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THE INFLUENCE OF REVIVALISM ON AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE GREAT AWAKENING

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

A. The Problem Stated and Delimited

Every age of the Christian Church has been characterized by one or more outstanding features: the Early Church by its expansion and conflict with paganism; the Mediaeval Church by the growth of the papacy, and the conflict of Church and State; the Modern Church by the development of confessional standards, and the growth of denominational Christianity. In this modern period and especially in America, the denominational expansion is characterized by periodic recurrences of religious enthusiasm known as revivals. The purpose of this thesis therefore is to determine the influence of revivalism on American Christianity as illustrated by the Great Awakening.

The term "Great Awakening" is applied to the revival of 1740 which brought about a new interest in religion throughout America. In reality the Great Awakening started a decade before this and continued until the death of the leaders. There were times when the enthusiasm was of greater intensity than others, but the revival reached its height in 1740. While it is difficult to limit various movements of history to definite periods, we shall consider the Great Awakening as that revival which began with the first spiritual awakening under Jonathan Edwards' ministry in Northampton in 1734 and which lasted until the death of the last major personality connected with it, George Whitefield, who died in 1770.

It is true that this movement affected the entire country and especially the states along the Atlantic coast, but this subject

will be limited to the study of the Great Awakening in the New England States and the Middle Colonies.

B. The Importance of the Problem

The term revival is generally applied to special religious services protracted over a number of days or weeks; to a time when special effort is put forth to reach the unconverted for the purpose of bringing them to repentance and a life of obedient faith. When we think of revivals as such they are of comparatively recent date, but there is a deeper meaning in the word which signifies, to re-animate, to quicken, to awaken new life. An awakening church has always been the converting agency and any awakening in religion is a revival whether the term is applied to saving the unregenerate or reviving a dead church. With this explanation we know that revivals are as old as man. The Bible is a record of the efforts of kings, priests and prophets to redeem nations and individuals from sin and to restore them to their proper relationship with God. Examples of this are found in both the Old and New Testaments. The Book of Exodus is a record of periodic backslidings and spiritual quickenings. And in the New Testament, Pentecost is the beginning of a new era.

Revivalism, taking it in both senses of the word, is by no means an unusual feature of American Christianity. As we can conclude from the above that "the history of revivals is the history of the church,"[1] we can also conclude that the history of the American re-

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1. F. G. Beardsley: History of American Revival, p. 1.

vivals is a history of American Christianity. They have been a common feature in the life of the American church.

> "America is the land of revivals. Nowhere have these been so frequent as in the United States; nowhere else have the churches owed to them so much of their increase and prosperity; and nowhere else have they been subjected to so much philosophical and theological discussion."[1]

There have been five national revivals thus far in the history of the American Church. The first one is the one considered in this thesis, "The Great Awakening." The second one was the Wesleyan revival under the leadership of John and Charles Wesley. The third is known as the revival of 1800. The fourth,the revival of 1858 and the fifth is the revival in the days of Moody and Sankey.

The Great Awakening has been chosen as the representative American revival: first, because it is typical of all revivals in that it was preceded by a general spiritual depression; second, it was national in its scope; third, because of its outstanding influence upon later church practices; and fourth, because of its direct influence upon American culture.

C. The Method of Study

The period of the Great Awakening,as already stated, covers a period of thirty-six years. But this movement did not start with a sudden outburst of religious enthusiasm. It is necessary at the outset, therefore, to consider the historical antecedents of the Christianity of this period. The various denominations and sects will be

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1. Hastings: Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. Article entitled, "Revivals of Religion", by James Stalker, Vol. X., p. 755.

studied with reference to their origin, growth, and spiritual condition on the eve of the Great Awakening.

Certain individuals were more prominent than others in promoting the revival, and to understand this religious movement it is essential that we should know something of the lives and works of the leading personalities connected with it. Therefore a chapter will be given to the study of the contribution of these men to the Great Awakening.

This period marked the beginning of an aggressive Christianity, thus a chapter will consider the influence the Great Awakening had upon the organization and expansion of American Christianity.

A new emphasis was placed upon education and culture. The movement also affected preaching and worship. Hence the last two chapters will deal with these subjects respectively.

D. Sources of Study

The primary sources used for this study are as follows: Jonathan Edwards' works, "Thoughts on the Revival of Religion", "A Narrative of Many Surprising Conversions in Northampton and Vicinity", and "Treatise Concerning Religious Affections" together with a number of his sermons; six volumes of "The Rev. George Whitefield's Works", which include all of his letters, pamphlets, and sermons; also the sermons and some of the miscellaneous writings of Gilbert Tennent. Secondary sources covering the general field of the history of American Christianity, in its topical as well as in its various denominational aspects, will be found listed in the Bibliography appended at the close of this study.

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND SPIRITUAL CONDITIONS OF AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY PRIOR TO THE GREAT AWAKENING

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THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND SPIRITUAL CONDITIONS OF AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY PRIOR TO THE GREAT AWAKENING

A. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to set forth the historical background and spiritual condition of American Christianity prior to the Great Awakening. As stated in the Introduction, the Great Awakening, like all revivals, was preceded by a spiritual depression. In order to discover the causes and influences underlying this revival movement, it is necessary to go back into the early development of the denominations and sects in America. The chapter will deal first with the New England Colonies. The strongest and most influencial group in this region at this time was the Congregational Church. With them the revival started. Therefore, this study will begin with a consideration of the rise of Congregationalism and the causes for its spiritual decline. The second part of this chapter will deal with the Middle Colonies. A number of German sects had settled in Pennsylvania. The Quakers had colonized first in New Jersey and then in Pennsylvania. The Dutch Reformed and Presbyterians had settled in both New York and New Jersey. These groups will be studied with reference to their development and spiritual condition previous to the Great Awakening.

B. In New England

1. Puritan Antecedents

The Anglican Church was the State Church of England, but in spite of this there were some who did not ally themselves with it.

Besides a small group of wealthy and influential Catholics, there was another group, known as Puritans, who were not satisfied with the established church. As time went on, the Puritan party grew. Its motive was not to destroy or divide the Anglican Church, but rather to rid the Church of its Catholic practices and change its form of government to that of Presbyterian. Within the Puritan group there was an extreme element that wanted to revert back to the early New Testament times of church organization. Later they became known as the Separatists. They suffered greatly and by the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign were either silenced or driven into exile. The next we hear of them is in 1620 when they anchored their small boat off the coast of Maine.

The less radical group, the Puritans, continued to grow. By the time of James I, 1642, they had established themselves in English Protestantism.

That English civilization is deeply indebted to this body of people may be seen in the following statement by Stowell and Wilson in their study of this movement:

> "The spirit of ancient Christians, which was partially revived at the era of the Reformation, animated the Puritans in their objections to the usurpations of human authority, and in their patient sufferings for conscience' sake; and to their manly protest, given with meekness and humility, England owes all her freedom, not a little of her choicest learning, and very much of her evangelical light and fervour. With the opinions and wishes of the great bulk of the Puritans in matters ecclesiastical, the principles embodied in their best writings have taught us to have no sympathy. But their noble theology, their spiritual earnestness, their unwearied industry, and their glorious testimony to the freedom of the human conscience, have won the approbation of the wisest and the best men in both hemi-

spheres, and their true monument will endure forever in the grateful hearts of the holy and the free."[1]

The Puritans who came to America were from the eastern counties of England. Their ancestry was of Danish and Saxon stock. "They would have gained pre-eminence in any age."[2] A profound conviction possessed them, - a conviction which led them from the comforts of the mother country to the hardships of the frontier life. They were men of piety and moral earnestness. Their purpose in coming to the New Country was to seek freedom, both religious and political, but not in the sense of being separated from the mother country in either of these two aspects, and especially not in the latter. One of the first ministers to set foot on American soil was Francis Higginson. He is reported to have said as the ship was leaving England in 1629:

> "We will not say as the separatists were wont to say at their leaving England, 'Farewel, Babylon! Farewel, Rome!', but we will say, 'Farewel, dear England, Farewel the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there.' We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England, though we can not but separate from corruption in it: but we go to practice the positive part of the church reformation, and propagate the Gospel in America."[3]

2. Puritans become Congregationalists.

Captain John Endicott governed the Puritan Colony. Severe sickness visited the colony and Captain Endicott sent to the Pilgrims for help. In answer to the call, Dr. Samuel Fuller, deacon in the

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1. W. H. Stowell and D. Wilson: The Puritans and the Pilgrim Fathers, p. 334.
2. F. G. Beardsley: op. cit., p. 8.
3. Quoted by W. W. Sweet: A Story of Religion in America, p. 72.

church and physician in the colony, was sent. His visit to the colony resulted in more than healing disease. The barrier between the Pilgrim and Puritan was broken down, the result of which brought about the unity of these two groups. Captain Endicott in writing to Governor Bradford in acknowledgment of Dr. Fuller's services, stated that he was convinced that the Pilgrim method of worship was right. He wrote:

> "It is as far as I can gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercy revealed himself to me; being very far different from the common report that hath been spread of you touching that particular."[1]

Prosperity in the colonies stimulated the backers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony to send more people and also more ministers. Previous to this there was an insufficient number of ministers. Now the people had ministers of their choice, but there was no distinct church organization. The first step in separating the church from the world had been taken. They distinguished two groups of people: those who surrendered themselves to Christ and the leadership of the Holy Spirit, and those who did not surrended themselves to Christ and who rejected the leadership of the Holy Spirit. They chose their own ministers whereas formerly this was considered the responsibility of the bishops. The mother country was thousands of miles away. This left the colonies to decide for themselves what rule they would follow. With the New Testament as his guide, Dr. Higginson, their newly chosen minister, drew up a confession of faith and a church covenant, and distributed it among thirty selected persons who publicly adopted this

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1. Quoted by A. E. Dunning: Congregationalism in America, p. 102.

confession. Thus the first church among the Puritans was formed.[1]

3. The Decline of Religion in New England

The successors of the first generation did not possess the spirit of self-sacrifice and moral ideals of their forefathers. This naturally led to a decline in religion and morality.[2] Church services were monotonous. A typical church service would consist of a prayer, a Psalm, a Scripture exposition and a sermon. The Psalms were sung out of tune, and often were accompanied by snores of part of the congregation.[3] Church services were compulsory by law, but the law was no longer enforced. They served as sort of a recreation where neighbors would gather and converse with each other and from the sermon they would be able to gather the latest news from Boston and London.

The custom of church membership remained the same as it did in England. The child was baptized and this signified that it was a member of the church. None but church members were allowed to vote and to hold office. The Puritans held that there was a difference between the regenerate person and the unregenerated. If a man was "born again" he would show it by some outward act of good quality. Those who, upon examination, failed to reveal piety were considered unregenerate. This resulted in their exclusion from communion, and only those of "charitable discretion" were permitted to participate. With this situation in the church, a particular kind of preaching manifested itself which became known as the "New England style of

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1. A. E. Dunning: op. cit., p. 105.
2. F. G. Beardsley: op. cit., p. 9.
3. H. B. Parkes: Jonathan Edwards, The Fiery Puritan, p. 90.

preaching."[1] The minister had both the regenerate and the unregenerate in his congregation. The unregenerate could not be reached by proof-text preaching and expositions from the Scriptures. The minister must draw his arguments from the nature of things and the conscience of his hearers, which was known as the "metaphysical style." Naturally this appeal differed from an appeal made to a congregation having a Christian experience.

a. The Half-Way Covenant.

The New England Churches fell away from the former standards. In 1662 the synod stated that persons baptized in infancy,

> "understanding the doctrine of the faith, and publicly professing their assent thereunto; not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the covenant before the church, wherein they gave up themselves and their children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the church, their children are to be baptized; though the parent, thus owning the covenant, was avowedly yet unregenerate, and as such excluded from the Lord's Supper."[2]

This was adopted by many churches, and after much controversy, became general.

To this was added,

> "That sanctification is not a necessary qualification to partake of the Lord's Supper, and that the Lord's Supper is a converting ordinance."[3]

This was published in a sermon by the "Venerable Stoddard" of Northampton in 1707. This teaching was carried out in Northampton and spread to other sections of New England. This paved the way for unconverted

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1. J. Tracy: The Great Awakening, p. 3.
2. Quoted by Tracy: Ibid., p. 4.
3. Ibid., p. 4.

men to enter the ministry. If conversion is something you cannot analyze and a man is living as God requires a man to live, pressing after spiritual good which he has not attained, and mentally fit, there was nothing to stop him from entering the ministry. The examination was still retained, but the seriousness of it had diminished.

In 1715 the ministers of Massachusetts appealed to the General Court to call a synod to discover the causes and what might be done to remedy the religious conditions. Again in 1725 a final effort was made in an appeal to the government to arouse the churches to more effective work. But all hope of reviving spiritual power through civil action was abandoned and this paved the way for the great revival of religion that was to follow.[1]

b. Arminianism.

Jonathan Edwards refers to Arminianism as, "the modern fashionable divinity." It was characterized as individualism and self-reliance attempting to break loose from the control of thought and practice which the Church and State had exercised for centuries. He writes:

> The friends of vital piety tremble for the issue; but it seemed contrary to their fears, strongly to be over-ruled for the promoting of religion. Many who look on themselves as in a Christless condition seemed to be awakened by it, with fear that God was about to withdraw from the land, and that we should be given up for heterodoxy and corrupt principles, and that then their opportunity for obtaining salvation would be past; and many who were brought a little to doubt about the truth of the doctrines they had hitherto been taught, seemed to have a kind of trembling fear with their doubts, lest they should be led into by-paths, to their eternal undoing: and they seemed with much concern and engagedness of mind to inquire what was indeed the way in which they must come to be accepted with God."[2]

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1. Cf A. E. Dunning: op. cit., p. 233.
2. J. Edwards: Thoughts on Revival of Religion, p. 13.

Those who advocated the doctrine said that they were explaining some of the doctrines of Calvinism more rationally than had formerly been done. Men had not yet forgotten the tremendous evils which had grown out of the doctrine of salvation by works. They knew that men, under the influence of this doctrine, ceased to trust in Christ for salvation, and trusted in the merit of penances and offerings prescribed by the priests. The history of popery had taught them that the great mass of the people were slaves to the priesthood. This being true, corruption would press its way into the church which thus would become unchristian.[1]

4. The Causes for Decline of Religion in New England.

a. The Wars.

It must be noted that the causes were not wholly within the bounds of New England. Outside forces played a large part in it. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were war periods. The struggle for the Mississippi Valley between France and England began in 1689 and lasted approximately one hundred years. This was closed, and within a short time after this, Queen Ann's War began (1701) and continued twelve years (1713). There was a period of peace for twenty-six years; then followed the War of Austrian Succession from 1739-48, and the Seven Years War, 1756-1763, from which New England suffered greatly.[2] Furthermore, the Colonies could never say they were free from the threats of the Indian's tomahawk. These forces

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1. J. Trace: op. cit., pp. 8, 9.
2. W. W. Sweet: The Story of Religions in America, p. 184.

occupied the attention of the Puritan leaders, thus causing a decline in religious and moral interests.

b. Intellectual Forces.

The influence of the English scholars was now making its imprint on the minds of the New Englander. Hobbes and Locke were the leading philosophers of the day; the Earl of Shaftsbury and Lord Bolingbroke were the influential statesmen; Hume and Gibbons were the historians. The skepticism of these men went far to chill the faith of the church in a personal God. This, together with the worldliness and materialism of a period of prosperity, undermined the foundation of England's religious thinking. Natural religion was the prevailing belief, and it proved to be very ineffectual in developing and maintaining the religious life of the people. It was in this period that popular literature attempted to teach morals. Steele's and Johnson's works aided in this effort, but the results were only superficial. These influences were not confined to England alone. They found their way into the New England Colonies.[1]

c. The Spiritual State of the Church.

We come to the eve of the Great Awakening with religion in New England on the decline. As has been shown, there were many in the churches and even some in the ministry who were not converted. The fine line between the church and the world had become dim. Morally, the people had become lax. The young people were turning to the things

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1. F. L. Chapell: The Great Awakening, pp. 11, 12.

of the world rather than to the things of the church:

> "Licentiousness for some years greatly prevailed among the youth of the town; there were many of them very much addicted to night walking, and frequenting the taverns, and lewd practices, wherein some by their example exceedingly corrupted others. It was their manner very frequently to get together in assemblies of both sexes, for mirth and jollity, which they called frolics; and they would often spend the greater part of the night in them, without any regard to order in the families they belonged to; and indeed family government did too much fail in the town. It was very customary with many of our young people to be indecent in their meeting, which doubtless would not have prevailed to such a degree, had it not been that my grandfather, through his great age (though he retained his powers surprisingly to the last) was not so able to observe them."[1]

Such was the religious situation in New England. The personal faith of their forefathers was diminishing yet we cannot say that the New Englanders were in such a spiritual condition that religion did not appeal to them, for, before the next decade had ended, New England passed through a period which has indelibly stamped itself upon the religious history of America.

