well before midnight and rarely showed any emotionalism to which evangelicals (who generally accepted that tears and mild groaning were legitimate indications of the Holy Spirit at work) might take exception. So much had the

situation altered that in 1859 it was the Irish and not the American revival which caused apprehension. Moreover, none of the later American group was as ostentatiously republican as the headstrong Lorenzo Dow, nor were the indoor movements of these men challenging to social order in the same way as the outdoor assemblies, late-night meetings and itinerant preaching in the troubled years of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The criticisms of British society made by these later Americans rarely extended beyond uncomplimentary references to the union of church and state, and to the extent of intemperance, and never encouraged disruptive social action. There was, however, a certain residual distrust of American revivalism amongst British evangelicals, particularly because of its reputation for denominational schism. The Scottish splits of the 1840s and the contribution of Caughey to the Methodist disruption of 1849 had indicated that revivals could still be as divisive as Dow had earlier shown they could be. Even in the 1859 revival, when the Americans were unwilling to challenge prevailing denominational policy on revivalists, the case of the Booths suggested the continuing potency of revivalism as a disruptive force.

By 1863 the improved reputation of American revivalists, and their undoubted capacity for scoring statistical successes at a time when British evangelicals were finding it increasingly difficult to achieve growth at the rate of the first few decades of the century, guaranteed them a continuing role in British evangelical life. The British revival of 1859 has been regarded in this study as the climax of developments taking place over a generation or so; yet in its cultivation of interdenominationalism, itinerant lay evangelism, and the doctrine of holiness, it marked the prelude to a new era in revivalism, one in which the American dimension was more clearly represented than ever. The Keswick Holiness Meetings, established in the mid 1870s traced their origins to Oberlin and American Methodist advocates of the 'second blessing', and not simply to British perfectionist

streams; indeed the Americans Asa Mahan (who spent his declining years in England as editor of The Divine Life) and Hannah and Robert Pearsall Smith were prominent in establishing this middle-class Higher Life Movement.¹ Sympathetic to Keswick, and in Britain at the time of its organisation, were Dwight L. Moody and his singing half, Ira D. Sankey. Their British activity, well illustrated in Findlay's biography of Moody, needs no recapitulation here; but the interdenominationalism, the use of halls and theatres rather than churches, and the emphasis on lay activity so central to what is the best remembered of nineteenth-century American itinerancies in Britain were simply better-organised versions of characteristics apparent in British revivals for twenty years or more. Moody benefited from the increasing tolerance of American revivalists. When members of the aristocracy regularly turned up to Moody's evening meetings in the London Royal Opera House, when he was seen as the healer of a generation's bitterness in Scottish churches, and when Lord Shaftesbury regarded him as a means of elevating the enfranchised masses, it was clear that an enormous revolution had taken place in the status of American revivalists since the days when Lorenzo Dow had been clapped into an Irish prison.

This study has had as its primary aim a description and evaluation of the American contribution to mid-nineteenth-century British revivalism. It has also been possible to make certain observations on revivals generally in that period. Primarily, it is evident that any interpretation of causation of revivals must take as its starting-point the evangelical mind. Despite their frequently formidable interest in secular affairs the evangelicals were preoccupied with regeneration and spiritual well-being for the secular end of church growth, and the ultimate end of eternal bliss. Revivals, or periods of an unusually high rate of conversion, were constantly

1. Johnson, 'Charles G. Finney and Oberlin Perfectionism', loc.cit., 137; Walter B. Sloan, These Sixty Years. The Story of the Keswick Convention (London, n.d.), p.9ff.

