

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

Transatlantic Communications and Literature in  
the Religious Revivals, 1735-1745

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## PREFACE

The religious revivals of the mid-eighteenth century in America, Scotland, Wales, England, and parts of Continental Europe have attracted a growing number of historians during the last ten years, and have been recognized as mass movements heralding a new type of religious life. Having begun their questioning within national and denominational frameworks, attempting to determine the significance of the revivals on these levels, students have subsequently looked to detailed local and regional studies to provide new insights into the nature, cause and meaning of the revivals.

The thesis is an attempt to move in the opposite direction: to establish the revivals not as local or regional, nor even denomination or national phenomena but as international, involving the whole of the Protestant world during the middle three decades of the eighteenth century. It does not set out to explain why these events occurred simultaneously over a wide area, nor to give a history of intellectual developments in Western Europe and America. Rather, it seeks to establish through an examination of the personal connections and links between revivalists in each country, that they were all part of the same phenomenon. It seems necessary to assert the supra-nationalism of this religious resurgence before it becomes lost in the detail of local explanation. From the English angle, the neglect of transatlantic revivalism is easily

explained by the fact that John Wesley did not participate in it. This makes the connections more, not less interesting, because they throw light in the evangelical alternatives to Wesleyan Methodism. Such a study is also of value for the understanding of nineteenth century Nonconformity throughout the Protestant world.

The method employed in establishing the connections between revivalism is necessarily intricate and laborious. It involves working out the evangelical personnel and relationships within and between each country, and energy which has been spent tracking these down has been given at the expense of detailed understanding of national histories.

The arrangement of the thesis reflects the importance of literature, and in particular, the evangelical magazine, in the relationship and contact between revivalists. After a background chapter designed to show the state of the various denominations before the revival, Chapters III, IV and V deal exclusively with the revival literature and communications of a transatlantic nature. This is then followed by first a general, and then a detailed chapter attempting to draw out the significance of this transatlantic dimension through comparisons.

The materials for establishing the transatlantic contacts were not easy to come by. Only the evangelical magazines provided a consolidated body of material for

study, the rest has been discovered as a result of a sustained search in miscellaneous letter collections in Britain and America, as well as in the records of the denominations involved in the revival.

In quoting from contemporary material I have updated the spelling, punctuation and capitals and have followed the dating system of the reformed calendar.

The material in Chapter V has appeared in a less detailed form in an article, "A Study of the First Evangelical Magazines, 1740-1748." in Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 27, No. 3, (July, 1976), 255-275.

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Dr. John Walsh of Jesus College, Oxford gave me early encouragement, sound advice, and constructive criticism, as did Professor Clarence Goen of Wesley Theological Seminary, Washington. I have been fortunate in choosing a field of study in which so many scholars are happy to share their knowledge.

I owe the original conception of this thesis to discussions with my supervisor, Louis Billington of Hull University, who has been an invaluable support to me throughout the period of research and writing.

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DIAGRAMS, GRAPHS AND APPENDICES

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used in the notes.

<u>Acct.</u>	<u>An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars Relating to the Present Progress of the Gospel.</u>
<u>Anal.</u>	<u>Analecta, or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences, etc.</u>
B.P.L.	Boston Public Library.
B.L.	British Library [ <u>Formerly British Museum</u> ].
Cambuslang MSS.	'Examination of persons under Spiritual Concern at Cambuslang during the Revival in 1741-2; By the Reverend William MacCulloch, Minister at Cambuslang.' 2 vols.
<u>C.A.</u>	<u>The Christian's Amusement containing Letters Concerning the Progress of the Gospel ....</u>
<u>C.H.</u>	<u>The Christian History, or General Account of the Progress of the the Gospel ....</u>
<u>C.H., 1747.</u>	<u>The Christian History, or General Account of the Progress of the Gospel .... (1747).</u>
<u>C.H. Boston.</u>	<u>The Christian History, Containing Accounts of the Revival and Propagation of Religion ....</u>
<u>C.M.H.</u>	<u>The Christian Monthly History or an Account of the Revival and Progress of Religion ....</u>
D.W.L.	Dr. Williams's Library, London.
<u>G.W.H.</u>	<u>The Glasgow-Weekly-History: Relating to the late Progress of the Gospel ....</u>
H.B.S.	Harvard Business School, Mass.



H.S.P.	Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
<u>J.C.M.H.S.</u>	<u>Journal of the Calvinist Methodist Historical Society.</u>
M.H.S.	Massachusetts Historical Society.
<u>N.E.Q.</u>	<u>New England Quarterly.</u>
N.H.H.S.	New Hampshire Historical Society.
N.Y.P.L.	New York Public Library.
<u>Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society.</u>
<u>P.W.H.S.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society.</u>
S.P.C.K.	Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.
S.P.G. MSS.	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Correspondence. S.P.G. Archives, London.
<u>W.H.</u>	<u>The Weekly History: Or An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars Relating to the Present Progress of the Gospel.</u>
<u>W.M.Q.</u>	<u>William and Mary Quarterly.</u>

## CHAPTER I

### A TRANSATLANTIC REVIVAL: SOME HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

For more than two hundred years evangelicals have described the religious events of the mid-eighteenth century in Britain, America and parts of the Continent as spontaneous awakenings or revivals. Apologists have usually held the revivals of the 1730s and 1740s in special regard, even though they claim a continuous history for revivals from Pentecost itself. It was the first time in Protestant history that evangelical activity had produced a mass of individual conversions on a non-denominational basis. In turn, this success brought about self-conscious imitation. Subsequently, the writing of revival history served to legitimize this view of evangelicalism as something intensely individual, yet broad and sweeping. Beginning with the Reverend John Gillies in 1754, evangelicals have established their own perspective on the revivals and have constantly added to their literature.<sup>1</sup> Even where certain

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1. Rev. J. Gillies, Historical Collections relating to remarkable periods of the Success of the Gospel, and eminent Instruments employed in promoting it, 2 Vols. (Glasgow, 1754). Gillies also edited an Appendix to the Historical Collections etc. (Glasgow, 1761) and A Supplement to the Historical Collections etc. (Glasgow, 1796). Later histories in this tradition include: M.L. Duncan, History of the Revivals of Religion in the British Isles, especially in Scotland (Edinburgh, 1836); D. MacFarlan, The Revivals of the Eighteenth Century, particularly at Cambuslang (Edinburgh, 1847); J. Tracy, The Great Awakening. A History of the Revival in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield (Boston, 1842); W.J. Couper, Scottish Revivals (Dundee, 1918); J. MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland, 1688-1800 (Aberdeen, 1951) and R.R. Williams, Flames from the Altar (Caernarvon, 1962).

aspects of modern scholarship have been incorporated into their histories, they have been mainly concerned to put forward the Great Awakening as a stirring example of the pentecostal spirit at work in modern times.<sup>1</sup> From the beginning the Great Awakening and its contemporary revivals were viewed as entirely spontaneous awakenings, occurring at a time of general disregard for spiritual matters both inside and outside the Churches.<sup>2</sup> Despite the recognition that revivalism was professionalized in the nineteenth century and was using methods that had become formalized and established, the earlier revivals continued to be portrayed without reference to human influences and agencies.<sup>3</sup>

Thus the literature of apologetics, concerned to see the universal working of the Holy Spirit, has been readier than academic histories to recognize the international dimension of the revivals, and to explain them accordingly:

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1. E.g., A.S. Wood, The Inextinguishable Blaze: Spiritual Renewal and Advance in the Eighteenth Century (1960); R.E. Davies, Methodism (1963) and A. Fawcett, The Cambuslang Revival (1971).
2. For a contemporary example of this interpretation see T. Prince, An Account of the Revival of Religion in Boston in the Years 1740-1743 (Boston, 1744; rpt. Boston, 1824).
3. E.g., C. Colton, The History and Character of American Revivals of Religion (1832); J. Porter, Revivals of Religion (New York, 1878).

As there are 'places' where God thus records His name, so there are 'times' which may be peculiarly denominated 'times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord' - times when his blessing is not confined to particular spots of the earth, but spread over several countries. 1.

or:

The truth is that these activities were not unconnected. Viewed in their entirety they are seen to be one in spirit and one in effect. Though intentionally not an organized unity, they actually comprised a single movement which spanned the Atlantic, reached much of the English-speaking world of that time and continued in force for more than half a century. 2.

Yet despite their willingness to see such widespread events as all of a piece, there has been little exploration by evangelical historians of the connections and links between them, presumably because it is assumed that any which may have existed would have played only an insignificant part. The one specific link which has been agreed upon has been the missionary work of George Whitefield:

Whitefield's ministry was the one human factor which bound this work together in all the lands it reached. He alone carried the Gospel throughout England, Wales and Scotland and to parts of Ireland, even to Bermuda and, again and again to all the American colonies. 3.

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1. W. Burns, "Revivals of Religion" in Lectures on the revival of religion, by ministers of the Church of Scotland ed. W.M. Hetherington (Glasgow, 1840).
  2. A.A. Dallimore, George Whitefield: The Life and Times of the Great Evangelist of the 18th century revival (1970), I, 14.
  3. Ibid.

In addition, the influence of Jonathan Edwards as theologian and revivalist has also been discussed, as have particular seminal revival texts such as Edwards' Faithful Narrative of the Surprizing Work of God ... in Northampton... (1735).<sup>1</sup>

More recently, the Reverend A. Fawcett has made use of letters and pamphlets which circulated between revival ministers to illustrate the ways in which a new practice, such as a Concert for Prayer, was established on an international basis.<sup>2</sup> Even so, his conclusions about the international links are not very different from those of earlier evangelical historians:

There was a break-out of a new life in many places; a spiritual springtide. News of events was carried far and wide by printed pamphlets and never was there such an age for voluminous letter writing. It is not easy to trace any definite connections between these movements and the little community in Cambuslang, and there is something infectious about such happenings. 3.

Fawcett has indicated the nature of the sources for establishing connections between the revivals and for discovering some of the mechanics of revivalism, but his own conclusions are tentative, in part because of limited data and in part because he is writing within a tradition which has not concerned itself with the human role in these revivals.

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1. Edwards' Narrative is discussed in G.D. Henderson, The Burning Bush: Studies in Scottish Church History (Edinburgh, 1957), 151-162.
  2. A. Fawcett op. cit., 210-135.
  3. Ibid., 53.

When we turn to the denominational historians of religion, we find the subject has attracted both apologist and scholarly literature as well as much that falls between both definitions. In general, nineteenth century historians were unsympathetic to the Churches of the eighteenth century. Their own situation as members of confident Churches led them to view their eighteenth century predecessors as unworthy. Since the First World War historians have been more sympathetic and have begun to re-assess the state of religion in the eighteenth century.

In England, where the first half of the eighteenth century has been generally neglected other than for its political history, Church historians have written most of the existing religious history. This period has presented Church of England historians with a problem. Given the opposition of contemporary churchmen to Methodism and the eventual separation of Wesleyan Methodists from the Anglican Church, they have had to deal with an Anglican movement which was critical of the Church and was rejected by it, but has since come to be regarded with great respect. In the main they have concentrated on the history of the Church at the level of bishops and church courts and paid scant attention

to the grass roots parochial system.<sup>1</sup> The standard account of religion in the early eighteenth century has emphasized the moral and spiritual decline of society up to the 1740s, indicated the influence of rationalism, and usually illustrated the point with statistics of gin consumption. The Church of England is described as moribund, although often without detailed evidence or explanations.<sup>2</sup> In the view of Church historians there was a reaction against this state of affairs through religious revivals led by Churchmen, some of whom were able to continue their work within the context of the Church and some of whom were not. The former group comprised the Anglican Evangelicals and has consequently attracted the attention of Church historians. Although this group was not immediately accepted as Anglican by their contemporaries, their credentials have been validated by

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1. See especially the work of N. Sykes, e.g., Church and State in England in the 18th Century (1934) and Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, 1699-1748 (1926), also S.C. Carpenter, Eighteenth Century Church and People (1959). For an illustration of the possibilities of grass roots Anglican history see J.D. Walsh, "Methodism and the Mob" in Popular Belief and Practice, ed. G.C. Cuming and D. Baker (Cambridge, 1972), 213-227.
  2. E.g., C.J. Abbey and J.H. Overton, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century 2 vols. (1878); G.R. Balleine, The Evangelical Party in the Church of England (1911); L.E. Elliott-Binns, The Early Evangelicals: A Religious and Social Study (1955) and G.R. Cragg, The Church and the Age of Reason, 1648-1789 (1960), 117-173. For a less uniformly gloomy picture of the Church at this time see S.L. Ollard and P.C. Walker eds., "Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns, 1743", Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, Vols. 71, 72, 75, 77 and 79, (1923-31) and H.A. Warne, Church and Society in Eighteenth Century Devon (Newton Abbot, 1969).

religious historians who have seen in them the connecting link between the moribund Church of the early eighteenth century, the Anglican moral and religious crusaders of the late eighteenth century, and the reform of the Church in the 1830s. Rather than dwell on the Church's problematic relationship with the Methodists, the histories have instead concentrated on evangelical Anglicanism as it developed from scattered beginnings in Cornwall, Yorkshire and London into a powerful Church group. Although aware that Anglican evangelism was particularly successful in certain areas of the country, it is only in recent years that attention has been focussed on local and regional socio-economic conditions. The story of Anglican evangelicalism has been largely told through the activities of individual clergy.<sup>1</sup>

Because of the separation between Methodists and Anglicans the evangelical revival in England has rarely been seen as a whole.<sup>2</sup> Wesleyan Methodists have written of their own origins and development, and their historical literature has

1. E.g., E. Sidney, Life of Samuel Walker (1835); G.C.B. Davies, The Early Cornish Evangelicals, 1735-1760 (1951); G.C. Cragg, Grimshaw of Haworth (1947) and F. Baker, William Grimshaw, 1708-1763 (1963).
2. For an overview of the early years of the revival see: R.A. Knox, Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion (1950) and J.D. Walsh, "Origins of the Evangelical Revival", in Essays in Modern English Church History ed., G.V. Bennett and J.D. Walsh (1966), 138-148.



grown steadily. Its size reflects their success during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in establishing the movement.<sup>1</sup> Equally the paucity of literature on the Calvinist Methodist branch of the revival reflects the failure of this connexion to become established as a distinct group. Calvinist Methodism has therefore either been given a separate but brief mention in Methodist or general church histories, or has been grouped in with the Wesleyan Methodists and its special qualities have been overlooked.<sup>2</sup> In the main the history of this group has survived only through biographies of George Whitefield and Howell Harris.<sup>3</sup>

In this same period, 1700-1770, the history of dissent-

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1. The Wesley Historical Society has begun to publish annual bibliographies of Methodist historical literature. For 1974 see Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, (hereafter PWHS) 40 (June, 1967), 145-150, and for 1975 PWHS, 41 (June, 1977), 53-61.
2. It receives best treatment in A.S. Wood, The Inextinguishable Blaze, passim, and in histories of Welsh Calvinist Methodism and of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. See bibliography for specific titles.
3. E.g., A.A. Dallimore, George Whitefield op. cit. and R.W. Evans, "The Relations of George Whitefield and Howell Harris, Fathers of Calvinist Methodism", Church History, 30 (1961), 179-190. For other biographies of Whitefield and Harris see bibliography.

in denominations has been seen by their historians as relatively straightforward. Their concern with institutional life has led them to classify their history into periods which were 'good' or 'bad' for the denomination - judged usually in terms of numerical strength and political power. Such a perspective has meant that the middle eighteenth century has often been dismissed summarily as a period of decline.<sup>1</sup> In contrast to the heroic age of the seventeenth century when dissenters brought down the King and bishops, and again in contrast to the great expansion and missionary period, 1770-1840, the hundred years between the Restoration and 1770 have not excited a great deal of interest. Again, as a result of an institutional viewpoint, the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries have been seen almost exclusively as a period of political manoeuvring by Dissenters to achieve toleration.

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1. On the Baptists see W.T. Whitley, A History of British Baptists (1923), 211-217; A.C. Underwood, A History of the English Baptists (1947), 116-148 and R.G. Torbet, A History of the Baptists (1950), 71. The Congregationalists are described in R.W. Dale, History of English Congregationalism (1907), 546-558 and more recently in R.T. Jones, Congregationalism in England (1962), 105-145. The standard treatment of Presbyterianism in this period was A.H. Drysdale, History of the Presbyterians in England: Their Rise, Decline and Revival (1889), 489-542. Drysdale's narrowly denominational focus has been widened in C.G. Bolam et al., The English Presbyterians from Elizabethan to modern Unitarianism (1968).

By the 1720s, we are told, despite the fact that Dissenters were exhausted by this effort, they nonetheless began a long series of internal wranglings.<sup>1</sup> Clearly then there are good reasons for the terse treatment of the revival period, but equally these historians have not come to terms with the fundamental discontinuities of Dissent in the eighteenth century. Instead, they have often seen them as a number of episodes which happily resolved themselves - in the case of the Baptists and Congregationalists - in an outburst of evangelical activity and growth after 1770, and in the case of the Presbyterians in the establishment of a new denomination.

A clear trend has developed in the writing of denominational history in which the relationship between each denomination and the revival is analysed in the restricted context of theological agreement or disagreement between themselves and the various revival groups. Neither of these churches actively welcomed the new evangelism, but as a result of it and the social forces associated with it they

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1. C.G. Bolam, op. cit., comments on the critical attitudes of many nineteenth century denominational historians towards the eighteenth century: 'Drysdale ... likened eighteenth century theological liberalism to a poisonous fungus; McLaren, ... compared it to dry-rot; Coomer, ... called it a blight; Bogue and Bennett ... spoke of it as a disease.' 23.

nonetheless experienced rapid growth of numbers. It has been left to non-denominational histories to account for the growth of certain branches of Dissent and they have had to go beyond the confines of theological considerations to do so.<sup>1</sup>

An alternative focus used by denominational historians, and in particular the Baptists, has been the role of prominent individuals. Baptist histories of the revival period have been concerned with the conversions of Daniel Taylor and David Taylor and on their revival work in Leicestershire, Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, which in its turn led to the establishment of the New Connexion or General Baptists in 1770. Although this has rightly established the basic link between the Baptists and major religious developments in the century, the emphasis on personalities has obscured the place of the denomination within the spectrum of social and religious groupings in the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the limitations of evangelical and denominational literature, they comprised until recently most of the

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1. See A.D. Gilbert, Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change 1740-1914 (1976) and W.R. Ward, Religion and Society in England, 1790-1850 (1972).
2. See J. Ivimey, History of the English Baptists 4 vols. (1811-1830); A. Taylor, History of the English General Baptists (1818); A.C. Underwood, English Baptists, and W.H. Whitley, British Baptists.

available commentary on revivalism in England. Between them Church historians have built up a complex picture of the personal relationships and influences between revivalists. Valuable research has mapped out the flow of ideas and personnel between the dominant groups in England, and has measured their impact on the revival.<sup>1</sup> This development in the historiography of eighteenth century Church history can be seen as a contribution to the ecumenical spirit which has been so influential since the 1930s. Where nineteenth century historians polarized their denominational pasts, more recently the trend has been to look for common experiences and examples of joint activity.

Another good example of these changing emphases and perspective is found in the historiography of the Welsh churches. Nineteenth century histories of the evangelical awakening of the previous century were often marked by the bitterness that characterized relations between the various churches. Thus, the standard history of Welsh Nonconformity accused the Methodists of misrepresenting the situation of Welsh Dissenters, 'either from prejudice against their Nonconforming Brethren, or a desire to claim to themselves the undivided honour of having evangelized the Principality'.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See R.W. Evans, "The 18th Century Welsh awakening with its relationship to the contemporary English evangelical revival" (Edinburgh University Ph.D., 1955); G. Nuttall, Philip Doddridge 1702-1751: His Contribution to English Religion (1951); J.D. Walsh, "The Cambridge Methodists" in Christian Spirituality. Essays in Honour of Gordon Rupp. Ed. P. Brooks (1975), 251-283 and "Origins of the Evangelical Revival", op. cit.; C.E. Watson, "Whitefield and Congregationalism", Trans. of Congregational Historical Soc., 8 (1920-23), 171-180, 273-345.

2. T. Rees, History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales (1861), 279.

They were not alone in claiming themselves to be the source of the revived spiritual life in Wales.<sup>1</sup> Viewing the eighteenth century from their positions of strength, security and rivalry these historians were also quick to dismiss the Churches of 1740 as 'sleepy' and even 'dead'. Since the 1950s a start has been made in the revaluation of the state of religion in the eighteenth century, of the origins of revivalism in Wales, and the relationships between religious groups at that time. Ecumenism has played an instrumental part in shaping the new analyses.<sup>2</sup>

An ecumenical spirit has encouraged denominational historians to mend some of the rifts between themselves, which combined with the impetus provided by the Welsh Nationalist movement has resulted in an emphasis on a common Welsh heritage. In the recovery of a distinct Welsh history of revivalism Church historians have stopped squabbling for the right to claim the allegiance of Griffith Jones and have turned their attention instead to the part he played in developing literacy using the Welsh language. Their aim is no longer to establish which group Jones belonged to but

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1. For a good example of Welsh Methodist chauvinism see W. Williams, Welsh Calvinist Methodism. A Historical Sketch (1872) and D.E. Jenkins, Calvinist Methodist Holy Orders (Caernarvon, 1911).
2. E.g., R.T. Jones, "Relations between Anglicans and Dissenters: The Promotion of Piety 1670-1730", and O.W. Jones, "The Welsh Church in the Eighteenth Century", in A History of the Church in Wales, ed. D. Walker (Glamorgan, 1976).

to explore what he did for Welsh religious life and Welsh education.<sup>1</sup>

A lack of interest in eighteenth century Church history has been as apparent for Scotland as for England. The most recent historian of the Scottish revivals has neatly summarized the state of Church history:

Of the past five centuries of Church history in Scotland, the eighteenth has been the most neglected ... The sixteenth has been dominated by the purposeful activities of John Knox and Andrew Melville ... The struggle against royal theories of divine right and the attempted imposition of an unwelcome episcopacy ... filled the seventeenth century. The nineteenth resounded with the uncompromising demand for the spiritual independence of the Church of Scotland. 2.

The established Church of Scotland has been the nation's single most important religious institution but its history has been complicated by a number of secessions, both during and since the middle eighteenth century. Thus Church historiography has tended to reflect the changing relationships between the Church and dissenting Presbyterian groups such as the United Secession or the Free Church, and has been continually influenced by their separations and re-unions.<sup>3</sup>

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1. R.T. Jones and O.W. Jones, op. cit.; G.H. Jenkins, "Welsh Books and Religion", (University of Wales Ph.D. thesis, 1974) and J. McLeish, Evangelical Religion and Popular Education (1969).
  2. A. Fawcett, Cambuslang Revival, 1.
  3. See J. Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland (1890) II; A.J. Campbell, Two Centuries of the Church of Scotland, 1707-1929 (Paisley, 1930); J.H.S. Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland (1960) and J.M. Reid, Kirk and Nation (1960).

The Church's extreme concern for the views of such groups arises from its concept of the Presbyterian Church as Volkskirche. Because of this Church historians have trodden warily around the controversies surrounding patronage, the secession, the 1740s revivals and later, the 1843 disruption. In 1843, for example, when Dr. D. MacFarlan was writing his history of the Scottish revivals, he decided not to mention the effect they had on the Secession Church for fear of upsetting inter-Church relations.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, where they have had common cause with the evangelical groups, Church historians have allowed themselves free expression with the result that the Moderate party of the eighteenth century has had a consistently bad press.<sup>2</sup>

Since the reunion of the United Free and Established Churches in 1929 the idea of the Presbyterian Church being a Volkskirche has continued to influence the histories. Schismatic movements such as the Secession Presbytery of 1733 and the Relief Presbytery of 1761 have been discussed only at the moment of their departure from the Church and, where relevant, at their reunion. The history of these schismatic groups has been left to partisans and neither they nor the Church historians have come near to assessing

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1. D. MacFarlan, op. cit., Preface v., written during the Church crisis of the 1840s.
  2. For a reevaluation of the Moderate party see A.L. Drummond and J. Bulloch, The Scottish Church 1688-1843 (Edinburgh, 1973).



their significance as social and religious movements.<sup>1</sup> Nor has the significance of the 1740s revivals been explored outside the theological and institutional contexts. Instead, Church historians have thankfully noted that the evangelical revivals saved the Church from the Secessionists, but they have offered little in the way of analysis.<sup>2</sup>

When surveying American church histories of the eighteenth century it is clear that we are still in the same genre of historical writing but here it is much less narrowly focussed than its British counterpart. There are two overriding considerations in the historiography of American religion in this period. Firstly, church historians have been influenced to a considerable degree by the research of social and economic historians, who in their turn have shown a greater interest in religious movements. In other words, eighteenth century religion has not become an historical cul-de-sac in America. Secondly, events of the middle eighteenth century have been seen as central to the formation of individual denominations and to the creation of an American religious tradition based on millennial fervour, evangelicalism and periodic schismatic movements.<sup>3</sup> Taking this line

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1. See J. M'Kerrow, The History of the Secession Church (Edinburgh); A. Thomson, A Historical Sketch of the Origins of the Secession Church (Edinburgh, 1848) and G. Struthers, The History of the Rise, Progress and Principles of the Relief Church (Glasgow, 1843). It is worth noting that these remain the only histories of these movements and that they were written during the Disruption.
  2. E.g., A. Fawcett, Cambuslang Revival, 28.
  3. This position is clearly expressed in S.E. Ahlstrom's massive Religious History of the American People (1972), 280-294, and by T.L. Smith, "Congregation, State and Denomination", William and Mary Quarterly (hereafter WMQ), ~~35. 25~~ (1968), 155-176.

of thought one step further, some scholars have described this religious tradition as a vital aspect of any distinctly American culture.<sup>1</sup>

In assessing the place of the Great Awakening in the development of their respective churches it is clear that Anglican, Baptist, Congregational and Presbyterian historians have distinct but not conflicting interpretations. The Presbyterians are the most thoroughly studied denomination in eighteenth century America and they have established a convincing analysis of the Great Awakening within the context of their own development and the development of the Middle Colonies where Presbyterianism was the major form of religious organization.<sup>2</sup> In their interpretation revivals in the Middle Colonies were not only part of the more general pattern of American religious revivals, but had a particular history which could be traced back to the work of the Dutch Reformed minister, Theodore Frelinghuysen, during the 1720s, and to the establishment of the Log College by William Tennent

1. See R. Hofstadter, Anti-Intellectualism in American Life (New York, 1962).
2. See G.S. Klett, Presbyterians in Colonial Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1937) and L.J. Trinterud, The Forming of an American Tradition: A Re-examination of Colonial Presbyterianism (Philadelphia, 1949), whose work has been amplified more recently in M.E. Lodge's "The Crisis of the Church in the Middle Colonies, 1720-1750", Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 8 (1971) and W.H. Kenney, "George Whitefield and Colonial Revivalism: The Social Sources of Charismatic Authority", (University of Pennsylvania Ph.D. thesis, 1966).

in 1726.<sup>1</sup> Both men encouraged an 'experimental' form of evangelical Puritanism which had its logical outcome in the Great Awakening. In addition, revivalism in the Middle Colonies was fundamentally characterized by a division in the Presbyterian Church between two major ethnic groups, the Scotch-Irish and the American-born. During the Great Awakening the Church was temporarily split over theological and institutional issues which also coincided with ethnic allegiances, but the Great Awakening and the influx of more Scotch-Irish immigrants brought about the creation of a genuine American form of Presbyterianism:

For the colonial period, the important fact is that "American", rather than Scottish, Presbyterianism became the chief bearer of the Reformed tradition in the Middle Colonies. Of almost equal significance is the parallel fact that the Great Awakening enabled an emphatically revivalistic party stemming from the Log College and from New England to put a characteristic and enduring mark on this influential church. 2.

One of the unfortunate effects of Presbyterian denominational history is the way it has tended to dominate the religious history of the Middle Colonies, having a pronounced effect on colonial historians and American studies specialists. This,

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1. See F.E. Stoeffler, Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1976); J.R. Tanis, Dutch Calvinistic Pietism in the Middle Colonies: A Study in the Life of Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen (The Hague, 1967) and G.H. Ingram, "The Story of the Log College", Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, 12 (1924-25), 487-511.
2. S.E. Ahlstrom, Religious History, 279.

together with the language problems associated with research into the Dutch and various German churches and sects, has obscured both the part pietism played in the revival and the effect of the revival on these groups. <sup>1</sup>

Because of its connections with Puritanism, the Congregational Church in America has received a great deal of attention from church and religious historians and the historiography of Puritanism is highly developed and complex. <sup>2</sup> Within it the Great Awakening occupies a central place, and whilst Church historians have discussed it largely for its theological and institutional implications, its meaning as a social phenomenon has not been neglected by them. In general, it is agreed that Puritanism, with its emphasis on individual conversions was naturally inclined towards a revival style of religion and towards schismatic movements. Historians of Puritanism have also placed the Great Awakening within the context of New England's sense of special missions and the failure to fulfil this as felt by people and ministers. <sup>3</sup> Thus the Great Awakening was cathartic and renewing. This interpretation operates within a theological framework in

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1. Writings on pietism in the Middle Colonies are discussed in N.R. Burr volume IV, A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America, Parts 1 and 2 of Religion in American Life ed. J.W. Smith and A.L. Jamison (Princeton, 1961), 117-126.
2. See, for an example, M. McGiffert, "American Puritan studies in the 1960s", WMQ 3S. 27 (1970).
3. See P. Miller, Errand into the Wilderness (Cambridge, Mass., 1956); Jonathan Edwards (New York, 1949) and The New England Mind: From Colony to Province (Cambridge, Mass., 1953).

which formalism and pietism alternate.<sup>1</sup> But a second theme in the historiography has been the way the revivals dramatically altered the religious scene as they renewed the churches. The Congregational Church in Connecticut and Massachusetts was enlarged by the Great Awakening, but at the same time its hegemony was broken. The Great Awakening settled the old question of the place to be accorded religious Dissenters in New England society by pushing forward the disestablishment of the Church and the establishment of religious liberty.<sup>2</sup> Arminians and Strict Baptists broke with the Church and this fracturing of Congregationalism led to the founding of the Unitarian and Strict Baptist Churches. In denominational histories the origins of these two groups are traced to the failure of orthodoxy and to the two opposing theological tendencies found in New England Puritanism in the 1720s.<sup>3</sup>

1. This analysis is to be found, for example, in E.S. Gaustad, The Great Awakening in New England (New York, 1957).
2. See S.L. Blake, The Separates or Strict Congregationalists of New England (Boston, 1902); E.S. Gaustad, op. cit., and C.C. Goen, Revivalism and Separatism in New England: Strict Congregationalists and Separate Baptists in the Great Awakening (New Haven, Conn., 1962).
3. On the Arminian branch of the Church see C.W. Akers, Called Unto Liberty: A Life of Jonathan Mayhew, 1720-1766 (Cambridge, Mass., 1964) and C. Wright, The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America (Boston, 1955). The Separate Baptists are thoroughly discussed in C.C. Goen, Revivalism and Separatism, and W.G. McLoughlin, New England Dissent 1630-1833: The Baptists and the Separation of Church and State, (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), although his Isaac Backus and the American Pietistic Tradition (Boston, 1967) is much more accessible.

For the Anglican church revivalism was beneficial in the new religious pluralism which it heralded. After the failure of the Anglican church to legislate itself into existence in New England, it turned to missionary work there. Consequently, much of the history of Anglicanism in the eighteenth century is the history of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and its struggle to establish ministers and congregations in the face of opposition from the Puritan establishment.<sup>1</sup> Clearly, it had made headway before the Great Awakening, but was greatly strengthened when its anti-revival position attracted new members. Denominational historians have debated why colonial Anglicanism should have rejected revivalism so completely. Because the Church was united in its opposition it was thought that the theology and ambience of Anglicanism were incompatible with revivalism.<sup>2</sup> This interpretation, which makes little sense in view of the English experience, has been refuted by G.J. Goodwin.<sup>3</sup> Goodwin has demonstrated that the tension

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1. See J. Calam, Parsons and Pedagogues: The SPG Adventure in American Education (New York, 1971) and H.P. Thompson, Into all Lands: The History of the SPG in Foreign Parts, 1701-1950 (1951).
2. E.g., W.W. Manross, A History of the American Episcopal Church (New York, 1959).
3. G.J. Goodwin, "The Anglican Reaction to the Great Awakening", Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 35 (1966), 343-371.

between Anglicans and Congregationalists was intensified by George Whitefield's behaviour and, according to Goodwin's thesis, Whitefield's preference for Nonconformists and his criticisms of SPG missionaries was sufficient to unite the Church against revivalism. As such it attracted many new members and became a viable denomination in New England.

To a varying extent all denominational histories are limited by objectives which pre-determine their perspective. Each tends to emphasize the particularity of its own case and to stress differences in revival experiences which have not always seemed valid when examined within a comparative context. Nonetheless, they remain valuable, not least for reminding scholars that ideological and institutional factors may have a reality which needs to be carried into the field of socio-economic research.

In the United States, where the Great Awakening has not remained the private preserve of Church historians, it has, for the past twenty years, been increasingly opened up to the various thrusts of modern scholarship.<sup>1</sup> In 1969 J.M. Bumsted, surveying the recent literature on the colonial Great Awakening wrote: 'it seems fair to say that its study is one of the most fashionable areas of research in the United State'.<sup>2</sup> Bumsted outlined the trends of research,

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1. The upsurge in interest is usually dated from the publication of E.S. Gaustad's Great Awakening.
  2. J.M. Bumsted, "'What must I do to be saved?' A Consideration of recent writings on the Great Awakening in Colonial America", Canadian Association for American Studies Bulletin, 4, No. 1 (Spring/Summer 1969), 22-53, 23.

listed the lacunae and shortcomings of the literature, and suggested topics for future consideration. He indicated two major imbalances in the historiography of revivalism; the lack of information on the transatlantic dimension of the Great Awakening and the concentration of research on New England at the expense of the Middle Colonies and the South.<sup>1</sup>

Leaving aside the impact of Perry Miller's scholarship on the historical study of New England, it is possible to divide American studies of the Great Awakening into two major categories. Each category is useful in so far as it indicates a common line of approach taken by scholars, even where their conclusions may differ. The first is that long tradition of historical writing which has conceived of the

1. C.H. Maxson's The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies (Chicago, 1920) has not been superseded by any overall study of the region, although there have been several more narrowly-focussed studies which have helped to amplify or correct his thesis. E.g., D. Rothermund, The Layman's Progress: Religious and Political Experience in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1740-1770 (Philadelphia, 1962) and M.E. Lodge's unpublished doctoral thesis "The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies" (University of California, Berkeley, 1964). For the South, W.M. Gewehr's The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790 (Durham, N. Ca., 1930) is still the main authority. Again, there have been several interesting articles published more recently; in particular two by R. Isaac: "Religion and Authority: Problems of the Anglican Establishment in the Era of the Great Awakening and the Parson's Cause", WMQ, 3S, 30 (1973), 3 - 36 and "Evangelical Revolt: The Nature of Baptists' Challenge to the Traditional Order in Virginia, 1765-1775", WMQ, 31 (1974), 345-368. There have also been a number of doctoral theses on revivalism in the Carolinas and Georgia, although these are descriptive rather than analytical. For example, D.T. Morgan, "The Great Awakening in the Carolinas and Georgia, 1740-1775" (University of N. Carolina, 1968) and R.W. Long, "Revivalism in the Carolinas and Georgia" (University of Georgia, 1968).



Great Awakening as a stage in America's national political development. A number of studies have concluded that the revivals were decisive in separating church and state in several colonies and that this in turn had been crucial for their political development.<sup>1</sup> In these and earlier less empirical studies it is implied (although often without substantiation) that America was undergoing a general democratizing process throughout the eighteenth century in which the Great Awakening was instrumental.<sup>2</sup> It was often assumed that the Great Awakening, as a mass movement, was linked with the Revolution and until recently it was accepted that the revivals polarised two ideological groups, the anti-revival liberals who were politically progressive and the pro-revival Calvinists who were politically conservative. This view of the two groups was challenged by Alan Heimert who reversed the standard analysis of politico-religious alignments and claimed that the Calvinists provided a radical

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1. See C.E. Clark, The Eastern Frontier: The Settlement of Northern New England 1610-1763 (New York, 1970); W.M. Gewehr, The Great Awakening in Virginia; C.B. Kinney, Church and State: Struggle for Separation in New Hampshire (New York, 1955); J.W. Pratt, Religion, Politics and Diversity: Church and State in New York (New York, 1967) and R. Sklar, "The Great Awakening in Colonial Politics: Connecticut's Revolution in the Minds of Men", Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin, 28, No. 3 (1963), 81-95.
2. For example, L.M. Greene, Religious Liberty in Connecticut (Boston, 1905) and S.V. Latrelle, "The Preaching of the Great Awakening and its Contribution to Political Liberty" (Southern Baptist Theological Seminary Ph.D. thesis, 1947).

ideology for Americans before the American Revolution.<sup>1</sup> His monograph has initiated further research and debate.<sup>2</sup>

The second category embraces all the empirical local and community studies of the last ten years which have attempted to place the revivals in a precise social and political context.<sup>3</sup> Such research employs techniques, and sometimes concepts, from the social sciences.<sup>4</sup> In the process of accumulating data on individual towns, scholars have succeeded in breaking down the picture of homogeneous society in New England and have replaced it with an unfinished

1. A. Heimert, Religion and the American Mind: From the Great Awakening to the Revolution (Cambridge, Mass., 1966).
2. See for example, C.B. Cowing, The Great Awakening and the American Revolution (Chicago, 1971). Also see B. Bailyn, The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge, Mass., 1967) for a more moderate view of the role of dissenting elements in the American Revolution.
3. See J.M. Bumsted, "Presbyterianism in Eighteenth Century Massachusetts: The Formation of a Church at Easton, Mass., 1752", Journal of Presbyterian History, 46 (1968), 243-253; J.M. Bumsted, "Revivalism and Separatism in New England: The First Society of Norwich, Connecticut as a case study", WMQ, 3S 24 (1967), 588-612; R.L. Bushman, From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765, (Cambridge, Mass., 1967); C.B. Cowing, "Sex and Preaching in the Great Awakening", American Quarterly, 20 (1968), 624-644; G.F. Moran, "Conditions of Religious Conversion in the First Society of Norwich, Connecticut, 1718-1744", Journal of Social History, 5 (Spring, 1972), 331-343; J. Walsh, "The Great Awakening in the First Congregational Church of Woodbury, Connecticut", WMQ, 3S 28 (October, 1971), 543-562 and W.F. Willingham, "Religious Conversion in the Second Society of Windham, Connecticut 1723-1743; a case study", Societas, 6, No. 2 (Spring, 1976), 109-121.
4. E.g., W.H. Kenney, "George Whitefield and Colonial Revivalism".

mosaic made up of individual localities, each with its local sources of tension. Although much work remains to be done, already a number of dominant themes have emerged in this research, centring around demographic factors such as rapid population growth, the strains on available land and the movement of populations.<sup>1</sup> Scholars are exploring the connections between these demographic factors and the process of becoming an autonomous adult in New England society because the transition to adulthood was linked to the marital age and the age for admittance to church membership.<sup>2</sup> At the present stage of scholarship these are seen as elements in the Great Awakening, but what is really needed is a synthesis of research into demographic and local history which will take us much closer to a social interpretation of revivalism.

1. For general research into demographic patterns see P.J. Greven, "Historical Demography and Colonial America", WMO 3S 24 (1967), 438-454 and J.M. Bumsted and J.T. Lemon, "New Approaches in Early American Studies: The Local Community in New England", Social History/Histoire Sociale, 2 (November, 1968), 98-112. For applications of demographic approaches to revivalism see W.H. Kenney, "Demographic Variants in the Colonial Response to George Whitefield, 1739-1754", paper read at the 23rd Conference on Early American History, October 1968.
2. See P.J. Greven, Four Generations: Population, Land and Family in Andover, Massachusetts (New York, 1970), and by the same author, "Youth, Maturity and Religious Conversion, Andover, Massachusetts, 1711-1749", Essex Institute Historical Collections, (April, 1972), 119-134, and "Family, Mobility and Revivalism in Early America: Some Perspectives and Hypotheses", a paper read at the Southern Historical Association Meeting, November 1968.

The detailed social history of England during this period has yet to be written. In general the integration of religious sources and social history has been a much slower process in England than in the U.S.A., partly because religious historians in England have not led the way in developing the study of religion as a social phenomenon, and partly because social historians here have shown far greater interest in secular institutions and issues. E.P. Thompson's The Making of the English Working Class (1963) made a great contribution to the study of religion as a social phenomenon, but even so the analysis of the links between Methodism and the rise of working-class consciousness was confined by a Marxist standpoint. More recently, the relationship between religion and society in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been explored in detailed local studies which make use of a number of crucial concepts. English scholars have become accustomed to discussing the social and spatial distribution of Methodism in relation to the structure of property ownership in the locality, the open or closed structure of the village, the relative strength of old Dissent and of the parish church, and the survival of popular religious practices, variously defined. In these ways the links between certain religious developments, such as Methodism and revivalism and socio-economic structures, have been greatly clarified for the

later eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless most analyses of socio-economic questions and of popular religion have tended to be concentrated in the period after 1760, and although the earlier eighteenth century has been opened up suggestively it remains relatively unexplored.<sup>2</sup>

Any analyses of the relationships between religion and socio-economic developments in either Scotland or Wales are as yet in a more rudimentary form than in England.<sup>3</sup> There-

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1. The following studies are particularly important: B.J. Biggs, "Methodism in a Rural Society: North Nottinghamshire, 1740-1851" (Nottingham University Ph.D. thesis, 1975); J.C.G. Binfield, "Nonconformity in the Eastern Counties, 1840-1885 with reference to its social background" (Cambridge University Ph.D. thesis, 1965); A.M. Everitt, The Pattern of Rural Dissent: the Nineteenth Century (Leicester, 1972); A.D. Gilbert, "The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, with special reference to the period before 1850: an historical interpretation of statistics of religious practice" (Oxford University D.Phil. 1973); B. Greaves, "Methodism in Yorkshire 1740-1851" (Liverpool University Ph.D. thesis, 1968); J. Obelkevich, Religion and Rural Society, South Lindsey (Oxford, 1976) and W.T. Ward, Religion and Society in England, 1790-1850 (Batsford, 1972).
2. See A.D. Gilbert, Religion and Society in Industrial England and J.D. Walsh, "Elie Halevy and the Birth of Methodism", Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5S 25, (1975), 1-20.
3. For Wales see: E.T. Davies, Religion in the Industrial Revolution in South Wales (Cardiff, 1969) and D. Walker ed., A History of the Church in Wales (Glamorgan, 1976). For Scotland see A.A. MacLaren, Religion and Social Class: The Disruption Years in Aberdeen (1974) and "Presbyterians and the Working Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century Scottish City", Scottish Historical Review, 46 (19 ), 115-140; and T.C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830 (1969).

fore, with the present uneven state of research into the social history of the revival period in England, Wales and Scotland, it would be premature to do more than suggest any common social significance that revivalism had in these countries.<sup>1</sup> However, if it is not yet possible to establish a common context for revivalism, it is possible to explore the direct links which existed between the revivalists in these various regions.

Since World War II scholars in America and Europe have shown interest in Atlantic movements and the concept of a transatlantic civilization.<sup>2</sup> The literature dealing with Atlantic links in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is reasonably plentiful but remains unconsolidated and uneven. In some fields, such as education and science, there is a good deal of empirical evidence to support the claims made for transatlantic influences and culture.<sup>3</sup> There is

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1. But for a comparative study of two towns see J.W. Raimo, "Spiritual Harvest: The Anglo-American Revival in Boston, Mass. and Bristol, England, 1735-1742" (University of Wisconsin Ph.D. thesis, 1974).
  2. Especially following the publication of M. Kraus' The Atlantic Civilization: Eighteenth Century Origins (Ithaca, 1949) and his The North Atlantic Community (New York, 1957).
  3. On education see L.A. Cremin, American Education: The Colonial Experience 1607-1783 (New York, 1970) which has an excellent bibliography; G.S. Pryde, Scottish Universities and the Colleges of Colonial America (Glasgow, 1957) and D.M. Sloan, "The Scottish Enlightenment and the American College Ideal: Early Princeton Traditions" (Columbia University, New York, Ph.D. thesis, 1969). On science see C.C. Booth and B.B. Corner, Chains of Friendship: Selected Letters of Dr. John Fothergill of London, 1735-1780 (Cambridge, Mass., 1971); F.E. Brasch, "The Royal Society of London and its Influence upon Scientific Thought in the American Colonies", The Scientific Monthly, 33 (1931), 336-355 and R.P. Stearns, "Colonial Fellows of the Royal Society of London, 1661-1778" WMQ 3S 3 (1946), 206-268.

too a certain amount in the general area of religion and theology, particularly as a result of formal relations as experienced by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Dissenting Deputies, some of the established continental churches, or again in terms of the work of individual theologians.<sup>1</sup> Fred Tolles' Quakers and the Atlantic Community is an excellent example of what can be achieved.<sup>2</sup> In addition, the special connections between America and Scotland has been recognized in the fields of education, culture, and trade, and the relationship between these two countries and their English overlords has been fruitfully explored by Bernard Bailyn and John Clive.<sup>3</sup> A list of the

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1. E.g., M.W. Armstrong, "Dissenting Deputies and the American Colonies", Church History, 24 (1960), 298-320; Carl Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities and Politics, 1689-1775 (New York, 1962); L.W. Cowie, Henry Newman: An American in England (1956) and A.L. Cross, The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies (New York, 1902). For a full list of works on the SPG see L.A. Cremin, *op. cit.*, 635-636.
2. F.B. Tolles, Quakers and the Atlantic Community (New York, 1960).
3. See "England's Cultural Provinces. Scotland and America", WMQ, 3S 11 (1954), 200-213. See also O.D. Edwards and G. Shepperson ed., Scotland, Europe and the American Revolution (Edinburgh, 1976); A. Hook, Scotland and America; A Study of Cultural Relations, 1750-1835, (Glasgow, 1975) and J.M. Price, "The Rise of Glasgow in the Chesapeake Tobacco Trade", WMQ, 3S 9 (1954), 179-199.

works on individual contacts, journeys and correspondences would be of an impressive length, although only Kraus comes near to building a picture of the transatlantic world.<sup>1</sup>

In many cases the eighteenth century links are not so well explored as those in the nineteenth century, for example in the abolition and temperance movements.

This survey of literature began with the apologists and with the recognition that only they had paid serious attention to the fact that the revivals took place within a transatlantic context. Modern scholarship of the revivals has made only passing references to this dimension, such as the following from Gaustad:

Sometimes a single individual carried the germinal ideas ... planting them wherever he journeyed ... the nameless wanderers, the immigrants, the merchants, students, and soldiers together with the tracts and books made for a community of ideas that almost belied the heightened nationalism. 2.

Even more rarely has the transatlantic context been incorporated into any analyses of the Great Awakening. As Bumsted wrote in his critique of revival histories:

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1. Examples of individual contacts used in this study include: G.W. Pilcher, The Rev. S. Davies Abroad 1753-1755: The Diary of a Journey to England and Scotland (Urbana, 1967); A.S. Pratt, Isaac Watts and his Gifts of Books to Yale College (New Haven, Conn., 1938); A.P. Davis Isaac Watts: His Life and Work (1948).
  2. E.S. Gaustad, The Great Awakening, 3.



One aspect of the Awakening as an intellectual movement which has not received much attention is the transatlantic context. The American revival has typically been reviewed as a part of a religious readjustment in splendid isolation on this continent, and what part may have been played in lifting America out of the isolation of the first century of English settlement back into the Atlantic community has never been assessed. 1.

The intention of this thesis is to provide empirical evidence concerning the transatlantic dimension of eighteenth century revivalism and to offer suggestions about its meaning for revival history.

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1. J.M. Bumsted, "A Consideration of Recent Writings on the Great Awakening ...", 50.

## CHAPTER II

### THE THEOLOGICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL BACKGROUND OF REVIVALISM

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had seen the establishment and expansion of Protestant churches in Europe and America. The Protestant spirit had resulted in a great variety of institutional forms and theological emphases expressed by a number of Protestant national churches as well as a range of sects and groups. All this had taken place within a framework of a will to believe in the supernatural.<sup>1</sup> By the early eighteenth century this kind of certainty was under challenge from the new currents of philosophical and scientific thought based on systematic doubt. Cartesian, Lockean and other rationalist approaches to knowledge made their way into universities, libraries and magazines.<sup>2</sup> Their rejection of innate ideas and received truths inevitably required a response from the theologians and teachers of the Churches. Naturally there were those whose only response was to consign all rational-

1. As J. Bossy expresses it in his review article of K. Thomas's Religion and the Decline of Magic (1971), "Early Modern Magic", History, 57, No. 191 (October, 1972), 399-403: 'May one suppose that, having started on the assumption that Christianity as such was perhaps not very important to the ordinary man and woman of early modern England, and discovered later that if you leave out Christianity you have nothing left which has any coherence .... Christianity was the only totalizing force in the popular experience of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ....', 401.
2. See R. Stromberg, Religious Liberalism in Eighteenth Century England (1954).

ists to the Devil and who refused to give any ground to empiricism. There were others who recognized that rationalism had created breaches in Calvinist theology which let in old and new heresies for those who, 'by vain reasoning exalt themselves against the knowledge of God'.<sup>1</sup> Their pessimistic attitude was neatly summarized in the title of John Cumming's General Corruptions and Defection of the Present Times, as to Matters of Religion, and in his statement that:

Their proud maxim is that they are bound to believe nothing of which they have not a distinct idea. Socinianism and Arianism threaten to lay the axe to the root of Christianity: not only the Arminian errors, but even the vile texts of Pelagius are the only notions now in vogue. The doctrines of Election and Predestination ... are not only generally explored as irrational, but profanely bantered and laughed at as ridiculous. 2.

A third kind of response from churchmen, as Cumming's jeremiad implied, was to adapt one's Christianity to the rationalist demands for toleration, biblical scholarship and scripture sufficiency, and to adapt one's theology to a less exclusive, more humanitarian view of salvation. Whether those who did so and rejected Calvinism in its strictest forms were called Latitudinarians (in England),

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1. J. Cumming, The General Corruption and Deflection of the Present Times, as to Matters of Religion; with other Threat'ning Symptoms ... (1714), 8.

2. Ibid., 8.9.

Moderates (in Scotland) or Arminians (throughout the Protestant world), they were subscribing to a broadly similar theology.<sup>1</sup>

With the Restoration of episcopacy and the toleration of Dissenting denominations in England and Wales, a new kind of Anglicanism was developing. It combined an acceptance of Puritan moral attitudes with a general anti-Calvinist, rational and Arminian outlook. In the words of Sidney Ahlstrom, 'Within strict institutional lines "normative Anglicanism" was by nature broad, undogmatic, and as time would shortly reveal, extremely open to new currents of "reasonableness" associated with John Locke and the Enlightenment'.<sup>2</sup> By the turn of the century some critics of Calvinism were already outspoken and by the 1720s, with Whig encouragement, Latitudinarianism had become a major force within the Anglican Church.

During the Queen Anne and early Hanoverian period large numbers of Dissenters too were influenced by the prevailing intellectual currents, with the result that they began to experience a period of doctrinal disagreements. By the 1720s, after almost thirty years of attempting to bring

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1. For a vigorous discussion of the changes in eighteenth century theological views and for an interpretation of the significance of Arminianism see: B. Semmel, The Methodist Revolution (1974).
  2. S. Ahlstrom, A Religious History, 96.

about unity and mutual comprehension, they were unable to ignore the conflicting theological interpretations which had developed in their midst. Their Anglican contemporaries might often view them as uniformly and backwardly Calvinist, but such critics had failed to notice the rifts which had been developing behind the united Dissenting front. In 1719 the Dissenting denominations engaged in a public controversy which split them into new factions based on their attachment to either Calvinist orthodoxy or Arminian heterodoxy. Broadly speaking the Presbyterians and General Baptists aligned themselves against orthodoxy, whilst the Independents and Particular Baptists remained with it.<sup>1</sup> More significant perhaps for the future of Dissent, most of the younger ministers were attracted to the Arminian elements because of their milder theology.<sup>2</sup> After this controversy at Salter's Hall, London, the old denominational labels indicated new theological positions and people joined them accordingly. In fact, because some groups of Particular Baptists and Independents became introverted and hyper-Calvinist in reaction against Arminianism, by 1800 Dissenters were to be found along the whole range of the Protestant theological spectrum.

After 1719, Arminian Dissenters were free to develop

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1. No accurate lists of the alignments have survived. On the difficulty of precision over the numbers in each party cf. C.G. Bolam, The English Presbyterians, 163 and R.T. Jones, Congregationalism in England, 136.
  2. See C.G. Bolam, op. cit., 173.

their interpretations of salvation, the Trinity, and original sin under the leadership of such men as Samuel Clarke, John Taylor, George Brown and Samuel Bourne. Bourne's introduction to a children's catechism of 1738 expresses these developments as well as showing the influence of rationalism:

Let your children know that religion is a nobler thing than sectarian bigotry, dry opinions and fruitless faith; that it lieth in the image of God on the soul, a likeness to God and Jesus Christ in justice, kindness and charity; that it consisteth in heavenly dispositions, devout affections, in rectitude of spirit, purity of soul and universal goodness. 1.

The result of the changes was a gentlemanly theology which had an appeal for many in the middle and upper strata of Dissent, but which was not intelligible below these levels. It no longer used a vocabulary which had meaning for 'the plain people of low education and vulgar taste' because, as one of their ministers explained, '... I have been often present, where, thro' the Preacher's distinctions, hard words, Jewish or scholastical expression, I have been absolutely at a loss for his meaning ...'<sup>2</sup> The few older Dissenters, such as Philip Doddridge, who recognized that

1. S. Bourne, Religious Education begun and carried on in three catechisms (3rd ed., 1738), 15.
2. P. Doddridge, Free Thoughts on the most probable Means of Reviving the Dissenting Interest Addressed to the Author of the Enquiry into the Causes of the Decay of Dissenting Interest (1730), 40.

Methodism was filling this religious vacuum and therefore conducting an invaluable mission, were not typical.<sup>1</sup> As old Dissenters died, their views were voiced with decreasing frequency. The result was a dramatic decline in the number of people associated with Dissent between 1700 and 1740.<sup>2</sup> In 1716 there had been 1,182 Congregational Baptist and Presbyterian congregations in England, which was reduced to 1,080 by 1773, despite the large population increases of the period.

In Scotland philosophers, theologians and men of letters not only responded to the Enlightenment outside their own country but also played an important part in the development of rationalist ideas. The work of the Scottish universities in advancing Enlightenment teaching was a source of distress for the old Covenanting and young orthodox ministers of the Church of Scotland. These same universities

1. Doddridge was frequently rebuked for his support of Whitefield. See Rev. L. Tyerman, Life of the Rev. George Whitefield (1877), II, 72: Watts to Doddridge, 20th September, 1743: "I am sorry that, since your departure, I have had many questions asked me about your preaching or praying at the Tabernacle, and of linking the character of a minister, and especially of a tutor among the Dissenters, so low thereby." Letters to Doddridge, written in a similar vein, are reprinted in R. Philip, The Life and Times of the Reverend George Whitefield, M.A. (New York, 1938), 242 ff., and in J.D. Humphreys ed., The Correspondence and diary of P.D. . . . 5 vols. (1829-1831), IV, 258. Although by no means all Dissenting ministers rejected Methodism, there was no official rapport between the two groups. See J. Walsh, "Origins of the Evangelical Revival", 158 and "Elie Halevy and the Birth of Methodism", 6.
2. A.D. Gilbert, Religion and Society, 16.

were responsible for training most of the Kirk's ministers and by the 1720s they were being accused of undermining the old faith:

The young ministers and students of divinity were "falling in with the English fashionable way of preaching ... and love to call grace virtue ... which differs much from our good old way in this Church." 1.

In 1729 the General Assembly suspended John Simson, professor of divinity at Glasgow University, for teaching Moderate theology. For the following twelve years the students were without a teacher because Simson continued to be paid his full salary. When in 1730 one of Simson's students and followers, Francis Hutcheson, was appointed professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow, the orthodox were powerless to prevent it. It was Hutcheson above all who moulded the new generation of Moderate ministers in Scotland. Nonetheless, there were serious obstacles to Moderate ascendancy. Many of the people were committed to the Calvinist tenets and rigorous discipline of the Kirk and gave their active support to orthodox ministers who could preach a strong sermon.<sup>2</sup> Even more challenging to rationalist theologians was the ease with which the orthodox element absorbed evangelistic methods and theology. Calvinism in

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1. R. Wodrow, Analecta, or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences, etc. (hereafter Anal.) (Maitland Club edition, 1842), 155, cited in A. Fawcett, The Cambuslang Revival, 16.