C. In the Middle Colonies.

1. Germans in Pennsylvania.

In order to understand the religious conditions of the New England Colonies prior to the Great Awakening, it was necessary to investigate the underlying religious thought which dominated the church. In like manner, to understand the religious conditions in the Middle Colonies it is necessary to investigate the predominant thought which existed in the various churches.

The Great Awakening was not only a revival in itself, but it

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1. J. Edwards: Thoughts on the Revival of Religion, p. 10.

was a part of a greater movement which was known among the German Protestants as a pietistic movement.[1] Its originator was Philip Jakob Spener, a German clergyman. He became known for his attacks on Calvinism, but he gradually adopted a more spiritual and less aggressive style, and in 1670 instituted the collegia pietatis, out of which grew the pietist. The collegia pietatis was a private, social society within the church which Spener hoped would leaven the whole church into a deeper spiritual religion. The new university of Halle was the center of evangelism in Germany. The principal chairs of the institution were filled by men who favored pietism. Later the Lutheran Church was divided into two parties. The minority party favored pietism while the majority party charged the pietist of establishing a church within the church, which, they said, opened the door to heresy. Not only was the Lutheran Church affected by this movement, but the groups known as the "Sectarians", composed of Mennonites, Schwenkfelders, Moravians, Dunkers and Palatines, who came to America and settled largely in Pennsylvania, were under strong pietistic influence. In general they held such doctrines and practices as separation of church and state, non-resistance, prohibition of oaths, love feasts, plainness of dress.

Pietism did not confine itself to these groups. It spread its influence among the leaders of Christianity in other places in America. John Wesley was converted through the influence of the Moravian, Peter Boehler. George Whitefield, whom we shall study in the following chapter, was profoundly influenced by pietism. This may

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1. C. H. Maxson: The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies, p. 3.

be observed not only in his conversion but may also be seen in the frequent references to pietistic literature in his journal. His drawing of quick conclusions has been attributed to his reading of the mystical books of the pietists.[1]

a. Mennonites.

The first German settlement in America was Germantown, which was settled by the Mennonites in 1683. Most of this group were weavers from the lower Rhine. Eventually many of the first settlers became Quakers, though the first Mennonite congregation was formed in 1688, and the first Mennonite church was erected in 1708. The largest Mennonite community before the Revolutionary War was in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. By the end of the colonial period there were some two thousand Mennonite families in America. They were the direct descendants of the Anabaptists of the Reformation. Their founder was a Dutch Catholic Priest whose name was Menno Simons who had renounced his Catholic faith to become an Anabaptist. To escape the persecution which the Anabaptists were suffering at the hands of the Catholics they adopted the name "Mennonites." They, like the Baptists, accepted the Bible as the one rule of faith and rejected infant baptism. As has been stated, they believed in non-resistance, that the Christian must live secluded from the world, and that it was wrong to take an oath. They became farmers and settled on the good agricultural lands and developed into wealthy communities.[2]

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1. Cf. C. H. Maxson: op. cit., p. 5.
2. Cf. W. W. Sweet: The Story of Religion in America, pp. 150, 151.

b. The Order of the Women in the Wilderness.

Eleven years after the Mennonites arrived (1694) a group of forty in number, including university graduates and men of varied learning, set foot on the American shore. They were a strange body of mystics. They were composed of Pietists, who were Millenarianists. They believed that America was the place that God had prepared for them. Here they waited for the speedy return of the Lord which they believed near at hand. They were orthodox Lutherans, but in addition held these esoteric doctrines. Science and pseudo-science were commingled in their practice of medicine and study of botany. It is said that they used the divining rod to determine the location of water.[1]

c. Palatines.

The group which was known as "The Order of the Women in the Wilderness" was followed by a small group of Palatines. They were brought to America by the English government. They landed in New York, but a few of them followed the Susquehanna River into Pennsylvania. Eight years later (1717) this small group which had settled in Pennsylvania was increased by the coming of six or seven thousand more. They were composed of Lutherans and Reformed who were driven from the mother country because of economic distress and religious persecution.[2]

d. Dunkers.

The Dunkers are also known by the name, "German Baptist", or "Brethren." They emigrated to this country from Germany beginning

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1. Cf. H. Maxson: op. cit., pp. 6, 7.
2. Cf. Ibid., p. 7.

in the year 1718. The greatest years of emigration were between 1718 and 1730. About twenty families landed in Philadelphia in 1719 and located in four different communities. In 1729 thirty more families arrived. These two groups had been members of the same church in Germany. Being formerly neighbors and members of the same church, they agreed to read the Bible together. Out of this practice grew the first congregation. Like the Quakers they dressed plainly, refused to take an oath to fight, would not go to law, and would not lend money for interest. The method by which they celebrated the Lord's Supper was with its ancient attendants of love feasts, washing feet, a kiss of charity, and the right hand of fellowship. They annointed the sick with oil for recovery and practiced the triune immersion.[1] One of the most important contributions of this group was their editing of the Saur German Bible, which appeared in 1743. This was the first Bible to be printed in America in a European language.[2]

e. Schwenkfelders.

The Dunkers were followed by the Schwenkfelders in 1734. They received their name from their founder Casper Schwenkfeld von Ossing. He was very interested in Pietism and his chief zeal was promoting piety among the people. He kept in close contact with the Reformation and was a great admirer of Luther and Melancthon. He differed from Luther in three points. The first was concerning the doctrine of the Eucharist. He held that the bread was the true and real

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1. Cf. I. D. Rupp: History of the Religious Denominations in the United States, pp. 91-94.
2. Cf. W. W. Sweet: Story of Religions in America, p. 154.

food which nourishes, satisfies and delights the soul; that the blood strengthens and refreshes the heart. The second difference was in regard to the word. He denied that the external word, which is committed to writing in the Scriptures, was endowed with power to heal and illuminate the mind. This power came from the internal word, which he called Christ himself. His third difference was in regard to the person of Christ. He would not allow Christ's human nature to be called a creature or a created substance.[1] Those that came to America were simple and industrious people and made a worthy contribution to American colonialism.

f. Moravians.

The Moravians were originally formed by the descendants of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, who were persecuted for their religious conformity. They formed a colony under the leadership of Count Zinzendorf in upper Lusatia, in 1722. Zinzendorf was a disciple of pietism and at first tried to lead the group into pietism. He was successful for a time, and they worshipped in a Lutheran Church. Gradually they began to emerge into a church of their own and through the efforts of Zinzendorf a bishop was consecrated in 1735. Two years later Zinzendorf himself was consecrated bishop. The formation of this new church brought persecution. To escape persecution they migrated to America.[2] In doctrine they profess adherence to the Augsburg Confession. They did not compel their ministers to subscribe to

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1.Cf.I. D. Rupp: op. cit., pp. 663-667.
2. Cf. W. W. Sweet: op cit., p. 156.

all the articles of the confession, but they did ask them not to teach anything contrary to it.[1]

g. Summary of the Sects.

The frontier life with its demands proved a hard blow on these German immigrants who left the Old World for conscience sake. Many things contributed to the decline of their spiritual life. The conquering of the forests; the breaking of the new land; the distance from their former homes; the lack of help and interest on the part of co-religionists chilled the fervor which once was theirs.

> "Some, who had suffered the spoiling of their goods for sake of conscience in the Old World, seemed to lose their religion in the New World. They saw their children growing up in ignorance. They were perplexed by the religious confusion, for there were many sects among the Germans . . . and some of them held views dangerous to society. The members of the churches maintained in the fatherland were unaccustomed to voluntary support of the Gospel. Even the Sectarians were baffled for the time being. Such were the conditions in the early years when the material foundation was being laid."[2]

The large group of immigrants who came into Pennsylvania between the years 1727 and 1745, came without their pastors and school teachers. Some of the German Reformed congregations were formed without a pastor. Then, too, they were extremely poor. Many of them sold themselves into servitude to pay their way to America. This was not only the case with the tillers of the soil, but with school teachers and students. This explains why the German Lutheran congregations and Dutch Reformed congregations were slow in forming. "The spiritual

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1. Cf. I. D. Rupp: op. cit., p. 412.
2. C. H. Maxson: The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies, p. 8.

destitution was acute, in spite of the fact that a few devoted pastors were active among them."[1]

2. Quakers.

a. The First Quakers in America.

The first Quakers came to America in 1656. They were two women, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin. They were met on their boat by officers, who were sent by the deputy governor. Their trunks and chests were searched and about a hundred books which were found were carried ashore and burned while the women were held prisoners aboard the ship. They were shamefully mistreated. A fine was placed upon any who should speak to them without leave. Their pen, ink and paper were taken from them and they were not permitted to have a candle at night.[2] Hardly had the Puritan fathers dealt with these intruders when another boat brought eight more Quaker missionaries. It is not strange that the Puritans were severe with these New Incomers. Their teachings were opposite to those of the Puritans. The Quaker's ambition was the complete separation of Church and State. In contrast, the Puritan's ideal was the union of Church and State. The Quakers were tolerant of other doctrines, while the Puritan could see nothing but Calvinism. Laws were passed against them, but still the Quakers continued to come, and in 1661 Charles II sent a letter to Governor Endicott forbidding further punishment of the Quakers.

About the same time the Quakers arrived in Boston, another group arrived in New York. The reception was different from that in

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1. W. W. Sweet: The Story of Religions in America, p. 166.
2. Cf. B.Adams: The Emancipation of Massachusetts, pp. 143, 144.

Boston. They were well treated with the exception of a short period when they were persecuted under the governorship of Stuyvesant. Rhode Island and the Carolinas were the only two places where the Quaker was not persecuted.

b. First Quaker Colony.

Quakerism had its beginning in New Jersey. This colony was included in the land grant made to the Duke of York in 1664, who in turn gave it to two friends, Berkeley and Carteret. These new owners were anxious to have their land settled so they invited other colonists to come. In response to the request several Puritans and a few Quakers responded. A meeting house was built in 1670 and in 1674 Berkeley sold his share to two Quakers, Fenwick and Byllingly, who made an agreement with Carteret to divide the province into East and West Jersey.[1]

This is the first time in the history of the sect that it was responsible for the organization and the conduct of the government. Previous to this they were noted for their antagonism and outrageous attacks on the government under which they were serving. The experiment was successful, and the commonwealth thus established was characterized by the unselfish motives of its subjects.

> "We lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as men and Christians, that they may not be brought into bondage, but by their own consent; for we put the power in the people."[2]

The colony began to grow. First the town of Burlington was founded by a group of two hundred and thirty Quakers who came in one ship in 1677. By 1681 there were fourteen hundred. This was the estab-

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1. Cf. Sweet: op. cit., pp. 141, 143.
2. L. W. Bacon: A History of American Christianity, p. 111.

lishment of the Quaker hierarchy in Burlington.[1] Its growth continued until Robert Barclay, the eminent Quaker theologian, was appointed over the province of East Jersey. This was in 1688 at which time they were suppressed by James II.

c. William Penn's Land Grant, "The Holy Experiment."

In 1681 William Penn was granted Pennsylvania in payment of the sixteen thousand pounds owed him by the crown. The undertaking of this great experiment Penn called "The Holy Experiment." He had been connected with the Quakers in New Jersey, acting as arbiter of some of the differences which arose between the two Friends who had bought West Jersey. He continued in this relationship as the colony spread over the whole peninsula of Jersey and acted as their trusted counselor and representative in court.[2]

The growth of the newly established colony was rapid. By 1683 the population of Pennsylvania was reported to be four thousand and the combined population of Delaware and Pennsylvania six years later was reported to be twelve thousand. Most of the Quakers were of English and Welsh descent. Their first meetings were held in the homes of the people. This custom was soon outgrown, for in 1682, three months after the Monthly Meeting, nine meeting houses were erected. At first, two Yearly Meetings were held, one at Burlington and one at Philadelphia. Then in 1685 they consolidated and alternated, holding them first in one place then in the other. By the year 1700 there were forty congregations of Quakers in Pennsylvania.[3] Dr.

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1. Cf. L. W. Bacon: op. cit., p. 111.
2. Cf. L. W. Bacon: Ibid., p. 112.
3. Quoted by W. W. Sweet: op. cit., pp. 146, 147.

Franklin roughly estimated that colonial Pennsylvania was composed of one-third Quakers, one-third Germans and one-third miscellaneous.

Penn's undertaking was immense. His power of administration was held by him only to be passed on to the future generations in building a free and righteous government. Penn said,

> "I propose for the matters of liberty, I propose that which is extraordinary- to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of the whole country."[1]

Land was sold at a very low price, and the subjects were charged a small quit-rent.

As the number of Quakers increased, the spiritual life declined. There had been established what is known as the birthright membership, i.e., through birth one became a Quaker rather than by conviction. Financially they were successful. One old Friend contributes this as the cause of their spiritual decline. In 1760 he writes,

> "Friends were a plain low-minded people, and that there was much tenderness and contrition in their meetings. That at twenty years from that date, the Society increasing in wealth and in some degree conforming to the fashions of the world, true humility was less apparent, and their meetings in general not so lively and edifying. That at the end of forty years many of them were grown very rich; and many made a specious appearance in the world, that marks of outward wealth and greatness appeared on some in our meetings of ministers and elders, and as such things became more prevalent so the powerful overshadowings of the Holy Ghost were less manifest in the Society. That there has been a continual increase of such ways of life even until the present time, and that the weakness that had now overspread the Society and the barrenness manifest among us is a matter of much sorrow."[2]

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1. Quoted by L. W. Bacon: op. cit., p. 116.
2. Quoted by W. W. Sweet: op. cit., pp. 147, 148.

Their meetings had become lifeless. Drinking had become a problem. A rule was passed to prohibit selling or trading liquor to the Indians. They had strayed from the original rules known as the Canons and Institutions. The first book of discipline was not published until 1759 and at the appearance of these rules Quakerism became external rather than internal.

3. The Dutch Reformed.

"The Reformed Church of Holland has the honor of having first planted Presbyterianism upon the shores of the New World."[1] The Dutch did not come to America to escape religious persecution like most of the sects in Pennsylvania, for their mother country was the haven for the persecuted; but they came on commercial errands. They were interested in fur-trading and America proved immensely profitable for this business. The West India Company was chartered in 1621 for carrying on trade with the New World. In 1626 Peter Minuit arrived, and civil government in the colony began. Manhattan Island was bought from the Indians for twenty-four dollars. Unlike the other enterprises of foreign origin the influx of immigrants was slow, due to the trouble Holland was having with Spain. The first minister was the Reverend Jonas Michaelius who came in 1628. Many of the first comers brought with them their church membership certificates. They were the nucleus of the first Dutch Church. This was organized by Michaelius in 1628. At that time the population of Manhattan was about two hundred and seventy. The church continued to grow slowly. In 1661 Bergen, New Jersey, was

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1. L. W. Bacon: American Church History. Series VIII, p. 23.

settled and a small log church was erected having twenty-seven members on the roll.

The first church charter was granted to the church in New York, 1696, under the name, "The Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of the City of New York."[1] Soon after this various churches in New Jersey and New York were granted charters.

The frontier of New Jersey was the Raritan Valley. The Dutch were persecuted in New York and this accounts for their emigration to New Jersey. The Dutch farmers who settled in New Jersey, like the New Englander, failed to inherit the religion of their forefathers. Those who settled in the Raritan Valley were in a certain sense religious. Their religion was defined by the synod of Dordrecht. They tenaciously clung to their language which constituted the primary thing in their creed. They were orthodox, which meant doing things in the same way as their forefathers. They had no religious or spiritual struggles and their religion failed to influence their conduct.

The first real religious power among them can be accounted for in the person of Theodorus J. Frelinghuysen, who arrived in New York in January 1720. He was invited to preach his first sermon in the Dutch Reformed Church and was so animated with a gospel of power that the junior pastor of the church was very much offended and rebuked the young foreigner for his revivalism.[2]

This marks the beginning of the Great Awakening among the Dutch Reformed, and was followed by a stirring that reached throughout

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1. L. W. Bacon: op. cit., p. 114.
2. Cf. C. H. Maxson: The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies, pp. 11-13.

the denomination.

4. The Presbyterians.

The Presbyterians came to New York by the way of New England. The first Presbyterians who came to America were known as the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Minor disputes such as baptism brought upon them persecution which resulted in their being driven out of New England. The first Presbyterian minister who came to New York was Francis Doughty. He was obliged to leave his church in Taunton, Massachusetts, because of his views of infant baptism. He went first to Long Island, but an Indian war broke out and he was forced to escape to Manhattan for protection.

The man who is called the father of Presbyterianism in America is Francis Makemie. He organized the first Presbyterian Church on the shore of Maryland among the Scotch and the Scotch-Irish in 1684. The next several years he journeyed from the Carolinas to New York preaching to the poor and neglected people. Up to this time the Presbyterians were unorganized with churches scattered all the way from Boston to Virginia. In 1705 a number of congregations gathered under the direction of Makemie, and six ministers met in Philadelphia and formed the first Presbytery electing Makemie moderator.

From the beginning of the eighteenth century the growth of the Presbyterian Church was rapid. Ministers from Scotland and Ireland came with increasing numbers.[1] Those who had been persecuted for

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1. Cf. C. L. Thompson: The Presbyterians, p. 45.

religious beliefs were attracted to Penn's colony where they might enjoy freedom of belief. Some settled with the Germans and the Quakers, but for the most part they pushed on to the frontier; thus the Presbyterians came in possession of the best lands of the South.