to be sought. In this context of an ever-present expectation, a variety of secular or ecclesiastical events might serve to prompt a local or more general religious revival. A sharp change in the direction of the economy seems sometimes to have been instrumental: the two worst depressions of the period, in the late 1830s and early 1840s, and in the late 1850s, also witnessed the most extensive transatlantic revival movements of the period. (It is worth noting, however, that severe depression could cut off the funds that fed aggressive evangelistic agencies.) In the sphere of external political stimulus, Gilbert has suggested an association of pressing issues of ecclesiastical politics with periods of revival. This may hold true for Wales in 1859, and for other revivals in the latter half of the century; it does not, however, apply to the period of the mid 1830s.¹ In fact, political controversy, even when it had an ecclesiastical dimension, seems generally to have detracted from revival: the slavery issue in American churches appears to have acted as a brake on the energetic pursuit of revivals during much of the 1840s and 1850s. It is true that the 1857 revival occurred when the episode of Bleeding Kansas was keeping sectional tension high, and that the revival may have offered an avenue of escape from political conflict into religious sensibility, but in fact it was the financial panic of that year which was the immediate occasion for the stampede into the churches. More effective in focussing men's attentions on other-worldly matters was the advent of cholera and other disease. Epidemics, or such alternative stimuli as the arrival of an itinerant revivalist, or the news of revival elsewhere, were all capable of prompting a revival in expectant communities, often regardless of the wider economic or political climate.

A number of additional conclusions remain to be drawn. First, once under way revivals tended to take on their own momentum. Revivals growing out of economic depression might continue into a period of economic recovery;

1. Supra, pp.173, 374.

revivals prompted by the arrival of an itinerant might persist after his departure. It was not the disappearance of the most obvious external stimulus to revival, but the drying up of the pool of most accessible converts and the setting in of emotional exhaustion that was most likely to bring the revival to its close. Secondly, during revivals there might be in operation a number of different emotional drives to conversion. The panic or fear that gripped many of the 'anxious' at the time of a cholera epidemic was complemented by the genuine joy felt by professing evangelicals at their eventual conversion; often revivalists were able to arouse guilt over an earlier apostasy; while the absolute necessity of person regeneration and their duty to seek it, instilled in first-time seekers of salvation by their religious upbringing, and intensified during the revival itself, was probably the most ever-present of emotional stimuli. Thirdly, the majority of converts in the revivals examined closely in this study was likely to be drawn from inside the church community. Sometimes revivals spread extensively enough within a community to dictate temporary changes in the pattern of its social behaviour, but evangelicals nevertheless depended largely and increasingly on recruitment from within, particularly from the young. Fourthly, recruitment was based on no single social class: there was both a middle-class and a working class involvement in revivals, though the character of those revivals might well be determined by concepts of middle-class 'respectability' and working-class approval of 'excitement' that carried a class dimension. Fifthly, revivals were not to be found exclusively in any single social setting: of primary importance was the existence of a tightly-knit chapel community whose network of relationships offered security, support and 'nurture', and exerted conformist pressures towards conversion during the revival itself. The Americans' itinerancies indicated the existence of such communities, not only in villages and small towns, but also in larger towns and cities. Finally, the movements of the

Americans suggest the existence of a number of overlapping evangelical connexions consisting of the most aggressively evangelistic elements from within the regular denominations. Their members, perhaps forming something of a corresponding society, worked to promote the work of all those, including Americans, whose work might stimulate revivals. Reform and Primitive Methodism, for example, sustained such a connexion; the Evangelical Union, and union-minded Baptists and Congregationalists like Potto Brown, Charles Roe and James Harcourt, another.

Many of these conclusions must remain couched in broad terms until they can be tested against the more detailed local studies of the origins and development of revivals, and the systematic analyses of church membership and conversions which are now clearly needed. The impressive statistical work carried out by Alan Gilbert on a broad denominational scale now needs to be supplemented by regional studies that set local variations against the larger pattern; the analysis of Quaker biographies that Richard T. Vann has undertaken for the seventeenth and eighteenth century sets an example of what might be attempted with nineteenth-century Nonconformity.¹ When American revivalists made their impact on mid-nineteenth-century Britain, they forced evangelicals to re-appraise their attitudes to revivals; it would be an appropriate outcome if this study of those Americans were similarly to help stimulate a more extensive investigation of the rich field of popular revivalism in the last century.