2. See A. Fawcett, op. cit., 18, on the opposition in many parishes to preaching which did not emphasize Calvinist teaching.



Scotland was able to adapt to the less exclusive and more humanitarian outlook of the eighteenth century without losing its appeal for the people, partly because it had always attempted to be a comprehensive Church. Yet, despite the tenacity and vigour of the evangelical Calvinists, control of power within the Church gradually but persistently passed from them to the Moderate party. By the 1750s the Moderate party, with its powerful allies among the gentry and Whig party, had attained a dominant position within the General Assembly and the universities. A number of presbyteries remained outside their control but the Church as a whole did not.

The impact of rationalism on American religious thought was to some extent retarded by her geographical and cultural isolation from mainstream European developments, although this isolation should not be exaggerated. More restrictive, in the northern colonies at least, was the strength of Calvinist orthodoxy with its monopoly of theology in the Churches and universities. It was particularly strong in Massachusetts and New Hampshire where the Congregational Church dominated religion, and in Connecticut where a semi-Presbyterian, semi-Congregational system had evolved and was enforced by law.

During the 1720s and 1730s New England ministers began to express alarm at the growth of Arminianism among their colleagues, undergraduates and even the laity. At the same time, in sermons and pamphlets they intensified

their attack on the decline of piety in their congregations.<sup>1</sup> This decline was measured by the paucity of conversions and by the increasing numbers of people who lived and died as half-way covenanters without being brought into full membership of the Church. In 1662 the Church had created a half-way stage for anyone baptized in the Church and continuing to attend its services but unable to give evidence of saving grace. Many ministers linked the reduction in conversions with the increasing interest in Arminian concepts of salvation by works and moral striving. When Jonathan Edwards described the revival that had taken place in his parish in Northampton, Massachusetts in 1734, it was as 'a remarkable testimony of God's approbation of the doctrine of justice by faith alone'.<sup>2</sup> In other words the revivals were for Edwards a doctrinal corrective against Arminianism which by 1734 'seemed to appear with a very threatening aspect upon the interest of religion here'.<sup>3</sup>

1. The list of jeremiad sermons is too long for inclusions here but see, e.g., J. Webb, The Duty of a Degenerate People (Boston, 1734) and S. Wigglesworth, An Essay for Reviving Religion (Boston, 1733). The most common interpretation of eighteenth century American religious history has been based on the idea of decline followed by repentance, but see R.G. Pope, The Half-Way Covenant: Church Membership in Puritan New England (Princeton, New Jersey, 1969) and P.R. Lucas, Valley of Discord: Church and Society along the Connecticut River, 1636-1725 (Hanover, New Hampshire, 1976) for alternative interpretations for Connecticut.
2. J. Edwards, Discourses on Various Subjects, Nearly Concerning the Great Affair of the Soul's Eternal Salvation ... (Boston, 1738), preface. Quoted in J. Edwards, The Great Awakening, ed., C.C. Goen, (New Haven, Conn., 1972), The Works of Jonathan Edwards, IV, 19.
3. J. Edwards, "A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God ..." in The Works of Jonathan Edwards, *ibid.*, IV, 148.

Ministers were sure that the 'heresies' came from abroad, and in particular from England. In Samuel Moody's ... Narrative of God's Gracious Dealings with a Person lately Recovered from the Dangerous Errors of Arminius<sup>1</sup> the main character described the way in which he had come across the 'dangerous errors':

About this Time, I went into a Stationer's Shop, as I used frequently to do; and there I espy'd some of the Arminian Books; such as I had read but too much in; and the Bookseller told me, of what esteem they were held in England.

To a certain extent ministers were correct in underlining the influences from abroad, but it was also true that New England had been moving in this direction for a century.<sup>2</sup> Yet even in the 1730s because orthodox Calvinists comprised the great majority of ministers and laymen in the churches, they were able to deal sharply with anyone suspected of Arminian teaching. Benjamin Kent, Robert Breck and Samuel Osborn were all tried and dismissed for Arminianism during the 1730s. The orthodox took increasing care in ordaining and installing ministers, but the number of professed Arminians gradually increased. The Great Awakening did not so much suppress Arminianism as polarize the two theological tendencies in New England Congregationalism. In 1747

1. (Boston, 1737), 4.

2. See C. Wright, The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America (Boston, 1955), 9.

Jonathan Mayhew, leading Arminian, was ordained over the prestigious West Church in Boston, and by the 1750s Arminian theology was preached openly in New England. During the Great Awakening the monopoly of the orthodox Calvinist churches was broken and a number of the Churches which developed during the later eighteenth century, such as the Unitarians and Universalists, could be traced back to the earlier Arminian movement.

Equally alarming to New England orthodoxy was the growth of the Anglican Church which was also associated with the influence of rationalism. Where legal coercion had brought scant results by the end of the seventeenth century, missionary zeal after 1700 was much more successful. The zeal of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts sent money, ministers and libraries to the colonies and the Church began to take root where it had previously failed. Combined with the growth of Arminianism the encroachment of the Anglican Church was disturbing to the confidence of New England ministers. Even more shattering was the defection of three of their own number, Timothy Cutler, Samuel Johnson, and James Wetmore, who took holy orders in England and returned to work in Boston, Connecticut and New York for the SPG. The growing tension between Anglican and Congregational ministers and its relation to the revivals has already been mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

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1. C. Wright, op. cit., 13.

To outline the influence of the Enlightenment and rationalism on theological thinking and on the Churches without also giving some indication of the development of pietism would be a distortion of the religious background to revivalism. Yet, despite its central role in the revitalization of Protestant Churches in the eighteenth century, the pietist movement is not easy to define. It had its origins in the late seventeenth century when it opposed the formalism and intellectualism which some Protestants felt had begun to guide the Reformed Churches, but it was easily adapted to challenge the new forms of rationalism of the Enlightenment.<sup>1</sup> It stressed the feelings of the heart and placed the individual conversion experience at the centre of all religious behaviour. Having its origins in northern continental Europe with Dutch Reformed and Lutheran theologians, by the early eighteenth century pietism had outlets in organized religious groups such as the Dunkers and Moravians, and through the teaching of theologians such as August Francke at the University of Halle. In England and Wales the Anglican Church also showed signs of a similar type of pietist revitalization which was to be seen in the growth of religious societies after the 1670s.<sup>2</sup>

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1. But see B. Semmel, op. cit., 81-109 for a more complex and accurate commentary on the relationships between Wesleyan theology, pietism and the Enlightenment.
2. The most useful contemporary summary is J. Woodward's An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of London (3rd ed., 1701).

These societies, modelled on the continental Collegia Pietatis, supplemented Church services by providing an opportunity for prayer, Bible reading and discussion, and by encouraging such behaviour modifications as fasting, self-discipline, and charitable works. By 1730 the societies in England were past their most active period, but during the 1730s those in London were revitalized by the work of Moravian missionaries who functioned successfully as ecclesiolae in ecclesia - churches within a church. This was the way in which revivalists later defined the role of their societies, and in doing so they drew strength both from the earlier Anglican societies and the more recent Moravian mission.<sup>1</sup>

In England, by 1737, the preaching of George Whitefield was beginning to stimulate a growth in society membership because he encouraged his audiences to supplement their religious life by joining or founding a society. Older societies grew and were renewed, whilst new societies were established. In London this expansion took on aspects of a new movement because the six or seven societies began to build links between one another and to hold London-wide

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1. On the connections between the Moravian missionaries and the English revivalists see: J.E. Hutton, "The Moravian Contribution to the Evangelical Revival in England, 1742-1745", in T.F. Tout and J. Tait, ed., Historical Essays (2nd ed., Manchester, 1907) 423-452; J.S. Simon, John Wesley and the Religious Societies (1921); J. Walsh, "The Cambridge Methodists", and "Origins of the Evangelical Revival", 57; and C.W. Towlson, Moravians and Methodists (1957).

Quarterly Meetings. A similar development could be found in Bristol in the wake of Whitefield's and the Wesleys' preaching,<sup>1</sup> and the sense of unity was furthered by common activities such as the 16th Day Fast set up by Whitefield.<sup>2</sup> Some sense of the growth and potential of the societies can be gained from the criticism they began to attract by 1738. Churchmen, detecting a possible schismatic movement, were concerned about the relationship between the Church and the societies.<sup>3</sup>

The eighteenth century societies in Wales can also be traced back to the pietist movement within the Church at the end of the seventeenth century, but their development in the 1730s was independent of England. The growth in societies stemmed in part from the educational work and itinerant preaching of the Reverend Griffith Jones after 1731, and in part from the field preaching of Howell Harris and Daniel Rowlands who were converted by Jones in 1735.

Religious societies in Wales, Anglican and Dissenting, went further than their English counterparts in the development of informal worship. Because of the poverty of the country and dioceses, the paucity of official religious pro-

1. See J.W. Raimo, "Spiritual Harvest" and G. Whitefield, Journals, 229-238. References are to the Banner of Truth edition (1960).
2. G. Whitefield, Journals, 141.
3. Whitefield was quick to see this and made much of it in his Open Letter to the Societies (1739).

visions combined with the needs of small isolated rural communities, cottage meetings, field-preaching and family devotions were normalized in parts of Wales during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and were by no means confined to the Dissenters. Between 1735 and 1738 Harris and Rowlands organized some thirty societies for converts in South Wales. Through the societies, they hoped to sustain the first enthusiasms of their converts where the official Church was unable to do so. But as in England, the societies were not only ecclesiolae in ecclesia, they also formed the organizational backbone and provided the grass roots support for Wesleyan Methodism and Welsh Calvinist Methodism.<sup>1</sup> The Church found it difficult to contain and absorb the new pietist movement of the 1740s.

Presbyterians as well as Episcopalians had found that prayer societies were an acceptable expression of popular religion, so long as they remained in the control of the Church.<sup>2</sup> The minutes of several presbyteries record encouragement given to such societies and by the 1730s they were much more likely to be organized by the Church than were those in England and Wales.<sup>3</sup> In 1740 the growth of socie-

1. See J.D. Walsh, "Elie Halevy and the Birth of Methodism", 3

2. A. Fawcett, op. cit., 57-74.

3. See Anal, II, 55; IV, 92, 235.



ties had become a significant feature of religious life in some areas, and although Moderate ministers opposed them, Evangelical ministers welcomed them as hopeful signs of revival:

I have endeavoured to encourage such Societies in this country, and have seen the benefit thereof to religion; and now I rejoice to hear of the increase of such meetings in and about Edinburgh, our metropolis, and especially among college-students. 1.

It is worth noting that the societies were revitalized without the help of the Moravians in Scotland and the only Moravians who went into Scotland returned for lack of encouragement.<sup>2</sup>

The societies in England, Wales and Scotland served two important functions for the revival. Firstly, during the 1730s they had been a vital element in the religious education of revival leaders and secondly, they attracted people who were most likely to be converted once the revival began.<sup>3</sup>

It should not be surprising that there was nothing comparable to this form of pietism in the New England colonies since the Independent congregations were based on an ideology of the communion of the elect. Whereas it was possible for

1. J. Willison, The Duty and Advantage of Religious Societies proven from Scripture and Reason ... (Edinburgh, 1740).
2. W.J. Couper, The Moravian Brethren in Scotland (Glasgow, 1935).
3. See below Chapter IV, pp. 136 ff

comprehensive churches such as the Roman Catholic, Anglican or Scottish Presbyterian to accept the need for ecclesiolae in ecclesia, this was much more difficult for the theoretically perfect churches of New England. Nonetheless, when their ideology had so clearly broken down in practice, as it had by the eighteenth century, the influence of pietism could manifest itself as a collective renewal of the Covenant such as those achieved by Samuel Stoddard and Jonathan Edwards in Northampton.

In the Middle Colonies it is possible to pick up again a more direct connection between continental pietism and the Great Awakening through the Dutch and German churches and sects which had been gradually establishing themselves in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The Dutch Reformed Church, for example, had had its first minister in New York in 1628, but the Church survived much more successfully among Dutch settlers in New Jersey. In addition to the Dutch Reformed there were also the German and Lutheran Reformed Churches and, in the eighteenth century, a number of pietist sects in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Both the Reformed and Lutheran Churches had thousands of potential members by the 1730s because of German immigration, but encountered difficulties in transplanting the apparatus of state Churches into the wilderness. At this time their main concerns were with the organization and provision of very basic services, and by 1740 Henry Muhlenberg had made a considerable start in organizing the German Lutherans,

whilst Michael Schlatter performed much the same function for the German Reformed Church.<sup>1</sup> Before the 1740s the Reformed Church had the greater potential size of the two, but its security was threatened by a growing extreme pietist wing, the 'New Lights'. Amongst these Whitefield's revival preaching met with some success.<sup>2</sup> German 'New Lights' were also attracted to the recently established pietist sects such as the Dunkers and Moravians, and amongst these groups there was some positive response to the revival.

Even more important for the revival in the Middle Colonies was the influence of Dutch pietism on the Presbyterian Church. Presbyterianism in the Middle Colonies had taken on a new life with the massive immigration from Ulster during the second and third decades of the eighteenth century. As early as 1716 there were three presbyteries and a synod governing about forty churches with three thousand adherents. Barely had it begun to organize itself before the Church was split between those keeping strictly to Scottish presbytery discipline (the Scots and Scotch-Irish) and those who wanted more individual and local freedom of interpretation (the American-born). At the point where the two sides achieved an uneasy truce, the influence

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1. F.W. Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church (Columbus, Ohio, 1950).
2. S. Ahlstrom, A Religious History, 283.

of Dutch pietism made itself felt on a group of American Presbyterians in New Jersey and split the Presbyterian Church along the lines of its existing weakness. The influence of the Reverend Theodore Frelinghuysen on the Tennent family provided the link between the continental pietist movement and the mainstream American Churches.

Each of the reformed churches was, in its own way, open to the influence of pietism and George Whitefield's work highlighted the common traditions of the Presbyterian Church, the Congregational Church in New England, the Reformed and Lutheran Churches in the Middle Colonies and the Anglican Church in England and Wales by briefly uniting them in revival.

Both rationalism and pietism presented theological and intellectual challenges to the authority and stability of the major Churches in the early eighteenth century. In addition, the Churches faced political challenges stemming in the main from the Glorious Revolution of 1688. In England, Wales, Scotland, and the American colonies, the Revolution was followed by the establishment of religious pluralism and voluntarism, and the completion of the process by which religious institutions became subordinate to secular institutions. In other words, the half century after Toleration was a major transition period. One recent historian has gone so far as to claim that 'The religious situation in England in 1740 is important historically

because it represents English Christianity on the eve of its gravest crisis'.<sup>1</sup> The upheavals in English religious life after 1740 bear this out and were paralleled in Wales, Scotland and the American colonies.

Central to this crisis was the way in which the state of religion had become bound up with the political life of the nation. Dissenters in England and Wales had learned that the conditions of their existence depended to a large degree on political factors. The re-establishment and enforcement of the Anglican national church during the 1660s had taken place at the expense of Dissenters who lost hundreds of ministers and thousands of members by the Act of Uniformity and they had continued to experience persecution until the accession of William III in 1688. After the Glorious Revolution, and the Act of Toleration in the following year, Dissenters began their long and intensive courtship of monarch and Parliament. The period of resistance and martyrdoms gave way to compromise as Dissenters threw their weight into the political scales in an attempt to increase and preserve their civil liberties. During Queen Anne's reign they experienced the effects of High Church Toryism in a series of disabling Acts.<sup>2</sup> When Queen Anne and the Tories were succeeded by George I and the Whigs, Dissenting

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1. A.D. Gilbert, Religion and Society, 22.

2. Act against Occasional Conformity (1711); Schism Act suppressing Dissenters schools and academies (1714).

fortunes immediately improved. But there were limits even to Whig toleration and expediency so that Dissenters had to keep up their political pressuring.<sup>1</sup> The energy of two whole generations of Nonconformist leaders was absorbed in the effort of negotiating with politicians and amongst themselves. Ameliorations were achieved at the cost of spiritual guidance for the people and a general loss of religious zeal. The Dissenting side of the contract with Parliament was to soft-pedal on evangelism, expansion and outspoken criticism of Anglicanism, and as a result Dissenters no longer offered a worthwhile alternative to the Church of England. It was hardly surprising that by the middle eighteenth century they attracted few new recruits and at the same time lost many old families who did not feel that the religious succour they received compensated for their political and social exclusion.

The Act of Toleration and the new political climate after 1714 had serious implications for the Established Church in England and Wales, as well as for those outside it. Firstly, toleration had been given to Dissenters against the wishes of the Bishops and the Church party, and therefore was seen as a symbol of the extent to which clerical influence had been undermined by politicians. Secondly, religious toleration as practised by Latitudinar-

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1. See B.L. Manning, The Protestant Dissenting Deputies (Cambridge, 1952).

ians implied an acceptance of religious pluralism, even though the state Church continued to be enforced as the norm and Dissent proscribed. Even limited toleration created fear among many Church leaders that episcopal control would be undermined. The number of religious societies seemed to justify that fear. From one viewpoint they represented a revitalization of the Church on a popular level, but from another they were threatening it because they pinpointed the Church's inadequacies and gave opportunity for subversive activity. Theoretically, the Church could have accepted the challenge of voluntary societies such as the Methodists in a positive way and as a result undergone revolutionary changes whilst still maintaining its near monopoly of religious practice. However, in the 1730s and 1740s few Churchmen had diagnosed the Church's weakness and were therefore not prepared to adopt religious societies as they were developing under Wesley and Whitefield.

In Scotland the relative fortunes of the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches between 1640 and 1740 well illustrated the interdependence of religion and politics there. Restoration in 1660 had been followed by the establishment of Episcopalianism and the 'ousting' of several hundred covenanted Presbyterian ministers. In turn, the Glorious Revolution was immediately followed by the re-establishment of Presbyterians and the popular 'rabbling' of several hundred parish priests out of their parishes. Furthermore, after 1689 the newly established Presbyterian Church of

Scotland was continually aware that it owed its establishment to the need for peace between England and Scotland. It had gained security from the Act of Union in 1707 but had forfeited autonomy. Instead of being the homogeneous national church which older Presbyterians had wanted, it had to accept any Episcopal priests who were prepared to sign their agreement to the Presbyterian system. The Queen Anne period, with its aggressive Episcopalianism, was particularly upsetting to the delicate stability of Scotland and the Church of Scotland was threatened by several legislative reversals.<sup>1</sup> However, Presbyterian loyalty during the Rebellion of 1715 secured the Church's position under the Hanoverians.

Nothing shows the connection between religious and political affairs in Scotland so clearly as the patronage issue. According to the First Book of Discipline of the Reformed Church, each congregation had the right to call its own minister. However, this right was also claimed by the landowning gentry, or heritors. It was a question of power, particularly where gentry and people based their choice on differing principles. The heritors' rights of patronage had been abolished in 1649, restored in 1662, abolished in 1690, and finally restored in 1712. This last

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1. Cf. the Greenshield case in 1711; the Bill of 1712 which was intended to give liberty to Episcopalian Dissenters; the Patronage Act of 1712.



restoration created disruptive tensions within the Church because the Act only guaranteed that heritors should be Protestant and therefore gave sanction to the many Episcopalian heritors. Where the people wanted a covenanting Calvinist minister they were powerless to ordain one and where the heritors appointed a minister to suit themselves it could alienate the parishioners.<sup>1</sup> In 1719 the harshness of the Act was abated slightly by the right given to the presbyteries to nominate a minister where a parish had been without one for more than six months. It was an attempt to reduce the number of vacant parishes which had resulted from the Patronage Act, but it did not restore the rights of the congregation and patronage remained a contentious issue. Only repeal of the Act could have prevented the schisms of 1740 and 1761,<sup>2</sup> and the failure of the Church's commission to achieve this indicates the limitations of the strength of the evangelical party.

Even the more independent American colonies were not immune from the vagaries of English political life. The Stuart Restoration, for example, meant a renewed attempt to launch Anglicanism in New England and the ship which brought notice of the revocation of Massachusetts' charter in 1686

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1. See J.H.S. Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland, 280 for the case of Stirling parish, but there are others scattered throughout Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, Hew Scott, ed. (1915). See also David Murray Collection at University of Glasgow, under Settlements.
  2. In 1733 the Erskine brothers and others separated from the Church and formed the Associate Presbytery, whilst the schism of 1761, led by Thomas Gillespie, resulted in the establishment of the Relief Church.

also carried an Anglican minister. The new Governors of New York and Massachusetts made efforts to break resistance to the Anglican Church. The Glorious Revolution and the Act of Toleration were extended to the colonies, forcing the Congregational Church to accept religious groups it had formerly persecuted, and later Queen Anne's High Church policies were experienced as an attack on their religious autonomy. Starting as far back as Charles II the English government's awareness of its empire had gradually increased, and the attempts to interfere in the religious matters of the colonies had increased with it.<sup>1</sup>

The political manipulation of the churches and the theological and intellectual controversies described above contributed in varying degrees to the already declining vitality of popular religion. In his discussion of religion in England during the early eighteenth century A.D. Gilbert showed that the continuity of religious beliefs and practices had been broken in two further ways.<sup>2</sup> Firstly, lay patrons had exploited the clerical livings of the Church, leaving it so impoverished that an adequate ministry could not be maintained:

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1. P.S. Haffenden, "The Anglican Church in Restoration Colonial Policy" in Seventeenth Century America: essays in colonial history, ed., J.M. Smith (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1959), 166-191.
  2. A.D. Gilbert, Religion and Society, 4-7.

Impropriations had done serious damage to the religious Establishment at its grass roots. In economic terms non-incumbent rectors had been middlemen who had retained for themselves the money which had previously gone to support the care of souls. 1.

Impropriations had intensified problems of pluralism, absenteeism and the demoralization of the clergy, and moreover they had become problems deeply embedded in the structure of Church and state.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, the Civil War and Interregnum had broken down normal Anglican liturgical practices so completely in some areas that it was beyond the ability of the eighteenth century Church to restore them. The situation in Wales was exacerbated by the poverty of the Church in Wales and the remoteness of the hierarchy from the Welsh speaking people.<sup>3</sup> All this was of fundamental importance because, as Gilbert argues, continuity and habits of religious belief and practice are vital for the preservation of religion at a popular level. Of course, the breakdown in England and Wales was localized rather than widespread, and in many rural parishes the Anglican parochial system, that is the mutual support of squire and parson, had never been more firmly entrenched. But the overall picture was of general loss of vitality, demoralization of the clergy and

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1. A.D. Gilbert, Religion and Society, 5.
2. Ibid., 7.
3. See O.W. Jones, "The Welsh Church in the Eighteenth Century", 103; 104.

in many areas a                    demise of popular religion as shown by a falling off in church attendance and the use of the sacraments.<sup>1</sup>

In Scotland a much higher degree of popular religion had survived the political vicissitudes and theological dilemmas of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The Church of Scotland attracted such allegiance because it had come to enshrine the people's sense of national identity, and because it was continually reinforced through the educational system. When William III legitimized Presbyterianism as the national Church in the Act of 1690 he was in fact recognizing that the Scottish people could be placated through their religious institutions and that to resist these institutions would have been dangerous. However, the continuity of popular religious practice was threatened in some areas once patronage had been re-introduced, because it could result in either a vacant and neglected parish, or in the settlement of a minister unacceptable to the people.

Compared with England and Wales, lay involvement in church affairs and the attendance of church services in New England in the early eighteenth century would suggest that popular religious beliefs and practices were flourishing. Yet it was commonplace for ministers and people to mourn the

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1. For a parallel usage of the term 'popular religion' cf. J. Bossy "The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe", Past and Present, 47 (1970), 51-70.

state of religion in New England and to compare themselves unfavourably with their forebears. For them the falling numbers of full church members, that is those who could give a testimony of a conversion experience, was proof of a decline in popular piety, and indeed until recently it has been used by historians in the same way.<sup>1</sup> Using this criterion historians have concluded that there was a steady decline in popular religious involvement from the first to the fourth generation. Though it will need some qualification in the light of Pope's and Lucas' findings for Connecticut in particular, it is still accepted as a valid generalization for Massachusetts.<sup>2</sup> The spiritual conviction of the original settlers to New England had been reinforced by their exodus to the colonies, and although they could teach this to their children, they could not re-create the conditions of voluntary commitment. On the one hand, the second generation could experience this commitment only vicariously, whilst on the other hand, they tried to live up to New England's special mission. For the third generation (about the 1680s) religious fervour to that degree had become a remote experience, although they were still made aware of what was expected of them through sermons and the annual addresses of the Boston ministers. Such dilution of

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1. E.S. Gaustad, The Great Awakening in New England, and C.C. Goen, Revivalism and Separatism in New England, are representative in their use of this analysis.
2. R.G. Pope, The Half-Way Covenant, and P.R. Lucas, Valley of Discord.

the original level of involvement was increased by the growing number of settlers who had little religious commitment of any sort. Whether, as Lucas demonstrates for Connecticut, the laity had demoralized the clergy, or as Worthley and Jacobs claim for Massachusetts, the clergy had professionalized their office and diminished the role of the laity, the Church in New England had been undergoing a crisis of popular support for some time before the Great Awakening.<sup>1</sup>

There is little reason to doubt the validity of a general statement that popular religious practice had declined in the early eighteenth century throughout the Protestant world. Nor is there any reason to question the far-reaching popular effects of evangelicalism by the end of the century. However, this is not to imply a chain of causation in which religious decline by its nature led to an evangelical revival. The question of origins remains too puzzling for such a simple conclusion. The provision of a general explanation for the revivals in the period 1735-1745 remains highly problematical and will not be attempted here. Nonetheless, within the framework of comparative treatment and the discussion of links between the revivalists undertaken in this thesis, some partial explanation will be suggested.

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1. H.F. Worthley, "The Lay Offices of the particular Congregational Churches of Massachusetts, 1620-1755", (Harvard University Ph.D. thesis, 1970); A.E. Jacobson, "A Summary of the Congregational Clergy in Eighteenth Century New England", (Harvard University Ph.D. thesis 1962).

If the relationship between the religious developments of the 1720s and 1730s and those of the 1740s has not been plotted to the satisfaction of historians, it was perfectly clear to evangelical ministers and religious leaders at the time. In the 1730s the remnants of a Puritan network communicated their dismay to one another at the state of religion, and were aware that it was a shared experience: 'I am grieved you partake of our errors and schisms. Let us pray for the revival of piety', Robert Wodrow of Eastwood, Scotland wrote to Benjamin Colman of Boston in 1735.<sup>1</sup> And in 1735 the revival at Northampton, Massachusetts was seen by many as a hopeful sign of what might become a more general revival.<sup>2</sup> To ministers such as Whitefield, the Wesleys, Watts and Doddridge, Wodrow and McLaurin in Scotland, Edwards and Colman in New England, the national boundaries were insignificant, although theological boundaries were to become divisive. In the light of their international outlook it was not surprising that Whitefield should have written to Harris in 1738 although they were complete strangers,<sup>3</sup> and that Harris should have replied with 'some good news to send you from Wales'.<sup>4</sup> With the same motives, Jonathan

1. Wodrow to Colman, 8 August 1735, Colman MSS. M.H.S.
2. See The Works of Jonathan Edwards, IV, ed. C.C. Goen, (1972), 33.
3. H. Harris, Brief Account of the Life of Howell Harris (Trevecka, 1791), 110.
4. H.J. Hughes, Life of Howell Harris (1892), 64-65.

Edwards in New England and the Erskines in Scotland invited Whitefield to preach to their congregations. Perhaps the final act of the revival brotherhood came when Edwards was removed from his parish by his people and the Scottish evangelical ministers wrote to offer him a parish in Scotland.<sup>1</sup> During the revival these activists had circulated news of revival developments because it acted as a fillip to the conversion and missionary-minded and was self-consciously contrasted with the prevailing state of popular and institutional religion.

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1. S.E. Dwight, op. cit., I, 412.



### CHAPTER III

#### REVIVALISM AND THE TRANSATLANTIC COMMUNITY

'When the distance of the huge Atlantic separates Brethren from one another, one Method unto which we must resort for Maintaining the communion of saints is the epistolary.' 1.

Cotton Mather of Boston, writing to one of his many British and continental correspondents within the Puritan network, here confirmed a tradition which had been established amongst early Nonconformists. Like his Puritan forebears, Mather believed in the existence of the community of saints on earth; men who, regardless of distance, were closer to one another than they were to their unconverted neighbours. The Puritan minister was especially close to his colleagues because he was often at variance with society. Accordingly the idea of a community was not merely a platitude but was a real experience fostered by ministers and laity who drew from one another intellectual and spiritual strength, debated points of theology, and communicated their ideas. In doing so they brought one another closer into the religious nexus.

The Puritan fellowship could sometimes be nothing more than an 'amorphous continuation of university friendships,

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1. C. Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Sceptre, 186.

its religious overtones merely a reflection of the fact that university men more often than not went into the ministry'. But just as often, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was a correspondence between learned men who were debating important points of Calvinist theology and helping in the process to shape English Puritanism. So many of these ministers owed their spiritual birth and pastoral training to one other minister and the communication between pupil and teacher reflected the strength of this bond. When Chaderton, for example, resigned St. Clement's pulpit he was acknowledged by forty ministers as the man who had converted them and one at least, John Wilson, had left for New England in 1630 and had spread the net of fellowship wider.<sup>2</sup> Others, like William Perkins, not only published their ideas but communicated the essential points of their theological system personally by letter. In the case of Perkins, his correspondents formed a school of disciples at Cambridge and they in turn established his thinking within the larger community of the Atlantic world.<sup>3</sup> The Puritan tradition of ministerial teaching and fellowship, with its biblically based literature, provided a rationalization for the very idea of association or fellowship.

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1. D. Rutman, American Puritanism: Faith and Practice (New York, 1970), 18.
  2. Ibid., 17. Rutman has an interesting chapter on "The Christian Fellowship".
  3. C. Hill, Puritanism and Revolution (2nd ed. 1969), 213.

Ministers who lived within travelling distance of one another would meet periodically to discuss problems and to reinforce their own sense of purpose. Although essentially local, such groups were also often in touch with a national and international network through their reading of pamphlets and sermons and sometimes through travel.

Communication could serve many purposes besides those of debate, including the dissemination of information about organizational practice, the giving of spiritual and material aid, and the creation of friendships. The Quaker Atlantic community, which was founded as a result of George Fox's travels in Britain and the American colonies, showed many of these qualities. The Quakers cared little for the precision and delineation of Calvinist debate and fostered their correspondence firstly for spiritual comfort and secondly in order to exercise organizational control and a cohesiveness throughout the Quaker world. Both official and unofficial letters were exchanged and there was plenty of scope for individual messages. But above all, it was through their practice of the travelling ministry that Friends were able to create a community in which news could be conveyed in a personal way. The Quaker historian, Fred Tolles, has discovered the names of 148 British Friends who travelled in America between 1655 and 1700, and after this date the increasing traffic in the other direction made

for substantial two-way communication.<sup>1</sup> As early as the first General Meeting of Friends in 1650 Fox wrote that they 'had intelligence from all parts beyond the seas, how Truth prospered and spread both in England and Wales, Ireland, Scotland, America, Holland and Germany'.<sup>2</sup> In 1671, on his return from the colonies, Fox institutionalized letter writing in the form of an Epistle, and at the same time brought 'the transatlantic Quaker communities into line with the society at home, both in practice and church government'.<sup>3</sup> For any official exchanges Quakers used the channels created by the Monthly and Yearly Meetings which, after 1659, included an Epistle General written by Fox for circulation at home and abroad and intended to be read out loud at these Meetings in all parts of the community. Quakers soon established the practice of reading aloud foreign communications and of circulating them between Meetings, thus giving them a special place. Friends worked diligently and deliberately to create a community for mutual exhortation, edification and comfort, and 'their spiritual community ... was no less real for subsisting on the plans of ideas and sentiments'.<sup>4</sup> Using their community they could obtain material aid through the Meeting for Suffering,

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1. F.B. Tolles, Quakers and the Atlantic Community, 28.
2. Ibid., 29.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., 31.

especially if they had been persecuted and they could always claim the spiritual aid and strength of the organization.

The functions served by letter writing amongst Friends were reinforced by the personal gifts of literature which passed between correspondents and, like the letters, these gifts had an impact which spread out from the two correspondents. By circulating literature, Friends were able to extend their community. Once again it was Fox who attempted to institutionalize and make more accessible this essentially private practice. He organized regular channels for supplying the American Quakers with books from the English Quaker press and in Philadelphia, the printer, William Bradford, Sr., reprinted many of the books he received through this channel. In an age when there was little else competing for the reader's attention, literature could have a profound effect which is often overlooked.

Now that sociology and history move closer to each other it is fashionable to play down the importance of literary influences on behaviour. There is abundant evidence, however, to show how strong such influences were on the leaders of the Revival. In a slower age, when books were far fewer and more expensive, they were far more highly prized and more deeply pondered. 1.

In this religious context the written word made its impact

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1. J. Walsh, "Origins of the Evangelical Revival," 159.

in several different ways. It had an evangelical function which will be discussed in more detail in relation to the revival in Chapter IV; it intensified the emotional identification between members of a certain religious group, almost serving to mark them out to one another; and it reinforced uniformity of thought, language and practice within the community, possibly to the extent of creating stereotypical responses to personal experience.

Religious Communication Between Dissenters  
Before the Revival.

In the early decades of the eighteenth century the vital quality and zeal of earlier fellowship in the Puritan community was less apparent and had usually been replaced by more formal exchanges. Neither Deism nor Arminianism provided the impetus for as much brotherly communication as Puritanism had. Among Old Dissenters there was shared concern about the decline of piety, but it was hardly a subject conducive to the growth of the Dissenting community.<sup>1</sup> Exceptions could be found, like Cotton Mather himself, but on the whole, internal and international communication up to 1740 was conscientious and predictable.

Occasionally, Atlantic correspondences had grown out of the visit of a New England minister to England. Follow-

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1. See Colman MSS. Massachusetts Historical Society. [M.H.S.]

ing the visit of Benjamin Colman from Boston, he and Isaac Watts<sup>1</sup> corresponded and exchanged literature from the 1720s until 1747, a few months before Watts' death. Watts was well-known in New England through his Divine Songs which had been sold in the colonies since 1718 and were widely used and praised. Watts kept up a voluminous correspondence with many of New England's religious leaders including Samuel Mather, Thomas Prince and Elisha Williams. His keen interest in the colonies and for the Dissenting cause led Watts to act as unofficial clearing house for his correspondents, especially with regard to the purchase of books and procuring financial aid for their schemes.<sup>2</sup> Gifts of books to Harvard and Yale and to individuals were made through him and his correspondence presents a picture of great bustle and activity.<sup>3</sup> Watts was clearly aware of the tradition of community within which he was operating, yet the exchanges remained more business-like than vital, careful and informative, but limited in their expression of shared ideals. Nonetheless this correspondence was to prove useful during the revival.

1. See Colman MSS Ibid. and "Letters of Dr. Watts" in Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 25, 11 (Boston, 1895), 331-410 [The Belknap Collection].
2. See "Letter of Dr. Watts", A.S. Pratt, Isaac Watts and his Gifts of Books and T. Milner, The Life, Times and Correspondence of Rev. Isaac Watts, D.D. (1834).
3. E.g., Letter of Watts to Rev. Elisha Williams, 7 June, 1738: 'As for your want of Calvinistical writers in your library [Yale]. or moderate men on that side, I have herewith sent you in a box directed to Dr. Colman of Boston for Yale College, Mr. Howe's works, 2 vol., Dr. Bates' works in 1 vol., and Dr. Ridgely's Body of Divinity in 2 vols.' "Letters of Dr. Watts", 336.

Because of his concern and generosity, Watts was the obvious choice for American ministers when they wanted an English sponsor for Jonathan Edwards' revival narrative in 1736.<sup>1</sup> Yet Americans were mistaken in thinking that Watts was representative of English Dissent in the eighteenth century. The suggestion that the Old and New World presented a solid front based on the traditions inherited from the seventeenth century, so that, as one historian claims 'we must bethink us that in 1730, this plebian, dissenting and serious minded society was a world unto itself'<sup>2</sup> certainly overstates the degree of similarity and contact between the two Englands. In England Watts was admired and his works were used widely, but he was outside the mainstream of Nonconformist theological developments. The same applied to Philip Doddridge of Northampton, who was also well-known in America through his published works and correspondence.<sup>3</sup> Most American clergy had unconsciously preserved their seventeenth century images of English Puritanism and had little idea that Watts and Doddridge were exceptional amongst the English Dissenters. Clerical

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1. J. Edwards, A Faithful Narrative of the Surprizing Work of God in the Conversion of many hundred Souls in Northampton and the Neighbouring Towns and Villages (Boston, 1736). For a description of the exchange of correspondence involved in the process of reprinting the Narrative in England see J. Edwards, Works, IV ed. C.C. Goen, 32-46.
  2. P. Miller, Jonathan Edwards (New York, 1949), 109.
  3. On Doddridge see G.M. Nuttall, ed., Philip Doddridge 1702-51. Dr. Williams' Library now has the Doddridge MSS. collection and a calendar of his letters has been prepared by G.M. Nuttall: Doddridge Intercalation (Historical Manuscript Commission, 1969).



visitors to England were therefore shocked to find that there was a great disparity between the theological ideas they were accustomed to and those propounded in the English meeting house.<sup>1</sup> The urbanity of Nonconformists, particularly in London, took them aback and made them re-examine some of the assumptions about community.

By the eighteenth century a certain amount of formalization had taken place in the communication between Nonconformists. Dissenters in New England and England attempted to form a common body and pressure group to protect the rights of Dissenters everywhere under British rule and to oppose legislation which threatened their rights. An optimistic start was made in 1705 with the formation of the Heads of Agreement. It was an attempt to unite Presbyterians and Congregationalists on both sides of the Atlantic, but it broke down very quickly.<sup>2</sup> A new body, the Dissenting Deputies, was organized in 1735 and this time was effective in establishing itself as the official channel of communication for maintaining the practice of the Toleration Act and preventing the establishment of the Episcopacy in America. There was a substantial traffic of letters between Dissen-

1. E.g., the Presbyterian Samuel Davies. See G.W. Pilcher, The Rev. S. Davies Abroad, 46-8, 54, 58, 61, 72-6, 109, 113-117. He concludes 'The despised Methodists, with all their foibles, seem to me to have more of the spirit of religion than any set of people in this land.' 1.
2. C. Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Sceptre, 33; C. Bolam, op. cit. 102.

ters through the Deputies<sup>1</sup> who were used by church courts, associations of pastors, colonial governors and legislatures, petitioners, fund-raisers and bibliophiles.<sup>2</sup> Issues put before the Deputies also served to highlight the differences which had developed in the English and American Dissenting positions. The northern colonists were strictly speaking neither Dissenters nor Nonconformists, but held the majority position, and religious liberty in this context did not mean the same as in England as far as they were concerned. This problem apart, the Dissenting Deputies primarily provided a machinery for dealing with the civil and legal affairs of Dissenters. Their correspondence was not of the evangelical or reviving sort and the exchange between Americans and English reflected the colonial relationship as much as any mutual bond between likeminded Christians.

Of the individual denominations the Presbyterian Church had the best official network for communication between its widely scattered congregations. The system of synods and presbyteries, with their regular meetings and mutual responsibilities, gave a framework within which Presbyterians in Scotland, Ireland, New England and Wales could correspond

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1. See M.W. Armstrong, "Dissenting Deputies and the American Colonies"; C. Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Sceptre 44, and B.L. Manning, The Protestant Dissenting Deputies.
  2. E.g., C.E. Clark, "A Test of Religious Liberty: The Ministry Land Case in Narragansett, 1668-1782", Church and State, 11, No. 2 (Spring 1969), 295-319.

with one another. Francis Makemie, who organized a number of American Presbyteries in the opening years of the eighteenth century, had had in mind an arrangement whereby ministers from all parts might 'act in concert'.<sup>1</sup> A second major link lay with the ministers from Scotland and Ulster who went out to the colonies, often taking all or part of their congregations with them.<sup>2</sup> By the 1730s there was a group of ministers in the colonies who were natives of Ireland and Scotland and who comprised a transatlantic community of ministers among Presbyterians similar to that of the original Puritans.<sup>3</sup> There was some co-operation between Glasgow, Ulster, Philadelphia, Boston and New York of the variety Makemie had hoped for<sup>4</sup>, especially through the auspices of the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge which had been established in 1709. Funds were provided by an endowment of land left by Dr. Daniel Williams, Presbyterian minister in London, specifically for the payment of three qualified ministers to be sent to 'infidel and foreign countries'.<sup>5</sup> The directors

1. C. Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Sceptre, 125.
2. See G.S. Klett, Presbyterians in Colonial Pennsylvania, 32; W.F. Dunaway, The Scotch-Irish of Pennsylvania (Chapel Hill, N. Ca. 1944).
3. H. Cowan, The Influence of the Scottish Church in Christendom, [Baird Lecture 1895/(1896) 149-150.
4. See Records of the General Synod of Ulster, 1691-1820 3 vols. (Belfast, 1890-1898), II, passim; N. Morren, ed., Annals of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1739-1752 (Edinburgh, 1838), passim; C. Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Sceptre, 124-126.
5. R.W. Weir, History of the Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1900), 9.

of the fund settled on New England's native American Indians as the recipients of this bounty and subsequently they entered into correspondence with American ministers on the subject:

/From the minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia/  
 1730: a letter has been received from the committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland relating to some money willed by the late Dr. Williams for the propagation of Christian knowledge in foreign parts: the said letter read and much discourse passed relating thereunto, the Synod came to this resolution, that Master Andrews, Anderson, Thomson and Budd deliberate and write to the committee of the said General Assembly, and likewise to the brethren of New England. 1.

There was regular correspondence from 1730 onwards and of all the formal corresponding networks created in the early eighteenth century only the SSPCK, with its missionary work, was used and expanded by the revivalists during the Great Awakening. Neither the official channels of the Presbyterian Church nor those of the Dissenting Deputies were able to respond to the revival of religion when it came in the late 1730s, largely because their members distrusted the theological tenets, innovations in religious practice, the emotionalism of the converted, and the new relationship it threatened between clerics and laity. Instead, the initiatives for revival correspondence were a result of individual and private practice, welcomed by many revivalists

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1. Records of the Presbyterian Church in U.S.A. 1706-1788  
 (New York, 1969), 99.

as a return to the zeal and spirit of the original 'community of saints'.

Communications during the revival.

In 1735 news of the revival in Northampton, Massachusetts did cross over to Britain through the traditional Nonconformist network, particularly through the English edition of Edwards' Faithful Narrative which was received and circulated by the Old Dissenting network.<sup>1</sup> Some British ministers heard the news directly through letters from Benjamin Colman and, like Robert Wodrow of Eastwood in Scotland, seized on it as the one bright spot in an otherwise dismal period:

... ye account of ye saving change wrought on ye people of Hampshire and likewise on ye account of ye Pious Lives of some eminent Christians I have seen of late in your pamphlets from Boston wch precious memoirs I hope will be useful Both to yourselves and your Brn in Scotland. 2.

Richard Pearsall of Warminster told Colman how he had gone to see Doddridge where

I had the first Authentick acct of the Great and

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1. See above, page 71.

2. MS. Letter from R. Wodrow to B. Colman, 8 Aug. 1735, Colman MSS. M.H.S.

Wonderful operation of the Divine Grace in New Hampshire; from the Abstract then Publish'd by you at the End of a Large Book publish'd at Boston. 1.

Since then, he continued, many Dissenters had seen Edwards' own account which 'has occasion'd Many Thanksgivings and much Joy and Enlargedness of Heart in the People of God on this side of the Atlantic Ocean....'<sup>2</sup> At the same time, the Narrative and news of conversions augured a confrontation in Nonconformist circles. Ultimately, the majority of English Nonconformist ministers found they could not support the Methodists and the revival and, as a result, they lost their primacy in the transmission of revival news. The focus shifted from them to the English Methodists who followed Whitefield, to the very active group of revivalists within the Church of Scotland and to their counterparts in New England and the Middle Colonies. A few English Dissenters were able to sustain their original favourable opinion of the revival in New England and England, but on the whole this was not the case:

... if Mr. Whitefield tells you that the Dissenting ministers are but his cooler friends, I believe he speaks the truth, and perhaps this expression is a word I have used concerning ye behaviour of us Dissenters towards him more than once .... 3.

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1. MS. letter from R. Pearsall to B. Colman, 25 April 1739, Colman MSS. M.H.S.
  2. Ibid.
  3. "Letters of Dr. Watts", Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 11, 394.

Partly because the English revival was led by Anglican evangelicals and not by Nonconformists and partly because it was shared by groups in Scotland, England, Wales, Holland and America, a new network, based on Calvinist evangelicalism, took the place of the old Puritan community.

It is difficult to imagine how the network of correspondence which was so vigorous between 1739 and 1743 could have flourished without George Whitefield. Between 1739 and 1770 (when he died in Newburyport, Mass.) Whitefield made seven trips to America and thirteen to Scotland, as well as travelling extensively in England and Wales.<sup>1</sup> His willingness to travel was only the most extreme form of his eagerness to see the revival world as a single entity, to minimize denominational and national differences and to encourage others to do the same. His correspondence was as continuous and wide as his travels and, although we have no accurate figure of the number of people Whitefield himself wrote to, some impressions can be gained from his published letters and Journals.<sup>2</sup> He wrote frequently to all the main revival figures in Britain and America and, in addition, to hundreds of other ministers and laymen. One unpublished manuscript collection, for example, consists

1. See S.C. Henry, George Whitefield: Wayfaring Witness (New York, 1957).
2. George Whitefield's Journals (Banner of Truth Trust edition, 1960) which includes The Seven Journals, first published separately, 1738-1741; 1465 of his letters were published in G. Whitefield Works 8 vols. (1771-1772) ed. J. Gillies. Most of the letters were in the first two volumes. A facsimile of Vol. I has been reprinted by The Banner of Truth Trust: Letters of George Whitefield ... 1734-1742 (1976).

of letters from over fifty different correspondents.<sup>1</sup> The evangelical magazines of the 1740s published in Scotland, England and New England<sup>2</sup> contain many examples of Whitefield's correspondences and his letters turn up in manuscript and published collections of other people's correspondence. When Whitefield sent letters over from the colonies to London for distribution, he did so by the trunk-load<sup>3</sup> and received so many that he was pleased to accept the help of other evangelicals, such as William Seward<sup>4</sup> and John Syms<sup>5</sup>, who acted as informal secretaries, although the replies were nearly always his own. American correspondents received instructions through The Philadelphia Gazette 'to

1. "Original letters from various Persons in Great Britain and America to the Rev. George Whitefield from the Year 1738 to 1769. Collected by Thomas Raffles, Liverpool." Library of Congress MSS. Microfilm copy in the University Library, Hull.
2. See Chapter V for the full titles and details of publication. In this Chapter the magazines will be given short titles.
3. The Christian History, or General Account of the Progress of the Gospel in England, Wales, Scotland and America (1745), VII, iv, 78.
4. William Seward (1711-1740) described himself as a 'Gentleman, Companion in Travel to the Reverend Mr. Whitefield', Dallimore, op. cit., 252. He had been brought up on the estate of a country squire near Bristol, where his father was a private secretary and had gone into stockbroking. Until his death he was Whitefield's financial backer. See Journal of the Calvinistic Methodist Historical Society, 25, No. 4 (1940), and 58, No. 1 (1973).
5. John Syms worked at the London Tabernacle where, at one time and another, he taught in the boys' school, dispatched letters and kept the accounts for Whitefield's books. See E. Welch ed., Two Calvinistic Methodist Chapels 1743-1811: The London Tabernacle and Spa Fields Chapel (1975), I, 5, 6-7, 12; G.M. Roberts, Selected Trevecka Letters 1742-1747 (Caernarvon, 1956), 215; W. McCulloch, ed., The Glasgow Weekly History ... (Glasgow, 1743) xvi, 5-7 and note 339 to Letters of George Whitefield 546.



direct their letters to be left with Mr. James Hutton, Bookseller without Temple, London'.<sup>1</sup> Many of those who wrote were ordinary men and women who wanted spiritual advice, or to thank him for his preaching, or to give him news.<sup>2</sup> This correspondence had little significance in terms of the development of the revival and the formation of revival style and techniques, as did his correspondence with ministers.

The international dimension of the revival would not have had the same significance had it relied solely on the energy and work of Whitefield. Its importance comes from its wider application, as Edwards wrote to Reverend James Robe of Edinburgh:

I esteem my correspondence with you and my other correspondents in Scotland a great honour and privilege .... The Church of God, in all Parts of the World, is but one; the distant members are closely united in one Glorious Head. This Union is very much her Beauty; /as is/ the mutual friendly Correspondence of the various members in distant parts of the world.... 3.

In a relatively short space of time an international epis-

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1. The Philadelphia Gazette, 4 Dec. 1740.
2. See the Thomas Raffles Collection op. cit.
3. J. Robe ed., The Christian Monthly History ... (Edinburgh, 1745), II, viii, 235.

tolary circuit developed, perhaps owing a great deal to the personal contact and common focus revivalists had in Whitefield, but owing just as much to the thoughts ministers themselves had about the nature of the revival. They were conscious that parallel events had occurred in widely separated areas at approximately the same time - the conversions of Howell Harris, Whitefield and the Wesleys and the Northampton revival - and immediately saw this conjunction as heralding a very special work of God. The thoughts of some ministers can only be classified as millennial.<sup>1</sup>

Ministers began to correspond with people they had never seen, and never would see, and moreover to use this exchange as a serious medium for shaping the thoughts and practice of the revival as well as for furthering their cause. Initially the desire to acknowledge a common experience and to rejoice in it was sufficient to prompt a letter between strangers. Ministers saw themselves as 'friends in God' identifying themselves as co-workers. Sometimes they got one another's names through revival publications, through Whitefield's Journals, or from the evangelical magazines, or from a friend:

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1. See J. Erskine, Signs of the Times Considered, or the high Probability that the present Appearances in New England, and the West of Scotland are a prelude of the Glorious Things promised to the Church in the Latter Ages (Edinburgh, 1742). A millennial hymn was reprinted in An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars Relating to the Present Progress of the Gospel (1742), II, ii, 77-81.

It was a most pleasing surprise to me to receive your kind letter from New York /Colman wrote to Whitefield/... and ye valuable Present of Journals, Sermons and Letters that accompanied it. I think myself under a happy Direction of Providence in my writing to Mr. Pemberton since it has brought me into correspondence with you. 1.

It was common to solicit a correspondence by referring to a mutual friend or a published work by the recipient, although it was up to the individual minister to decide exactly how this would be done. Thomas Gillespie of Carnock in Scotland recommended himself to Edwards by discussing Edwards' works:

The two performances you published on the subject of the late glorious work in New England, well adapted to that in Scotland, gave me great satisfaction ... I have many a time, for some years, designed to claim humbly the privilege of correspondence with you .... My friend and countryman Mr. Robert Abercrombie will inform you about me, if you have occasion to see him or hear from him. 2.

In the case of John Hamilton of the Barony Parish in Glasgow it was through a traveller and mutual friend:

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1. MS. copy of a letter from B. Colman to G. Whitefield, in Colman MSS. M.H.S. dated 1742 by the compiler, but more likely to have been 1739, as the same letter was printed at the back of Whitefield's Letter from New Brunswick and Letter in Answer to the Presbytery of Newcastle (Philadelphia, 1739), and Whitefield clearly corresponded with Colman before 1742, see Whitefield's Journals, 457.
2. Letter of T. Gillespie to J. Edwards, 24 Nov. 1746, printed in S.E. Dwight, Jonathan Edwards, I, 244.

This letter, I trust shall be deliver'd to you, /he wrote to Thomas Prince/ by our Brother Mr. George Brown, Minister of St. James Island in South Carolina... who is to go by way of Boston; which gives me the opportunity of sending my compliments to you and of introducing myself into your Acquaintance and favour. 1.

There were others besides ministers whose work or position made them likely candidates for inclusion in the epistolary circuit. Printers, like John Lewis<sup>2</sup> who worked for revivalists, were often a useful clearing-house for correspondence and revival literature. Lewis felt honoured to be recognized by Thomas Prince:

Who cou'd imagine that such a poor insignificant creature as little I should ever have been thought of so many thousands of miles off .... I received your kind letter and .... I shall be very glad to have a correspondence with you .... The Bearer hereof is Mr. Benjamin Dutton .... 3.

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1. MS. letter of J. Hamilton to T. Prince, 3 Mar. 1739, Misc. MSS. M.H.S.
  2. John Lewis, printer of Bartholomew Close, London. Originally from Monmouthshire /see Dictionary of Welsh Biography, 555/. Member of the London Tabernacle and official printer to the Calvinist Methodists. See J. Cal. Meth. Hist. Soc., 4, No. 3 (1919), 84-92; 5, No. 1 (1920), 6-11.
  3. MS. letter of J. Lewis to T. Prince, 20 Aug. 1743. Davis MSS. M.H.S. Dutton was an evangelical Baptist minister in Huntingdonshire and the husband of writer and evangelist, Anne Dutton. See J.C. Whitebrook, A Bibliography of Mrs. Anne Dutton /reprinted from Notes and Queries 9 Dec. 1916/(1916) and J. Cal. Meth. Hist. Soc., 8, No. 1 (1922), 20-25. She wrote to Howell Harris, 15 Dec. 1743: 'My husband is in America and has taken some of my books with him.' Ibid., 23.

Lewis's fellow evangelical London publisher, Samuel Mason, also found his friendship solicited and he had correspondents in Scotland and America.<sup>1</sup> As publishers they had access to the latest literature and information and were usually at the hub of activity. Once revival sympathists knew that a centre for correspondence existed, for example at the London Tabernacle<sup>2</sup> or at the printer's workshop, they wrote asking to be put in touch with someone who they might have regarded as a spiritual penfriend.<sup>3</sup>

The evidence suggests that revival correspondence was of great personal significance to those involved<sup>4</sup> but as a central circuit developed and the revival progressed, letters also had a formative function within the movement. The network was complex, containing many cross-references [See Figs. 1 and 2].

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1. E.g. in The Weekly History: Or, An Account ... Progress of the Gospel (1741), xxvii, there is a letter from A-M- of Edinburgh to Mason. Mason was a London bookseller and publisher in Wood St. and member of the Tabernacle.
  2. See E. Welch, ed., Two Calvinistic Methodist Chapels, passim.
  3. E.g. letter of S-n T-r to J. Lewis, 'I should gladly have a correspondence with some of those I sincerely love /through the magazines/ ... or any in society with them', printed in An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars ... III, ii, 47-50. Also MS. letter of John Erskine to Samuel Cooper, 9 Feb. 1744 in Erskine MSS., a copy book belonging to Thomas Prince Sr., M.H.S.
  4. Letters of George Whitefield, 312, to Howell Harris, 11 Aug. 1741, 'Poor souls come to me under deep convictions. Sweet letters are sent to me of my writings and sermons ....'.

Figure 1. Contacts by correspondence between ministers and evangelicals in the revival. 1.

	Geo. WHITEFIELD	Jon. EDWARDS	Thom. PRINCE	Ben. COLMAN	Isaac WATTS	Philip SOBRIE	Ann DUTTON	James ROBE	John McLAURIN	Wm McCULLOCK	John ERSKINE	Howell HARRIS
English	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
American	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	
American	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	?	✓	✓	✓	✓	
American	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓	
English	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓						
English	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓	
English	✓		?				✓	✓				✓
Scottish	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Scottish	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓	✓	✓	
Scottish	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Scottish	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	
Welsh	✓						✓	✓		✓		✓

Figure 2. Contacts by correspondence between printers and promoters in the revival. 2.

	Sam. MASON	John LEWIS	Geo. WHITEFIELD	Ben. FRANKLIN	Thom. NOBLE	Dan. HENCHMAN	Wm McCULLOCK	Thom. PRINCE
English	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	
English	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓
English	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
American			✓	✓	✓	✓		
American	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		
American			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Scottish	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓
American		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓

1. and 2. Compiled from all the major manuscript and printed letter sources used in this thesis. See Bibliography.