Their religion was cold and static due to the fact that they based their beliefs entirely on a creed rather than on personal religion. Unlike the Quakers and Mennonites, they were not peace loving neighbors. While possessing a strong nationalism,many divisions arose among them over petty policies. The doctrine of the new birth was unknown to them.

> "A deep conviction of sin, preparing the way for what the revivalist called, 'a saving closure with Christ', was stigmatized as 'melancholy, trouble of the mind, or despair', whenever it did appear among this people. They were without the deep emotional experience which the Pietist denominated 'the life of God in the soul of man.' They were strangers to a consuming passion for God and personal righteousness. They made no pretension to a new heart with its new sympathy for the distressed and unfortunate of every race and creed."[1]

Emigrating from Scotland and Ireland involved a loss religiously and morally and the loss became greater as these immigrants encountered the hardships of the frontier. There was nothing to curb their appetites and naturally they were in danger of sinking into religious and moral degeneracy. Another thing which brought a blight on their spiritual life was that there were among them ministers who were affected by Arianism and held deistic and rationalistic beliefs. These were now coming to the colonies from Ireland. Then there were those ministers whose reputation had driven them from the church in Ireland

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1. C. H. Maxson: op. cit., p. 22.

and who were now seeking to re-establish themselves in the New World. The Scotch-Irish ministers as a rule were conservative and their problem was how to keep the church orthodox. To rid the church of heretics they proposed a system by which all ministers should subscribe to the Westminster Confession. But this was a radical move, considering how liberal the Presbyterian Church was in regard to its government. Finally, through a long period of discussion the Adopting Act was passed, requiring all candidates coming into the Presbyterian Church to subscribe to the essential articles in the Confession. If there were any articles to which they could not fully subscribe, this would be brought before the Presbytery and the decision would be given as to their admittance or not.[1] This is the beginning of the breach between what is later known as the New Side and the Old Side. The New Side insisted upon the evidence of piety while the Old Side objected to prying into a man's spiritual life. As long as a man subscribed to the standards, lived a moral life and had the necessary educational requirements, according to the Old Side he could be accepted as a candidate for the ministry. The one side fought for orthodoxy while the other fought for standards. The New Side received most of their support from the evangelists, and with a few exceptions were graduates of the Log College which was established in 1726 by William Tennant, a former priest in the Church of Ireland. His four sons were educated in the Log College together with several others of the New Side who were responsible to some degree for the Great Awakening in the

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1. Cf. C. H. Maxson: op. cit., pp. 23-25.

Middle Colonies. Their influence and work will be discussed in the chapter which follows.

D. Summary and Conclusion.

The spiritual conditions in the New England Colonies and Middle Colonies were at a low ebb. The New England Puritan was no longer fired with the religious zeal as his forefather. Formalism had taken the place of experimental religion. The Half-Way covenant had made it possible for unregenerate people to enter into full membership of the church and to partake of the sacraments. It had also paved the way for unconverted men to enter the ministry and many had taken advantage of the opportunity as will be shown in chapter IV. The church services were considered a place of social gathering rather than a place of worship. Sermons were cold and lifeless. They were based upon argument and void of a personal appeal. Outside forces also had much to do with the decline in spiritual interests. The struggle between France and England over the Mississippi Valley, Queen Ann's War, the War of the Austrian Succession, and the Seven Years War all took place during this period of religious decline and naturally had its effects upon the Colonies. The intellectual life of the time was doing a great deal to destroy faith in a personal God. The leading historians, statesmen and philosophers in England were skeptics and their influence was eating its way into the Colonies.

These enemies of spiritual health had affected the Middle Colonies in a similar manner. The various German sects that settled

in Pennsylvania no longer possessed the spiritual enthusiasm like those who first came to America. The Dutch Reformed religious fervor had atrophied through the century of struggle with the frontier life. The Presbyterians were faced with a breach which afterwards developed into two sides. As we have seen, the religious conditions were practically the same in both Middle and New England Colonies. The Reverend Jonathan Dickenson, who was pastor of the Elizabethtown Church writes,

> "Religion was in a very low state, professors generally dead and lifeless, and the body of our people careless, carnal and secure. There was but little of the power of godliness appearing among us."[1]

And again Samuel writes of the conditions in New Londonderry, Pennsylvania,

> "According to these principles, and this ignorance of some of the most soul-concerning truths of the Gospel, people were very generally, through the land, careless at heart, and stupidly indifferent about the great concerns of eternity. There was very little appearance of any hearty engagedness in religion; and indeed the wise, for the most part, were in a great degree asleep with the foolish. It was sad to see with what a careless behaviour the public ordinances were attended, and how people were given to unsuitable worldly discourse on the Lord's holy day. In public companies, especially at weddings, a vain and frothy lightness was apparent in the deportment of many professors; and in some places very extravagant follies, as horse-running, fiddling and dancing, pretty much obtained on those occasions."[2]

Such was the religious situation in the New England and Middle Colonies previous to the dawning of the new day in American Christianity.

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1. Quoted by J. Tracy: The Great Awakening, p. 20.
2. Ibid., p. 25.

CHAPTER II

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GREAT AWAKENING UPON AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY THROUGH ITS LEADING PERSONALITIES

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A. Introduction

"One cause of revival is to be found in personalities of original religious genius."[1] Therefore to understand the religious movement of this period it is necessary to know something of the lives and works of the leading personalities connected with the movement. It will be impossible to mention the names of all those who favored and helped promote the revival, much less to give them any consideration in this chapter. The major portion of this chapter will be devoted to the lives and works of the three outstanding leaders: George Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards, and Gilbert Tennent. Jonathan Edwards is the outstanding revivalist of the New England Colonies, Gilbert Tennent of the Middle Colonies, while George Whitefield's influence touched both regions.

B. The Contributions of George Whitefield to the Great Awakening.

1. Preparation for His Work.

a. Boyhood.

George Whitefield, the youngest of seven children, was born in Gloucester, England, December 16, 1714. His father, Thomas Whitefield, was an innkeeper. When George was two years old his father died leaving his mother to care for the inn. From his childhood he says,

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1. J. Hastings: Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Article entitled, "Revivals", by James Stalker, p. 753.

"I was always fond of being a clergyman and used frequently to imitate ministers reading prayers."[1] At the age of twelve he was sent to Gloucester Grammar School. While here he excelled in his classical studies. Through his natural gift as an elocutionist, he was chosen to give the address on the occasion of the annual visit to the Mayor Corporation. His enthusiasm for dramatics sometimes tempted him to play truant from school in order to learn his lines. When he was fifteen, due to the poor business at the inn, it became necessary for George to drop out of school and help his mother. He adorned himself for the work and "washed mops, cleaned rooms, and, in one word, became professed and common drawer for nigh a year and a half."[2] At the end of this time the business was taken over by his eldest brother Richard. George finding himself at variance with his sister-in-law, removed to Bristol to live with another brother. Before this he had been much impressed by Bishop Ken's Manual for Winchester Scholars, but it was while he was here he received his first change of heart through a sermon preached at St. John's Church. When he returned to Gloucester this was noticed by his friends. Instead of loitering in the inn he spent his time in devotional reading.[3]

b. At Oxford.

When he was eighteen, an old schoolfellow, a servitor of Pembroke College, Oxford, paid a visit to Whitefield's home. This induced his mother to send him to school again with the hope that he might get a job as servitor to pay his expenses. The experience that he had re-

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1. Quoted by Tracy: The Great Awakening, p. 38.
2. Ibid., p. 8.
3. Cf. A.D.Belden: George Whitefield the Awakener, p. 13.

ceived waiting on tables in the inn was put to good use now for it brought him many jobs among the students.[1] He was nearly ruined by bad company, but his conscience saved him and he broke away from this influence. He began to feel the need of religion more than ever. He overheard some one speak well of him, which also brought more conviction upon him for he knew that he was not as good inwardly as he appeared outwardly. When he refused to participate in the revelries about him his fellow students dubbed him, "as a singular odd fellow."[2]

About the time of Whitefield's admission to Oxford there was a group of Oxford students who had distinguished themselves by their habits and character. The original members were, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Kirkham, and John and Charles Wesley. Whitefield had not been long at Oxford before he heard of this group and the reproaches that were cast upon them for their piety. They were rather peculiar circumstances which brought Whitefield in contact with this group. A pauper attempted suicide and Whitefield sent a poor woman to Charles Wesley to get him to visit this disheartened soul, but charged her not to tell who sent her. She disobeyed his request. Mr. Wesley, who had often seen Whitefield walking alone, met him the next morning and invited him to take breakfast with him. With such an introduction to this group, he too, entered the ranks of these despised students.[3] Forty years after meeting Whitefield, Charles Wesley wrote,

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1. J. Tracy: The Great Awakening, p. 39.
2. Ibid., p. 39.
3. Cf. D. Newell: Life of George Whitefield, p. 13.

"Can I the memorable day forget
When first we by divine appointment met?
Where undisturbed the thoughtful student roves
In search of truth, through academic groves;
A most modest youth, who mused alone,
Industrious the frequented paths to shun
An Israelite, without disguise or art
I saw, I loved, and clasped him to my heart,
A stranger as my bosomed caressed
And unawares received an angel-guest."[1]

It was through the book entitled, "Life of God in the Soul of Man," by Henry Scougal, that Whitefield was brought into the experience of the "new birth". Charles Wesley had lent him the book, and he says after reading it,

> "I wondered what the author meant by saying that 'some falsely placed religion in going to church, doing hurt to no one, being constant in the duties of the closet, and now and then reaching out their hands to give alms to their poor neighbors.' Alas, thought I, if this be not true religion, what is? God soon showed me, for in reading a few lines further, that 'true religion was union of the soul with God, and Christ proved within us,' a ray of divine light was instantaneously darted in upon my soul, and from that moment, and not till then, did I know that I must be a new creature."[2]

Five years from the time that he was helping his mother in the inn he applied for Holy Orders and was making preparation for graduation from Oxford.

2. Early Years of His Ministry.

a. The First Year of His Ministry in England.

Whitefield received his degree of deacon of Holy Orders June 20, 1736. One week later, Sunday, June 27th, he preached his first sermon entitled, "The Necessity and Benefit of Religious Society." This sermon was preached in the same church where he had been baptized and

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1. Quoted by A.D.Belden: George Whitefield the Awakener, p. 18.
2. Ibid., p. 19.

had first received communion, Mary de Crypt. He had just become twenty-one years old. He is described as,

> "Above the middle height in stature, slender but well-proportioned, in manner graceful, regular in features, with a fair complection. His eyes, however, are remarkable. They are small and dark blue, but lively and piercing in a degree, and in the left eye there is a distinct cast, evident in his portraits."[1]

He was offered a small parish by the bishop, but he rejected the offer and returned to Oxford where he received his Bachelor of Arts degree. He remained there for some time taking further work in the university and preaching to the poor and to the prisoners. A call came to serve the cure of a friend who was going into the country. The scene of his work is now the chapel in the Tower. He continued here for two months. Being very young, the people were surprised and some sneered when he entered the pulpit. His congregations were numerous and attentive, and increased wherever he held a service. When his friend returned from his leave Whitefield again returned to Oxford, but soon another call came from Drummer in Hampshire. This work was among a poor and illiterate class of people. He read prayers twice daily, did some calling, but most of his day was spent in studying. While here, he received a call to serve a wealthy curacy in London, but his desire to go abroad caused him to reject this offer.[2] Charles Wesley had returned from America in search of new workers for the foreign field. John Wesley had previously written Whitefield urging him to come to America.

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1. A. D. Belden: George Whitefield the Awakener, p. 28.
2. Cf. D. Newell: Life of George Whitefield, p. 25.

> "Only Mr. Delamotte is with me, till God shall stir up the hearts of some of his servants, who, putting their lives in his hands, shall come over and help us, where the harvest is so great and the labourers are so few. What if thou art the man, Mr. Whitefield?"[1]

This appeal stirred the heart of Whitefield. So at the age of twenty-one he decided to become a missionary. Due to a series of delays he found that it was impossible to embark for the new continent before twelve months. This was disappointing for Whitefield, but for England it was a blessing. The year was spent in preaching and such preaching England had never witnessed. Within a year of his ordination he was stirring England and his name was a household word throughout the land.

The first open air services were held at Stonehouse, in Gloucestershire. The attendance became so large that the church would not hold all who came and so Whitefield took to the field. From Gloucestershire he went to Bristol where his success was equally as great. He preached five times a day. After spending a month in Bristol he continued to London expecting to embark for America, but again he was delayed. His hope was that he might spend much time in prayer and retirement, but he was urged to preach at St. Ann's and Forest Gate churches. The crowds were so great that the "boy preacher" had to preach four times a day. Jealousy and hatred began to arise. Complaints were made that churches were so crowded that regular members could not find room in their churches, and that the pews were spoiled. Further trouble entered in because Whitefield found many friends among

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1. A. D. Belden: op. cit., p. 31.

the Dissenters and this brought sharp criticism from the clergy and members of the Church of England. Many offers began to come for him to remain in England, but the way was now opened for him to set sail to America. On December 27, 1737,

> "I left London and went on board the Whitetaker, after having preached in a good part of the London churches, collected about 1,000 pounds for the charity schools, and 300 pounds for the poor, among my friends."[1]

b. His First Visit to Georgia.

The voyage proved to be very hard on him for he writes on board the ship May 6, 1738:

> "God has been pleased graciously to visit me with a violent fever, which he notwithstanding so sweetened by divine consolation, that I was enabled to rejoice and sing in the midst of it. Surely God is preparing something extraordinary for me. For he has now sent me such extraordinary conflicts and comforts as I never before experienced. I was as I thought on the brink of eternity; I had heaven with me; I thought of nothing in this world: I earnestly desired to be dissolved and go to Christ; but God was pleased to order it otherwise."[2]

He arrived in Savannah, Georgia, the same month the letter is dated. He found affairs in better condition than he had expected. Writing to a friend after being in Savannah five days, he says,

> "God has graciously visited me with a fit of sickness. But now I am as lively as a young Eagle. America is not so horrid a place as it is represented to be. People receive me gladly, as yet into their houses, and seem to be most kindly affected toward me. Bless be God, I visit from house to house, catechise, read prayers twice, and expound the two second lessons every day; read to a houseful of people three times a week; expound the two lessons at five in the morning, read prayers and preached twice, and expound the catechism so fervent, etc.,

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1. Quoted by A.D.Belden: op. cit., p. 38.
2. The Works of George Whitefield: Vol. I, p. 43.

> at seven in the evening every Sunday. What I have most at heart is the building of an orphan house, which I trust will be effected at my return to England. In the meanwhile I am settling little schools in and about Savannah; that the rising generation may be bred up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."[1]

Whitefield was really happy among his new friends. They received his message and some were converted under his ministry. In August he went to Charleston, South Carolina to embark for England to procure the necessary funds to build the orphanage and to be ordained priest. While at Charleston he was received with kindness by the Reverend Alexander Garden who was pastor of St. Philip's Church and Commissary of the Bishop of London for South Carolina. He informed Whitefield of the ill treatment which the Wesleys received in Georgia and if similar measures were taken against him he would defend him with his life and fortune.[2] On September 6th he embarked arriving in London on December 8th.

The objects of his trip were accomplished. He was ordained January 14, 1739 by Bishop Benson. He collected more than the 1,000 pounds for his orphan house. But this trip did not end with that. The clergy received him coldly. They had decided that either his doctrine of the justification of sinners and the new birth must fall or theirs. As the clergy protested against him, his audiences became greater. Churches were closed to him, but when doors were barred he used the open air. This brought Whitefield into controversy with the Bishop of London who cautioned him against lukewarmness on the one

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1. The Works of George Whitefield: Vol. I, p. 44.
2. J. Tracy: The Great Awakening, p. 48.

hand and enthusiasm on the other. Instead of the gap narrowing between Whitefield and the clergy, it grew wider. He received a friendly hand from some of the leading Congregationalists, but they, too, were afraid that his enthusiasm would work mischief in the end. On August 14, 1739 he embarked for Philadelphia to continue in America.

c. His Labors in Philadelphia, New York and the Middle Colonies.