1. Richard T. Vann, The Social Development of English Quakerism 1655-1755 (Cambridge, Mass., 1969).

APPENDIX AJAMES CAUGHEY'S ITINERANCY, 1841-63

28 July 1841	Caughey arrives in Liverpool.
7th Aug 1841	Visits Manchester for one day at the invitation of Mr. Wilson.
2 Aug 1841	Sails to Dublin.
4 Aug 1841	Preaches first sermon in Dublin at St. Stephen's Church, Dublin, and preaches on 2 other occasions in the city in January 1842.
Sept. - Dec. 1841	Special services in Liverpool.
Sept. - July 1842	Special services in Liverpool.
July - Oct. 1842	Special services in Liverpool.
Oct. 1842 - Apr. 1843	Special services in Liverpool.
Apr. - Sept. 1843	Special services in Liverpool.
Sept. - Oct. 1843	<u>THE BRITISH ITINERANCIES OF JAMES CAUGHEY, CHARLES FINNEY, AND WALTER AND PHOEBE PALMER, 1841-1863</u>
Oct. 1843 - May 1844	Special services in Liverpool.
May 1844	Special services in Hull.
May - Sept. 1844	Special services in Hull.
Sept. - Nov. 1844	Continued work for recuperation.
Dec. 1844 - Apr. 1845	Special services in Hull.
Apr. - June 1845	Out of action through poor health.
June - Sept. 1845	Special services in York.
Oct. - Dec. 1845	Conducts services in various places, including Hull, Hullersfield, Sheffield, Chesterfield, Doncaster, York, Huddersfield and Leeds.
Dec. 1845 - May 1846	Special services in Birmingham.
May - June 1846	Special services in Nottingham.
June 1846	Special services in Lincoln.
July 1846	Work in Castle Donington, Sheffield and Nottingham.
Aug. 1846	Special services in Doncaster.
Sept. 1846 - May 1847	Continued movements. Services held in various places, including Gateshead, Newcastle, Huddersfield, Nottingham,

APPENDIX AJAMES CAUGHEY'S ITINERANCY, 1841-47

20 July 1841

- 29 July 1841 Caughey arrives in Liverpool.
- 31 July 1841 Visits Manchester for one day of the Wesleyan Conference.
- 3 Aug. 1841 Sails to Dublin.
- 8 Aug. 1841 Preaches first sermon in Britain in Henderick St. Chapel, Dublin, and embarks on a series of special services until January 1842.
- Jan. - Mar. 1842 Special services in Limerick.
- Mar. - July 1842 Special services in Cork.
- July - Oct. 1842 Special services in Bandon.
- Oct. 1842 - Apr. 1843 Special services in Liverpool.
- Apr. - Sept. 1843 Special services in Leeds.
- Sept. - Oct. 1843 Continental tour for recuperation.
- Oct. 1843 - May 1844 Special services in Hull.
- May 1844 Special services in Huddersfield.
- May - Sept. 1844 Special services in Sheffield.
- Sept. - Nov. 1844 Continental tour for recuperation.
- Dec. 1844 - Apr. 1845 Special services in Huddersfield.
- Apr. - June 1845 Out of action through poor health.
- June - Sept. 1845 Special services in York.
- Oct. - Dec. 1845 Conducts services in various places, including Scarborough, Huddersfield, Sheffield, Chesterfield, Doncaster, York, Honley and Macclesfield.
- Dec. 1845 - May 1846 Special services in Birmingham.
- May - June 1846 Special services in Nottingham.
- June 1846 Special services in Lincoln.
- July 1846 Brief work in Castle Donnington, Sheffield and Nottingham.
- Aug. 1846 Special services in Sunderland.
- Sept. 1846 - July 1847 Scattered movements. Services held in various places, including Gateshead, Scarborough, Huddersfield, Nottingham,

York, Mirfield, Dublin, and Edinburgh.

20 July 1847

Sails from Liverpool for America.

6 Nov. 1849	Finney arrives in Southampton.
Nov. 1849 - Dec. 1849	Quadrant special services in Southampton, Westchester-shire.
Dec. 1849 - Mar. 1850	*** Special services in Birmingham.
Mar. 1850 - Apr. 1850	Special services in Worcester.
May 1850 - Sept. 1850	Special services in London.
Sept. 1850 - Nov. 1850	Recuperation on the Continent, and in Scotland and Worcester.
Dec. 1850 - Apr. 1851	Special services in London.
Apr. 1851	Sails for America.