Whitefield's central position in the network as in the revival can be readily recognized. Nor is it surprising to see the extent of Edwards' contacts for his fame as Calvinist apologist and proponent of the New England revival was widespread.<sup>1</sup> Colman, Watts and Doddridge were basically continuing and extending their old habit of communicating with kindred spirits, as was Thomas Prince, Sr. Prince was elderly and unable to take part in the itinerant preaching of the American revival, but nonetheless he took on an active part in promoting the revival and he used correspondence to give his support and authority to the Awakening.<sup>2</sup> None of the Scottish ministers had been involved in long-distance communications before the 1740s, but they soon became regular and conscientious correspondents. John Erskine, for example, was a mere undergraduate at Edinburgh University when the revival began, although he later became minister of Old Greyfriars Church in Edinburgh and a leader of the Scottish Evangelical party in the Church of Scotland. Once he had visited Cambuslang and talked to the revival ministers he was vigorous in his pursuit of contacts in Scotland, England and America. He was a young man of some means and social standing and he did not hesitate to supply books free and pay postage if he thought it would

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1. For a discussion of the influence of J. Edwards in Britain see below, Chapter IV, pages 175-180.
2. See J.E. Van de Wetering, "The Christian History of the Great Awakening", Journal of Presbyterian History, 44, No. 2 (June 1966), 122-3.

aid the cause.<sup>1</sup> Of all the leading British revivalists, only Howell Harris had no correspondent in America and had only a minimal exchange with Scottish ministers.<sup>2</sup> This is surprising because Harris was a prolific letter writer to his correspondents in England and Wales.<sup>3</sup> He was also more concerned than anyone to maintain the catholic and international spirit of the revival<sup>4</sup> and he was an active organizer who, for a time, took charge of the London Tabernacle and evangelical magazine where so many letters were reprinted. Perhaps his absence from the network is explained by the fact that he was not an ordained minister but only an 'exhorter' and therefore felt he lacked the status to demand the attention of foreign ministers. Despite the fact that he did not participate personally in this communication, he was well-known abroad, as he wrote in his diary for 29 January, 1744, 'Amazed how the Lord has spread my name by that letter he has given men, and by Bro. Whitefield's Journal and the Weekly History and without any contrivance

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1. MS. letters of J. Erskine to James Hall, 15 July 1743, 28-37, and J. Erskine to William Cooper, 28 Jan. 1743, 8-14. Erskine MSS. M.H.S.
  2. I am grateful to Mr. Geraint Tudor, who is translating Harris's letters and assessing his contribution to the Methodist revival in England and Wales, for his confirmation of my impressions.
  3. The Trevecka Collection, University Library of Wales, includes about 3,000 of Harris's letters. See G.M. Roberts, op. cit.; T. Benyon, Howell Harris's Visits to London (Aberystwyth, 1960) and Howell Harris, Reformer and Soldier 1714-1773 (Caernarvon, 1958).
  4. See G.M. Roberts, op. cit., 43-5, 104, 106. T. Benyon, Visits to London, 177, 25 Jan. 1748, and Reformer and Soldier, 15.



of my own ....'<sup>1</sup> From Philadelphia a certain Mr. E. E-ns wrote to Whitefield, 'Be pleased to greet very heartily the dear servants of the Lamb, Mr. Harris and Mr. Cennick', who he had probably read about in the evangelical press.<sup>2</sup>

One of the features of the new correspondence was its less rigidly denominational approach to communication. Ministers from the Churches of England, Scotland and Wales, the Presbyterian Church in Scotland and America and the Congregational Church in England and America were in touch with one another through the revival circuit. They were men whose ages and experiences varied greatly, but one of the main achievements of the new network was the creation of a genuine, if shortlived, sense of transatlantic community. Real gains were also made in the communication between Scottish, English and Welsh evangelicals. At a time when in general 'Intercourse between them was slight, always intermittent and seldom pleasant', revival correspondence was notably exceptional.<sup>3</sup> Letters between fellow countrymen had a great many uses, often of a practical nature, such as making arrangements for meetings and exchanging pulpits,

1. T. Benyon, Visits to London, 43.
2. Letter dated 26 Sept. 1743, printed in An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars ... IV, iii, 19-23.
3. H.G. Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (1899 rpt. 1969), 1.

but the focus of interest here lies in defining the particular issues discussed in international correspondence. If long-distance correspondence could not be concerned with the practical organization of preaching circuits, ministerial visits, minister's associations and church tribunals, as the local letters so often were, what and why did they write to people hundreds or thousands of miles away? Their letters provide the most complete available record of the international workings of the revival and of the issues which were discussed at this level.

One of the primary and most straightforward purposes of letter-writing was to describe the revival in one's own locality and many of the letters were narrative and descriptive, particularly during the two years from 1740 to 1742 before the revival began to meet with opposition and internal disputes. The same was true for internal correspondence, but there was an extra sense of excitement in communicating this to someone hundreds of miles away and the excitement was used by ministers to encourage the revival:

In yours of Jan. 25 you acquainted me, that what I wrote to Archibald Webster concerning the success of the Gospel in our American World, was most agreeable to you; and that it, with what was written by others, had refreshed many souls in my native country, Scotland, and filled their mouths with Praises. 1.

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1. Letter of Rev. R. Abercrombie, New England to D- G- of Leslie, Scotland, 25 May 1742, printed in W. McCulloch, ed., The Glasgow Weekly History, xxxiv, 1-4.

Letters could be full of names of unknown ministers and places and details of converts, written of exuberantly:

I am now to inform you, that since my Last our exalted Saviour has been riding forth in his magnificence and Glory .... Whole Congregations, old and young, black and white, Prophane and moral ... at Taunton, Middleborough, Bridgewater, Abington, York, Ipswich, Rowley, Cape Ann .... 1.

Despite the distance between correspondents and their probable ignorance of geography, the letters contained detailed catalogues of new revival areas and ministers often requested such detail from one another. Revival leaders wished to familiarize themselves with factual information, such as the distances between places and the sort of towns involved. They attached a great deal of importance to precision and explicitness because they felt it helped them to establish the authenticity of the revival in the eyes of friends and enemies.<sup>2</sup> The following letter from a minister in Scotland to his correspondent in New England was fairly typical of this genre:

In the parish of Sintire to the west of St. Ninians there were several newly awakened at the giving the Lord's supper, about the end of July. In Gargunnoch, Kippen, Killern farther north and west, the Lord's work is yet undiscernable. 3.

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1. Letter of T. Prince to G. Whitefield, 6 Dec. 1741, printed in The Glasgow Weekly History, xv, 1-3, and in The Weekly History, xlix.
  2. E.g. when Thomas Prince asked for revival reports and letters for publication in The Christian History he required that, 'Ministers and other Persons of credit and religious Disposition ...' should send them 'studiously avoiding Personal Reflections and angry Controversy, but relating plain and certain Facts and subscribing their Names'. T. Prince, Jr. ed. The Christian History, I, advertisement.
  3. ~~Letter of James Robe to J. Edwards, 16 Aug. 1743, printed in S.E. Dwight, op. cit., I, 201.~~

Through narrative detail, correspondents were able to encourage one another and develop a sense of unity.

As ministers, they were interested in the ways their fellow ministers conducted revival work. The information they exchanged was possibly the first step in the development of revival techniques, although at this early stage in the history of modern revivalism it was often unconscious. However, the mere communication of different methods was all part of the process by which evangelicalism became stylized throughout extensive areas and in different denominations. Presbyterian minister, John Moorhead of Boston, was one of the many who gave information about the methods he used in his parish. He encouraged his parishioners to examine their own thoughts and feelings, to listen to itinerant preachers, organize fasts in the family and readings by heads of families of the 'most pungent Discourses they could find that treated on the Nature of Conversion and the New Birth'. He emphasized the educative role of societies for prayer and instruction and was concerned that these should be properly organized by the minister.<sup>1</sup> There were disputes between ministers about the limits of their own role and the efficacy of any human effort in bringing about a conversion, but they were influenced by the apparent success of a particular practice in spite of their qualms. Occasionally they dis-

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1. Letter of John Moorhead to a Gent. in N. Britain, 14 June 1743, printed in The Christian Monthly History, I, ii, 11-23.

cussed the controversial issue of the use of revival 'means', as they called them:

We ought not only to praise God for everything, that appears favourable to the interests of religion, and to pray earnestly for a general revival, but also to use means that are proper in order to it. 1.

The particular 'means' being discussed here by Jonathan Edwards and John Erskine was the practice of weekly sacraments, which Edwards considered was 'a proper means' and which Erskine and others had been striving to establish in the face of 'bigotry and prejudice'<sup>2</sup>. Ministers debated the use of prayer societies, the United Concert for Prayer<sup>3</sup> and the practice of itinerant preaching.<sup>4</sup> Besides offering practical assistance and advice to the individual, this process was of more general significance because many of the correspondents were the same men who wrote the literature of the revival and of modern Protestant evangelicalism. They formulated their opinions in this transatlantic context and established certain theological interpretations and patterns of responses.

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1. Letter of J. Edwards to J. Erskine, 15 Nov. 1750, printed in S.E. Dwight, op. cit., I, 417.
  2. Ibid., and letter of J. Edwards to J. Erskine, 5 July 1750, printed in S.E. Dwight, op. cit., I, 407-409.
  3. The Concert for Prayer begun in 1744 by Scots and American ministers is discussed below, pages 112-116.
  4. See The Testimony of the Churches in the Province of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England ... May 25, 1743. Against Several Errors in Doctrine, and Disorders in Practice (Boston, 1743), and The Testimony and Advice of an Assembly of Pastors ... Boston, July 7 1743. Occasion'd by the late happy Revival of Religion in many Parts of the Land ... (Boston, 1743).

At the core of the revival lay the individual's conversion and, although this was a personal experience, it was of crucial concern to the minister. Perhaps because of the high regard in which New England was held by British revivalists and certainly because of Edwards' writings on conversion,<sup>1</sup> British ministers discussed the features of conversion with their American correspondents. Letters dealing with possible ways to distinguish a valid from invalid experience might be as much as five thousand words long, supported by specific instances of individual cases.<sup>2</sup> The desire to define and categorize was present, explicitly or implicitly, in many of the letters, and it is possible that this was one of the ways in which the conversion experience became standardized:<sup>3</sup>

What you write about the trial of extraordinary joys and raptures, ... is most solid; and our practice ... hath been conformable to it. It hath been in the strongest manner declared, that no degree of such rapturous joys evinced them to

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1. J. Edwards, The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God (Boston, 1741), and A Faithful Narrative ...
  2. E.g., MS. letter of J. Erskine to T. Prince, Sr., 17 July 1742, Erskine MSS. M.H.S.
  3. A rare glimpse of this process at work on one of the laity is afforded in the MS. Religious Journal of Sarah Gill, Boston Public Library. She noted for April 1742, 'the next sabbath I heard dear Mr. Edwards ... I trust I had the Presence of Christ with me, and by the Marks laid down I concluded I had been Drawn to Christ ....' /My italics/ Thomas Prince believed that Edwards' reports of the Northampton revival prepared the way for the revivals of the 1740s, see The Christian History /Boston/ II, 379. Put another way, he established revival patterns and stereotypes.

be free from God, unless they led to God....  
Such conditioned applications of the promise  
of grace and glory as you justly recommend, hath  
been all along our manner. 1.

John Moorhead made 'each Person successively to relate how far they had been acquainted with a work of conviction and Conversion upon their souls' and then he corrected those he found 'defective', which seems to have been the practice employed at Cambuslang, as we have seen.<sup>2</sup> Detecting a 'defective conversion' was probably one of the most serious problems faced by a minister, but there were others which also resulted from the excessive emotional tension built into a revival meeting. Were the trances and dreams, for example, legitimized by Scripture? In Boston The Christian History put across the view that 'outcries' and excesses of expression were only to be expected, but that none of these manifestations should be taken as indicating conversion. They reminded people that none of this was new, and generally attempted to play down emotionalism in the hope that this would discourage people from 'indulging' themselves.<sup>3</sup> Few

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1. Letter of J. Robe to J. Edwards, 16 Aug. 1743, printed in S.E. Dwight, op. cit., I, 200-201.
  2. See also J. Robe, A faithful Narrative of the Extraordinary Work of the Spirit of God at Kilsyth and other Congregations in the Neighbourhood (Glasgow, 1742), which contains a very full description of the methods used with converts and potential converts at the Kilsyth and Cambuslang revivals.
  3. The Christian History /Boston/, I, xxvii, 215; xxviii, 216-221; II, liii, liv, lxvii, lxviii.

were able to deal with it as effectively as Reverend John White claimed he had:

As to visions, we had enough them, until such time as in a Lecture sermon I declared my sentiments concerning them; and so far as I can understand, there has never been one since. 1.

These more extreme lay activities worried ministers everywhere because it touched on their own authority over the laity who might claim special gifts and powers of immediate revelations, and because it might jeopardize the respectability of the revival in an age which spurned enthusiasm of any sort. New England ministers published a statement expressing their views on the subject of 'secret impulses' and including a prayer 'that laymen do not invade the ministerial office'.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the accusations of superstition and derangement brought against the revival, ministers and converts were indicted of sexual misconduct,<sup>3</sup> and, although it was always vigorously denied, leaders like

1. Ibid., II, Lviii, 46.

2. The Testimony of the Pastors of the Churches ... in New England ... Against several Errors in Doctrine and Disorders in Practice, op. cit., reprinted in The Christian Monthly History I, iv, 3-60, 13.

3. E.g., S. Foote The Minor (1760).



Whitefield and Wesley did arouse the passions of some of their female converts:

I can say I never knew anything so difficult /Margaret L-y wrote to Whitefield/ all the days of my Life, as have been enabled in some Measure to bless the Lord for the Good I have by your Ministry, yet I find there is always a hankering in my Heart after the Instrument. 1.

This problem does not seem to have been discussed in such detail as the others, although the ministers who prepared the Cambuslang manuscripts for publication were quite sure that any hint of such feelings should be deleted from the scripts and discouraged.<sup>2</sup>

The chief disadvantage to private correspondence was the limit it placed on the number of people involved. Revival leaders soon realized that the usefulness of revival news and information could be multiplied if it were shared more widely. One simple and obvious method was to pass the letter around among friends; another was to copy the letter and pass it on; or to read it aloud to a congregation or society. The most sophisticated technique evolved by

1. Letter of 'a young girl in Merchant's Hospital, Edinburgh, 20 Nov. 1741', The Weekly History, lxii.
2. E.g. Cambuslang MSS., I, 178 (Jean Robe).

revivalists was the collecting, selecting and printing of letters in the weekly and monthly magazines published by evangelicals for evangelicals.<sup>1</sup> Most of these conventions, and above all the printed letter, became normal practice for evangelical groups in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and what had been spontaneous in the 1740s had become institutionalized by the 1840s.

The first and most natural step was to make use of the ready made networks of friends and colleagues among whom letters could be circulated and discussed. Congregational and Independent ministers, for example, did this at their regular association meetings which were neighbourhood affairs,<sup>2</sup> whilst others innovated in order to achieve the same effect. Scottish ministers innovated a special 'correspondent meeting' which reflected their desire to organize evangelism.<sup>3</sup> Originally, few of the letters read out at these meetings would have been written for such a purpose, but once this

1. Discussed in Chapter V below.
2. "The Diary of Ebenezer Parkman", ed. F.G. Walett, Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Association, 72, (April, 1962), 31-233 and (Oct. 1962), 329-481; 73 (April, 1963), 45-120 and (Oct. 1963), 386-464. This covers the diary from 1739-1747, the years which have been used in this study. Philip Doddridge in The Evil and Danger of Neglecting the Souls of Men... (1741), 9, suggested 'that neighbouring Ministers, in one part of Our Land and another ... should enter into Associations, to strengthen the Hands of each other by united Consultation and Prayer, And that Meetings of Ministers might, by some obvious Regulations, be made more extensively useful than they often are ....'.
3. The Christian Monthly History, II, viii, 237. Letter from Edwards, 'Please remember me to the correspondent meeting in Glasgow, that you speak of ....'. The English and Welsh Calvinist Methodists were organized through a monthly meeting of the whole society and weekly con-

practice was established, it could affect the style of the letter, making it more formal and less personal. In England and Wales meetings of ministers were not usually possible, because evangelical ministers were so scattered,<sup>1</sup> and instead, the normal way to disseminate information was for workers at the Tabernacle to transcribe letters for revivalists outside London. Howell Harris did this for a time, as did John Syms, although they did not have the manpower to do it thoroughly: 'I have not the Time to Transcribe the Letters I had thoughts of sending now [Syms told Harris], but maybe shall have another Time'.<sup>2</sup> Examples of letter-copying were to be found in Scotland and New England, but the practice was not centralized or so systematic as it was in England and was more likely to be practiced if the letter was of exceptional interest. The Reverend Daniel Wadsworth of Hartford, Connecticut recorded in his diary that he 'Saw a copy of a letter from Rowland to Noble giving wonders wrought by his preaching' in Wales,<sup>3</sup> and the

1. With the exception of the Anglican Ministers in Cornwall, who did have meetings, see G.C.B. Davies, The Early Cornish Evangelicals.
2. G.M. Roberts op. cit., 152..
3. Diary of Rev. Daniel Wadsworth (Hartford, Conn., 1894), 55. Wadsworth had correspondence with Philip Doddridge, Benjamin Colman and Jonathan Edwards and he subscribed to The Christian History [Boston].

same letter appears in the copybook of Reverend Ebenezer Parkman of the West Church in Boston.<sup>1</sup>

Just as the revival revitalized more distant communications, then it did the same for local ones. Even areas remote from the centres of communication could be brought in touch through the extension of internal networks:

Among the correspondents of Dr. Gillies, Mr. McCulloch and Rev. M'Laurin we meet the names of Rev. James M'Lellan of Kirkowen, Thomas Forbe of Slains, James Smith of Kincardie, John Miller of Dunrossness, George Cambell of Botriphnie, W. Carlyle of Prestonpans, John Willison of Dundee and many more in Ross-shire. 2.

John Bonar of Torpichen wrote to McCulloch that he had heard of the revival in Cambuslang and other places in Britain and America and asked for 'a particular account about this matter',<sup>3</sup> which he received almost immediately.<sup>4</sup> Henry Davidson of isolated Galashiels cultivated a fruitful correspondence with the Reverend Thomas Davidson of Braintree and the merchant, William Hogg, of Edinburgh, who in turn had contacts with the London Tabernacle and received American

1. MS. copy or Letter Book, M.H.S.
2. The Edinburgh Christian Instructor, Sept. 1839, 34ln.
3. Ibid., 362.
4. Ibid., 363.

letters which came into London, as well as those arriving in Scotland.<sup>1</sup> In Boston, the Reverend Ebenezer Parkman, who had several transatlantic contacts, had correspondences with Gilbert Tennent, Jonathan Edwards and William Cooper, who had their own links abroad, and locally with the Reverends Andrew Eliot, John Webb and Samuel Bliss, who did not.<sup>2</sup>

The first sequel to ministerial meetings and private circulation of letters was to read the correspondence out to congregations and religious societies, or at least the more narrative and stirring parts of letters. Ministers hoped that news of revivals elsewhere would encourage their own people and would communicate the idea of a very special Providence from God. William McCulloch 'frequently read to his hearers, missives, attestations and journals which he had received from correspondents, giving an account of conversions which had taken place in different parts of the world, especially in New England'.<sup>3</sup> It evidently had the desired effect on at least one in his congregation:

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1. H. Davidson, Letters to Christian Friends (Edinburgh, 1811), passim.
  2. "Diary of Ebenezer Parkman", Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc. passim.
  3. J. Sinclair, ed., The Old Statistical Account (Edinburgh, 1793), V, 267.

... hearing a minister on a fast day, after sermon, read some papers relating to the success of the Gospel abroad, I was greatly affected at the thought that so many were getting good, and I was getting none. 1.

In America, B. Colman wrote that 'Mr. Edwards read lately to his People part of a letter from me giving him an account of our state'.<sup>2</sup> Edwards in fact fully employed all the techniques available to him to spread the news:

Those things I have taken a great deal of pains to communicate to others; and they have been very entertaining and I hope profitable to many. I was at pains to extract from all the letters I received at that time, those things which appeared with a favourable aspect on the interest of religion in the world, and to draw various copies to send to different parts of .... I read these articles of good news to my own congregation, and also to the association of ministers to which I belong, when met on one of the quarterly seasons for prayer; and read them occasionally to many others; and sent a copy of one of the aforementioned abstracts to Connecticut, which was carried into various parts of that government, and shown to several ministers there. I sent one to Mr. Hall of Sutton ... who according to my desire, communicated it to other ministers, and I suppose, to his people. 3.

Edwards did all that one person could manage and it required an organization to take dissemination any further.

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1. Cambuslang, MSS., I, 103.
  2. Colman to Whitefield, The Weekly History, xvii.
  3. Letter of Edwards to McCulloch, 23 May 1749, in S.E. Dwight, op. cit. I, 276-277.

As far as we know it was only in England and Wales, through the organization at Calvinist Methodist Tabernacles, that public readings of foreign and domestic news became institutionalized as a regular part of the society calendar. This possibly reflected the lower levels of literacy and the stronger oral traditions in England and Wales. Letter Day, as it was called, was also more likely to have been established in England because it was a practice that English revivalists imitated from the Moravians who had been in England since 1735. They were successful missionaries in England and Wales where the societies were susceptible to their influences and were particularly impressed with the practice of Gemeintag, or mass meeting, for the reading of missionary reports. Gemeintag had been central to Moravian community life since 1728 and it included ordinations, marriages and prayer, although the main feature was 'the communication of the latest accounts from the churches and missions from all parts'.<sup>1</sup> It was this last feature of Gemeintag which attracted so many outsiders. Benjamin Ingham, who was appointed a corresponding member of the Moravian society in 1741, for instance, advised Philip Doddridge to go and hear 'the letters and accounts read'.<sup>2</sup>

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1. J.M. Levering, A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania 1741-1892 (Bethlehem, Pa., 1903), 67. See G.L. Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities (New York, 1967).
2. G.M. Nuttall, ed., Philip Doddridge, 91, Letter dated Aug. 1741.

Rather in the way of church conferences 'these occasions did much to keep the widely-scattered Brethren in sympathetic touch and intelligently interested in the common work of all lands'.<sup>1</sup>

Wherever the Moravians went they continued their Letter Days, including the Fetter Lane Society in London which was attended by Whitefield, the Wesleys and other members of the Oxford Club. As early as 1739 English evangelicals were imitating the practice. From Bristol Wesley wrote to London publisher and Methodist, James Hutton, 'I wish you would constantly send me extracts of all your foreign letters, to be read out on Intercession Day'.<sup>2</sup> After their separation from the Moravians in 1741, both Whitefield and the Wesleys began the practice in their own societies, although they and their followers continued to attend the Moravian Letter Day as well as their own at the Foundry:

Went to hear the letters read in the Foundry ...  
Then again to Fetter Lane to hear the Moravian  
letters .... 3. Yesterday we Whitefield's  
Methodists had our monthly Day for reading letters  
about ye Progress of ye Gospel everywhere - such  
accounts as we had from America and Scotland your  
ears never heard of .... Yesterday was ye Letter  
Day with ye Moravians where was glorious accounts  
from Pennsylvania .... 4.

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1. J.M. Levering, op. cit., 68.
  2. J. Telford, ed., The Letters of John Wesley, (1960), I, 314.
  3. T. Benyon, Reformer and Soldier, 26. H. Harris diary  
4 Oct. 1742.
  4. G.M. Roberts, op. cit., 46. H. Harris to Daniel Rowlands,  
14 Sept. 1742.



The Calvinist Methodists established regular Letter Days in London on the second Monday of the month, and in Bristol on the first Monday in the month,<sup>1</sup> as early as 1741,<sup>2</sup> and they were continued for at least seven years as an important feature of the Whitefieldian movement. When the leaders of the London Tabernacle devised a Memorandum in February/March 1746 they reminded ministers that one of their duties was to read letters from correspondents once a month.<sup>3</sup> Letter Day proceedings usually began with an exhortation followed by the letters, each of which might be concluded by communal singing of a specially written verse and the whole service rounded off with another exhortation and prayer. The meeting lasted several hours and was an occasion of great excitement:

The Tabernacle being filled in all its Parts for Peoples sitting and many standing on the outsides of the seats. About 4 in the afternoon the Rev. Mr. Whitefield began with an exhortation to seriousness and Attention .... He then pray'd and desired God to give a true Catholick Spirit to all the People .... We then sang the following hymn of Mr. Seagrave's to invoke the Holy Ghost. Mr. Whitefield then read as follows .... A verse was

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1. An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars ... VI, ii, 47.
  2. Luke Tyerman, The Life of the Rev. George Whitefield (1877), I, 542. Whitefield to the Welsh evangelists, 28 Dec. 1741: 'I am about to settle a monthly meeting in Bristol and London where correspondents' letters are to be read.' Also E. Welch, Two Calvinistic Methodist Chapels, 19, Flyleaf to the Association Minutes.
  3. Ibid., 14.

sung at the end of every Letter by way of Prayer for the Person who wrote them. Mr. Whitefield then spoke something suitable to what had Passed; and ask'd what Effect it had on their souls. 1.

A fairly typical selection of readings was listed by Harris in his diary for 1746 and it is interesting to note how casually he referred to American news, suggesting that such contacts were regular and had come to be expected by this date:

Went to read the letters from Nottingham, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Exeter, Bristol, Gloucestershire, Hereford, Wednesbury, Kidderminster, Wiltshire, Breconshire, America, Tewkesbury, Montgomeryshire, Bala, Leicester. 2.

In 1742 and 1743 when Scotland was experiencing its revival, the English Letter Days included letters from Scottish ministers too.

Two sorts of letter were sent to the Tabernacle. One was the personal letter donated by its recipient, like the one sent by Joseph Humphreys<sup>3</sup> to John Syms: 'I have a letter here from a Young Gentleman in New England to a

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1. An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars ..., II, ii, 7
  2. T. Benyon, H. Harris Visits to London, 112, 2 Sept. 1746.
  3. Humphreys was one of the Methodist lay preachers who itinerated in the Home Counties. F. Baker in John Wesley and the Church of England (1970), 82, says he was one of Wesley's preachers, but after 1741 he seems to have been associated with the Calvinist Methodists and wrote regular accounts for their magazines and to the Tabernacle.

Minister in Gloucestershire, which I would desire you to insert in Mr. Lewis's Paper, that the Relation of the work in America may be confirmed by a cloud of witnesses'.<sup>1</sup>

The second type was written to be read aloud and was usually referred to as an 'account' by the preachers who sent them in. Like the Epistles of Paul, the letters of George Fox and the Moravian reports, they were self-consciously addressed to a large group of listeners and their style and content were adapted to their purpose. Brother Herbert Jenkins, who was one of the Whitefieldian itinerant exhorters,<sup>2</sup> wrote to John Cennick, 'Just now I came here [Bristol] from Wales. And because I find you have a Letter Day next Monday, I think it my Duty to let you know how it has been with me since I left London'.<sup>3</sup> Exhorters and superintendents of the societies were frequently urged to send in a full account of their preaching, persecutions, new societies and converts and visits to societies. It seems likely that the constant reiteration of these practices helped the development of the Calvinist Methodist organization and sense of identification.

1. The Glasgow Weekly History, xxiii, letter dated 15 May, 1742.
2. Jenkins' names appears in the English Calvinist Methodist Association Minutes, Trevecka MS. 2946, printed in E. Welch Two C.M. Chapels, 22-27. In 1748 he joined the Independent Church [Welch, 38] and was ordained to a church in Maidstone, where he stayed until his death in 1772.
3. The Christian History [London], VI, i, 68. Letter dated 31 Oct. 1744.

Letter Days were evidently popular with the laity, but there remained the problem of limited accessibility. Opportunities to inaugurate a Letter Day were confined to the centres of communication, a problem shared equally by the meetings of ministers in Scotland and New England. How could they best multiply the effect they were achieving on a small-scale? The answer was supplied by the London printer, John Lewis, when in September, 1740, he began editing and printing a weekly revival newspaper.<sup>1</sup> His concern was with 'the Progress of the Gospel both at Home and Abroad',<sup>2</sup> and from the outset he used letters to provide the narrative and text of the paper. Whitefield himself had seen the value of newspaper publicity and, writing from Boston in October, 1740, he had advised one of his publicists to use the secular press to further the revival: 'If some of the Letters were extracted and inserted in the Daily Advertiser it might comfort and rejoice God's people'.<sup>3</sup> But there were too many obstacles to this project and an independent paper was clearly a more useful instrument. By April, 1741, Lewis' paper had been officially adopted by Whitefield for the Calvinist Methodists, and for the express purpose of publishing up to date revival news:

1. The Christian's Amusement, for full details see below, pages 180-195.
2. This phrase is taken from the full title of The Christian's Amusement.
3. The Weekly History, iv.

As it is Rev. Mr. Whitefield's Desire to have these Accounts made as publick as possible (he having known the Usefulness of them, especially in Country Places) so we hope that neither care nor Diligence will be wanting to render the same both useful and entertaining. 1.

From 1741 onwards the London paper, or magazine, became increasingly closely linked with Letter Day, until it published little besides the letters read out at the Tabernacle. Letters received at the Tabernacle were copied into books<sup>2</sup> so that the leaders might select those to be published.<sup>3</sup>

Lewis's idea was taken up by the Reverends William McCulloch in Glasgow, James Robe in Edinburgh, and Thomas Prince, Jr. in Boston. None of these towns appear to have had an equivalent of the London Letter Day, but they were all well placed to receive letters and the ministers who edited them were at the heart of the communications network. McCulloch relied heavily on the London Weekly History for his Glasgow Weekly History, concentrating on reprinting letters to the near exclusions of other forms of literature. In his Christian History, Thomas Prince aimed to print

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1. An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars ... VI, iii, 83.
  2. E. Welch, Two C.M. Chapels, 12, Minutes 29 June 1747.
  3. T. Benyon, H. Harris. Visits to London, 167, 13 Dec. 1747, 'settled the letters for the Weekly History'.

'Extracts of written letters both from England, Scotland, New York, New Jersey, South Carolina and Georgia of a religious Nature as they shall be sent hither from creditable Persons and communicated to us'.<sup>1</sup> James Robe, who put together The Christian Monthly History was aware that 'a very extensive Correspondence must be established for the carrying on a Design of this sort to purpose.'<sup>2</sup> He therefore expected:

... that Ministers of the Gospel and other religious Persons of Reputation, will of themselves frankly, from Time to Time, give what Intelligence they are able of Memorable Matters known to them, relating to religion. 3.

Robe and Prince solicited letters for publication and received detailed accounts of the revival in different parishes. With the exchange of complete sets of newspapers between the editors, coverage was as complete as possible.<sup>4</sup>

Only this cheap and full reprinting of letters overcame the limitations of all the other methods of dissemination. With the exception of Wales, all the revival countries had their own newspaper or magazine which, for a few pence or less, brought the reader up to date with all the

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1. From the advertisement which makes up the frontispiece to Volume I.
  2. The Christian Monthly History, Preface, xxxvii.
  3. Ibid.
  4. See letter of T. Prince to W. McCulloch, see below, pages 125-126.

latest revival news from all over the revival world. Ministers in remote areas used them as a source for their own 'Letter Day'. From Nigg, on the north west coast of Scotland near Aberdeen, the Reverend John Balfour wrote:

I procured most of your Narratives and Letters; and this Post I comission for an entire set of them, and for Copies of the Christian Monthly History ... and have recommended to some others to procure them and will to more .... The Design is very laudable and has already been of great Use. It is a choice Means to promote the Communion of Saints upon Earth. 1.

Three thousand miles away from Nigg the Reverend Nicholas Gilman of Durham, New Hampshire read to his parishioners from the Glasgow Weekly History, whilst from Wellington in Somerset the Reverend Risdon Darracott (a Presbyterian minister) wrote thanking John Lewis for his good work: 'I have distributed the Weekly Papers among my People and they are much affected with them'.<sup>2</sup> John Harrison of Braintree in Essex, another Nonconformist minister, thought the London papers particularly useful for keeping the young people out of temptation's way, which he did for up to three hours at a time, reading 'the substance of near 30 of Mr. Lewis's Papers'.<sup>3</sup> George Whitefield even offered

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1. The Christian Monthly History, I, iv, 49, dated Feb. 1744.
  2. The Weekly History, xlvi.
  3. The Weekly History, lii; reprinted in The Glasgow Weekly History, xviii, 1-4. Letter dated 13 Feb. 1741/2.

back copies on easy terms so that people could 'be possess'd of all the Letters that have been printed ....'.<sup>1</sup>

Evangelical magazines were by far the cheapest and best known source for reprinted revival letters, but they were not the only way this was done. Whitefield's extensive correspondence found its way into print in many ways, most commonly through his Journals, but occasionally printed on the back of sermons and pamphlets, or used to break up some rather weighty piece of writing. Three American letters to Whitefield, for example, were bound between his Letter to New Brunswick and Letter in answer to the Presbytery of Newcastle<sup>2</sup>. Like other letters which had not been written with publication in mind, they were nonetheless regarded as general revival property which could be published for the community at large.<sup>3</sup>

1. An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars ... VI, iii, 83.
2. Published in Philadelphia, 1739. The Letters were from: (i) Dr. C- of Boston, 3 Dec. 1739; (ii) Gilbert Tennent, New Brunswick, 1 Dec. 1739; (iii) William Tennent, New York, 22 Dec. 1739. 'The following letters were not intended to be made public.' 45. Copy in New College Library, Edinburgh.
3. E.g., Copy of Three Letters, The first written by Dr. John Nicol at New York, to Mr. William Wardrobe, Surgeon in the Grass-market of Edinburgh; the second by a dissenting minister in England to a Gentleman in Scotland; the third from a minister at Boston to his friend at Glasgow. Giving an Account of the Progress and Success of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. (Edinburgh, 1740), and J. Edwards to J. Erskine, 5 July 1750: 'We have had published here, an extract of a letter, written by Dr. Doddridge to Mr. Pearsall of Taunton, in Somersetshire, and transmitted by him to Boston, in a letter to Mr. Prince ....' in S.E. Dwight, op. cit., I, 407.



By combining their private network for dissemination of news and literature with their outlets for more general publication, revival leaders had an effective vehicle for launching specific projects or conducting particular campaign on an international level. In this way they adopted and supported Whitefield's Georgia Orphan House<sup>1</sup>, donated money to missionaries<sup>2</sup>, and later on helped to establish the Presbyterian College of New Jersey.<sup>3</sup> For the encouragement of the revival at parish level, they initiated and sustained the United Concert for Prayer which was to become one of the major legacies of the mid-eighteenth century revivals.<sup>4</sup>

During the 1730s and 1740s many religious societies in Britain and America had organized their own special prayer days, often accompanied by a fast. Whitefield made his the sixteenth day of the month and many of his societies

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1. Whitefield founded an Orphan House at Bethesda, Georgia, in 1740, see A.A. Dallimore, George Whitefield, 206-207, 445-462. Collections were continually made for it in Britain: E. Welch, Two C.M. Chapels, xv, 8, 13, 'In conference agreed that as the Orphan House is indebted to Mr. Whitefield and £200 is now wanting, that each should propose in his class and band etc. etc. willing collection to be made toward the Orphan House, and a publick collection be made ....'. Large sums of money were given from Scotland: The Weekly History, xx. Note from Edinburgh 13 Aug. 1741 where Whitefield had collected £93.
  2. A. Fawcett, Cambuslang Revival, 216. McCulloch spent a total of £227 on missionary work. See L.B. Richardson, An Indian Preacher in England (Hanover, New Hampshire, 1933) for letters between Eleazor Wheelock, founder of an Indian Charity School at Dartmouth, N.H. and his British patrons. It is interesting to note that this kind of communication continued through the 1750s and 1760s. The letters give amounts of donations.
  3. MS. letters from John Guyse, Dr. Stennett, William Hogg, John McLaurin to American correspondents about the founding of New Jersey College. Burr MSS. Princeton University Library The Rev. Samuel Davies went on a fund-raising trip to Britain on behalf of the College between 1753 and 1755, where he found that he was most warmly received by pro-revivalists: G.W. Pilcher, The Rev. Samuel Davies Abroad.
  4. A. Fawcett, *op. cit.*, 210-235.

the same date. Elsewhere neighbouring societies gradually compared notes and agreed to observe the same day, as happened in Dundee in 1742:

We have agreed to observe Thursday next for Thanksgiving to the Lord in all our praying societies and others are invited to them to join in Praising the Lord. 1.

These prayers were interdenominational and catholic in spirit because in general they were concerned with 'the enlargement of Christ's Kingdom'<sup>2</sup>. As the number of societies grew so the practice of sharing a prayer day spread and by 1743 it was well organized in lowland Scotland:

There was a Proposal from the Praying Societies at Edinburgh transmitted in a short printed Memorial to us and other Places to set apart Friday the 18th now past for Thanksgiving ... and Prayer .... There was a serious and apparent concern among People. 3.

It was not until October, 1744 that the Scottish ministers concerned decided to extend the reach of a United Prayer Day to include the rest of Britain and America. Their main contact in America was Jonathan Edwards who was eager to support the project for a number of reasons. According to

1. The Glasgow Weekly History, xxvi.
2. Ibid.
3. An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars ... III, i, 18.

him it 'was an encouragement to People to perform their duty to pray for the coming of Christ's Kingdom; ... and people get extra benefit from the knowledge that others in many places were doing the same thing at the same time'.<sup>1</sup>

When they had finally chosen weekly and quarterly times for prayer, to be observed for a fixed period of two years, the Scottish ministers faced the problem of spreading the information. Interestingly, they rejected the idea of sending a printed proposal and eventually promoted it 'by personal conversation with such as they could conveniently have immediate Access to, and by private Correspondence with others at a Distance'<sup>2</sup> so that they would not be so open to criticism. However, this fear did not prevent their advertising the Concert in the evangelical press where it was encouraged in the correspondence and through editorials:

It appertains to a Religious History, to give an Account of the Endeavours used by Friends of Religion for its being revived and promoted. I begin therefore with publishing a concert begun and entered into in the month of October in Glasgow. 3.

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1. J. Edwards, An Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival of Religion and the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom on Earth, (Boston, 1747), 18.
  2. Ibid. /Edwards' italics/.
  3. The Christian Monthly History, II, i, 1.

Robe gave over one complete issue of the Christian Monthly History and parts of others to encourage the Concert, and it appears that these methods drew in congregations in England, Wales, Scotland and America.<sup>1</sup> He expressed great hopes for the project, which he saw as a means for increasing and sustaining the revival, trusting that:

... he who had made good Account of a religious concern in one Corner, a Means of beginning or promoting the like in other corners, will make the United Prayer of all these with various other Places, come up with Acceptance on his Altar .... 2.

The Concert seems to have proved popular because when the two year period was over a printed Memorial was sent from Scotland in bulk to other places for distribution, suggesting that it be continued. Jonathan Edwards received five hundred copies of the Memorial, which he then distributed:

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I have very lately received a Pacquet from Scotland, with several Copies of a Memorial, for the continuing and propagating an Agreement for joint Prayer, for the general Revival of Religion; three of which I here send you, desiring you to dispose of two of 'em where they will be most serviceable. 3.

1. The Christian Monthly History, II, i, 7, 'it is already spread through many parts of this Country, particularly these where the Revival has chiefly appeared; besides at Chief Cities in England; also ... America.' J. Edwards, Humble Attempt, 19.
2. The Christian Monthly History, II, i, 20.
3. Letter of Edwards to Joseph Bellamy, 15 Jan. 1746, printed in The Manuscripts of Jonathan Edwards by F.B. Dexter (Cambridge, Mass., 1901). First printed in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. (March, 1901).

By 1746, when this Memorial was written, it was decided that 'notwithstanding of what may be done by private Letters it is humbly expected, that a Memorial spread in this manner may, ... farther promote the good Ends in View; as it may be usefully refer'd to in Letters, and may reach where they will not'.<sup>1</sup> Finally, in 1747, Edwards, who had all along been very active in co-ordinating the Concert, wrote its history: An Humble Attempt<sup>2</sup>. His printed Testimony included the Scottish Memorial and the hope that it would provide continuing encouragement seems to have been fulfilled to judge by the private notes of ministers: 'Yesterday and today read Mr. Edwards on ye Concert for Prayer and heartily wish success to ye proposals'.<sup>3</sup> The Concert continued long after the revival was over, making use of and improving the channels of communication which had been set up earlier. The whole process provides an instructive example of the practical workings of the transatlantic revival community and the development of organization and structure within it.

Transatlantic communication between critics of the revival.

To a lesser extent opposition to the revival also opera-

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1. J. Edwards, An Humble Attempt, 23.

2. See above, page 114, fn. 1.

3. MS. Diary of David Hall, 2 July, 1748, M.H.S.

ted in a transatlantic context utilizing very similar, if less extensive, networks of correspondents and exchanges of literature. Most of the criticism, however, lacked the focii enjoyed by the revivalists and could hardly be called a movement. The major transatlantic channel for transmission of revival criticism was from the Congregational Church in the colonies to the Independent and Presbyterian churches in Britain and as favourable news from 'the City on the Hill' was taken as a good sign, then unfavourable comment on the revival had the potential to shake people's confidence in the revival.<sup>1</sup>

There were few anti-revival publications from the colonies actually reprinted in Britain and in 1743 James Robe reported only three. Two of these were sermons: John Caldwell on The Trial of the Spirit<sup>2</sup> and John Barnard's Zeal for Good Works<sup>3</sup> which John Erskine said had been 'reprinted with a View to expose the Work carried on in New England and to prejudice the people against that in the

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1. As the Anglican Church in the northern colonies was so much a branch of the Church in England, its negative response to the revival has been dealt with in Chapter VI below.
  2. J. Caldwell, An Impartial Trial of the Spirit operating in this Part of the World; by comparing the Nature, Effects and Evidences of the supposed Conversion with the Word of God (Boston, 1742; reprinted Glasgow, 1742).
  3. J. Barnard, A Zeal for Good Works Excited and Directed (Boston, 1742; reprinted Glasgow, 1742).

West of Scotland'.<sup>1</sup> Several other pieces were sent over from Congregational ministers to members of the Scottish Associate Presbytery, whose opposition was well-known,<sup>2</sup> and to moderates within the Church. Charles Chauncy, New England's most effective critic of the revival, sent literature over with his correspondence to Scotland with the result, as James Robe informed Edwards, that 'The most unseasonable accounts from America, the most scurrilous and bitter pamphlets, and representations from mistaking brethren, were much and zealously propagated'.<sup>3</sup> Equally, it was a cause for concern among New England revival ministers that anything condemning the revival should be leaving their shores to be read abroad. There was particular alarm about the Boston ministers' Printed Testimony against several Errors and Disorders in the Land,<sup>4</sup> which was sent

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1. J. Erskine, Signs of the Times Considered ..., 24.
2. Letter of Whitefield to D- A- in London, written from Edinburgh, 30 July 1742: 'One of the associate presbytery has published the most virulent pamphlet I ever saw, ascribing all that has been done here, and even in New England, etc. to the influence of the devil'. Printed in Letters of George Whitefield, 413.
3. Robe to Edwards, 16 Aug. 1743, in S.E. Dwight, op. cit. I, 200.
4. The Testimony of the Churches in the Province of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England ... May 25, 1743. Against Several Errors in Doctrine, and Disorders in Practice (Boston, 1743).

to Scotland, because it appeared to speak with the voice of authority from the Convention of New England ministers, although revival ministers protested that they had not been consulted.<sup>1</sup> One of the main worries expressed by these ministers was the impact this Testimony would have abroad:

Is it not a melancholy Tho't ... that many in distant Lands who are true Friends to the Work of God among us, will from the printed Testimony be so powerfully tempted to believe that those forementioned fallacious Accounts of the State of Religion are true? 2.

They claimed they had a responsibility which went beyond their own denomination to wherever there were revivals, and thus they had 'Reason to fear that this printed Testimony will give the Enemies of Religion among them great Advantage to obstruct the Revival ....'.<sup>3</sup> But the revivalists did not have a monopoly on responsibility and it was with equal sincerity for the 'Kingdom of God' that these criticisms were circulated. Charles Chauncy, who wrote his first critique in the form of an open letter to a friend

1. See J. Gee, Letter to the Reverend Nathanael Eells, Moderator of the late Convention (Boston, 1743), and J.F. Remarks on Mr. Joshua Gee's Letter ... (Boston, 1743). Both of these pamphlets show a great awareness of the links between Scotland and New England.
2. J. Gee, Ibid., in The Christian Monthly History, I, iv, 27.
3. Ibid., 28.



in Edinburgh and called it The State of Religion in New England since the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Arrival there ...<sup>1</sup> thought it vital to disillusion those who had been misled into glorifying events in New England. His letter took for granted British familiarity with New England affairs and aimed to counterbalance the popular view perpetrated by the revivalists, with a description of the Awakening as chaotic and ungodly, its leaders as ignorant and hysterical men 'of very narrow minds and great Bigotry'.<sup>2</sup> He hoped to 'correct the same follies and superstitions, which are getting too much Footing amongst us, by representing many Inconveniencies and Disorders which ensued upon like Methods of teaching abroad'.<sup>3</sup> The letter could hardly have been constructed in a more effective way. It showed an intimate knowledge of what had been circulating in Britain concerning

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1. C. Chauncy, The State of Religion in New-England since the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's Arrival there in A Letter from a Gentleman in New-England to his friend in Glasgow, to which is subjoin'd an Appendix containing Alterations of the principal Facts in the Letter, by the Rev. Mr. Chauncy, Mr. John Caidwell, Mr. John Barnard, Mr. Turell, Mr. J. Parsons, Dr. B. Colman (Glasgow, 1742).
2. Ibid., 3.
3. Ibid., (2nd edition) Editor's Preface, i. The 2nd ed. was printed in Glasgow, and was advertised as being sold in Edinburgh and London. It had 'an Appendix ... to which is prefixed a reply to Mr. Whitefield's Remarks on the first edition'.

New England (which he must have learnt from his Scottish correspondent, George Wishart, and from reading revival news) and could therefore answer and denounce these works in detail. Knowing that 'attestations' would have an impact, Chauncy quoted critical comments about the revival made by ministers whose names were familiar abroad and who had previously supported the revival. Altogether, it was a powerful piece and the speed with which George Whitefield and John McLaurin responded to it indicates how seriously they took the attack. For a while there was an exchange of pamphlets on the subject<sup>1</sup>, the impact of which is difficult to assess, but in all probability it added to the growing confusion and dissatisfaction among revivalists. Robe and Erskine denied that these criticisms had any long-term effects, but they must have added to the sense of disunity which had begun to replace the high hopes of a world revival.

The evangelical network and the movement of revival literature

During the revival the circulation of revival publications developed beyond the exchanges of literature between

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1. The Glasgow Weekly History, xxxv - xxxvii 'A Defense of the Extraordinary work in New England, from the Aspersions in the pamphlet entitled The State of Religion in New England ...' written by Rev. John McLaurin of St. David's Glasgow.

individuals to become a large scale operation involving ministers, printers and merchants, many of whom were as concerned for the revival as for the profitable nature of the business transaction. On an individual level the corresponding network did provide the obvious means by which to circulate new literature, but in addition it provided the impetus for the printing trade by opening up market outlets. Furthermore, just as the revival led to the organization and regularization of several literary forms, including the letter and the conversion narrative, so it also created a communications structure which could be used for the more efficient distribution of books and tracts.

The achievements of personal exchanges should not be underestimated. The gift of a new publication or of the latest piece by one of the correspondents could involve multiple copies for more general circulation, as was the case with Isaac Watts and Benjamin Colman:

I thank you Sir, for the present you make me of so many dozen of ye Wither'd Hand, and tho' you utterly forbid my any payment for them, yet I must require you to accept of the second edition of the Ruin and Recovery of Mankind when it comes out ... and two dozens of my sermons of ye End of Time. 1.

Watts gave away so many books to New England ministers that,

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1. "Letters of Dr. Watts", Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc., 390. Letter dated 24 Feb. 1742. Watts had requested these for distribution amongst his friends: 14 July 1741, 385.

as he put it, 'I have made my cupboards thin ....'<sup>1</sup>. Individual ministers could also give one another permission to reprint their own works<sup>2</sup> and they could act as mutual agencies for book ordering.

I have sent inclosed an account of ye moneys I received from yourself and Mr. Cooper, and the laying of it out according to order, and in the cheapest manner ... I have made my bookseller set some books down 3d and some 6d cheaper than they sell them for in the shops. 3.

Or, as Edwards offered to do for Joseph Bellamy:

I have Thoughts of sending myself this year to England, for a few Books, and have written to Mr. Quincy, a merchant in Boston, about it, to desire his advice and assistance .... If I employ him ... I shall be willing to serve you ... to take your money ... and put your Books into my Catalogue ... or shall be willing to serve you, if I can in any Respect, by writing to my Correspondents in Scotland. 4.

In the case of Watts and Colman the arrangements were extensive, involving over one hundred different titles between 1735 and 1747 and leading to the reprinting of two of Edwards' works in England<sup>5</sup> and works by Watts and Jennings

1. Ibid., 377. Letter dated 29 May 1740.
2. Ibid., 371. Letter dated 13 Nov. 1739.
3. Ibid., 362. Letter dated 31 May 1738.
4. F.B. Dexter, The Manuscripts of Jonathan Edwards (Cambridge, Mass. 1901), 13. Letter dated 15 Jan. 1746.
5. i.e. The Narrative of the Surprizing Work ... and The Distinguishing Marks .... See "Letters of Dr. Watts", 357, 364, 392.

in America.<sup>1</sup> But the demands for transmitting new works created by the revival would have strained the resources of individual ministers. (In the case of Watts, it would also have been against his tenets and taste.) Revivalists, especially those in England and Wales, could not rely on the established figures of the Churches, because they would not lend their support to the new publications and did not approach the question of distribution with the vigour of the evangelists. What was needed was a new set of sponsors and much closer contact with printers, publishers and merchants, in order to supply the growing mass market for cheap revival literature through a distribution structure which was more complex and extensive.

The development of literature distribution during the 1740s and 1750s basically speeded up the older processes, but by increasing the capacity for transmission, a qualitative change also occurred. In order to reach out to the large numbers of varyingly educated lay people it became important to regularize the exchange of the more popular readable pieces, so that they could be reprinted. The London printer, John Lewis, and the Reverends Thomas Prince, Sr. and William McCulloch were aware of the needs of the market. During the summer of 1743 Prince had written to Lewis asking for a correspondence with him, mainly in order

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1. Ibid., 371 and 380 (18 Mar. 1741). J. Jennings, Two Discourses on preaching Christ, and of Particular and Experimental Preaching (Boston, 1740); I. Watts, The End of Time (Boston, 1740).

to arrange an exchange of literature. All three men had access to new works because of their involvement with the evangelical magazines and the press. As a beginning, Prince sent a piece by Edwards and copies of the Boston Christian History, for which Lewis thanked him and replied:

I shall be very glad to have a correspondence with you; but am sorry that I have nothing new to send you but these papers; London Weekly History. Our Brethren have wrote nothing for some considerable time - But when I can get anything worth sending you may assuredly expect to hear from me. 1.

Lewis informed Prince of his intention to reprint the Edwards, possibly as a joint venture with Samuel Mason who had also received a copy. A regular correspondence existed between these editors and it was purposeful. When a packet from Prince to McCulloch went astray, he replaced it immediately and was concerned to sort out the mistake. In the missing parcel he had sent: 'The Christian History No. 1-15; Advice of the County of Hampshire Churches; Declaration concerning Mr. Davenport; a Letter from Scotland printed here in 8<sup>00</sup>; a Testimony to our Little Convention; Mr. Moorhead's Poetical Address to Mr. Davenport; Mr. Dickenson's Display; Mr. Edwards' Book; Boston Evening Post of May 16'.<sup>2</sup> Although impressive for its

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1. MS. letter of Lewis to Prince, 20 Aug. 1743, Davis MSS. M.H.S.
  2. Copy of letter of Prince to McCulloch, 13 Dec. 1743, New York Public Library MSS. letters. Taken from J.H. Benton sale, American Art Assoc. 1920 Catalogue, 3rd session ... Mar. 13.

size, it might be argued that such a parcel was no different from the earlier exchanges between Nonconformists.

It was, however, singlemindedly focussed on revival topics and the sender had a sense of purpose:

I hope the mistake is ere now discovered and rectified. I Design to send you a constant supply of our Christian History as long as it is continued; and as I intend you shall have them all so in case any number be missing; please let me know and I will endeavour to supply them and presuming you before now have received those I sent you to No. 15 inclusively I now send you enclos'd herewith the numbers following to this Day viz. to No. 51 ... We are particularly obliged for your Weekly History .... 1.

Once James Robe began his magazine enterprise in Edinburgh, Prince ensured that he too received all back copies and current issues of the Boston paper.<sup>2</sup> From this evidence it is possible to see that a number of clearing-houses for literature as well as letters had developed, consisting of magazine editors, revival printers, several key personnel and the London Tabernacle. Anchored to these centres were elaborate distribution systems which relied on the establishment of regular and reliable outlets for internal and transatlantic business. Wales, for example, was serviced from the Tabernacle direct to Howell Harris at Trevecka and from there to a number of outlets organized

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1. Ibid.

2. The Christian Monthly History, II, iv, 142.

by him:

I have this day sent you by Waggon directed to Mrs. Ann Rowlands at the Hay 200 of Mr. Whitefield's Answer to the Rev. Mr. Church Prebendary of St. Paul's at 3d and 43 volumes of 23 Sermons with Prayers Bound a New Edition and revis'd by Mr. Wh'd at 2:6. 1.

The London magazines were partly distributed through the Tabernacle:

Brother Blake see that the Monthly Hystory [sic] be sent about according as they are subscribed for, vizt. 150 to the west, Exeter; 60 to Plymouth and 80 to Gloucester, and 40 to Portsmouth, Oulney etc., 50 to Essex, Chatham, Chinner, and 50 to Staffordshire, Salop, Ludlow  
.... 2.

There were other links between country ministers and the London Tabernacle for the passage of books, like one J.D. of Lewes in Sussex who informed the administrators that he had 'Received yours and the Parcel of Books and have distributed many of them'.<sup>3</sup> In some cases, editors and printers arranged that ministers act as a local collection point for subscriptions and for the receipt of bulk orders. In a flysheet advertisement for the Christian Monthly History Robe notified people that the paper would

1. J. Syms to H. Harris n.d. [c. May 1744] in G.M. Roberts, op. cit., 141.
2. E. Welch, Two C.M. Chapels, 13.
3. The Christian History [London], V, iii, 62.



be sold at Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, Dumfries, Biggar, Perth and Stirling, usually by a local minister.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Indian missionary, David Brainerd, wrote to printer, William Bradford of Philadelphia, to arrange sales of his book:

Yours by Mr. Benedict with the Book, wherein you desire me to inform you whether Mr. Woodruff can dispose of any more of the Journals ... he thought he could find a market for 50 more if you would be pleased to send them .... I was told last week by a man from Long Island that he would take two dozen. 2.

Printers and booksellers had their own systems for distribution which, in the case of revival literature, they combined with those of the ministers. One way in which they could act together was to time the arrival of a parcel of books with a visit from Whitefield, which always increased the sales.<sup>3</sup> Whitefield himself did all he could to make firm contact with printers and booksellers, to use their experience, and to leave as little as possible to chance where book sales were concerned. He understood the value of advertising<sup>4</sup> and of organizing the circulation of liter-

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1. Printed at the front of Vol. I.
  2. MS. letter of D. Brainerd to W. Bradford, 20 Apr. 1744, Gratz MSS., Historical Society of Pennsylvania [H.S.P.].
  3. See Glasgow Weekly History, V, 4. Letter of A. Muirhead, Edinburgh bookseller to S. Mason in London, 26 Sept. 1741 about the sale of 'Colman's and ... Finley's sermons'.
  4. See W. Seward, Journal of a voyage from Savannah to Philadelphia and from Philadelphia to England (1740) for Whitefield's instructions to his publicist.

ature and he continued to prompt Tabernacle trustees whilst he was in America:

I send you one of each sort of the Pamphlets that I have published here. I would have them sent to Scotland as soon as may be. 1.

Whilst in America he frequently met Benjamin Franklin and William Bradford to arrange for reprinting American editions of his works:

The Rev. Mr. Whitefield having given me Copies of his Journals and sermons, with leave to print the same: I propose to publish them with all the expedition, if I find sufficient encouragement. 2.