Whitefield's reputation had preceded him and when he arrived in Philadelphia, in November, 1739, he was asked to preach. Thousands flocked to hear him. He was invited to preach in New York, but when he arrived the commissary refused him the church. He held his services in the open for about a week with remarkable success. On his way to and from Philadelphia he preached in various places in New Jersey. This brought him in contact with such personalities as Frelinghuysen, the Tennents, Blair and Rowland. At the end of November he started southward by land preaching in various cities along the way. He arrived in Savannah, January 11th. The following spring, March 25, 1740 the first brick of the orphan house, Bethesda, was laid. He set off again for the north. This time the churches in Philadelphia were denied him. He preached in the fields and large collections were taken for his orphan-house.[1] On April 28th he preached in New Brunswick. Writing to a friend he says,

> "A glorious work was also begun in the hearts of the inhabitants; and many were brought to cry out, 'What shall we do to

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1. Cf. J. Gillies: Memoirs of George Whitefield, p. 48.

be saved?' In short the word has run and been much glorified; and many negroes also are in the fair way of being brought home to God. The clergy, I find, are greatly offended at me. The commissary of Philadelphia, having got a little stronger party than when I was there last, has thrown off the mark, denied me the pulpit, and last Sunday preached up an historical faith, and justification by works. But people only flock the more to me. Some few bigotted self-righteous Quakers also, now begin to spit out a little of the serpent, they can not bear the doctrine of original sin, or of imputed righteousness as the cause of our acceptance with God. . . . God has now brought me to New Brunswick, where I am blessed with the conversion of Mr. G. T.[1] Indeed he is a good soldier of Jesus Christ, and God is pleased in a wonderful manner to own both him and his brethren. The congregations where they have preached have been surprisingly convicted and melted down."[2]

After this Whitefield returned to Savannah encouraged by the recent responsiveness to his message and with the gifts he had received for his orphan-house. At the end of August he received a letter of invitation from the Rev. Dr. Colman and Mr. Cooper, ministers in Boston. Longing to see the descendents of the Puritans, he set sail and arrived in Newport, Rhode Island, September 14th.[3]

d. His First Visit to New England.

Three days later, September 17, 1740, Whitefield reached Boston, the capital of New England. He was met about four miles from Boston by the governor's son, several other gentlemen, and one or two ministers. The next day, Governor Belcher, received him with the utmost respect, and asked him to visit him frequently. The Commissary received him very courteously. As it was the day that the clergy met he had the opportunity of meeting five of them. One minister took him

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1. The G.T. in this letter refers to Gilbert Tennent.
2. The Works of George Whitefield, Vol. I, pp. 167, 168.
3. Cf. J. Gillies: Memoirs of Rev. George Whitefield, p. 50.

to task for calling Tennent and his brethren faithful ministers of Christ, quoting Whitefield's own words against them concerning the validity of their ordination. His reply to this was that perhaps his sentiments were altered since then. Whitefield soon took leave resolving that he would not give them the chance of denying him their pulpits. However, he had been treated with more civility by them than he had by clergymen of his own church for some time.[1] Dr. Coëman described Whitefield's visit to Boston as, ". . . the happiest day he ever saw in his life."[2] His preaching was attended by large crowds. As many as fifteen thousand heard him when he preached on the Commons. In one week he had preached sixteen times and had ridden one hundred and seventy miles. It was supposed that twenty thousand attended his farewell sermon. Ministers, students, and little children were impressed with his soul stirring messages. Nearly five hundred pounds sterling was collected for the orphans.[3]

From Boston he went to Northampton. Here he had recounted to him remarkable conversions by the Reverend Jonathan Edwards. His preaching was met with great approval and when he had reminded them what God had formerly done for them, both minister and people were deeply moved. He proceeded south to New Haven, where he was received by Mr. Pierpont, the brother-in-law of Jonathan Edwards. Hundreds attended his preaching at New Haven. Some drove twenty miles to hear

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1. Cf. J. Tracy: The Great Awakening, p. 87.
2. Quoted by J. Gillies: Memoirs of Rev. George Whitefield, p. 50.
3. Cf. Ibid., p. 50.

this remarkable English preacher. Leaving New Haven he preached with exceptional success at Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, Norwalk, and Stamford arriving in New York, October 30th. He then started for his orphan-house in Georgia preaching in many places along the way. He spent Christmas with his orphans and set off again for Charleston, where he arrived January 3, 1741. On January 16th he set sail for England arriving there March 11, 1741.[1]

3. His Subsequent Relation to the Awakening and His Breach with the Wesleys.

Before Whitefield had left England, Wesley threatened to drive "John Calvin" out of Bristol, and Wesley had been condemned for not preaching the doctrine of election. Whitefield appealed to Wesley not to preach against the doctrine lest they should become divided among themselves. In turn Wesley appealed to God for direction by drawing lots. His answer was "preach and print." He continued to preach the doctrine against Whitefield's wishes, but he did promise him he would not print it. He did not until after Whitefield's departure. Whitefield wrote to him concerning his opinion of Wesley's actions:

> "I shall only make a few remarks upon your sermon, Free-Grace. And before I enter upon the discourse itself, give me leave to take a little notice of what, in your preface you term an indispensable obligation, to make it public to all the world. I must own that I always thought that you were quite mistaken upon that head. The case (you know) stands thus: When you were at Bristol, I think you received a letter from a private hand, charging you with not preaching the Gospel, because you did not preach upon election. Upon this you drew a lot: the answer was "preach and print". I have often questioned, as I

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1. J. Gillies: op. cit., pp. 54, 55.

do now, whether in so doing, you did not tempt the Lord; a due exercise of religious prudence, without a lot would have directed you in that matter. Besides I never heard that you inquired of God, whether or not election was a Gospel doctrine. But I fear taking it for granted, it was not only enquired, whether you should be silent, or preach and print against it. However this be, the lot came out, 'Preach and print,' - accordingly you preached and printed against election. At my desire, you suppressed the publishing the sermon whilst I was in England; but soon sent it into the world after my departure. O that you would have kept it in! However, if that sermon was printed in answer to a lot, I am apt to think, one reason, why God should so suffer you to be deceived, was, that hereby a special obligation might be laid upon me, faithfully to declare the Scripture doctrine of election, that thus the Lord might give me a fresh opportunity of seeing what was in my heart, and whether I would be true to this cause or not; as you could but grant, he did once before, by giving you such another lot at Deal. The morning I sailed from Deal for Gibralter, you arrived from Georgia. Instead of giving me an opportunity to converse with you, though the ship was not far off shore; you drew a lot, and immediately set forth to London. You left a letter behind you, in which were words to this effect. 'When I saw God, by the wind which was carrying you out, brought me in, I asked counsel of God. His answer you have enclosed.' This was a piece of paper, in which was written these words; 'Let him return to London.'

When I received this I was somewhat surprised. Here was a good man telling me he had cast a lot, and that God would have me return to London. On the other hand, I knew my call was to Georgia, and that I had taken leave of London, and could not justly go from the soldiers, who were committed to my charge. I betook myself with a friend to prayer. That passage in the first book of Kings, chapter 13, was powerfully impressed upon my soul, where we are told, 'That the Prophet was slain by a lion, that was tempted to go back, (contrary to God's express order) upon another Prophet's telling him God would have him do so.' I wrote you word that I could not return to London. We sailed immediately. Some months after, I received a letter from you at Georgia, wherein you wrote words to this effect: 'Though God never gave me a wrong lot, yet, perhaps, he suffered me to have such a lot at that time, to try what was in your heart.' I should have never published this private translation to the world, did not the glory of God call me to it. It is plain that you had the wrong lot given you here, and justly, because you tempted God in drawing one. And this I believe it is in the present case. And if so,

> let not the children of God, who are mine and your intimate friends, and also advocates for universal redemption, think that doctrine true, because you preached it up in compliance with a lot given out from God."[1]

Many letters were sent between Whitefield and the Wesleys. Each contended that the other was wrong. Wesley wrote to Whitefield:

> "There are bigots both for predestination and against it. God is sending a message to those on either side, but neither will receive it unless from one who is of their own opinion. Therefore, for a time you are suffered to be of one opinion, and I of another. But when his time is come God will do what men cannot, namely, make us both of one mind."[2]

When Whitefield reached London, Charles Wesley was there to meet him. Their meeting was affectionate and old friendship was revived. Whitefield promised never to preach against the Wesleys again. But when John Wesley came to London to see him, Whitefield informed him that they were preaching two different Gospels and it was impossible to give him the right hand of fellowship for he would preach against him wherever he went. He was reminded of the promise that he previously made, and he replied, that he was now of another mind and that promise was the effect of human weakness.

Thus these two co-workers in Christ had now ceased to be co-workers with each other.[3]

4. The Closing Years of His Ministry.

The next three years of his life (1741-1744) were spent in travelling in Scotland, England and Wales. His preaching met with

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1. The Works of George Whitefield, Vol. IV, pp. 54, 55, 56.
2. J. Gillies: Memoirs of the Rev. George Whitefield, p. 57.
3. Cf. Ibid., p. 67.

the usual success. November 14, 1741 he married a widow, Mrs. James. Very little is known of the event. He was preaching in Scotland at the time and suddenly broke away from his work and went to Wales to get married. They had but one child, that died in infancy.

Whitefield returned to America in 1744 and landed in York, Massachusetts. He preached in New England for two years before going to Georgia. After staying a short time in the southern states he journeyed northward again reaching Boston in 1747, where he wrote,

> "I have been in New England nearly three weeks. The Lord is with me. Congregations are as great as ever. I could gladly stay in New England, but I must return to the southern provinces. Though faint, I am still pursuing, and, in strength of Jesus, hope to die fighting."[1]

His health failed him and he spent a month at Bermuda before sailing for England. He arrived in London, July, 1748. He visited America again in 1754, 1764 and 1770, when he died at Newburyport, September 30th, and was buried in front of the pulpit of his friend Parsons' church.

He had expressed the wish several times if he died while abroad that John Wesley should preach his funeral service. Wesley preached the sermon at the chapel in Tottenham-Court Road, and at the Tabernacle near Moorfields, on Sunday, November 18, 1770, using the text, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his." Num. 23:10.[2] Thus closed the life of an Awakener in two continents.

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1. Quoted by Belden: George Whitefield the Awakener, p. 162.
2. J. Wesley: Fifty-Three Sermons, p. 752.

5. Summary of his Contribution to the Great Awakening.

The foregoing pages have given the record of Whitefield's work in America. It was thirty-two years from the time he first landed in America until his death. These years were not spent consecutively in evangelistic efforts in America. He crossed the Atlantic thirteen times, preaching in America, Scotland, Wales and England during these years. Thus we see that he was international in the scope of his work. It has been impossible to give the record of all of his work in America during these years so more attention has been given to his first two visits to America than to the others. It was on his second visit that he toured the colonies for the first time and this is the period when the Great Awakening was at its height. Moreover, this first circuit of the colonies is typical of all his five subsequent visits with the exception of the fourth which was cut suddenly short when it had scarcely begun; and too, his later visits affected the Southern Colonies more than it did the New England and Middle Colonies.

Whitefield's first visit to America was short. He landed in Savannah, Georgia, May, 1738, and in August went to Charleston, South Carolina where he embarked for England. The following year he returned to America landing in Philadelphia, November, 1739. This marks the beginning of his itinerant ministry in the New England and Middle Colonies. His preaching in Philadelphia and New York was very successful. It was at this time when he came in contact with the Tennents and other revivalists who were stirring New Jersey with their fiery preaching. Perhaps his visit to Boston

and the New England Colonies was the most outstanding of all. His preaching in and about Boston was extensive and resulted in the conversion of many people. He also visited Jonathan Edwards at Northampton and preached in his church. The other places he visited on this tour were, New Haven, Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, Norwalk and Stamford. Then he continued his itineracy southward to Georgia and the first part of January he returned to Charleston where he embarked for England.

Dr. Warren A. Candler summarizes his work in America as follows:

> "On behalf of the Western world he crossed the Atlantic, in slow sailing vessels, thirteen times: evangelized the British Colonies from Maine to Georgia; rekindled the expiring fires begun by Edwards and the Tennents, fanning them to a flame which eventually swept as a general conflagration throughout all the colonies; and, by repeated circuits of the country, prolonged the revival movement in a greater or less degree of vigor until his death, in 1770, a few years before the outbreak of the War for Independence, and a year after the arrival in the New World of the first Wesleyan preachers, by whom, and their successors, mighty revivals were brought to pass in later years."[1]

The Congregational Churches in New England and the Presbyterian Churches in the Middle Colonies owe their life and energy to the impulses given by Whitefield's administration. The revival under Edwards had spent its force and was subsiding. Whitefield restored it by giving it new inspiration and zeal. He extended the revival from the Congregational Churches in the New England Colonies to the Presbyterian Churches in the Middle Colonies where he was received

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1. W. A. Candler: Great Revivals and the Great Republic, p. 80.

by the Tennents, Rowland and Blair as a prophet of God. Thus his evangelical zeal kept the fires of revivalism burning in a full blaze in both the New England and Middle Colonies.

C. The Contribution of Jonathan Edwards to the Great Awakening.

1. Preparation for His Work and Call to Northampton.

a. Boyhood and Education.

Jonathan Edwards was the only son in a family of eleven children. His father, Timothy Edwards, was the minister in Windsor, Connecticut, at the time of Jonathan's birth, November 5, 1703. Timothy Edwards was of well-to-do people having graduated from Harvard in 1691, He received his Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts degree the same day. Together with teaching he carried on the work of a large farm and tutored many Windsor boys who were preparing for their college work. He also taught his own children. His girls were sent to a finishing school where his wife, who was the daughter of Solomon Stoddard, had received her training. Jonathan began his study of Latin at the age of six, and when he entered Yale at the age of thirteen he was able to read Latin, Greek and Hebrew.[1]

His religious consciousness was aroused at a very tender age:

> "I had a variety of concerns and exercises about my soul from my childhood. . . . The first time was when I was a boy, some years before I went to college, at a time of a remarkable awakening in my father's congregation. I was then very much

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1. Cf. A. C. McGiffert: Jonathan Edwards, p. 3.

> affected for many months, and concerned about the things of religion, and my soul's salvation; and was abundant in duties. I used to pray five times a day in secret, and to spend much time in religious talk with other boys, and used to meet with them to pray together. I experienced I know not what kind of delight in religion. My mind was much engaged in it, and had much self righteous pleasure; and it was my delight to abound in religious duties. I with some of my school mates joined together, and built a booth in a swamp, in a very retired spot, for a place of prayer. And besides, I had particular secret places of my own in the woods, where I used to retire by myself; and was from time to time much affected. My affections seemed to be lively and easily moved, and I seemed to be in my element when engaged in religious duties."[1]

At the age of twelve he wrote a letter refuting the idea of materiality of the soul, and, about the same time, an account of the habits of the spider, drawing his material from his own observations.[2] While at Yale he was very much taken with philosophy and devoted considerable time to John Locke's "Essay on the Human Understanding." Although this deeply impressed him he remained independent in his thinking accepting or rejecting various portions of the essay. During his last two years in Yale he changed from the philosophical to the theological studies. Perhaps his religious struggle accounts for this change.

> "Indeed I was at times very uneasy, especially toward the latter part of my time at college; when it pleased God, to cease me with the pleurisy; in which he brought me nigh to the grave, and shook me over the pit of hell. Yet it was not long after my recovery, before I fell again to my old ways of sin. But God would not suffer me to go on with my quietness; I had great and violent inward struggles, till, after my conflicts, with wicked inclinations, repeated resolutions, and bonds that I laid myself under by a kind of vow to God, I was brought wholly to break off all former wicked ways, and all ways of knowing outward sin; and to

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1. J. Edwards: A Narrative of Many Surprising Conversions in Northampton and Vicinity, pp. 365, 366.
2. Cf. A.V.G.Allen: Jonathan Edwards, pp. 3, 4.

> apply myself to seek salvation, and practice many religious duties; but without that kind of affection and delight which I had formerly experienced. My concerns now wrought more by inward struggles and conflicts, and self-reflections. I made seeking salvation the main business of my life. But yet, it seems to me, I sought after a miserable manner; which has made me sometimes since to question, whether ever it issued in that which was saving; being ready to doubt, whether such miserable seeking ever succeeded. I was indeed brought to seek salvation in a manner I never was before; I felt a spirit to part with all things in the world, for an interest in Christ. My concerns continued and prevailed, with many exercising thoughts and inward struggles; and yet it never seemed to be proper to express that concern by the name of terror."[1]

After graduating from Yale in 1720 he returned for two years taking graduate work in theology. Having received a license to preach he accepted a call to a small Presbyterian Church in New York City, where he remained for eight months. He writes concerning his experience in New York,

> "While at New York, I was sometimes much affected with reflections on my past life, considering how late it was before I began to be truly religious; and how wickedly I lived till then; and once so as to weep abundantly, and for a considerable time together.
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> "On January 12, 1723, I made a solemn dedication of myself to God, and wrote it down; giving up myself and all that I had to God, to be for the future in no respect my own; to act as one that had no right to himself, in any respect. And solemnly resolved to take God for my whole portion and felicity; looking on nothing else as any part of my happiness, nor acting as if it were; and his law for the constant rule of my obedience; engaging to fight with all my might, against the world, the flesh and the devil, to the end of my life. But I have reason to be infinitely humble, when I consider how much I have failed of answering my obligation."[2]

He spent the next summer at home studying when he received the call to become tutor at Yale. The next three years were spent

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1. J. Edwards: A Narrative of Many Surprising Conversions in Northampton and Vicinity, p. 366.
2. Ibid., pp. 372, 373.

in tutoring, studying and administration. His grandfather, who was minister of one of the most important pulpits outside of Boston at Northampton, Connecticut, needed an assistant with the expectation that the assistant would eventually become the regular minister. Edwards received the call to the Northampton Church and was ordained there February 15, 1727.[1]

b. His Call to Northampton.