APPENDIX BCHARLES FINNEY'S ITINERANCY, 1849-1851

6 Nov. 1849	Finney arrives in Southampton.
Nov. 1849 - Dec. 1849	Conducts special services in Houghton, Huntingdonshire.
Dec. 1849 - Mar. 1850	Special services in Birmingham.
Mar. 1850 - Apr. 1850	Special services in Worcester.
May 1850 - Sept. 1850	Special services in London.
Sept. 1850 - Nov. 1850	Recuperation on the Continent, and in Houghton and Worcester.
Dec. 1850 - Apr. 1851	Special services in London.
Apr. 1851	Sails for America.
23 July 1860	Arrives in Liverpool.
July - Oct. 1860	Special services in Liverpool.
Oct. - Nov. 1860	Special services in Sheffield.
Dec. 1860 - May 1861	Special services in Southdale.
June 1861	Special *** services in Market Harborough.
June - July 1861	Special services in Ripley.
July - Oct. 1861	Special services in Nottingham.
Oct. 1861	Special services in Litcham.
Oct. - Nov. 1861	Special services in Sheffield.
Nov. 1861	Special services in Burton-on-Trent.
Dec. 1861	Special services in Derby.
Jan. - Apr. 1862	Special services in Bristol.
Apr. 1862	Special services in Wolverhampton.
May 1862	Special services in Nottingham.
June 1862	Special services in Leicester and Southdale.
July 1862	Short visits to Leeds and Hull.
2 Aug. 1862	Sails from Liverpool for America.

APPENDIX CJAMES CAUGHEY'S ITINERANCIES, 1857-1859 and 1860-1862

July 1857	Caughey arrives in Liverpool.
July 1857 - Aug. 1858	Special services in Sheffield.
Oct. - Dec. 1858	Special services in Hanley.
Dec. 1858 - May 1859	Special services in Manchester.
June 1859	Special services in Hull.
June - July 1859	Special services in Louth.
<u>circa</u> 23 July 1859	Sails from Liverpool for America.
4 Sept. 1859	Finney preaches at the re-opening of Glasgow's Blackfriars Street Church, Glasgow.
(Winter 1860	Special services in Philadelphia.)
Nov. - Dec. 1859	Special services in America (Beverly, Mass.).
Dec. 1859 - Apr. 1860	Special services in Bolton (Congregationalist, Methodist).
28 July 1860	Arrives in Liverpool.
Apr. 1860	Recuperation in Brighton.
July - Oct. 1860	Special services in Liverpool.
Apr. - Aug. 1860	Special services in Manchester (Congregationalist).
Oct. - Nov. 1860	Special services in Sheffield.
3 Aug. 1860	Sails from Liverpool for America.
Dec. 1860 - May 1861	Special services in Rochdale.
June 1861	Special services in Market Rasen.
June - July 1861	Special services in Ripley.
July - Oct. 1861	Special services in Nottingham.
Oct. 1861	Special services in Ilkestone.
Oct. - Nov. 1861	Special services in Sheffield.
Nov. 1861	Special services in Burton-on-Trent.
Dec. 1861	Special services in Derby.
Jan. - Apr. 1862	Special services in Bristol.
Apr. 1862	Special services in Wolverhampton.
May 1862	Special services in Nottingham.
June 1862	Special services in Leicester and Walsall.
July 1862	Short visits to Leeds and Huddersfield.
2 Aug. 1862	Sails from Liverpool for America.