The encouragement solicited by Franklin was evidently given, for the business ledgers and account books kept by three main American printers' record sales of Whitefield's works amounting to thousands of copies.<sup>3</sup> These printers sold books in large quantities to individual purchases like Thomas Cushing, Boston merchant, who bought 'Watts Songs, Watts and Sewall's, Whitefield, Watt's Logick, Willison and Tennent' from Daniel Henchman of Boston between March and December, 1741.<sup>4</sup> The Reverend Experience Mayhew,

1. An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars..., VII, iv, 78.
2. The Pennsylvania Gazette, 577, 3 Jan. 1740.
3. For full details of the material referred to here see Chapter IV below, p.  
(sic)
4. MS. Wast/<sup>(sic)</sup>Book of Daniel Henchman, Baker Library, Harvard Business School [H.B.S.].

who ordered two dozen Whitefield books and fifty miscellaneous books from Henschman, and the Reverend Ebenezer Pemberton, who bought seventy-one copies of Brainerd's Life, were probably ordering to redistribute. Men of wealth who supported the revival also bought books in bulk, presumably to give away or to sell cheaply. Thomas Noble ordered over £100's worth of revival books from Henschman and commissioned Franklin to print the following works:

<u>Credit</u>		<u>Debit</u>
<u>1740</u>		<u>1740</u>
For 498 <u>Observations on</u> <u>Whitefield.</u>	June	5,200 Tennent's <u>Sermons</u> ..... £2.10.0.
		1,000 Finley's <u>Letters</u> ..... £3. 2.6.
	Nov.	29 For 2 dozen sermons sent to be sold for the Orphan House. ..... £- 6.0.
		117 <u>American Journals</u>
		15 <u>Last Journals</u>

Philadelphia merchant, Samuel Hazard, had many business and revival contacts in Britain and the colonies, and like other merchants, he acted as a clearing-house for transatlantic material. Merchants could be extremely useful for disseminating parcels of books through normal trading

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1. Account Books kept by Benjamin Franklin, Ledger 'D'.  
Notes by G.S. Eddy (New York, 1929).

and business channels.<sup>1</sup> In October, 1742, Hazard received a letter from Samuel Mason in London:

Dear Mr. Whitefield has this afternoon sent me the Letters which come with this to forward as directed. You will be so good as to take care of them.... I hope to write to you much more fully.... 2.

Between them these three American booksellers and printers sold and distributed thousands of books and pamphlets to other booksellers in more remote places, or to storekeepers who, like Jonathan Amory, bought '46 Whitefield Sermons, 49 Hooker's Doctrines, 24 Edwards' Humble Attempt' and others, along with his purchase of sandboxes, slates and quills. Or again, like William McCrea of White Clay Creek, or John Henderson of Nottingham, Pennsylvania, paid for their Erskine Sermons, Letters of John Wesley and Divine Breathings with feathers and linens.<sup>3</sup>

Drawing all this information together, it gives us a fairly clear idea of distribution in New England and the way that it relied on a combination of ministerial friendships, business contacts and a great deal of individual energy. We may surmise that a similar system existed in Britain, although there are no printers' records to verify

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1. E.g. Merchant William Hogg of Edinburgh, see H. Davidson, op. cit., passim.
  2. Hazard MSS. P.H.S.
  3. MS. Wast Book of Daniel Henchard, Baker Library, H.B.S.

it. One fragmentary piece of information does provide an insight into the nature of the organization needed to distribute a single work in Britain: The Testimony and Advice of an Assembly of Pastors of Churches in New-England, At a Meeting in Boston, July 7, 1743. Occasion'd By the late happy Revival of Religion in many Parts of the Land (Boston, 1743; rpt. London 1744). In 1744 Watts thanked Colman for sending him a copy:

Mr. Robe of Kilsyth in Scotland, whose name you know amongst the ministers who promoted the late conversion of souls near Glasgow, sent a letter to me to desire that book .... I chose to publish it here for the information of my friends in London and Scotland and added a preface to it .... 1.

This London edition was then shipped to Scotland and a list found in the spine of one of the copies gives some indication of how this was done and the numbers involved.<sup>2</sup>

The list consists of the names of shipmasters and merchants, arranged alphabetically, stating their destination, and the number of copies of the Testimony to be transported by them. On the surviving fragment are twelve names beginning with A, and between them they were to carry almost two thousand copies to Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dunbarton, Bowness and Greenock. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the entire list comprised a couple of hundred names and that the number of copies

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1. "Letters of Watts", Proc. of Am. Antiq. Soc., 404. Letter dated 28 Feb. 1744.

2. This particular copy is held by The Congregational Historical Society, Boston.

may well have run into tens of thousands. This does not seem impossible, because the revival was a mass movement with a particular emphasis on literacy and the written word. To cater for the demands it created, and to evangelize further through revival publications, ministers and those in the book trade developed methods of large scale distribution which were sometimes novel for the middle-eighteenth century, and which provided patterns for later evangelical movements.

CHAPTER IV

LITERACY AND LITERATURE IN THE REVIVAL, 1735-1745

'You that are unconverted, read the Word with Diligence'.<sup>1</sup>

We have seen that one of the functions of the evangelical network was to distribute literature between ministers, and the mechanics of this have been discussed in some detail. In this Chapter I propose to examine the content of revival literature between 1735 and 1745 and to explore the uses made of this literature by laity and ministers. Both the content and the distribution of evangelical literature will be used to argue that the revival had a strong international dimension and that a sense of community was cultivated amongst the converted. Some works, although not read outside their own locality or country, belonged to a genre or mode of expression which was common to revivalists everywhere and, along with the literature which was actually transmitted, it can be discussed as shared writing. It will also be argued that published literature was one of the most effective methods employed for the diffusion of theory and techniques of revivalism among evangelical leaders, ultimately having an impact on the individual expression and interpretation of the conversion experience.

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1. J. Alleine, An Alarme to the Unconverted (1672; rpt. London, 1964), 29.

Between 1739 and 1745, when argument concerning the revivals was fiercest and excitement ran high, a great many protagonists and opponents of revivalism took to their pens and expressed themselves through sermons, hymns, poems and polemical writing. 'The presses are ever teeming with books and the women with bastards', complained Boston's SPG missionary, Timothy Cutler, in a letter to a friend in London.<sup>1</sup> Cutler himself had no doubts about the powerful propagandist effects of the 'teeming presses' and he and fellow Anglicans constantly urged the SPG headquarters in London to send them Anglican literature which would act as an antidote:

Books of this unhappy tendency, books Calvinistic, enthusiastic and antinomian do abound; the Press never had so full employ before, nor were people ever so busy in reading .... I therefore humbly wish for the assistance of the hon. soc. in Books adapted for our present case. 2.

The content of the literature which so worried Cutler, fell into three main categories: purely speculative theology, practical divinity and the polemical works of condemnation and apologetics. Any literature which was written to encourage conversion, or to offer assistance in the maintenance of piety once such a state had been reached, will be

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1. MS. letter of T. Cutler to Z. Grey, 24 Sep. 1743, Boston Public Library MSS.
  2. MS. letter of T. Cutler to SPG headquarters, Dec. 1742, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London, MSS. B. X.



classified as evangelical.

### I. Literacy in the Revival

Given the claims being made in this thesis for the influential part played by literature, it is important to discuss how widely accessible the written word would have been. Revival literature reached the people indirectly through their ministers and lay preachers, but there was also plenty of room for direct lay participation. According to Timothy Cutler, not only were the presses working overtime, 'but people were never so busy in reading' the works that came off them. Historians have not been able to quantify exactly what percentage of the population was literate in the mid-eighteenth century in any of the revival countries. The most recent and thorough scholar of the history of education in colonial America has concluded that 'eighteenth century literacy rates were generally higher in the American colonies than in Ireland, and roughly equivalent as between English and American white males, with the Americans possibly having the slight edge'<sup>1</sup>. Useful though these comparative findings are, they are severely limited by their lack of precision. More serious for a study of religious behaviour is their exclusion of

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1. L.A. Cremin, American Education: The Colonial Experience, 549.

children, women and Negro slaves, all of whom played major roles as participants of the revivals.

Even if an average literacy rate had been arrived at for each of the countries involved in the revival, it would not have been representative of revival supporters between 1735 and 1745. The majority of converts in these years came from within the churches and religious societies and, whilst it is true that the revival brought religion to many who had never had much time for it and delivered it afresh to those who had lost interest, 'its main strength, and also its most controversial effect were executed among those who already belonged to churches but were unhappy with their religion'.<sup>1</sup> This was written of New England, but in Scotland too ministers frequently spoke of their converts as predominantly church-goers. The Reverend James Robe even used this as an argument to explain why observers might not have noticed any outward change in the behaviour of converts. According to him they were already 'of blameless lives, and had a Profession before their Awakening ....'<sup>2</sup> Robe's neighbour in Cambuslang, the Reverend William McCulloch, found that nearly seventy-five per cent of his 104 converts had had 'a Christian upbringing'.<sup>3</sup>

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1. R. Hofstadter, America at 1750: A Social Portrait (New York, 1973), 218.
  2. J. Robe, ed., The Christian Monthly History (1743), Preface, 18.
  3. This figure was derived from the Cambuslang MSS. in New College Library, Edinburgh.

The religious background of many of the converts in New England, the Middle Colonies and Scotland meant that they had higher literacy rates than average and were open to the influence of the written word. In America and Scotland most church-goers belonged to denominations with strong Calvinist and Puritan traditions, which fostered the priesthood of all believers and encouraged close reading of the Scriptures as the foundation for a good Christian life and hope for salvation. In his popular Compassionate Counsel to all Young Men (1682), Richard Baxter described the educational duties of Christians:

... men live so short a time, that the work of educating youth aright is one half of the great business of men's life: Therefore the Families of Christians should be as many schools, or churches .... It is eminently Teachers, but it is also all others in their several ranks who must be the Salt of the Earth and the Light of the World. (p.15)

Baxter laid the responsibility for education on the family and the New England settlers had originally looked to the family to provide the correct training for their children. This function was very quickly taken over by the community at large and, according to Bailyn, beginning with the Stature of 1642 in Massachusetts, 'The Puritans quite deliberately transferred the main functions of the family to formal instructional institutions'.<sup>1</sup> These institutions

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1. B. Bailyn, Education in the forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunity for Study (Chapel Hill, N. Ca., 1960), 27.

in the colonies might not have been able to sustain their role completely, but they went a good way towards doing so. Their ministers were constantly reminding them that 'Every Christian should make it a business of endeavour to grow in the knowledge of divinity' by study of Scripture through the establishment of 'schools in poor towns and villages, to bring children into common learning'.<sup>1</sup> Anyone who was a member of the church community in New England was certainly taught to read; the intention being preparation of the heart for conversion through the study of the Bible and works of doctrine.

Members of the Scottish Kirk were encouraged in the same way, and although John Knox's ideal of Scotland as a home of learning, with a system going from parish school to University, might have been far from realization in the middle-eighteenth century, nonetheless the level of literacy among lowland church-goers still impressed visitors. George Whitefield remarked more than once on the widespread ability to read: 'After I had done prayer, and named my text, the rustling made by opening the bibles all at once, quite surprized me: a scene, I never was witness to before'.<sup>2</sup> He thought lowland Scotland even excelled over New England,

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1. J. Edwards, "The Importance and Advantage of a Thorough Knowledge of Divine Truth" in Works (New York, 1849), IV, 1-16 [dated Nov. 1739].
  2. Letters of George Whitefield ..., 305, to John Cennick, 1 Aug. 1741, from Edinburgh, and L. Tyerman, Life of Whitefield, I, 508.

which had also impressed him for its general level of learning, and on another occasion he wrote of Scotland 'Never did I see so many Bibles, nor people look into them when I expound'.<sup>1</sup> The 1696 Act of General Assembly had made provision for a school and master in every parish, a ruling by no means fully executed because of the inaccessibility of some areas, lack of money and the sheer size of some rural parishes. Where local provision failed, charities such as the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, attempted to fill the gap. Ten years after its foundation in 1709, the SSPCK had established forty-two schools, and in 1732 was employing one hundred and nine schoolmasters. In addition, it began a circulating library. In the main the SSPCK focussed its missionary interest on the Scottish highlands, being the area least well provided for and most traditionally Roman Catholic. One historian has claimed that by 1740 the efforts of the General Assembly and the SSPCK had had some effect, as the demands made on the press increased greatly and Bibles became a commonplace possession.<sup>2</sup> According to another, the average Scottish home would have a copy of the popular Fourfold State by Thomas Boston; Rutherford's Letters, and The Pilgrim's Progress alongside its Bible.<sup>3</sup> Such general statements

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1. J. Lewis, ed., The Weekly History: Or, An Account ... Progress of the Gospel (1741), xxi.
2. A. Fawcett, Cambuslang Revival, 80.
3. G.D. Henderson, The Burning Bush: Studies in Scottish Church History, 142. Cf. Fawcett, 84-87.

are corroborated by the one hundred and four conversion cases recorded by William McCulloch in 1742.<sup>1</sup> Over half of the converts specifically mention that they could read, and the figure might have been greater because three quarters of them said they had had a 'Christian upbringing', which usually included being taught to read the Bible. Most of the converts were either women in service, apprentices, artisans or farm labourers, and other evidence suggests that Cambuslang was representative of lowland Scotland in this respect.<sup>2</sup> We can conclude that because of the Puritan origins of the dominant religious systems in Scotland and the northern colonies of America, high levels of literacy were encouraged there, and most church-goers would have been able to read.

If the revival in England and Wales had had its origins in the Dissenting Churches, then it would have been reasonable to expect similar traditions regarding literacy among clergy and laity, but the majority of evangelicals in these two countries were not from Puritan or Calvinist homes. As one commentator has put it: 'it is remarkable that the dissenting influence does not seem to have been deeper. The Church, not nonconformity, was the real mat-

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1. Cambuslang MSS.

2. E.g., J. Clive and B. Bailyn, "England's Cultural Provinces: Scotland and America", WMQ, 35 11 (1954), 200-213.

rix of the new movement'.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, as Walsh argues, there was a positive symbiotic relationship between declining Nonconformism and rising Methodism, which initially meant that the revival absorbed a considerable, though unknown, number of Nonconformists into the societies.<sup>2</sup> Apart from these the most likely converts in the first year or two were those from the existing religious societies, so that again a higher than average literacy level might be expected.

The middle-eighteenth century was a watershed in popular educational theory and practice in England. On the one side was the well-established idea that education for the working poor should be deliberately limited to maintain their subordination whilst nonetheless encouraging them to suitable piety, and on the other was the possibility of education as of right, with all its implications for social disruption. Before this became anything like a reality, however, educational provisions for the lower classes were extremely uneven, tending to be reasonably developed in London where the economy of the growing city required a more literate working class, and much more rare in rural England and Wales. R.S. Schofield of the Cambridge Group

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1. J. Walsh, "Origins of the Evangelical Revival", in Bennett and Walsh op. cit., 158.
  2. J. Walsh, "Elie Halevy and the Birth of Methodism", op. cit., 6.

for the History of Population has arrived at the figure of sixty per cent male literacy in mid-eighteenth century England, which he derives from the documentation provided by Lord Hardwick's marriage registry dating from 1754 onwards.<sup>1</sup> This is probably higher than one might expect for the early 1740s, in part because of the educational impact of the revival and Methodism itself. Earlier in the century the vast number of tracts distributed by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Reformation of Manners among the poor populations of cities suggests either unbounded optimism, with little sense of reality on the part of these bodies, or a fair degree of literacy among the recipients.<sup>2</sup> As early as 1707 the SPCK reported with pleasure that:

The Society for the Reformation of Manners has dispersed above 30,000 printed Papers throughout all the publick houses in and about London and Westminster, and that the Papers were well received in all these Houses, tho' Between 6 and 7,000 in number, except in about 20 of them. 3.

The army and the navy were also key targets for heavy bombardment with pious tracts indicating that the benefactors expected a certain level of literacy there too. After

1. R.S. Schofield's work is referred to by Richard T. Vann, "English Literacy". Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 5, No. 2. (October, 1974).
2. On the distribution by these Societies see R.K. Webb, The British Working Class Reader, 1790-1848, 1955.
3. Cited in V.E. Neuberg, Popular Education in Eighteenth Century England (1971), 99.



discussing all the means of education available in England in the middle of the eighteenth century, V.E. Neuberg concluded that 'Children, even from the poorest homes could have the opportunity - if their parents were willing - of being taught at least to read'.<sup>1</sup>

For the converted and their ministers in Wales there was the added difficulty created by language barriers and the need to translate some of the staple literature of the revival. With the exception of South Pembrokeshire and the Marches, Wales in the eighteenth century was almost entirely Welsh speaking and even in the more traditionally English speaking areas travelling preachers found they needed translators.<sup>2</sup> English language publications had only limited direct impact and even the usually persuasive preacher, Howell Harris, had difficulty in selling revival literature written in English. He often complained that the London printers were sending him too many books:

... I have recommended them to the people but the Country is so Clogg'd with books everywhere and especially as they so large and the people so poor and welchly for ye general, that I question above half of ye whole that is come .... 3.

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1. Ibid., 55.
  2. G.M. Roberts, Selected Trevecka Letters, Harris to Lewis, 8 Nov. 1745, 177; M. Clements, The S.P.C.K. and Wales, 1699-1740 (1954), 37.
  3. G.M. Roberts, ibid., Harris to Syms 29 Aug., 1744, 150.

Because the people were so 'welchly' Harris wanted them to have their own Welsh language revival newspaper, for despite the valuable and stirring news in the London paper, it could not find a large readership in Wales.<sup>1</sup> Although literature from England was circulated in Wales, its readership would have been limited and the publication of Welsh literature is a more useful indication of the tenets of Welsh revivalism. The SPCK supplied a certain amount of Welsh language material. In 1737 alone they sent 740 Bibles, psalters and catechisms and 13,000 other Welsh books to Griffith Jones' circulating schools. The Society financed editions of a Welsh Bible in 1717, 1728 and 1746,<sup>2</sup> and, amongst other titles, printed 2,000 copies of Bishop Gibson's Pastoral Letter in translation.<sup>3</sup>

Welsh readers were not altogether dependent on English printers and sponsors. Perhaps it indicates something of the increase in literacy that several Welsh presses were established after the restriction on printing was lifted in 1695. In fact 'Welsh was one of the few small European

1. Ibid., Harris to Lewis, 8 Nov. 1745, 177.
2. O.W. Jones, "The Welsh Church in the Eighteenth Century", in D. Walker, op. cit., 108-109.
3. M. Clement, ed., Correspondence and Minutes of the S.P.C.K. relating to Wales, 1699-1740, (Cardiff, 1952), 283. For additional information about printing for Wales, ibid., 309-315.

languages in which serious effort was made to print books'.<sup>1</sup> Shrewsbury and Carmarthen were the first two centres of Welsh printing,<sup>2</sup> but the most successful press was established later, at Pontypool, when the revival contributed directly to an upsurge in publishing in Wales:

It [the Pontypool press] owed its establishment to the religious activities of Miles Harris .... Partly too, the press owed its establishment to the religious revival inaugurated, in the fourth decade of the same century by Howell Harris in Wales and by John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield in England, although the Wesleys ... had never anything to do with the Pontypool press; in fact, all its publications like its promoters ... were theologically opposed to the Wesleys and advocated Calvinism .... 3.

Taken together, the expansion in education and the Welsh language press indicate that the direct influence of revival literature was not as negligible as might have been expected in Wales. In August, 1739 Griffith Jones reported that he had under his supervision 68 schools with nearly 4,000 pupils registered and many who were not registered:

1. G.H. Jones, "Welsh Books and Religion, 1660-1730" (University of Wales Ph.D. thesis, 1974), 646.
2. Ibid., 646-707. Jones has itemized every Welsh publication between 1660 and 1730 in this thesis.
3. I. Jones, A History of Printing and Printers in Wales to 1810 ... and in Monmouthshire to 1923 (Cardiff, 1925), 215.

... in many of the schools, the adult people make about Two Thirds of the Scholars .... Most of the Masters teach ... after School time is over, twice as many as they had in their schools by Day, which are not included in the number above. 1.

According to one eighteenth century observer, it was a common practice for 'a few young and sometimes older persons, of both sexes, to attend for an hour twice or thrice a week at a place where a good-natured neighbour, and such may always be found, will give them some instructions in reading Welsh'.<sup>2</sup> A recent student of Welsh literature and literacy in the period from 1660 to 1730 has concluded that 'the reading public in Wales was growing ....'.<sup>3</sup>

In its turn the new concern for religion everywhere stimulated an interest in literacy, which was encouraged by evangelical leaders. Preachers noted that social groups normally outside the mainstream of educational opportunity were particularly eager to learn to read. The Reverend John Balfour of Nigg in Ross-shire, was pleased with the new attitude he found amongst his Gaelic speaking congregations:

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1. M. Clement, Correspondence and Minutes ..., 315.
  2. Iolo Morganwg, quoted by G.H. Jones, op. cit., n.292.
  3. G.H. Jones, op. cit., 709.

It is surprising to observe with what Industry many, especially of the younger sort, endeavour to acquire Reading. Some read the Psalms in Irish metre, and teach others in the same way without knowing or attending to the Power of Letters .... Some of the elder sort likewise recover their Reading which they had been taught young but neglected and forgotten afterwards. 1.

In the American colonies groups of Indians and Negro slaves also showed interest in learning to read, as a result of their 'conversion', and a few evidently did acquire basic literacy skills. One missionary to the Indians wrote that on Rhode Island they had substituted 'frequent private meetings, cleanliness, decency and demand for a school' in place of their 'former extreme love of Hunting, Fishing, Fowling, Merry-making, Singing, Dancing, Drinking and utter aversion to Industry ....'<sup>2</sup> Rather less subjective was the presence of sixty-four Indian converts in his total of one hundred and six. In parts of the southern colonies a similar pattern was observed among the slaves, who were described by Presbyterian missionary, John Todd, as having given up 'frolicking, dancing and other profane courses' in exchange for 'learning to read and praying together'.<sup>3</sup> In Virginia, Todd recorded how 'with uncommon eagerness, mul-

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1. The Christian Monthly History, I, vi, 43.
  2. T. Prince, Jr., ed., The Christian History, [Boston], II, lv, lvi.
  3. Letters from the Rev. Samuel Davies, and Others, shewing the State of Religion in Virginia, South Carolina, etc., particularly Among the Negroes (1761), 15-16.

titudes of negroes and white people flocked to my house to get books, upon the first notice of my having them to dispose of ... The poor slaves are now commonly engaged in learning to read'.<sup>1</sup> His neighbour, the Reverend Samuel Davies, wrote of the success of the Presbyterian Church among the slaves: 'The number of Negro communicants is still increasing and multitudes of the poor creatures are learning to read with considerable success'.<sup>2</sup> The optimistic note of both these letters was partly due to the fact that they were written to the SSPCK in the hope of receiving more help and literature from the charity.

Within the normal parish set-up, evangelicalism gave many ordinary men and women both the opportunity and the motivation to learn to read. Several of McCulloch's converts, for example, spoke of their new interest in the written word. One who had not been educated as a child taught himself to read at the age of eighteen and was encouraged to go further: 'I am just now gone to school to learn to read more distinctly and to write some'.<sup>3</sup> He was not alone, for in the experience of McCulloch's neighbour, Reverend James Robe:

1. Ibid.

2. MS. letter of S. Davies to W. McCulloch, 11 Aug. 1758, Boston Public Library MSS.

3. Cambuslang MSS. I.76 (John McDonald).

The Thirst after knowledge is particularly remarkable in those who were more ignorant; several who cannot read, and some of the old Persons, being so desirous to be better acquainted with the Word of God that they are resolved to read, and some of the younger Sort, actually putting themselves to school. 1.

The pattern was not confined to Scotland:

Mr. D. /Risdon Darracott of Wellington in Somerset/ has sent me another sweet account of his success in the place where he is fix'd in. He tells me 'That many Persons are learning to read, that they may be able to read the Bible'. 2.

In this case the minister encouraged them by buying copies of the Bible, Whitefield's sermons, and the works of John Cennick from the London Calvinist Methodist publisher, Samuel Mason.<sup>3</sup> In Wales, Howell Harris and the Welsh Association, which was the Calvinist Methodist parent body, tried to establish some provision for educating the members of their religious societies.<sup>4</sup> Both in the case of groups outside the main social structure, such as the American Indians, and those within it, such as Robe's parishioners, the social effects of this educational activity have yet to be explored.

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1. A Short Narrative of the Extraordinary Work at Cambuslang In a Letter to a Friend (Glasgow, 1742), 8.
  2. The Glasgow Weekly History, xli, 4.
  3. Ibid.
  4. The Christian History, /London/ V, iv, 33.

Even where the converted could not already read and did not learn later, they were not automatically excluded from the effects of revival literature, nor were they necessarily ignorant of revival events outside their own locality. The literature circulating amongst the ministers reached a wide audience, through oral dissemination, as we have already seen. John Harrison, Dissenter minister at Braintree in Essex, gave a description of how this might happen, in a letter to George Whitefield:

I gave notice Lord's Day after sermon, that I purposed to spend 2 or 3 hours there in the Evening of the following Day in reading, dear Sir, the Letters of your Orphans, and other Accounts of the Surprizing progress of the Gospel Abroad, and at home.... 1.

Word of his intention spread quickly, with the result that about two hundred people came to hear him read the accounts, some having travelled eight miles to do so:

I read to them substance of near 30 of Mr. Lewis's papers. Some time after I gave Notice that I intended to spend another evening in Reading Mr. Davidson's Narrative of the Conversion of the Scotch Boy, an account of what God did for the Rev. Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Cennick's extraordinary conversion ... and we had a great many more. 2.

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1. Glasgow Weekly History, xviii, 3.
  2. Ibid., 4.



It is safe to conclude that, after these two evenings, the Braintree congregation would have been familiar with revival events in Wales, England, Scotland and the American colonies, and would have had them presented to them as part of 'a general awakening'. In Cambuslang, William McCulloch read Jonathan Edwards' Narrative of the revival at Northampton to his congregation<sup>1</sup>, and the same Narrative was heard all over the American colonies. Everywhere there were readings of contemporary literature supplemented by readings from the well-established Puritan divines, although the oral tradition was more important in England and Wales than in Scotland and America, to compensate for the lower literacy. G.H. Jones says of Wales that 'it was expected of every literate person that he should, when required, minister to the spiritual needs of less fortunate brethren by reading aloud'.<sup>2</sup>

Unlike preaching in church or giving the Sacraments, reading aloud was not restricted to ministers, and the educated laity could be involved, either through the religious societies, or by the renewed emphasis on family worship which was a feature of the revival. The Reverend John

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1. J. Sinclair, ed., The Old Statistical Account, V, 242.
2. G.H. Jones, op. cit., 782.

Moorehead of Boston reported that serious religion was encouraged by 'reading by heads of families of the most pungent Discourses they could find that treated on the nature of Conversion and the New-Birth. Mr. Erskine's excellent Piece, called the Gospel Sonnets, was made of Singular Use'.<sup>1</sup> In Hanover, Virginia, the so-called 'reading revival' was carried out by a layman, Samuel Morris:

In the Year 1743, a young gentleman arrived from Scotland with some manuscript sermons of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's, preached in Glasgow, taken from his mouth in short-hand; which ... I invited my neighbours to come and hear ... many were convinced of their guilt and misery .... A considerable number met every Sabbath to hear these sermons ... we determined to build a place merely for reading .... When the report of these sermons, and the effect produced by reading them was spread abroad, I was invited to several places to read them, at a considerable distance; and by this means the concern was propagated. 2.

The Reverend John Balfour considered reading aloud to be a crucial element in the revival in the Scottish highlands, particularly because the lay readers could translate from English into Gaelic:

... as the generality are still illiterate, that Disadvantage is much made up to them, by the hearing of others read the Scriptures and other good books, which they translate currently as they read and without any Stop .... This way of reading is one of the exercises performed in the several weekly meetings for Prayer, as also in many of the Families. By this Means knowledge of the Scriptures and practical Religion is greatly increased. 3.

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1. The Christian Monthly History, I, ii, 17.
  2. Letters from the Rev. Samuel Davies, and Others ..., 3-8.
  3. The Christian Monthly History, I, vi, 43.

Through one means or another revival literature reached the religious minded laity.

## II. Literature in the Revival.

The uses to which revival literature was put was closely related to its content and these two facets will be discussed side by side.

### Puritan Literature.

The first step for most evangelicals and revivalists was to familiarize themselves with the literature of the past which had been lost to many of them. Literature of the Reformed and Puritan traditions suited their needs, particularly before they had created a literature of their own:

Evangelicals and Puritans move in the same broad tradition of Reformed religion. The Covenant theology of the 17th century was a staple of evangelical books and sermons. Evangelicals take over much of the jargon and imagery of Puritan literature .... Early evangelicals were conscious that they stood upon well trodden paths. 1.

As a result, the seventeenth century literature became important in its own right and a number of works were referred to so consistently by revivalists in Britain and

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1. J. Walsh, "Origins of the Evangelical Revival", 154.

America that they can be seen to have comprised a 'common fund' of titles. Below are listed the most important titles of the 'common fund', compiled from the journals of Whitefield, Harris, the Wesleys and others, and from the diaries and letters of ministers and laity throughout the revival countries.<sup>1</sup>

Joseph Alleine	<u>An Alarme to the Unconverted</u> (1672)
Richard Baxter	<u>Saints Everlasting</u> (1650), <u>Call to the Unconverted</u> (1657), <u>Divine Life</u> (1664)
Thomas Boston	<u>Fourfold Estate</u> , (1720)
John Bunyan	<u>Pilgrim's Progress</u> (1678), <u>Grace Abounding</u> (1666)
John Flavel	<u>Works</u> , particularly <u>A Saint Indeed</u> (1673)
Henry Scougal	<u>The Life of God in the Soul of Man</u> (1677)
Thomas Shepard	<u>The Sincere Convert</u> (1641), <u>The Sound Believer</u> (1648)
William Law	<u>Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life</u> (1728)

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1. The major sources, in addition to those mentioned in the text, were: Living Christianity delineated in the Diaries and Letters of ... Hugh Bryan and Mrs. Mary Hutton ... /preface by J. Conder and T. Gibbons/ (1760); MS. letters of Benjamin Colman, M.H.S.; MS. Diary and notes of Nicholas Gilman, New Hampshire Hist. Soc. /N.H.H.S./; MS. Diary of David Hall, M.H.S.; "The Diary of Ebenezer Parkman", ed., E.G. Walleth, Proc. of Am. Ant. Soc. 72, 73, (1962, 1963); W. Seward, Journal of a Voyage from Savannah to Philadelphia and from Philadelphia to England (1740); Diary of Rev. Daniel Wadsworth ... (Hartford, Conn. 1894); "Letters of Dr. Watts" in Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc. (Feb. 1895), and A.S. Pratt, Isaac Watts and his Gifts of Books to Yale College and Extracts from the Diary, Meditations and Letters of Mr. Joseph Williams of Kidderminster ..., ed., B. Fawcett (Shrewsbury), 1779).

As far as the majority of literate laity were concerned, this list could be reduced to Alleine's Alarme and Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, both of which had long histories as popular texts. The Alarme, for example, had a first edition of 20,000 copies and a second in 1685 of 50,000, under the persuasive title of A Sure Guide to Heaven.

Revivalists often made weighty claims for the effect particular Puritan works had made in their own spiritual development. Scougal's Life of God in the Soul of Man moved Whitefield to say 'I never knew what true religion was till God sent me that excellent treatise ....'<sup>1</sup>, and Isaac Watts expressed similar feelings about it: 'The book was new to me 2 years ago, and upon reading it I have bought many and given them away, for tis an excellent peece [sic]'<sup>2</sup>. Although non-evangelical ministers might also have been familiar with these works, the exclusive emphasis on them was special to evangelicals. For example, the Anglican missionary to Connecticut, Samuel Johnson, had a copy of Scougal's Life on his library shelves, but it was only one of an eclectic collection which included Ovid's Metamorphoses and Pope's Art of Criticism<sup>3</sup>, whilst in the

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1. L. Tyerman, The Life of the Rev. George Whitefield, I, 17.
  2. "Letters of Dr. Watts", 2 June, 1741, 385.
  3. H. and C. Schneider, eds., Samuel Johnson, President of King's College: His Career and Writings, 4 Vols. (New York, 1929), I, 497-526, where Johnson's reading lists for 1719-1756 are printed.

library of revivalist, Nicholas Gilman in Durham, New Hampshire, Scougal's Life was more likely to have been flanked by Henry's Exposition or Halyburton's Memoirs.<sup>1</sup>

According to the accounts in their diaries, revival ministers immersed themselves in the literature of experiential religion, both before and during the first years of the awakening. Comparing the library sent out with SPG missionaries with the reading undertaken by revivalists, such as Harris in Wales, or Parkman in New England, one finds a striking difference.<sup>2</sup> The literature read by the revival group emphasized the necessity of conversion, the Grace of God and the realization of individual sinfulness, and stressed the importance of personal religious experience. In style and subject matter it was in direct contradiction to the prevailing mood of Moderatism and rationalism in the Churches. But the ministers were not alone in wanting a more personal approach to theology, as George Benson, foremost English rationalist Presbyterian, discovered for himself when he made enquiries about the possibility of publishing his latest book in Scotland. His correspondent told him that it would not go down well with the populace

1. MS. Gilman records, N.H.H.S.
2. See "A Catalogue of the Missionaries Library" and "Catalogue of Small Tracts" S.P.G. Library; G. Nuttall, Howell Harris, "Some Books Read by Harris", 63; "The Diary of Ebenezer Parkman", Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc., 72, 73, passim.

'as they do not so much relish those books that are wrote in a Rational way, to inform the understanding, as those that are more adopted to move the Passions'.<sup>1</sup> Others recorded the enthusiasm with which works such as The Experiences of God's Gracious Dealings with Mrs. Elizabeth White as they were written down in her own Hand ... /I669/ were greeted by the laity because of their ability to speak to the emotions of the reader.<sup>2</sup>

Gradually, between 1735 and 1745, recognition of Puritan literature became formalized with appropriate reading for the awakened being defined more precisely. Whitefield went so far as to compile a list of books recommended as basic reading for 'seekers', and the list received widespread publicity through advertisements in the London Weekly History /I37/, on the back of several revival publications, and in The Charleston Gazette, 6 September, 1740, as follows:

Henry's Exposition of the Bible

Dr. Guyse Paraphrase

Boston Fourfold State

Erskine's Sermons

1. MS. letter of George Benson to John Campbell, 4 Aug. 1743, MSS. Collection, Manchester Unitarian College.
2. E.g., it was referred to by one of the Cambuslang converts as very comforting because 'it described her state and resulted in assurance', Cambuslang MSS. I, 305.

Hymns by Wesley, Mason and Watts

Wright New Birth

Hallyburton New Birth

Burkitt on the New Testament

Bishop Hopkin's Sermons

Jenks Devotions

Alleine Alarime

Bishop Beveridge Private Thoughts

Shepard Sincere Convert and Parable of the Ten Virgins

Tennent Presumptuous Sinner Detected

Only the sermon by Gilbert Tennent was actually contemporaneous with the revival, although the hymns and Erskine's sermons were also by living authors. The revivalist's efforts to direct people's reading was effective, and in the experience of Daniel Rogers, a tutor at Harvard, 'There is a new face upon Things. Stoddard and Shephard [sic] are the Books now; little did I think this when you recommended them'.<sup>1</sup> According Samuel Davies in Virginia:

Such were awakened, as they told me, either by their own serious reflections ... or on reading some authors of the last century, such as Boston, Baxter, Flavel, Bunyan, etc. and they often wondered if there were such doctrines taught anywhere in the world at present as they found in the writings of these good men. 2.

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1. The Weekly History, xvi.

2. Letters from the Rev. Samuel Davies ..., 4.



Because the theological trend over the previous forty years had been away from anything emotional and personal, those who had wanted 'passionate' writings had had to turn to the old divines out of necessity as well as choice.

The relevance of the Puritan literature, coupled with the recommendations from ministers, created a thriving reprinting industry which, to a certain extent, operated within a transatlantic context as well as locally:

The People seemed to have a renewed Taste for those old Pious and Experimental writers; Mr. Hooker, Mr. Shepard, Guthrie, Alleine ... and others .... The evangelical writings of these deceased Authors, as well as of others alive, both in England, Scotland and New England, were now read with singular Pleasure: some of them reprinted and in great numbers quickly bought and studied. 1.

Because, as Howell Harris wrote to a Scots correspondent, "we all agree with the Good old orthodox reformers and puritans"<sup>2</sup>, there were some works which were reprinted in each country and a list of these is given in Appendix 1. Alleine's Alarum to the Unconverted, the single, most influential work, was reprinted in Boston in 1739, 1742 and 1743 and in Philadelphia in 1741. It was also reprinted in Scotland and in 1742 Andrew Taite, minister of Carmunnock,

1. T. Prince, Account of the late Revival of Religion in Boston 1741-2-3 (Boston 1744), 19, reprinted in The Christian Monthly History, II, vi, 162.
2. G.M. Roberts, op. cit., 166. Harris to James Erskine, 19 Feb. 1745.

left £100 in his will so that copies of the Alarme could be bought and distributed free. At a few pence per copy this would have bought some thousands.<sup>1</sup> Diaries, journals, letters and conversion accounts mention this particular book and its efficacy was remarked on by a variety of people, from Hugh Bryan, wealthy merchant of South Carolina,<sup>2</sup> to an unnamed convert in Kilsyth, Scotland, of whom his minister wrote, 'next morning his distress was increased by reading that passage of Alleine's Alarme wherein he discourseth of God's being an enemy to unconverted sinners'<sup>3</sup>. The effect of the literature seems to have been the same whether it was read in a Scottish crofter's cottage, in an Indian camp<sup>4</sup>, or the comfort of a university study.

An accurate comparative study of reprints and printing in general is made difficult by the incompleteness of eighteenth century sources. Catalogues of imprints for the colonies are not matched by any such catalogues for England or Scotland during this period, and to add to the unevenness of material, there are no printers' records for England and Scotland to compare with the very useful print-

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1. From Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, ed., Hew Scott, III, 379, cited in A. Fawcett, Cambuslang Revival, 78.
  2. Living Christianity delineated ..., op. cit., 29.
  3. The Glasgow Weekly History, xxviii, 1, (sixth Kilsyth journal).
  4. The Christian Monthly History, I, v, 58.

ers' accounts and sales records which are available for America.<sup>1</sup> These sources - the records of Daniel Henschman, Boston printer and bookseller; William Bradford, printer and newspaper editor of Philadelphia, and Benjamin Franklin, printer in Philadelphia - provide information about the quantities of literature printed during the revival, as well as the actual titles. Henschman, for example, recorded the following business transaction in his account book:

Green, Bushell and Allen

/Boston printers/

Cr.	<u>Paid Bills by Printing</u>
Oct. 1742	1,000 Stoddard <u>Guide to Christ</u>
Dec. 1742	2,000 <u>Believer</u> Shepard
Apr. 1743	2,000 Hooker's <u>Doctrine of Christ</u>
Apr. 1743	1,000 <u>Looking to Jesus</u>
Jun. 1743	2,000 <u>Marrow of Modern Divinity</u>
Oct. 1743	1,500 Mr. Willard on the Sacrament

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1. Printed records of American publishing: C.R. Hildeburne, A List of the Publications issued in Pennsylvania 1685-1759 (Philadelphia, 1882); C. Evans, ed., American Bibliography (12 vols. with a 13th edition by C.K. Shipton; imprint varies, 1903-1955). Evans lists over 18,000 titles which were printed in America between 1689 and 1783 and it is thought that there were four or five times that number. C.K. Shipton, ed., Early American Imprints 1639-1800 /Issued by the American Antiquarian Society/ (New York, 1956).  
MS. records used: MS. Account Book of Col. Wm. Bradford of Philadelphia, 1742-1760, H.S.P.; David Henschman Wast Book 1741, (DH5), Daybook 1741-50 (DH6), Ledger (DH10), all in Hancock Collection, Baker Library, H.B.S.; Account Books kept by Benjamin Franklin, Ledger 'D', ed. by G.S. Eddy, original in American Philosophical Soc., Philadelphia.
  
  2. MS. David Henschman Ledger (DH10), Hancock Coll., H.B.S.

Henchman was in the habit of jotting down the sales of books as he made them, noting in his counter books not only the title of the book or its author, but also the name of the purchaser:

March 25, 1741

David Jeffers - 2 Spiritual Songs; John Hunt - 1 Spiritual Songs; Nathaniel Rogers - 1 Alleine's Alarme and 1 Mather, 1 Life of God, 1 Stoddard's Guide, 6 Drops of Honey; Samuel Kneeland - Alleine's Alarme, Stoddard's Guide, 1 Mather's Discourses.<sup>1</sup>

In the records of these printers old favourites appear alongside new titles. On one occasion, William Bradford of Philadelphia was commissioned by Samuel Hazard, a wealthy and pious merchant of the same city, to reprint one thousand copies of a sermon by John Flavel.<sup>2</sup> Both Henchman and Bradford also sold many Puritan works which do not seem to have been reprinted by them at the time of the revival. These were possibly old stock or were imported from London and Glasgow, as was the following list, advertised for sale by bookseller, John Barkley, in the Pennsylvania Gazette, 18 June, 1741:

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1. MS. David Henchman Wast Book (DH5), Hancock Coll., H.S.B.
  2. MS. Account Book, 28 Jan. 1742, H.S.P.

Bibles, Testaments, Psalms, Shephard's Sincere Convert and Sound Believer, Pilgrim's Progress and all of Bunyan's works; Guthry's Trial; Gray's Works, Life of God in the Soul of Man; Daniel Campbell's Works, Divine Breathings, Almost Christian; William Dyer's Confessions of Faith, The Mute Christian under the Smarting Rod, Fox on Time; Erskine's Sermons; Watts' Hymns, Wilson on Sacrament; Russel's Seven Sermons.

For a list of Puritan reprints see Appendix 1.

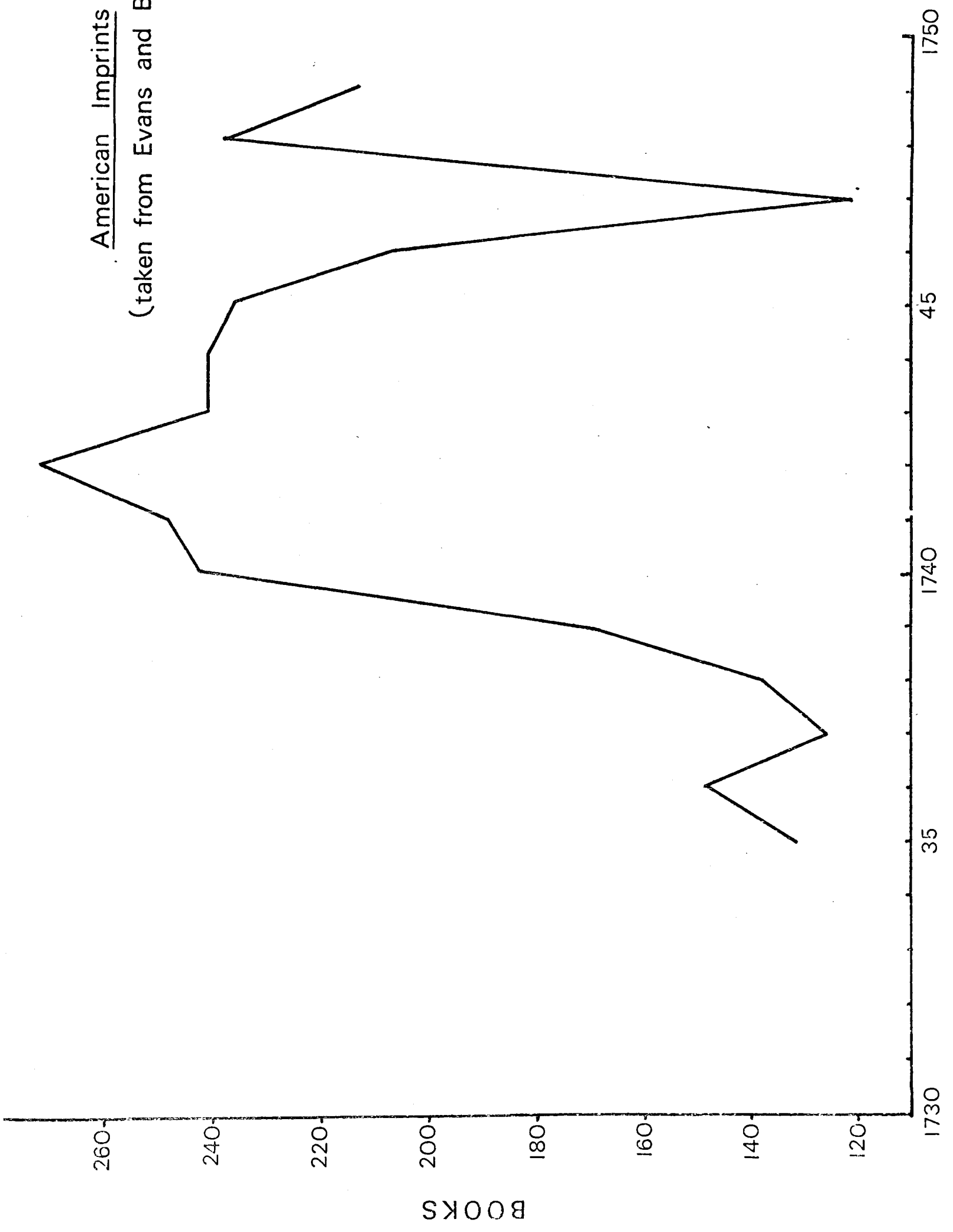
### Contemporary revival literature.

As the revival progressed, the reprinting of older material began to be outweighed by new sermons, hymns and pamphlets as both supporters and attackers of the revival took to their pens. The revival countries seem to have been deluged with literature until even pro-revivalists expressed alarm about the distracting effects it might have. In the opinion of the Dean of the Chapel Royal, Edinburgh, 'These trifling pamphlets fill the heads and mouths of too many'.<sup>1</sup> The graph below demonstrates the increase in American printing in the early 1740s.

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1. To W. McCulloch, 4 April 1743, in The Edinburgh Christian Instructor for Sept. 1839.

American Imprints  
(taken from Evans and Bristol)



Just as they had shared the literature of their Puritan past, Calvinist evangelicals in Scotland, New England, England and Wales made efforts to create a bond through the new revival literature. There were certain practical reasons why revivalists took the trouble to exchange information and literature. Firstly, it was effective as a way of convincing their parishioners of the validity and credibility of the revival, as the Reverend William Hooper of Boston was well aware:

As soon as I received a copy of Mr. Webster's letter from you ... I sent it to the Press .... And it had more influence as it came from a Foreigner /because/ ... so many are ready to think the care which some of us discover, to vindicate the Honour and further Progress of this Work, is no other than Party-zeal. On this Account they are more disposed to give attention<sup>1</sup> to such as they have no personal knowledge of ....

Words from an unknown pen seemed more likely to be true than those from a local author whose biases and limitations were known only too well to his readers. Secondly, revivalists took the trouble to inform their colleagues, whether abroad or nearer home, of the latest developments, because they did believe the Atlantic world to be one under God. Their belief that they were part of an international movement gave encouragement to the circulation of literature. In some this outlook was millennial rather than simply international, and although millennialism was short-lived, there were many in 1742 who would have agreed with the Reverend

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1. The Christian Monthly History, I, iv, 5.

Hugh Kennedy that:

The Lord seems to have some great Event upon the Wheel just now and I would fain hope, the Glory of the latter days is not far off. The present convulsions and reelings among the nations, as well as the Stirrings of Dry Bones in Scotland, America and other places, confirms me more and more in this opinion. 1.

Kennedy, who was minister of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam, played his part in fostering the community by translating The Narrative of the Revival in Cambuslang into Dutch, and by his general dissemination of revival news.<sup>2</sup>

Based on this willingness to communicate, ministers were able to create a network of correspondence through which they could import publications with the possibility of reprinting them.<sup>3</sup> Historians writing of this transatlantic literature have concentrated on the personalities of George Whitefield and Jonathan Edwards. Whilst they were the two single most important figures of the transatlantic revival, it is clearly misleading to describe the internationalism of the revival only in terms of their work. Less apparent, but equally important, was the broad-based internationalism indicated by the wide dissemination of

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1. The Glasgow Weekly History, xliii, 1.

2. On the church at Rotterdam see W. Steven, The History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam (Edinburgh, 1832).

3. See above, Chapter III, pages 116-133.



literature and the sharing of revival techniques.

According to the Reverend James Robe of Edinburgh, Scottish ministers 'for some years past ... had transmitted to us manuscripts and Prints from New England, Philadelphia etc. informing us of a Glorious work of God ....'<sup>1</sup>. He was able to quantify the numbers of publications which had been sent from America to Scotland as thirty supporting the revival and six in opposition.<sup>2</sup> Individual copies of revival publications frequently crossed the Atlantic as gifts from one minister to another. Once across, some would be reprinted so that they would reach a larger audience:

A great number of Papers were sent over from New England to Britain and particularly Scotland, during the summer 1742 and afterwards most of them were printed or reprinted: They consisted of Letters and Sermons which had been preached in some one or other of the British colonies and published there. 3.

The operation worked equally well from Scotland to New England and by 1743 at least one copy of everything printed in Scotland concerning the revival was available in New England:

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1. The Christian Monthly History, Preface, iv.
  2. Ibid., xxx.
  3. Ibid., I, ii, 3.

About eight days ago I sent to McLaurin at Glasgow and desired him to transmit to you with the first Glasgow ship, a packet of letters anent the present state of religion here, with copies of Mr. Webster's defence of the work at Cambuslang, Mr. Robe's Narrative, The State of Religion in New England and the pamphlet writ on the state of the times .... I take this opportunity to send you 3 volumes of pamphlets which ... are I believe all that have been either printed or reprinted here as to the state of religion .... The person who delivers this, has got orders to purchase for me the principle papers anent the state of religion with you .... 1.

The exchange described in this letter was typical of the way the network functioned, although in this case the scope of the exchange was larger than normal. It had been conducted by two ministers who each had a certain amount of money, and who each had access to the printing press in their own towns and to the ministerial network through which news travelled. They and other ministers were in a position to make such literature available to a wider audience and they felt it was their duty to do so. One of the best ways to expand circulation was through re-printing extracts or whole pieces in the evangelical magazines. Thomas Prince, who edited the New England magazine, The Boston Christian History, rated 'news from a far country' very highly and used the first seven issues and a number of later ones to reprint the whole of James Robe's Narrative of the Cambuslang Revival.<sup>2</sup> The Edinburgh Christian Monthly History, in its first issue, printed part

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1. MS. letter of J. Erskine in Edinburgh to Rev. W. Cooper in Boston, January 1743. Erskine MSS., M.H.S.
  2. The Christian History /Boston/, I, 1-7, 11, 12, 38-44.

of Jonathan Edwards' Narrative.<sup>1</sup>

Narratives proved to be a popular genre because they were exciting, practical and easy to read, in comparison with some of the more doctrinal pieces. They were also encouraging to the reader because they were accounts of what had actually happened to women and men and could therefore be identified with. Robe's Narrative, for example, was reprinted in America and the Netherlands, where it went into three editions, and the Narrative of Kilsyth did likewise.<sup>2</sup> The minister who introduced these narratives into Holland had been received by the Deputies of the two synods of north and south Holland:

... from whome he received the most affectionate thanks for the share he had taken in communicating the work to the Public and one of the most eminent ministers of Utrecht made him a visit for that purpose. It is likewise reprinted in that City. Some of the ministers of Dort, Utrecht and several other places did from their pulpits warmly recommend it to be perused by all families ... [It] has been a means of quickening many. 3.

Of the many sermons preached on the subject of the revival and then printed, only one or two were printed and

1. J. Edwards, A Faithful Narrative of the Surprizing Work of God in the Conversion of many hundred Souls in Northampton and the Neighbouring Towns and Villages (Boston, 1736).
2. See The Christian Monthly History, I, ii, 52; '3 Impressions of the Cambuslang short narrative are already sold off, and 2 of the Kilsyth, so that the printers are now busy with a third.'
3. Ibid.

circulated beyond the immediate locality of the minister. Those which had a wider audience did so either because the minister was well-known, like Whitefield or Edwards, or because the sermon was a particularly rousing one which had been preached on a special occasion. Samuel Finley's Christ Triumphant<sup>1</sup> and Benjamin Colman's Souls Flying to Jesus Christ<sup>2</sup> were originally delivered to important meetings convened in Boston and were later reprinted by Samuel Mason in London. Mason in turn circulated them to his Edinburgh bookseller who wrote 'Both yours I received ... only yesterday with 50 of Dr. Colman's and 50 of Mr. Finley's Sermons. I have disposed of some of them, and I think the whole may be sold before our dear Friend, Mr. Whitefield, leaves this place ....<sup>3</sup> Further examples of contemporary literature which was reprinted on both sides of the Atlantic are provided in Appendix II.

In addition to the literature intended for reprinting, evidence from diaries and transatlantic correspondence indicates that a great many publications crossed the Atlantic as presents between individuals. Printing was a risky trade and even committed evangelicals like Mason, Lewis and Henchman could not print everything they were sent, no matter

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1. S. Finley, Christ Triumphant and Satan Raging (Philadelphia 1741, rpt. London, 1741).
  2. B. Colman, Souls Flying to Jesus Christ, pleasant and admirable to behold (Boston, 1741, rpt. London, 1741).
  3. The Glasgow Weekly History, V, 4.

how inspiring they judged it to be. Because of this the ministerial and evangelical network continued to play a very important part in disseminating revival news and books. Some ministers, through their contacts at home and abroad, were able to build up very full collections of revival literature and to circulate it amongst their fellow evangelists.<sup>1</sup> For some ministers access to the latest literature was a priority and they overcame the problems of isolation simply by using the network as a circulating library. The Reverend Henry Davidson of remote Galashiels, Scotland was one of these ministers, describing himself as an 'omne-gatherum of pamphlets'. He described through his Letters to Christian Friends the way he could keep in touch with the latest events in America and England as well as Scotland, despite the fact that he was impoverished and isolated.<sup>2</sup> He was supplied with literature by William Hogg, a wealthy Glasgow merchant committed to the revival, and Thomas Davidson, minister of the Scots congregation in Braintree, Essex. Once he had received new works, he himself acted as a lending library to people in his locality, with the result that he frequently had to apologize to his benefactors for holding on to the books for so long. In March, 1748, for instance, he returned 'two volumes of Pamphlets, Doddridge's Rise etc. and Dickenson's Letters ... the Trial of Mr. Stewart etc. I sent a few weeks ago ...

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1. E.g., Benjamin Colman, John Erskine, William Cooper.
2. H. Davidson, Letters to Christian Friends, passim.

Edwards on Religious affections I want a few weeks more.'<sup>1</sup> As usual, he asked for any new works which had come the way of his friends. There is some scant evidence of the way in which the reading done by ministers or lay readers was passed on and it seems that some of the laity were as excited as the ministers by the prospect of simultaneous revivals across the Atlantic.<sup>2</sup> Like John Erskine, theological student in Edinburgh, they saw it as a 'sign of the times' with a 'high probability that the present Appearances in New England, and the West of Scotland are a prelude of the Glorious Things promised to the Church in the Latter Ages'.<sup>3</sup>

One or two authors contributed a disproportionate amount of the shared literature. George Whitefield, although not a profound writer, was certainly prolific and his works comprised a substantial element of the reading of ministers and laity in Britain and America, having a particular impact on the laity. Through his sermons and diaries many of the laity learned of the second birth, the assurance of grace and the doctrine of total depravity. Other writers, such as Jonathan Edwards, had more philosophical and theological weight, more precision and erudition, but it was Whitefield who was the more widely read.

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1. Ibid., 90-91.

2. Cambuslang MSS. I, 103 (Elizabeth Jackson).

3. J. Erskine, The Signs of the Times Considered ...

Next to hearing Whitefield in person, the reading of his diaries and sermons ranked high as an instrument of individual conversion. One young Glaswegian woman told her ministers that 'When I read Mr. Whitefield's Journal before he came to Scotland, I was glad that God had raised up so remarkable an instrument of good to many ... and I thought that if I might hear him, I might get good also.'<sup>1</sup> Many others were made receptive by reading: 'In reading Mr. Whitefield's 2 letters to Bishop Tillotson I was much affected with ye last so I had a strong inclination to hear him.'<sup>2</sup> If they were unable to hear Whitefield preach they might be made more receptive to the sermons of their own ministers after the preparation of reading.