Edward's grandfather, Solomon Stoddard, had held that pastorate for fifty-seven years. The village of Northampton had grown in wealth and importance. The inhabitants were marked by their culture and cultivation of mind. When Edwards came to Northampton he was twenty-four years old.

> "In personal appearance he was tall, being upwards of six feet in height, with a splendid form, and of great seriousness and gravity of manner. His face was famine cast, implying at once a capacity for both sweetness and severity, - the Johannine type of countenance, we should say, just as his spirit is that of St. John, rather than that of Peter or of Paul. It is a face which bespeaks a delicate and nervous organization."[2]

Hardly had he settled in Northampton when his thoughts turned toward matrimony. While living at New Haven he had first heard of Sarah Pierrepont, who was then only thirteen years old. She came from the best of New England stock. Her mother was a descendent of Rev. Thomas Hooker, the father of Connecticut churches. From her childhood she had a natural bent toward religion. Edwards writes of her,

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1. Cf. A. C. McGiffert: Jonathan Edwards, pp. 35, 36.
2. A.V.G.Allen: Jonathan Edwards, pp. 40, 41.

> "They say there is a young lady in New Haven who is beloved of that great Being who made and rules the world, and that there are certain seasons in which that great Being, in some way or other invisible, comes to her and fills her mind with exceeding sweet delight, and that she hardly cares for anything except to meditate on Him; that she expects afterwhile to be received up where He is, to be raised up out of the world and caught up into heaven; being assured that He loves her too well to let her remain at a distance from Him always."[1]

The wedding took place soon after Edward's ordination in 1727. Their marriage was happy for they shared each others interest and faith. As they drew near to God they found they were drawing near to each other. This was a happy circumstance for Edwards was now assuming more than half of the work of the church and a home was welcomed.

2. Revivals Under His Ministry in Northampton.

a. The First Awakening in Northampton under Edwards.

Edwards described the religious conditions after his grandfather's death as "a time of extraordinary dullness."[2] The young people were given to licentiousness and lewd practices as has been noted in the previous chapter. Within two or three years the conditions began to change. There was more of a religious interest manifested among the young people. Edwards writes,

> "At the latter end of the year 1733, there appeared a very unusual flexibleness, and yielding to advice, in our young people. It had been too long their manner to make the evening after the Sabbath, and after our public lecture, to be especially the times of their mirth, and company keeping."[3]

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1. Quoted by A.V.G. Allen: Jonathan Edwards, p. 45.
2. J. Edwards: A Narrative of Many Surprising Conversions in Northampton and Vicinity, p. 47.
3. Ibid., p. 8.

A sermon was preached condemning such practices and appealing to the parents to govern their families. The families were to meet the next day to discuss what could be done to remedy the conditions, but this was not found necessary, for the young people after they heard the sermon were willing to comply with the counsel given them. This brought a thorough reformation in the community.

The latter part of December 1734, God's Spirit began to work among the people in a remarkable way. Five or six persons were converted among whom was a young woman, who was noted as the "greatest company keeper in the whole town."[1] She proved to Edwards' satisfaction that her conversion was real by confessing to him how God had sanctified her.

The revival spread throughout the whole village.

> "Presently upon this, a great and earnest concern about the great things of religion, and the eternal world, became universal in all parts of the town, and among persons of all degrees, and all ages; the noise amongst the dry bones waxed louder and louder. All other talk but about spiritual and eternal things was soon thrown by; all the conversation in all companies, and upon all occasions, was upon these things only, unless so much as was necessary for people carrying on their ordinary secular business. Other discourse than of the things of religion, would scarcely be tolerated in any company."[2]

It continued at high tension for about six months. More than three hundred were converted out of a total of six hundred and twenty communicants. Then the excitement of the revival subsided. Two in the village committed suicide and several others had hallucinations.

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1. J. Edwards: op. cit., p. 10.
2. Ibid., p. 11.

External events began to crowd in arresting the people's attention until the inhabitants of Northampton settled back into their regular habits of life, with this exception: Hitherto the tavern had been the common meeting place and now it was the church.

b. The Second Awakening in Northampton Under Edwards.

Edwards now turned his attention to studying and preaching. He preached a notable series of sermons on Christian Love which was taken from the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians. The following year he preached another series on the subject, "A History of the Work of Redemption." In this series Edwards paid special attention to every revival that had occurred, and no one could have rejoiced more than himself when the next year, 1740, another revival broke out in Northampton which swept the whole Colony.

> "It definitely and permanently changed the face of the American scene. Every community quivered with new life. Among its outstanding effects were the growth of a new humanitarian and missionary interest, the rise of the large denominations, and the impetus given to popular education. Now, perhaps for the first time, the inhabitants of the various Colonies became conscious that they belonged together as sharers of a common life."[1]

Edwards threw his whole soul into the revival with the exception of a few weeks when his children - now seven - were sick with the measles. He left his pulpit at times and preached in neighboring churches. Whitefield stopped and visited him that same year, and preached five times in Edwards' church. During this visit Edwards took the occasion to criticize Whitefield for pronouncing snap judgment on unconverted

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1. A. C. McGiffert: Jonathan Edwards, p. 60.

people and for his reliance upon impulses.

Critics attacked the revival for its over-emphasis on emotionalism. Edwards' meetings were, as a rule, kept well in hand, but they were not free from occasional hysteria. Edwards was called upon to preach the Baccalaureate sermon at the Yale Commencement, 1741. He siezed the opportunity to meet the critics, and chose as his subject, "The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God, Applied to the Uncommon Operation that has lately appeared on the Minds of Many of the People of New England, with a Particular Consideration of the Extraordinary Circumstances with which this Work is Attended."[1] Again he met the critics with a book written in the defense of the revival, which was published in 1742.

By the year 1744 the revival was rapidly receding leaving behind it dissension in many churches. A number of ministers, in every portion of the country, were expelled from their pulpits. Unitarianism was dawning. The liberal ministers were hailed as the saviors of the day. Whitefield returned to New England the same year, but the majority of the pulpits were denied him.

Edwards was convinced that the revival was the Lord's work and its subsiding was due to the weakness and wickedness of man, and if man would repent God would again pour out his Spirit upon New England. In 1746 he published another book entitled, "Treatise Concerning Religious Affections." In this book he distinguished between true and counterfeit religion.[2] Edwards' hopes for another revival

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1. A.C.McGiffert: Jonathan Edwards, p. 60.
2. Cf. H. B. Parkes: Jonathan Edwards, p. 171.

never were realized. His thoughts were now turned to problems in his own church which were aroused by his preaching.

3. His Dismissal from Northampton.

By the year 1746 Edwards had concluded that the Halfway Covenant, which his grandfather, Solomon Stoddard, had adopted, was contrary to the will of God. He determined that he would not permit anyone to participate in the Lord's Supper unless they made a confession. He was unable to put this into effect until 1748 when he refused communion to a young man who made no profession.

Opposition to Edwards' attitude increased. He asked if he might preach a series of sermons on, "Qualifications for Full Communion." He was not only refused, but the furor and anger of the people, which broke out against him would not be satisfied except through his dismissal. When he was refused the opportunity to preach on the subject he printed his views, and circulated them among the members of his church, but very few read the discourse. He then attempted to lecture upon the subject, but this also failed. His audiences were small and very few of his own people attended. A question was raised as to whether an ecclesiastical council should be called, but the people objected to this for they were afraid if outside ministers were called in to settle the case, Edwards would be the victor. A church council was called and a vote taken which resulted in the dismissal of Edwards by a vote of two hundred to twenty. His dismissal was June 22, 1750. A town meeting was held shortly after this and it was voted that he should never again be permitted to enter

the Northampton church pulpit. At the age of forty-seven, with a large family, and after spending twenty-three years in one pulpit, Edwards faced the demands of his family with no means of support, and with the doubt whether he should ever obtain another pulpit.

4. The Closing Years of His Ministry.

By this time he had become known in Scotland and word had reached there of his dismissal. He was remembered by his Scottish friends who sent him generous gifts. In 1750, the same year of his dismissal from Northampton, he received a call to serve a Presbyterian church in Scotland and also a small Presbyterian church in Virginia, but Edwards declined both offers, and accepted the invitation to Stockbridge, a small frontier village about forty miles west of Northampton, to serve as the minister to a few English families and missionary to the Indians.

The next three years he spent much of his time in his missionary work with the Indians. In November the third year, 1753, he again turned his attention toward his scholarly attainments, which resulted in the publication of, "A Careful and Strict Inquiry into the Modern Prevailing Notions of that Freedom of the Will, which is supposed to be Essential to Moral Agency, Virtue and Vice, Reward and Punishment, Praise and Blame." This work was published in 1754. Most of his time from now until he was called to the Presidency of Princeton was spent in theological writings.

The call to Princeton came shortly after the death of his son-in-law, Aaron Burr, who had married his daughter Esther just

after they moved to Stockbridge. He accepted the call January 4, 1758 and before the end of the month he was managing the affairs of a growing college.

Edwards had been at Princeton two months when he died of the results of small-pox inoculation. Three weeks later his widowed daughter Esther followed him, apparently from the same cause. Six months later Mrs. Edwards died. All four lie side by side in Princeton.

> "In his own country he retains and always must retain a great power. We should imagine that all American theology and philosophy, whatever changes it may undergo, with whatever foreign elements it may be associated, must be cast in his mould. New Englanders who try to substitute Birkeley, or Butler, or Malebranche, or Cardilliac, or Kant, or Hegel for Edwards, or to form their minds upon any of them, must be forcing themselves into an unnatural position, and must suffer from the effort. On the contrary if they accept the starting-point of their native teacher and seriously consider what is necessary to make that teacher consistent with himself, - what is necessary that the divine foundation upon which he wished to build may not be too weak and narrow for any human or social life to rest upon it, - we should expect great and fruitful results from their inquiries to the land which they must care for most, and therefore to mankind."[1]

This ends the life of a man who made a name for himself at home and abroad and still is known as one of the most powerful minds that America has produced.[2]

5. Summary of His Contribution to the Great Awakening.

As we have seen, when Edwards was called to the Northampton church the community and church were in a state of theological and religious decline. Thus it became his purpose to foster a warmer

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1. Quoted from F. D. Maurice by A.V.G.Allen: Jonathan Edwards, pp. 387, 388.
2. Cf. A.C.McGiffert: Jonathan Edwards, p. 214.

and deeper piety, and to redeem the community from the moral laxity into which it had fallen. This purpose was carried out for before the winter of 1734 and 1735 had passed there was not a person in the community who was not concerned about the things of the other world. The second revival in Northampton was really more outstanding than the first. This time its effects were not limited to the village of Northampton alone, but spread throughout the colony. Edwards left his pulpit and preached in surrounding towns and villages. His influence was also felt in Boston and Scotland had received reports of his success as a revivalist. It was with great vigor that he threw himself into the work. His sermon, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," preached in Enfield July, 1741, had produced a great effect throughout the countryside.

Perhaps his next greatest influence was his writings. He was a champion of revivals as can be seen in his works. He met the opponents of the revival, who criticized it for the over-emphasis on emotionalism, in a Baccalaureate sermon preached at the Yale Commencement in 1741. The following year he wrote and published a book on this same subject. These were followed by books on, "Treatise Concerning Religious Affection," "Thoughts on the Revival of Religion," and "A Careful and Strict Inquiry into the Modern and Prevailing Notions of that Freedom of the Will, which is supposed to be Essential to Moral Agency, Virtue and Vice, Reward and Punishment, Praise and Blame." Also there were many other works published during this period.

As we have seen, it was Edwards who started the revival in the New England Colonies which later culminated in the Great Awakening under Whitefield and other revival preachers.

D. The Contribution of Gilbert Tennent to the Great Awakening.

1. Preparation for His Work.

a. Parental Background.

William Tennent was a priest in the Church of Ireland. He was a graduate of the University of Glasgow where he received thorough training in classic languages and divinity. He married Katharine Kennedy, the daughter of Gilbert Kennedy, who was connected with the Church of Scotland, and a pastor of a church in Dundonald, Ireland.

After his marriage he settled in the County of Armagh where Gilbert was born in 1703. He received his deacon orders in 1704, and in 1706 he was ordained priest in the Church of Ireland. From the County of Armagh he moved to Antrin and then to the County of Downs. He became dissatisfied with the governmental system of the church and was convinced that it was not established upon a Scriptural basis. This dissatisfaction caused him to emigrate to America, landing in the Port of Philadelphia the first part of September, 1718.[1]

He was received into the synod of the Presbyterian Church the same year and settled in East Chester, New York. In 1721 he moved to Bensalem, Pennsylvania and three years later returned to

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1. Cf. L. E. Brynestad: The Relation of Gilbert Tennent to the Religious Development of the Middle Colonies, p. 28.

New York. He preached in several towns in Westchester County with remarkable zeal. In 1726 he returned to one of his former neighborhoods and settled in Neshaminy where he was pastor of the Presbyterian Church.[1]

His fame gradually spread. His preaching was characterized with a zeal for personal religion. When he was yet a priest in the Church of Ireland he preached a sermon in which he distinguished between those who come to the Lord's Supper and those who really partake of it. This sermon was again preached when he was pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Bedford, New York. He insisted on spiritual qualification if the Lord's Supper was to be of any profit to the one partaking. His sermons were extemporaneous and manifested an unusual evangelical fervor. Though he was a powerful preacher, his influence was greater as an educator.

When the elder Tennent settled in Neshaminy in 1726 he built, what was called later the "Log College", for the education of his four sons and also for the accommodation of other students. It was the custom in those days for ministers to prepare young men for college or at least to superintend their theological training. But that the Log College thoroughly prepared its ministerial candidates was evidenced by its graduates. The distinguishing factor of the school was its evangelistic zeal and the emphasis it placed on piety. With this background we are able to see some of the reasons which later caused Gilbert Tennent to be the outstanding religious leader

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[1] Cf. C. H. Maxson: The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies, p. 26.

in the Middle Colonies during this period.[1]

b. Conversion and Early Influence.

When Gilbert Tennent was fourteen years old and while his father was still a priest in Ireland, he began to think seriously about religion and his soul's salvation. This religious struggle continued several years and oftentimes his soul was in agony. He completed his preparatory studies and then began to study divinity. But the state of his own soul would not permit him to think of entering the ministry. He turned to the study of medicine. He continued in this field for a year and then the emotional experience, which he thought necessary for entering the ministry, came to him. Thus we see in his early life that he held the conviction that a sudden conversion experience was a necessary prerequisite for the ministry. This conviction no doubt came to him as a direct outgrowth of the experience of his father who was at this time rebelling against the high ecclesiasticism and formalism of the church. So we can see that from the very beginning his religious training was <u>experimental</u> rather than formal.

There are three major influences which contributed toward his religious development. The fact that he came from a family that was willing to sacrifice their position in the church rather than to conform to cold, formal ritualism is a very significant fact. The training that he received from his father in the Log College which was

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1. Cf. C. H. Maxson: op. cit., p. 27.

characterized for its religious zeal is also important. The third factor which greatly influenced his career was his relationship with Theodorus Frelinghuysen. It was Frelinghuysen who started the revival in the Middle Colonies. He came to American in 1719 to take charge of some Dutch families in the central portion of New Jersey. The religious condition of these people was at a low ebb. He immediately made an attempt to improve this situation by evangelistic preaching calling upon the people to repent and change their ways. This was met with criticism and objection, but the criticism did not halt his work. It was these two features, experimental religion and defiance of criticism in the life of Frelinghuysen which served as the third major influence in the life of Gilbert Tennent.[1]

2. Early Ministry.

a. Ordination and New Brunswick Ministry.

For some time after finishing his course at the Log College Gilbert Tennent remained as a co-laborer with his father. He was licensed to preach by the Philadelphia synod in May, 1725 and soon after this accepted a church in Newcastle, Delaware. He was asked to settle there permanently, but for some reason he left the field abruptly causing the people to complain to the Philadelphia synod for his hasty decision. It was no doubt Tennent's fault for leaving this church. The synod reprimanded him for it and it is said that he received the rebuke meekly.[2]

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1. Cf. L.E.Brynestad: The Relation of Gilbert Tennent to the Religious Development of the Middle Colonies, p. 44.
2. Cf. W.B.Sprague: Annals of the American Pulpit, Vol. III, p. 35.

Following his ordination by the Philadelphia synod in 1726 he was asked to accept a call to Norwalk, Connecticut, but he declined this preferring to labor in the uncultivated fields of New Jersey. His ordination is of special significance for he was the first minister to be ordained who had received his education within the bounds of the synod. He accepted a call to the Presbyterian church in New Brunswick. The first year and a half of his ministry was very disappointing because he could see very little results of his work, and this affected him with a spiritual and mental despair which brought upon him a serious illness. When he recovered from this he threw himself into his work with greater zeal than before.

b. The Adopting Act.

During Tennent's first year in New Brunswick the synod passed the Adopting Act. The church was suffering from the effects of unsound doctrines and this act was passed in the hope that it would solve the problem. All the ministers of the synod agreed that there would have to be some means used to check the growth of the existing conditions. They differed, however, as to the method to be used. The division finally took the form of those who placed their hopes in the adoption of the Westminster Confession and of those who looked to the quickening power of the word of God. It goes without saying that Gilbert Tennent favored the latter view. His ministry thus far consisted of personal examination of his parishioners and urging them to repent and seek converting grace. As this conflict developed Gilbert Tennent played an important part.