APPENDIX DCHARLES FINNEY'S ITINERANCY, 1859-1860

New Year 1859	Finney and his wife arrive in Liverpool.
Jan. - Feb. 1859	Special services in Houghton and St. Ives, Huntingdonshire (Union services).
Feb. - Apr. 1859	Special services in Borough Road Chapel, London (General Baptist).
May - June 1859	Special services in Huntingdon (Union Chapel).
June - Aug. 1859	Special services in London (U.M.F.C. Third Circuit).
Aug. - Nov. 1859	Special services in Edinburgh (Evangelical Union).
4 Sept. 1859	Finney preaches at the re-opening of Ferguson's Blackfriars Street Church, Glasgow.
Nov. - Dec. 1859	Special services in Aberdeen (Evangelical Union).
Dec. 1859 - Apr. 1860	Special services in Bolton (Congregationalist/Methodist).
Apr. 1860	Recuperation in Houghton.
Apr. - Aug. 1860	Special services in Manchester (Congregationalist).
3 Aug. 1860	Sails from Liverpool for America.
Sept. 1860	Special services in Sarnage.
Sept. - Oct. 1860	Special services in Poole and Stroud.
Oct. - Nov. 1860	Special services in Lynn Regis (sic) and Leamington.
Dec. 1860	Special services in Banbury and Oxford.
Jan. 1861	Special services in Maidenhead and Windsor.
Feb. 1861	Special services in Eockdale.
Mar. 1861	Special services in Grimsby.
Apr. 1861	Special services in Loughborough.
May 1861	Special services in Macclesfield.
June 1861	Special services in Spworth, Gressle and Boston.
July 1861	Special services in Darlington.
Aug. 1861	Special services in Barnard Castle.
Sept. 1861	Special services in Darwick-up-Tweed.

APPENDIX EWALTER AND PHOEBE PALMER'S ITINERANCY, 1859-1863

15 June 1859	The Palmers arrive in Liverpool.
June 1859	Special services in London.
July 1859	Special services in Bowden, Cheshire.
July - Aug. 1859	Visit to scenes of Ulster revival; participation in Belfast services.
Sept. - Oct. 1859	Special services in Newcastle.
Oct. - Nov. 1859	Special services in Sunderland.
Nov. - Dec. 1859	Special services in North Shields and East Jarrow.
Jan. - Feb. 1860	Special services in Glasgow.
Feb. - Mar. 1860	Special services in Carlisle.
Mar. - Apr. 1860	Special services and rest in Penrith.
May - June 1860	Special services in Gateshead, Houghton-le-Spring and Tynemouth.
July - Aug. 1860	Special services in Isle of Wight (Newport, Ryde, Cowes).
Sept. 1860	Special services in Swanage.
Sept. - Oct. 1860	Special services in Poole and Stroud.
Oct. - Nov. 1860	Special services in Lynn Regis (<u>sic</u>) and Leamington.
Dec. 1860	Special services in Banbury and Oxford.
Jan. 1861	Special services in Maidenhead and Windsor.
Feb. 1861	Special services in Rochdale.
Mar. 1861	Special services in Grimsby.
Apr. 1861	Special services in Loughborough.
May 1861	Special services in Macclesfield.
June 1861	Special services in Epworth, Crowle and Boston.
July 1861	Special services in Darlington.
Aug. 1861	Special services in Barnard Castle.
Sept. 1861	Special services in Berwick-on-Tweed.

- Oct. - Dec. 1861 Special services in Liverpool.
- Jan. - Feb. 1862 Special services in Madeley Circuit.
- Feb. 1862 Special services in Dawley, Bridgend and Cowbridge.
- Mar. 1862 Special services in Cardiff.
- Apr. 1862 Special services in Merthyr Tydfil and Abergavenny.
- May 1862 Special services in Blaina and Aberdare.
- June 1862 Special services in Isle of Man.
- July 1862 Attend camp meeting in Enniskillen.
- Aug. 1862 Special services in Portadown; Mrs. Palmer's health fails.
- Sept. - Nov. 1862 Mrs. Palmer recuperates in Liverpool and London.
- Dec. 1862 Special services in Leeds and Runcorn.
- Jan. - Feb. 1863 Special services in Walsall.
- Feb. 1863 Special services in Wolverhampton.
- Mar. - Apr. 1863 Special services in Birmingham.
- Apr. - May 1863 Special services in Manchester.
- June 1863 Special services in Northwich, Edgeworth and Southport.
- Aug. 1863 Attend camp meeting at Enniskillen.
- Sept. 1863 Special services in Louth.
- 7 Oct. 1863 Sail from Liverpool for America.

[Faint text from bleed-through of another page, including references to libraries and archives.]

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1. Throughout this bibliography an asterisk indicates that Mr. H. I. G. Smyth has kindly made available to me photocopies of the items in question.