Whitefield's works went into many editions: they were read in the Scottish highlands, translated into Welsh and distributed to all the colonies. On Rhode Island, for example, it was easy to get hold of Whitefield's works because Benjamin Franklin shipped books to his sister, Ann, printer and bookseller in Newport. In June, 1741 she received '100 Helps to Heads of Families; 50 last Journal but one; 50 last Journal; 50 2nd volumes of Sermons; 50 Free Grace'.<sup>3</sup> This literature, although never considered of theological significance, helped to create very real

1. Cambuslang MSS. II, 334-5 (Margaret Richardson).
2. Ibid., 244 (Mary Scot).
3. Account Books ... B. Franklin, ed. G.S. Eddy, 55-56.

bonds between the revival in the Old World and the New. Readers shared not only in the excitement of learning how widespread the revivals were, but through Whitefield's Journals, for example, were able to learn about parish life and religious conduct in far off places and to become familiar with the names of ministers and places associated with the revival.

The theologian of the revival, accepted on both sides of the Atlantic, was Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, Massachusetts. Thomas Johnson wrote in the introduction to his bibliography of Edwards' works that 'During the eighteenth century Edwards was possibly better known abroad than at home [because] wherever the doctrines of Calvin found adherents, his writings, widely printed, were seized upon to buttress a crumbling orthodoxy that still has significant historical importance'.<sup>1</sup> Edwards was commonly regarded as the most effective spokesman against the powerful newer Arminian developments in theology, especially in Scotland. His distinct theological influence began during the revival and has had a continuous impact on some elements within evangelicalism.<sup>2</sup> Unlike Whitefield, Edwards went beyond exhorting and encouraging sinners to repentance and wrote a detailed analysis and rationale of conversion, which was

1. T.H. Johnson, The Printed Writings of Jonathan Edwards, 1703-1758: A Bibliography (Princeton, New Jersey, 1940), vii.
2. See G.D. Henderson, The Burning Bush, 151-162.



adopted in America and Scotland. His first, and perhaps most widely read contribution to the transatlantic revival movement in the early years was his description of the awakening at Northampton in 1734, A Faithful Narrative of the Surprizing Work of God in the Conversion of many hundred Souls in Northampton and the neighbouring Towns and Villages. It was printed in London in 1737 with a preface by Dr. Watts and Guyse,<sup>1</sup> but even before this edition came out the ministerial network had assured its passage to Scotland, where it was also welcomed. Henry Davidson of Galashiels and Thomas Gillespie of Carnock, two of Edwards' later correspondents, dated their first awareness of the New England minister to 'that remarkable period of the century the 36th'.<sup>2</sup> Once it had been printed in Britain, it had a wide sphere of influence, which included the Wesleys, Whitefield and Harris, all of whom were particularly struck by its contents.<sup>3</sup> In the Narrative Edwards described how 'the work of conversion' came to Northampton and to support his description gave several very detailed analyses of selected individual conversions as well as general accounts. Based on his observations of converts and his discussions with them, Edwards set out his ideas about the way the Spirit worked in the

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1. For a description of the exchange of correspondence involved in this process, see Jonathan Edwards, Works, IV, ed., C.C. Goen, 32-46.

2. S.E. Dwight, op. cit., I, 126.

3. E.g., R. Bennett, The Early Life of Howell Harris (1909), 155, tells how he was revived whilst reading about the revival in New England in Feb. 1738. Wesley printed an abridged version of the Narrative for his own people.

convert's heart. He also felt able to outline the marks of true regeneration and those which were to be discounted as false or misleading. The clarity of his descriptions and definitions made the Narrative popular with preachers and laity alike, and the work itself was sometimes cited as an instrument of conversion. In New England 'The rumour of that surprizing work of God resounding through the country, was a special means of exciting great thoughtfulness of heart in many religious people ...'<sup>1</sup>, whilst in Cambuslang it had the same effect:

About 5 or 6 years ago I heard Mr. Edwards' Surprizing Work of God read. I was very glad to hear that there was such a work of conversion in those far distant places; and I thought if I were there, I might perhaps get a case of grace among others and was busy from time to time contriving methods how I might get there. 2.

In addition to the 1737 edition, the Narrative was published in both of the Scottish evangelical magazines, and the work went into several British editions before 1750.<sup>3</sup>

Edwards received wide recognition for this piece, which had a formative influence on men who were searching for ways to revitalize the Church, but it was through The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God (1741)

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1. The Christian History (Boston), II, 379 and T. Prince, Account of the Revival of Religion ..., 7.
  2. Cambuslang MSS., II, 333 (Margaret Richardson).
  3. See Appendix 3 for a list of British reprints of Edwards' works.

that he became the accepted authority among evangelical Calvinists. In this essay Edwards was responding to a challenge from the Reverend Charles Chauncy of Boston that the revival was not a work of God. In order to establish the validity of the revival Edwards laid down five characteristics which certified the authenticity of a true work of the Spirit and which could be distinguished from behaviour which was social or psychological in origin. His work was welcomed by revivalists in England and Scotland who saw it as:

... a most excellent, solid, judicious and Scriptural performance; which ... through Divine blessing will prove most useful to the Church, for discerning a true and real work of the Spirit of God, and for guarding against delusions and mistakes. 1.

Revivalists needed these arguments to use in their own defence, in Britain as much as in New England because, as John Willison said, 'the extraordinary work there at present, though several thousand miles from Scotland, is of the same kind with that of Cambuslang and other places about and meets with the same opposition'. They were grateful for an author who 'with great judgement, answer[s] the common objections which are made against the work, both here and there, so scarce anything further need be added.'<sup>2</sup> Scots

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1. J. Edwards, The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the of God was reprinted in Glasgow in 1742 with an introduction by the Scottish minister, John Willison. Willison's introduction was in turn reprinted in The Christian History /Boston/, I, xi, 84.

2. Ibid.

were urged to read the essay on the grounds that it was so like their own experience they 'would think the author had been at Cambuslang'<sup>1</sup> and it was widely advertised in the evangelical magazines as 'earnestly recommended by the Reverend Dr. Watts and the Reverend Mr. Whitefield to the serious perusal of all Christians of every denomination in particular'.<sup>2</sup> Edwards was, then, taken seriously as the spokesman for Calvinist evangelism throughout the revival world and when he re-worked The Distinguishing Marks as Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England in 1742, it was again well received by British ministers who debated its content and urged one another to read it:

Mr. Edwards of Northampton has published a Little Book entitled Some Thoughts ... it was printed first in Boston, and is now reprinted in Edinburgh ... and I suppose may be had at London by this time. It contains many excellent things and may be very proper to be perused by all that are, or would be employed as Instruments in the Lord's hand in carrying on his work. 3.

Edwards' final apologia for Calvinist evangelicalism, The Freedom of the Will (1754) was read by comparatively few, whereas his edition of the journals written by Indian missionary, David Brainerd, and published by Edwards as

1. The Glasgow Weekly History, xxv, 8.
2. The Weekly History, liii.
3. G.M. Roberts, Trevecka Letters, 119.

Life of Brainerd (1746) became one of the most popular biographies of all time. In its own way it carried Edwards' attack on the 'moral' Arminian theology to vast numbers of readers.

Between them Whitefield and Edwards provided all types of literature required by the movement, from hymns and anecdotes to philosophical treatises and on both sides of the Atlantic Whitefield was the chief popularizer of revival doctrines, whilst Edwards was the authoritative voice listened to by leaders and ministers.

Literature and the revival process: Durham, New Hampshire, 1741-43.

Printers' lists and book catalogues provide ample evidence about the nature of book distribution, and the occasional comment in a diary or letter suggests the impact of a particular publication on an individual. Yet one can only guess at the total effect of the literature at the parish level. Through the records of Nicholas Gilman, New Light minister of Durham, New Hampshire, it is possible to get a more than usually clear picture of the part literature could play in a local revival.<sup>1</sup> Gilman was not a typical minister: he came from one of the most respectable and powerful New Hampshire families and continued to be received by the elite of New England's ministers and by his

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1. N. Gilman MSS. See also W. Kidder, "Nicholas Gilman, Radical New Light" (University of New Hampshire, M.A. thesis, 1972).

social peers, whilst being thought of as a ranting religious fanatic. Gilman's intense commitment to revivalism was combined with a social standing which gave him access to the inner ministerial circle in Boston and to all the latest news and literature, and events in Durham were therefore shaped by a rather unusual set of circumstances. Few ministers would have been able to afford such an extensive library as Gilman had, and few would have been so liberal with its contents. This means that Gilman's diary does not provide a mirror exactly reflecting the process of a revival, but it nonetheless gives an intensified image of what occurred in a much more fragmented form in parishes throughout the revival world.

Gilman's interest in literature amounted to bibliomania, the early entries in his diary, for January 1740, consisting for the most part of references to his latest book acquisitions and reading progress. His literary tastes and religious tendencies before 1740 are not known, but clearly 1740 was a year of intensive study on his part. It proved to be excellent preparation for subsequent events in his parish, possibly acting as one of the major causes of the local fervour. Once the revival was under way in Durham, Gilman was too busy to attend to his books - but by this time he was more than adequately equipped to promote the revival.

Durham was fairly isolated during the middle-eighteenth century and did not have its own bookseller. Gilman travelled frequently to Boston where he bought and borrowed

literature, eventually building up a remarkable library. His social contacts proved useful. On one occasion he borrowed several books from Governor Belcher and Benjamin Colman lent him the London editions of Whitefield's Nine Sermons and the Account of the Rise of the Methodists at Oxford before they were reprinted in America. Usually, however, he bought most of the books he read. On January 28, 1740 he recorded that he 'bought at Captain Henschman's small books to the value of 26/6', which must have amounted to several dozen as 'small books' were usually only a few pence each. Occasionally Gilman and other rural ministers were able to buy books by subscribing to new publications which would be distributed to them by the publishers.<sup>1</sup>

The books in Gilman's collection belonged to the two categories described in this chapter, i.e. works by Puritan divines and contemporary revival literature. In January, 1740 for example, he read a piece by Flavel, a Journal of George Whitefield's, Whitefield's Life, his Nine Sermons, Answer to the Bishop of London's Pastoral Letter, and An Account of the Rise of the Methodists at Oxford; Matthew Henry's Catechism for Children; some of Dr. South's sermons

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1. E.g., on 9 Feb. 1740 he recorded his receipt of 'Mr. Shurtleff's Sermons at Mr. Gookin's ordination' to which he had previously subscribed. On 22 March he gave Mr. Parkman a copy of this sermon. On 10 July 1741 notes that he 'had a subscription presented for printing the sermon of last evening.' MS. Diary.

and The Boston Gazette containing news of the revival. All these books emphasized the centrality of the conversion experience and supported the main Calvinist tenets. Some of the Puritan literature was new to Gilman:

Read some of Shepard's Sound Believer, an excellent performance which I don't know that I ever heard of till lately at Boston .... God in his Providence has deliver'd me to some excellent treatises. <sup>1</sup>

Among the excellent treatises were Law's Serious Call, Baxter's Works, Vincent's Treatise on Love to Christ, Jennings's Two Discourses on Preaching Christ and Experimental Preaching, Shepard's Sincere Believer, Stoddard's Guide to Christ and Bunyan's Grace Abounding. Like so many others, Gilman was particularly impressed by Alleine's Alarime and he paid special attention to the chapter on the nature of conversion.<sup>2</sup> Then as soon as the revival began to produce its own literature Gilman supplemented his reading of sixteenth and seventeenth century authors with the latest works. His reading might have seemed a farrago, but in this mixture there was a singular and clear theological path which led him straight to the revival.

The diary also provides some clues to the possible connections between a minister's reading and the progress

1. MS. Diary, 17 Nov. 1741.

2. Ibid., 10 Oct. 1741, 'Went over Mr. Joseph Alleine's Chapter on the Nature of Conversion'.



of the revival in his parish. For instance, Gilman recorded that he had read Whitefield's Sermon on Religious Societies (1739) and History of the Religious Societies in London (1701) written by Josiah Woodward, and subsequently he mentions the societies which were established in Durham. Although it is unlikely that the course of events was simply a linear one from reading to practice (such societies were after all part of the Reformed tradition and were often formed in response to people's needs), reading provided support for the practice and advice on how it should be carried out. Other events were more directly influenced by revival literature. On 13 November, 1741 Gilman received a copy of Jonathan Edwards' sermon, Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God (1741). At that stage there had been no general awakening in his parish, only a few isolated conversions. But when he began to read aloud from works by Edwards, including a sermon on the dangers of the unconverted, and the narrative of Northampton, people came flocking to hear. On the 14th November he read one of Edwards' sermons in public and in the evening of the 16th 'came unexpectedly 30 or 40 people from all quarters on a Rumour that there was to be a meeting at My House .... I prayed - read Edwards' on Ruth's Resolution'. In a matter of days interest had increased: 'In the Evening tho' Dark and Dirty a throng of people assembled at my House to hear Mr. Edwards' Narrative of Conversions at Northampton....'<sup>1</sup> He continued

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1. Ibid., 20 Nov. 1741

to read daily extracts from works by Edwards and the effect was almost immediate. The 6th December was apparently a day of 'great outcrying and anguish and very soon he was able to record that 'Numbers awakened daily'.<sup>1</sup> Gilman carried on the practice of reading as a supplement to sermonizing and during the following months his congregation heard pieces by Gilbert Tennent, Colman, Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, and extracts from the Edinburgh Christian Monthly History and the Narrative of Conversions at Cambuslang.<sup>2</sup> All of these would have familiarized his congregation with the doctrines of grace and assurance as delivered by powerful and persuasive authors from all the revival countries. In addition, he turned his own collection into a public lending library for the seriously concerned, and his own notes about the borrowing of books are given in Appendix 4. 'Mother Thing', for example, took home 'Edwards on Northampton', whilst Sister Susannah read of God's Gracious Dealings with Mrs. White, and perhaps, like Mrs. K. Campbell of Cambuslang, was comforted by it.<sup>3</sup>

These experiences of the congregation in Durham, New Hampshire may well have been unusual, but they differed from other parishes in degree rather than kind. Gilman's notes bear out all the major claims made in this Chapter:

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1. Ibid., 10 Dec. 1741
  2. Ibid., 19 Oct. 1742 'I read the Narratives of Conversions at Cambuslang in Scotland'.
  3. Cambuslang MSS. I, 305.

that a significant proportion of the converts were literate and that they had access to revival literature in a number of ways; that evangelical ministers were deeply influenced by literature and that this literature was either from the Puritan past or from contemporary revival authors; and finally, that both ministers and people were familiar with the revival events in other countries because the literature of those countries was circulated by the evangelical network.

## CHAPTER V

### THE EVANGELICAL MAGAZINES

Revivalists relied on the written word to a considerable extent and discovered that it was not always satisfactory simply to adopt the traditional forms of religious literature to their message. In addition to the more traditional hymns, sermons, and treatises, they made use of revival narratives,<sup>1</sup> personal conversion accounts and evangelical newspapers and magazines. This chapter is concerned with the development of the evangelical newspaper and magazine.

Before the 1740s there had been no specifically evangelical periodical publication, either weekly or monthly, but by the end of the century all the major denominations had adopted it as the most useful and popular form of communication and propaganda. During the nineteenth century, a time of increased evangelical activity as well as greater general literacy, the religious magazine became a much extended and more sophisticated literary form. A magazine had the advantage of being able to convey a sense of immediacy and action because it could keep up with the current news from revivalists. It tended to be more readable

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1. For a list of revival narratives consulted for this study see the bibliography.

than traditional literary forms and was able to bring the reader into community with like-minded people who shared the hopes and views expressed in the magazine. In making use of this literary genre, evangelicals had discovered a useful and effective tool.

Between 1740 and 1748 all the revival countries discussed in this study, with the exception of Wales, had an evangelical magazine. It was not a viable project in Wales because of the general poverty and low literacy rates of the people, as already indicated,<sup>1</sup> although Welsh revivalists who could read English were well catered for in the London magazines which contained news from Wales. Magazines were published from Glasgow, Edinburgh and Boston as well as from London. Each one was independent, with its own particular features, whilst at the same time drawing on the others for information and in matters of style. Through their pages these magazines reflected the progress and problems of the revival in each country, as well as providing an evolving model of what was possible within an evangelical magazine.

The initiative for printing the first magazine was taken by the London printer, John Lewis, whose paper, The Christian's Amusement, set the pattern for religious

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1. See above, Chapter IV, pages 144-147.

periodicals.<sup>1</sup> Lewis attended the London Tabernacle and the society at Fetter Lane and was in a good position to judge the value this kind of publication would have for evangelicals:

Shall the polite world have their Spectators, Tatlers, Guardians and comedies. Shall the curious have his daily and weekly news, his Advertisers, Gazeteers, Miscellany? and shall the children of God also have their weekly amusement, their Divine Miscellany and historical account of the progress of the Lord's Kingdom. 2.

Perhaps the magazine was first adopted in England because here the demand for evangelical preachers was greatly in

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1. John Lewis, ed., The Christian's Amusement containing Letters Concerning the Progress of the Gospel both at Home and Abroad etc. Together with an Account of the Waldenses and Albigenses ..., (1740), printed by John Lewis, September 1740 - March 1741, 4 pp., price 1d. /Hereafter C.A. It then became The Weekly History: Or, An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars Relating to the Present Progress of the Gospel, By the Encouragement of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield (1741), I, printed by John Lewis, 11. April 1741-13 November 1742, 4 pp., price 1d., 4 to /hereafter W.H. In the autumn of 1742 it became An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars Relating to the Present Progress of the Gospel (1742), II, III, IV, printed by John Lewis, 84 pp., price ½d. per week, pocket size /hereafter Accnt. Then in autumn 1743 The Christian History or General Account of the Progress of the Gospel in England, Wales, Scotland and America, as far as the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, His Fellow Labourers and Assistants are concerned (1743), V, VI, VII, printed by John Lewis every 7 weeks. Each volume was divided into four numbers of 84 pp., price 3½d., pocket size, /hereafter C.H. Finally, The Christian History, or General Account ... of the Gospel ..., (1747), printed by John Lewis, 283 pp., 8 vo /hereafter C.H. 1747.  
Locations: The only complete collection is in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. In addition: C.A., Bodleian Library, Oxford, W.H., Bodleian Library; Dr. Williams's Library, London, C.H. 1747, B.L. (incomplete).
2. W.H., xiii.

excess of the supply and where preaching was lacking, literature could be used to instruct, inspire and encourage converts.

For six months (twenty-seven issues) Lewis was without any official support from the Tabernacle or from Whitefield, although it seems likely that he received financial backing from Whitefield's patron, William Seward.<sup>1</sup> These twenty-seven issues reflect Lewis's own aims and approach which was primarily to establish the contemporary movement within the long tradition of piety and thus to help to legitimize it. His method was to extract selections from the writings of accepted sixteenth and seventeenth century divines to show how the revival corresponded to their teachings.<sup>2</sup> These extracts in themselves made 'suitable' reading for the pious. In addition, there was a weekly serial written by Lewis - "A History of the Waldenses and Albigenses" - which in a long-winded fashion drew parallels between persecuted mediaeval Christians and contemporary Methodists to prove that they shared the same reforming New Testament spirit. It offered comfort to Methodists by revealing the unchanging nature of persecution of 'the godly': 'Whatever set of men or sect of people will live godly in Christ Jesus they are sure not to want an odd name'.<sup>3</sup> Methodists and Waldenses

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1. See A.A. Dallimore, op. cit., 251

2. E.g., The Experience of Bishop Beveridge (1673-1708): C.A., ii, The Death and Suffering of Dr. Taylor (1613-1677): C.A., xiv.

3. C.A., vii.

were victims of more serious slanders according to Lewis: 'That because they met at night they played "catch who catch can". Incests took place and they made pastors of such unions.'<sup>1</sup> Lewis' purpose in narrating the trials of a once persecuted Christian movement is obvious, but it did not make the most exciting reading. The Waldensian saga and Puritan literature were omitted once the paper became the official organ of the Calvinist Methodists, probably because there was sufficient revival news to fill all the available space, and revival news had priority. Lewis' second aim was to provide people with the latest information, from home and abroad, about revivalism and in particular to follow the journeys of George Whitefield. News from South Carolina, Georgia, New England and Wales was reprinted and foreign news was to become of central importance to all evangelical periodicals in the next few years.

Despite Lewis' intention to promote peace and charity between revivalists, his paper had a clear theological viewpoint which was anti-Arminian and anti-Moravian. Through editorial comment Lewis emphasized Free Grace<sup>2</sup> and the virtue of the Church of England - if only it would maintain its true doctrines<sup>3</sup>. It is possible that the paper may

1. Ibid., x.
2. Ibid., v, vi.
3. Ibid., xxii.



have played a part in the crystallization of revival factions so that by issue xxvi, as Lewis himself said, all his Arminian readers had left him.<sup>1</sup> The editorial commentary, which was dropped after issue xxvi, was one of the most striking features of The Christian's Amusement. It guided the reader on moral as well as theological matters, warned them away from 'the Alehouse or Tavern, or to Cards, Dice, Bowles or Billiards'<sup>2</sup> and more positively, instructed them in the forms of behaviour befitting a Christian, as for example, when making a purchase: 'Whenever I trade with a Brother or Sister, I commonly give what they ask, for I conclude I shall not be impos'd upon. This method with just Dealing, wou'd prevent lying etc. etc.'<sup>3</sup> In another issue an editorial on vice and immorality was followed by a proposal to form a Society for the Reformation of Manners.<sup>4</sup>

In 1740 and 1741 when The Christian's Amusement was published, there was no organized network of correspondents - the revival had not yet begun in Scotland, and was barely under way in America. This in part explains the parochial sphere of the magazine to which Lewis added news from abroad whenever he was sent any. Possibly he intended the magazine to serve as a focal point for local converts who would then be able to build up a community within London in which

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1. Ibid., xxvi.

2. Ibid., xxix.

3. Ibid., xv.

4. Ibid., xviii.

they would live and work together:

I shall be willing to advertise for any Brother or Sister in this paper, gratis; for I would they assist one another; for if you do begin to be in earnest about Religion, you will soon find the frame of an illnated world. And some have lost their Bread for conscience sake. 1.

Such opportunities offered by the paper were welcomed:

'Many are the penny letters I have received' reported Lewis 'since I first began this paper',<sup>2</sup> and he sometimes reprinted the correspondence from lay people. Plumbers, chandlers, stationers, seamstresses, a razor maker, a glove-washer and a watch mender took up the offer of free advertising: 'Sister Betty Angus ... sells all sorts of Hollands for Shirts and Aprons .... Also I give notice that Bro. Humphreys ... makes and sells and cleans clocks and watches at reasonable rates'.<sup>3</sup> At least one chandler had been obliged to move for want of trade after being boycotted for closing on Sundays.<sup>4</sup> Lewis himself experienced difficulties in business which he ascribed to his practising his faith:

Both Hell and Earth have conspired against it /the paper/ for if the Common Hawkers are asked for it, some of them do tell their customers that I will not sell it to the Hawkers .... And the Printers of News will not advertise this Paper.... 5.

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1. Ibid., xiii.

2. Ibid., xii.

3. Ibid., xiii. See also xx, xxi, xxii, xxiv.

4. Ibid., xxi.

5. Ibid., ix.

On several occasions he informed his readers how well or badly the paper was faring, reminding them that it was their paper too and its welfare was of concern to them.<sup>1</sup> When the paper was adopted by Whitefield, advertisements, personal comment and all other traces of folk piety, which included letters from 'sincere young women'<sup>2</sup>, tales of trances and visions,<sup>3</sup> and advertisements for 'The Holy Life of Good Armelle, a poor ignorant Country Maid in France',<sup>4</sup> disappeared. Although the change of style might have been due to Whitefield's attempt to make the paper less London orientated, particularly as it began to gain a wider readership, it might also have resulted from a wish to remove the lower-class or folk tone of the paper. Possibly Whitefield's concern for support from the upper classes required him to lay the emphasis off laundresses and razor menders, however pious and respectable.

Whitefield's career in the colonies was continuously followed by The Christian's Amusement during 1740 and his return to England was broadcast in issue xxiv. The last Christian's Amusement, (xxvii), reprinted a sermon delivered in Charlestown, South Carolina, relating to the character of 'that excellent man George Whitefield'. It ended the

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1. Ibid., xiv, xvi, xxv.

2. Ibid., xii.

3. Ibid., x.

4. Ibid., xvi.

private enterprise of John Lewis. Despite problems of distribution, obtaining material, and complaints of loss of money in the early days, the paper had survived and had sufficiently proved itself to become the official mouth-piece of the Calvinist Methodist movement. Only two weeks elapsed between the last Christian's Amusement and the first issue of its successor, The Weekly History, in the month that Whitefield returned from the colonies. This was the same month that he and Wesley finally separated over the Free Grace issue, and when his publisher, James Hutton, decided to work exclusively for the Moravians.<sup>1</sup> In March, 1741 George Whitefield had returned to find that he and his followers were clearly divided from the Moravians and Wesleyans, and that he had no publisher. He was expected to lead one branch of the revival and yet lacked any means for communication and propagation. In these circumstances a sympathetic publisher was one of Whitefield's priorities and in Lewis he found one who was not only sympathetic but who had already been active in spreading the Gospel. Furthermore, the paper had established a readership and a relationship with the Tabernacle. As the first official Calvinist Methodist newspaper, The Weekly History was numbered Volume I rather than Volume II. It bore the words 'By the encouragement of the Reverend George Whitefield' and

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1. "The Christian's Amusement and The Weekly History", J.C.M.H.S., 2, No. 2 (Jan. 1917). Letters of George Whitefield, 256. Letters of Whitefield to J. Habersham, 25 March 1741: 'My bookseller, who, I believe has got some hundreds by me, being drawn away by the Moravians, refuses to print for me ....'.

the editor promised 'not to put in things of my own head, but to submit (as a Professor ought) to my Spiritual Directors'.<sup>1</sup> This change of directorship marked the shift from sermons and expositions to letters and narratives, and an increase in news from abroad. There was also a change of pace as the Calvinist Methodist revival entered its more heady phase:

Great Things in England, Wales and Scotland wrought,  
 And in America to pass are brought,  
 Awaken'd souls, warn'd of the wrath to come,  
 In Numbers flee to Jesus as their Home ....  
 What is this News, that flies throughout our Land. 2.

Whitefield consistently provided the main flow of this news, either in the form of letters he himself had written to ministers and friends in England, Wales, Scotland and America, or those written to him. From the outset Whitefield had decided on the content of the paper and prospective buyers were told that anyone who thought 'fit to take this Paper in every week, I believe will find many things both useful and entertaining. The Reverend Mr. Whitefield intends to supply me with fresh Matter every Week, and another Reverend Gent well known and as well respected, does me the Favour to correct it.'<sup>3</sup> As a result the paper tended to follow Whitefield's steps, especially on his two visits to Scotland in the summers of 1741 and 1742,<sup>4</sup> although

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1. W.H., iv.

2. Ibid., lxxxiv.

3. Ibid., iv.

4. Ibid., xx-xxxvi, lxiv - lxxv.

in any case news from Scotland in summer of 1742 was clearly the most dramatic and exciting in the revival world because the Scottish revival was at its peak. Like any other newspaper, the London Weekly History followed the most stimulating news wherever possible and news of mass conversions in the Glasgow area did arrive in London before Whitefield joined the Scottish ministers. One of Whitefield's aims had been to encourage ministers to send in reports which could then be reprinted. Often they came in the form of letters and the knowledge that they would be printed explains the self-consciousness in some of the correspondence, as well as the total absence of any other kind of news:

Since I wrote the enclosed more Accounts of Sion's King riding on the White Horse of the Gospel ... have come to my knowledge, as follows .... The societies in Calder ... on Saturday last continued fervent in Prayer together till Day on the Sabbath Morning .... Likewise in Kilsyth where Mr. Robe is Minister .... Mr. Robe writes he never knew the like. 1.

Before the first Scottish news arrived the paper had contained a large proportion of news and letters from the American colonies, which dated from Whitefield's tour in the winter of 1740 and which he had presumably brought back with him. The news lacked immediacy but it is quite likely that Whitefield wanted it printed in order to attract

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1. Ibid., lxiv.

readers and illustrate the magnitude of the revival. More up to date American correspondence was included wherever possible, as were advertisements for American books,<sup>1</sup> and there was a regular supply of news from the Georgia Orphan house for which Whitefield was collecting money. Occasionally in the first months of the London Weekly History American news comprised the whole of an issue,<sup>2</sup> and as time went on was also referred to in Scottish correspondence so that the paper began to reflect the complex corresponding network as it developed:

/McCulloch to Whitefield/ It is a matter of great joy to hear that our Emmanuel is making such quick and amazing conquest in New England and that his work still goes on and prospers with you .... /In Scotland/ some have computed Hearers these 2 last Lord's days to have been 9 or 10,000. 3.

A third steady and increasingly important source of information came in the reports from Whitefield's circuit preachers in England and Wales - men such as John Cennick and Joseph Humphreys. From sporadic and hesitant beginnings these accounts grew in number and became a regular feature, encouraged in issued xlvi by Lewis:

If Ministers and other Discerning People of England (or wherever the Lord is pleas'd to direct this Paper) will be so kind as to send

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1. Ibid., xxiii, xxvii, liii.
  2. Ibid., xvi, xvii.
  3. Ibid., lx.

Accounts of the Progress of the Gospel and the powerful operation of the Holy Spirit, to the Printer; he humbly hopes (and has by Experience found) that such Accounts are and have been very comfortable and encouraging to those who have an opportunity of reading the same. 1.

News from Liverpool,<sup>2</sup> Bideford,<sup>3</sup> and Newcastle<sup>4</sup> occasionally appeared, although in England there was no regular source outside the Calvinist Methodist circuits concentrated in the South. By this time the paper was firmly established as an instrument of the Calvinist Methodist movement. As such it began to reflect the organization of the movement: its use of societies, bands, tickets, circuits and ultimately the Association meetings for ministers and exhorters.<sup>5</sup> Some of the problems encountered by the movement, especially persecutions,<sup>6</sup> and the movement's relationships with other evangelicals and the Church of England<sup>7</sup> were aired in the magazine, again through the correspondence between ministers.

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1. Ibid., lxvi.

2. Ibid., lxx.

3. Ibid., liv.

4. Ibid., lxi.

5. The Welsh had their first conference of Ministers at Devynock, 2 Oct. 1740, but the first Association of English and Welsh Ministers was not until 5 Jan. 1743 at Waterford. In August 1742 Whitefield wrote to Harris: 'It may be worthwhile to enquire (now matters are brought to a crisis) whether or not it may be proper to form ourselves into a more close Body, and yet not separate from the Church of England'. W.H., lxxix. For the minutes of the English Calvinist Methodist Association, 1745-1749 see C.E. Welch, Two C.M. Chapels, 19-45.

6. W.H., xv, xxiv, xxv, xxxiii.

7. E.g., W.H., lxiii.



On the whole, however, the paper was dominated by uncritical firsthand reports, giving little interpretation of events. The note sounded in the paper was optimistic, even ecstatic at times and created a feeling of strength among its members by avoiding a display of problems and weaknesses within the movement. One or two internal disagreements, such as an emphasis on Christ's body and suffering adopted from the Moravians, did find their way into the magazine and were an augury of future difficulties at the Tabernacle.<sup>1</sup>

In November, 1742 the paper changed its format again and for one year was also retitled An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars Relating to the Present Progress of the Gospel. Lewis explained the changes in the last issue of The Weekly History:

Now this first volume is finished we purpose (by God's heart) to begin the next Volume in a more commodious manner and (as we are likely to be furnished with more Material) we intend therefore to let our Readers have more Reading for their Money every week than they have heretofore had. It is to be printed in a neat Pocket Volume and to be deliver'd (every week as it was at first) to the Tabernacle, and at People's Houses at the Price of One Penny. 2.

It seems most likely that each week the reader received twenty-one pages which built up into a monthly part of

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1. E.g., W.H., xlix; Letter from an unnamed minister, 'Christ's Garments smell of the Powders of the Merchant when he cometh out of his ivory chambers. O his perfumed Face! his fair Face! his lovely and kindly kisses have made me a poor Prisoner!'

eighty-four pages, paginated consecutively with an index at the end. Four of these monthly parts made up one volume, of which there were three in a year. Such a change of format suggests that the publication was being seen less as a weekly newspaper or magazine, free-standing and disposable, but rather as a work to be saved and collected together into book form, presumably to be re-read for edification. An explanation for the change might lie in the increasing organization and institutionalization of the Calvinist Methodist movement in England and Wales, spearheaded by the Welsh Methodists under Howell Harris. The sense of free-wheeling revivalism which Whitefield favoured had given way to the establishment of several demarcated evangelical groups, each with its own particular adherents and workers. At the same time there had been a reduction in the initial energy of the Calvinist Methodist revivals which affected the content of the magazine. After reaching a peak in the summer of 1742 the Scottish revivals at Cambuslang and Kilsyth had lost momentum and in New England and the Middle Colonies there was the same slowing down. Everywhere ministers and exhorters had become less concerned with the millennial and worldwide dimension of the revival and concentrated instead on their local or denominational difficulties and the institutional consequences of revivalism which they were experiencing. The new magazine reflected these changes in several ways. Firstly, there was a concentration on news from England and Wales, and even though the paper did continue to reprint letters from America and Scotland there were fewer of them and they

came from one or two sources rather than from the wide range of excited and involved ministers and layment who had previously written.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, reports from Calvinist Methodists in England and Wales came in regularly from a greater number of exhorters than previously,<sup>2</sup> reflecting the fact that itinerary routes had been well established and the practice of sending in reports to the Tabernacle was a matter of routine. By this time preaching routes were announced in advance<sup>3</sup> and preachers no longer roamed freely answering the calls of societies and country parishes, but instead had to fulfil their obligations to affiliated groups. The sporadic and spontaneous aspects of the revival were giving way to systematization. For the magazine this meant a steady supply of letters and reports to be printed after they had been read out at the Tabernacle's monthly Letter Day. In some issues information was given in the form of verbatim reports from a particular Letter Day,<sup>4</sup> or from the Monthly and Quarterly Association meetings of exhorters. This report by Harris from a meeting at Glamorgan, April, 1743, was typical:

1. They came in the main from Benjamin Colman; Accnt., iii, iv, xiv; the Georgia Orphan House; x, xiv, xx; and South Carolina; xv, xvi.
2. The names now included: James Beaumont, Thomas Adam, James Ingram, Herbert Jenkins, Gabriel Harris, Hammond. These exhorters and others are listed in the Tabernacle minutes for 1747, C.E. Welch, Two C.M. Chapels, 16-18.
3. Accnt., IV, ii, 17. Joseph Humphreys 'I ... am now beginning to lay out my country circuits.' See also C.H., VII, iii, 81'... I could not /preach where requested/... for my Rounds were already settled and Published'.
4. Ibid., III, i, 73 "The Order of the Letter Day at the Tabernacle, Monday, 30 May 1743".

We settled the Societies under the care of the private exhorters, and settled to each of them their own work. Such as had Publick Gifts were settled as Superintendents over the rest, and to bring the particular accounts of each of them under their particular care to our Quarterly meetings ... and the private Exhorters to come themselves to our Monthly Meetings.... 1.

Association and Superintendents' meetings usually claimed that more and more people were being reached by the preachers and being formed into societies:

We sat together above 12 hours and many great and weighty matters relating to our Lord's Kingdom were settled - The superintendents who were in Number 12, brought comfortable news of the Lambs under their care; and the private Exhorters who were there assisting behaved regularly and have been blessed. The work is more on the increase than ever. Very many come daily under conviction in these parts. Opposition is considerably less in these parts .... 2.

Reprinting these reports and minutes helped to reinforce a sense of identity and to give information on issues such as receiving communion,<sup>3</sup> licensing meeting places,<sup>4</sup> and how

1. Ibid., III, ii, 26. Also, IV, i, 23, report from a superintendent in Pembroke.
2. Ibid., V, i, 40.
3. Ibid., IV, i, 31. Harris to Whitefield about establishing a chapel where monthly communion can be given out, near Swansea.
4. Ibid., IV, i, 59. Hammond to Whitefield, 9 Sep. 1743 "We have thought of taking a Place in the Town /Shelford/ which was built for a Playhouse .... Will it be necessary to have the Place licens'd?"

to handle mobs and persecution from parsons, squires and JPs, as well as advertising ventures such as united days of prayer.<sup>1</sup> Letters from Whitefield continued to be a staple of the magazine, although they were less striking than previously because he was touring familiar parts of England and Wales and there was little that was novel in what he had to say. Despite his reports that there were still thousands of listeners and despite the steady growth of societies the first elations had passed and the early intensity of the movement and international news of The Weekly History could not be maintained.<sup>2</sup> The focus had been narrowed and steadied and continued to be so in the penultimate paper, The Christian History or General Account of the Progress of the Gospel in England and Wales, Scotland and America, as far as the Reverend Mr. Whitefield, His Fellow Labourers and Assistants are concerned.

The Christian History, begun in November, 1743, was a continuation of the Account and had the same range of content and style and a similar format but it did drop the weekly instalments in favour of complete eighty-four page parts with an index. Each part-volume now came out every seven

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1. Ibid., III, i, 18. Letter from James Robe in Edinburgh to a Gentleman in London about the reviving effect of the Scottish prayer days.
  2. See J.C.M.H.S., 2, No. 2 (Jan. 1917), for a list of over 200 letters printed in these London magazines giving their author and recipient, date written and which magazine they were printed in. It is possible to see at a glance how the international news tailed off.

weeks rather than monthly, thus completing the transition from a weekly publication to a periodical magazine: 'The Method in which this Work is now published is as follows, viz. 84 pages (which makes a Number) are printed every seven weeks and are sold for 3½d.'<sup>1</sup> By November, 1744 the magazine editors had reached a stage in which they were self-consciously narrating the history of the magazine and offering back issues in complete sets, recalling more glorious days:

Whosoever is willing to be possess'd of all the Letters that have been printed ... to preserve as valuable Memorandums, either to refresh his own Memory in Time to come or to transmit them to Posterity ... any such person may apply to John Lewis ... where he may be supply'd with a complete set from the beginning ... upon as easy terms as possible .... 2.

At this stage there was a slowdown in the production of the magazine. This might indicate a decreased interest and commitment on the part of the editors or readers, and maybe both. At any rate the movement in general experienced a shift from the initial sense of discovery and excitement of revivalism to the need for sustained evangelical work of a more deliberate kind. The magazine was now more cohesive and less of a miscellany than its forerunners and it showed the change towards a settled, methodical layout which had been gradually taking place.

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1. C.H., VI, iii, 84.

2. Ibid.

Letters continued to be the basis of the magazine, going to London through the Letter Day convention and the system of reports. In 1744 and 1745 they frequently told of troubles rather than successes, of opposition and persecution,<sup>1</sup> and of occasional internal tensions - particularly over the position of lay exhorters who often exceeded their brief.<sup>2</sup> It was a difficult time for the movement on all these counts, yet the religious press concentrated on tales of external persecution rather than internal conflicts. Debates on discipline and order were recorded only in the Association minute books and thus were rarely publicized.<sup>3</sup> Whilst Whitefield was away in America from August, 1744 to July, 1748 the Tabernacle and the magazine came under a variety of leaders, including Howell Harris and John Cennick. Their influence was reflected in a style of language borrowed from the Moravians which emphasised the body and suffering of Christ: 'The Carnal mind cannot bear that our Saviour's precious blood should be all in all ... Blood, Blood, only Blood, that sweet and pleasing theme.'<sup>4</sup> By no means all Whitefield's people approved of this style as Brother Cross discovered: 'I met with much opposition in Glos., for T.B. had declared to the Congs at Thornsbury and Rengery that I preach damnable doctrine and that you and Bros. Godwin, Thorne and I and Bro. Pugh ... worshipped the Body of Jesus.'<sup>5</sup>

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1. Ibid., V, i, 16; V, ii, 13-16, 32-42, 43-44; V, iii, 17, 44-46.

2. Ibid., V, iv, 32.

3. C.E. Welch, Two C.M. Chapels, passim, but see especially 11, 20.

4. C.H., VII, i, 30.

5. Ibid., VII, iv, 43, Cross to Cennick 7 Aug. 1745.

Before John Cennick finally separated from Whitefield in December, 1745 the paper contained many references to blood and wounds.

By October, 1745 the paper had been in print in various forms for five years but had become a financial burden to John Lewis. Only three volumes appeared between November, 1743 and October, 1745. The editors were not able to meet their schedule of one part every seven weeks, and Lewis felt it was time to stop publishing the magazine:

... I have printed some Letters from Mr. Whitefield and his Wife [he wrote to Harris] ... and also the last that ever I am likely to print of the Christian History (or Weekly Papers) ... I believe I shall print no more of the Weekly papers for I have lost so much by them, that at present, I know not how I shall do to pay my Stationer - I have finished the 7th volume and I have told Bro. Adams and Cennick that I can carry it no longer. 1.

Howell Harris vainly tried to encourage Lewis to continue because he felt there was a need for some kind of publication and that even with its faults the London magazine had served a useful purpose: 'I am sure the Lord has bless'd it - of late it has not been so entertaining, nor perhaps, since the Enemy was somewhat let loose among us, so universally received.'<sup>2</sup>

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1. G.M. Roberts Trevecka Letters, 176 n.d. but probably September, 1745.
  2. Ibid., 177.



At a time of sectarian difficulties, Lewis had not even been able to create a sense of unity by printing letters from Whitefield in America because Whitefield had been ill and had not been corresponding. Of the 256 letters in these volumes only fourteen were written by Whitefield and it was over six months after his arrival in America before he was able to tell Lewis that he was sending over a box with fifty letters for circulation. His first letter, therefore, written in March was not reprinted in The Christian History until the autumn when it just made the last issue - but did not save the magazine.<sup>1</sup>

After approximately a year without a magazine<sup>2</sup> a final volume was published, called The Christian History or General Account of the Progress of the Gospel and simply dated 1747 on the front page. Unlike the others it carried no volume number and is difficult to date accurately because the

1. C.H., 1747, 9.
2. Precise dates have not been discovered but the Association minutes dated January 1747 record that 'After reading a letter from John Lewis about printing the weekly papers, it was agreed that it should be proposed among all the societies to subscribe for them to take them monthly, 1 sheet a month if Mr. Lewis on speaking to him agrees to print them so, on the encouragement that shall be given as one penny a sheet ....' C.E. Welch, Two C.M. Chapels, 28. The minutes for April 1747 mention that letters for the magazine should be discussed, Welch, 30. It is referred to in these minutes for the last time in July 1748, Welch 42 and on 18 July 1747 Howell Harris recorded in his diary 'Read ... the remarks of the Bishop of London on our Weekly Journal ...', T. Benyon, Visits to London, 147.

letters it contains date from October 13, 1746<sup>1</sup> to June, 1748 and are in no clear chronological order. Adding to this lack of continuity is the fact that these letters were interspersed with letters from Whitefield in America which were always some months old. This volume carried at least sixteen letters from Whitefield whilst he was in the colonies, dating from November, 1746<sup>2</sup> as well as several other American pieces.<sup>3</sup> There was nothing else distinctive about this volume and as there is so little information about its publication it is difficult to assess whether it represented any new refinements in religious publication or whether it was published simply to make use of Whitefield's letters and perhaps thereby to draw together the splintered movement. If so, it failed in its purpose for the decline and fractionalism continued.

Distribution of the magazine was organized through the exhorters and preachers within the Calvinist Methodist movement and was occasionally referred to in their minutes:

Agreed again with John Lewis as more calls come in for the Weekly History that we take 400 from him at bookseller's price, vizt. at 4s. 0d., and he to take care to send them punctually at the month's

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1. C.H., 1747, 9.
2. The B.L. copy of The Christian History 1747 has a number of pages missing and accurate counting was therefore not possible.
3. C.H., 1747, 122 "An Abstract from the New England Gazette, Boston 1747" about Whitefield.

end (after being revised by Brother Boddington and corrected) by the proper waggons as follows - 150 to Mr. Kennedy at Exeter and the brother that goes first there to bring up the money, 60 to Plymouth to Mr. Kinsman near the Tabernacle there, 80 to Alderman Harris at Gloucester sent to Mr. Awstin /sic/ near Newgatestreet, 50 to Mr. Pearsal by the Welch Cross, Birmingham. 40 to Portsmouth and the rest to the Tabernacle house to be sent - 18 to Essex, 5 to Chatham, and [Blank], and to be paid by Brother Shergold. 1.

Before this more formal arrangement and before the establishment of preaching stations, the movement had had to rely on the energy and work of individual preachers. Howell Harris, for example, acted as a salesman for the Weekly History and the following is a list of subscribers taken from one of his diaries:

1 to Mr. Sparks; 1 to Mr. Davies; 1 to Jn of Dythryn; 1 to Longhouse; 1 to Wm. Richard; 1 to Dyffryn Smith; 1 to Wm. Watkins; 1 to Martha Watkins; 1 to Mr. Watts; 2 to Mr. Mends; 1 to Mr. Gibbs; 1 for Jn of Tyryet; 1 to Bro. Jn Harris; 1 to Bro. Rowlands; 1 to Bro. Williams; 3 to Lord Neath - 1 to Morgan; 1 to Evan; 1 to Griffith Jones; 1 to Jn Jones; 1 to Wm. Jones; 1 to Jones Wm; 1 to another exhorter in Cardigan-shire; 1 to Llwynyceiliog; 1 to Mr. Saunders; 1 to Mr. Twying; 1 to myself; 1 to Tho. James; 1 to Tyfyn; 1 to Sister Barnesley; 1 to Thos. Lewis; 1 to Longtown; 1 to Mr. Gwynne; 1 to Glanyfafondda; 1 to Mr. Jones Cwmyon; 1 to Llanddownor; 1 to Wm. Evans; 1 to Parke .... 2.

The correspondence received by the Tabernacle for publication in the magazine is the only indication that it reached as

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1. C.E. Welch, Two C.M. Chapels, 13. Minutes for 27 Nov. 174
2. Printed in J.C.M.H.S., 25, No. 3 (1940), 159.

far as north Manchester and Liverpool and Newcastle.

Leaving on one side the final volume, which seems to have been a separate and even retrospective venture, the magazine followed an interesting cycle alongside the movement for which it spoke. Beginning with The Christian's Amusement, in its first stage it was energetic and forward looking and although lacking in coherence, polish and evenness of standard, was able to embrace the feelings and responses of the movement at large. As The Weekly History the magazine began to stabilize and develop a way of handling information, even processing and regulating it as the movement was centralized. By the time it had become The Account and then The Christian History it had greater coherence, a set pattern for distributing information and could speak with the authority of 'headquarters'. At this stage it also began to reflect the development and problems of the movement. Finally, as the opening phase of the revival drew to a close, its functions were superseded and it ceased to exist. This may have been due simply to the waning of commitment on the part of printer John Lewis, but it is more likely that the magazine had outlived its uses.

Lewis' London papers were circulated amongst revival ministers in America and Scotland where they were recognized as valuable both for the part they could play in furthering the revivals and as a means of communication between committed, active revivalists. Instead of writing lengthy and

detailed letters to one another about the events in their own countries revivalists, found it much more convenient to write briefly but to include a batch of magazines with their note which, as Lewis explained to Thomas Prince in Boston 'will give you a better idea of this Matter than I can pretend to write.'<sup>1</sup> The apparent usefulness of the London paper provided an incentive for ministers in Scotland and New England to publish their own magazines. Naturally, these magazines were influenced by The London Weekly History, but they also developed some individual characteristics which reflected the personality of the editor, the stage of the revival at which they were published and the denominational background against which they were set.

William McCulloch, minister of Cambuslang, was the first to take up the idea. The initial issue of The Glasgow Weekly History in December, 1741<sup>2</sup> showed the influence of the Christian's Amusement and the thirty issues of the London Weekly History that had already been published. In fact, for the first six months his main aim was to reprint selected articles from the London paper. He made his in-

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1. MS. letter of Lewis to Prince, 20 Aug. 1743, Davis MSS. M.H.S. See also Prince to W. McCulloch, cited in detail above, Chapter III, pages 125-126.
  2. William McCulloch, ed., The Glasgow-Weekly-History Relating to the Late Progress of the Gospel at Home and Abroad; Being a Collection of Letters partly reprinted from the London-Weekly-History ..., (Glasgow, 1742), printed by William Duncan, December 1741 - December 1742, small 8 vo., 8pp., price 1d., bound with an index [hereafter G.W.H.]. Copy in the library of the University of Glasgow. Issue i is missing but is printed in Publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 53 (June, 1920), 192 ff.

tention clear in the title of the Glasgow paper which was an imitation of the Weekly History title page with the addition of the words: 'Glasgow, Re-printed by W. Duncan Price One Half-Penny'. From May, 1742 onwards McCulloch was able to print first-hand news of the local Scottish revival and he dropped the word 'Re-printed' from the title after issue xxvi. The development of The Glasgow Weekly History thus fell into two distinct stages, the second of which was marked by the beginning of the Scottish revival. The paper was sold exclusively by subscription, presumably to ensure that they printed only what they could sell. From the outset it was McCulloch's intention that the paper would be retained by its readers because he announced that he would provide a title page and index at the end of twelve months. Continuity was provided in the main by the editor who had complete control over content.

Throughout the twelve months of publication McCulloch consistently preferred to reprint news in letter form. Letters made up about eighty per cent of the total content with a slightly higher percentage in the first six months, because after issue xxiii a certain amount of space was given to the reprinting of ten conversion narratives from Kilsyth. Besides these two forms of writing the paper contained only a limited range of items: hymns, advertisements<sup>1</sup>, extracts from Scottish and American narratives<sup>2</sup> and

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1. E.g., G.W.H., xxviii advertised Edwards' Distinguishing Marks; xxxiii advertised Robe's Narrative of Kilsyth.
  2. E.g., Ibid., xxi, xxii contained extracts from Jonathan Edwards' Narrative; xliii printed Hugh Kennedy's preface to the Dutch edition of the Kilsyth Narrative.

several pieces from the American secular press concerning the revival.<sup>1</sup> Overall the magazine concentrated fully on the revival at hand and was the least concerned of all the papers to legitimize the revival through use of the past. Nor did it give space to apologetics and sectarianism. Beyond his interests in the most recent news and in writings with a strong emphasis on conversion, McCulloch showed a particular concern to stress the general and widespread nature of the revival and this would seem to link with his sense of millennialism.<sup>2</sup> Over twenty per cent of the items in the paper came from America, whilst many others were selected for the references they made to revivalism in the colonies. Issues xxxv, xxxvi and xxxvii, for example, were devoted to a detailed "Defence of the Extraordinary Work in New England" by John McLaurin of Glasgow, in which he quoted from half a dozen American testimonies to prove to Scottish readers that Charles Chauncy's criticisms in The State of Religion in New England were unfounded. McCulloch's selection of American news gave an optimistic picture of the Awakening, emphasising the reformation of behaviour and the way in which the revival included rich and poor, servant and master, Indian and Negro:

1. Ibid., v, xxxviii.

2. See letter of McCulloch to Edwards 13 Aug. 1743 in S.E. Dwight Life of Edwards, I, 198-200.

I asked Mr. Brown (who worked among the Negroes) if they made worse Servants for embracing Christ .... No! says he Poor creatures! they are so filled with Love to all the White People for Christ's sake, that they know not how to do enough for them. 1.

Since the revival community extended even beyond the Atlantic world to Holland and some of the German pietist churches, McCulloch included information on these awakenings. The communication between Scottish ministers and the Reverend Hugh Kennedy of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam resulted in a Dutch translation of the Kilsyth Narrative which was popular in Holland.<sup>2</sup> McCulloch reprinted Kennedy's preface to the Narrative in which he also made much of the internationalism of the revivals: 'I would fain hope the glory of the latter days is not far off. The present convulsions and feelings among the dry bones in Scotland, America and other parts confirm me more and more in this opinion.'<sup>3</sup> For Scotsmen, Wales was at least as remote as Holland and revival news from Wales was equally exotic. As so little was known about Wales McCulloch welcomed a basic history sent to him by a Welsh Dissenting minister.<sup>4</sup> It was written specially for Scottish readers to give them some notion of the geography, history, demography and economy of Wales so that they could place the development of religion and the

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1. G.W.H., xxxviii.

2. See above,

3. G.W.H., xliii.

4. Ibid., xlvi.



revival within this framework. Other letters from Wales followed which seem to have been original to The Glasgow Weekly History<sup>1</sup>. More than a third of all the news printed was about revivalism in England and Wales, most of it selected from the London paper by McCulloch.

There was a large selection of letters available to McCulloch, so that his particular reprints suggest that he had several criteria in mind. Most of the letters chosen were fairly lengthy and detailed. In themselves they were testimonies to the revival which could be checked because they specified names and places. Scottish and American ministers were less contented with anonymous reports and blanked out names than their English counterparts, possibly because they were much less of a sub-culture and had a real chance of influencing their denominations if they used trustworthy information.<sup>2</sup> In one instance McCulloch used the back-log of London Weekly Histories to good advantage. Unlike Lewis, who had to print letters as they came to hand, McCulloch was able to consolidate scattered letters until together they built up into a narrative of some considerable length. He did this in issues vi to lx with John Cennick's reports from Wiltshire during his tour in June, July, August and September of 1741.<sup>3</sup> One of the subjects of Cennick's

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1. Ibid., xlix; letter of D. Rowland to H. Harris and H. Jenkins to Bro. Pugh.
  2. See Preface to J. Robe's Christian Monthly History.
  3. Originally printed in W.H., xiv, xv, xxiv, xxv.

narrative was the persecution suffered by English and Welsh preachers at the hands of magistrates, squires, clergy and local mobs. It was a theme echoed in other reprinted letters suggesting that McCulloch was attracted to it. His liking for news of persecution is rather puzzling because the Scottish revivalists met with no comparable opposition. However, these accounts claimed that mob violence was instigated by the socially prestigious - the universities, magistrates and landed gentry - so it is possible that McCulloch was harnessing Scottish dislike of English nabobs to give impetus to the revival.<sup>1</sup> Opposition to the English revival from such quarters helped to give it validity in the eyes of Scotsmen.

After issue xxi McCulloch was able to turn his attention to the local revivals at Cambuslang and Kilsyth. Accounts of these, along with letters from New England to Scottish ministers, dominated the second half of the paper. Above all McCulloch concentrated on the conversion experiences of individuals, most of which were sent to him by James Robe of Kilsyth who had recorded them in his Journals. Taken together these ten conversion profiles, each detailed and lengthy, equipped the reader with the vocabulary of conversion. There were distinct stages in the spiritual progress

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1. See G.W.H., vii, 'When I see the great Men everywhere Chief in opposing the Gospel, I can't help thinking on St. Paul's words, "You see Brethren ... not many mighty are called" '.

of each individual, following the pattern outlined by Edwards<sup>1</sup>; the initial uneasiness; sense of guilt and self-loathing; relief by prayer into a sense of salvation. Several of the Journals read like teaching guides, pointing out worthy pre-occupations for the saved and deterring anyone from claiming conversion merely out of fear of Hell. Beyond this pattern, the personalities, ages and experiences of the converts were shown to have been varied, which was clearly meant to encourage others and to provide a wide variety of examples to follow.

After one year of publication McCulloch wrote to his printer asking him to discontinue the paper since materials were difficult to find and the Scottish and American revivals seemed to be declining despite fresh isolated outbursts. Although the paper had become less dependent on its London source, McCulloch never really made it an organ for disseminating local and Scottish revival news. It was a miscellany of contemporary materials from Holland, Wales, England and New England within which a number of themes such as millennialism and conversion were emphasised. The Glasgow Weekly History was more like a newspaper than the other revival magazines, lacking the sense of organizational development to be seen in Lewis' papers and without the interest in the past and future to be seen in the American paper and in the second Scottish magazine, The Christian

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1. Edwards devoted about a half of The Faithful Narrative describing the morphology of conversions at Northampton, see Works (1972), IV, 160-191.

Monthly History<sup>1</sup>.