3. The Revival Under His Ministry.

Gilbert Tennent heads the list of Presbyterian ministers who led their people in a spiritual awakening. The first year of his ministry was spent in examining his parishioners as to their soul's condition and urging them to repent and accept Christ. His congregation in New Brunswick was not affected to a great extent by his ministry. There were a few conversions now and then, but as for a sweeping revival, as was characteristic in many localities a few years later, there was none at this time especially in New Brunswick.[1] However, at the same time, he was preaching to a congregation in Staten Island. It was here that he experienced his first great ingathering of souls. During one service when he was preaching from Amos 6:1 the Spirit of God moved greatly amongst the assembly. Some fell upon their knees while he was speaking and cried out to God for pardoning mercy. Many went home weeping and the general question was, "What shall I do to be saved?"[2] This awakening was followed by another in Freehold, New Jersey under the ministry of his brother John. From now on through the early thirties the revival continued to spread. It was prevalent in New York, Staten Island, and New Jersey.

4. His Work in the Great Awakening.

a. His Work in the Middle Colonies.

When George Whitefield made his first preaching tour through

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1. Cf. W. M. Gewehr: The Great Awakening in Virginia, p. 11.
2. Quoted from Prince Church History, by L. E. Brynestad: op. cit.,p.112.

the Middle Colonies in 1739 he was greeted by William Tennent, Sr., after preaching his first sermon in Philadelphia. This paved the way for his visit to New Brunswick where he became acquainted with Gilbert Tennent. It was on this occasion that Whitefield heard him preach. He says,

> "Never before heard I such a searching sermon. He went to the bottom indeed, and did not daub with untempered mortar. He convinced me more and more, that we can preach the gospel of Christ no further than we have experienced the power of it in our hearts. I found what a Babe and Novice I was in the things of God."[1]

This also marks the beginning of his itinerant ministry in the Middle Colonies. From November, 1739, to November, 1740 he traveled constantly from one section of the Middle Colonies to the other. Some of these trips were made with George Whitefield. As to the details of his journeys little can be found. It is certain that in the summer of 1740 he travelled extensively in this region. One of the interesting things in connection with these travels is his concern over his own spiritual condition. Oftentimes he felt that he was a brute at heart and wished for death in order that he might escape these conditions. This is what he termed "religious experience" and his efforts were to bring others into this same experience.

There were great results that followed his evangelistic efforts. Scores were converted. While he was preaching he says that many hearts were melted in soft contrition, and it was not an uncommon thing to have his voice drowned out with the weeping of those under conviction. Some of these converted relapsed into their former ways of

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1. D. Newell: Life of George Whitefield, p. 61.

living, but the majority experienced sound conversions. This work was not without opposition. Some tried to halt the work by spreading false reports, but the revival spread so rapidly that even those who violently opposed it were silenced.

b. His Work in New England.

George Whitefield, after his successful ministry in Boston, journeying southward, stopped in New Brunswick. Here he met Gilbert Tennent. Whitefield thought Tennent should go to Boston and carry on the work already begun. Tennent at first was reluctant to do it, but after resorting to prayer he consented to undertake the task.

He arrived in Boston December 13, 1740. The following day he preached to a large assembly in the North Church. His preaching was disappointing at first for he did not come up to the eloquence of Whitefield, but what he lacked in eloquence he made up in spirit. The Reverend Thomas Prince said of his appeal and preaching,

> "He seemed to have no regard to please the eyes of his hearers with agreeable gesture, nor their ears with delivery, nor their fancy with language; but to aim directly at their hearts and consciences, to lay open their ruinous delusions, show them their numerous, secret, hypocritical shifts in religion, and drive them out of every deceitful refuge wherein they made themselves easy, with the form of godliness without the power. And many who were pleased in a good conceit of themselves before, now found, to their great distress, they were only self deceived hypocrites. . . .
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> "As to Mr. Tennent's preaching: It was frequently both terrible and searching. It was often for matter justly terrible, as he, according to the inspired oracles, exhibited the dreadful holiness, justice, law, threatenings, truth, power, majesty of God; and his anger with rebellious, impenitent, unbelieving and Christless sinners; the awful danger they were every moment in of being struck down to hell, and being damned forever; with the amazing miseries of that place of torment. But his exhibitions, both for matter and manner fell inconceivably below the reality: And though this terrible preaching may strongly work

> on the animal passions and frighten the hearers, rouse the soul, and prepare the way for terrible convictions; yet those mere animal terrors and these convictions are quite different things."[1]

The revival ministers were criticized for doing nothing more than arousing the emotions and passions of the people, but this could not be said of Tennent's ministry in Boston. His power lay not in stirring the motions through fear, but in supplying the searching power of the Gospel.

He remained in Boston for nearly three months. On March 2, 1741 he preached his farewell sermon. "It was an affectionate parting, and as great numbers of all conditions and ages appeared awakened by him, there seemed to be a general sadness at his going away."[2]

The course he took after departing from Boston is uncertain. In a letter to Mr. Whitefield he names the following towns and villages where he preached, Charleston, Cambridge, Ipswich, Portsmouth, Greenland, Hamlet, Marble-head, Chelsea, Malden, Hampton, New-Town, Rosebury, Plymouth, Bristol, Providence, Stoning-Town, Great-Town, New London, Lime Guilford, New Haven, Milford, Stratford, and New Port. This journey took him through the provinces of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and as far northward as Maine. It is certain that he must have visited many other places than the above named while traveling through these provinces, but no mention is made of such. His greatest success, outside of Boston, was in Connecticut. The villages in which he preached were Middlebor-

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1. Quoted from Rev. Thomas Prince in Tracy: The Great Awakening, pp. 115, 116.
2. Ibid., p. 117.

ough, the East and West Parish of Lyme, and Saybrook. In all of these places his preaching was effective and many were converted.

As an evidence of the success of this tour we have the following testimony to his work by six Boston ministers:

> "When this our dear brother, (Gilbert Tennent) whose praise is in our churches through the Provinces, visited us at Boston two years ago, and in the spirit of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield, entered into his labors here, it pleased God in a wonderful manner to crown his abundant services with success, in the conviction and (we trust) the conversion of many souls. As therefore the name of Mr. Tennent is greatly endeared to us, so we beseech the ascended Saviour, the head of the church, long to continue him for a burning light and extensive blessing to our Provinces; and in particular to use this faithful, judicious and seasonable endeavour of his servant, for a guard and a defence about his own sacred truths and his glorious work in the midst of us, which too many are ready to speak evil of and oppose."[1]

He rejoiced over the honor which came to him as a revival preacher, but his chief interest was to lead souls into a personal relationship with Jesus Christ.

5. The Closing Years of His Ministry.

This evangelistic tour and the recognition by Whitefield gave Gilbert Tennent more confidence and independence. When he arrived home he took a bolder stand than ever before against his opposers. He felt that he was called of God to rouse the slumbering Presbyterian church, and he preached a scathing sermon against the Old-Side party. This was commonly called the "Nottingham sermon." This brought the trouble between these two sides to a crisis, and at the next meeting of the synod the Tennents and their sympathizers,

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1. Recorded in the preface of G. Tennent's "Moravian Sermons" - Quoted by L. E. Brynestad, pp. 181, 182.

which included the New Brunswick Presbytery, were excluded from the body. They immediately joined the New York Synod into which was gathered all the revival party, while the anti-revival party ruled the Philadelphia Synod.

Soon after this split took place he was called to a church in Philadelphia. During his pastorate here which lasted for nearly a score of years, he came in contact with ministers of the Old-Side party. This caused him to change his attitude toward this faction. He became quite different in his style of preaching. He now laid aside his furious methods and became more argumentative and intellectual.[1] In 1753 he was appointed with Samuel Davies on a commission to England to raise funds for "The College of New Jersey," which is now known as Princeton University. Little is known of their visit to England except that they were successful in acquiring one hundred and ninety-six pounds for the support of this institution. He remained active in the ministry and social activities of the church until his death in 1764. Two centuries have passed since he began his ministry, but his influence and message aided greatly in moulding the religious life in the Middle Colonies and evidence of it can still be seen today.

6. Summary of His Contribution to the Great Awakening.

The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies cannot be understood apart from the work of Gilbert Tennent. "There was not another

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1. Cf. F. L. Chapell: The Great Awakening, p. 87.

man in the synod who developed the pulpit power of Gilbert Tennent."[1] It is doubtful whether the revival would have spread throughout the Middle Colonies as it did if it were not for his leadership and inspiration. He was the outstanding Presbyterian minister who led the people in a spiritual awakening. He travelled extensively in the Middle and New England Colonies, and in both regions he was very successful. The outstanding characteristic of his ministry was his emphasis on experimental religion. His own conversion came through a long period of spiritual struggle and his primary interest was to bring those to whom he preached into a similar experience. His conviction of experimental religion as a necessary requirement for both men who entered the ministry and church members was one of the leading factors that caused a split in the Presbyterian Church which was known by the two groups as the Old-Side and New-Side party. The New-Side party took the initiative in the furthering of vital religion and Gilbert Tennent was the champion of their cause. Thus Gilbert Tennent became one of the most outstanding contributors to one of the most significant movements in American Christianity.

E. Summary and Conclusion.

These three, George Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards and Gilbert Tennent were the men about whom the Great Awakening centered. To understand their influence in the revival is to understand the revival. Whitefield's work was international in scope. The first year of his

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1. C. H. Maxson: The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies, p. 34.

ministry in England made him an outstanding leader of evangelism in that country. His work was equally successful in America. On his second visit to America he toured the Middle and New England Colonies. Edwards' work in the New England Colonies and Tennent's work in the Middle Colonies had been in process for sometime before Whitefield's visit. His preaching in these sections brought the efforts of these two men to a climax which is known as the Great Awakening. Edwards and Tennent welcomed Whitefield to their fields. The three labored together in promoting the Gospel. We have no record of where they differed in theology or method of preaching with the exception of Edwards' doubt as to Whitefield's snap judgment of unconverted people and relying too much on impulses. As we shall see in chapter VI the emphasis of their preaching was practically the same. They were equally zealous in bringing souls into relationship with Jesus Christ. Of the three, Whitefield came in contact with more people due to his extensive itineracy. Edwards was the intellectualist, Whitefield was the orator and Tennent the experimentalist. Their influence was felt both in America and Great Britain. Edwards' message was carried at home and abroad through his publications which had wide circulations. Gilbert Tennent also made wide use of the press. As early as 1735, while he was in Boston, Tennent had published one of his sermons. Thus the religious break which came in 1740, under the preaching of Whitefield, was preceded by the overflow of enthusiasm from these two men. By the leading personalities of this revival and during their times the entire character of American Christianity was changed.

CHAPTER III

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GREAT AWAKENING UPON THE ORGANIZATION AND EXPANSION OF AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY

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THE INFLUENCE OF THE GREAT AWAKENING UPON THE ORGANIZATION AND EXPANSION OF AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY

A. Introduction

The Great Awakening marked the beginning of aggressive American Christianity. "For the first time in American religious history, large accessions were made to the Christian forces, Church organization and edifices were vastly multiplied, materialism suffered a decided set-back, and coarse immoralities were checked."[1] The purpose of this chapter is to show the effect of the Great Awakening upon the organization and expansion of American Christianity. This chapter will be limited to the expansion of the Church itself and will not include those movements which came as a direct outgrowth of this period.

B. The Growth of the Church.

The first question which naturally arises out of this subject is, How many were truly converted during this revival? A specific answer is impossible to give. The answer will have to be given in the form of a general estimation, for Whitefield's record of his own success can scarcely be used as a basis of proof. He often over-rated the number of his hearers. He spoke in terms of hundreds of thousands whose hearts were melted by his preaching and then he would hurry away and preach in some other place, hoping that

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1. P.G. Mode: The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity, p. 42.

most of those who heard him would prove true converts.[1] But it is certain that during the years 1740 to 1742 there was a wonderful ingathering of members in the New England Churches.[2] The population of New England at this time was estimated to be 250,000. From 1740 to 1760 the Congregational Churches increased 150 in number making the whole number 530. When the population is taken into consideration the growth is phenomenal. Dr. Cogswell estimated that there were twenty-five thousand added to the churches while James Hammond Trumbull estimated that there were in New England alone in two or three years, thirty to forty thousand. And others placed the numbers to fifty thousand.

A large number of separatist Churches were formed and a considerable increase took place in Baptist and Presbyterian Churches. The number of Presbyterian ministers increased from a scant forty-five to over a hundred.[3]

The increase of churches and church members does not come up to the increase of piety. As we have seen, the conditions of the New England Churches were such that a vast majority of the communicants were unconverted. A large number of these were converted. Naturally there was no census of the unconverted members of the churches, neither would they be counted as additions to the churches. Thus the changes in these people are to be reckoned with in evaluating the influence of this movement.[4]

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1. Cf. J. Tracy: The Great Awakening, p. 389.
2. Cf. W.W.Sweet: The Story of Religions in America, p. 193.
3. Cf. Tracy: op. cit., p. 391.
4. Cf. Ibid., p. 391.

C. The Effects of the Revival upon the Clergy.

Whitefield and Gilbert Tennent were both severe in their judgment of unconverted ministers. But it is true that there were many ministers in all sections of the country who lived loose lives and were unsound doctrinally. The churches in the Middle Colonies had, previous to this time, depended upon immigration from the Old World or from New England for their ministers. This system had its disadvantages, for the men who came from Europe were not always of the best of character. In many cases they came to America to escape censure incurred by their misconduct.[1]

It was thought that Tennent went to New England because he believed the ministers there were insufficient in their work. He never admitted this charge, but when he was questioned concerning his motive he refrained from giving a direct answer. His "Nottingham Sermon" was published in Boston and was extensively circulated. Everything implied the belief that there was a deficiency in the ministry and a reformation was needed.

As an outgrowth of these conditions there developed two factions. One group favored the revival and the other group opposed it. We notice that this division is the result of the itinerant evangelist, for this is the first time in the history of American Christianity that we have the itinerant ministry.

As has been previously noted, colleges received candidates for the ministry who were without the semblance of piety. If the candidate for ordination was not heretical in doctrine and scandalous

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1. W. M. Gewehr: The Great Awakening in Virginia, p. 11.

in his life he was not questioned as to his fitness. Therefore there were many unconverted men in the ministry. It was at this laxity in the qualifications of ministerial candidates that these itinerant ministers and evangelists struck their blow. When Whitefield made his third visit to America, 1744-1748, there were about twenty ministers in the vicinity of Boston who confessed they had not been converted until his first visit in 1740, and New England at that time was about as good an example of piety as could be found anywhere.[1] This was not only the result of Whitefield's ministry, but it was also true of Gilbert Tennent's. Tennent's success in New England was not so much in the quickening of the spiritual life of the people as it was in the conversion of ministers from discouragement and disappointment. An example of this was in his Connecticut ministry. He visited a church in Middleborough, Connecticut. The pastor, Mr. Tacher, was about to give up his work after serving thirty-four years in that one place. Tennent's preaching and personal talks with him resulted in new interests and greater determination on his part. Before the year had passed there was a general awakening throughout the village.[2] Thus in many places a dead ministry was changed into one with spiritual life and power.

D. The Extension of Missions

It has been a characteristic experience in Christianity that when a person receives a new life in Christ he becomes anxious to share it with others. This is true of American Christianity.

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1. Cf. W.A.Candler: op. cit., p. 89.
2. Cf. L.E.Brynestad: The Relations of Gilbert Tennent to the Religious Development of the Middle Colonies, p. 174.

> "The new birth of religion throughout the world resulted in the establishment of modern missions. Accordingly in America missions to the heathen were undertaken as a direct result of the Great Awakening."[1]

David Brainerd has been called the father of modern missions to the heathen.[2] In 1743 he began his missionary work at Kaunaumeek and in 1745 he moved to New Jersey where he started another mission at the forks of the Delaware and Crosweeksung Rivers. After staying there for a short time he left for a season and William Tennent took his place. The work continued under Tennent's preaching and received new impetus when Brainerd returned. "These dates, the name of Tennent, and the history of Brainerd while at New Haven, show that Brainerd's triumphs were a part of this great revival."[3]

The missionary efforts of Brainerd among the Indians were followed by Jonathan Edwards' in Stockbridge after his dismissal from Northampton. This work came into direct contact with the Indians in New York, and the benefits of that work were felt in the interior.[4] Whitefield's influence in England brought considerable financial aid to these Indian missions in America from those who favored the revival.

The English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was cooperating with those who were carrying on the work with the Indians in the Province of New York. They often employed Dutch pastors, perhaps for political reasons rather than religious, for this work was conceived as counter work against the French and Jesuits. The work was very successful for these men threw themselves into their tasks unsparingly for the conversion of their heathen brethren.[5]

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1. C.H.Maxson: The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies, p. 91.
2. Cf. L.W.Bacon: A History of American Christianity, p. 180.
3. W. A. Candler: op. cit., p. 96.
4. Cf. Maxson: op. cit., p. 92.
5. Cf. Ibid., p. 93.