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- (ii) Printed Primary Sources:
 - (a) Church Minutes and Yearbooks.
 - (b) Autobiographies, Letters, and Biographies.
 - (c) Contemporary and near-contemporary books, pamphlets, addresses and sermons.
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AMERICAN RELIGIOUS REVIVALISM IN GREAT BRITAIN, c.1826 - c.1863ABSTRACT

British religious revivalism in the mid nineteenth century is an undeniably neglected area of study; despite the widespread incidence of revivals, and the vast numbers of men, women and children embraced by evangelical churches, there exists no comprehensive analysis of revivals in these years. Similarly neglected - yet widely recognised as influential in the development of that revivalism - is the impact on the British evangelical community of American revivalistic ideas and practices. By examining the latter, and in particular the British itinerancies of American revivalists, this thesis offers an insight into the extent and organisation of British revivals in a generation when attitudes to conversion and revivals were undergoing fundamental changes. In the 1820s the majority of evangelicals were extremely reluctant to use anything other than the most traditional of 'means' to encourage revivals. By the time of the revival of 1859 a much more 'instrumentalist', calculated and promotional approach to conversion and church recruitment had taken hold. American example transmitted through publications, private letters and the work of visiting Americans played a significant part in this transition.

The main sources used for this study - especially biographies and autobiographies of major evangelical figures, revival sermons and addresses, and the great quarry of material in evangelical periodicals - have made it possible sympathetically, if not uncritically, to examine the evangelical world from within. They have suggested the need to recognise that there existed a world of conversion and revivals with a life of its own. The evangelical was always a member of a wider secular society as well as of his church; but for the most aggressively evangelistic the regeneration of himself and others was his primary object. Once this is understood, simple

secular explanations of the outbreak of revivals - economic decline, or the onset of cholera - are seen to be inadequate; the causation of revivals was complex, but the evangelical's search for conversions and his constant expectation of widespread revival were always fundamental ingredients.

Chapter one examines the origins of the more 'engineered', new measures revivalism in the United States in the early nineteenth century. It argues that the revival movement originating in upstate New York under the aegis of Charles Grandison Finney has been given too prominent a place in explaining the introduction of this new style revivalism, and that equally important was the stimulus provided by the fast-growing hyper-evangelistic Methodist churches. Moreover, much of this thrust came from urban centres and not, as has been generally assumed, from the frontier and western areas alone. The urban modifications in the methods and style of revivals (better-organised agencies of conversion, growing refinement and decorum in worship, for instance) are examined, as are the problems of city churches facing a more heterogeneous population than in Protestant small-town America. The chapter concludes with a summary of the incidence of revivals in the generation up to 1857, noting the peaks of the late 1820s and early 1830s, the late 1830s and early 1840s, and the late 1850s; and asserting the ever-broadening hold of the new measures during the period.

Chapters two and three investigate the emphasis on revivals amongst English Particular Baptists and Congregationalists in the first part of the period under discussion. These churches, predominantly moderate Calvinist in theological outlook, were temperamentally inclined to soul-saving. Their vigorous prosecution of village preaching is evidence of this. But the local church revivals and broader revival movements of the kind well known in British Methodist and American evangelical circles were generally beyond their experience. In the 1820s and 1830s the flourishing transatlantic community brought these English evangelicals into contact with the

spectacular achievements of their American counterparts. For some time the association of revivals with 'methodistic enthusiasm', the challenge to theological orthodoxy implicit in 'working up' revivals, and the involvement of revivalistic American churches with slavery prompted caution. But eventually the more adventurous Baptists and Congregationalists, concerned over the challenge to evangelicalism from 'infidelity', Popery, and urban growth, for example, overcame their prejudices against revivals and the systematic use of special revival techniques. In the later 1830s and early 1840s, a time of general revival throughout evangelicalism, English Calvinistic Dissenters adopted special revival services or 'protracted meetings' (generally indoor and denominational), itinerant evangelists, public calls for commitment and other new measure instruments. However, with the levelling out of numerical growth in the mid 1840s (the 'reaction' that followed all periods of revival) special revival measures lost favour.