In November, 1743 James Robe, author of the Kilsyth Narrative, published the preface and first issue of The Christian Monthly History, intended as a supplement to his Narrative: 'I proposed in carrying it on, to have intermixed an Historical Account of the Success of the Gospel in the Progress of the Glorious Work of the Lord.'<sup>2</sup> A sense of purpose was apparent from the introduction and clearly distinguished Robe as an editor from McCulloch as a reprinter. There were three proposals: (a) to leave a record to posterity: 'Hereby God's wonderful dealings with His Church in this Age shall be propagated to many Ages to come .... Hereby also proper Materials will be preserved for a History of the State of Religion different from the Transactions of Ecclesiastical judiciaries.'<sup>3</sup>; (b) to maintain the community of sincere Christians in present times: 'It is a choice Mean to promote the Communion of Saints upon the Earth'<sup>4</sup>; (c) to encourage further conversions and to sustain those already converted:

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1. James Robe, ed., The Christian Monthly History or an Account of the Revival and Progress of Religion Abroad and at Home. (Edinburgh, 1743), 2 vols., printed by R. Fleming and A. Alison, November 1743 - January 1746 [hereafter C.M.H.] Vol. I consisted of parts i-vi, 40 and 24 pp., price 6d. on fine and 4d. on coarse paper, 8 vo. Vol. II, i-x was begun in April 1745, repriced 3d. and 2d. according to the quality of the paper. The last issue I have been able to trace was probably for Jan. 1746. Of the total 16 nos. only 6 have been located in Britain: Vol. I, i, ii, v, vi; Vol. II, i, iii in New College Library, Edinburgh. There is a complete file in the Congregational Historical Society, Boston.
  2. C.M.H., Preface, 33.
  3. Ibid., 36.
  4. Ibid., I, iv, 49.

Is it not reasonable to think that the good news of a great and effectual door being opened up to the Lord's servants, in any part of the Christian Churches, will excite all who make mention of the name of the Lord to strive ... That a Door of Utterance may be given to them ... Will it not have a Tendency to make serious Impressions and awaken a concern upon Careless and secure sinners. 1.

Doubtless all the editors intended their papers to influence readers in these ways, but Robe was the self-conscious articulator of their aims. His selection of topics always seemed to be guided by the above criteria.

Robe paid homage to the predecessors of The Christian Monthly History, his assessment of their work indicating something of his own intention and style: 'The Weekly History published at London and Glasgow ... though too much confined as to their subject and without any fixed method were notwithstanding considerably useful and acceptable to several.<sup>2</sup> Now that the initial revival fervour had evaporated it was possible for Robe to deal with his material thematically. His was a history not a newspaper, as he said, his 'real intention being, as a faithful Historian, to narrate every Fact with the strictest Truth, as far as is known to me by my best information.'<sup>3</sup> Robe could view

1. Ibid., Preface, 34.

2. Ibid., Preface, 36.

3. Ibid., I. vi, 61.

the revivals with hindsight and use this perspective to evaluate events. In his Preface, for instance, he examined the arguments used against revivalists and gave a summary of the main points of contention. Because of the sheer volume of literature in America and Britain concerning the revival he maintained that 'many do not know what to believe in both nations.'<sup>1</sup> His own review of that literature was an attempt to still any doubts created by 'evil' reporting and to do this he used a method which became characteristic of the magazine: a statement of intention; testimonies to establish the respectability of revivalists; proof of the merits of their work in the moral improvement of converts. The style and content was designed to counteract accusations of 'enthusiasm':

Friends have suffered causa scientiae and Means of knowledge and information which the other side altogether or in great measure Want ... their negative Testimony can never, by any just Rules of Reasoning, be supposed to elide the evidence on the other side. 2.

The magazine managed to combine an assessment of past events in such a way as to provide methods for revival procedures along with reports of contemporary news.

In the sphere of contemporary reporting Robe concentrated on Scotland and New England and included a certain

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1. Ibid., Preface, 14.

2. Ibid., Preface, 16.

amount on missionary work. Once again, the hand of the editor is clearly in evidence. Firstly, he encouraged detailed and careful testimonies and continuous reports from ministers in Scotland and secondly, he consciously cultivated and emphasised the close relationship which he felt existed between the American colonies and Scotland. He must have worked hard to keep up the flow and standard of Scottish reports. Most of his correspondents indicated that they had written because he had asked them to, whilst the pattern and style of reports suggests that he included a brief of what he required. They show a care for precision about numbers, dates, names and parish procedures which reflect Robe's intentions to leave a historical record and a reliable source for other Christians.<sup>1</sup> As one of his correspondents wrote: 'Much of Scripture was written in the same way and for the same purpose as The Christian Monthly History.<sup>2</sup> Accounts were usually signed by the parish elders and several of the reports actually came from elders - again at Robe's request.<sup>3</sup>

In 1743 and 1744 revivals occurred in Golspie (Sutherland), Roskeen, Nairn and Muthel (Perth) and Nigg (Kincardine).

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1. Ibid., Preface, i5: 'The General Principle upon which our Belief of Facts upon the Testimony of others is founded, is this, that when Matters of Fact are attested by Witnesses who have sufficient Means of knowledge or Information ... then an Assent to Testimony is well founded ....'
  2. Ibid., I, iv, 51.
  3. Ibid., I, iv, 43 ff. from the Elders at Kirkintilloch who met to write up the story of religion in their parish at Robe's request.

Unlike earlier reporters of new outbursts, these ministers shifted the emphasis away from emotionalism and tales of prayer sessions lasting into the night. Rather they built corrective commentary into their accounts to avoid the usual criticisms. Some variation on 'none of their ... Bodies were affected with convulsions or Hystericisms of any sort'<sup>1</sup> would be included, and ministers were at pains to point out the 'beneficial' effects of conversion: 'People are very diligent and industrious in their secular callings and more forward in the Business of their Husbandry than their Neighbours in other parts.'<sup>2</sup> There were even claims for a reduction in crime: 'the kirk session has very little else to do but to inform and consult about the Religious concerns of the Parish.'<sup>3</sup> These comments are taken from John Balfour's report from Nigg and were characteristic of the magazine. Beginning with a brief history of the parish since 1730 designed to illustrate the gradual development of serious religion, Balfour went on to describe the particular events of 1739, whilst pointing out that there were few violent or physical reactions. Instead he maintained that the revival should be judged by its fruits and gave details of what could be termed the 'fruits':

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1. E.g., ibid., I, ii, 15.
2. Ibid., I, iv, 47.
3. Ibid.



Besides these general Meetings, which convene in 2 places of the Parish at a proper Distance, each every 3rd Monday respectively, and in which the Minister always presides, there are 10 societies which meet in several Places of the Parish every Saturday for Prayer and other Religious Exercises. 1.

None of the latter was permitted to meet without an Elder being present. If these reports are representative then the revival in Scotland was much more controlled and monitored than elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> In Campsie, for example:

All the principal Societies of Men in the Parish send one of their number to meet in Society with me, once in the 3 or 4 weeks. From them I learn the state of the several societies and the outward Practices and behaviour of the several members, especially of those who have been the subjects of this blessed work. 3.

It would be misleading to create the impression that a large proportion of the magazine was made up of Scottish letters and news. Rather surprisingly they comprised only about one fifth of the total, apart from the Preface. On the other hand the constant references to Scotland in the American correspondence had the effect of magnifying the Scottish content of the magazine. But it was American rather than Scottish material that was the norm in the Christian Monthly History - taking up six whole numbers of the fifteen examined and being featured in six others<sup>4</sup> as

1. Ibid., I, iv, 46.

2. E.g., ibid., II, iv, 132 ff: letter from Rev. J. Sutherland from the parish of Golspie.

3. Ibid., I, ii, 33.

4. Ibid., I, i, iii, v; II, vi, vii, viii, ix.

well as the Preface. Robe was at the centre of the transatlantic network and had access to American publications and letters. Added to this he firmly believed in the spiritual and theological connections between revivalism in New England, the Middle Colonies and Scotland, whereas England and Wales were clearly alien and were rarely mentioned. From his comments within the magazine it seems he also believed that the transatlantic link was of great theological and psychological importance to evangelists on both sides. The first words of the magazine spelled this out: 'New England hath been much upon the heart of the Religious in Scotland'<sup>1</sup> - and he went on to reprint testimonies from individual American ministers<sup>2</sup> from conventions of ministers<sup>3</sup> and from councils of Churches<sup>4</sup>. He also included several detailed revival accounts<sup>5</sup> and the journals of an SSPCK missionary to the Indians.<sup>6</sup> It was usually Robe's practice to preface

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1. Ibid., I, i, 1.
2. Ibid., I, i contains extracts from Edwards' Narrative; I, ii reprinted a long letter from Rev. John Moorhead in Boston.
3. Ibid., I, iii, 7 - 60 Testimony and Advice of an Assembly of Pastors ... July 7, 1743 and I, iv, 3-37 Testimony ... against several Errors and Disorders ... May 25, 1743.
4. Ibid., I, i.
5. Ibid., II, iv, 116-126 on the revival at Portsmouth, N.H. by Rev. William Shurtleff, II, vi, 185-199 on the revival in Sutton, Mass. by Rev. David Hall.
6. Ibid., I, v, vi and II, ii. These were the diaries of Rev. Azariah Horton.

these American pieces with an editorial comment which was designed to bring out their relevance for Scotland. He prefaced the Boston Testimony against Errors and Disorders with the remark that it:

... is looked upon as a Scheme laid, by some particular Persons, virulent opposers of the Good Work ... in New England ... and designed more for Scotland than for their own Land. And this it was calculated and contrived to confirm the fallacious Accounts of the State of Religion in New England, sent over to Scotland. 1.

From Robe's point of view the value of reprinting this anti-revival Testimony, alongside the positive response from another convention of Boston ministers<sup>2</sup> and a letter to the Moderator of the Convention<sup>3</sup>, was to dispel any doubts that may have taken root in Scotland about the genuineness of the New England revival. It seems to have been extremely important for the validity of the general revival to establish the good name of New England. Equally, the American revivalists were aware of and concerned about the anti-revival reports which had been sent to Scotland.<sup>4</sup>

Apart from Scottish and American news the paper did print one piece from Wales<sup>5</sup> and one from England (to which

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1. Ibid., I, iv, 11-12.

2. Ibid., I, iii, 7-60, Testimony and Advice ...

3. Ibid., I, iv, 23-34 Letter from J. Gee to N. Ells.

4. Ibid., I, iv, 23ff.

5. Ibid., II, ii, 39-42 dated 14 Feb. 1745 and probably written by Harris.

Robe added a lament on the success of John and Charles Wesley who were 'under error anent Predestination, universal Redemption and sinless Perfection attainable in this Life.',<sup>1</sup> and reports of revival in the army at Flanders.<sup>2</sup> There was remarkably little about George Whitefield's activities in the magazine and no letters from him were reprinted, although this was probably due to his illness and absence for much of the life of The Christian Monthly History. Robe seems to have welcomed letters and features which discussed the questions facing revivalists, such as the value to be given to trances and dreams,<sup>3</sup> the problem of Christian conduct in non-revival periods,<sup>4</sup> and the marks of conviction and conversion.<sup>5</sup> Only one or two articles discussed the feuds between religious factions including one designed to 'move the Reader's pity towards the poor Seceders whose souls are fed by their Preachers with such Entertainment instead of the Gospel of Christ ....'<sup>6</sup>

One of the functions of all the revival magazines was the promotion of methods of evangelization, and perhaps the

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1. Ibid., II, ii, 38.
2. Ibid., II, ii, 32-38.
3. Ibid., II, ii, 46.
4. He suggested missionary work, prayer concerts and prayer societies.
5. See ibid., II, v, 39-44.
6. Ibid., I, iii, 60.

most significant innovation during 1743-3, the Concert for Prayer, was propagated by the History.<sup>1</sup> Using the whole of volume II, part i of the History Robe argued in favour of such an innovation, using Edwards' justification that it would be 'much for the rejoicing of all, to think that at the same time, such multitudes of God's dear Children, far and near, were sending up their cries to the same common Father, for the same common mercies.'<sup>2</sup> He acknowledged the concert as 'a means of beginning or promoting the like in other corners'.<sup>3</sup> The legitimacy of the exercise was established by the citing of precedents, and, more to the point, by giving examples of the efficacy of such means, like the case of Nigg parish where 'the commencement and progress of this blest Event [The revival] falls in with that of the Concert.'<sup>4</sup> Ultimately it was this sort of argument which would lead to the development of the more organized revival techniques of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The fact that Robe edited the History when revivalism was no longer in its first stages had had important consequences for his approach. Letters and first hand material were very carefully selected and accompanied by attestations,

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1. See above Chapter III, pages 112-116.
2. C.M.H., II, ii, 19.
3. Ibid., II, ii, 20.
4. Ibid., II, iii, 61.

whilst editorials provided a historical context and informed commentary. The magazine had a clear sense of purpose and a thematic approach which was due, in part, to its place in the chronology of religious papers, but also owed much to Robe's central position in the evangelical world and his acumen as an editor. At one point Robe had feared that he would have to discontinue publication unless he could be guaranteed four hundred subscribers,<sup>1</sup> but the paper survived this crisis for more than another year. In the end it was the lack of suitable material and general interest which caused the magazine to be discontinued in December, 1746.

The Christian Monthly History had much in common with the Boston Christian History<sup>2</sup> and it is quite likely that Robe had been influenced by the Boston paper which appeared six months before his, in March, 1743, and had been sent to him by his correspondents. The Christian History was a weekly paper published for exactly two years by Thomas Prince, Jr. It was known at the time that the real force behind the paper was the elder Thomas Prince, minister of the Old South Church,<sup>3</sup> and that his son's part was confined to the

1. Ibid., I, vi, 66.
2. Thomas Prince, Jr., ed., The Christian History, Containing Accounts of the Revival and Propagation of Religion in Great Britain and America ... 1743 and 1744, (Boston, Mass.), 2 vols., printed by S. Kneeland and T. Green, from 5 March 1743 to 23 Feb. 1745, 8pp., bound with indexes /hereafter C.H. Boston/. Copies in Britain in B.L., D.W.L., and the University Library, Hull.
3. J.E. Van de Wetering, "The Christian History of the Great Awakening" 122 ff.

mechanics, although Prince always referred to it as 'my son's paper'.<sup>1</sup> But Prince, Jr. had only graduated from Harvard in 1743 and could hardly have sustained the paper and given it its particular viewpoint. Nor, one suspects, could he have relied on the steady supply of 'Authentick Accounts from Ministers and other creditable persons of the Revival of Religion' and 'letters both from England, Scotland, New York, New Jersey ... Georgia ... as they shall be sent hither from creditable Persons and communicated to us!'<sup>2</sup> which were asked for in the first issue. His father, on the other hand, was a central figure in the domestic and international corresponding networks<sup>3</sup> and from the start had been an articulate and prestigious spokesman for the revival. The paper showed a steady, controlling editorial perspective which was undoubtedly that of the elder Prince. One historian has gone so far as to see Prince as singleminded in his purpose.

... for Prince, the revival was simply a renewal of the covenant, and he brought the Christian History forth to establish this point. His essentially conservative concern offers the key to the Christian History, for it supplied the work with its characteristic coherence. History supplied Prince with the means of reaffirming the special covenant meaning of New England's past, by associating the revival with Puritan tradition. 4.

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1. E.g. in his letter to W. McCulloch, 13 Dec. 1743. NYPL Misc. MSS, Print.
  2. Advertisement and frontispiece to C.H. Boston I.
  3. See above Chapter III, pages 85-86.
  4. Van de Wetering, op. cit., 124.

This was certainly the leading characteristic of the paper, although Lewis had attempted the same thing in The Christian's Amusement, also by quotation and example from the seventeenth century Puritan divines.

The reader of The Christian History was constantly directed to think of the covenant system and to regard the conversions as renewals of the covenant.<sup>1</sup> Prince wove into the paper evidence and argument to establish that past occasions of renewed interest in the Church had been part of a continuous pattern of religious revivals which in turn embraced the present Awakening. According to The Christian History there was a precedent within the Puritan tradition for all the so-called novelties of the Awakening: 'Outcries and Bodily Distress' were discussed with reference to Thomas Shepard, Robert Fleming, Thomas Cole, John Flavel and others;<sup>2</sup> the need for a lively and searching ministry was confirmed by Baxter's Christian Directory;<sup>3</sup> and the 'evil and calumnious spirit against the followers of Christ' was seen as a continuous process.<sup>4</sup> Ironically there was sometimes a contradiction between the editorial voice, which was seeking a blessing for zeal from the past, and contemporary accounts which tended to deny certain kinds of zeal and to adopt a defensive tone. Yet the editor's views effectively surfaced

1. Ibid.

2. C.H. Boston, I, xxvii - xxix.

3. Ibid., I, xxvii, 213.

4. Ibid., II. lvii, 38.



everywhere, even in the obit<sup>u</sup>ries.<sup>1</sup>

After issue xv, Prince divided the paper into two parts - the first before, and the second after, the arrival of George Whitefield. Because it was so purposefully organized the paper reflected the revival even less accurately than the London and Glasgow papers. The latter had captured more of the immediacy, the alternating moods and even the chaos of their local revivals. The particular perspective adopted by Prince meant that any innovations of the period were either omitted, or re-cast in such a way as to appear in keeping with past practices. This was rather different from the way Robe and Lewis used the past to establish respectability for the revival.

Yet The Christian History by no means concentrated exclusively on New England and did live up to its advertised intention to give 'Accounts of the Revival and Propagation of Religion in Great Britain and America.' The place most favoured outside New England was Scotland, presumably because of the general concern for Calvinist doctrines. Almost one third of the paper was taken up with news and articles from Scotland, including twenty-two issues of the paper which were devoted to news from Scotland. A further fraction (eight issues) contained news from England, Wales and overseas missionaries. All the news from abroad had to meet the same exacting standards as American reporting, as

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1. Ibid., I, xliii, 339 to William Cooper and II, lxii, lxi to Peter Thacher.

Prince made clear to McCulloch in August, 1743:

We are particularly obliged for your Weekly History out of which my son intends to take what has a name subscribed and insert in his Christian History it being a rule He would keep as close to as possible, to forbear inserting anything of fact or History without some name or other to give it credit. 1.

He had already made use of Scottish sources by reprinting most of Robe's Cambuslang Narrative in the first seven issues of The Christian History, drawing attention to the similarities between New England and Scotland. He also used the occasion to urge ministers to follow Robe's example of keeping a journal of conversion details. In later issues letters from Scotland were reprinted as soon as they arrived:

We should now proceed to other Accounts of the Revival of Religion here but having just received Intelligence from Scotland we apprehend it proper to suspend them for a Time, in order to present our Readers with some further Accounts of the Progress of Piety there. 2.

A third source for news about Scotland was The Christian Monthly History, once that had got under way.<sup>3</sup> Several pieces dealing with the English and Welsh revivals were taken from the London Weekly History but it is worth noting that Prince took very little from the London papers, although he would certainly have read them and had access to them.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Prince to McCulloch, 13 Dec. 1743. NYPL, Misc. MSS Print.
  2. C.H. Boston, I, xxxiv, 271. Scottish letters were printed in every issue from no. xxxiv to xlvi and in others.
  3. C.H. Boston, II, issues lxxv to lxxix reprinted news from the C.M.H.
  4. MS. letter of John Lewis to T. Prince, 20 Aug. 1743 mentions that Lewis has sent copies of the W.H. and undertakes to continued sending them. Davis MSS. M.H.S.

Presumably they fell short of his two main criteria - detailed, signed testimonies, and a distinctively Puritan outlook.

The paper had begun with a lengthy narrative of the revival in one place and it ended with a similarly detailed historical piece on the revival in Boston, written by Prince himself. Through seven issues he offered a defence of the revival, a denial of excessive behaviour and disorder and theological justifications for all that had happened.<sup>1</sup> Appropriately for 1745 it was a defensive piece of writing. The Congregational Church was openly divided about the revival and people were less concerned with conversions and more worried about schismatic groups. Before the final issue in February, 1745 there had been a good deal of pressure, mostly through The Boston Evening Post,<sup>2</sup> for Prince to stop publishing. The Christian History ended with a lament remarkably reminiscent of the classic New England jeremiad: 'For a twelvemonth I have rarely heard the Cry of any new cases - what shall I do to be saved.'<sup>3</sup>

The decline of revivalism and the somewhat chaotic state which followed for organized religion, at least among Calvinists, might explain why there was a gap in the publication of periodical literature between 1748 and the 1770s.

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1. C.H. Boston, II, issues xcix - xiv.
  2. Van de Wetering, op. cit., 128.
  3. C.H. Boston, II, civ, 414.

During the 1750s the only magazine within the same tradition was the Reverend John Gillies' weekly publication, An Exhortation to the Inhabitants of the South Parish of Glasgow and the Hearers in the College Kirk.<sup>1</sup> It was published in Glasgow between September, 1750 and February, 1751.

Although it was intended for a much smaller audience than any of the previous magazines, its aims were much the same:

Why but among such a variety of News-papers might there not be a sort of religious newspaper giving an Account of the Present State of the Gospel in different parts of the World? Christians have as much or more to do with this last kind of news as with any other. This made me willingly insert any Intelligence I could get of the Advancement of our Redeemer's Kingdom; knowing how acceptable it would be to many, and th at it would stir them to pray more fervently for its further Progress. 2.

Initially, Gillies' paper concentrated on encouraging his parishioners to lead godly lives, with meditations on prayer and the sacraments, but whenever he received news of revival work he printed it. Thus the paper contained news from Holland<sup>3</sup> and America<sup>4</sup>, and Gillies drew attention to the similarities between these events and the Scottish revivals of the 1740s: 'you will clearly perceive that this work of Grace wrought on the hearts of so many hundreds by the word and Spirit ... is in some Substance the very same work which

1. It was printed by John Orr and consisted of twenty-one weekly parts, some having 8pp., others 16pp., paginated consecutively. In the B.L. catalogue it is filed under 'Periodicals'.
2. An Exhortation to the Inhabitants ..., xxi, 278.
3. Ibid., x, 97-112.
4. Ibid., xiv, 156-175. This included letters from John Brainerd and Azariah Horton, missionaries to the Indians, and letters ~~about the revivals~~ in Virginia and New Jersey.

was some years ago, carried on so remarkably in your happy corner ....<sup>1</sup> It was also, he concluded, what they had been praying for through their continued use of the Concert for Prayer.<sup>2</sup> As Robe had suggested in The Christian Monthly History, the converted should concentrate on prayer and missionary work during non-revival periods. Believing in the value of revival narratives and international missionary work, Gillies went on to publish Historical Collections relating to the remarkable periods of the success of the Gospel in 1754.<sup>3</sup> He collected two volumes of letters, diaries, and writings from America, Holland, Scotland, England, Ireland and Wales, and places of Methodist missionary work, and made use of material from the 1740s revivals to supplement current information.

In 1761 Calvinist evangelicals in England continued their publication of magazines with The Spiritual Magazine, which has not survived.<sup>4</sup> Some extracts were, however, printed separately as Divine, Moral and Historical Miscellanies and these are sufficient to confirm that the magazine was the work of evangelicals operating outside and just within the Church of England.<sup>5</sup> The Gospel Magazine (1774),

1. Ibid., x, 108.

2. Ibid., x, 109-110.

3. Historical Collections had supplementary volumes printed in 1761. See above, Chapter I, page 1.

4. The Spiritual Magazine (1761-1784). The British Union Catalogue of Periodicals says there are no holdings for this magazine.

5. Ann Dutton, ed., Divine, Moral and Historical Miscellanies in Prose and Verse containing Many Valuable Originals ... as will tend to ... enlighten and profit the Reader, 3 vols. (London and Coventry, 1760-1763).

edited by the Reverend Augustus Toplady, was produced by a similar group and was the first really serious magazine venture since the 1740s. Like most of the late eighteenth century magazines, religious and secular, it reflected the increased sophistication of the readers as well as the improvement in printing techniques. Each issue carried an engraving, usually of a minister or evangelist, and sometimes had musical scores printed alongside hymns. The range of subjects had widened to include poetry, births, marriages, deaths and preferences, secular news and advice on practical matters. Besides edifying and amusing its readers The Gospel Magazine also served as the mouthpiece of Calvinists during one of the fiercest theological controversies ever known in England. In the circumstances their adversaries, the Wesleyan Methodists, found it necessary to establish The Arminian Magazine to put across their views.<sup>1</sup> For a while the magazines were used for attacking the other side: 'They [the Wesleyans] have paid no more regard to Good-nature, Decency or Goodmanners, than to Reason or Truth ... they have defended their dear Decrees, with Arguments worthy of Bedlam and with Language worthy of Billingsgate.'<sup>2</sup> The controversy clarified the situation, leaving behind a more

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1. The Arminian Magazine: consisting of extracts and original translations on Universal Redemption (1778-1798). Successively edited by J. Wesley and G. Story. Continued as The Methodist Magazine ... (1798-1821). Successively edited by G. Story and J. Benson.
  2. A. Toplady, ed., The Gospel Magazine, or Treasury of Divine knowledge: designed to promote experimental religion (1774-1783), 1 Preface i. It was continued in 1784 as The Gospel Magazine, now enlarged and improved ... (1784- )

coherent Anglican Evangelical party, and distinct Calvinist Methodist and Wesleyan Methodist parties. All these groups continued to publish their own magazines and by the early nineteenth century most denominations had their own periodicals.<sup>1</sup>

By the last twenty years of the eighteenth century the magazine was an integral part of Christian literature, parallelling the general growth in secular magazines and newspapers. As the editors of The Gospel Magazine wrote in 1774 there was a need for religious magazines because 'though the number of publications commonly called Magazine is great, and their matter various and sometimes solemn, yet none of them are entirely suited to the tastes of minds spiritual.'<sup>2</sup> Likewise the editors of The Evangelical Magazine had concluded in 1793 that 'Thousands read a Magazine, who have neither money to purchase, nor leisure to peruse, large Volumes. It is therefore a powerful engine in the moral world.'<sup>3</sup> As each new magazine was launched during the 1770s and 1780s, the editors were able to list many benefits that would result, just as the editors of the first magazine had during the 1740s. But for the most part the general evangelical purposes of the London and Glasgow

1. E.g., W. Dodd, ed., The Christian's Magazine, or a Treasury of Divine Knowledge (1760-1767), a magazine published by the mainstream of the Church of England. The Baptists began their own periodical in 1798.
2. The Gospel Magazine, or Treasury of Divine knowledge, 1, Preface, i.
3. The Evangelical Magazine (1793-1812), 1, Preface. It was continued as The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle (1813 - )

weekly papers of the earlier period had been narrowed into denominational propaganda. At the same time these new magazines had greatly multiplied their styles of religious writings and the scope of non-religious material within the papers had increased. Instructions on practical matters now jostled with 'expressions of dying Christians', biographies of ministers, and the conversions of pious laypeople. Competition from secular magazines and other publications, as well as the changing demands of readers, had made the magazines more professional. They had clearly established themselves, and in 1797 the editors of The Missionary Magazine were able to claim that the aggregate printing of religious periodicals in Britain amounted to 3,000 copies each month.<sup>1</sup>

1. The Missionary Magazine, 2, Preface, v.



## CHAPTER VI

### INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES TO THE REVIVAL IN SCOTLAND, NEW ENGLAND, WALES AND ENGLAND

This chapter will concentrate on the responses of religious institutions to the revival, and on the effects that the revival had on them. These institutions will be dealt with one at a time in their national context to try and highlight the varying influences of national traditions on the one hand, and denominational influences on the other. This is particularly important where the same religious institution is found in more than one country, as were the Anglican, Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, for example. It is intended that this approach will throw further light on the pattern of transatlantic revival communication which has already been discussed. Furthermore, the intention is to provide a starting point for comparisons of the revival, more specific supra-national comparisons being made in Chapter VII.

#### I. Scotland

In Scotland the reactions of ministers within the Church of Scotland to the revival reflected their various theological standpoints, although in the main their initial res-

ponse was favourable. For many years ministers had bemoaned the decline of old Calvinist ways in the Church which, combined with interference from England and patronage, had 'diluted' their original commitment. According to Henry Lindsay this had produced a miserable state of affairs:

Another melancholy Evidence of the Decay of practical Religion among us is this. That the primitive spirit of Christianity is very much extinguished; ... /which we can see/ from the little of Conversion, or reclaiming of poor sinners from the Evil of their ways, that does attend the Dispensation of Gospel-ordinances at this Day. 1.

For evangelicals who had stayed in the Church and had not joined the schismatic movements, either Cameronian or Erskinite, revival within the Church was precisely what they had hoped and worked for throughout the confusions of the 1730s. William McCulloch, James Robe, John Balfour, John Sutherland and others later referred to the period before the revival as one spent trying to establish praying societies and preaching regeneration. On reflection this naturally appeared to them as preparation for the revival.<sup>2</sup> These ministers had responded positively to the news of the Northampton (Mass.) revival in 1734, indicating a readiness to welcome conversion on a mass scale within the Church.<sup>3</sup>

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1. H. Lindsay, The Present State of the Church of Scotland with the Duty of the Members thereof enquired into in a Sermon ... 9 Oct. 1733 (Edinburgh, 1733), 35, 38.
  2. E.g., J. Robe, Narrative of the Revival of Religion at Kilsyth, Cambuslang and other Places in 1742 (Glasgow 1742, rpt. Glasgow 1840), 41-45.
  3. MS. letter of R. Wodrow to B. Colman, 8 Aug. 1735. Colman MSS. M.H.S.

Towards the end of the 1730s ministers of the Church showed increasing concern for a revitalization of the old Puritan spirit of personal religion, partly in response to the success of the Erskine Seceders. It showed itself, for example, in a renewed interest in such literature as Henry Scougal's Life of God in the Soul of Man (1677), which was reprinted in a cheap edition in 1739. Its theme of the New Birth and regeneration through the love of Christ was welcomed by no less a dignitary than Principal William Wishart of Edinburgh University. Whereas the Church, as an institution, had rejected The Marrow of Modern Divinity in 1720 for preaching similar ideas, it was prepared to accept this more Christ-centred message by the late 1730s, without interpreting it as necessarily anti-Calvinist. Certainly it was the emphasis on love and redemption which was welcomed by large numbers of lay people, and for individual converts it was often the way through to a conversion experience.<sup>1</sup>

Conversion accounts in Scotland confirm that some ministers had been steadily preaching conversion for several years before the revival. The efforts of those ministers who preached conversion and who succeeded in establishing 'fellowship meetings' for the laity were rewarded in the revivals when their parishioners seemed prepared for what

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1. See Cambuslang MSS. e.g. II, 578-579 (Marion Baillie): 'Christ is now become all in all to me ... I love him for himself and because of his own Excellency and loveliness which he hath discovered to me ....'

they heard. In 1740 the Reverend John Brown wrote A Vindication of Fellowship Meetings in reply to the Reverend John Currie's pronouncement that such meetings were not allowed according to the Reforming Assembly of 1647. By 1740 the number of meetings for the laity had increased, and evidently ministers such as Currie feared that they harboured the seeds of another schismatic movement. Brown went to great lengths to disclaim any such intentions, as well as to dissociate himself from the schismatic Erskine group. He argued that there was great value in the meetings for 'the poor people [who] cannot in Conscience attend the Ministry of such as are thrust in upon them against their will'.<sup>1</sup> Even though the Patronage Act had deprived them of their rights, he said, in prayer meetings they could at least 'exhort, comfort, edify, admonish, give affection, teach, serve, receive, confess and pray.'<sup>2</sup> According to another minister, John Willison, the advantages of prayer societies extended beyond those suffering under the Patronage Act to all sincere seekers. Like Brown, Willison wrote on the subject in 1740, but went further than justifying the usefulness of societies, to actually give specific instructions on how to establish and conduct such a society.<sup>3</sup> His comments are especially

1. J. Brown, A Vindication of Fellowship Meetings, Edinburgh, 1740), 11.
2. Ibid., 15.
3. J. Willison, The Duty and Advantage of Religious Conferences proved from Scripture and Reason; with Proper Directions to all those who either are or may be engaged in such Societies (Edinburgh, 1740).

interesting because they were written before the Scottish revival and illustrate that there was a movement within the Church which in aims, form and content linked closely with the revival.

I have endeavoured to encourage such Societies in this country, and have seen the benefit thereof to religion; and now I rejoice to hear of the increase of such meetings in and about Edinburgh, our Metropolis, and especially among college-students .... 1.

Willison believed they were especially important 'In this low time for Christianity' and could see in them the seeds of a new attitude to religion 'and a promising token to the rising generation, that so many of the hearts of young ones ... are inclined to become members of fellowship meetings.'<sup>2</sup> Out of this he felt it was possible that a renewal might come. Other ministers agreed, and one of them, John Bonar, added a testimony to Willison's printed letter expressing thanks that 'such is happening in our degenerate Age'<sup>3</sup> and one of the men interviewed by McCulloch referred to his own membership of a society: 'I am joined in a society for Prayer and religious conference ... and think my knowledge of Religion is increasing. We follow the Directions in Mr.

1. Ibid., 4.
2. Ibid., 9.
3. Ibid., 27.

Willison's Letter to the Praying Societies and put questions to one another according to the rules laid down by him ....<sup>1</sup>

It was fortunate for the evangelicals that the Church's official bodies did not rule against societies because they soon established themselves at the heart of the revival and proved to be one of the most popular methods of organizing the converted and the 'sincere unconverted' - and keeping them within the Church. Only three years after the debate on their legitimacy divinity student, George Muir, was able to write about Edinburgh:

The praying societies in this place are, as near as we can guess between 24 and 30; some of which will be obliged to divide by reason of too many meeting together, which will increase the number .... This is not all; for several country people are beginning to assemble together in little meetings ... and I am informed that about 2 miles from this place several ploughmen and illiterate persons meet, and are going weekly on. 2.

Letters to The Glasgow Weekly History and Edinburgh Christian Monthly History confirm that the societies had become the standard method for containing the converted within the Church whilst at the same time providing them with the freedom of expression and involvement they demanded.<sup>3</sup> One

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1. Cambuslang MSS., I, 489 (Michael Thomson).
  2. The Christian History [Boston] (1743), I, 271-4.
  3. E.g., The Christian Monthly History, I, ii, 34-51. Progress of the revival at Campsy; I, iv, 41-48, Account from Kirkintilloch.

Moderate minister complained 'the only pleasure of the people consists in numbers from ten to twelve meeting to converse on the abstrusest points of Calvinism, praying and lamenting the degeneracy of the age.'<sup>1</sup> The very proliferation of these meetings, which were based firmly on the parish church and minister, was in itself a positive response to the revival by the Church.

Thus before George Whitefield's first visit to Scotland in the summer of 1741 there were signs that some ministers were attempting to revitalize the Church. They had received revival news from England and New England with enthusiasm; they had encouraged Bible study and the reading of recommended divines; and established meetings for self-examination and mutual edification. In the end, however, it was Whitefield's visit which started the revival. His own preaching and his influence on the style of other ministers released the conversion phenomenon on a mass scale. By the summer of 1742 hundreds rather than tens of people claimed to have experienced a conversion. The conversion of forty could not be compared to the conversion of four hundred and because of the new scale the theological and social implications of revivalism appeared in a new light. It was not simply a matter of multiplication of numbers but a qualitative change in the event itself. Revivalism as a mass phenomenon en-

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1. H.G. Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, 371. The minister was from Llanbryde.

listed a number of new responses from the various religious and social groups within the Church, and these will now be examined.

The evangelical ministers of the Church, who had read so eagerly of Whitefield's activities in England, Wales and the American colonies, were receptive to Whitefield even though he was an itinerant minister of the English Episcopal Church. There were a number of potential obstacles to Whitefield's acceptance in Scotland. In so many ways he was beyond the pale: he was not fixed in one parish but wandered about doing other men's work for them; he was a representative of the hated prelatic faith and the equally despised English nation. Yet the invitations to preach in Scottish churches were far too numerous for him to accept.<sup>1</sup> Once again Whitefield's charismatic effect on the populace was unquestionable.<sup>2</sup> He was accepted equally well by many Calvinistic Presbyterian ministers, and the Presbyterian authorities sanctioned his activities. To evangelicals and regular Calvinists Whitefield's approach seemed to provide the Church with the response it needed to counter the increasing domination by the Moderate party on the one hand, and the growing popularity of the Associate Presbytery on the other. Given the particular difficulties of the Scottish

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1. J. Gillies, Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend George Whitefield ... (1772), 78, 96-97.
  2. The Glasgow Weekly History, xxx, 1-2, letter from W. McCulloch, 14 July 1742. McCulloch says that about five hundred people had been converted over the communion weekend, and that this number did not 'include those who have been awakened by Means of Mr. Whitefield's sermons in this place because I cannot pretend to compare them.' The Cambuslang MSS. bear this out.



Church by 1740 it is not difficult to understand why the revival was so well received in some quarters. With the support of people and ministers it seemed likely that the revival could be contained within the Established Church and thus give the Church a new lease of life after decades of internal strife and general decay in popularity and power. The development of a sizeable evangelical party within the Church was to a considerable extent due to the appeal that the revival had to the theological traditions of covenanting Presbyterians. By the mid-eighteenth century this theology had been sufficiently modified by prevailing ideas of God for Whitefield's Christ-centred preaching to be acceptable. The popularity that the message had among the laity made it all the more important to contain the revival within the Church.

It was precisely this combination of old and new - Calvinist theology with displays of popular emotion - which made revivalism anathema to the Moderate party of the Church. Until 1742 there was little to alarm the Moderates who concentrated their criticisms on the 'enthusiastic' person of George Whitefield.<sup>1</sup> But once the Cambuslang revival had begun, and its pattern was being repeated elsewhere, they began to clarify and intensify their objections. The General Assembly and official organizations of the Church were dominated by Moderate clergymen, often appointed by

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1. E.g., The Scots Magazine, April 1739, 185; June 1739, 250; May 1741, 218; June 1741, 269. Cited by A. Fawcett op. cit., 89-90.

Patrons. Revivalists thus found themselves frustrated by the General Assembly, especially over the rights of the parish to appoint a new minister against the wishes of their Patron. The minutes of the General Assembly do not refer to the revival or to Whitefield, but during the 1740s the Church was forced once again to try to settle its official attitude to a number of practices and theological tenets. Glasgow and Ayr Synod, for example, debated its attitude to 'the employing of Mr. Whitefield' in 1748.<sup>1</sup> Although the high proportion of revival ministers in this particular Synod meant that it was not representative, the criticisms put forward by the Moderates contained many of the key Moderate arguments against revivalism. The Reverend Mr. Millar of Hamilton proposed the motion for the Moderates and cited Whitefield's Episcopal ordination as dangerous to the Church. His main concern was not so much with theology as with the maintenance of stability and order. He found it 'shocking' that Whitefield had ignored the sentence of suspension passed on him by the South Carolinian Anglican, Commissary Garden. Millar's argument was based on distaste for 'Practices plainly subversive to good order' which 'open the door to wildest confusion'. After accusing Whitefield of pursuing imprudent and possibly dishonest schemes for collecting money, Millar moved on to an issue dear to the Moderate heart. Whitefield's preaching style was criticized

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1. A Fair and Impartial Account of the Debate in the Synod of Glasgow and Air, /sic/Anent employing Mr. Whitefield, 6 Oct. 1748 /by J. Erskine/.

for method and content: 'Moving the Passions without informing the Judgement will never promote a rational religion ... many of his favourite Tenets are of a most noxious Tendency'<sup>1</sup>, in particular assurance of faith, dependence on impulses and judgement of others. The Moderates lost this particular attempt to ban itinerant preachers, but overall they tipped the balance against the evangelical party during the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Underlying all these debates about law and order, immediate revelations and enthusiasm, was the central conflict over the roles and place of the laity in relation to the clergy. To the Moderate party and even to some evangelicals, revival theology was inherently threatening to the security of the clerical position. Eventually the implementation of Moderate policies, overriding the views of parishioners about the settlement of particular ministers, was instrumental in causing the second major schism of the century in the Church. Between 1740 and 1750 there were more than fifty disputed settlements in which presbyteries had refused to act on grounds of conscience. When this stalemate position was reached inductions had been carried out by 'riding' committees appointed for that purpose by the Assembly, forcing on congregations ministers they did

1. Ibid., 6.

2. E.g., the Synods of Glasgow, and Perth and the Presbytery of Edinburgh tried to legislate to keep Whitefield out of the Church of Scotland. G. Struthers, The History of the Rise, Progress and Principles of the Relief Church, 3

not want. The schism came when Thomas Gillespie, revival minister of Carnock, was deposed in 1752 for his refusal to take part in a forced settlement. After 1752 presbyteries avoided repetition of this confrontation, but in reality it was too late to prevent division within the Church. Gillespie formed his Relief Presbytery in 1761, and he was followed out of the Church by many other revival supporters both clerics and laity. Many of those who left the Church chose the Relief Presbytery rather than the Erskines' Associate Presbytery, because Associate ministers had been so critical of the revival whilst Gillespie had been a staunch supporter.

The Associate Presbytery, far from welcoming the revival as they might have been expected to do, actually formed the most virulent anti-revival group. Led by the pious Erskine brothers, Ebenezer and Ralph, the Associate Presbytery preached conversion and 'heart religion' and opposed Moderate churchmanship. Their negative reaction to the revival was therefore confusing, especially to revivalists outside Scotland who had become familiar with the views of the Erskines through their Gospel Songs and Sonnets. William Cooper of Boston voiced the general dismay:

But nothing has been so surprising to us on this side of the water as to find to what lengths the Erskines have carried their opposition. The esteem for Piety which their writings, and particularly their Sonnets, have gained them in this part of the World, makes their present conduct and the spirit they discover, the more shocking. 1.

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1. The Christian Monthly History, I, i, 4-5.

Cooper had not mistaken their piety, but neither he nor any other New England minister knew enough about the complicated history and intensity of feeling between different factions of the Scottish Church to comprehend the reasons behind the Erskine's animosities. Initially the Seceders had invited Whitefield to Scotland, given recognition to the revival in England and New England, and equated it with their own work. However, when Whitefield would not confine his preaching to their followers they not only disowned all connections with him and the revival, but campaigned against the 'Cambuslang work'.<sup>1</sup> H. Moncrieff Wellwood provided an interesting explanation for their response:

They had been so long accustomed to declaim against the corruptions of the established church, and to represent them as so inveterate, that nothing good could be connected with her ministrations, that they could not but perceive how much the singular effects of Mr. Whitefield's labours, in connection with her, might seem to contradict the doctrines which they had so zealously inculcated with regard to her inefficiency, and, in this way, to lessen their reputation and influence among the people. 2.

The Associate Presbytery claimed that the Church exalted Whitefield 'as another apostle Paul' because 'he is the fit Tool for suppressing and breaking the Secession ....'<sup>3</sup> To some extent they were correct in their diagnosis. Of the 105 Cambuslang converts recorded, for example, nineteen were

1. Letters of George Whitefield ..., 307-308. Whitefield describes the breach between himself and the Seceders.
2. Sir H. Moncrieff Wellwood, Account of the Life and Writings of John Erskine, D.D. (Edinburgh, 1818), 96.
3. Fraser of Brea, The Lawfulness and Duty of Separation from Corrupt Ministers, and Churches etc. (Linlithgow, 1744) Preface, xxxvi - xxxvii, by George Paton. Quoted in A. Fawcett, op. cit., 188.

former Seceders and others had been interested in the Associate Presbytery and had been to meetings.<sup>1</sup> Looking back on the events of 1742, the Reverend James Robe was convinced that the Church had profited from the revival:

The awakening in 1742, was so far from being a schismatical work, as it has been traduced by opposers that numbers who had gone into a course of separation and division from their own ministers, and from the communion of the presbyterian church, established by law in Scotland, returned to their own pastors, and to communion with the national church .... And many who were at the very point of deserting the communion of this church and separating from their own pastors, were kept back from schismatic course .... 2.

Seceding pamphlets referred to Whitefield as 'diabolical'<sup>3</sup> and the revival as the work of the devil.<sup>4</sup> In fact the Seceders' criticisms often ran parallel to those of the Moderates. Both pointed a critical finger at Whitefield's episcopal ordination and made insinuations about his personal

1. See Cambuslang MSS., e.g. I, 76, 176, 398, 475, 497. II, 9, 527. Janet Lennox heard James Fisher /Seceder/ trying 'to show, that no Revival of Religion was to be expected .... This was what I could not agree to, for I thought that the work must begin in God's part .... After this, I went back no more.' II, 527.
2. J. Robe, Narrative of the Revival of Religion at Kilsyth, Cambuslang and other Places, 273.
3. A. Gib, A Warning against Countenancing the Ministrations of George Whitefield, Published ... June 6 1742 ... Wherein are shewn, that Mr. Whitefield is no Minister of Jesus Christ, that his call and coming to Scotland are Scandalous, ... that his whole Doctrine is, and his Success must be diabolical ... (Edinburgh, 1742).
4. J. Fisher, A Review of the Preface to a Narrative of the Extraordinary work at Kilsyth, etc. written by the Rev. Mr. James Robe (Glasgow, 1742).

morality. They both expressed concern about the disorderliness of the revival and its tendency to make people hysterical.<sup>1</sup> Although there had been emotional outbursts during their own preaching, the Seceders placed more emphasis on intellectual conviction and on the covenanting tradition of the Scottish Church.<sup>2</sup> The Seceders were in the difficult position of approving the content and form of revivals in general, but of needing to warn people that this particular manifestation was not a work of Grace.

For several years the bitterness of the Seceders against the revival and George Whitefield alienated many of the ordinary laity who could not share these emotions and concluded that the ministers of the Associate Presbytery were narrow sectarians.<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to assess the effect of the revival on the Associate Presbytery in the long term, because most of the histories are weighted against them. On the whole it seems that until the late 1740s the steady flow to the Associates was reduced because of the revival in the Church. But once it became clear that the Church did not intend to alter its official view on patronage, then people continued to go to the Associate meetings and later to the Relief Presbytery. By 1766 the Associate Presbytery

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1. A. Gib, 53.

2. W. Fergusson, Scotland: 1689 to the Present (Edinburgh, 1968), 125-126.

3. A. Fawcett, op. cit., 188.

had 120 places of worship and about 100,000 members. To some extent the revival had pushed the Associates into a more dogmatically anti-Church position, while the Relief Presbytery took a less radical stance between the two.

Responses to the revival, apart from the groupings of organized religion, varied from vilification to praise. But it is less easy to categorize them. Criteria such as class, occupation or location, for example, have some limited use in describing and explaining the differing reactions. Only the Jacobites had a clear group response. The Jacobites, who were often landed gentry, rejected everything about the revival, but their own precarious political situation meant that their criticisms had little practical effect. Apart from them there was no typical response from other groups such as landlord, employer, artisan or farm worker. Some employers and landlords made it difficult for tenants and workers to go and listen to revival preaching, whilst others encouraged it and worshipped alongside their employees. One of the Cambuslang converts remarked that she was in service to a family who allowed her two hours a day for 'secret duties'<sup>1</sup>, whilst another wrote:

I had such a thirst after the Word ... that I sat up a good part of the night before, spinning at my wheel, to make up the time at my work that I was to spend next day at Weekly Lecture, that so

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1. Cambuslang MSS., I, 254, (Jean Hay).



my Master and Mistress might have no ground  
to complain that I neglected my Work with them  
... tho' this was not what they requir'd of me. 1.

Their evidence suggests that the religious inclinations of employers and landlords were more influential than any other factor in determining their response to the revival, and that these inclinations varied widely. Within their own locality these people could exert considerable force, but as far as the revival was concerned their opinions were not predictable.

A number of merchants and traders gave financial aid to the revival<sup>2</sup> and perhaps, like the wealthy Glasgow merchant, George Brown, were extremely pious themselves:

Tuesday 5 Nov. 1745: Heard sermon at 10 in forenoon at Troon Church by Mr. Lawson preacher .... This day being the 1st Tuesday in the quarter, which is the time stated for all the societies for prayer to meet and plead for revival of religion up and down Scotland, and other parts of the world, I spent a good part of the evening of this day in prayer .... 3.

Other respected men of the community were often church elders who played key roles in the revivals, perhaps organizing the societies, preparing for the lengthy and elaborate communion

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1. Ibid., II, 266 (Catherine Jackson).
2. E.g., William Hogg of Edinburgh, see H. Davidson, Letters to Christian Friends.
3. Diary of George Brown, 1745-1753. Merchant in Glasgow (Glasgow, 1856), 10.

sessions. Their approbation of the revival revealed itself in a number of other ways. Whitefield was granted the freedom of the cities of Glasgow, Aberdeen, Stirling, Paisley, Irvine and Edinburgh,<sup>1</sup> by the burgesses and city fathers - a clear endorsement by the theocratic establishment. Again, no legal prosecutions such as disturbance of the peace were brought against revivalists because, unlike England, many of the laws were administered at Kirk sessions by the elders. Those which were conducted by the civic courts were often administered by men of piety.

The emotionalism of the revival and the activity of some of the laity did bring criticism from the educated and cultured, the middle class and respectable. The Scots Magazine, for example, took a consistently strong line against Whitefield, using arguments much favoured by eighteenth century rationalists. Whitefield was accused of 'leading captive silly women, ruining the peace, preaching up Christ and playing the devil .... Squeezing the last mite out of the pockets of the poor ... to make room for that fiend Enthusiasm; blind, undistinguishing Enthusiasm.'<sup>2</sup> In addition to these accusations of zeal, lunacy and demagoguery writers expressed fears that people would be distracted from their work, and that the economy would suffer

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1. Ian Murray, "Whitefield and the Evangelical Revival in Scotland", The Banner of Truth, 79 (April, 1970), 9.  
/An address given at the Evangelical Library Meeting in Glasgow, January 1970/
  2. The Scots Magazine, June 1739, 150.

as a result of this excessive attention to religion.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless despite such comments, the revival received support from all sections of the lay community, and outspoken denigrators were in the minority. Outside the main towns response was generally favourable, at least initially, and in a country where Sunday 'attendance was obligatory as a religious duty and as a badge of respectability'<sup>2</sup> a religious revival within the Church could expect to be taken seriously.

## II. New England and the Middle Colonies.

The evaluation of the impact of the revival in Scotland is a relatively simple task because in the early eighteenth century there was, as the saying went, 'One Kirk, One Nation'. This was complicated only by the differences between highland and lowland Scotland, by the relationship with England, and by the unwanted intrusion of the Anglican Church. By contrast, the impact of the Great Awakening in the northern American colonies is difficult to measure

1. Memoirs of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, 1676-1755 ed. by J.M. Gray (Publications of the Scottish Historical Society, xiii. Edinburgh, 1892), 248. Letter of A. Moncrieff, one of the Seceding Ministers described the supporters of the revival as 'gadding after conventicles' and losing the country about 'eight millions of sixpences' in one week. Several of the converts mentioned how their religious activities and feelings interfered with their work. See Cambuslang MSS. I, 114 (Sarah Strang).
2. H.G. Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, 121.

overall because of the lack of homogeneity, whether of political system or religious denomination. Even New England, usually treated as a single region, had no uniform arrangement of the church and state relationship. There was no established Church even though in Connecticut the Congregational system, controlled by moderate Presbyterians, relied heavily on the support it received from the state.<sup>1</sup> In 1708, under their Governor, the Reverend Gordon Saltonstall, a special synod of the General Court enacted into law the Saybrook Platform. It was a decision which had profound implications for Connecticut's religious and cultural development, enforcing a structure and system of discipline and doctrine and generally regularizing church affairs, making Connecticut a stronghold of Orthodox Puritanism. Religion in Massachusetts, on the other hand, was rooted in the less centralized model of strict Congregationalism and was theocratic at the local level. Despite these differences within the New England colonies (Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut), and despite the variety of denominations and sects in the Middle Colonies (New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey), New England will be categorized in this chapter as Congregational and the Middle Colonies as Presbyterian. This will facilitate an analysis of the responses of the main denominations to the revival, and therefore of the major religious institutions in the northern

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1. See E. Oberholzer, "The Church in New England Society" in Seventeenth Century America, ed. J.M. Smith, 143-165.

American colonies.<sup>1</sup> Some distinction will also be made between Connecticut and Massachusetts at the point where the impact of the revival differed according to their particular Congregational constitutions. Both the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches were deeply affected by the Great Awakening, as was the Anglican Church. But the latter was the one denomination in the colonies which was absolutely united in its opposition to the revival. The force of its rejection indicates that the Anglicans, like the Congregationalists and Presbyterians, fully realized the importance of revivalism to American religious life.

There were revivals in the northern colonies during the 1720s and 1730s, although the Great Awakening proper was closely associated with George Whitefield's American tour in the autumn of 1740. These earlier revivals occurred among isolated groups of Dutch pietists, New Jersey Presbyterians and New England Congregationalists. When there were few conversions the situation was much lamented by both the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches in their official annual addresses, whilst years of large scale conversions, such as 1727 when an earthquake stirred people, or 1734 when there was a local revival in Northampton, Mass., were celebrated as hopeful signs of a return to the religious vitality of their forebears.

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1. Rhode Island has been omitted from this survey in part because its religious history was a typical of the northern colonies and in part because of its relatively small population and significance.

Between 1739 and 1741 the Congregational Church throughout New England gave the Awakening its united official approval. Because of the strong links between religion and the centres of social and political leadership, this meant that the revival was also supported by the New England establishment. The Governor of Massachusetts, Jonathan Belcher, was so eager for Whitefield's arrival that he sent out his emissaries to meet him;<sup>1</sup> Harvard and Yale both invited him to address their students;<sup>2</sup> and it is evident that he enjoyed the hospitality of New England's elite.<sup>3</sup> Edwin Gaustad concluded that 'There is ... abundant evidence that this religious turmoil was in fact "great and general", that it knew no boundaries, social or geographical, that it was both urban and rural, and that it reached both lower and upper classes'.<sup>4</sup> In a comparison of tax returns between 1740 and 1747 in the two parishes of Northwich, Connecticut, the distribution of wealth among church members proved to be an almost exact economic cross-section of the whole population of the town,<sup>5</sup> thus confirming Gaustad's statement. This quantitative material also verifies the general impression conveyed by the accounts of ministers and lay people<sup>6</sup> in their diaries.

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1. G. Whitefield's Journals (1960), 456-457.
  2. See S. Nissenbaun, ed., The Great Awakening at Yale College (Belmont, Ca., 1972), 17, 22-23; G. Whitefield, Journals, 480 [Yale], 544 [Harvard].
  3. G. Whitefield's Journals, 453-558.
  4. E.S. Gaustad, The Great Awakening in New England, 43.
  5. R.L. Bushman, From Puritan to Yankee, 185.
  6. E.g., "Diary of Ebenezer Parkman", Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc., 72, 73 (1962, 1963); MS. Diary of Rev. David Hall, M.H.S.; "Diary of Paul Dudley", New England Historical and Geneo-logical Register 35 (Jan. 1881), 28ff. [Dudley was Chief Justice of Mass.], MS. Diary of Jonathan Willis, 1744-1747, M.H.S. [Willis was a wealthy housewright in Medford, Mass.]

In Connecticut, official opinion about the revival could be articulated through the channels of ministerial associations, consociations, and the General Association. At the annual meeting of the General Association in June, 1741, for example, the assembled delegates expressed their thanks for the revival and recommended to offer one another help in furthering the good work. Several of the district meetings also gave official support.<sup>1</sup> Even in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, where the autonomy of the individual congregations did not lend itself so readily to these pronouncements, there were ways in which support could be given.<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly, the most convincing evidence of the favourable reception accorded to the revival during its first two years was the number of men and women who were admitted as full members to their own churches under the guidance and scrutiny of their own pastors. Estimates of this number vary from twenty to fifty thousand, which did not include those already in full membership who underwent a new experience.<sup>3</sup>

As the Awakening moved into its second and third years it developed in such a way as to disturb the harmony of opinion in the Church in both Connecticut and Massachusetts.

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1. Invitations to the Rev. Mr. Whitefield from the Eastern Consociation of the County of Fairfield ... (Boston, 1745).
  2. E.g., The Testimony and Advice of an Assembly of Pastors of Churches in New-England ... Occasion'd by the late happy Revival of Religion in many Parts of the Land ... (Boston, 1745).
  3. E.S. Gaustad, The Great Awakening in New England, 104, "Much more numerous and more frequently mentioned that the conversions were the signs of repentance and concern."

Ministers had already discussed among themselves the dangers of the revival and, in particular the over-excitement of the laity, but before the summer of 1741 the majority of the clergy saw no reason to change their minds about the validity of conversions. A certain amount of emotional expression was expected, and even welcomed as a sign of sincerity, so long as the minister remained in control.<sup>1</sup> Yet by 1742 opposition from within the Church was growing and many of the revival ministers were putting limits and qualifications to their support for the New Spirit. Behind their change of heart lay fears about the relationship between the clergy and laity. A number of practices innovated during the revival, such as itinerancy and lay exhortation and even prayer meetings, were threatening to the minister's position of authority. Arminian ministers, led by Charles Chauncy, were quick to challenge the validity of these practices,<sup>2</sup> and some of the laity thought that Whitefield and Tennent had gone too far in their criticisms of the clergy:

When they encouraged lay-exhorters and pronounc'd this that and the Other Minister, Unconverted, Pharisee, Dead, dry Bones and settled upon his Lees; and they saw that the People in general

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1. The Christian History [Boston], II, 135.
  2. C. Chauncy, Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England (Boston, 1743), 77, 178, 217.



yielded an implicit Faith to what they said, some of them apprehended themselves to be in Danger and began to oppose them .... 1.