The New Side Presbyterians carried on a mission work which was more influential and stimulated more interest among the English speaking people than that of the New England Colonies. They joined the "Scotch Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the establishment of English Missions in the Middle Colonies." Asariah Horton and James Davenport carried on this work. True to the New Side's theology these Indians experienced the saving works of grace as the white man did. One historian states that one hundred years after this there still remained two of these Indian Churches.[1]

Although the Indian was the object of mission interest during this period a passing consideration must be given to the Negro. Whitefield was the first man to pay any attention to them. He says in his account of his first visit to New Brunswick in 1740, "In short, the word hath run and been much glorified; and many negroes also are in a fair way of being brought home to God."[2] A new relationship of common humanity came to the whites and blacks as they listened to the preaching of the Gospel. The inspiration and appeal of Whitefield stimulated some to act in behalf of their negro brethren; but the great missionary work among this race was left to the Methodists and the Baptists in later years.[3]

E. The New Spirit of Catholicity.

The Great Awakening promoted a new spirit of catholicity among the churches. We have seen that the breaking down of prejudices started as far back as 1628 when the Puritans discovered that the Pil-

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1. Cf. Maxson: op. cit., p. 93.
2. George Whitefield's Works: Vol. I., p. 167.
3. Cf. Maxson: op. cit., p. 92.

grims' method of worship was right. Of course through this period of development there were sharp and bitter controversies, but the time had come when this spirit of indifference could no longer continue. Whitefield with his broad catholic spirit entered into the work of saving souls without regard to denominations. He wrote in a letter from Savannah in 1740, to a minister friend,

> "It pleased me to find you breathe so catholic a spirit, - O that bigotry and party zeal were not so much as once named among us, as becometh saints! Since Christ is not divided in himself, why should Christians be divided one amongst another? Bigotry, I am sure can never be the fruit of that wisdom which cometh from above, - No it is earthy, sensual and devilish."[1]

Joanthan Edwards' first church was a Presbyterian church in New York City and after returning to Yale for two years he accepted a call to serve a Congregational parish, which shows that he had no strong convictions on sectarian trends. No one could accuse Gilbert Tennent of being bigoted as far as denominational lines were concerned. This catholicity was a great gain to the work of advancing the kingdom of God on earth. Dr. Candler says that due to this spirit America was saved from throwing away religion as did the French in their revolution, and also from quarreling over religion until purity perished in polemics.[2]

F. Summary.

We may conclude then from this chapter that American Christianity for the first time established itself as an aggressive institution. There was a marked increase in the number of churches of all

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1. George Whitefield's Works: op. cit., p. 142.
2. Cf. W. A. Candler: op. cit., p. 91.

denominations together with a rapid growth in membership. The ministry had been awakened from its spiritual lethargy and was preaching a Gospel of new life and power. The mission movement received new impetus and men began to think about their neglected brothers. Christianity was no longer just a form of faith. To learn the catechism and to submit oneself to its ordinances had been the custom of the church, but now the church emphasized the need of personal experience. It was not enough to profess to know Christ, everyone was urged to live in living communion with Him. And from that time until now this change of heart and real experience has been insisted on in most of the Protestant denominations. The religious prejudices which so characterized the early settlers were now being blotted out by the new spirit of catholicity and the new day for American Christianity had dawned.

CHAPTER IV

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GREAT AWAKENING UPON CHRISTIAN EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN AMERICA

CHAPTER IV

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GREAT AWAKENING UPON CHRISTIAN EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN AMERICA

A. Introduction

The emphasis which was put on education during this period was one of the most significant factors of the Great Awakening. This movement appeared to oppose education, for the Separates, the Baptists, the Moravians, and following them the Methodists, all used lay preachers and licensed men to the regular ministry who did not possess a college education. Yet, as we shall see, the history of these denominations reveals these groups as honorable promoters of education. The leading Calvinistic revivalists were always insistent upon an educated ministry and promoted popular education. The general culture of all the churches seemed to be raised to a higher level. New interests in Christian songs and in promoting the interests of the Church through the press was an outgrowth of this period which will be shown in the following pages.

B. Education in the Middle Colonies.

1. The Log College.

The founding of the Log College by William Tennent, Sr., has been described in a previous chapter. This college existed for twenty years under his leadership. The last five years of the institution's existence more men were sent out into the ministry than during the previous fifteen. The work of the college was getting to be more than the founder could bear so he appealed to the presbytery and supplies

were granted. Charles Beatty, one of his graduates, was ordained as his colleague. Beatty was later known for his work among the Indians, his service to the provincial troops as chaplain, and for his voyages to foreign parts in the interest of Princeton University. He did not possess the scholarly ability of the elder Tennent so that when the champion of this cause died in 1746, the college was discontinued.[1]

The men that graduated from the Log College were men of Christian zeal. More than half of them became preachers, and some became eminent educators.[2]

> "Many of these Log College graduates established log colleges, or private schools, modeled after that of William Tennent at Neshaminy and out of these classical and theological schools came graduates destined to take a notable place in the leadership of American Presbyterianism. One such school founded on the model of the Log College was that established by Samuel Blair at Fagg's Manor in Chester County, Pennsylvania. The first graduate of this school was Samuel Davies, who was to become the leader of the Presbyterian Church in Virginia and finally president of the College of New Jersey. Other students at the Fagg's Manor School were John Rodgers, of New York, James Finley and Robert Smith, all of whom became leaders of distinction. Another such school was that established at Nottingham, Pennsylvania, by Samuel Finley. From this school came other noted leaders in both church and state, among them Dr. Benjamin Rush, while Finley himself succeeded Davies as President of Princeton. Pequea, in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, was another such school, established by Robert Smith, a graduate of the Fagg's Manor School. From the Pequea School came John McMillan, one of the founders of Jefferson College who in turn conducted a Log College in connection with his work in the Redstone country of western Pennsylvania."[3]

2. Princeton University.

The schools established by these men were the forerunners of Princeton University. Thus we see that the Log College was the first

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1. Cf. C. H. Maxson: The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies, p. 96.
2. Cf. W. W. Sweet: The Story of Religions in America, p. 210.
3. Ibid., p. 210.

institution of higher learning in the Middle Colonies. The same year that William Tennent, Sr. died, Jonathan Dickinson obtained a charter for a new college.[1] However, Dickinson died soon after he had received his charter for the new college and his newly established school was combined with Aaron Burr's classical school which had been started at Newark, New Jersey.[2] The first commencement of the combined colleges was in 1748. There were six students in the first graduating class one of whom was Richard Stockton, who afterwards became a trustee of the college. It soon became necessary to seek a new site for the college. The trustees thought that New Brunswick would be better than Princeton. They tried to get the citizens of that place to donate the land for the buildings. The commencement of 1749 was held there to interest the people, but they were indifferent to the request. The people of Princeton began to take interest and offered the ground and some financial aid. Finally, in 1753, it was agreed to accept their offer.[2] It was soon after this that Gilbert Tennent and Samuel Davies went to England to obtain money for this new institution, which has been previously mentioned. The first commencement at this new location was held August 28, 1756. Four days before this their first president, Aaron Burr, died. Jonathan Edwards was soon elected to the vacancy, but he too died in a little over a month after his election. He was followed by Samuel Davies who was president for two years and Samuel Finney followed him.[3] New Jersey College, as it was then called, served the purpose of its

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1. Cf. D. W. Woods: John Witherspoon, p. 80.
2. Cf. Ibid., p. 87.
3. Cf. Ibid., p. 87.

founding and supplied young men of unusual Christian zeal and fervor for the Presbyterian Church.

3. Other Educational Institutions.

The University of Pennsylvania came indirectly out of the Great Awakening. When Whitefield was refused the pulpits in Philadelphia a building was erected to accommodate the large crowds. The building was used for visiting evangelists, such as Gilbert Tennent, Rowland, Blair and others. For nine years it was known as the second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia while Gilbert Tennent was pastor. Then the building was converted into the "College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia," which finally grew into the University of Pennsylvania.[1]

Steps were taken soon after this to found a college in New York. But this college, which was known as King's College, disclaimed any intention of imposing views of any one sect upon the minds of the student. The college opened in a building belonging to Trinity Church under the presidency of Samuel Johnston.[2]

C. Education in New England.

1. Harvard and Yale.

The first institution of learning founded in this country was Harvard University. It was chartered in 1636 and has an unbroken history since 1640.[3] Yale was chartered a little over half a century later in 1701.[4] These institutions answered the educational needs of

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1. Cf. W. W.Sweet: op. cit., p. 212.
2. Cf. Ibid., p. 213.
3. Encyclopedia Britannica, article entitled, "Harvard University", by Franklin Henry Hooper, Vol. II, p. 229.
4. Ibid: Article entitled, "Yale University," by Lottie G. Bishop, Vol. XXIII, p. 875.

the New England Colonies up until this time, but during these years they had grown indifferent to religion. When the Great Awakening came they were stirred by it even though they were at first set against it. The same zeal which rekindled the flame of spiritual life in Harvard and Yale was beginning to manifest itself in the building of other institutions.

2. Dartmouth and Brown University.

Among some of the first converts in the revival at Norwich was a Mohegan boy named Samson Occum. The minister of the church where Occum was converted, Rev. Wheelock by name, was an ardent supporter of the revival. He took this young Indian boy into his home as a student. This was the beginning of the school which prepared Indian youth for the ministry and was later endowed with funds collected by Occum in England. This school grew into what is known as Dartmouth College.

Rhode Island College, the parent of all Baptist schools, received her charter in 1764, and was later (1804) named Brown University.[1] The Methodists soon followed with their institutions. Many of our present day colleges and universities can be traced directly back to the period of the Great Awakening.

D. Other Cultural Developments which Came Out of the Great Awakening.

1. The Sunday School.

The Sunday School cannot be traced directly back to the Great Awakening, but this revival prepared the way for this work in later

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1. M. M. Fisher: A Short History of Baptist Denominations, p. 32.

times. The first Sunday School in Great Britain was in Gloucester where Whitefield was born, and the first Sunday School in America was at Newburyport, Massachusetts where Whitefield was buried.[1] It is evident that children received considerable attention during the revival. Jonathan Edwards writes,

> "God has also made his hand very visible and his work glorious in the multitudes of little children that have been wrought upon. I suppose there have been some hundred of instances of this nature of late, any one of which formerly would have been looked upon as so remarkable as to be worthy to be recorded and published through the land."[2]

It might be noted in connection with the Sunday School work that it is generally conceded that the first religious newspaper ever published was, "The Christian History," printed in Boston for the purpose of reporting the success of the revival. Thus it may be concluded that the way had been opened for the spreading of the Gospel and the influence of the revival by the use of the press. This is another significant outgrowth of the movement.[3]

2. The Contribution of the Great Awakening to Christian Song.

Perhaps during no period in the history of American Christianity were so many hymns produced as there were during the years of the Great Awakening. The great writers of this time were John and Charles Wesley, Joseph Addison, Doctor Isaac Watts, Philip Doddridge, Augustus Toplady, Thomas Olivers, Anne Steele, Lady Huntington, Robert Robinson, John Fawcett, Samson Occom, Harvey, and Joseph Hart. The songs which they wrote have come down through the years and are still widely used

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1. Cf. F. L. Chapell: The Great Awakening, p. 135.
2. Quoted by W. A. Candler: op. cit., p. 94.
3. Cf. F. L. Chapell: op. cit., p. 135.

by the Church. Some of the most important hymns by these authors are:

"Rock of Ages Cleft for me," by Toplady, 1776
"Your harps, ye trembling Saints," by Toplady, 1772
"If through unruffled seas," by Toplady, 1772.
"Jesus Lover of My Soul," by Charles Wesley, 1740
"Come, Thou Almighty Kind," by Charles Wesley, 1757
"Hark, the herald angels sing," by Charles Wesley, 1739
"Jesus Christ is risen to-day," by Charles Wesley, 1739
"Before Jehovah's Awful Throne," by John Wesley, 1741
"Come thou Fount of every blessing," by Robert Robinson, 1758
"Am I a Soldier of the Cross," by Isaac Watts, 1723
"Blest be the tie that binds," by Fawcett, 1772
"Lord, dismiss us with Thy blessing," by Fawcett, 1774
"Praise to Thee, Thou Great Creator," by Fawcett, 1767
"Awakened by Sinai's Awful Sound," by Occam
"Come, ye sinners, poor and wretched," by Hart
"Come, Holy Spirit, Come," by Hart, 1759
"When thou, my righteous judge, shalt come, by Lady Huntington, 1765
"Jesus, I love thy charming name," by Doddridge, 1740
"My gracious Lord, I own thy right," by Doddridge, 1740
"O where shall rest be found," by Montgomery, 1819
"Dear refuge of my weary soul," by Anne Steel, 1760
"O Thou, whose tender mercy hears," by Anne Steel, 1760.

It is self evident that a period which produced so many famous songs was one in which the church was singing triumphatly. This is a sure indication of the deep influence and permanent contribution of the Great Awakening.

E. Summary

As has been shown in the foregoing pages, this was a time when the church not only concerned itself with proclaiming a message of personal salvation, but it saw the need of developing the intellectual life of the individual as well as the spiritual, and set itself to the task of doing this by building institutions of learning. This was not confined to one religious sect or denomination, but it was the spirit which prevailed wherever the revival penetrated. In general, the church as a whole realized that the cultural side of life had been neglected during man's battle with the frontier life and be-

fore a score of years had passed after the first spiritual awakening great strides were made in remedying these conditions. The Sunday School cannot be considered a product of the Great Awakening, but the revival prepared the way for it in years to follow. The first religious newspaper, "The Christian History," published for the purpose of reporting the success of the revival, was another significant factor. Perhaps the most outstanding feature of this period was the production of Christian songs. Some of the greatest hymns of the Church were written by men and women who had been influenced by the revival. Thus we see that the Great Awakening had profound influence on both Christian education and culture.

CHAPTER V

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GREAT AWAKENING UPON PREACHING AND WORSHIP IN AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY

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A. Introduction

We have already noted the spiritual condition of the clergy previous to the Great Awakening so we may conclude from that that the preaching in general could not have been of a spiritual nature. The Middle Colonies depended upon ministers from the Old World or from New England and those from the Old World were usually of a questionable character as has been noted in a previous chapter. The New England preaching had developed into an argumentative discourse. The minister in trying to please the unregenerate had strayed from the message of personal salvation. Gewehr says of the preaching in Virginia at this time, which is in all probability characteristic of other parts of the country:

> "There was almost a total lack of evangelical preaching even by men who were pious and probably interested in the salvation of men's souls. Sermons were generally read in a cold, unanimated manner that was little adapted to awakening the conviction of sinners. Nor did the contents of the sermons deal with the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, but rather consisted of 'fine paintings of moral virtue' and 'insipid speculations.'"[1]

The purpose of this chapter is to show how preaching and worship was affected by the Great Awakening. The chapter will not deal with the doctrines to determine the influence the revival had upon preaching and worship, but rather a study of the personalities

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1. W. M. Gewehr: The Great Awakening in Virginia, p. 38.

and their particular contribution to preaching.

B. George Whitefield's Preaching.

George Whitefield was a natural born preacher. The first year of his ministry his name became a common household word in practically every home in England. He was,

> "of a sprightly, cheerful temper: acts and moves with a great agility and life. The endowments of his mind are very uncommon; his wit is quick and piercing, his imagination lively and florid; and both, as far as I can discern, are under the direction of an exact and solid judgment. He has a most ready memory, and I think speaks entirely without notes. He has a clear and musical voice, and a wonderful command of it. He uses much gesture, but with great propriety. Every accent of his voice, every motion of his body speaks; and both are natural and unaffected."[1]

The same person who made the above statement summarized his preaching as follows:

> "He loudly proclaims all men by nature to be under sin, and obnoxious to the wrath and curse of God. He maintains the absolute necessity of supernatural grace to bring men out of this state. He asserts the righteousness of Christ to be the alone cause of the justification of a sinner; that this is received by faith; that faith is the gift of God; that where faith is wrought it brings the sinner under the deepest sense of his guilt and unworthiness to the footstool of sovereign grace to accept of mercy as the free gift of God's only for Christ's sake. He asserts the absolute necessity of the new birth; that this new production is solely the work of God's blessed Spirit; that wherever it is wrought it is a permanent, abiding principle, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."[2]

Imaginative preaching was one of the predominant characteristics of this period and no preacher could surpass Whitefield in this art. He could so vividly picture the agony of Christ that it would seem that the scene was actually before the congregation. Stretching

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1. Quoted by A.E.Dunning: op. cit., p. 247.
2. Ibid., p. 247.

out his hands and pointing he would say,

> "Look yonder, what is that I see? It is my agonizing Lord! Hark, hark! do you not hear? O my Father, if it be possible let this cup pass from me! nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done!"