Chapter four discusses the impact of the new revivalism in Wales and Scotland. It argues that periodic revivals were firmly rooted in Wales, where evangelical Nonconformity exerted a powerful influence. Both in isolated, close-knit rural communities and also in the semi-urban industrial belt of south-east Wales revivals operated with considerable effect. Many aspects of these revivals - the status of the itinerant preacher and the commanding social influence of the chapel, for example - show marked similarities to the features of American frontier and small-town evangelicalism. Welsh churches, predominantly Calvinistic, responded positively to the translation of Finney's Lectures on Revivals of Religion into Welsh. The strong Welsh-American community, the earlier infiltration into Wales of American revival practices and the erosion of stricter Calvinism provide the background to 'Finney's Revival' of 1839. In Scotland, also gripped by a major revival in the late 1830s and early 1840s, American influence in

general and Finney's in particular helped to determine the character of the movement. The schismatic Evangelical Unionists regarded Finney as their spiritual father.

Amongst English denominations the strongest revival tradition was to be found in Methodism. Chapter five examines the character of this revivalism through an investigation of the strangely neglected British campaigns of the American revivalist, James Caughey. For six years in the 1840s Caughey made a spectacular impact on Wesleyan churches in the industrial areas of the Midlands and the North. Particular attention is paid to his work in Sheffield in 1844, the scene on this and later visits of his most effective work. In his preaching of justification by faith and entire sanctification, and in directing all his energies towards the cultivation of revivals he was a champion of 'old-school', 'primitive' Methodism; in his use of novel and carefully prepared techniques he was a child of the age of new measures. His itinerancy and eventual expulsion from Wesleyan pulpits contributed to the tension within Wesleyanism between Buntingites and reformers and helped produce the great disruption of 1849. Less divisive was the visit of Charles Finney, the best-known of mid-century revivalists, from 1849 to 1851. Chapter six uses the Finney Papers (Oberlin College) as the main source for piecing together an account of this itinerancy, and indicates the existence of a widespread network of British admirers of Oberlin and Finney's brand of revivalism, despite the ambivalence of leading Baptist and Congregationalists towards the American. Finney's appeal to the intellect and the relative lack of emotionalism in his services is emphasised; his doctrine of perfectionism is discussed; and the relatively limited nature of his success is noted. The chapter concludes with a discussion of why British evangelical churches never experienced such extensive revivals as did their American counterparts. Some of the explanation seems to lie in America's Puritan heritage, her frontier,

which helped stimulate voluntarist activity, and her having no Established Church, nor other forms of effective ecclesiastical authority. The standing of the Methodist churches in the two countries is compared, as an illustration of the relative social standing of aggressive evangelicalism in both countries.

The concluding chapter examines the most dramatic of the revivals in this period, that which broke out in the north-eastern states of America during the winter of 1857-58. Like the other major revival movement in the period under review, that of the late 1830s and early 1840s, this revival grew out of a period of economic depression. Once under way it spread across the Atlantic into all parts of Britain, and eventually burnt itself out in the mid 1860s. The revival indicated how far a more sensational, instrumentalist approach to revivalism had been adopted and how closely related were the two branches of the transatlantic evangelical world; it made clear the thrust towards lay evangelism, interdenominational co-operation and the weakening of theological barriers, and suggested that the churches were increasingly accepting the value of revivalism as one method of confronting the problems of church recruitment. The work of the most prominent visiting American revivalists - Gaughey, Finney, Edward Payson Hammond, and Walter and Phoebe Palmer - reflected these trends. Further it confirmed certain patterns distinguishable in the revivals examined earlier in the thesis: that recruits were being drawn increasingly from within the churches, from adherents and the Sunday Schools; that the vast majority of those involved in revivals already boasted an evangelical background; that revivals often witnessed a considerable mixing of social classes.

The pronounced role of Americans in this climactic revival reflected the revolution that had occurred in the status of visiting Americans since Lorenzo Dow's itinerancy early in the century. Then secular and ecclesiastical authorities had been wary of the disruptive tendencies of revivalism; then

evangelical churches annually winning new territory were confident of their continued capacity for growth. However, by 1859 revivalism seemed, if not innocuous, at least much less threatening to social and ecclesiastical peace; while British churches were less sure of their capacity to recruit from outside the existing evangelical orbit, were growing at a slower rate than in the first forty years of the century, and no longer experienced frequent and 'spontaneous' revivals. It was only in these new circumstances that American revivalism, now divested of its earlier associations with enthusiasm and disorder, could become such an attractive proposition to British churches.