In 1742 Boston revival ministers had responded to the more extreme activities of the Reverend James Davenport in a general censure against 'disorder'<sup>2</sup> and in 1743 other New England revival ministers published further objections in a Testimony.<sup>3</sup> In Connecticut disapproval of lay activities and itinerancy was manifested in the form of legal penalties for disobedience.<sup>4</sup> By 1743 even a New Light minister like Samuel Finley feared the disruptive aspects of the revival:

When I viewed the present Situation of Affairs in the Church I seem to be presented with an amazing scene of Persons reeling to and fro ... carried hither and thither as Withered Leaves in Autumn by veering Gales. Here one is got into an extreme on the right, another on the Left Hand. 5.

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1. The Testimony and Advice of Laymen respecting Religion and the Teachers of it, Address'd to the Pastors of New England, Boston 12 Sep. 1743 (Boston, 1743), 6.
  2. The Declaration of A Number of the associated Pastors of Boston and Charles-Town relating to the Rev. Mr. James Davenport, and his Conduct. (Boston, 1742).
  3. The Testimony and Advice of an Assembly of Pastors of Churches in New England ... (Boston, 1743), which included an appendix in which fifteen of the 111 ministers objected to itinerancy.
  4. "An Act for regulating Abuses and correcting Disorders in Ecclesiastical Affairs, May 1742", in The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, ed. C.J. Hoadley (Hartford, Conn., 1874), VIII, 454 ff.
  5. S. Finley, Satan Stripp'd of his Angelic Robe, Being an abridgement of the substance of several sermons preached at Philadelphia ... Shewing the strength, nature and symptoms of delusion. With an application to the Moravians (Philadelphia, 1743), iii.

Yet another revivalist warned his congregation of the dangers of listening to lay exhorters.<sup>1</sup> In the end, even the 'Leveller', James Davenport, regretted and publically recanted the encouragement he had given to the laity, because 'the tendency of their ways is to drive learning out of the world and to sow it thick with the dreadful errors of Anabaptism, Quakerism and Antinomianism'.<sup>2</sup> The struggle over authority between ministers and laity was not a new one, but as a result of the Great Awakening, the debate about lay power was renewed. Many of the battles of attrition between a minister and his people which had taken place in the 1730s became more clearly defined during the Awakening.<sup>3</sup> The New Spirit legitimized criticism of individual ministers and it was not unknown for a minister to be admonished by a member of his congregation, as the Reverend William Parsons found when he opened a letter from Richard Woodbury:

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1. J. Parsons, Needful Caution in a Critical Day (Boston, 1742).
2. "The Confession and Retractions of Rev. Mr. Davenport, 2 Aug. 1744" in The Christian History /Boston/ II, lxxxii, 238.
3. It is not possible to do justice to this topic here. Some of the best sources are local histories of the nineteenth century, e.g. A. Ballou, Milford: Worcester County, Massachusetts (Boston, 1882). Benjamin Colman wrote to Jacob Mitchell and Joseph Chandler, parishioners of N. Yarmouth Church who had complained about their Minister, 1735, 'We beg of him rather to resign the Pastor relation to the Flock, than to perpetuate a Breach and Division in it, as has happened in some other churches of late ...' /my italics/ Colman MSS. M.H.S. Bellingham, Hopkinton, Sandwich and Salem /Ist Church/Mass. are examples of this.

Consider as you have marry'd and are settled in the world, whether you are indeed espoused to Christ as your Head and Husband .... If you are obstinate against the ways of God remember the day approaches when you must give account of your stewardship and be no longer steward (Read Isaiah). I can assure you, Sir, by the Grace give me of God, This is a glorious work of his Grace .... 1.

Other ministers feared that general social chaos would ensue, and that they personally would lose control:

... As to the subject you mention, of laymen being sent out to exhort and to teach, supposing them to be real converts, I cannot but think, if it be encouraged and continued, it will be of dreadful consequence to the church's peace and soundness of faith ... for ignorant young converts to take upon them authoritatively to instruct and exhort publicly, tends to introduce the greatest error and the grossest anarchy and confusion .... 2.

Almost every surviving diary written by ministers during the Great Awakening, and a number of diaries by laymen, refer with alarm to the new role that labourers, servants, children, women and Negroes were taking upon themselves.<sup>3</sup>

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1. MS. letter of Richard Woodbury to Rev. William Parsons at South Hampton, 23 May 1744. Gilman MSS. M.H.S. The Rev. David Hall of Sutton, Mass. was often rebuked by his congregation, see MS. Diary M.H.S.
  2. Letter of G. Tennent to J. Edwards, autumn 1741, in S.E. Dwight, op. cit., I, 153.
  3. E.g., Diaries of Samuel Lane, Solomon Prentice, Ebenezer Parkman, David Hall, John Cleveland, Sarah Gill, Samuel Buell, Nathan Bowen. For details of locations see Bibliography under 'Diaries'.

Only an untypical minister like Nicholas Gilman (Durham, N.H.) seems to have been able to adapt to the new relationship. He recorded some of the activities of his converts without comment:

15 March 1742: Wrote down Joseph Buzzey's vision that he had last Evening. Lieut. Thompson admonished of his danger by Stephen [?]

23 March 1742: Hubbard Stevens just came to me with a message to warn people to repentance. In the afternoon call'd an Assembly and did accordingly. 1.

A beleaguered minister more usually reacted by joining in the general censure of emotionalism and lay exhorting.

The Church threw its weight behind a condemnation of the practice of itinerant preaching. In theory Congregationalism did not ordain ministers at large, but to one particular church: 'Church officers are officers to one Church, even that particular over which the Holy Ghost hath made them overseers.'<sup>2</sup> But the effectiveness of Whitefield's itinerancy led others to imitate him to the extent of entering other parishes uninvited by the resident minister. Many ministers claimed that a visit from an itinerant preacher had been the start of their troubles.

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1. M.S. Diary of Nicholas Gilman, N.H.H.S.
  2. Cambridge Platform (1648) IX article VI.

It enabled parishioners to defy their own minister, to make comparisons, and although itinerant preaching as such was not frowned upon by the Church, the ideas of uninvited and invading strangers alarmed ministers.

In any parish dispute the final step was for a number of the laity to dissociate themselves from the minister and to form a separate church where they could establish their own authority. Separatists actively sought to restore lay responsibility for justice, education, ordination and admissions to its early seventeenth century level. Reinstatement of the ruling eldership was one of their primary aims because the ruling elder had been the representative of church members. In contrast, in 1775 only twenty-four of the 275 Congregational churches had a ruling elder.<sup>1</sup>

Separatists, or Strict Congregationalists, rejuvenated this office to counter ministerial power, and they preferred to establish their churches on the Cambridge Platform rather than the more usual adoption of the Saybrook Platform. The former placed important restrictions on the authority of the minister:

... we look on the Platform drawn up at Cambridge by the United Churches in the Colonies in New England, 1648, to be the substance of it the most agreeable to the word of God ... and although it

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1. H.F. Worthley, "The Field Officers of the particular churches of Massachusetts, 1620-1755", 257.

be not Expressed in the aforesaid Covenant that we actually dissented from Saybrook Regulations of Church discipline, yet we ever understood ourselves to have done it ... the said Saybrook Regulation takes the Power from the Brethren of the Church and also puts an absolute and decisive Power in the Consociation contrary to Christ ... this Church looks upon to be anti Christian, unscriptural and leads to a papal usurpation over the conscience of Christ's children. 1.

Their covenant also included the right to admit their own members, to choose and ordain their own officers, to remove and excommunicate officers, to discipline and support themselves without recourse to civil law. Other Separatist churches took the opportunity to appoint ruling elders when they elected a new minister.<sup>2</sup> From 1744 the Congregational Church was beset with separations and conflicts. Ministers spent much of their time at councils and meetings discussing these problems.<sup>3</sup> Some of the laity found in the debate and

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1. MSS. Canterbury Separate Church, separated 1744, re-covenanted Aug. 1745. M.H.S. Similar sentiments were expressed by the Sturbridge and Newbury Separatists (MSS. records in C.H.S.) See C.C. Goen, Revivalism and Separatism in New England for more instances.
  2. A.E. Jacobson, "A summary of the Congregational Clergy in Eighteenth Century New England", 476. He uses the example of Milford parish, Conn. 1743 to show that 'there was growing concern for a more broadly based congregational piety.' Milford appointed ruling elders when they appointed their new minister.
  3. E.g., M.S. Diary of David Hall, M.H.S. 10 Oct. 1744: 'been twice at Grafton, where things are melancholy, on a council sitting upon the Grievances ... I am much prevented in my studies by being frequently at Councils and from home and difficulties in churches seem to be increasing'; "Diary of Ebenezer Parkman", Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc., 73 (1963), 414, 13 May 1748: 'Our conversation was chiefly on the Melancholy Subject of the Separations - both at Sutton and at Grafton'. Parkman's diary for 1747 has details of other separations.

turmoil of the Awakening the occasion to rebuild their religious principles within a Separate church, but overall the trend towards a self-constituted, self-regulating profession for ministers was not reversed. Separatists who wanted to sustain their original purposes ended up as Independent churches affiliated to the Baptist Church, or became full Baptists churches.<sup>1</sup>

In the long term the Great Awakening not only spurred the growth of the Baptist Church in New England, but also encouraged the establishment of Unitarianism in opposition to revivalism and conversion religion. Unitarianism, not organized formally until the 1820s was the culminating point in the development of Arminian or liberal theology within the Congregational Church. During the revival period Arminians continued to formulate their theological ideas. By the 1750s they had clarified their opposition to the doctrine of original sin and at that point they were clearly out of sympathy with the fundamental tenets of Calvinism and had substituted a theology of gradual conversion and the value of good works.<sup>2</sup> Like evangelism and revivalism, liberal theology and Arminianism were responses to the failure of

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1. For a list of the separations with their dates, leaders, origins and later affiliation see C.C. Goen, Revivalism and Separatism, 302 ff.
2. As propounded, for example, by Jonathan Mayhew in Seven Sermons ... preached ... in June ... and August ... 1748 etc. (Boston, 1749, rpted. London, 1750).

orthodoxy to sustain church membership and a meaningful spiritual life for individuals. But these two paths away from failure were mutually exclusive, and the Great Awakening served to make plain rather than create the rift between them.

The Arminian wing of the Church represented a weighty and respectable body of opinion which was in the process of working out a new set of ideas to challenge the old orthodoxy that the revivalists were resuscitating. The liberals were no mere fringe group. Charles Chauncy, their spokesman, was minister of the prestigious First Church in Boston, and was an Overseer of Harvard. When he solicited advance orders for his anti-revival book, Seasonable Thoughts (1743), he was supported by eight hundred people including four Governors, twenty-seven Honourables, and 147 Reverends.<sup>1</sup> Even Harvard, the Church's own college established to educate Calvinist ministers, was not as orthodox as revivalists would have liked. On the contrary, it was one of the sources of Arminianism.<sup>2</sup> New England Arminians used English texts such as The Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin (174) and The Scripture Doctrine of Atonement ... (1751) by John Taylor to develop arguments against the traditional doctrine of

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1. See preface to C. Chauncy, Seasonable Thoughts. The list fills eighteen pages.
  2. C. Wright, The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America, 34 ff.



original sin. They were also influenced by the more scholarly approach to Biblical study practised by English Arminians and which later became part of the training for Unitarian ministers.<sup>1</sup>

Itinerancy, mass conversions, emotionalism and lay preaching were the issues which divided the Congregational Church in Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire into three distinct parts: Unitarianism, Strict Congregational and mainstream Congregational which was itself composed of a pro-revival and a neutral wing. At the very least these latent divisions in the Church had been hastened. From 1743 onwards Congregational ministers and their people had the choice of remaining in the Church and giving their approval to revivalism, with reservations; or of leaving the Church to form Separate Strict Congregations; or, alternatively, of rejecting all aspects of the revival as mistaken by taking the Arminian route out of the Congregational Church. These divisions were not equal, and a great many churches were not involved in any change. One contemporary estimated that of the four hundred ministers in New England in 1743, 130 belonged to the mainstream revival group in the Church, thirty were radical New Lights and about the same number were Arminian. The rest, who comprised the majority,

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1. Ibid., 77.

were uncommitted.<sup>1</sup>

In the Middle Colonies the Presbyterian response to the revival owed a great deal to the traditions and structure of the Church, combined with the particular characteristics of each locality. The Presbyterian definition of the Church was the aggregate of all the individual parishes, symbolized by the Synod at the centre. The Church had a centralized structure which enabled it to keep a firm hold on ministers and congregations, and giving it a built-in tendency to try to legislate for unity and orthodoxy. When the revival began, Presbyterianism was in the odd position of being the dominant Church in New Jersey and Pennsylvania but as yet not well established. There was only one Synod (Philadelphia) and four Presbyteries. The provision of ministers and basic services was one of the major problems faced by the Church in a region of population growth where few native-born men were coming forward for ordination. Migration from Ulster was particularly heavy after 1718 and intensified the Church's second major problem - that of adapting an ethnic Church to the new country. As a social and religious institution the Church was under strains and it is useful to set its responses to the Awakening within this context.

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1. F.B. Dexter, ed., Extracts from the Itineraries and other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles ... (New Haven, Conn., 1916), 414, and for the trends in the 1760s and 1770s see F.B. Dexter, ed., The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, .. (New York, 1901), I, 363.

Whitefield toured the Middle Colonies in 1739 with a Presbyterian minister, Gilbert Tennent. At once the Church was divided in its reaction to their message. Whitefield's influence was decisive but the division had been apparent throughout the 1730s, revealing itself, for example, in the alignment of two distinct parties over obedience to the Westminster Confession. These two parties, the Subscriptionist and anti-Subscriptionists disagreed again in the late 1730s over the merits of the revival spirit. The anti-Subscriptionists formed the New Side or pro-revival party, whilst the Subscriptionists were opposed to the new style of preaching and formed an anti-revival or Old Side party. The New Side drew much of their strength from a small number of ministers who had graduated from the Reverend William Tennent's Log College at Neshaminy in Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup> Their training at the Log College had emphasized 'heart religion' and conversion preaching. Together these men comprised the new Presbytery of New Brunswick which took a critical view of the Synod's approach to religious life. They indicted it of legalism and intellectualism at the expense of genuine convictions. Even before Whitefield had toured the region, their revival activity, particularly itinerant preaching and the Log College style of education had created a rift in the Church. Synod had made its disapproval clear in a series of legislative acts:

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1. Foremost among them were Gilbert and John Tennent, Samuel Finley, Samuel Blair, John Rowland and Charles Beatty.

No minister belonging to the Synod shall have liberty to preach in any congregation belonging to another Presbytery whereof he is not a member, after he is advised by any minister of such Presbytery that he thinks his preaching in that congregation will have a tendency to procure divisions and disorders, until he first obtain liberty from the Presbytery or Synod so to do. 1.

Without specifying that its target was the Log College the Synod undermined the standing and questioned the suitability of any training for ministers which did not take place in the traditional universities:

Every student who has not studied with approbation, passing the usual courses in some of the NE or European colleges, approved by public authority /must/ ... apply himself to this Synod ... /which shall/ appoint a committee of their members yearly ... to examine such students. 2.

In the case of John Rowlands, a Log College graduate, the Synod underlined its determination to maintain formal qualifications for the ministry, under its own control despite the acute shortage of ministers. Rowlands had been licensed to preach by the revival Presbytery of New Brunswick, but the Synod overruled the Presbytery. The Presbytery was censured for disorderly behaviour and Rowlands had to undergo examination by the Synod before he was allowed to preach.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Records of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. 1706-1788, 136. This act had been passed in 1739.
  2. Ibid., 136.
  3. Ibid., 146.

The Synod had been particularly disturbed by New Brunswick's recommendation that Rowlands take up a call to the New Side churches of Maidenhead and Hopwell where the congregations consisted of people who had separated from established churches. The major principle at stake between the two groups was their differing concept of the ministry, symbolized in the New Side insistence that all candidates should be asked for a conversion account, and the Old Side refusal to consider this on the grounds that it was too personal.

Most disturbances and conflicts in the Middle Colonies took place between the two groups of ministers in the Church rather than between pastor and congregation. This meant that although there were some parish disputes, there were far fewer separations in the Middle Colonies than in New England. The Awakening intensified the difficulties experienced by the Church as an institution rather than between people and ministers. Some separations did occur, at Paxton and Derry in 1740 and Middle Octorara and Brandywine Creek in 1741 for example,<sup>1</sup> but the breach at the level of the Synod in the summer of 1741 was more significant for the Church. In the view of Old Side ministers the separation was the only way they could protect the Church from disruptive New Side practices:

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1. G.S. Klett, Presbyterians in Colonial Pennsylvania, 132.

... their unwearied, unscriptural, antiprebyterial, divisive practice, which they have been pursuing ... for above these 12 months past especially, besides too much of the like practices for some years before, though not with such bare-faced arrogance and boldness. 1.

The Old Side was concerned in part about doctrine, and in part about the future of the institution because 'the dreadful division, distractions and convulsions, which all of a sudden have seized this infant church ... she is in no small danger of expiring outright.'<sup>2</sup> When Robert Cross, acting for the Old Side, petitioned the Synod for a re-enactment of subscription to the Westminster Confession by all members, a crisis was precipitated. Only seven New Side ministers were present at the Synod in June, 1741 when this proposal was made, and it was clearly intended to force the New Side to capitulate and subscribe, or to leave the Synod:

... if ... these protesting brethren and such as adhere to them ... shall continue to act as they have done this last year ... shall be accounted in no wise disorderly but the true Presbyterian Church in this province and they shall be looked upon as guilty of schism and the breach of the rules of Presbyterian Government. 3.

The oath or subscription was to serve as a test of orthodoxy to enforce unity within the Church. In addition, the Old

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1. Records of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. 1706-1788, 157.
  2. Ibid.
  3. Ibid., 158.

Side were energetic in their pursuit of unacceptable practices and 'heterodox and anarchical principles'. The latter included: the denial of proper Church authority to discipline Dissenters; the flouting of correct ordination procedures; telling the people that 'the call of God ... does not consist in their being regularly set apart to that work according to the institution and rules of the word, but in some invisible motions and workings of the spirit';<sup>1</sup> causing chaos in the Church by claiming that unconverted ministers could not save souls and that people were not bound to stay with these ministers; and leading people astray by arousing their passions and causing them to expect a dramatic and exact conversion experience.<sup>2</sup> All of these characteristics were perceived as threats to the Presbyterian system:

How absurd and monstrous must that union be, where one part of the members own themselves obliged in conscience, to the judicial determination of the whole ... or else relinquish membership; and another part declare, they are not obliged and will not submit, unless the determination be according to their minds .... Again how absurd is the union, while some of the members of the same body which meet once a year, and join as a judicatory of Christ, do all the rest of the year what they can ... to persuade the people and flocks of their brethren and fellow members to separate from their own pastors .... 3.

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1. Ibid., 159.
  2. Ibid., 158, 159.
  3. Ibid., 159.

The terms of this petition were those of unconditional surrender, and the revivalists preferred schism. On 2nd June, 1741 the Presbyteries of New York and New Jersey formed the Synod of New York. The Presbytery of New York, under the guidance of the Reverends Jonathan Dickenson, Ebenezer Pemberton and Aaron Burr, sought for a compromise throughout the 1740s and even though they were under the New Side banner their support for the revival was not without reservations.

There were some fundamental differences between the twenty-six Old Side and twenty-six New Side ministers in their education and training, their ages and where they had been born. The typical revival minister in the Presbyterian Church was young, native born and native educated, whilst his anti-revival counterpart was elderly and had been born and educated in Ireland or Scotland.<sup>1</sup> There were some similar divergences between congregations. Scots and Scotch-Irish parishioners were most numerous in the Newcastle Presbytery and supported their Presbytery in its opposition to the revival and its demand for doctrinal subscription and stricter Presbyterian discipline.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the

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1. W.H. Kenney, "George Whitefield and Colonial Revivalism", Chapter IV.
  2. The Humble Address of several persons of the Presbyterian Persuasion being members of several Congregations in our Bounds, to the Presbytery of New Castle (n.p. 1740). N.C. Pamphlet Coll. Also The Querists, or an Extract of Sundry passages taken out of Mr. Whitefield's printed Sermons, Journals and Letters: together with some scruples propos'd in proper queries raised on each remark. By some Church-Members of the Presbyterian persuasion (Philadelphia, 1740, rpt. Boston, 1740).



New Brunswick and New York Presbyteries, influenced by New England Congregationalism and the Log College ministers, had an 'American' interpretation of Presbyterianism. Like the Congregationalists, they argued that each individual church should have autonomy and that centralization was against the teachings of Christ.<sup>1</sup> Without the Awakening it is possible that the Scotch-Irish conservative influence would have swamped the other group, but the Awakening provided the opportunity for the revival party to put its mark on the Church. By the end of the eighteenth century the decisive influence was 'the arrival of wave upon wave of Scotch Irish immigrants', 'not a theology or a college'<sup>2</sup>, yet the one hundred per cent increase in the number of Presbyterian ministers between 1740 and 1760 had all been on the New Side. They had broadened the theology of the Church, encouraged it to evangelize and to permit more flexibility and autonomy within its system of government. Eventually the reunion of the two Synods, which had been sought since 1741, revealed that a compromise had been reached:

For as much as this Synod doth believe ... that a glorious work of God's Spirit was carried on in the late religious appearances (though we doubt not but there were several follies and extravagances

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1. The disagreement over centralization was made explicit in a pamphlet debate during 1740 and 1741 conducted by Rev. John Thompson for the Old Side and Gilbert Tennent, Samuel Blair and Samuel Finley for the New Side.
  2. S. Ahlstrom, A Religious History ..., 275; see also L. Trinterud, The Forming of an American Tradition ...

of people), and desirable to us, and what we hope for, that both Synods may come so far as to agree in their sentiments about it as to give their joint testimony thereto. 1.

The reunion took place in 1758 and the Church had survived its problems. At the end of the colonial period it was the largest Church in Pennsylvania where it had 100,000 members.

The Anglican Church in the colonies rejected everything about the revival and, unlike the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches, did not suffer from any internal divisions or disputes as a consequence of the Great Awakening. The Church united in closing its doors to fellow Anglican, George Whitefield, after it had discovered his agreement with Calvinist concepts and his use of revival practices. Clergy reported with pride to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in London, that their congregations were immune from the chaos of the revival. Like the Reverend Isaac Backhouse of Pennsylvania, many wrote to 'assure the Society with Joy, that not one of them hath been infected by the modern enthusiasts ....'<sup>2</sup> Ministers were just as likely to write of an increase in their congregation because of their anti-revival views: 'the little Flock of our fold here [N.H.] ... hath almost entirely escaped the Infection,

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1. Records of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. 1706-1788, 247. New York Synod for 1750.
  2. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, "Abstracts of Proceedings" SPG Report 1741 (1742).

only 3 or 4 having been touched by it, whilst 36 Persons have been added to our Communion ....'<sup>1</sup> Yet this same denomination had been thrown into a state of confusion in England and had been far from rejecting all aspects of 'modern enthusiasm' was deeply divided. What lay behind the single-minded and consistent attitude of colonial Anglicanism? Apart from a dislike of enthusiasm and disorder, common to Anglicans everywhere, the explanations centre on the peculiar characteristics of the Anglican Church in America.<sup>2</sup> Following the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at the beginning of the century there had been a gradual increase in the number of Anglican missionaries sent to New England and the Middle Colonies. They did not confine themselves to missionary work among the Indians, as Nonconformists had hoped, but acknowledged that they were ready to enter Nonconformist strongholds to win converts to Anglicanism. Congregationalists and Presbyterians were extremely sensitive to this 'attack' and did their best to make life uncomfortable for the Anglicans.<sup>3</sup> Given the tension inherent in this situation, Whitefield's behaviour could only have made things

1. SPG Report 1742 (1743)
2. This interpretation has followed the lines of argument laid down by G.J. Goodwin, "The Anglican Reaction to the Great Awakening" see above 21-22.
3. E.g. letter of Associated Ministers of the County of Hampshire to Bishop of London, 10 Sep. 1734, printed in C. Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Sceptre, 78-81.

worse. What the Anglicans saw in him was a Churchman at ease with the Nonconformists and highly critical of his own Church, when they had anticipated his support in their struggle.

In 1738 and 1739 Whitefield was received courteously by his fellow Anglicans from South Carolina to New York, but by 1740 he was denied their hospitality because they had concluded that he was unfit to preach from their pulpits. By this time the Anglican leadership had rejected the new religious mood which had been generated by their enemies and by the traitor, Whitefield. Anglican missionary, Thomas Bosomworth of Georgia, accused Whitefield of social levelling and charged that he taught his wards at the Orphan House to disregard social rank: 'The inevitable consequences of such a levelling scheme must be mutinies, Riots, Robberies and Disorders of every kind.'<sup>1</sup> Other Anglican leaders such as deacon Nathan Bowen of Marblehead, shared these fears:

I hear /he wrote in his diary 24 Jan. 1742/ that a women's meeting is on foot, and to my great wonder these practices are Encourag'd from the pulpit by Mr. Bradstreet, tho' I should think they Tend directly to subvert the Good order in society .... 2.

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1. From A.D. Candler, comp., The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, 18 vol, (1904-1908), IV, 22, cited by R.W. Long, "Religious Revivalism in the Carolinas and Georgia, 1740-1805", 25.
  2. "Extracts from Interleaved Almanacs of Nathan Bowen, Marblehead, 1742-1799", Essex Institution Historical Collections, 41 (April, 1955), 164.

In these circumstances Whitefield's interdenominationalism seemed little more than a cover under which he was able to side with the Dissenters against the Anglicans on every issue. The fact that he was given privileges long denied the rest of the Anglican community was a particular insult. According to Commissary Price of Massachusetts, Whitefield encouraged Dissenters:

... to persevere in their unreasonable Separation from the Established Church of England, to condemn all lawful ecclesiastical Government and authority and fondly taught to expect no other proof of their acceptance with God than a fit of madness and enthusiasm. 1.

Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire was of the opinion that 'the designs of those poor deluded people were chiefly aimed against the Church ....'<sup>2</sup> and others echoed these sentiments.<sup>3</sup> Ultimately the revival was interpreted by Anglicans as an instrument fashioned to weaken their Church in the colonies, with Whitefield as a principal agent in the process.

Anglicans turned to England and the SPG headquarters for the weapons with which to fight the undiluted twin evils

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1. H.W. Foote, Annals of King's Chapel from the Puritan Age New England to the present day 2 vols. (Boston, 1882, 1892), I, 511.
  2. MS. letter of Wentworth to SPG London, 16 Oct. 1743, No. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Part Correspondence, Series B, vol. XI [hereafter SPG MSS]
  3. E.g. MS. letter of Ebenezer Punderson, itinerant preacher in N.E., to SPG, 11 April 1743, SPG MSS. B.X., No. 138.

of revivalism and George Whitefield. Their constant requests for books, sermons, pamphlets and official statements against the revival were another dimension of the transatlantic correspondence and exchange of literature during the Great Awakening:

... as the madness seems contagious I should be glad if the Society would send me some of the Bishop of London's Pastoral Letters on Lukewarmness and Enthusiasm or any other small tracts proper to guard my people against any Delusion. 1.

The Society obliged this correspondent and others like him and received their grateful thanks:

My Lord of London's Last Pastoral Letter with other Tracts against Enthusiasm have been of great use to open the eyes of many who were in Danger of being deluded by the pernicious Doctrines of the famous Whitefield. 2.

According to the Reverend Timothy Cutler there were never sufficient of these tracts 'for they oppose a mighty torrent'. In addition to the Bishop of London's Pastoral Letter ... against Lukewarmness and Enthusiasm (1739), missionaries asked for The Whole Duty of Man (1659), 'Dr. Waterland on

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1. MS. letter of Ebenezer Miller, Braintree, to SPG. Aug. 1740, SPG MSS., B.IX.
2. MS. letter of Com. William Vesey, New York, to SPG. Nov. 1740, SPG MSS., B.VII.
3. MS. letter of T. Cutler to SPG. Dec. 1741, SPG. MSS., B.III.

enthusiasm', The Trial of Mr. Whitefield's Spirit (1740), and An Apology for the Church of England. In return, they swelled the tide of revival literature crossing the Atlantic by sending material which illustrated their plight. Backhouse (Chester County, Pa.) sent a newspaper cutting containing 'a Letter from the Rev. Gilbert Tennent ... wherein you have a specimen how these apostles convert the secure world'<sup>1</sup> and Cutler enclosed 'The extract of a letter whereof many copies are distributed among us' with his own report.<sup>2</sup> Both Archibald Cummings of Philadelphia and Commissary Alexander Garden of Charleston went into print against Whitefield and sent copies of their works to the Society.<sup>3</sup> There are no records that any of this material was used by the Church in England in its own campaign against enthusiasm, although anti-revival news was published in the Society's annual reports. The critique offered by American Anglicans, focussing as it did on their relations with the Dissenters, was probably inappropriate to the complex situation of the Anglican Church at home. Goodwin postulates that 'if Whitefield had been less militantly "nonconformist", colonial churchmen would have been less hostile to him and the revivals',<sup>4</sup> but that their 'rejection of evangelicalism in the Great Awakening sealed the Church of England's fate

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1. MS. letter of Isaac Backhouse to SPG, July 1741, SPG MSS., B.IX.
  2. MS. letter of T. Cutler to SPG, Dec. 1741, SPG MSS., B.X.
  3. MS. letter of A. Cummings to SPG, Aug. 1740, SPG. MSS., B
  4. G.J. Goodwin, op. cit., 369.

as a minority church in America.<sup>1</sup>

### III. Wales and England.

In its initial phase from 1735 to 1739 the revival in Wales took the form of militant evangelicalism which united evangelicals from the Anglican Church in Wales and from the Nonconformist, particularly Independent, Churches. In 1739 when Howell Harris and George Whitefield first wrote to one another, Harris was optimistic about the state of religion in Wales, and about the way evangelicals were working together:

There is a great revival in Cardiganshire, through Mr. Daniel Rowlands, a Church minister, who has been much owned and blessed in Carmarthenshire also. There is here also a very useful young dissenting minister /Daniel Williams, Independent/ who is of great charity. There is another of the same character in Montgomeryshire. 2.

Undoubtedly, the revival in Wales, more especially in the south, was vigorous and brought many people into the churches and prayer societies. There was no official schism until 1811 when the Calvinist Methodists began to ordain their own ministers, but the ecumenical and harmonious feelings did

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1. Ibid., 371.

2. A.A. Dallimore, George Whitefield, I, 234. See R.R. Williams, Flames from the Altar.



not even last into the 1740s.

From the outset there were difficulties for ministers in Wales if they wanted to try to contain the vital and personal religious experience of the revival within the unresponsive and inflexible Established Church. Co-operation between ministers was largely a personal affair and the Church did not make any efforts to further the evangelical work at the institutional level. Even at the personal level it was not easy to avoid factionalism and in some areas, as Harris reported to Whitefield, there was a sense of competition developing among evangelicals of differing denominations:

... a Society has gone over to the Dissenters from the Church ... that had all been gathered by the means of Bro. Rowlands and me, and having gone secretly without mentioning it to either of us; showing also a very bad spirit, using all means to draw over to them, calling us False Teachers, railing against the church ... I find the Dissenters everywhere make it their business to Draw them to them. 1.

Harris himself always tried to keep all the evangelical groups together, whether they were Moravian, Methodist, Dissenters or Church of Wales,<sup>2</sup> although at times he felt bitter that the Church evangelicals were used as 'Tools to strengthen their various parties'.<sup>3</sup> The Calvinist Methodists, strong in Wales, were opposed to the Moravians and

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1. G.M. Roberts, Selected Trevecka Letters 1742-1747, 11. Letter dated 30 April 1742.
  2. See T. Beynon, Howell Harris, Soldier and Reformer, 22, 152.
  3. G.M. Roberts, op. cit., 14. Harris to Whitefield, 30 April 1742.

the Wesleyans so that Harris was never able to achieve a federation of evangelicals as he had hoped.<sup>1</sup> In fact, his own preference for the Moravian 'Blood and Wounds' theology created a separation between him and the Calvinist Methodists from 1750 to 1762.

The Moravian Brethren and the Nonconformist Churches all grew in Wales as a result of evangelical activity by Church ministers as well as by their own people. Individuals converted by a revivalist Church minister, such as Daniel Rowlands, would often find their own parish priest out of sympathy with their needs, or unable to give them the attention they wanted because he was not an incumbent. Harris frequently received petitions from places where people had been inspired by evangelicals but had no regular preacher: 'We are for this good while ago been depriv'd and left destitute of an Exhorter to be Continually Among us, and which we by sad Experience find to be much loss.'<sup>2</sup> Dissenters and Moravians were able to meet their needs more easily and thus gained from the Church's weaknesses. During the revival period the Moravians found in Wales, particularly in the region around Haverfordwest, a

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1. Letters of Francis Pugh, 27 Feb. 1747 cited in R.T. Jenkins, "The Moravian Brethren in North Wales", Y Cymmrodes 45, /The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion (1938), 13. There are many supporting references in Harris's own diaries, see T. Benyon, Visits to London, passim.
  2. G.M. Roberts, op. cit., 145 letter of William Jones and others to Harris, 27 June 1744.

favourable religious environment for their pietism and semi-mysticism. John Gambold, a Churchman who became a Moravian, considered that the Church of Wales was its own worst enemy:

There seems to be in some Places too few of the same sort of Teachers, by whom the Souls were first stirr'd up, I mean those in Communion with the National Church; by which means the People are induced to join themselves with the Dissenters who have indeed a more Evangelical Doctrine than is to be found in the common Preaching of the Church of England. 1.

According to evangelicals, it was not so much that the Church lacked laymen with the necessary fervour, but rather that this spirit was scarce among ordained and authorized preachers. The revival was resting on the shoulders of very few men and they could not cope with the demands made of them. Itinerant preaching and continuous travel took its toll: 'I am now quite worn out with hard Labour, having been obliged to discourse ... twice, thrice, and 4 times a day in public and private, and to Travail several days 20 miles a day.'<sup>2</sup> The Church of Wales had traditionally been lacking in adequate buildings and numbers of ministers. Money and incumbent rectors were scarce and neglect was the public policy of both the Government and the Established

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1. Ibid., 108-109, letter of John Gambold to Harris, 3 October 1743.
2. Ibid., 137, letter of Harris to Whitefield, 28 Aug. 1744.

Church. Revival leaders were well aware of the need to reach people and of the willingness of unordained converts to do this missionary work, but their eagerness to see this work done conflicted with their fears about making use of the laity and the possibility of creating separations from the Church. This tension between need and fear prompted Harris and Whitefield to devise a plan which was designed to enable revivalists to respond to the demands of the people and yet avoid schism. They hoped to centralize Welsh Methodism by shifting the emphasis from private societies, with their separatist tendencies, to public societies or Associations. The public Associations would co-ordinate the work done by the private societies and, most important of all, would have the authority to exercise overall control. They reorganized the movement in 1741 to give it a style of organization akin to Presbyterianism and a system which was the origin of Welsh Calvinist Methodism.

By 1748 the Association was able to control nearly two hundred societies in twelve Welsh counties, although its main area of activity continued to be Breconshire, Pembroke-shire, Carmarthenshire, Glamorgan and Monmouthshire. One of the aims of the Association had been to clarify the role of lay leaders, giving them circuits but keeping a check on them. This method of organization helped evangelicals to surmount many of their difficulties, but they continued to be hampered by a shortage of ordained revival ministers. Nor had they been able entirely to remove the problems caused

by unordained exhorters in a limited capacity. Lay exhorters were vital to the revival work but there was a potential for schism in their frustrations about the restrictions put upon them by the leaders. Some of them left the Church of Wales to be ordained as Dissenting ministers because their own Church effectively barred many exhorters by keeping to its prescribed educational requirements. The role of lay preachers was debated continuously within the movement for several years, culminating in 1745 when five of these exhorters wrote to the Association demanding that they be allowed to give the Sacraments and hear confessions. It was in effect, an ultimatum:

We are of the opinion that you are too much attached to the Established Church, we think that if we received ordination in the Church of England as also you expect, that would not suffice to set at rest numerous brethren and sisters in the country; because what they require is a number of men to minister the Word and ordinances to them regularly; to undertake their oversight as shepherds over flocks; or remain as we are, and to this we cannot think of consenting ... It pains us to hear that you cannot grant us liberty to exhort because we are not ordained, and that, as far as we can see you do not care whether we shall be ordained or not. If your sympathy fails us, we feel that we must turn our eyes to some other direction. 1.

When their proposals were rejected only one of them left the Church at once. He began to give communion among his society in Monmouthshire and was ordained an Independent. In

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1. D.E. Jenkins, Calvinist Methodist Holy Orders, 103-105.

1743 Harris and Whitefield had been in agreement with the Wesleyans that lay preaching should be controlled and they did not alter their opinions. In May, 1748 Harris confided that 'If we'll be obliged to license ourselves and our Houses it will cramp the work and stop field preaching ... we have declared from the beginning that we are of the Established Church'.<sup>1</sup> Like the Wesleyans, the Welsh Calvinist Methodists remained in uneasy relationship to the Church for more than fifty years before separating to establish a new denomination.

Throughout the eighteenth century Welsh clergy did not know how to define the Methodists. As late as 1804 they were reluctant to categorize them as Dissenters, despite the fact that they had registered their meeting-houses under the law for Protestant Dissenters since 1790. Several clergy preferred to describe them as 'sectaries', and only those who were opposed to the work of the Methodists categorized them as Dissenters. The curate of Llangeitho in Cardiganshire (Rowland's old curacy), wrote in the Bishop's Returns for 1804: 'The parishioners of Llangeitho are Methodists, but they are well attached to the Church'.<sup>2</sup> His comment was verified when these same Methodists opposed the

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1. T. Benyon, Howell Harris, Reformer and Soldier, 7.
  2. E.D. Jones, "Some Aspects of the History of the Church in North Cardiganshire in the Eighteenth Century", Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales, 3 (1953), 106.

lay ordinations and separation of 1811. Lewis Evans, vicar of three parishes in the Deanery of Ultra-Aeron in Cardiganshire, one of the Calvinist Methodist strongholds, replied in answer to the question 'Do you find that the families in your Parish are accustomed to Daily Family Prayers?' that whereas none of his parishioners did, the 'sectaries' in his parish did so regularly.<sup>1</sup> He was referring to the Methodists. Of the twenty-nine incumbents in this deanery, where Methodism was well established with eighteen chapels, twenty-three did not categorize Methodists as Dissenters. Back in the 1740s Methodist evangelicals had urged their followers to continue to worship at their parish churches, to receive the sacraments there, as well as attending society meetings, and the attachment to the Church had not broken easily.

In England because the terms 'Methodist Church', 'Methodism', and 'revivalism' have become almost interchangeable, the broad scope of the eighteenth century movement has easily been overlooked.<sup>2</sup> This is partly explained by the numerical preponderance of the Wesleyan or Arminian Methodists since the 1740s, and partly by the fact that none of the other evangelical groups founded Churches under the title of Methodists as they did in Wales. The hybrid

1. Ibid., 109.

2. An exception to this narrowed focus is found in A.S. Wood, The Inextinguishable Blaze.

origins of the Methodist movement in England suggest something of its potential for diversity later in its development. It began among clergy ordained to the Church of England, most of whom were influenced by the Moravians and by their use of revival 'cells' within a Church. Their theological beliefs ranged from Calvinist to Lutheran and Arminian, and in fact in the earlier years the former dominated the movement. Only by recognizing the complexity of the movement is it possible to explain its institutional legacy which includes not only the establishment of the Methodist Church, but also a powerful Evangelical party within the Church of England, a reinvigoration of the Baptist and Congregational Churches, and the establishment of several smaller denominations such as the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion.

Before 1740 all the revivalists, or Methodists, worked together in relative harmony as an Anglican movement. They met at the Fetter Lane Society in London to hear sermons and conversion accounts, and to take part in the agape or love feast as practised by the Moravians. They made use of religious societies to supplement the rather sparse spiritual diet of the Church of England. But in 1740 the harmony was broken by the first of many disagreements over doctrine. In July of that year John Wesley quarrelled with the Moravian leader in England, Philip Molther, about the quietism espoused by the Moravians. Wesley and others left Fetter Lane to establish their own society at the Foundry.



(Windmill Hill).<sup>1</sup> Wesley published a sermon, Free Grace, in the summer of 1740, along with a hymn by Charles Wesley, Universal Redemption.<sup>2</sup> George Whitefield, whose views on predestination and atonement conflicted with those of the Wesleys, replied from Georgia where he was preaching. His Letter to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley in answer to his sermon entitled 'Free Grace' was published in March, 1741. A second major division of the Methodists followed quickly on this exchange of pamphlets with the Calvinists affiliating themselves to Whitefield. Whitefield's Tabernacle at Moorfields was built during the spring of 1741 and became the headquarters of the Calvinist Methodist movement in England.<sup>3</sup> There was a good deal of tension between Moravians, Calvinist Methodists and Wesleyan Methodists, not least because they were competing for followers<sup>4</sup>. But the fact that people moved from one group to another<sup>5</sup> meant greater fluidity and contact throughout the 1740s than was the case later on.

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1. See J. Hutton, A History of the Moravian Church, 288-300 and C.W. Towlson, Moravian and Methodist, 80-85.
  2. See L. Tyerman, The Life of John Wesley, (1880), 313-322.
  3. Letters of George Whitefield, 257.
  4. E.g., see E. Welch, Two Calvinist Methodist Chapels, Minutes for 22 Jan. 1747, 'It is feared that the consequence of Mr. Westley's [sic] preaching at Neath would be a separation in the Society.' 28.
  5. See J. Walsh, "The Cambridge Methodists", passim.

The Church of England had the allegiance of the Methodist leaders, but the Anglican hierarchy regarded their movements as disorderly and threatening. Most Anglican clergy thought of the essential issues as ones of Church order rather than doctrine and piety. According to Dr. Trapp, one of their critics:

For a clergyman of the Church of England to pray and preach in the fields in the country, or in the streets in the city, is perfectly new, never heard of before .... To pray, preach and sing psalms in the streets and fields is worse, if possible, than intruding into pulpits by downright violence and breach of the peace .... Can it promote the Christian religion to turn it into riot, tumult and confusion? 1.

Many would have agreed with a definition given by Thomas Scott in 1778: Methodists were 'those who, professing an attachment to our Established Church, and disdaining the name of Dissenters were not conformist in point of parochial order, but had separate seasons, places and assemblies for worship'.<sup>2</sup> Even Church Evangelicals considered that the Methodists went too far on questions of order.

Anglican Evangelicals formed a separate revival group and were distinguished from the Methodists more by their

1. J. Trapp, The Weekly Miscellany, quoted in L. Tyerman, Life of Whitefield, I, 210.
2. T. Scott, The Force of Truth (1778), 13, quoted in A.S. Wood, The Inextinguishable Blaze, 129.

loyalty to the Church than by their message or style of preaching. They too were critical of the Church's laxity, were eager to revive a modified Calvinist theology of redemption, and to preach 'experimental' Piety. But they were not prepared to invade other men's parishes and sanction criticisms of the clergy from laymen. They were particularly fearful of the Methodist use of lay preachers:

I fear Sir, that your saying that you do not appoint, but only approve of the lay preachers from a persuasion of their call and fitness, savours of disingenuity. What is the difference? Under whose sanction do they act? 1.

Adam, Evangelical minister of Wintringham, went on to ask Wesley whether the Methodists were not already too separate, 'particularly in the instance of unordained persons preaching, and gathering societies to themselves wherever they can'.<sup>2</sup> Despite their efforts to differentiate themselves from the Methodists, these Anglican Evangelicals were not welcomed by their colleagues and throughout the eighteenth century worked under difficulties.<sup>3</sup>

Like each of the evangelical parties, Church Evangeli-

1. T. Adam, An Exposition of the Four Gospels, ed., Rev. A. Westoby (1837). Letter dated 10 Oct. 1755.
2. Ibid.
3. J. Walsh, "Aspects de l'Anglicanisme" / "The Anglican Evangelicals in the Eighteenth Century" 91-92.

were strong in particular regions. In Yorkshire and Cornwall, where the 'parochial system faced many difficulties'<sup>1</sup> coterries of Anglican Evangelicals formed from the 1740s onwards.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps these close-knit and determined Evangelical vicars comprised the Church's first real response to the economic and social changes associated with early industrialization, which were particularly acute in some parts of these counties:

In Yorkshire it was in industrial rather than rural areas that the crisis facing the Established Church was greatest; in Cornwall the most serious problems were in mining districts. 3.

Apart from these two concentrations of Evangelical clergy, they tended to be isolated and unorganized during the middle decades of the century. By the 1770s they had demonstrated that they were to be taken seriously as a party within the Church and by '1800 the Evangelicals were a confident bustling and staunchly Anglican party, perhaps 300 - 500 strong'.<sup>4</sup> The Church Missionary Society of the 1790s

1. A.D. Gilbert, Religion and Society, 105.
2. J. Walsh, "Aspects de l'Anglicanisme", 90-91.
3. A.D. Gilbert, 105.
4. J. Walsh, 102. But see A.D. Gilbert, 73. 'Only one clergyman in ten was an evangelical in 1800, according to the Nonconformist historian, Herbert Skeats, who said of the non-evangelical majority that "their opposition to the more zealous members of their own profession was equal to that encountered by the Dissenters".' The same figures are given an optimistic interpretation by Walsh and a pessimistic one by Gilbert.

had been founded by them, and in 1802 they began their own paper, the Christian Observer.<sup>1</sup> However, the tension between their belief in the evangelical gospel on the one hand, and their conformity to Church order on the other remained largely unresolved and was not eased by support from the Church hierarchy. The metamorphosis of the Church did not come until the 1830s.<sup>2</sup>

Of all the evangelical groups only Whitefield's Calvinist Methodists failed to organize a movement which would have reflected their success and popularity during the 1730s and 1740s. The onus for organizing such a movement would have lain with Whitefield, but because of his frequent absences from England during the formative period, and his lack of interest in this kind of project, the development of the Calvinist Methodists did not parallel that of Wesley's Methodists. Building on the foundation of local societies, Wesley had by 1746 wielded them into a national organization with circuits, quarterly circuit meetings, to which he later added Annual General Meetings. Theoretically all members were attached to the Church of England into which they had been baptized, and from whose ordained priests alone they received ordinances. Throughout his life Wesley claimed they were part of the Church: 'We will not go out;

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1. The Christian Observer, conducted by Members of the Established Church, ed. by J. Pratt, Z. Macaulay, S.C. Wilks, J.W. Cunningham etc. 74 vol. (1802-1874).

2. See A.D. Gilbert, 29, 125-143.

if we are thrust out, well',<sup>1</sup> he wrote to Adam in 1755. Yet the attachment became increasingly nominal, with Wesley going as far as ordinations in 1784. When the Methodists formally separated from the Church on Wesley's death in 1791 they had a ready made denomination of 56,605 members.<sup>2</sup> Whitefield allowed a much greater degree of flexibility and shared decision making within his connexion<sup>3</sup> than Wesley because this matched his preference for itinerant preaching over paper-work and planning. As a result the Calvinist Methodists movement did not expand beyond its original strongholds in London, Bristol, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Gloucestershire and parts of Wiltshire, Birmingham and parts of Essex.<sup>4</sup> These societies looked to the London Tabernacle for guidance and help, but were often left to their own devices because the Tabernacle itself had no stable leadership.<sup>5</sup> From August, 1744 until July, 1748, for example, when Whitefield was in America, the Tabernacle had a number of different leaders, each with his own theological quirks and none with sufficient overall authority or charisma to create a national organization.

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1. T. Adam, An Exposition of the Four Gospels, Letter dated 31 Oct. 1755.
  2. A.D. Gilbert, 31.
  3. See "The English Calvinistic Methodist Association Minutes, 1745-9" in E. Welch, Two Calvinistic Methodist Chapels, 19-45.
  4. Ibid., x, and C.E. Welch, "Andrew Kinsman's Churches at Plymouth", Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art, 92 (1965), 212-236.
  5. Howell Harris did provide some stability between 1746 and 1748.

As a result of the lack of firm central direction and clear theological identity, the English Calvinist Methodists began to fragment. The movement lost leaders, whole societies, and even clusters of societies, more often than not to the Moravians, whilst still others went their own ways. Those who were left at the Tabernacle commented on this state of affairs in their minutes for 1746:

After this time a spirit of contention arose and antinomianism grew to a strong head and preachers, the brethren and conference were divided by means of Mr. Cudworth's and others introducing antinomianism that drunk into his spirit, and Brother Cennick's drinking into the Moravian spirit. So there was no regular conference kept till at length in December 1746 Brothers Cennick, Hammond, Pugh (not utterly then, but afterwards wholly), Salmon, Cudworth, Heathly, Thorn, went off, and all the brethren in conference and sisters, except Sisters Wood, Jeffrys, Dilby, Pugh and Lastier, went off - some to the Moravians and some joined Brother Cudworth in the Independent way .... 1.

Howell Harris picked up the pieces of the movement when he replaced John Cennick as organizer of the English societies in 1746. Through him the English societies were organized on the same lines as the Welsh ones, with association meetings, bands and conferences,<sup>2</sup> but the regulations were never as strict as Wesley's. In 1746, writing to Whitefield in America, Harris put a brave face on their

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1. E. Welch, Two Calvinistic Methodist Chapels, 11.
  2. See G.M. Roberts, Selected Trevecka Letters, 192-197.

internal difficulties:

Since I saw you various have been the scenes in the land. Black clouds in Church and State have gathered over us .... You have heard of the Divisions that you foresaw coming /upon/ us but blessed be God the wound is once more healed .... Everything goes well at the Tabernacle ... many went to the Moravians since and have been received and some rejected. Many of the latter with several others have joined Cudworth with two or three Preachers who has a Separate Congregation in the Independent way ... at Exeter and Plymouth there was like to be a Separation, in the first to the Moravians and in the last to the Dissenters, but I hope tis Near healed. 1.

The English Calvinist Methodist Association minutes for 4th December, 1746 recorded that 'Brother Cennick opened his mind about his convictions that our Saviour called him to join the Moravian Brethren ... the society in Wiltshire that choose Brother Cennick should be given up to him ....'<sup>2</sup> These societies did not take long to make up their minds for on 7th December it was recorded that at 'Bristol, Gloucester and Gloucestershire, Plymouth and Chinner the brethren resigned'.<sup>3</sup> Further north, the Reverend Benjamin Ingham who had a circuit in Yorkshire, first joined the Moravians before establishing his own Connexion.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibid., 193, Harris to Whitefield, 30 Aug. 1746.
  2. E. Welch, Two Calvinistic Methodist Chapels, 22.
  3. Ibid., 23.
  4. See R.W. Thompson, Benjamin Ingham (Kendal, 1958).



Although the Moravians never evangelized actively for converts for their own societies, and indeed tried to discourage people from joining them, their societies increased in certain regions (North Wiltshire, Devonport, Yorkshire and Lancashire), often at the expense of the Tabernacle connexion. When William Hammond left the Calvinist Methodists, for example, he took with him several preachers and four hundred members from London alone.<sup>1</sup> Many Methodists were attracted to the Moravians because of their emphasis on Christ's love and suffering and because of the humility and calm atmosphere of their meetings which contrasted with the strident tone and over-heated atmosphere of the Methodist societies.<sup>2</sup>

Other Calvinist Methodists broke away to form their own Churches which were usually shortlived and dependent on a single personality. William Cudworth, for example, left Whitefield in 1745 and established his own meetings, 'The Hearers and Followers of the Apostles'.<sup>3</sup> He had at least five meeting places in London by the end of the year and in

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1. J. Walsh, "Cambridge Methodists", 269.

2. Ibid.

3. See J.C. Whitebrook, William Cudworth and his Connexion, 1717-1763 /A Bibliography/ (1918), from which all the material in the text has been taken.

1752 built a chapel near Oxford Market. There were further separations from this group and in 1763 it seems to have died with its founder. This was the common fate of the Calvinist separations with the notable exception of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. The Countess had undergone a conversion experience in 1739 and her support for the Methodists dates from this,<sup>1</sup> although it was not until 1760 when her family commitments had decreased, that she was able to concentrate her time and money on the evangelical movement.<sup>2</sup> Her theological and doctrinal inclinations placed her firmly in the Calvinist camp and the chapels she built in Brighton (1760), Oathill (1761), Bath (1765), Tottenham (1765), Tunbridge Wells (1769), Worcester (1773), Basingstoke (1777) and Spa Fields, London (1777) were all Calvinist, as was the College she founded at Trevecka in Wales (1768).<sup>3</sup> Until 1782 the Connexion remained within the Church of England, but the Countess was on dubious ground over the legality of her chapels and ministers. In the end the validity of her position as patroness of chapels, and that of her ministers to preach without appointment by the Church, was successfully challenged in the Consistorial Court and her Connexion seceded from the Church.

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1. See A.C.H. Seymour, The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, 2 vols. (1839-1840); A.S. Wood, The Inextinguishable Blaze, 189-204.
  2. Her earlier efforts in Leicestershire, where her husband had estates, were connected to the later development of the New Connexion Baptists.
  3. E. Welch, Two Calvinistic Methodist Chapels, xii and 46-87 for the Minutes of Spa Fields Chapel, 1778-1811.

Not all Calvinist Methodists ended up joining the Moravians or one of these splinter groups. Many of them, acting either as individuals or members of societies, moved over into the Congregational or Independent Church. Edwin Welch claims that the Whitefield societies were much more likely to take this path than any other.<sup>1</sup> In 1747 there had been thirty-one societies registered 'in connexion under the care of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield', and twenty-six other preaching places in the south of England.<sup>2</sup> Where there are sufficient records, as in Gloucestershire, they indicate that these societies became Independent churches during the 1750s and 1760s.

Evangelical Nonconformity profited from the revival in a small way by the gradual accession of Whitefield's societies, but Dissent was also revitalized more directly during the second half of the eighteenth century by the growth of evangelicalism. New Dissenting Churches (the Independents and Baptists) were able to capitalize on the demands for 'vital religion' to such an extent that a recent historian has drawn attention to the spectacular nature of their growth:

The rise of Evangelical Nonconformity during the century after 1740 was an aspect, and quantitatively

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1. E. Welch, "A Forgotten Thread in Congregational History: The Calvinistic Methodists", Trans. of the Congregational Historical Society, 21, No. 4, (1972), 84-93.
  2. Ibid., 91.

the most important aspect, of the Evangelical Revival. It was what has been called a 'revitalisation movement', and as such was essentially ideological .... One reason for the response it evoked among considerable sections of the English population was the existence of a demand for the kind of religious and cultic satisfaction arising out of the evangelical worldview. 1.

Gilbert argues that a major reason for the growth of Nonconformist denominations in the later eighteenth century, even though they had not supported the revival in the 1740s, was ideological: that the values of Nonconformity like those of Methodism were functional for people living in early industrial England.<sup>2</sup> Non-evangelical Dissenting Churches, in particular the Presbyterians, did not experience this growth. Evangelical Dissenting churches often took over the congregations of Evangelical Anglicans if they were replaced by a more traditional incumbent<sup>3</sup>, or those of the Calvinist Methodists who could not sustain their pastorate. For all these reasons the 'basic similarity of Methodist, Congregational, and Baptist growth patterns' was 'unmistakeable' between 1750 and 1914.<sup>4</sup>

In conclusion, the impact of the revival on English Churches was so profound that it did nothing less than initiate the evangelical strain which was to become the most

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1. A.D. Gilbert, Religion and Society, 71.
  2. Ibid., 86-93.
  3. Ibid., 74 for an example of this happening in Farnham, Surrey.
  4. Ibid., 38. See 37-40 for figures of growth and 94-121 for a discussion of the distribution of Nonconformist growth.

prominent feature of English church life in the nineteenth century.