This he would introduce frequently into his sermons, and those who heard it several times said that the effect of it was not destroyed by repetition.[1] Sometimes, at a close of a sermon, he would impersonate a judge who was about to render a terrible judgment upon someone. His eyes would be full of tears and his voice falter with emotion as the audience would wait for the final words. Then he would say something to this effect,

> "I am now going to put on my condemning cap. Sinner, I must do it: I must pronounce sentence upon you."

After dramatically describing eternal punishment he would close with the words of Christ, "Depart from me ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels."[2]

Perhaps one of the best examples of the persuasiveness of Whitefield's sermons is found in his influence over Benjamin Franklin. Wherever Whitefield preached he took collections for his Orphan House in Georgia, and when he consulted Franklin about his plans Franklin advised him to erect his Orphanage at Philadelphia. Whitefield rejected the advice of Franklin and the latter concluded that he would not give anything to this project. Franklin relates his own experience as follows,

> "I happened soon afterwards to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a

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1. J. Gillies: Memoirs of the Rev. George Whitefield, p. 264.
2. Ibid., p. 264.

> collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me. I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five in gold. As he proceeded I began to soften and concluded to give the copper. Another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that and determined me to give up the silver, and he finished so admirably that I emptied my pocket into the collection dish, gold and all."[1]

We may conclude from the foregoing thought that Whitefield's preaching was exceptionally emotional. He depended greatly on the guidance of the Spirit, but at the same time he did not hold cheap the advantages of a thorough training. He commenced his ministry by writing his sermons and reading them, but in 1738 he was convinced that it was better for him to preach extemporaneously.[2]

Whitefield was the greatest single factor in the Great Awakening. He earnestly carried on the revival up and down the coast from New England to Georgia. He preached to thousands as he passed from place to place. "He was the preacher to whom people everywhere listened - the great unifying agency in the Awakening, the great moulding force among the denominations."[3]

C. Jonathan Edwards' Preaching.

It was Edwards' preaching that produced the revival in Northampton. Perhaps it would be well at this point to give the general trend of his theology. In 1731 he preached a sermon in Boston which made a profound impression upon the ministers of that city. The title of the sermon was, "God Glorified in Man's Dependence." This sermon presents the cardinal principles of his theology.[4] He states

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1. A. D. Belden: George Whitefield the Awakener, p. 80.
2. Cf. G. W. Harvey: Manual of Revivals, p. 160.
3. W. M. Gewehr: The Great Awakening in Virginia, p. 9.
4. Cf. A. E. Dunning: Congregationalists in America, p. 241.

in his section under doctrine,

> "(1) that there is an absolute and universal dependence of the redeemed on God for all their good. (2) That God hereby is exalted and glorified in the work of redemption."[1]

He continues that God has made man's emptiness and the misery into which man has sunk through his fall an occasion of a greater advancement of his own glory.[2] It is a solemn affirmation of the sovereign right of God to give or to withhold salvation according to his pleasure. In his view of the fall of man he held that man is undeserving of God's divine favor. God has chosen those whom He wants to save and those whom He wants to damn. "His sovereignty is involved in His freedom to take whom He pleases, and to leave whom He pleases to perish."[3] While as an infinite sovereign God may reject or pardon whom He will, it is necessary that His justice should receive satisfaction for those whom He redeemed.

This is an imperfect summary of Edwards' theology but it gives in a sense the main theme of his preaching. It was through the preaching of these doctrines that he aroused men's consciences and brought them under the conviction of sin. He preached that no one could do anything that would win favor in the sight of God. No one could tell whether they were one of the chosen or not, but when they felt the guilt of sin then they could tell that the Holy Spirit was working with them. When the convicted sinner confessed his guilt and admitted that God would be just if he would condemn him to eternal punishment or cast him at the feet of Christ for pardon then in that

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1. H. N. Gardiner: Jonathan Edwards' Sermons, p. 3.
2. Cf. Ibid., p. 17.
3. A. E. Dunning: op. cit., p. 241.

spirit of self-renunciation there may come to him that inward peace which would assure him that God had forgiven his sins. The more one suffered under the conviction of sin the greater the joy would be when his sins were forgiven.[1]

Edwards published a book entitled, "Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New England, 1740." He prefixed this book with an account of the revival in Northampton in 1734, in which he gives records of some of the conversions. To get a true estimate of his conception of the effects of the revival we will quote from his own writings,

> "These awakenings, when they first seized on persons, have had two effects: one was that they have brought them immediately to quit their sinful practices, and the looser sort have been brought to forsake and dread their former vices and extravagances. When once the Spirit of God began to be wonderfully poured out in a general way through the town, people had soon done with their own quarrels, backbitings, and intermeddling with other men's matters; the tavern was soon left empty, and persons kept very much at home; none went abroad unless on necessary business, or on some religious account, and every day seemed, in many respects, like a Sabbath day. And the other effect was, that it put them on earnest application to the means of salvation, reading, prayer, meditation, the ordinances of God's house, and private conference; their cry was, what shall we do to be saved? The place of resort was now changed -- it was no longer the tavern, but the minister's house; and that was thronged far more than ever the tavern had been wont to be."[2]

Thus we may conclude that the directness and earnest preaching of Edwards were something that the Northampton people were unaccustomed to, and this type of preaching brought outstanding results.

While Edwards' preaching was not emotional it did produce emotional effects upon his congregations. The Enfield sermon is al-

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1. Cf. A. E. Dunning: op. cit., p. 243.
2. J. Edwards: Thoughts on the Revival of Religion, p. 29.

ways used as an example of his imprecatory sermons. It is said that while he was delivering this sermon many cried aloud for mercy till he could not be heard, and some grasped the benches to prevent themselves from slipping into hell. This sermon is used by many writers as a typical example of Edwards' preaching, but their judgment in regard to this cannot be substantiated. There is no doubt that his preaching was accompanied by outbursts now and then on the part of the audience and that he did regard these outbursts as evidence of the working of the Spirit, but he did not rely upon them as strict evidence of conversion. He published a book, "Treatise Concerning Religious Affection," and in this work he has gone far to establish his reputation for sound judgment in the matter of religious emotions.[1]

While Edwards has always been known as one of America's greatest scholars he has also been recognized as one of America's greatest preachers. His influence as a preacher carried the revival through New England and even affected preaching in other regions.

D. The Log College Group.

The preaching in the Middle Colonies can best be determined by the men who graduated from the Log College. It was this group and their sympathizers who composed the New Side party while their opposers were the Old Side party. The New Side party was noted for its fervency of piety, its zeal and impassionate Gospel.[2] The founder of the Log College had always been known for his teaching of experimental religion and the men he graduated went out to become the great revival-

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1. Cf. F. M. Davenport: Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals, p. 115.
2. Cf. W. W. Gewehr: The Great Awakening in Virginia, p. 12.

ists of the Presbyterian Church and the leaders of the revival in the Middle Colonies. William Robinson, the four Tennent brothers, the Blairs and Samuel Finley were men who were well adapted to the demands of the time and in their extensive preaching became very popular.

These men preached a message of personal salvation through Jesus Christ. The presentation of their messages differed according to their personalities. John Tennent accepted a call to Freehold soon after his graduation. His preaching was emotional, but he did not use it to pronounce condemnation upon his hearers; rather it was characterized with divine pity. It is said that he wept over his sermons while preparing them. His ministry was short. He died in 1732. He was followed at Freehold by his brother William. He was well qualified to continue John's work for he, too, was a mystic. He would rather go off by himself and pray than to enter into controversy with anyone.[1] Gilbert greatly differed from his brothers in this respect. He never recanted on any question if he thought that he was right. His preaching was stern and where there were any problems pertaining to moral issues he openly spoke his mind. His preaching was largely centered around the doctrines of original sin, repentance, judgment and the necessity of conversion.[2] When the revival was at its height he wrote and published a sermon in Boston under the title, "The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry." The text was Mark 4:34. He based his thought for this sermon upon "the Character of the Old Pharisee-Teacher,"[3] and then went on to show how the people

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1. Cf. C. H. Maxson: The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies, p. 32.
2. Cf. L. E. Brynestad: The Relations of Gilbert Tennent to the Religious Development of the Middle Colonies, p. 104.
3. G. Tennent: A Sermon on "The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry," published in Boston in 1742.

who have no better minister should be pitied. Of this whole group of graduates from the Log College, Gilbert Tennent was the most dynamic.

It cannot be concluded that because these men were fired with a spiritual zeal they were deficient in the scholastic qualification. Samuel Blair died in 1751, and Samuel Finley in his funeral sermon dwelt at some length upon his scholarly attainments. He was a man, who in his search for truth, was very scholarly, and independent in drawing his own conclusions. He made the knowledge of divinity the business of his life and was very conversant with the Scriptures in their original language. Samuel Finley praised Blair for his scholastic attainment, but Finley himself is said to have surpassed his predecessor, Samuel Davies, a student of Samuel Blair, both in scholarship and teaching.[1]

In the fervency for their work these men were apt to disregard the ecclesiastical rules of the synod. They did not allow boundaries to hinder their labor; they would preach wherever the harvests were ready and wherever people would listen to them. No rules of man were allowed to restrict their preaching of the Gospel.[2]

E. The Influence the Great Awakening had on Worship.

A typical church service has been described in a former chapter. As we have seen it offered a welcome relief from the drudgery of a heavy week's work. The preacher's lecture changed the thought of the people giving the farmer and the housewife something new to

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1. Cf. C. H. Maxson: op. cit., p. 33.
2. Cf. W. W. Gewehr: op. cit., pp. 12, 13.

think about. The sermon also served as a newspaper, journal, novel and debate all in one. To be sure now and then during the preaching the listener would have his thoughts turned to eternal things and be reminded of the frailty of this mortal life, but during the Great Awakening there is distinctly a different type of service.[1]

The evangelizing and regenerating of the masses had begun. This new method was similar to that used by the primitive Church. It was not ritualistic, but evangelistic.[2] It goes without saying that a strictly formal service could not be conducted under this type of evangelistic preaching. As has been stated, while the minister was preaching many cried aloud for mercy till the crying drowned the voice of the preacher. Some have called this new enthusiasm on the part of the minister and the people "contemptuous revivalism."[3] Whatever it is called this has been the method by which America has furthered the cause of Christianity. Preaching was its central characteristic, and supernatural things were expected to happen from the preaching of the Word of God through the power of the Holy Ghost.

Thus we may conclude that the church services underwent a radical change during the period of the Great Awakening. Instead of the sermon being a lecture or a journal it was a Gospel message pleading for men and women to accept Christ and a warning of eternal punishment if they refused. The heart of the whole service beat with new life as evidenced by the songs that were produced and sung during and since the revival.

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1. Cf. A. C. McGiffert: Jonathan Edwards, p. 44.
2. Cf. W. A. Candler: Great Revivals and the Great Republic, p. 91.
3. Ibid., p. 92.

F. Summary

We have seen that evangelistic preaching is typical of the Great Awakening. It differed from former preaching in that it was personal rather than general. An appeal was made to the individual for a decision. The minister in making this appeal built his sermon around doctrines which in turn produced an emotional effect upon the listener. The principal personalities in this movement used practically the same methods in promoting their work. They preached the Word of God and relied upon the Holy Spirit to convict the sinner. This preaching changed the former trend of worship. It made religion more personal, and people worshipped a God who was in their midst. The service of worship did not depend now entirely upon the minister for the congregation took an active part in the way of expressing their praise and adoration to God through song. Thus the service of worship was changed from a cold formal service to one of warm spiritual communion with God.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing chapters we have attempted to show the influence of revivalism on American Christianity as illustrated by the Great Awakening. We have studied the historical background prior to the Great Awakening, the influence of the personalities connected with it, its organization and expansion, its education and cultural development, and finally the influence it had on preaching and worship.

The Great Awakening has been considered by some as a wave of emotion that swept over the country in the early half of the eighteenth century causing divisions in churches and homes. But such a consideration cannot be maintained when a careful study has been made of the revival, for it was during this period that literally thousands received new spiritual life. This new life of the believer in turn contributed greatly to the development of American Christianity. It was not, therefore, a tidal wave of emotion and excitement, but rather a movement which transformed the life of the nation.

As we have seen, the trend of the first half of the eighteenth century was away from religion. Various forces had contributed toward this cause. Europe was suffering from moral laxity which directly had its influence on colonial life. There were wars at home and abroad which had their influences on the lives of the early settlers. Then, too, the intellectual forces were more skeptical than religious.

The revival in the New England Colonies is a direct outgrowth of Jonathan Edwards' ministry in Northampton. The first revival occurred in 1734 and was followed by the second one in 1740, which spread throughout the entire region. The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies has several distinct sources. The ministry of Frelinghuysen among the Dutch surely can be counted as one. The establishment of the Log College and the revival which was conducted by its graduates is another. And the influence of Edwards' first revival is a third.

The name "Great Awakening" was especially appropriate to Whitefield's revival, which became prominent in the Middle and Southern Colonies and then culminated into an intense religious enthusiasm in the New England Colonies in 1740. A general characteristic of the revival in all sections was religious excitement. These waves of emotion swept from community to community similar to those of war or financial panic. The term "Great Awakening" cannot be limited to just that period of widespread religious excitement. There were other revivals after Whitefield's in both New England and in the Middle Colonies. Some were as late as 1764, such as the revival at Easthampton, Long Island, under the ministry of Samuel Buell. It also must be remembered that the Methodists were laying the foundations for their future success during this period.

We have said that the general characteristic of the revival was religious excitement. We might add that the fundamental principle of this movement was the insistence upon an inner experience of the individual with God. Religion again, as in the primitive church, had become a thing of the heart instead of the head. With the teach-

ing of the new birth there followed the belief in divine guidance on the part of the converted person, which is similar to inspiration. This relying upon divine guidance sometimes led to superficial Christianity of which Whitefield was occasionally accused.

The attitude toward spiritual illumination and creeds differed among the evangelicals and conservatives. The evangelicals of all denominations accepted their respective creeds, but the tendency was to emphasize the fundamental agreement of the Protestant Churches and to consider the Bible as authoritative. Thus the evangelicals of the various bodies were more in sympathy with each other than they were with the conservatives of their own group. Whitefield was willing to see his converts join the Presbyterian or Baptist Churches. He was satisfied as long as they made a profession of Christ. This new spirit of catholicity had a tendency to unify differences in the churches rather than separate them.

Another important issue was church polity. Throughout the Middle and New England Colonies the conservatives were in the majority in the leading denominations. The conservatives fought for discipline and order while the evangelicals held out for right of conscience. The important question of polity was in regard to church membership and the ministry. In New England the Half-Way Covenant was the means by which unconverted people entered into full relationship with the church and also the ministry. The conservatives in the Middle Colonies agreed as long as the individual would subscribe to the creed of his denomination he could be admitted into the church or ministry. This was the point at which the evangelicals struck. They assumed that there were a large number of church members and

ministers who were not converted, and they addressed them as such and exhorted them to seek the experience of conversion. Whitefield and Tennent in the early stages of the revival were both critized by the conservatives for being too outspoken in their convictions along these lines, but these critics soon saw their mistake and discontinued their attack.

The emotional side was exaggerated by the opposers of the revival. The promoters of the revival sometimes did capitalize on these commotions to promote religious excitement. It was true that ignorant persons frequently relied upon bodily disturbances as a proof of conversion, but in the majority of cases excessive emotionalism was rare.

Though little criticism can be found with the excessive emotionalism of the revival, still less can be found with the itinerant ministers. The conservatives opposed this method of preaching for they declared it was unwarranted by Scripture, and of a destructive order. They insisted that it was Whitefield's duty to remain in Georgia and Tennent's duty to remain in New Brunswick. The itinerant ministry was the most powerful instrument of the movement. Gifted men would go from church to church upon the invitation of the pastor. This method was used to a greater extent a little later by the Methodists.

We turn now to more of the outward effects of the revival. The Great Awakening gave a tremendous aid to education. Not only were many private schools established, but also chartered schools like Princeton, University of Pennsylvania, King's College, Dartmouth

and Brown University. A great many schools southward and westward can be traced directly back to graduates of the Log College.

Together with education missions received equally as great an impulse. Such men as Christian Rauch, George Post, David Brainerd and John his brother, Jonathan Edwards, Eleazar Wheelock and Sampson Occum are just a few on the list of missionaries who received the inspiration as a result of the Great Awakening. Missions to the Indians were born anew. Sympathies were deeply stirred. New interests were taken in orphans and the negro. The first word spoken against slavery was by Hopkins, one of the evangelical leaders in New England. The New Side Presbyterian Party in the South and the Baptist opposed slavery and they were soon followed by the Methodist.

The turn to experimental Christianity gradually won over every important denomination in America with the exception of the Anglicans who rejected the ministries of Whitefield and the Wesleys. The Great Awakening was a democratic movement which united the leading congregations and this in turn united the colonies and helped to create a common American spirit. This democratic spirit which was so predominant among the leading denominations and the Revolutionary War were the causes for the separation of church and state.

Whatever may be said for or against revivals it is true that,

> "Revivalism is the characteristic American way of building up the churches - a way that began among the colonists and their fathers before they came to America, and which since the great awakening has continued with increasing power to yield the peaceable fruits of righteousness."[1]

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1. W. A. Candler: Great Revivals and the Great Republic, p. 92.

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