On an institutional level the effects of the revivals were so complex as almost to defy generalization. Yet several general points of a comparative nature do emerge. Firstly, in all the countries and colonies considered, the matrix of the revival was the Established or dominant Church, despite the fact that these differed in theology and polity. The reactions of these Churches varied. In New England the Congregational Church was well disposed to the revival, whilst in Scotland the revival was at the very least tolerated, if not always welcomed by Church leaders because it was acceptable to so many ministers. The Presbyterian Church in the Middle Colonies was divided in opinion but the Anglican Church leaders in England and Wales were clearly opposed to the revival. Secondly, in each case these Churches experienced schisms and new denominations were born. The size of the separations varied according to the success of the Church in accommodating or controlling the movements. The relative success of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland and America in containing schism has been ascribed to its traditional doctrines, its church polity, and the cultural significances it carried, which made its members reluctant to threaten its unity. The Churches of England and Wales were much less successful in maintaining unity, and this was due to a combination of the views of their leadership and

their structural weaknesses at the parish level. In New England, the Congregational Church was willing to accommodate the revival to a much greater extent, but because of the extreme sectarianism of the laity was not able to keep the revival entirely within bounds. Thirdly, ministers in all the Churches were faced with new demands from the laity. The great majority of the Established clergy in England and Wales saw this as a threat and resisted it. In Scotland, though the clergy made few concessions to the laity, they showed few signs of being under threat. Reaction in New England to these demands was mixed, and depended much more on the degree of control the individual minister was able to exert and the extent to which he was in tune with his parishioners. Finally, it is worth noting that despite the international dimensions of the movement and the general awareness of this fact among clergy, xenophobic expressions were rare. Revivalists everywhere were much more inclined to trace the origins of the revival through their own theological or Church traditions, in all cases deriving from the Reformation. The American and Scottish Churches were more at ease with this heritage than the Churches of England and Wales. These comparative features, which indicate certain similarities between Scotland and the northern American colonies, and major differences between these regions and England and Wales, help to explain the degree and pattern of transatlantic communication.

CHAPTER VII

CALVINISTS, MORAVIANS AND PERSECUTORS: COMPARATIVE  
FACTORS IN THE TRANSATLANTIC REVIVAL

In the process of establishing the mid-eighteenth century revival as a transatlantic phenomenon it has become apparent that the main lines of communication ran between groups and individuals who shared a theological outlook which was essentially Calvinist. By no means all the English Calvinist Churches joined in the revival communication, but on the other hand all those evangelicals who did were Calvinists. Only by recognizing the importance of theology in determining membership of the network is it possible to explain why the Wesleyan organization remained outside the system discussed in this thesis. Despite the fact that John Wesley had been a missionary in Savannah, Georgia in the 1730s and that he was an extremely active itinerant preacher, he found that America, Scotland and Wales were not open to his message in the way that England and Ireland were. The Scottish reaction to Wesley's visit there in 1751, for example, was lukewarm and he 'marvelled at their insusceptibility to Methodism'.<sup>1</sup> They may not have been interested in Wesley's Methodism but they had anticipated in a Calvinist evangelism more suited to

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1. A. Stevens, The History of the Religious Movements of the Eighteenth Century called Methodism, 3 vols. (1860-1870), I, 120.

their own religious traditions. Again, despite the fact that it was Wesley who founded a movement which eventually challenged the Established Church in England, between 1735 and 1750 George Whitefield's name was more familiar than Wesley's, particularly abroad:

Among the scores of preachers who spread the gospel of salvation to almost every part of Great Britain and Ireland, the best known in the forties, fifties and sixties of the eighteenth century was George Whitefield. Whitefield's substantially Calvinist message, that of election ... was popularly considered to be the central doctrine of the revival. 1.

Both men were skilful propagandists and prolific writers, Wesley more so than Whitefield, so that their relative fame cannot be explained by comparing their publicity techniques. And when it came to organization Wesley was far more effective than Whitefield. Whitefield's international acclaim and the establishment of an international evangelical network in the 1740s and 1750s were due to the Calvinist outlook shared by influential groups in the Churches of New England, the Middle Colonies, Scotland, Wales and even England. But the English revival was not firmly wedded to Calvinism. It was a pluralist affair and whilst some were embracing predestination for others Calvinism aroused only deep-seated fears. For them 'Calvinism had acquired deep

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1. B. Semmel, Methodist Revolution, 23.



psychological associations with the Civil War and Commonwealth ... the dismemberment of the Church, the killing of the king'.<sup>1</sup> Thus the position occupied by England in the evangelical revival was complicated and involved groups who 'wore different doctrinal uniforms, grouped themselves in separate battalions and indulged in a good deal of rivalry'.<sup>2</sup> This limited the participation of English revivalists in the transatlantic network and distinguished the English and Welsh experience. Within the network of communication the major transference of ideas and practices took place between New England and Scotland where Calvinism was the established, if challenged, creed of the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches.

Revivalists, such as the Reverends Thomas Prince, John Webb and William Cooper of New England, took great pains to emphasize the aspects of doctrine which were common to Congregationalism and Presbyterianism:

And as the Assembly's Shorter Catechism has been all along agreeable to known Principles of the New England Churches and has been generally received and taught in them as a system of Christian Doctrine agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, wherein they happily unite. It is a great pleasure to us that our Presbyterian Brethren who came from Ireland are generally with us in these important

1. J. Walsh, "Aspects de l'Anglicanisme", 87.

2. Ibid., 90

points, as also in the particular doctrines of Experimental Piety arising from them. 1.

Others who saw the revival as false were keen to emphasize the institutional differences and accused revivalists of glossing over them.<sup>2</sup> In a sense both were correct. In fact, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists had common experiences stemming from theology and doctrines, and differing experiences arising from institutional structures. This was a state of affairs clearly understood by Jonathan Edwards when he considered an invitation to become a minister in the Church of Scotland:

You are pleased, dear Sir, very kindly to ask me, whether I could sign the Westminster Confession of Faith and submit to the Presbyterian form of Church Government .... As to my subscribing to the substance of the Westminster Confession, there would be no difficulty; and as to the Presbyterian Government I have long been perfectly out of conceit of our unsettled, independent, confined way of Church government in this land; and the Presbyterian way has appeared to me most agreeable to the word of God and the reason and nature of things. 3.

It was this common Puritan Calvinist heritage shared by New England, much of the Middle colonies and lowland Scotland which had made possible the exchange of literature and the sympathetic correspondence.

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1. Preface by Webb, Cooper and Prince to a sermon by David McGregore, The Spirits of the Present Day tried (Boston, 1742).
  2. See J. Gee, Letter to the Rev. Mr. Nathaneal Eells ... Containing Some Remarks on their Printed Testimony Against several Errors and Disorders in the Land (1743).
  3. S.E. Dwight, op. cit., I, 412. Edwards to Erskine, 5 July 1750.

Calvinism gave Scottish and American revivalists and converts a firm theological framework within which to act, and to a great extent it conditioned their response to evangelism. Before the Great Awakening ministers and laymen on both sides of the Atlantic had shown their awareness of their special spiritual and theological ancestry and the way in which they considered they had declined from former standards. Several historians have remarked on the positive connections between guilt feelings engendered by such an awareness and the susceptibility of the anxious-minded to revival techniques.<sup>1</sup> In addition the conversion experience lay at the centre of Puritanism as it had traditionally been taught in America and Scotland. These cultures were familiar with the concepts surrounding the 'second birth' and had developed the terms of reference by which they could cope with the experience and make it intelligible to the individual. The conditions leading to a personal conversion might be varied: anxiety, religious doubts, bereavement or anomie, but whatever the immediate cause it was much more likely to occur where there had been a tradition of Calvinist theology. This was the case in both Scotland and New England where between 1740 and 1744 revival participants had usually been brought up as worshippers at the kirk or meetinghouse. Often they spoke of their upbringing as intensely moral and religious. Their religious educa-

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1. See R.L. Bushman, From Puritan to Yankee, 187 ff., and "Jonathan Edwards as Great Man: Identity, Conversion and Leadership in the Great Awakening", Soundings, 52 (1969), 15-46.

tion had made constant reference to experiences which they had failed to fulfil until the revival, and their feelings on being 'born again' included a sense of relief. In Cambuslang for instance, a widow of sixty-five told McCulloch:

I was put to school when young and learned there and at home to read the Bible. I got the Short Catechism by heart /but/ the time when I was first awaken'd to a sense of my lost and perishing condition without Christ was on the Sabbath before the 1st Sacrament at Cambuslang July 1742. 1.

The effect on her was so great that 'For six weeks I was obliged to leave off everything by which I us'd to win my bread, and I could not apply myself to any worldly business at all'.<sup>2</sup> This was representative of the Cambuslang converts and of many in New England. In Woodbury, Connecticut, for example, almost 70% of the converts were from long standing church families with at least one church member. As the revival progressed in Woodbury it tapped the fund of church families, taking in younger and younger members rather than going on to reach people previously indifferent to the Church.<sup>3</sup>

The absence of theological certitude within the Anglican Church created problems for revival clergy which were compounded by a tendency to mysticism and pietism in England

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1. Cambuslang MSS., I, 112 (Sarah Strang).
2. Ibid.
3. J. Walsh, "The Great Awakening in the 1st Church, Woodbury, Conn."

and Wales. In part this tendency was a result of long standing contacts between English and European religious movements<sup>1</sup> and in part a result of loose parish administration and lax educational oversight which left people much more to their own devices. Large rural parishes in England and Wales made it difficult for incumbents to exert control over parishioners. Equally, in many towns the growing population was outstripping the original definition of a parish. During the first years of the revival these two factors gave rise to a possibly more genuinely 'popular' type of religious movement. In almost every parish throughout the revival world there was some degree of popular religious expression in the form of trances, visions, and observed wonders and miracles, but on the whole wherever the clergy were able to support the conversions whilst curbing the enthusiasms of converts, they did so.<sup>2</sup> In lowland Scotland and New England, where the parishes were smaller and the ministers more thoroughly integrated into local life than the Anglican parson, and where the values of the clergy were more effectively disseminated through the educational system and the kirk sessions, it was easier to discourage the 'fringe' activities of revivalism. Because the revivals in these two regions were largely in the control of the major religious institutions people were more likely to be dissuaded

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1. See R.B. Knox, Enthusiasm, passim.
2. E.g., J. Robe, A Faithful Narrative of the Extraordinary Work ... at Kilsyth ... and The Christian Monthly History, I, ii, 11-23.

from following their mystical visions too far. Ministers insisted that dreams and trances were to be labelled 'false works' and that those who had them be taught that they were misguided. For these ministers, belief in the rightness of their view coincided neatly with self-protection against the rivalry of 'gifted' laity. Evangelical ministers in England and Wales held the same views but were in a much less advantageous position to enforce them because the revival was an altogether subversive activity eschewed by the Established Church. Few incumbent vicars supported the revival and most therefore had no control over the direction that their local revival might take, whilst the itinerant preachers on their side had to trust to laymen to oversee the local society. In the circumstances there was initially more room for lay activity of every sort.<sup>1</sup>

Parts of New England also tended to excessive mysticism during the Awakening, but the areas most prone were again those outside the more traditional ministerial surveillance, in this case in the newly settled regions of western Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hampshire.<sup>2</sup> Normally ministers in New England and Scotland sought to curtail what

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1. See J. Walsh, "Aspects de l'Anglicanisme", 98.
2. See E.D. Larned, History of Windham County, Connecticut. 2 vols., (Worcester, Mass., 1874); R.L. Bushman, Puritan to Yankee, 185, and Diary of Nicholas Gilman. NHHS. Likewise, when the revival reached the southern back-country where there were few ministers and stable parishes, enthusiasm and full lay participation were common. See D.G. Mathews, Religion in the Old South, (Chicago, 1977).

they described as excesses. In Cambuslang, for example, many of the converts professed to have had visions and trances, or to have observed miracles and providences. John Weir thought he 'saw hell as it were at a Distance from Me, as a pit where the wicked were frying, and the Devils going among them',<sup>1</sup> and Margaret Shaw told McCulloch: 'I thought I saw a flash of fire on the Brae which I took to be hell-fire ... and I had a strong apprehension at that time that I smelt the smell of brimstone which was nearly choking me.'<sup>2</sup> Janet Barry, a thirty year old woman, frightened her husband when she 'was made to roar out twice in a hideous and terrible manner, the sound was not like that of a human voice, but ... like thunder'.<sup>3</sup> Often she found it hard to control her arms and legs and 'felt sometimes a most loathsome smell about me, like the stinking of hair when it is burning, which [she] took to be the smell of the bottomless Pit'.<sup>4</sup> Others claimed to have seen the Devil in the form of a 'Brown cow with a White face',<sup>5</sup> or a 'rough tautie dog'.<sup>6</sup> Converts not only experienced these trances but told them to their minister as part of their individual

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1. Cambuslang MSS., I, 309.

2. Ibid., I, 148.

3. Ibid., I, 91.

4. Ibid., 94.

5. Ibid., I, 256.

6. Ibid., I, 522.

conversion narrative. In each case the individual was counselled to look on the experience as something which 'subsists no longer than until the Person has attained to distinct views of divine truths'.<sup>1</sup> The difference between New England and Scotland on the one hand and England and Wales on the other was not necessarily that converts behaved in remarkably different ways, but that their experience was channelled through differing filters. Four Presbyterian ministers read each of the Cambuslang narratives (which they were preparing for publication) and were in agreement that any visionary material should be deleted so as to avoid harming any future readers.<sup>2</sup> Their editorial comments provide a rare insight into the way they would normally have counselled their parishioners. Of Alexander Bilsland who had been having visions of hell, the Reverend James Ogilvie wrote:

I think this person should be cautioned (as no doubt he has been) about not being hasty in regarding every Impression on his mind or Occasional Thought as if they were all from the Lord's Spirit. He seems to need Advice much this way, tho' indeed there are many excellent and uncommon things in his life. The same caution has also doubtless been given to others. 3.

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1. The Christian Monthly History, I, ii, 43.
  2. The ministers were Dr. Alexander Webster of Edinburgh, Thomas Gillespie of Carnock, John Willison of Dundee and James Ogilvie of Aberdeen.
  3. Ibid., I, 142.



Of another who had a vision of hell they wrote 'she speaks of great distress seeing herself condemned already which looks like fear of hell. This must be condemned'.<sup>1</sup> The same degree of vigilance was maintained by most of the Congregational and Presbyterian clergy in America.<sup>2</sup>

In England and Wales close surveillance was desired by evangelical clergy, particularly after 1742, but there was a limit to what could be achieved in the early years of the revival. A detailed study of the revival in Bristol between 1739 and 1742, compared to that in Boston, has led one recent historian to conclude that 'enthusiasm was a major component of the Methodist movement. In those early years Methodism came perilously close to becoming a radical religious sect at odds with the secular society and with England's more orthodox forms of Christianity'.<sup>3</sup> Behind the extremism exhibited by Bristol Methodists lay a long tradition of religious mysticism and pietism associated with the Quakers, the French Prophets or Camisards, and the follow-

1. Ibid., I, 178.
2. For example, see the MS. Diary of Tutor Flynt of Harvard, Houghton Library, Harvard University. In April 1742 he noted, 'We should countenance and promote that which is wholly and truly good and discourage irregular and disorderly things as night singing ... praying in publick places by private persons and persons not instructed ....' The same sentiments can be found in most of the American diaries cited in this thesis, with the major exception of Nicholas Gilman's.
3. J. Raimo, "Spiritual Harvest", conclusion to Chapter VIII.

ers of Antoinette Bourignon.<sup>1</sup> Former French Prophets and members of the Society of Friends were involved in the Methodist societies between 1739 and 1741 bringing with them forms of religious behaviour common to the extreme wings of both groups. They had been accustomed to giving public warnings and prophecies, to placing themselves under the 'influence of the Spirit', and to having physical convulsions. They were capable of 'diabolical Enthusiasm' according to one newspaper report:

/Bristol, June 26 1738/ Wednesday se'nnight  
 Man and two Women Prophetesses, got early into the Gallery of the Friary Meeting, and about half an Hour past Twelve o'Clock ... when the Meeting was ended, up starts one of those Women, and unstripping herself of her outward Garment, she appear'd in a monstrous and frightful Habit, with a Covering of sackcloth (like a Moorish Dress) strewing Ashes upon her Head, and begun such a raving, with Postures so frightful, that the Meeting broke up immediately, and those Imposters were push'd and hawl'd out of the Gallery and Meeting, and mobb'd and pelted with Dirt all the Way they went ....2.

The Wiltshire preacher, John Cennick, gave further examples of popular forms of religion in the region in his Account of the Most Remarkable Occurrences in the Awakening at Bristol and Kingswood .... 3.

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1. Ibid., 165-9.
  2. Boston Evening Post for that dated, quoted in Raimo, ibid., 168.
  3. Written by Cennick in April 1750. Printed in the Moravian Messenger (Mar-June 1906). On the folk-piety of the early revival see The Christian's Amusement, x. 'The trance of Frances Wright of Skellingthorpe'; J. Walsh, "Aspects de l'Anglicanisme", 95; and R.B. Knox, Enthusiasm, passim.

Theological traditions also determined the extent to which the Moravian Brethren were able to fulfil their intended role as a scuola in ecclesia. In fact, the reception given to the Moravians can be used as a yardstick to test the composition of the prevailing religious ideology. In England and Wales they exercised an enormous influence on pious Anglicans whether they were Arminians like Wesley, or Calvinists like Harris and Cennick. They were able to do so because they used a framework familiar in several major respects to Anglicans: they claimed an apostolic pedigree, practised religious community life, used the ordinances and placed emphasis on devotion to the person and compassion of Christ. In 1749 the Moravians were recognized by an Act of Parliament as 'an ancient Protestant Episcopal Church'. The letters and magazines of English and Welsh revivalists contain many favourable references to the Moravians in the early years of the revival and a number of Methodists joined the Brethren despite the reluctance of the Moravians to accept converts.<sup>1</sup> Leading revivalists like Whitefield and Wesley gradually drew apart from them and even felt it necessary to clarify the distinctions between their own movement and that of the Moravians,<sup>2</sup> but 'within Wesley's own socie-

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1. See J. Walsh, "The Cambridge Methodists".

2. See B. Semmel, op. cit., 204 footnotes 34 and 35, and J. Wesley, A Short View of the Differences between the Moravian Brethren, lately in England, and the Reverend Mr. John and Charles Wesley (1745).

ties there was a small but continuous ferment of mystical ideas and a steady trickle of members towards Quakerism'.<sup>1</sup> Likewise the Anglican communities in Georgia lacked firm guidance, and where they were not defensive and fearful of Dissenters these Anglicans also seemed open to the spiritual influence of the Moravians. Once converted they tended to move from group to another - including the local Moravian community - as their Governor recorded with regret in his diary for March, 1743:

Mr. Barker from the Orphan House, the Moravian Proselytes (increased much of late) and other Sectaries, drawing aside divers Ignorant People after New Doctrine, delivered by Illiterate Preachers, as they are severally gifted; inso-much that the Established Worship of the Church seems to be in danger of being utterly set at nought, and sinking after being too long vilified. 2.

In the Middle Colonies too the Moravians attracted a following, including several notable persons who had been converted first under more orthodox revivalist preaching, such as the Philadelphia merchant, Samuel Hazard<sup>3</sup> and the former Higher Constable of New York, Thomas Noble.<sup>4</sup>

... Tennant ... talks much about the Moravians who, Mr. Noble and many of ye Dear Christians at

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1. J. Walsh, "Cambridge Methodists", 279.
  2. The Journal of William Stephens, ed., E.M. Coulter (Wormsloe Foundation Publications, Number 2. Atlanta, Ga., 1958), 186.
  3. See the Hazard Family MSS. P.H.S.
  4. See Notes by William Kelsy, Typescript N.Y.H.S.

New York, and some at Brunswick, say, are the people of God ... 1.

The Moravians were viewed as having a bad influence by Calvinist preachers like Gilbert Tennent who engaged in disputes and pamphlet wars with them.<sup>2</sup> Tennent was totally opposed to the Brethren, as he made clear in a letter he wrote to the English Nonconformist, Philip Doddridge:

It is likewise very agreeable news that any weak attempt of mine has been of use to give check to the Moravian or Herrnhutt Sect, which you justly and truly term artfull and pernicious ... they would deceive the very Elect if it was possible ... 3.

Other Middle Colony revivalists, including Samuel Blair and Samuel Finley, were no more impressed by the Moravians than Tennent.<sup>4</sup>

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1. MS. letter of Joseph Bellamy to E. Wheelock, 12 Oct. 1742, Dreer Coll. P.H.S.
  2. Letters of George Whitefield ... 433. Whitefield to John Noble, 13 Sep. 1742, 'I have just been writing to our dear brother Gilbert Tennent ... Dear Mr. Tennent speaks many things, that I know are too true of the Moravian Brethren; but his spirit seems to be too much heated ....' G. Tennent, Some account of the principles of the Moravians collected from several conversations with Count Zinzendorf, and from some sermons preached by him. (London, 1743).  
The Necessity of holding fast the truth represented in three sermons ... with an appendix, relating to errors lately vented by some Moravians in those parts ... (Boston, 1743).
  3. MS. letter of Gilbert Tennent to P. Doddridge, 20 July 1741, Presbyterian Historical Society, New Brunswick.
  4. See MS. letter of Samuel Blair to Count Zinzendorf, 14 Mar. 1743 and MS. letters of Samuel Finley to Hazard 22 Dec. 1742, 28 Jan. 1742/3, Hazard Family Papers Misc. P.H.S.

Old Dissenters in England were as unwelcoming towards the Moravians as their American counterparts and in the case of Doddridge and Isaac Watts discussed their misgivings with American correspondents:

What odd practices the Moravians will transfer from their clan or church in Count Zinzendorf's country is hard to say; but as you have his sermons by you, I need not tell you how many mistakes you will find there. 1.

Watts put his finger on the basic Calvinist objections:

I believe there is a very great spirit of piety amongst them, but as they do not confine themselves to the literal sense of Scripture as their rule of faith and manners, but to some mystical sense, I know not how we can reason with them. 2.

Only in New England and Scotland, where these Calvinist views prevailed and people had 'a clear sense of theological identity'<sup>3</sup> were the Moravians unable to make any impact during the revivals. The two missionaries who were sent to Scotland by the Brethren in 1739 were courteously received, but it was not until 1765 that a Moravian group put down roots in Scotland.<sup>4</sup> It seems that the very features which

1. Isaac Watts to B. Colman 22 Oct. 1742 in "Letters of Dr. Watts" 398.
2. Ibid.
3. J. Walsh, "Cambridge Methodists", 261.
4. W.J. Couper, The Moravian Brethren in Scotland.

proved so attractive to Anglicans and, in a different way, to pietists were out of keeping with Scottish religious life, and the same was true of New England. The religious atmosphere of Calvinism did not create the same degree of 'traffic between mysticism and evangelicalism'<sup>1</sup> that was apparent in England and Wales.<sup>2</sup>

Evangelical religion met with criticism from some quarter wherever it was preached, but there was a correlation between the form that opposition took and the status accorded to experiential religion by social and religious elites. In England and Wales the Established Church had a low opinion of revivalism which was closely related to the negative attitude of social elites at local and national level.<sup>3</sup> The result was a range of critical responses to revivalism which were either entirely absent or severely modified in New England and Scotland, the major forms being firstly, legal and physical intimidation and secondly, satirical mockery through literature and art.

Mob violence and persecution were such common occurrences

1. J. Walsh, "Cambridge Methodists", 278.
2. On Moravians in Wales see R.T. Jenkins, "The Moravian Brethren in North Wales, 12-13, 36-37.
3. A.D. Gilbert, Religion and Society, 74.

in the routine of English and Welsh itinerant preachers that details of this kind of opposition became standard features in the narratives, letters and journals of evangelicals.<sup>1</sup> Both Wesleyan and Whitefieldian Methodists became accomplished at dealing with angry mobs and outraged Justices of the Peace. The Weekly History, (xxxiii), advertised An Exhortation to Steadfastness 'in a letter from Mr. Cennick to the Brethren and Disciples of Jesus Christ in Wiltshire. 1d. This letter is needful for us to read, who know not how to bear the contradiction of those who oppose us ...'. Writing their reports revivalists correctly accused squires, JPs and parsons of inciting the mob to riots against them, and of using their legal authority to arrest preachers for a breach of the peace:

At Hemmington the clerk of the parish is turned out of his office for hearing and encouraging me and our other ministers; for the Parson told him he should not say Amen at Church and under an Hedge too ... at Blousden I am told there was Brandy and Punch prepared for the Swindon and Highworth rioters to come and abuse me ... They said that Lord H- was resolved I should not continue in these parts because his Lordship had such a concern for the Church ... And rather than I should stay here, had said he should spend £100. 2.

Mobs might be deliberately aroused by the local squire or parson who feared a challenge to his authority and to public

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1. For example, Journal of John Wesley, III, 109-269; G. Whitefield, Journals, 211-214, 252, 258, 297, 310; letters scattered throughout The Weekly History and its successors.
2. The Christian History, V, i, 9; V, ii, 35.



order,<sup>1</sup> or they might equally act of their own accord for a variety of reasons.

Methodists were disliked for their attempt to undermine lower class patterns of family life and leisure, and because 'they pretend to be better than other people'.<sup>2</sup> By setting themselves against certain forms of behaviour the Methodists created enemies in both lower and upper class circles. John Lewis, for example, attacked gaming, dicing, bowls and billiards in an editorial for The Christian's Amusement (xix) whilst Howell Harris preached in Newport town hall against balls and horseracing.<sup>3</sup> Methodists morality challenged the leisure pursuits of the lower class and the livelihood of those associated with these activities. As a result one report claimed that 'Many Alehouses People, Fiddlers, Harpers etc. ... sadly cry out against [Them] for spoiling their Business'.<sup>4</sup> When John Nelson of Birstall was press-ganged (a favoured way of removing 'troublemakers') he accused the vicar and local alehouse keepers of being the chief conspirators against him,<sup>5</sup> and John Cennick wrote of 'a man and his wife of Hannam who were Alehousekeepers [who] join'd with the man who persecuted us and both rode their

1. See J. Walsh, "Methodism and the Mob" on this subject. Also G. Whitefield, Journals 307-310.
2. Journals of John Wesley, III, 20.
3. Christian's Amusement, xix.
4. The Weekly History, xxvii. See also no. xxiii.
5. Journal of John Wesley, III, 136.

Horses through the midst of the Concourse'.<sup>1</sup> Evangelicals frequently preached in places where fairs were pitched and attempted to divert people's attention from the booths.<sup>2</sup> On these occasions they harangued the people to 'Repent ye, and believe the gospel'<sup>3</sup> and for their explicit and implicit criticisms of the festivities they met with verbal and physical abuse.<sup>4</sup> One more grateful young man wrote a letter to George Whitefield 'to return you Thanks for what I heard on Easter-Day, for you speaking concerning Apprentices how they saved up their Money to go and spend in the Holidays in Mirth, as they call it, Drinking, Swearing and the Like ...',<sup>5</sup> and there were others like him who were establishing a new pattern of behaviour in conflict with those of their work mates.<sup>6</sup> One recent historian of popular recreation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has concluded that evangelical sentiment was almost always at odds with the tradition of popular diversions and the result of the clash of norms was to whittle away at traditional

1. The Weekly History, xxxiii.
2. E.g., G. Whitefield, Journals, 310-11; '... I rode back to town /Basingstoke/ got upon the stage erected for the wrestlers, and began to show them the error of their way.', and 315 'Preached to upwards of ten thousand at Hackney Marsh, where I had appointed purposely to discourse because there was to be a horse-race in the same field.'
3. Journal of John Wesley, III, 45.
4. Ibid.
5. The Weekly History, lxiii.
6. The Life of Mr. Silas Told, (1786 rpt. 1954), 65.

practices.<sup>1</sup> He links the new norms created by evangelism with the increasing emphasis on labour discipline, although most of his evidence comes from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with little for the early period of Methodism. The process was undoubtedly very gradual and Methodism itself introduced many new activities to replace the old.<sup>2</sup>

Lower class opposition was aroused against the new religion as much by vague fears of the unknown as by specific interruptions to the patterns of their lives.<sup>3</sup> The preacher was usually a stranger who brought with him a threat of unspecified new ways. Once he had succeeded in converting some of the local population there was all the more reason to be antagonistic if this meant that they set themselves apart from their old community.<sup>4</sup> English villagers were xenophobic in the mid-eighteenth century and

1. R.W. Malcolmson, Popular Recreation in English Society, 1700-1850 (Cambridge, 1973), 100.
2. J. Obelkevich, Religion and Rural Society, 212-13.
3. Ibid., 95 and J. Walsh, "Methodism and the Mob".
4. See Some Papers Giving an Account of the Rise and Progress of Methodism at Wednesbury in Staffordshire, and other Parishes adjacent. As likewise of the late Riot in those Parts (1744), 13. Evidence about this kind of conflict often comes from the 'professional' critics of revivalism as is this case in this pamphlet.

later, and the secret and exclusive nature of the society meetings did nothing to help allay their fears. On the contrary, it created suspicion that those who met represented a threat to the social order. Thus Methodists could be depicted simultaneously as Catholics, Jacobites and Quakers, or in fact as any socially threatening group.<sup>1</sup>

In England and Wales there was good reason for people of all classes to have a deep rooted fear of religious enthusiasm. They knew that religious inspiration had 'dissolved the bonds of civil authority' in the seventeenth century<sup>2</sup> and that only by vigilance, they felt, had the sources of chaos been brought under control.<sup>3</sup> The new religious movement was reminiscent of the disruptive movements of the past with its conviction in the 'inner light principle', and despite a lengthy period of political stability, the fears had never disappeared. Joseph Addison wrote of them in 1711 for The Spectator, and the same thoughts were commonly expressed about Methodism in the 1740s: 'enthusiasm has something in it of madness, superstition, or folly. Most of the sects that fall short of the Church of

1. E.g., P. Bull, A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing: or, An old Jesuit Unmasked. Containing an Account of the Wonderful Apparition of Father Petre's Ghost, in the form of the Rev. John Wesley ... [Dublin rpt. London, 1775/
2. J. Walsh, "Aspects de l'Anglicanisme", 95. Also B. Semmel, op. cit., 13-19.
3. See U. Lee, The Historical Background of Early Methodist Enthusiasm (New York, 1931) for a more detailed discussion of the implications of enthusiasm to the eighteenth century mind.

England have in them strong tinctures of enthusiasm'.<sup>1</sup>

Just as both upper and lower classes often joined forces to intimidate Methodists they also supported and appreciated the use of satirical weapons against these 'enthusiasts'. This was an age in which satire was the supreme form of literary expression and as a genre it worked successfully at many different levels of comprehension. For several years a satirical industry flourished in England, based on the dislike and fear of religious fanaticism which found an outlet in ridicule. Between 1739 and 1740 alone two hundred satirists and scorning theologians went into print to harangue the Methodists, employing the whole range of literary forms to do so.<sup>2</sup> Their usual targets were fanaticism, superstition, delusion, sexual licence and madness, themes which can be seen, for example, in Hogarth's satirical engraving of Methodism. In its first form it was called Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism and in its second version, Enthusiasm Delineated. The original engraving featured George Whitefield ranting from a pulpit on the text 'I speak as a fool' to a crowd of infatuated supporters in various stages of lunacy. Hogarth indicated the movement of hypocrisy by showing some of the followers to be more interested in sexual diversions than in the

1. The Spectator, 201, 20 Oct. 1711.
2. See R. Green, Anti-Methodist Publications Issued During the Eighteenth Century (1902).

sermonizing, and depicted its 'madness' in the form of the notorious Mrs. Croft's giving birth to rabbits in one corner and a thermometer for registering feelings of the 'converts' in the other.<sup>1</sup> Most satirists had a field day with love feasts, the new birth, the conversion experience, revival sermons, Whitefield's squint and his success at collecting money for charity. Samuel Foote, the popular West End dramatist, included all these motifs in his play The Minor. It featured a preacher, Mr. Squintum, who converted a brothel keeper, Mrs. Cole, thus providing an occasion for many jibes at the love feasts and new birth, such as the following from one of her patrons:

How the jade tumbled together the carnal and  
the spiritual; with what ease she reconciles  
new birth with her old calling - No wonder  
these preachers have plenty of proselytes .... 2.

The newspapers and magazines of the period employed a similar line of approach as the dramatists and poets.<sup>3</sup>

Revivalists in New England and Scotland were protected

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1. A copy of the engraving and an explication of it is given in A. Dallimore, George Whitefield, between pp. 370 and 371.
2. S. Foote, The Minor (1760), 47. See also J. Reed, The Register-Office (1760).
3. E.g., The Gentleman's Magazine. See A.W. Lyles, Methodism Mocked: The Satiric Reaction to Methodism in the Eighteenth Century (1960) for a good introduction to the subject.

against the sharp pens of satirists by cultures which had not encouraged these forms of art. Satire had never become a vogue in the northern colonies and was not as generally acceptable in Scotland as in England, and any form of drama was regarded with suspicion as tending to corrupt. When Samuel Foote's players took The Minor to Edinburgh the theatre was closed by the town magistrates out of respect for Whitefield and evangelical religion.<sup>1</sup> Although a certain amount of harder hitting literature such as The Wonderful Narrative, or a Faithful Account of the French Prophets etc. by Anti-Enthusiasticus was either printed or sold in Scotland and New England it never became fashionable or popular. A further difference between the experiences of revivalists was the freedom of Scottish and American revivalists from mob vigilance and threats to their personal safety for in these countries there was no parallel to the continual war of attrition waged against Methodist preachers, supporters and meeting places. This difference may be partly explained by the lack of a mob tradition in New England compared with England and Wales, although the Scots were also accustomed to using rioting as a way of expressing disapproval or outrage.<sup>2</sup> But there were riots occasionally in New England in this period as for example over the issue

1. L. Tyerman, Life of George Whitefield, II, 429-439. See also II, 313-314 on the Glasgow theatre.
2. See G.F.E. Rude, The Crowd in History. A Study of popular disturbances in France and England 1730-1848 (New York 1964).  
B. Semmel op. cit., 13-14; 76-7.

of the Land Bank.<sup>1</sup> It does not seem sufficient to compare the social structures and traditional forms of voicing a grievance in these countries in order to explain the use of physical and verbal violence in some countries and their absence in others during the revivals. Perhaps a more useful explanation can be constructed from the similarity between the theological traditions of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches in America and Scotland, and the theology of the revival. The conversion experience, that particular moment of realization, was fundamental to all the revival movements, but was much more familiar to those brought up in Calvinist churches. Whereas in England and Wales the general populace and those in authority, such as Justices, sheriffs and the squirearchy, found the idea of the second birth alarming and alien, in New England and Scotland the language of revival was recognizable and often respected, although respect was not extended to enthusiasm. In the Calvinist context revivalists converted people of all classes and the weight of favourable opinion tended to mute the opposition of the Moderates. Instead of manifesting itself in satire or rioting, opposition in New England and Scotland confined itself to polemical exchanges, legal restraint of extremists like James Davenport<sup>2</sup> and the debate

1. J.C. Miller, "Religion, Finance and Democracy in Massachusetts", New England Quarterly, 6 (1939), 29-58; MS. Notebook of James Freeman, 1745-1765, M.H.S. See P. Maier, "Popular Uprisings and Civil Authority in Eighteenth Century America", WMQ, 27 (Jan. 1970), 3-35.
2. R.L. Bushman, The Great Awakening: Documents on the Revival of Religion, 1740-1745 (New York, 1970), 45-55.



of institutional questions.<sup>1</sup>

This brief comparison of selected features of revivalism indicates that theological and historical traditions played a significant part in determining the details of revival history. Because the religious institutions and more generally, the culture of New England and Scotland had developed from a common Calvinist heritage, it followed that some aspects of their religious revivals were remarkably alike, and in turn were clearly differentiated from those of revivalism in England and Wales.

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1. E.g., A Fair and Impartial Account of the Debate in the Synod of Glasgow and Air 6 Oct. 1748 Anent Employing Mr. Whitefield.

## CONCLUSION

It is plain that there were direct links between the revivals in England, Scotland, the northern American colonies, Wales, and even Holland, to be found in the correspondence between ministers, printers and lay sponsors. The strength of the connections between revivalists in any two countries varied greatly depending partly on the extent of pre-existing structures of communication which could be expanded, and partly on the degree of similarity between the views and situation of revivalists. Correspondence between Dutch and Scottish ministers, for example, developed from the presence of a Scottish Church in Rotterdam, from a common Calvinist heritage, and through trading links between the two countries. Likewise, the very extensive correspondence between Scottish and New England and Middle Colony ministers was the result of recent migration from Scotland to America, a shared theology and much common doctrinal literature, and the longstanding respect of northern colonialists for Scottish higher education which had trained many of their professional men. In fact, Scotland was the main focus of communication during the revivals.

The great majority of correspondence discovered was between ministers, although an unsuccessful attempt was made to find out whether the revivals were referred to in regular transatlantic correspondence between friends and families, and the lack of affirmative evidence does not mean that this dimension was lacking. Even the correspondence

of leading revivalists was scattered among such collections as the unclassified miscellaneous manuscripts in New York Public Library, Boston Public Library, and the Massachusetts Historical Society, and was not readily accessible. Just as the number of ministers who corresponded and the extent of their correspondence varied from country to country, so did their standing within their own Churches. Generally speaking, the standing of revival ministers reflected the attitude of their Church to the revival. In New England Jonathan Edwards, William Cooper, Benjamin Colman and Thomas Prince were highly regarded and respected ministers, and, if the last three were aged and more representative of a former age, they were nonetheless seen as pillars of the establishment who served important churches. On the other hand, in England no recognized divines, scholars or institutional figures of the Church of England were engaged in revival correspondence, whilst Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge who had occupied leadership positions in Nonconformism were regarded as anachronistic by the 1740s. In Scotland, like New England, a number of prominent Churchmen figured amongst the names of correspondents. John Willison of Dundee was an acknowledged writer and one of the best known ministers in Scotland; Dr. John Erskine was a member of an influential family and later became minister of the prestigious Old Greyfriars Church in Edinburgh and a Church leader.

The links created by individual correspondence were

reinforced by the systematic circulation of sermons, pamphlets, revival narratives and conversion accounts between revivalists. Evidence of growing literacy on the one hand and of an increase in the publishing and circulation of revival literature on the other indicate that these publications helped to spread the revival and to create a sense of its internationalism. Furthermore, by exchanging and discussing publications revivalists everywhere discovered the most effective literary genres and established them as standard forms of expression for evangelists and converts. Where most of these genres - narratives, spiritual autobiographies and conversion accounts - were not new, the evangelical magazine was. This application of a popular literary mode to the revival had the dual effects of formalizing revival links, and of making them accessible to wider audiences.

Thus far, the connections were essentially personal and individual rather than institutional. Although their work was amplified by the printed work, international revivalism was nonetheless reliant on the initiative and efforts of individuals. In fact, links between the Churches on an institutional level were rare throughout the revival. The Testimony and Advice of an Assembly of Pastors of Churches in New England ... July 7, 1743 ..., which was written by the annual meeting of New England ministers, provides an isolated example of official recognition of the international dimensions of the revival, whilst the Inter-

national Concert for Prayer is perhaps the only instance of transatlantic evangelical activity involving more than a few individuals. Even so, the Concert for Prayer was not endorsed by the Churches of England or Wales in any official capacity, nor in Scotland and America, although the number of ministers there who supported and kept the Concert in their parishes and societies was impressive. The Concert was not taken up officially by any Church until the 1780s, when the New Connexion Baptists in Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire and Northamptonshire, prompted by Jonathan Edwards' An Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer, adopted the Concert. During the revival, however, any communication between ministers was undertaken privately and any international activity was likewise the result of individual initiative.

Finally, the determining factor in the exchanges between ministers in each of these countries was not simply that they were all revivalists or evangelicals, but more particularly that they were Calvinist evangelicals. The operation of this theological prerequisite excluded England's most successful evangelical organizer, John Wesley, and his Methodists from the international dimension of the revival. Instead George Whitefield as a Calvinist Methodist, and his fellow workers in England and Wales, were the ones who were familiar with the revival network.

Despite the fact that evangelicals everywhere reverted

to their national and denominational confines after 1750, the connection between Scottish and American ministers was never lost. When the American Presbyterians were looking for funds to build their own college at Princeton, New Jersey, former revivalists in Scotland were their most willing sponsors, and when the Reverend Joseph Bellamy, one of Edwards' most dedicated followers, wanted a British correspondent and book supplier, he found one in the Scottish evangelical, John Erskine. Their common Calvinist heritage explains why the links between New England, the Middle Colonies and Scotland were the most fruitful and longlasting of the mid-eighteenth century revivals.

APPENDICESAPPENDIX 1.Selected examples of Puritan and early  
conversionist reprints during the revival.

1. Alleine, Joseph (1634-1668).  
An Alarme to the Unconverted.  
Boston, 1739.  
Philadelphia, 1741.  
Boston, 1743.
  2. Dewsbury, William.  
A Sermon on the Important Doctrine of Regeneration ...  
1688 ....  
Philadelphia, 1740.
  3. Edwards, John (1637-1716).  
The Fruits of the Spirit considered and explained.  
Boston, 1742.
  4. Firmin, Giles (1617-1697).  
The Real Christian, or a treatise of effectual calling.  
Boston, 1745.
  5. Fisher, Edward (1627-1655).  
The Marrow of Modern Divinity.  
Boston, 1743.
  6. Flavell, John (1627-1691).  
A Word to the Well-Wishers of the Good Work of God in  
this Land. /An extract from Blow at the Root/  
Boston, 1742.  
  
The Cursed Death of the Cross Described and Improved.  
Boston, 1743.  
  
The Great Design and Scope of the Gospel opened ...  
Recommended as a Word peculiarly Seasonable for the  
Present Day.  
Boston, 1741.  
  
The Teachings of God, opened in their Nature and Necessity.  
Philadelphia, 1743.
- Works.  
London, 1740.
7. Fleming, Robert (1630-1694).  
The Fulfilling of the Scripture ... containing some  
Rare histories of the Works and the Servants of God in  
the Church of Scotland. /With a preface by Thomas  
Foxcroft/  
Boston, 1743.

8. Henry, Matthew (1662-1714).  
A Method for Prayer with Scripture Expressions proper  
to be used under each head . . . .  
Philadelphia, 1740.
- The Pleasantness of a Religious Life, open'd and prov'd.  
Edinburgh, 1746.
9. Janeway, James (1636-1674).  
Invisibilities, realities, demonstrated in the holy  
life and triumphant death of . . . .  
London, 1740?  
Boston, 1742.
10. Jennings, John ( - 1723).  
Two Discourses: The first of Preaching Christ; the  
second of particular and experimental preaching . . .  
with a preface by the Rev. Dr. Isaac Watts. To which  
is added a Letter concerning the useful way of preaching  
. . . by Dr. Augustus Hermannus Francke.  
Boston, 1740.
11. Mason, John (1646-1694).  
Select Remains . . . recommended by Dr. Watts.  
Boston, 1743.
- Spiritual Songs.  
Philadelphia, 1742.  
Boston, 1742.  
Boston, 1743.
12. Rowe, Elizabeth (1674-1737).  
Devout Exercises of the Heart in Meditation and Soli-  
loquy . . . .  
Coventry, 1737.  
London, 1738.  
London, 1739.  
Boston, 1742.  
Boston, 1743.  
Philadelphia, 1745.
13. Scougal, Henry (1650-1678).  
The Life of God in the Soul of Man.  
London, 1733.  
London, 1735.  
London, 1739.  
London, 1742.  
Newcastle, 1742.  
Newcastle, 1744.
- Vital Christianity.  
Boston, 1741.  
Boston, 1741. [another]



14. Shepard, Thomas (1605-1649).  
The Saint's Jewel.  
Boston, 1743.
- The Sincere Convert.  
Glasgow, 1734.  
Boston, 1742.  
Philadelphia, 1743.  
New York, 1743.
- The Sound Believer.  
Boston, 1736.  
Boston, 1742.  
Philadelphia, 1743.  
New York, 1743.
15. White, Elizabeth ( - 1660)  
The Experiences of God's Gracious Dealing with Mrs.  
Elizabeth White.  
Boston, 1741.
16. Wilcox, Thomas (1622 - )  
A Choice Drop of Honey from the Rock Christ.  
Boston, 1734.  
Pontypool, 1740.  
Boston, 1741 (4 editions)  
Boston, 1743.

APPENDIX 2.

Transatlantic publishing of revival literature.

Author	Title	Place	Date
Anon.	<u>A Plea for pure and undefiled Religion Addressed to Col. James Gardiner.</u>	London New York	1742 1742 rpt.
Anon.	<u>The Querists.</u>	New York Philadelphia London	1740 rpt. 1740 1741 rpt.
Caldwell, John	<u>An Impartial Trial of the Spirit Operating in this Part of the World.</u>	Boston Glasgow	1742 1743 rpt.
Chauncy, Charles	<u>The New Creature described and Considered.</u>	Boston Edinburgh	1742 1742 rpt.
Colman, Benjamin	<u>Souls Flying to Jesus Christ.</u>	Boston London Glasgow	1740 1741 rpt. 1742 rpt.
Cruttenden, Robert	<u>The Experience of R. Cruttenden.</u>	London Boston	1744 1744 rpt.
Dickenson, Jonathan	<u>Familiar Letters to a Gentleman.</u>	Boston Edinburgh	1745 1757 rpt.
Dutton, Ann.	<u>A Letter from Ann Dutton to George Whitefield.</u>	London Philadelphia	? 1743

Author	Title	Place	Date
Edwards, John	<u>A Short Account of the Experience of the Work of God, and Revealing of Jesus Christ.</u>	London Boston	1744 1745 rpt.
Erskine, Ebenezer and Ralph	<u>A Collection of Sermons on Several Subjects.</u>	Glasgow and Edinburgh  Boston Philadelphia	Imprint varies for individual sermons  1744 1745
Erskine, Ralph	<u>Gospel Sonnets or Spiritual Songs.</u>	Philadelphia Boston Boston	1740 rpt. 1742 rpt. 1743 rpt.
Finley, Samuel	<u>Christ Triumphant and Satan Raging.</u>	Philadelphia London	1741 1741 rpt.
Foxcroft, Thomas	<u>Divine Providence adored and justified in the early death of God's Children.</u>	Boston Edinburgh	174? 1746 rpt.
G., E.	<u>Brief Account of God's Dealings with E.G., Son to a Dissenting Minister now in London.</u>	London Boston	1743 1744 rpt.
Gill, John	<u>The Doctrine of Justification.</u>	London Boston	1740 1744 rpt.
Law, William	<u>The Grounds and Reasons of Christian Regeneration, or, the New Birth ....</u>	London Philadelphia Germantown	 1741 rpt. 1741 rpt.
M.A., /Charles Chauncy/	<u>The State of Religion in New England since the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield's arrival there.</u>	Glasgow Boston	1742 1743 rpt.
Prince, Thomas	<u>The Salvation of God in 1746 ... Being the day of the anniversary Thanksgiving in the Province of the Mass. Bay ....</u>	Boston London	1746 1747 rpt.

Author	Title	Place	Date
Robe, James	<u>A Short Narrative of the Extraordinary Work at Cambuslang in Scotland in a Letter to a friend . . . .</u>	Glasgow	1742
		Boston	1742 rpt.
		Philadelphia	1742 rpt.
Seagrave, Robert	<u>Remarks on the Bishop of London's Pastoral Letter.</u>	London	1740
		Philadelphia	1740 rpt.
Seward, William	<u>Journal of a Voyage . . . from Savannah to Philadelphia . . . in 1740.</u>	London	1740
		Boston	1740 rpt.
		Charleston	1740 rpt.
		New York	1740 rpt.
		Philadelphia	1740 rpt.
Smith, Josiah	<u>The Character, Preaching etc. of the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield.</u>	Charleston	1740
		Boston	1740 rpt.
		Philadelphia	1740 rpt.
		London	1740 rpt.
		Glasgow	1741 rpt.
Tennent, Gilbert	<u>Some Account of the principles of the Moravians, collected from several conversations with Count Zinzendorf . . . .</u>	London	1743 rpt.
Tennent, John	<u>The Nature of Regeneration opened, and its absolute necessity demonstrated. With a life of the Rev. J.T.</u>	Boston	1735
		London	1741 rpt.
Wesley, John	<u>Free Grace Indeed!</u>	Bristol	1741
		Boston	1741 rpt.
		Philadelphia	1741 rpt.
-.	<u>The Nature and Design of Christianity.</u>	Philadelphia	1744

Author	Title	Place	Date
Wesley, John and Charles	<u>Hymns and Sacred Poems.</u>	Philadelphia	1740
Whitefield, George	Most of Whitefield's sermons, journals and pamphlet works were printed on both sides of the Atlantic between 1739 and 1745. See Roland, Austin, <u>Bibliography of the Works of George Whitefield.</u> 1916.		
Webster, Alexander	<u>Divine Influence the True Spring of the Extraordinary Work at Cambuslang.</u>	Edinburgh Boston	1742 1743 rpt.
Willison, John	<u>Looking Unto Jesus.</u>	Boston Boston	1741 rpt. 1743 rpt.
-.	<u>Some Meditations and Materials for Prayers.</u>	Boston	1741 rpt.

APPENDIX 3.Reprints of Edwards' publications in Europe before 1770.

1. A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls in Northampton, and the Neighbouring Towns and Villages of New-Hampshire in New-England. In a Letter to the Revd. Dr. Benjamin Colman of Boston. Written by the Revd. Mr. Edwards, Minister of Northampton, on Nov. 6 1736 And Published, With a Large Preface, By Dr. Watts and Dr. Guyse. London, 1737. [An extract was published in Boston in 1736]

Another edition, London, 1737  
 London, 1738  
 Edinburgh, 1738  
 Magdeburg, 1738  
 Amsterdam, 1740

Selections were also printed in:

The Glasgow Weekly History. Glasgow, 1742.

Historical Collections by Gillies. Glasgow, 1754.

A Narrative of the Late Work of God, At and Near Northampton, In New-England. Extracted from Mr. Edwards's Letter to Dr. Colman, By John Wesley. Bristol, ca., 1744. London, 1755.

2. The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of God. Applied to that uncommon Operation that has lately appeared on the Minds of many of the People of this Land: With a particular Consideration of the extraordinary Circumstances with which this Work is attended. A Discourse Delivered at New-Haven, September 10th 1741.

First printed Boston, 1741.

London, 1742. Preface by Cooper and Letters from Colman.

Glasgow, 1742. Preface by Cooper and Letters from Colman, and an Epistle to the Scots reader by John Willison.

Edinburgh, 1742. Same additions as the Glasgow edition.

The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God. Extracted from Mr. Edwards ... By John Wesley.

London, 1744.

London, 1755.

3. Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God. A Sermon Preached at Enfield, July 8th 1741. At a Time of great Awakening: and attended with remarkable Impressions on many of the Hearers.  
First printed Boston, 1741.  
Edinburgh, 1745. Preface by John Willison.
4. Some Thoughts Concerning the present Revival of Religion in New-England, And the Way in which it ought to be acknowledged and promoted, Humbly offered to the Publick, in a Treatise on that Subject.  
First printed Boston, 1742.  
Edinburgh, 1743.
- Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New-England by Jonathan Edwards ... Abridg'd by John Wesley.  
London, 1745.
5. An Abridgement of David Brainerd's Journal ....  
First printed Philadelphia, 1746 [for the SSPCK]  
London, 1748.
- An Account of the Life of the late Reverend Mr. David Brainerd, Minister of the Gospel, Missionary to the Indians from the honourable Society in Scotland, for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge ....  
First printed Boston, 1749.  
Utrecht, 1756.  
Edinburgh, 1765.
- An Extract of the Late Rev. Mr. David Brainerd. By John Wesley.  
Bristol, 1768.
6. A careful and strict Enquiry Into the modern prevailing Notions of That Freedom of Will, Which is supposed to be essential To Moral Agency, Virtue and Vice, Reward and Punishment, Praise and Blame.  
First printed Boston, 1754.  
London, 1762.  
London, 1768.
7. The Great Christian Doctrine of Original Sin defended ....

First printed Boston, 1758.  
London, 1766.  
Glasgow, 1768.  
Dublin, 1768.

8. Remarks On the Essays, On the Principles of Morality,  
And Natural Religion /by Lord Kames/ In A Letter to a  
Minister of the Church of Scotland.  
Edinburgh, 1758.  
London, 1758.



APPENDIX 4.

A List of Books loaned by Rev. Nicholas Gilman of  
Durham N.H. to his parishioners during October, 1741.

(MS. in NHHS)

<u>Book Title or Description</u>	<u>Name of Borrower</u>
<u>Loring</u> on Conversion	Abraham Scales
<u>Halyburton's</u> Memoirs.	Jonathan Phillips
<u>Watt's</u> Poems	Sister Joanna
<u>Neal's</u> New England History, Vol. I.	Br. Samuel Gilman
Dr. <u>Sewall</u> on the Spirit's Office	Mrs. Ch. Leathers
Another of <u>Dr. Sewall</u>	Ebenezer Crus [?]
<u>Mrs. White's</u> Experiences	Sister Susannah
<u>Edwards</u> on Northampton	Mother Thing
<u>Whitefield</u> , Vol. I.	Mr. Scales
<u>Wright</u> on being born again	Mrs. Tracy
<u>Vincent</u> on the day of Grace	Anne York
<u>Whitefield</u> , Vol. II	Mother Thing
<u>Whately's</u> examples of Gen <sup>s</sup>	Rev, Mr. Whipple
<u>Tennent's</u> Sermons	Anne York
Guide to Christ )	
<u>Stone's</u> Answer )	
<u>Prince</u> on the Resurrection )	Rev. Mr. Pike
Mr. <u>Whitefield's</u> Life )	
<u>Edwards'</u> Danger of the Uncon- verted	Rendall
<u>Whitefield</u> Journal	Benjamin Smith
Dr. <u>Sewall</u> on the Spirits	Lieut. Thompson

<u>Book Title or Description</u>	<u>Name of Borrower</u>
Vindication of George Whitefield	Lieut. Thompson
<u>Edwards'</u> No. 2	Joseph Bickford
<u>Gibb's</u> Sermon	Mary Dris [?]
Dr. <u>Sewall</u> on the Spirit, No. 1	Elizabeth Jenkins
<u>Whitefield's</u> answer to Wesley	Col. Drevin
<u>Edwards'</u> No. 3	Ebenezer [?]
<u>Cooper</u> on Election	Hubbard Stevens
<u>Edwards'</u> No. 4	Elias Critchet
<u>Edwards'</u> No. 5	James Tompson
<u>Loring</u> on Conversion	Ebenezer Burnan
<u>Edwards'</u> No. 3	Thomas Pike
<u>Chanler's</u> Sermon	Abraham Scales
Orphan House Account	Moses Swett
<u>Janeway's</u> Life	Bartholomew Gilman
<u>Edwards'</u> No. 3	Jonathan Burse
<u>Tennent's</u> No. 1	Mrs. Glazier
<u>Tennent's</u> No. 2	Dr. Atkinson
<u>Loring</u>	Dr. Adams
<u>Janeway's</u> Life	Mrs. Tompson
<u>Tennent's</u> No. 3	Pitman
<u>Willison</u> on Faith No. 2	Mrs. Tacy
<u>Willison</u> No. 1	Eleazar Bickford
<u>Willison</u> No. 3	Joseph Smith's wife
<u>Edwards'</u> No. 7	Eliz. Tompson
<u>Mr. Whitefield's</u> Life	Nath. Gilman, Jr.
French Convert	Jonathan Woodman
<u>Tennent's</u> Sermon	Dr. Atkinson
Dr. <u>Sewall</u> No. 1	James Tompson's wife

Edwards' No. 1

Tennent

Vincent on Love of Christ

Hallyburton

Edwards' No. 1

... To Early Piety

Catechism

/Torn/

/Torn/

/Torn/

Watts' Songs

New Primer

Mr. Phillips Lecture Sermon

Catechism

New Primer

Sarah Leavitt

William Bennet

Hubbard Stevens

Mary Little

Benjamin Davis

Richard Perkins

Abigail Fowler

Mary Stevens

Hubbard Stevens

Bickford

Bickford

Jonathan Burnam

Abigail Pike/Joseph  
Stevens

Eliz. Small/Abigail Pike

Job Clemens

BIBLIOGRAPHYABBREVIATIONS

BPL	Boston Public Library
Essex Inst.	Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.
HBS	Harvard Business School, Mass.
MHS	Massachusetts Historical Society
<u>NEQ</u>	<u>New England Quarterly</u>
NHHS	New Hampshire Historical Society
NYPL	New York Public Library
PHS	Pennsylvania Historical Society
<u>PWHS</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society</u>
<u>WMQ</u>	<u>William and Mary Quarterly</u>

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